Multa paucis:

Multimodal metaphor representation of

consumerism across the "Great Recession"

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To myself…

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1) Introduction

This dissertation has been developed with the purpose of understanding how multimodal metaphors are perceived in TV commercials and how their ideological implications change in times of emotional and socio-economic turmoil. In this regard, we have developed two different methodological frameworks. The first framework aims to identify metaphors in TV commercials as part of a wider theory of multimodal metaphor processing whereas the second one describes how metaphors can be interpreted as a manifestation of consumerist ideology.

1.1) Theoretical Background

After Andrew Ortony's 'Metaphor and Thought' (1979) and George Lakoff and Mark Johnson's 'Metaphor we live by' (1980), the study of metaphors became widespread in cognitive linguistics (see, Gibbs, 2008). The central idea behind this work is that metaphors play a crucial role in several cognitive processes, such as conceptualisation and knowledge representation (Zinken, Hellsten, and Nerlich, 2007: 363). Researchers in cognitive linguistics (see, Lakoff and Johnson, 1980: 159; Lakoff, 1996: 154-155; Musolff, 2012: 303) have supported the idea that metaphors permeate written and spoken communication because they enable us to understand abstract and less familiar domains (referred to as 'Targets') in terms of practical and familiar domains ('Source' domains). Some examples of these operations are, for example, the understanding of LOVE in terms of HEAT or the concept of NATIONAL STATE as a HUMAN BODY. Similar conceptualisations can easily be found in ordinary linguistic expressions such as *"I feel hot all*

over my body when I see him" and *"I'm burning with passion"* for the LOVE as HEAT metaphor or *"The head of the government"* and *"the military ARM of the party"* for the NATIONAL STATE as BODY metaphor. In other words, metaphors describe basic operations that serve to give materiality and understanding to phenomena that would otherwise be hard to conceive and comprehend. This work draws on two branches of research which, until fifteen years ago, were not related: the cognitive linguistic account of metaphors and the critical approaches to languages, widely called *Critical Metaphor Studies* (Charteris-Black, 2004) or *Critical Discourse Analysis* (Wodak and Meyer, 2008). These approaches provide the framework for analysing discourse practices and conceptualisations in order to unveil those ideological effects. Discourse practices are of crucial importance since they can help produce and reproduce unequal power relations between social classes, genders and ethnic/cultural majorities and minorities through the way they represent things and agents (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 258). Although the cognitive linguistic account of metaphors and critical approaches to language took different directions, scholars such as Charteris-Black (2005), Goatly (2007) and Musolff (2007; 2012) made several attempts at integration and cross-fertilisation. Studies conducted by these scholars have demonstrated, for instance, the importance of metaphorical patterns in the English vocabulary and grammar in terms of representing, shaping and contesting ideologies and social practices (Goatly, 2007: 2). This was achieved by relating metaphorical patterns to a series of beliefs and attitudes that characterise contemporary life including racism, nationalism, commodification, immigration policies and biological and mechanistic theories of 'human nature'. Some studies have recently described how metaphorical patterns can not only convey ideological implications, but can also show how they change and adapt to different historical circumstances (see Nerlich and Hellsten 2004; Musolff 2004, 2007; Nerlich 2005; Frank, 2007). Scholars such as Larson,

Nerlich and Wallis (2005) have also described how a metaphoric variation may have a radically different ideological implication, even if the variation occurs within a few years. These patterns of metaphors, called *discourse metaphors*, can be described as 'a relatively stable metaphorical projection that functions as a key framing device within a particular discourse over a certain period of time" (Zinken, Nerlich and Hellsten, 2007: 363) and represent a key theoretical notion in the following work.

1.2) Outline of the Problem: Metaphors and the 'Great Recession'

Studies conducted around the notion of discourse metaphors have brought to light how metaphors can vary over time. However, cognitive linguistics had for decades almost completely neglected to systematically observe how certain events may change the use of metaphors in discourse practices. As Zinken, Hellstein and Nerlich (2007: 367) argue:

> Cognitive linguists have rarely examined the repeated or continued use of such metaphors in times of emotional turmoil or in times of scientific or political uncertainty. This is a gap that needs to be filled if we want to understand how general and local aspects of culture and cognition interact in the ways people think and act in 'the real world'

For this reason, we will base our work on the attempt to analyse metaphor patterns in relation to a period of 'emotional turmoil' and 'political uncertainty', specifically the period of time referred to as the *Great Recession* by a large part of the media and academia (see Rampell, 2009 - 'The New York Times'; Verick and Islam, 2010). This period refers to the global economic recession that hit the economic and financial world in the first quarter of 2009. The Great Recession affected the entire world economy to a degree which made it the worst global economic crisis since

the 'Great Depression of 1929' (Verick and Islam, 2010). Considering the impact on the lives of millions of families and on governments around the World, the 'Great Recession' well reflects what Zinken, Hellsten and Nerlich (2007: 367) mean by 'emotional turmoil' and 'political uncertainty'. In addition, the fact that the events happened recently enables the analysis of a phenomenon that has not been given a great deal of attention by the contemporary cognitive linguistic community.

1.3) Multimodal Metaphors

Traditionally, metaphor studies have focused their attention on the written/spoken dimension. Although Lakoff and Johnson (1980) claimed that people do not only write and speak but, more importantly, actually think in metaphors, visual and multimodal metaphors have been studied far less thoroughly than their written/spoken counterparts (Forceville, 2006: 1). At this stage, following some simple definitions, we define written/spoken metaphors as being those that present written or spoken signs (mono-modality), visual metaphors as combinations of images or images and text (bi-modality) and multimodality as the simultaneous presence of several modes, for example: picture signs, written signs, spoken signs, gestures, sounds or music (Forceville, 2006: 4). Even though research on multimodality is progressively expanding (see, Forceville and Urios-Aparisi, 2009; Zbikowski, 2009; Cienki, 2010), metaphor analyses still differ widely on how to identify metaphors in non-verbal modalities (Šorm and Steen, 2013: 3-4). As we will show in the literature review section, there are three main factors that have hindered the development of a procedure for metaphor identification in multimodal data. As Šorm and Steen claimed, the validity of the theories and methods traditionally used in the analysis of visual metaphors is limited.

The validity is particularly reduced by the presence of several biases, mainly those regarding the data collection level (2013: 5). Although this argument has been developed specifically for visual metaphors, we claim that it also concerns the research in multimodality. In order to evaluate what people actually do in order to interpret visual or multimodal metaphors, scholars firstly need to develop a more explicit theory of metaphor processing in modes of symbolisation other than language. This dissertation will propose to advance an explicit and reliable methodology for the identification of metaphors in multimodal data which will also be the expression of a wider theory of metaphor processing. As we will explain, our perspective on metaphor processing focuses on the active role of the agent to create and use metaphors in order to make sense or to simplify multimodal stimuli that otherwise would necessitate a great cognitive load.

1.4) Consumerism

As we have briefly described, critical approaches to language describe a research programme that aims to unveil the ideological structure and power relations in discursive practices. Van Dijk – one of the proponents of the Critical Discourse Analysis programme — claimed that:

> Critical Discourse Analysis should furthermore not limit itself to a study of the relationship between discourse and social structure […] instead the use of languages and discourse always presupposes the intervening mental models, goals and general social representations (knowledge, attitudes, ideologies, norms, values) of the language users
>
> (van Dijk, 2008 in Wodak and Meyer, 2008: 14)

We will try to investigate an issue that could be in line both with multimodality and the 'Great Recession'. In this regard, we think that an interesting object of investigation can be represented

by consumerism, as this ideology has not been given the attention it deserves in critical discourse studies. From the decision to fill a gap in research, we will define consumerism in much greater detail. At this stage, we simply define it as an economic/historical/cultural/psychological tendency to buy goods and services in ever greater amounts (Migone, 2007: 3). In addition, as we shall explain during the following sections, consumerism includes mental models and goals, but also social representations involving relations of power, values and attitudes. Consumerism can be considered as entrenched in society and culture to the point that several scholars have defined it in cultural terms (Migone, 2007), as a specific ideology (Baudrillard, 1994; 1998), as a combination of culture and ideology (Sklair, 2012), as a phenomenon of a mainly economic nature (Bauman, 1983) or as an action-oriented cognitive process (Kasser and Kanner, 2004). Such features and the combination of cultural representations and cognition make consumerism a relevant object of research for a critical discourse analysis. Most importantly, investigating consumerism fills a gap in knowledge that concerns both discourse metaphor studies and critical approaches to language. As we have stated above, although there is a major tradition of research into how metaphors represent and shape ideologies and social practices (see, Charteris-Black, 2005; Goatly, 2007 and Musolff, 2007; 2012), we do not have any extensive knowledge of how metaphors structure consumerism. On the contrary, the relation between critical discourse analysis and consumerism is less clearly defined. When consumerism has been investigated by critical researchers (see, Fairclough, 1989), it has been considered to be a wide and general label to cover more specific kinds of discourses, such as 'corporate discourse', 'brand discourse' and 'advertising discourse' (Bloor and Bloor, 2013).

1.5) TV commercials

TV commercials, and advertising in general, have been used to investigate different issues. Specifically, adverts have contributed to developing influential insights both in the field of metaphor studies (see, Forceville, 2007; 2008; 2012; McQuarrie and Phillips, 2005) and in critical discourse analysis. The reasons behind the extensive use of adverts may be summarised as follows: advertisements are rhetorical and informative products that work to persuade potential buyers to purchase goods and services within a particular socio-economic context. In order to be effective, adverts use several strategies such as humour, provocation and idealisation (Cook, 2001; McQuarrie and Phillips, 2005). These strategies, serving to succeed in attracting the attention of the buyers, have to express the system of values, attitudes and social practices shared within a certain socio-economic context. This factor clearly explains why metaphor studies and critical discourse analysis have used adverts so extensively. As we have discussed, scholars such as Charteris-Black (2005), Goatly (2007) and Musolff (2003; 2007; 2012) have claimed that metaphors can represent and shape values, attitudes and social practices, while critical discourse analysis investigates how such elements can express ideologies and power relations. However, in relation to the purposes of this work, advertising has an operative function as well. In this regard, TV commercials represent a useful link between critical metaphors analysis, the 'Great Recession' and consumerism. First of all, TV commercials are an ideal material for conducting diachronic analyses (as discourse metaphor analyses), because they vary very often (usually, per semester, or annually); this makes temporal comparisons possible, even over short periods. Secondly, the importance of TV commercials is crucial for both consumerism and the 'Great Recession'. TV commercials – and advertising in general – are fundamental with regard to consumerism because they induce and persuade people to purchase goods and services. Nevertheless,

since the 'Great Recession' has resulted in a decline in purchasing power and consumption, the role played by adverts in sustaining consumerism has become highly interesting, in particular, with regard to how values, attitudes and social practices conveyed by TV commercials have adapted to the 'Great Recession' period. In conclusion, TV commercials do not only connect discourse metaphor analysis, the 'Great Recession' and consumerism, but most importantly fill a crucial gap, which is the expansion of discourse metaphor analysis to cover the domain — so far not discussed — of multimodality.

1.6) Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this work may be broken down into two main parts. In the first part, we will try to contribute to the investigation of discourse metaphor studies; specifically, both with regard to multimodality (TV commercials) and in relation to a period of emotional and socio-economic turmoil ('Great Recession'). Then, in the second part we will attempt to understand how metaphors shape and represent the consumerist ideology. In addition, as we have already stated, this work will also try to make a contribution to methodology. This aim is based on the necessity to propose a framework which enables the identification of metaphors in multi-modal material within a more explicit theory of metaphor processing in extra written/spoken modalities. At this point, before listing the research questions we will try to answer in this work, it is crucial to describe the assumptions that justify the questions themselves.

- Diachronic Analysis

This work is about the investigation of discourse metaphors, patterns of metaphors that change over time in response to certain socio-historical factors. If we want to investigate the effect that the 'Great Recession' has had on metaphorical conceptualisation, we need to compare the use of metaphors during the 'Great Recession' with another period of time. However, if we choose a period of time too far away from the 'Great Recession', there is the risk that the metaphor pattern changes would be caused by other events. To prevent other variables from affecting the analysis, we have decided to compare the 'Great Recession' years with a period of time immediately preceding this period. In specific terms, we intend to make a comparison between the biennium 2011-2012 — two years considered to be the middle of the 'Great Recession' — and a biennium immediately prior to it, i.e. 2007-2008. We will thus be maximising the chances that changes in metaphor patterns actually occurred in the period of emotional and socio-economic turmoil represented by the 'Great Recession'.

- Country-specific analysis

The 'Great Recession' has been defined as a worldwide phenomenon, because it affects a large majority of industrial countries. This element may give rise to two observations. First of all, if we want to analyse the impact of such global phenomena we cannot limit our investigation to a single country. However, for practical reasons (time and language limitations), we are not in a position to analyse material from many countries. We have thus decided to investigate TV commercials from two countries: Italy and the United Kingdom. The reason for the choice of these countries constitutes our second observation. Although the United Kingdom and Italy have both been hit by the 'Great Recession', Italy has experienced far more serious consequences (Rose and Spiegel, 2012: 31). This fact suggests that any metaphor patterns changes may be more evi-

dent in the Italian commercials than in the British ones. As we will see, the reason to work with Italian and British commercials also complies with the necessity to put the discourse metaphor framework to the test.

- Native language analysis

As we will explain in the methodological section, a group of participants was given the task of viewing and interpreting some TV commercials. This task will be the basis of the metaphor analysis and was performed by British and Italian subjects. We used only two different types of participants: English-speaking participants and Italian-speaking participants. Each participant watched the TV commercials in their own language. The fact of using two different languages, and two different cultures gives us a better chance of generating a wider understanding of how consumerist ideology has changed over two different periods of time. British and Italian participants may share different attitudes and preconceptions and then come up with different interpretations of the TV commercials. In this way, we have a wider perspective of metaphoric patterns that are conveyed in the commercials.

- Analysis of TV car commercials

Among all the possible products advertised, we have decided to focus our attention on car commercials. The decision to analyse only one kind of product was necessary to establish as precisely as possible a comparison of conditions ('2007-2008' vs '2011-2012') and languages (Italian vs English). Working with a single kind of advertised product allows a more systematic comparison. The reason for working only with car commercials is based on a series of aspects directly related to cars themselves. Firstly, although cars are very common goods, their purchase can hardly be defined as being at all time an existential necessity. This aspect implies that during a period of loss of purchasing power, such as the 'Great Recession', consumers can avoid buying a

car or they can postpone the purchase. However, such possibilities contrast with the central role of the car industry in national economies. Apart from the manufacturing aspect, the car industry has a huge impact in many related areas (among others: car dealers, accessories, sales, fuel, insurance policies and vehicle license fees). The role played by advertising is crucial: the need to promote and induce the purchase of unnecessary goods despite their costs within a context of loss of purchasing power. It thus becomes essential to investigate which values and ideological contents can be used by advertising to support consumerism. These remarks set the stage for considering cars as an ideal product for investigating the impact of the 'Great Recession' on consumeristic attitudes.

- Consumerism analysis

As we have briefly stated, consumerism is hard subject to investigate. The reason for its complexity lies in the difficulty involved in advancing a comprehensive definition and its multidimensionality. Consumerism can be seen both in an ideological sense and in cultural terms, whether as a psychological attitude or as an economic practice. However, in order to investigate how metaphors convey consumerist content, we restricted the notion of consumerism to a specific perspective. In accordance with Sklair (2012), we adopted a theoretical framework in which consumerism is described in terms of a culture/ideology that permeates the entire economic world. After reviewing works from marketing studies and sociology, we integrated useful observations from these fields within the theoretical perspective of Sklair (2012). Specifically, we have found that, behind consumerism as a cultural/ideological system, four main style of consumptions that motivate and reflect attitudes and values behind each purchase can be identified. These style of consumption are hedonistic consumerism, critical consumerism, abstract utilitarianism and material utilitarianism. Each of these styles does not only have a different system of

values and attitudes, but can also be described by a series of conceptual dimensions, domains that define their semantic structure.

Based on these assumptions we can explicitly define the research questions that this work is designed to address:

Q1) Can a difference be detected between the metaphorical content of TV commercials produced before and after the 'Great Recession'?

Q2) Does this influence depend on the severity with which the 'Great Recession' has hit a certain country?

Q3) To what extent does the variation (if any) in the use of metaphors reflect an ideological shift in the conceptualisation of consumerism?

In order to address these questions, we have planned a two-stage methodology. The first part involves the attempt to answer Q1 and Q2, the second stage provides an understanding of the ideological implications (Q3).

1.7) Methodology

Our research presents two different methodological frameworks: one for identifying metaphors in TV commercials and the second for highlighting the consumerist impact.

- I) Identifying Metaphors in TV commercials

Although several attempts have been made, the identification of metaphors in multi-modal material is still highly debated. However, a recent article by Šorm and Steen (2013) has tried to put forward the basis for a procedure of identification of metaphors in extra spoken/written modalities. Such a procedure, which is rooted within a methodology for analysing metaphor processing, presents two main elements: a 'think aloud' task and a series of cognitive operations to interpret the clauses verbalised by the participants. On the basis of these elements, we have elaborated a procedure to identify metaphors in multi-modal material. Thirty participants, fifteen Italian and fifteen British university students (aged 24 - 32), equally distributed by gender (1:1), were each asked to view five TV car commercials. The commercials were extracted from a list of twenty car commercials, ten from the biennium of 2007-2008 (condition: 'pre-Great Recession') and ten from the biennium of 2011-2012 (condition: 'Great Recession'). Each group of TV commercials per biennium was further split into two groups: five commercials broadcast in Italy and five in the UK. The ten commercials per biennia — five for Italy and five for the UK — were selected to represent the five most sold cars in each country (number of registrations). In order to make any interpretation of the commercial as precise as possible, and in order to avoid any bias resulting from a lack of understanding, we decided that participants would only view commercials in their native language. The 'think aloud' task involves recording what participants verbalise during the commercials in relation to five main domains:

- THE CAR

- THE BUYER or THE CAR OWNER

- THE ACT OF BUYING

- THE REASON FOR BUYING\OWNING

-     THE FEELING\EMOTION AFTER BUYING\OWNING THE CAR

Then, after collecting all the verbalisations and the related transcriptions, we have classified the clauses according to an adapted version of the metaphor processing categories elaborated by Šorm and Steen (2013). These categories are structured around the general processes of 'Incongruity Perception' and 'Incongruity Resolution', which describe metaphors in an operation to surpass the incongruity between literal interpretation and the contextual information provided. Specifically, the 'Incongruity Perception' process involves a perceptual analysis in association with information from previous knowledge. This process yields object and scene recognition. The 'Incongruity Resolution' included processes that involve traces of conceptual mapping operations between source and target domain elements and metaphor recognition. In other words, this second process provides all the elements to collect the metaphors that have been verbalised by the participants in response to the TV commercials. Following this first methodological stage, all the metaphors were interpreted according to a consumerist perspective.

- II) Analysis of the Consumerist Ideology

As discussed, we use a definition of consumerism in terms of culture/ideology, in which it is possible to identify four main styles of consumption that motivate each purchase. This second-stage theoretical framework aims to associate each metaphor with a certain style of consumption. The procedure consists of relating the source domains of the metaphors with the conceptual dimensions which describe each style of consumption. If a source domain is an expression of a conceptual dimension, then its related metaphors will be interpreted as expressions of a certain style of consumption. In this way, after collecting all the metaphors in the style of consumption categories, we obtained four patterns of metaphors, distributed in the categories of style of consumptions. The first two patterns describe the distribution of metaphors in relation to the tem-

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poral conditions of 'pre-Great Recession' and 'Great Recession', while the second two also present the temporal conditions in relation to the informants' nationality (Italian and British).

- III) Hypotheses

After describing the methodological frameworks, we can present the hypotheses that sustain this work. With respect to the way we have specified discourse metaphors, commercials and consumerism, we hypothesise that:

H1) If the distribution of the metaphors within the consumerism styles varies considerably from one condition to another ('2007-2008' - '2011-2012'), then we can conclude that consumerism ideology has shifted its conceptual representation.

H2) If the 'Great Recession' has induced a shift towards different domains, and if Italy was affected by the 'Great Recession' more than the United Kingdom, we would expect to find more considerable differences in the Italian commercials than in the British commercials.

- Structure

This dissertation is built around three main parts, each including different thematic chapters.

Part   I

Section 1 presents a general introduction of metaphor studies, from the earliest conceptions to the most recent approaches, particularly the notion of *creative metaphor*, since it plays a crucial role in advertising. The second section describes the main perspectives concerning the study of multimodality and the most influential studies of the relation between perception, author's intentions and conceptualisation. In this chapter a new definition of multimodal metaphor is proposed. The third section discusses the main approaches concerning the role of ideology in metaphorical

conceptualisation. Particular emphasis is places on the question of how metaphor use varies in relation to ideology and vice versa. Section 4 discusses in detail how consumerism can be referred to through metaphorical conceptualisation and how the 'Great Recession' and TV commercials provide an ideal context for a critical metaphor analysis.

Part II

Section 5 presents and overview of the main methodological issues that concern the identification of metaphor, with particular emphasis on how the process of identification needs to be related to metaphorical processing. Section 6 presents the methodological aspects that need to be taken into account to achieve an ideological interpretation of metaphors. Starting from the considerations of the previous two chapters, Section 7 describes the methodological framework that is used for the analysis and the details regarding the participants and the selection of TV commercials for the analysis and the details regarding the participants and the selection of TV commercials.

Part III

Section 8 presents a detailed overview of the results of the analysis. Specifically, the nature of metaphor processing, that is how participants used metaphors to understand and make sense of the TV commercials (8.1), the identification of the particular metaphorical interpretations that were used by the participants (8.2) and the ideological interpretations of consumerism in the light of the style of consumption that can be inferred from the metaphors themselves (8.3). Section 9 presents a discussion of the analysis results and Section 10 a conclusion that highlight the merit of the thesis and its limitations.

PART I – LITERATURE REVIEW

Metaphors: from words to Consumerism

Discussing and applying metaphors in a dimension such as multimodality presents a challenging process of adaptation. The shift from a field traditionally dedicated to the written and spoken language to a vast area made up of non-linguistic representations requires modifying and adjusting terms, methods and even theoretical frameworks. Furthermore, this change of perspective also reveals further complexity because of the variety of approaches that make metaphor studies a particularly diversified and debated field of research. In order to present an operative framework of metaphor in multimodality that matches the aim of this study, we start by introducing the concept of metaphor (Section 2). We then explore the multimodal dimensions of metaphor (Section 3) and outline the main ideological and critical approaches (Section 4). Finally, we turn to the case of consumerism in TV commercials (Section 5).

In particular, Section 2 introduces the concept of metaphor and how metaphors operate. The studies we will refer to do not constitute a coherent and homogenous corpus of literature but reflect the plurality of approaches that characterise metaphor research and will serve to frame the plurality of issues that will be debated. This section will outline the essential features of metaphors (the domains and their interaction; the different approaches that explain why the two domains can be put together in a single representation; the difference with the literal language, the

relation of metaphors with comparable phenomena (similes and metonymy) and also the main theoretical issues that will be the basis of the entire thesis (creative metaphors). This section highlights the complexity of the concept and provide the basis for introducing the theoretical and methodological innovations that represent the core of this work.

Section 3 presents the theoretical studies related to the 'core' aspects of this work: the role of metaphors in *multimodality*. This section considers existing research and debates on non-linguistic metaphorical representations. It will start with a critical discussion about some key aspects of multimodal metaphors (the notion of metaphor in multimodality; criteria of identification; the relation between literal interpretation, simile and metonymy). It will be argued that multimodality imposes a radical change of perspective - both theoretical and methodological - in respect to the dominant tradition of metaphor studies in written and spoken language. In particular, we will dedicate our attention to three key issues that will constitute the base for the theoretical and operative framework of the empirical analysis we will conduct in this work. The issues in multimodality that will receive great attention will concern the relation of graduality between metaphors and literal language, the impossibility of distinguishing between metaphors and similes, a conception of metaphors and metonymies as belonging to a single phenomenon and the central role of creative metaphors.

Section 4 presents a brief discussion about how metaphors can convey ideological content. The discussion will be aimed at presenting the main theoretical approaches that describe the relation between metaphor and social impact and then at advancing a general definition of ideology that would fit the aim of this thesis. As we will see, the approaches to be discussed are Lakoff and

Johnson's view of conceptual metaphor, the Critical Discourse Analysis and the Critical Metaphor Analysis advanced by Charteris-Black. The notion of ideology that will be suggested can be then considered as the product of these three theoretical approaches. Of great importance in this section is also the discussion about how metaphors, conveying ideological content, can vary over time. This dynamic, as we have pointed out in the general introduction, will have a central role in understanding how metaphors depend on the context in which they are produced and used.

Leading on from the discussion of a general definition of ideology, the final Section of this chapter (Section 5) focuses on a particular type of ideology – consumerism – and on a specific historical context – the 'Great Recession' of 2008 – which will describe how metaphors convey the way in which such ideology has changed through this event. In this regard, we will advance an operative definition of consumerism and to analyse how metaphors vary in conveying this ideology, we will use, apart from a particular historical context, also a specific corpus of data. From the discussion about multimodality, we have decided to analyse the metaphor variation in consumerism in relation to TV car commercials. As we will discuss, the decision to use TV commercials was motivated by the idea of working with multimodality and by the attempt to find a medium that fit the content expressed by consumerism.

2) Metaphor: a brief introduction

The main contribution of the classic *Metaphor and Thought* edited by Ortony (1979) and *Metaphors We Live By by* Lakoff and Johnson (1980) consisted of spreading a view of metaphor as a conceptual and cognitive phenomenon. The shift from a rhetorical/stylistic dimension (metaphor as trope or poetical figure) to one that privileges the cognitive aspects of metaphor has presented at least three main consequences. Firstly, the definition of metaphor has reached a greater level of generality ('The essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another' [Lakoff and Johnson 1980:5]); secondly, the focus has widened to include not only language but also other modalities, such as pictures, gestures and music (Forceville, 2006: 3); thirdly, the proliferation of studies, approaches and lines of research has produced noticeable disagreement among scholars over many of the most distinctive aspects of metaphor.

However, despite the limited agreement, it is still possible to identify a minimal description of metaphor around a series of elementary features.

2.1) Understanding two elements

Metaphor involves the participation of two elements that belong to different categories, which enables us to understand the one in terms of the other (Black, 1962; Lakoff and Johnson, 1980).

Even if this definition of metaphor is used to characterise very different and wide approaches, its utility cannot be denied. Although Black (1962: 41), for example, conceives linguistic metaphors as ad hoc similarities created for communicative purposes and Lakoff and Johnson (1980) consider metaphors as perceivable manifestations of underlying conceptual structure, both views embrace a conceptual approach from different angles and go beyond the function of metaphor as an aesthetic tool. There seems to be overall agreement, in other words, that metaphors are not mere rhetorical devices used in literary language, but that they are much more fundamental aspects of communication and conceptualisation.

2.2) Abstractness and Familiarity

The two elements that establish metaphors differ in terms of abstractness or familiarity. In cognitive approaches, the terms *Target* and *Source* are traditionally used to describe the two elements. Usually, the target is considered as the more abstract/less familiar element, whereas the source is considered as the less abstract/more familiar one (Indurkhya, 1992). Metaphors allow language users to express and interpret the more abstract/less familiar element in terms of the less abstract/more familiar one. In most of the literature about metaphors, the two elements are generally referred to using pairs of concepts such as ground/figure (e.g., Zlatev, 2007), tenor/vehicle (e.g., Richard, 1937) or target/source (e.g., Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). Although they are linked to various theoretical perspectives and they are used with different purposes, this crucial aspect refers to the features of the individual elements, e.g. the target and source, and the way they in-

teract in a metaphor. Conventionally, and for a matter of clarity, metaphors in the cognitive tradition are visually represented as the juxtaposition of two units, connected by a copula, as follows:

X is Y [1]

In this conventional form, the first element X represents the Target and Y the Source. Moreover, this visual representation serves to reduce a metaphor to a collectable and memorisable form, which, however, does not have any explicit relation to the actual syntactic form that the metaphor has in real text. As will be shown in the following parts, the conventional form of simplifying metaphors is a crucial aspect in research, inasmuch as in most of the research the identification of metaphors in corpora is the base for any further theoretical insight. In terms of syntactic varieties, metaphor identification in large corpora analyses, e.g., Neuman et al. (2013), has brought to light the fact that metaphors are generally expressed in three syntactically definable types. Specifically, according to Gargett, Ruppenhofer and Barnden (2014: 167), 'Type I, where "a subject noun is associated with an object noun via a form of the copula verb to be" (e.g. 1: "*God is a shepherd*"), Type II having the verb as "the focus of the metaphorical use representing the act of a subject noun on an object noun" (e.g. 2: "*We're fighting a war against fat*"), and Type III, which "involve[s] an adjective-noun phrase" (e.g. 3: "*I feel hot all over my body when I*

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[1] Conventionally, one of the most used typographic metaphor representation is presented by uppercase font. Apart from theoretical reasons, this convention is used for the sake of clarity, because it allows to easily distinguish the linguistic form from the intended, underlying metaphor. Following on from these considerations, we have decided to use this convention throughout this dissertation.

see him"). From these examples, it is possible to provide a brief description the steps of which relate to the linguistic level of a metaphor to its simplified, collectable form. Working with a large amount of text, researchers generally tend to identify the non-literal meanings that are conveyed by particular expressions; then, from these patterns of words, they extract the two elements that are placed in relationship with each other, explaining how they interact in creating a metaphor. On this basis, it is possible to proceed in analysing the above-mentioned examples. Specifically:

1) *"God is a shepherd "*

2) *"We're fighting a war against fat"*

3) *"I feel hot all over my body when I see him"*

The first example, "*God is a shepherd*", allows us to infer the presence of a metaphor because of the copula connection. The association between *God* and a *Shepherd* promptly allows us to build the explicit form of the GOD IS A SHEPHERD metaphor as a reference for the underlying linguistic metaphor. Usually, the copula-form metaphors are rather easy to identify. However, metaphors can frequently convey a higher level of implicitness. The second example, "*We're fighting a war against fat*", clearly cannot convey any literal interpretation about a war conducted by some people against a compound - generally soluble in organic solvents and largely insoluble in water - that is widely referred to as fat. In this context, the general meaning of "fat" and the reference to some people (*"We're"*) suggests that "fat" can simply represent a generalisation for "human body fat" and *war against* "human body fat" as a rhetorical concept of LOSING WEIGHT or BEING ON A DIET. It is thus possible to refer to the metaphor LOSING WEIGHT

IS A WAR. Whereas the previous example succeeds in providing some semantic clues for relating "fat" to "human body fat" and "war against human body fat" as "diet", the last example, apparently, does not provide any such semantic clues. The sensation of "hot" that is presented in "*I feel hot all over my body when I see him*" does not seem to provide any other explanation than a reference to some feelings of sexual arousal. The fact that the subject feels a sensation of heat "all over my body" when a certain individual is seen suggests that the feeling of LOVE, or of SEXUAL AROUSAL can be represented as an INCREASE IN BODY HEAT, or as any other domain that can cause an increase in temperature, such as FIRE, for example. In this case, it is possible to refer to a metaphor such as SEXUAL AROUSAL IS AN INCREASE IN BODY HEAT. At this point, it is important to point out that the choice of target and source domains and their reference to the linguistic dimensions is largely a matter of interpretation, selection and generalisation. Apart from certain copula-form syntactical patterns, most of the typographic representations of metaphors represent one possible choice among a vast number of possible alternatives. For instance, consider the following sentences:

"I'm burning with passion"
"He is so hot for his partner"
"She is on fire for her"

In the last examples, the linguistic expressions can be also be referred to as different and interchangeable sets of metaphors. For instance, the above sentences can be presented as expression of implicit metaphors such as: LOVE IS FIRE, LOVE IS HEAT, SEXUAL AROUSAL IS WARMTH and so on. The crucial point is that - although the underlying metaphors summarise

the properties of the elements conceptualised in the sentences - the choice of the specific metaphor also obeys the criteria of generality and conventionality. In other words, the choice of associate in a linguistic expression (e.g. "I'm burning with passion") or an underlying metaphor (e.g. "SEXUAL AROUSAL IS WARMTH") is not strictly limited to the properties that the semantic level conveys. The choice of an underlying metaphor is also the product of the researcher's decision, as every linguistic expression that contains a linguistic metaphor can refer to multiple underlying metaphors. As it has been shown, "She is on fire for her" can be equally considered as the expression of LOVE IS FIRE, LOVE IS HEAT, or SEXUAL AROUSAL IS WARMTH without any substantial difference.

2.3) Understanding similarities

Metaphors establish a relation between two domains, but the relation needs to be perceived (justified)for the meaning to be conveyed. In principle, not just any domain can be associated to any other domain. The relationship that is established between the two elements is then generally based on certain 'similarities' that characterise the target and the source domains. Among others, the similarities can mainly be justified by experiential information (sensory, motor, and affective) (e. g., Lakoff and Johnson, 1999; Gibbs, 2006; Barsalou, 2008), by the knowledge that is active in a language community (e. g., Croft and Cruse, 2004; Musolff, 2014), or by a conceptual pact between a single speaker and a listener (Brennan & Clark, 1996; Veale, 2013). As the previous points have established, metaphors rely on a conceptual link between two elements in order to understand a target in terms of a source. However, to experience two elements as related,

it is necessary that the speaker and the recipient agree about which features are shared. Returning to the examples 1), 2) and 3) we used in the section 2.2, it is possible then to discuss some of the reasons and the modalities that justify the relation between source and target. From this point onwards, a deeper description of these modalities will be provided.

2.3.1) Experiential Information based metaphors

Let us consider as our first example, the example of Type III above: (iii) "*I feel hot all over my body when I see him*". As it has been discussed, the relation between the sensation of "*hot all over my body*" and seeing someone does not present any semantic link. However, the metaphorical process of conceptualising one experience (for instance, "sexual arousal" or "love"*)* in terms of another (e.g., *"I feel hot all over my body"*) can be justified in terms of a physical reaction that connects the two experiences. The sensation of AN INCREASE IN BODY HEAT as a response to LOVE or to SEXUAL AROUSAL depends on a physiological reaction of the human body in increasing its heart rate, and consequentially the body temperature. In other words, love and sexual arousal can be conceptualised in terms of a sensation of heat because the increase in body heat is a perceivable - and to a certain extent "familiar" - manifestation of such emotional states. Consequently, the passage from the experiential level to the conceptual and then to the linguistic one is based on a process of *embodiment*. Simply put, experiencing one condition (e.g., sexual arousal) in terms of a certain physical sensation (e.g., the increase in body heat) leads to the conceptualisation of that condition in terms of that physical sensation. Linguistically, the conceptualisation refers to the condition of 'sexual arousal', and to other related experiential conditions (e.g., love, passion, desire, etc.), with terms that are semantically close to the physical sensation itself (e.g., fire, warmth, hot, etc.)*.* This approach claims that the process of metaphoric conceptualisation may be seen as largely universal; the experiences related to certain physical sensa-

tions, such as sexual arousal, may refer to universal conceptualisations because the physical sensations are common and physiological reactions of the human body; hence they are, experienced and shared by all the human beings (Kövecses, 2005). This vision of metaphoric conceptualisation, advocated among others by authors such as Lakoff and Johnson (1999) and Gibbs (2006), goes under the general appellative of *experimentalist* account.

2.3.2) Sociohistorical information based metaphors

At this point, a quick look at the example mentioned for Type I ("God is a shepherd") suffices to understand that it relies on a different type of knowledge or experience in order to establish and justify a relation between domains. The common features shared by a certain image of "God" and the figure of a "shepherd" may result unclear to a reader coming from a non-western background, for example, but for a European this metaphor finds a more immediate justification. The metaphor of GOD as a SHEPHERD is a view largely present within the Judaeo-Christian tradition to convey a conceptualisation of god as a being who guards and takes care of his creatures and who is ready to give his life for them. Consequently, a metaphorical mapping emerges. The mapping relies on a set of correspondences between GOD and the SHEPHERD, including certain sub-domains. Specifically, the BELIEVERS can be conceptualised as a HERD and the threats from which the shepherd protects the herd, as the SIN, can be referred to, for instance, as WOLVES. See the following example:

GOD = SHEPHERD

BELIEVERS = HERD

SIN = WOLVES

The justification of GOD as a SHEPHERD appears as a rather immediate conceptualisation within a western background because it is supported by the linguistic tradition that refers to the biblical and torahic heritage. In the Old Testament, for instance, God is largely referred to as "Shepherd of Israel" and Israel as the "Herd of God" (Genesis 49:24; Psalm 23; 80:1; Jeremiah 31:10; Ezekiel 34:11-21) and also in the New Testament such conceptualisation is particularly frequent. Specifically, Jesus - called the "Good shepherd" (John 10:11) - also refers to himself saying: "The good shepherd lays down his life for the sheep." (John 10:11). The fact that such a metaphorical structure may not be easy to understand by an audience external to the Judaeo-Christian tradition poses the issue of cultural variables. In this regard, it is legitimate to advance the idea that, if a reader finds a metaphor that is rather well known in a given cultural context difficult to interpret, this may be caused by three main dynamics. Firstly, the metaphor X IS Y has never been created in a certain community; secondly, the metaphor X IS Y has been created, but it was overwritten by a "competing" conceptualisation; thirdly, the metaphor X IS Y was created in a certain community, lasted for a certain period of time and then it was substituted by another conceptualisation. An interesting contribution to the reasons and the dynamics that allow a metaphor to propagate comes from Croft and Cruse's statement:

> When [a metaphor] is first coined, the only way to interpret it is to employ one's innate metaphorical strategy, which is subject to a wide range of contextual and communicative constraints. Once a metaphor takes hold in a speech community and gets repeated sufficiently often, its character changes. First, its meaning becomes circumscribed relative to the freshly coined metaphor, becoming more determinate; second, it begins to be laid down as an item in the mental lexicon; third, it begins a process of semantic drift, which can weaken or obscure its metaphorical origins.
>
> (Croft and Cruse, 2004: 204-205)

In other words, the metaphor of GOD as SHEPHERD shows how different theoretical systems can justify the relation between domains. Specifically, this example illustrates the difference between the universalistic and experiential grounding explanation provided by the theorists of the

Experientialist account. According to this perspective, metaphors - and the justification of the similarity between domains - can be seen as the product of a *selection* and *propagation* process within a certain linguistic community. (Musolff, 2014: 11-13). As Musolff comments in relation to Croft and Cruse's previous passage:

> In contrast to the model of metaphor emergence in terms of universal experiential grounding proposed by the Lakoff-Johnson school, this model of innovation and selection-propagation helps to differentiate between the creation of metaphors and their diffusion and entrenchment in specific discourse communities. It is the latter aspect that seems the most promising for modelling divergent discourse traditions that emerge from a previously shared conceptual metaphor.
>
> (Musolff, 2014: 11)

Differently put, metaphors are not only created by the expression of universal and decontextualised sensorimotor information. It is possible to claim that metaphors may also emerge as created by a certain cultural community, a product that can find its diffusion 'competing' with other concurrent conceptualisations and that can then become part of a specific socio-historical context when they get repeated frequently enough. Furthermore, what is emerging from these positions cannot be reduced to a mere dichotomy. Although experientially based metaphors and the socio-historical metaphors are appreciated from different perspectives, the two approaches can also be deemed as complementary, or as a cause of intermediate positions. For instance, Croft and Cruse themselves embrace part of the experimental approach, but they propose a different model for the dissemination of metaphors.

2.3.3) Conceptual pact information based metaphors

While the previous examples describe how experiential and socio-historical information can legitimise the understanding of one domain in terms of another, the same cannot easily said for the examples used to illustrate Type II. An expression such as "*We're fighting a war against fat"* and

the consequent metaphor LOSING WEIGHT IS A WAR suggests a possible different system of justification. For instance, here, the interpretation is not based on a clear sensorimotor mapping, and it does not refer to a conceptualisation (LOSING WEIGHT) that can represent the result of a rooted historical process of entrenchment either. According to the scholars that advocate the collaborative view of language use (e.g., Clark and Wilkes-Gibbs, 1986; Clark and Schaefer, 1987,1989; Schober and Clark, 1989; Brennan, 1990), the *process of referencing* (i.e., to refer to an object using a certain term) is a socio-relational phenomenon since it establishes "a conceptual pact, a temporary agreement about how they and their addressees are to conceptualise that object" (Brennan and Clark, 1996: 1491). In line with Brennan & Clark (1996), the relation between the process of referencing and the creation of metaphors has been recently advanced by Gibbs and Cameron (2008) in regard to the socio-cognitive dynamics that affect people's production and understanding of metaphoric language. In their words:

> If we see individuals engaged in conversation as dynamical systems, then patterns observed in metaphor performance can be seen as stabilities emerging from the dynamics and variability of discourse. These stabilities in performance can emerge at all levels and scales of the coupled system (Cameron, 2008). For example, we should find systematic use of metaphor resulting from conventionalised metaphor use common to all speakers of a language. At a more specific level, participants' membership of certain socio-cultural groups may give rise to certain patterns of metaphor use. At the levels of the episode and discourse event, particular metaphors may come to be used systematically between the individuals as they arrive at shared agreement on how to refer to topics through 'conceptual pacts' (Brennan and Clark, 1996)
>
> (Gibbs and Cameron, 2008: 15)

This framework, insofar as it can be considered as related to the ones discussed for the above-mentioned socio-historical approach, presents some crucial (and complementary) additional features. While the view of Croft and Cruse (2004) and Musolff (2014) describe a process of creation, "diffusion and entrenchment in specific discourse communities" (Musolff, 2014: 11), Brennan and Clark (1996) advocate a dynamic of referencing that can involve the participation of two

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actors, in a constant process of negotiation of references (Brennan and Clark, 1996: 1491-1492). At the base of this view, there is the claim that highly-contextual factors can influence the process of referencing. These factors can be identified with *novelty* ("people in conversation expect to conceptualise an object the same way they conceptualised it on their last successful reference"), *frequency of use* ("The more often people appeal to a particular conceptualisation, the more durable its memory representation should be"), *provisionality* ("When speakers present a reference, they do so only provisionally, and they then work with their addressees to establish that it has been understood") and *partner specificity* ("The idea is that when speakers and addressees ground a reference, they are creating a conceptual pact, a temporary agreement about how the referent is to be conceptualised"; Brennan and Clark, 1996: 1483-1484). The factors involved in the process of referencing, may also be applied to describe how metaphors, and their justification, can occur in a highly contextualised situation. The example "*We're fighting a war against the fat*" and the consequent metaphor LOSING WEIGHT IS A WAR can be used to describe how - for instance - the two actors consider losing weight as something extremely serious and hard to achieve. The reference to WAR, certainly based on an 'agreement' between the speaker and the recipient, serves to justify a possible way to represent the domain of LOSING WEIGHT IS A WAR, a domain that is enhanced by some of the features of the WAR domain (e.g., gravity, matter of emergency, question of life and death, lack of *medias res*, and so on). As such, metaphors assume the valence of a pact, one that says 'let us agree to speak of X using the language and norms of Y' (Hanks, 2006, in Veale, 2013: 1). This brief discussion reveals that in the literature of metaphor studies it is possible to identify — at least — three approaches that describe how similarities between domains can be justified. These distinctions, as is typically the case in theoretical formulations, cannot be considered as strict classification criteria. It is in fact

possible to encounter metaphorical conceptualisations that share features from all three types or that capture some of the features of different approaches. An example of an approach that shares aspects from different views is the one centred on the notion of discourse metaphors (see Zinken, 2007). Discourse metaphors represent conceptual structures linked to the socio-historical dimension and the 'temporary pact' between speakers. Following Zinken, "a discourse metaphor is linguistic expression containing a construction that, in the appropriate context, prompts the speaker/hearer to construct an analogical meaning that has been negotiated in the discourse" (2007: 10). In this regard, the notion of discourse metaphor is analogous to the notion of metaphor scenario provided by Musolff (2006), in which "a set of assumptions made by competent members of a discourse community about "typical" aspects of a source-situation, for example, its participants and their roles, the "dramatic" storylines and outcomes, and conventional evaluations of whether they count as successful or unsuccessful, normal or abnormal, permissible or illegitimate, etc." (Musolff 2006: 28). From this point on, discourse metaphor and metaphor scenario will be considered as interchangeable notions. To conclude, as will be clear in the following parts, the conceptual pact approach is particularly suited to the analysis of creative metaphors, which will be the focus of this work.

2.4) Metaphors and their properties

Metaphor and literal language are often considered as opposite phenomena. This has been considered, however as a simplification for the sake of clarity rather than as a *de facto* distinction. One of the essential differences between metaphorical and literal language is that while the latter presents a limited amount of information and does not allow the construction of further potential

meanings (Veale, 2013:1), metaphors suggest the presence of more, wider or richer meanings. This distinction between literal and metaphorical language implies a paradoxical interplay of theory and methodology. While advancing an operative definition of metaphor is a challenging task, it is rather easy 'to point to examples of text fragments that almost everyone agrees are metaphorical' (Hanks, 2006: 2). Therefore, if there are certain 'implicit' conditions that allow identifying metaphors in a text, using computational methods and working with large corpora, it is possible to make 'explicit' which conditions determine the use of metaphors. In line with what Fillmore stated (1975), it is possible to claim that words have no meaning *per se.* Isolated, words have just some *potential meaning* and only when they are inserted within a context they start to acquire a semantic dimension. Therefore, the first condition for distinguishing metaphorical from literal uses of language relies on the determination of *most normal contexts*, i.e., the context in which literal meaning has more chances to fit in.

After identifying the most normal contexts, it is then possible to describe the conditions that characterise metaphors, specifically the *typology of words* and the *dynamics of relations* among them. As Hanks (2006: 3-5) claims, the identification of metaphors includes — at least — the following criteria:

- Semantic Class

Source domains of metaphors seem to be largely based on semantic classes that describe examples of physical location (e.g., mountain, desert, jungle, sea, ocean, stream), including physical spaces whose existence is uncertain (e.g., heaven, hell), and words that describe certain types of events (e.g., storm, attack, drowning, fire).

- Perceptual Salience

Nouns functional to creating metaphors generally describe some types of objects and entities that represent perceptual features (e.g., journeys are long, deserts are dry, diamonds are rare, fire is a quick destruction, wars are violent, seas and oceans are vast).

- Resonance

Unlike other secondary meanings, some metaphors also seem to 'resonate', which means that the reader's interpretation of the primary subject (the *target*) is in the light of the most salient features of the second subject (the *source*).

- Collocation

Resonance is not only limited to the first subject that interprets the secondary subject. The two elements 'that collocate significantly with the secondary subject may also be activated, to create a veritable symphony of resonance, whether or not they are explicitly present in the text' (Hanks, 2006: 4).

- Register and Domain

Some authors have illustrated how certain registers are not functional to create metaphors (Hanks, 2006: 4). For instance, technical registers, such as medical terms (e.g., appendicitis), are rarely used metaphorically.

- Frequency

Metaphors cannot be too frequent, otherwise they can be considered as one of the phenomena of the above-mentioned *normal contexts,* and then as part of the literal language. However, it is important to note "that the reference here is to absolute frequency, not to comparative frequency within uses of the word in question" (Hanks, 2006: 4). The details presented in this list cannot be

considered as exhaustive of the factors that determine the presence or the absence of metaphors. However, it is important to consider that, whereas it is not possible to mark a clear theoretical distinction between metaphors and literal meanings, the results of the above shown computational analysis conducted by Hanks (2006) provide a useful tool of demarcation. As will be discussed in the following parts, an interesting line of research considers metaphoricity not as a discrete property (metaphor vs. literal), but as a property which can be expressed with different levels of intensity (see Dunn, 2014).

As will be stated in the following parts, the idea of considering metaphors and literal understanding as a matter of grades rather than as the expression of discrete properties will be crucial in developing a framework for the identification of metaphors in multimodal contexts.

2.5) Metaphors and look-alike metaphors

Although metaphor shares several properties with other conceptual processes, especially those that link two objects into one single element (e.g., simile, analogy, metonymy), a large body of literature (see, Searle, 1993; Goossens et al, 1995; Warren, 1999; Alfieri, 2008) still considers metaphor as a structure with unique aspects and features. However, considering that the distinction between metaphors and other related figures is a fundamental point to understanding the centrality of metaphor within cognition and conceptual reasoning, a brief discussion will follow. Among all the related processes, it would be interesting to focus the attention on *simile* and *metonymy*. The reason for this choice depends on the conceptual similarity that such processes have

in regard to metaphor. In addition, the idea of discussing such an issue is motivated by the role that metaphors and similar processes have in multimodality. As will be shown in the following parts, multimodality imposes redefinitions of simile and metonymy to clarify how such processes are more complementary to metaphors than alternative to them.

2.5.1) Simile: an alternative metaphor

One of the main difficulties in distinguishing metaphors and similes concerns a sort of ambiguity between the conceptual level and the way these phenomena are usually defined. If on the one hand, metaphors and similes can be described as two distinct processes that involve different dynamics; on the other hand, the similarities on the conceptual level can induce one to consider metaphors and similes as facets of a more general phenomenon.

When approaching the discussion about the relation between metaphors and similes, it is possible to identify three main positions. To start with, both metaphors and similes perform a comparison between two entities; a comparison that is based on certain similarities that are experienced in relation to two different elements. Therefore, whereas metaphors are conventionally represented typographically according to the form 'X is Y', similes are more pertinently described as an expression of the formula 'X is like Y'. The three approaches that will be presented, can be considered to a large extent as three complementary ways of viewing the same issue, even though they focus their analysis on different dimensions and rely on different theoretical backgrounds.

- Strength and Intensity

This argument, known as the Correction Convention (Chiappe and Kennedy, 2000), describes the difference between metaphors and similes as a matter of intensity and strength in conveying how many features of the two elements are used in the process of understanding (Glucksberg and Keysar, 1990: 406). The term 'correction convention' derives from the name of a pragmatic pro-

cedure, whereby metaphors may have been a stronger version of similes. Specifically, the correction convention allows a speaker uttering a simile to be corrected by a derivative metaphor. For instance, if a speaker says "Richard is like a lion," it is possible to strengthen the assertion by saying "I think Richard is a lion." As Glucksberg and Keysar (1993: 406) claim: 'Moreover though many metaphors can be paraphrased as similes, the simile form seems weaker. Similes can always be intensified by putting them in metaphor form, whereas the reverse does not hold'. From these premises, the reverse example can then be this: if someone claims that "Richard is a lion," they seem to be agreeing weakly with the form "I think Richard is like a lion" (Chiappe and Kennedy, 2000: 372). Consequently, the correction convention indicates that the more features are shared between two elements (e.g., RICHARD and LION), the stronger the utterance is perceived. In other words, while a simile establishes a link between a few aspects of the entities concerned, metaphors seem to be stronger because the relation between the two entities is justified by a larger number of properties. As Chiappe and Kennedy claim, regarding Glucksberg and Keysar (1990):

> Usefully, they mention a precise measure of strength. They say metaphors might allow one to attribute more vehicle properties to the tenor than do similes. They entertain the case of a well-known Chinese actor, Xiao Dong. The simile "Xiao Dong is like a Bela Lugosi" suggests, they write, "that only some properties of the category 'a Bela Lugosi' are to be applied to Xiao Dong" (1990: 15). However, the metaphor "Xiao Dong is a Bela Lugosi" involves attributing "all those properties that Bela Lugosi . . . exemplifies" (Glucksberg and Keysar,1990: 15).
>
> (Chiappe and Kennedy, 2000: 373)

As a result, despite the linguistic form and the conceptual similarities, the element that is crucial to distinguishing metaphors from similes is the larger attribution of shared properties in the case of metaphors

- Implicitness and Form

A second view, based on the works of Fogelin (1988) and Ortony (1993), states that metaphors and similes are actually the same conceptual phenomenon, but they merely differ in terms of linguistic representation. Metaphors conventionally represented according to the formula 'X is Y' and similes as 'X is like Y' would then convey the same messages, but in dissimilar forms. This approach, called as *Comparison Theory* and rooted in the philosophy of Aristotle ("[The] simile...is a metaphor differing only by the addition of a word, wherefore it is less pleasant because it is longer" [1926/1941: 397]), states that the difference between the two figures is a matter of *implicitness/explicitness*. For instance, saying "*Mr. Smith is a mouse*" or "*Mr. Smith is like a mouse*" could imply in both cases that Mr. Smith is actually a timid, quiet and self-effacing person. Despite the different linguistic forms, the implied meanings would be the same. In support of this view, a recent experimental demonstration by Chiappe and Kennedy (2010) claims that the main argument in favour of a difference between similes and metaphors in terms of strength cannot be applied in any context. According to the authors, the *corrective convention* reflects more an attitude of the speaker than a solid difference between metaphors and simile. Specifically:

> The comparison theory contends that metaphors and similes convey the same amount of information when they are presented outside of corrective contexts. It maintains that the use of one trope to correct another reflects the role of what the speaker means—"speaker meaning"—rather than implications present when the sentence is taken on its own—closer to "sentence. [...] According to the comparison theory, metaphors and similes possess the same sentence meaning because metaphors are elliptical similes. Nonetheless, in corrective situations, differences in speaker meaning can be produced. These correction conventions may rely on listeners being aided in their recovery of speaker meaning by reminders of literal uses of the words "is" and "is like." In literal use, saying "X is like a Y" is weaker than saying "X is a Y." [...] The present studies support the comparison theory but they do so by failing to find substantial differences between metaphors and similes in situations where they are used on their own.
>
> (Chiappe and Kennedy, 2010: 392-393)

Therefore, according to the Comparison Theory, metaphors can be considered as implicit, short or elliptical similes, in which the linguistic form does not reveal any difference in terms of processing or intensity.

- Conventionality

As it has been briefly discussed, there are various and articulated ways to describe the main aspects that characterise metaphors and similes. Intensity and form represent two criteria of distinction, but they are hardly conclusive. Several scholars (e.g., Kennedy, 1982; Wittock, 1990; Tversky, 2001) prefer using the word 'metaphor' in a wide sense, in order to include other tropes and conceptual phenomena such as similes. For instance, following insights from Grady (2007) and Barnden (2010), Beaty and Silvia claim that "although there are several definitions of metaphor, one prominent description categorises it as a higher-order term that includes other structures, like similes and analogies" (2012: 256).

The crucial argument behind this view — which can be referred to as the *Conventional View* - is that similes and metaphors share the same conceptual mechanism of representing something in terms of something else and that the only difference is strictly limited to the linguistic form, i.e., the presence or the absence of the 'like' connector. In addition, as it has been discussed in Chiappe and Kennedy (2010), the debate over the distinction between metaphors and simile also includes the intention of the speaker, hence something that cannot be objectified in terms of a fixed property. In this regard, considering the actual state of the research, metaphors and similes may be assumed to be identical phenomena, as a temporary working hypothesis and, until more convincing evidence is provided in the reverse direction. In other words, the conventional view depends on the fact that, in the absence of concrete proof that ascertains the distinction between simile and metaphors, it is methodologically more appropriate — at least temporarily — to ac-

cept their identity. As a solution, it is possible to assume that two processes are the expression of the same 'figures of depiction' (Tversky, 2001: 86) that are "used selectively and creatively, to highlight relevant aspects of a given target concept in a specific metaphor" (Veale, 2013: 16).

In summary, it has been shown that whereas similes and metaphors may represent — substantially or formally — different phenomena, it is still hard to advance a clear distinction between them. From this perspective, a view that temporarily establishes their identity appears as most prudent, especially considering the evidence available in the literature so far. In addition, as will be discussed in the section dedicated to multimodality, in contexts with non-linguistic representations the potential difference between metaphors and simile appears to be even more subtle.

2.5.2) Metonymy: a tool for metaphor

If the relation between metaphors and simile represents a highly debated issue, the amount of research dedicated to metonymy is one of the main themes in metaphor studies. According to a widespread definition, while metaphors allow the mapping of two elements that belong to different, independent domains, metonymies perform a process of representation that involves elements belonging to the same domain (Kövecses and Radden, 1998: 39; Barcelona, 2003: 3). Formally put, metaphors follow the conventional 'X is Y' pattern and metonymies can be represented according to the formula 'X FOR X1', where X is the target and X1 is the source that belongs to the same category of X. From this basic definition, it is possible to infer three main issues:

- Similarity VS Contiguity

Metaphors connect two elements by similarity or analogy; metonymy by *contiguity*. (Dirven, 1993: 14; Lakoff and Johnson, 1980: 39-40) For instance, in a metaphor, a *musician* can be referred to as a *cook* because they belong to different domains and because they both share creativity and manual abilities (*similarity*); while in metonymy a *musician* is contiguous to their *music* or to a *musical instrument* because they refer to the same domain (*contiguity*).

- Independency VS Sub-domains

Metaphors transfer certain features from one domain to another, which are independent and are not included in a superordinate domain (matrix domain). In metonymy, on the contrary, certain features are transferred between two sub-domains included in the same matrix domain, or between one sub-domain and the matrix domain (see Lakoff and Johnson, 1980: 24; Lakoff and Turner, 1989: 107). Using the previous example, the musician and the craftsman belong to different and independent categories, while the musician can be considered as part of the matrix domain of music.

- Mapping VS Highlighting

Metaphors transfer several features from one domain to the other in a *mapping* structure; metonymies allow highlighting or focusing the property of the '*whole*' on a '*single part*', or *vice versa* (Lakoff and Turner, 1989: 107). While in the metaphor THE MUSICIAN IS A COOK several features are projected from one domain to another (creativity, manual abilities, using tools, etc.) in order to create a mapping structure that also refers to other elements (e.g., MUSICIAN: COOK; MUSICAL INSTRUMENT: TOOLS; RECORDING STUDIO: KITCHEN, etc.), metonymies can be activated even by a single aspect. In the following examples, the relation of highlighting can be easily recognised:

4) Drive carefully. The roads are greasy. [They are slippery] (Warren,1998: 302)

5) He raised his eyebrows. [He was surprised] (Goossens, 2002: 363)

6) They went to the altar. [They were married] (Radden and Kövecses 1999: 33)

What emerges from these examples is that in metonymies one element is connect to a more general or wider domain, according to relations of continuity among elements present in the same domain. This assumption also presupposes that the linguistic form of metonymy describes a conceptual schema on which cognition processes operate (Alfieri, 2008: 3).

However, operating a neat distinction between metaphors and metonymies implies a series of operative and theoretical generalisations that cannot be denied nor downsized. Although a series of main aspects have been listed (e.g., similarity and contiguity), and although they have been presented as rigid and divergent, a more detailed analysis seems to suggest a more complex scenario (e.g., Barnden, 2010). Specifically, the previous aspects would be able to describe only a *stereotypical* notion of metonymy rather than a 'real' expression of it. The passage from a formal definition of metonymy to a richer one also allows one to illustrate the connections that metonymies establish with metaphors, and vice versa. In this regard, the following main arguments provide a more fluid and interrelated definition of metonymy.

- *Similarity VS Contiguity: a false dichotomy.*

As has been stated, the first crucial difference between metaphors and metonymies relies on the type of relation they convey: metaphors work by connecting comparable objects (i.e., similarity), while metonymies perform a connection between two elements that are placed in contiguity (Feyaerts 2000; Dirven, 2002). However, similarity and contiguity are not as divergent as for-

merly assumed. The argument is based on the fact that certain forms of similarity can be considered as special types of contiguity and that familiar forms of contiguity involve similarity in a crucial way. In a series of analyses, Barnden (2010: 5-18) described certain types of metaphor and metonymy where the classic distinction between similarity and contiguity does not seem to be valid. Specifically, *referential metaphors* (those in which a definite noun phrase is used metaphorically to refer to some target item) and *representational metonymies* (where the "things that represent" is used for "the things they represent") present, respectively, a metaphorical link based on contiguity that involves a large amount of similarity. For instance, Barnden describes the use of contiguity in a referential metaphor.

7) The creampuff didn't even show up

> A boxer in the context is being metaphorically viewed as a creampuff and is being referred to by the phrase the creampuff. [...] Thus, assuming that underlying (7) there is some postulated similarity link between the boxer in question and a hypothetical creampuff (in the literal sense), we can use this link to achieve indirect reference to the boxer (target item) via direct reference to the creampuff (source item), just as we can use an alleged contiguity link in a metonymy to achieve indirect reference to a target item via a direct reference to a source item. [...] Before going on we should dispose of one alternative to an assumption made a moment ago: the assumption that the phrase The creampuff in (7) refers to a hypothetical literal creampuff. One might argue instead that while creampuff in the noun phrase does refer to the category of literal creampuffs, there is no act of postulating a member of that category: rather, the noun phrase acts much as if it had been The person who is, metaphorically speaking, a creampuff using a creampuff purely predicatively. (This would be consistent with a class-inclusion account of metaphor.). However, we can still say that there is an (alleged) similarity between the boxer and (literal) creampuffs in general, or a similarity relationship between our concept of the particular boxer and the general concept of (literal) creampuffs.
>
> (Barnden, 2010: 7-8)

The conclusion that it is possible to reach is that metaphorical links expressed in referential metaphors can be considered as particular cases of contiguity. The metaphorical link in question is a

metaphorical link that is used 'for accessing something in the target via something in the source, irrespective of the surface linguistic forms involved' (Barnden, 2010: 10). Example (7) shows that it is possible to acknowledge that contiguity cannot be considered as an exclusive criterion for metonymies, as metaphors themselves can be used to justify such conceptual relations.

- Independency VS Sub-domains: a matter of perspective

Strictly connected to the question of similarity and contiguity, independency and sub-domains represent another crucial aspect in relation to the formal distinction between metaphors and metonymies. However, the distinction between such notions can be very often just a matter of perspective. Several metaphors, even those that are considered as an expression of sensorimotor information, seem to present a deep ambiguity. Consider this classical example from Lakoff and Johnson (1980):

8) KNOWING IS SEEING

As it is generally accepted, this metaphorical structure represents a well-known example of conceptual metaphors based on sensorimotor information. Understanding the (abstract) domain of KNOWING is realised by a process of mapping with the domain of SEEING, because sight is the principal channel human beings use in the perception of reality. Therefore, the two domains appear to be independent of each other, as the target refers to the possession of knowledge (KNOWING) and the source to the function of one of the senses (SEEING). However, the relation between the two domains can also, and legitimately, be considered a metonymy. If metonymies can perform a contiguity relation, the domain of SEEING can be deemed as the *pars* of the total process of KNOWING, the latter being an expression of different senses and multiple channels. Specifically, SEEING is just one of the many possible ways of conceptualising the KNOWLEDGE of a certain object, and most of the times, sight cooperates with other modalities.

Clearly, the metaphorical interpretation and the metonymical one cannot be regarded as mutually exclusive conceptualisations. This indicates that basing the distinction between the two phenomena on the independency versus intra-relation of domains is not particularly helpful. This example, like many others (for a summary, see Barnden, 2010), highlights the fact that the distinction between metaphors and metonymy is subject to a certain degree of interpretation.

- Mapping vs Highlighting: overlap, intermediacy, and combinations

The difference between metaphors and metonymies has also been built around the conceptual outputs of the process of understanding. The argument is that while metaphors contribute to creating a mapping of features between domains, metonymies allow language users to highlight aspects of one of the domains. This neat distinction appears to be weakened, however, by the claim that metonymies are crucial to steering the process of metaphorical understanding. In this regard, it can be useful to discuss again, examples (1) and (2) presented in parts 1.2 and 1.3:

1) "God is a shepherd"

2) "We're fighting a war against the fat"

Although these metaphors convey very different processes of justification (as discussed in 1.3.1 and 1.3.3), their justification rely on both preliminary — and implicit — sets of metonymies. For instance, (1), referring to GOD as a SHEPHERD means selecting only certain features that would be functional to using the SHEPHERD source. A person that *guards* and *takes care* of their creatures and who is *ready to sacrifice their life* for them can be referred to as GOD in a metaphorical way, but the relation between such aspects and the SHEPHERD is clearly metonymical. If certain aspects are functional to describe and epitomise the figure of the SHEP-

HERD, these aspects also represent a contiguity relation toward the matrix domain of the SHEPHERD. A similar conclusion can be reached for (2). If, talking about a diet, the speaker wanted to convey the idea of 'emergency' and 'seriousness', the domain of WAR is functional to this purpose. However, WAR is also an event that can be characterised by different features. Yet, the relationship between certain aspects and the domain of WAR is also clearly metonymical, according to the same contiguity logic. In this context, contiguity implies that a domain (e.g., "*take care*") belongs to its superordinate domain (e.g., SHEPHERD); furthermore, contiguity makes it possible to make highlight certain aspects (e.g., "*take care*") as salient aspects of the superordinate domain (e.g., SHEPHERD). The two perspectives may be summarised as follows:

1)

Metaphor: two independent domains are associated because of the similarity between some aspects that characterise them

GOD IS A SHEPHERD (God is a guiding, caring and protecting entity)

Metonymy: two interrelated domains are placed in relation to each other because of their contiguity, as x is a salient aspect of the superordinate domain X.

SHEPHERD and guiding; SHEPHERD and caring; SHEPHERD and protecting

2)

Metaphor: two independent domains are associated because of the similarity between some aspects that characterise them.

LOSING WEIGHT IS A WAR (Losing weight is an emergency, a serious thing)

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Metonymy: two interrelated domains are placed in relation to each other because of their contiguity, as x is a salient aspect of the superordinate domain X.

WAR and emergency; WAR and seriousness

In other words, for each metaphor two domains - target and source - are placed in relation to each other, because of certain properties of the source that are 'projected' onto the target; however, the relation between a source and the projected properties exists in a relation of continuity, i.e., a metonymy. Despite this simple distinction, the observation ultimately shows that metaphor and metonymy can hardly be considered as two strictly conceptually related phenomena. It is possible to advance that, apart from the similarities shown above, metonymies and metaphors pose a problem in terms of their distinction as entities with discrete properties. Considering that the identification of metaphors and metonymies can also depend on the perspective that the speaker gives to them, a possible conclusion can be advanced. According to Barnden (2010:3):

> Metaphoricity and metonymicity are, arguably, language-user-relative in a deep way. They are affected by such things as the particular lexicon, encyclopaedic knowledge, and inter-conceptual relationships held by a particular language user (whether utterer or understander). Thus, in principle, an expression should not be said to be metaphorical or metonymic in any absolute sense, but only for a particular user.

Two main conclusions arise from this discussion. Firstly, metaphors and metonymies can hardly be considered as distinct phenomena, since they present a certain level of overlapping and as they can cooperate in processes of conceptualisation and understanding. Secondly, as recent approaches point out, the distinction between metaphors and metonymies can also depend on the use that a particular speaker can make of them. These aspects, as will be shown in the following parts, will be more evident in a multimodal context. It will be suggested that the two phenomena

may be considered as part of the same conceptual process, in which the identification of one pole instead of another (more metaphor, or metonymy), will be based on the particular judgement of the language user.

2.6) Metaphors, creativity and conventionality

If it is possible to try and identify the conditions that generate a general distinction between metaphors and literal language and understanding, the same can be done in relation to a broad taxonomy of metaphors.

As several studies in psycholinguistics and cognitive linguistics have shown (e.g., Bowdle and Gentner, 2005; Silvia and Beaty, 2012; Romero and Soria, 2013), it is possible to consider the existence of *conventional metaphors* and *creative metaphors*, a different notion of conceptual pact information based metaphor (see Section 1.3.3). At the base of such a distinction, there is a particular relation between speaker and hearer. While conventional metaphors refer to metaphors that pervade a speech community and get repeated so often that they become part of the mental lexicon (Croft and Cruse 2004 in Musolff, 2014: 13), creative metaphors describe the outcome of a process of connection between concepts that require a flexible knowledge representation from both the speaker (maker) and the recipient (Veale and Hao, 2008: 946)[2]. According to Koestler

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[2] A flexible knowledge representation is system of representations that allows various connections between non-identical source domains and target features to be 'recognized, reconciled and even compressed' (Fauconnier and Turner, 1998: in Veale and Hao: 2008).

(1969), 'the logical pattern of the creative process [...] consists in the discovery of hidden simi-

larities' in an act that 'connects previously unconnected matrices of experience' (Koestler, 1969:

27, 45). At this point, it is possible to see that creative metaphors clearly depend on that process

of *conceptual negotiation*, discussed in Section 2.3.3, in which a speaker and a recipient agree

'to speak of X using the language and norms of Y' (Hanks, 2006: in Veale, 2013: 1). The rela-

tionship between conventional metaphors and creative metaphors reaches a level of importance

exceeding even the relationship between metaphorical and literal language. According to Hanks

(2006):

> I proposed that the distinction between metaphorical and literal meaning is less im-
> portant than the distinction between dynamic metaphors [a different terminology for
> *creative metaphors*] and conventional metaphors. Dynamic metaphors are coined ad
> hoc to express some new insight; conventional metaphors are just one more kind of
> normal use of language. (Hanks, 2006: 1, my notes are between brackets)

This perspective has been supported by different lines of research. Moreover, although the theo-

retical approaches that take into account the notion of creative metaphors are several, it is still

possible to list a series of minimum features that clarify the prominence of creative metaphors[3]

and their main implications, in regard to the conventional ones.

- *Creative metaphors: a non-conventional phenomenon.*

Conventional metaphors owe their nature to the reiterated use within a linguistic community.

Yet, the diffusion and entrenchment of certain metaphors and their ordinary usage can be related

to two main aspects. That is, the repeated use of conventional metaphors can lead to them being

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[3] To a large extent, creative, novel and dynamic metaphors can be considered as synonymous.

considered as an expression of literal language (Croft and Cruse, 2004: 204-205) and to their distinction being able to represent a difficult problem to solve. These two insights have been supported by experimental research and the results seem to confirm what Hanks (2006) and Veale (2013) suggested about the marginal importance of conventional metaphors compared to creative ones. Several psycholinguistic analyses have demonstrated that conventional metaphors are processed according to the same modalities and understood as quickly as literal phrases (Keysar, 1989; Gibbs, 1994; Pynte, Besson, Robichon and Poli, 1996; Glucksberg, 1998; Giora, 1999). In addition, on a deeper level of analysis, a meta-study of neurolinguistics research about mental activation and metaphor processing shows that literal expressions and conventional metaphors access the same brain areas and that there is no increased processing when conventional metaphors are compared with literal expressions (Yang, 2014). This lack of a clear distinction between literal language and conventional metaphors can contribute to reducing much of the theoretical importance of metaphors, or to emphasising the theoretical weight of *creative metaphors*.

- Creative metaphors: a cognitive brand

If there is an element that distinguishes more clearly creative metaphors from their conventional counterparts, it is the different (or deeper) cognitive elaboration required by language users for processing the meaning of the former. While the processing of literal language and conventional metaphors involves a similar amount of cognitive effort, a solid body of literature reveals that processing creative metaphorical expressions requires more cognitive effort than either literal language or conventional metaphors (Cardillo, Schmidt and Seger, 2009; Bambini, Gentili, Ricciardi, Bertinetto and Pietrini, 2011; Watson, Schmidt, Kranjec and Chatterjee, 2012). Creative metaphors appear to require a double-stage process of elaboration involving the resolution of a

contextual abnormality between the linguistic form and the intended meaning (Romero and Soria, 2013: 10-14). In other words, novel metaphors would be identified because they reveal the use of a certain pattern of words in an unusual linguistic or extra-linguistic context (*contextual abnormality*). Their understanding seems to require a further process of normalisation, in which the abnormality is led back to a different context where the expression is no longer considered abnormal (resolution). Paraphrasing an example of Mandler (1982):

9) In his work of trading, the stocker is an infant (THE TRADE STOCKER IS AN INFANT).

As for any creative metaphor, the present example seems to induce a *contextual abnormality.* The abnormality is in fact 'triggered' by the recognition of the sentence as non-literal (e.g., The stocker cannot be a real infant), and non-conventional. At this point, after the recognition of the abnormality, the resolution consists in finding a way to connect the properties of the two domains to a context in which the expression can be 'explained'. For instance, a possible solution would be referring to the 'work of trading' as a 'very simple activity' that even an INFANT can do. This process of normalisation is what is commonly referred to as *resolution.*

In summary, it is possible to conclude that the distinctiveness of conventional metaphors is undermined by their similarity with literal language, a similarity that finds its expression in identical cognitive performances (e.g., understanding and identification speed) and neuronal activation (i.e., same cortical processing). In the following parts the reasons and the modalities that make conceptual representations particularly exploited in multimodality will be discussed. From this

perspective, the decision to focus on creative metaphors in this thesis depends both on their theoretical significance as well as on their wide presence in multimodal contexts.

2.7) Conclusions: building blocks for multimodality

This section has discussed a wide number of issues coming from different and often contrastive theoretical perspectives. Among all the debated contributions, it is possible to summarise the results in four main points. As will be shown, these points form the basis for the theoretical and methodological approach presented in this thesis.

a) Some lines of research agree about the impossibility of presenting clear criteria to distinguish metaphors from literal language (Hanks, 2006; Dunn, 2014), both on a linguistic and on a cognitive level.

b) Metaphoricity may be considered as a gradual rather than a discrete property. The only type of metaphor that would allow a less ambiguous identification and understanding is creative metaphor. This depends on various factors: (1) the higher cognitive involvement that cognitive metaphors require; (2) the active role of the actor in establishing a conceptual pact with the interlocutor in finding similarities between domains; (3) the process of abnormality resolution triggered by the incongruity between content and the literal level.

c) Metaphors are identical to similes, inasmuch as they both perform an association based on the similarities of two elements. As has been argued, it is not possible to claim that they are distinctive phenomena as a clear criterion of distinction is lacking. From this perspective, metaphors

and similes are considered as different terms for the same conceptual and cognitive mechanism in this thesis.

d) Metonymies and metaphors may be considered as two distinct conceptual phenomena. However, recent developments have shown that there are several examples in which the two processes overlap: (i) cases in which they cooperate in a single conceptual phenomenon, (ii) situations in which the identification of metaphor or metonymy depends on the active role of the speaker in dwelling on certain aspects instead of others. Therefore, it has been suggested that they may be considered as complementary and interrelated phenomena, in which the eventual identification of one aspect instead of another (more metaphor, or metonymy), will be based on the particular judgement of the language user. This is the approach taken in this thesis.

In the next Section, we will turn to the concept of multimodal metaphor. Defining multimodal metaphors represents a highly debated topic as the definition is based on two further issues that still constitute some of the most controversial topics in metaphor studies. First, in order to define a multimodal metaphor, it is crucial to have in mind a clear definition of modality. As will be shown, providing an exhaustive description for this concept is a hard task because what is considered modality depends on various factors and on different theoretical approaches. Second, multimodal metaphors do not represent the totality of the metaphors that escape the boundaries of the written and spoken dimension. Several authors have actually described a wide range of metaphors that go beyond the simple use of words, without reaching the level of complexity of the multimodal ones. In this regard, a clear distinction between multimodal and mono-modal metaphors is a vital step, since it will prevent us from considering as multimodal metaphors all

those structures that do not fit into the definition of written and spoken metaphor. In the next section, these issues will be introduced by a brief discussion of the reasons that make multimodality a fundamental topic for the development of metaphor studies.

3) Metaphor: exploring multimodality

As mentioned at the beginning of the previous section (2.1), the work of Ortony (Metaphor and Thought, 1979) and that of Lakoff and Johnson (Metaphors We Live By, 1980) had the merit of spreading a view of metaphor as a conceptual and cognitive phenomenon to a wide audience. The crucial shift in these approaches was to consider written and spoken language not as the only universe in which metaphors could operate, but as one of the possible ones. The implicit assumption was that metaphors may be found in any communicative representation such as images, gestures, animations, and so on. However, although this insight has represented the central aspect of these works, neither the work of Ortony nor that of Lakoff and Johnson provided analytical tools for the analysis of metaphors outside of the spoken and written language. From this consideration, it emerged the need to consider other modalities of metaphorical expression. In other words, if the change of perspective brought about by the above-mentioned works has produced a shift in metaphor studies from a linguistic expression to a conceptual and cognitive realm, the debate over other modalities should also become a priority. As Forceville (2006: 3) states:

> [...] to further validate the idea that metaphors are expressed by language, as opposed to the idea that they are necessarily linguistic in nature, it is necessary to demonstrate that, and how, they can occur non-verbally and multimodality as well as purely verbally. Secondly, an exclusive or predominant concentration on verbal manifestations of metaphor runs the risk of blinding researchers to aspects of metaphor that may typically occur in multimodal representations only.

3.1) Modes and modalities

As has been anticipated, in order to provide a definition of multimodal metaphors, one should first agree on a definition of 'modality'. In the case of metaphors, while advancing an operative definition is a challenging task, it is rather easy to present examples that almost everyone sees as modalities. As a first attempt, it is possible to claim that a mode is a sign system that can be perceived because of a specific sensorial perception while a modality is the way of experiencing something through that mode. In other words, while modes represent the sensorial system (e.g., visual mode; aural mode, tactile mode, etc.), modality is the way in which a certain meaning is conveyed. This approximation leads one to equalise modes and modalities. Yet, making the identification of the five senses with five relative modalities would produce an excess of simplification. A song, for instance, would be perceived through hearing, although the simultaneous presence of music and lyrics may convey a different set of meanings. Analogously, both written language and gestures can convey diverse meanings, although they are perceived through the visual mode. These problematic issues are just some of the many that make the derivation of modalities from modes a hard problem to solve. Although modalities are rooted in the sensorial perception, at this stage, an exhaustive definition cannot be provided. For these reasons, authors such as Forceville (2006: 4) have preferred to postulate a 'minimum' list of modes that represent the most common ways of conveying meanings. The list includes: 1) pictorial signs (e.g., images); 2) written signs (e.g., text); 3) spoken signs (e.g., lyrics); 4) gestures (e.g., a waving hand); 5) sounds (e.g. a 'beep'); 6) music (e.g., a jingle); 7) smell (e.g., a perfume scent); 8) taste (e.g., bitter or savoury); 9) touch (e.g. the sensation of roughness). Although this list is a simplification, it provides an adequate basis for the present discussion. From this perspective, it is possible to claim that, generally, every communicative process proceeds through a series of modes whose

impact allows one to infer different ranges of meanings. The role of modalities, on the other hand, would be to describe the role of a single mode, or their combination with other perceptual systems (van Leeuwen, 2005: 281). For instance, a song can be reduced to three modes: sound, music, and spoken sign. The interaction of the modes, i.e., conveying a certain amount of meaning, takes the name of modality. Hence, we can derive a taxonomy of modalities from the combination of modes. The following terms are defined according to the number of modes involved. However, this list of modes is not a complete illustration of all the possible interactions, but simply a list of what is more functional for the present work. Specifically:

- *monomodality: the action of one mode that, 'exclusively' or 'predominantly', conveys a certain meaning. (e.g., the text 'Think different' on an Apple Computer advert).*

- *bimodality: the action of two modes that, 'exclusively' or 'predominantly', convey a certain meaning (e.g., the text "Think different" and the logo of an apple on an Apple Computer advert).*

- *multimodality: the action of at least three modes that, 'exclusively' or 'predominantly', convey a certain meaning (e.g., an Apple Computer TV commercial with text, narrative voice, music, and images).*

Despite the apparent generality, the notions of 'exclusively' or 'predominantly' are necessary to introduce. As already explained, this list of modes represents a generalisation of all the possible ways to convey meaning. Considering that some modes can be deconstructed into further modes, the choice of introducing 'exclusively' or 'predominantly' aims to clarify how a certain meaning

is inferred by a certain mode. For instance, a monomodal text (e.g., a plain text on white paper) may be considered as monomodal because of the single action of a single mode (e.g., written signs). Nevertheless, it would also be possible to infer that the specific font used for the text and the use of white paper represents a 'pictorial sign'. In principle, this position may be accepted, as the front and background of a text may convey a further set of meanings. From this, the role of 'exclusively' or 'predominantly' is to underline that a mode, in a certain context, is responsible for conveying a certain meaning, without excluding the possible role of other modes. For example, a monomodal text stating "Think different" has one or one predominant mode that communicates the meaning of "*thinking different*". Probably, the font and the white background also convey something, but, in this specific context, it is not possible to establish which meanings may be added to the main one. In addition, as explained in the next section, the notions of 'exclusively' or 'predominantly' will also constitute a central aspect for the definition of metaphors beyond the written and spoken dimensions. The distinction between mono-, bi- and multi-modal metaphors will be discussed in further detail in the section below.

3.2) From monomodal to multimodal metaphors: a theoretical introduction

After discussing the notions of mode and modalities, we will now apply these insights to the field of metaphor. According to a widely accepted definition, the type of metaphors that have been largely studied belong to the category of monomodal metaphors. Specifically, to those metaphors 'whose target and source are exclusively or predominantly rendered in one mode' (Forceville, 2006: 4). Monomodal metaphors are usually referred to as those which use the written signs (e.g., metaphors in text) or spoken signs (e.g., metaphors in conversations) and they repre-

sent the prototypical metaphor in thousands of studies. However, monomodal metaphors are not restricted to the spoken and written language. A classic example of monomodal metaphors presented in modalities other than language comes from Forceville (1996) in relation to metaphors presented as a single pictorial element (p. 109) or as a combination of two pictorially present terms (p. 126). More recently, some studies have started to discuss the role of musical metaphors, in which the domains are only provided by music (see Zbikowski, 2008). Nevertheless, considering that the focus of this thesis is multimodality, and particularly how different modalities can interact in the process of metaphorical conceptualisation, apart from pictorial metaphors, we will not discuss other forms of monomodal metaphors in this thesis. The decision to focus on pictorial metaphors depends on the fact that this kind of metaphor represents the most practical example to debate how a monomodal metaphor may be applied to a non-linguistic dimension. From this, the following subparts will take into account some of the concepts derived from pictorial metaphors, which will then be projected onto the domain of bimodality and multimodality.

3.2.1) Beyond the text: pictorial metaphors

The notion of *visual* or *pictorial metaphor* assumed great relevance in research because it represented the first step toward the investigation of metaphorical structures beyond the linguistic level. The ground-breaking study of how metaphors can take place in other modalities can be attributed to Forceville (1996), in which some aspects of the theoretical framework presented in

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) were applied to advertising[4]. The idea of using advertising as a basis for a theoretical discussion is based on the fact that advertising, especially that on paper and billboards, makes use of images and combinations of images. In this regard, Forceville (1996: 37-66) presents the notion of pictorial metaphor, i.e., a monomodal metaphoric representation that is based only on pictorial elements. The notion of pictorial metaphor assumes great relevance because it represents one of the most effective attempts to illustrate how a modality different from spoken and written language can work in the process of metaphorical conceptualisation. The extension of metaphor studies to other dimensions can be summarised in three crucial questions, specifically: (1) How can we identify the terms in the metaphor? (2) How can we distinguish the target from the source? (3) How do we justify the relation between the two domains? In answering these questions, we should remember that the main criticism that concerns such kinds of analyses is the lack of grammar and lexicon that characterised other modalities. While spoken and written metaphors are built with words with a limited range of senses and are inserted into syntactic and pragmatic dynamics that can provide unambiguous meanings, images, or sounds for instance, can hardly be considered as an expression of a pre-existent lexicon. Non-linguistic entities often have less straightforward interpretations than linguistic ones and their interactions with other similar entities are not regulated by a rigid system of rules. The lack of an extra-linguistic grammar leaves more space for multiple interpretations and therefore for multiple metaphorical meanings. The investigations led by Forceville (1996) suggested that the above-

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[4] Forceville (1996) focuses on pictorial metaphors and verbo-pictorial metaphors in advertising, in relation to material such as magazine adverts and billboards.

mentioned questions can be effectively addressed by applying three general 'criteria'. These criteria, instead of being presented in the form of a complex theoretical analysis, will be explored using two practical examples. We will thus be able to give some insights about how metaphors are addressed in non-linguistic studies.

- Finding the domains

We claim that the answer to the first question, about how to identity the two elements present in a metaphor, can be found using a simple criterion. Images containing or representing a metaphor are usually the product of a creative process. Artists, advertising agents or marketing experts can be the minds behind a metaphor. Considering that, to a certain extent, the creation of a metaphor aims at being recognised, the two elements of a metaphor should be — at least — not too difficult to identify. As we will explain in the next chapter, metaphors are largely used in several communicative contexts because they can convey a large quantity of information, meanings and content in a limited amount of space. Adverts, artworks and marketing strategies are common creations in which metaphors are used to communicate with an audience. The reception by the audience is therefore the key element through which metaphors should be easy to recognise. From these considerations, metaphor recognition may be seen as a consequence of the fact that the two elements present in a pictorial metaphor are the most 'prominent' representations in a certain image. Considering that the prominence of a representation can operate in various ways, we suggest analysing single cases in order to understand which dynamics lead two elements to represent the basis of a metaphor. Here is an example:
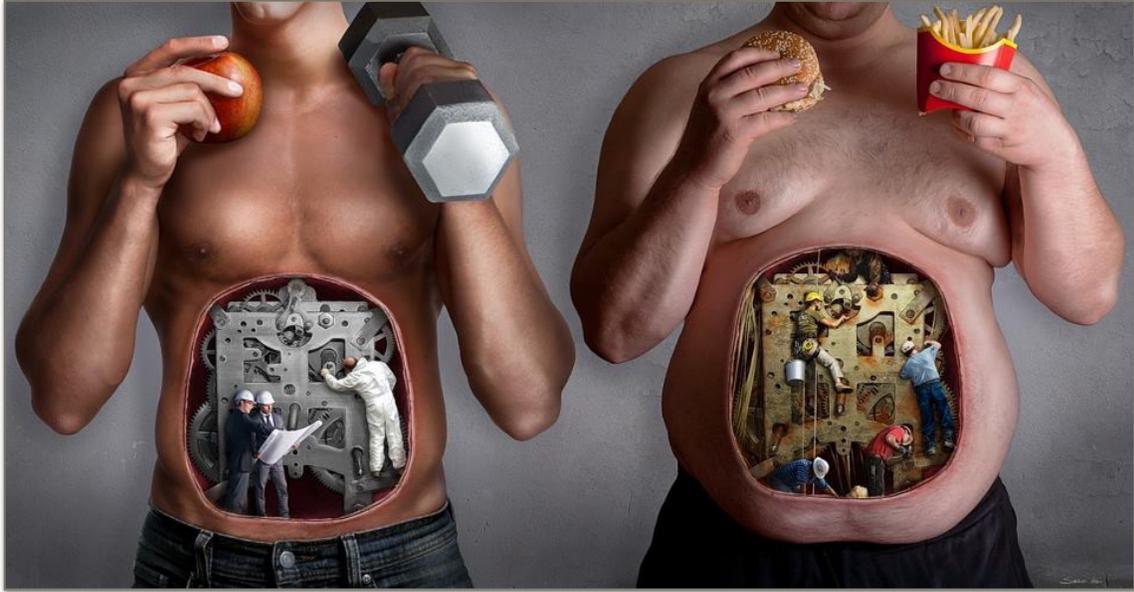
Figure 1: 'Fit and fat man', Sandra Haro

Despite the several pictorial elements in Figure 1, the context of the image suggests the presence of two main figures: the human body and the mechanical structure inside it. The composition of 'Fit and fat man' by Sandra Haro aims to shows a comparison between two human bodies, a healthy one (metonymically represented by the apple and the weight) and an unfit one (metonymically represented by the fast food). In order to represent the comparison not purely on aesthetic terms but also in terms of health, the artist adds an internal view of the two bodies which are depicted as two machines. On the left side, the healthy body looks like a perfectly working machine, with the presence of Lilliputian workers engaged in the easy and relaxed tasks of maintenance and planning, while on the right side, the overweight body shows rusty and malfunctioning mechanisms, involving little workers dealing with heavy renovation duties. Although there are two bodies in the picture and the Lilliputian workers, the HUMAN BODY and MACHINE are the two main elements. Consequently, one of the main metaphors conveyed (THE HUMAN BODY IS A MACHINE) is not hindered. In the pictorial context of 'Fit and fat man' the roles of the HUMAN BODY and the MACHINE seem to be justified both in terms of visual

properties and in relation to the incongruity between the image and a literal reading. As we have pointed out in Section 1.6 on the role of creative metaphors, the main element that can trigger a metaphorical understanding is the incongruity between what a word or an image typically conveys and the actual meaning that is conveyed in a certain context. In Figure 1, the centrality of the body (its size in relation to the space, the medial position in the scene, etc.) is combined with the incongruity of seeing a mechanical structure inside a human body (where it is actually typical to expect the presence of organs). In this context, therefore, the centrality of the images and the incongruity triggered by the mechanical structures contribute to suggesting the presence of HUMAN BODY and MACHINE as the two main elements.

- Distinguishing source from target

Stating that the HUMAN BODY IS A MACHINE is the main metaphor conveyed by the artwork 'Fit and fat man' but represents an operation that needs further clarification. In fact, although the main elements are the bodies and the two mechanical structures, the question remains as to whether the metaphor goes in the direction of THE HUMAN BODY IS A MACHINE, or if the correct one is A MACHINE IS A HUMAN BODY. In the light of what we have said so far, the lack of an extra-linguistic grammar makes both metaphors legitimately possible and that is why it is crucial to try and answer the second question about how we can distinguish between target and source domain in a pictorial metaphor. In relation to the previous answer, it has been clarified how the pictorial context represents a useful criterion, since it can provide all the information we need to identify the two subjects of the metaphorical representation. Similarly, the second question can be addressed by using the genre context in which the pictorial metaphor is produced. The genre context refers to all the information that can refer to the use of a certain form of communication. For instance, while adverts aim to promote a product or a service, an

artwork can express the feelings of the author in relation to a certain theme. In this regard, Forceville (1996: 111) pointed out how the evaluation of the genre context helps one to understand what the target of the underlying metaphor is. Following a series of analyses on advertising, the target domain matches the promoted product (Forceville, ibid.), since the presentation of the product is the aim. Similarly, the theme of an artwork can represent the target domain, since the communication of the theme is the aim of art. Although specific information about 'Fit and fat man' is not available, we claim that the artwork in Figure 1 tries to convey a message of awareness about the importance of a healthy life style. In support of this view there are also the properties that characterised the two main elements of the image and the concordance between the underlying metaphor and the image. Following a widely accepted definition of theme and subject, as advanced by scholars in cognitive analysis of art, where theme refers to the abstract and interpretative content of an artwork, the subject is the immediate and concrete content (Lamarque, 2009: 151). As we have seen in Section 1.2, general definitions of metaphor describe metaphor as a process that allows understanding of something abstract/unfamiliar (i.e., the target) in terms of something more concrete/more familiar (i.e., the source), so the theme of an artwork perfectly matches the properties of the target domains. In this case, the intent of the artist is to communicate something abstract (theme/target), such as health or the importance of a healthy life style, using the domain of something more concrete (subject/source), as a mechanical structure. From this, the understanding of a healthy life style in terms of a well-functioning machine can be considered as the expression of the more general metaphor THE HUMAN BODY IS A MACHINE.

- Finding similarities

As we have discussed in Section 1.3, the similarities between two domains can be justified following different lines. Similarly to what happens with linguistic metaphors, in the realm of pictorial metaphors, we can compare target and source because of (i) common experiential information (e. g., Lakoff and Johnson, 1999; Gibbs, 2006; Barsalou, 2008), (ii) the knowledge in a language community (e. g., Croft and Cruse, 2004; Musolff, 2014), or (iii) a conceptual pact between a single speaker and a listener (e.g., Brennan and Clark, 1996; Veale, 2013). If, on the conceptual level, linguistic metaphors and pictorial metaphors obey the same rules of justification, what is also relevant in pictorial metaphors is how the similarities are conveyed. In a comprehensive review of his works, Forceville (2008: 464-468) presented four main types of pictorial metaphors that express different ways of comparing target and source domains. Here is a brief presentation of them, in the light of the theoretical perspective that we have suggested in this dissertation, particularly about the role of metonymy, the notion of similes and the applied role of incongruity. As we will see, these three theoretical elements are of great importance because they represent how the theoretical framework of this work maintains coherence in the passage from linguistic metaphors to non-linguistic ones. Despite their complexity, the following examples will be discussed considering only the conceptual and perceptual dynamics that are involved. In fact, the combinations of conceptual and perceptual aspects give shape to four different typologies of visual metaphors. Any other interpretation, i.e. "Why are the two domains used in this metaphor?" or "What is the purpose of using these domains?", will be taken into account in the next section.

Contextualised metaphors are metaphors that establish a source-domain relation because one of the objects in the image is placed in a visual context in which it is not normally present.

Figure 2: Doctored - 'Visual Metaphor', David Shankin

In Figure 2, for instance, the contextual metaphor STARBUCKS COFFEE IS BLOOD is communicated through the incongruous context in which coffee is placed. If coffee were the content of a mug or any other conventional container, no metaphor would have been conveyed. In this case, however, coffee is metonymically represented by a famous brand as the content of a bag of blood for transfusion and the metaphor is triggered from this visual context.

- Hybrid Metaphors

Metaphors expressed as hybrid metaphors are those that present two objects as merged into a single visual unity (Forceville, 2008: 465). The incongruity that prompts a metaphoric interpretation depends on the fact that, while in a normal context the two objects are visually represented as two distinct and separated elements, in a hybrid metaphor, the same elements are blended

together. The two elements in Figure 3, the shoe and the chameleon, represent in normal conditions two distinct objects with no common properties. However, when modelled as a single hybrid representation, the metaphor THE SHOE IS A CHAMELEON can be expressed.

Figure 3: - Doctored - "Adidas: All Day I Dream About Sneakers", Lifelounge

- Pictorial Similes

The main aspect of the pictorial similes is the association of two objects that are presented in certain ways to look similar. Pictorial similes compare objects that can hardly be considered as similar due to particular visual techniques that work to emphasise certain aspects, such as form, colour, function, position and so on. Figure 4 relates a certain car model to the rear part of a bumblebee, a comparison which, without visual clues (form, colours, and proximity), would have been very hard to imagine. In this example, the incongruity is based on the fact that although the two objects should not be compared, the layout of the image suggests that a resemblance can be created. Pictorial similes manage to convey a metaphoric interpretation that high-

lights a series of features of the target (i.e., the subject of the image), as Figure 4 where THE MINI COOPER IS A BUMBLEBEE.

Figure 4: Doctored – "Bee", Crispin Porter + Bogusky

- Integrated Metaphors

Figure 5: Doctored – 'Kill a cigarette a save a life. Yours', Unknown author

Integrated metaphors, a particular type of pictorial metaphor investigated by Van Rompay (2005), present an object that is represented in a particular manner that resembles another object. In this metaphor, the target and the domain are both part of the same object, but they are perceived as two different entities because of the incongruity with which the image is presented. In Figure 5, the smoke of the cigarette — the subject (the target of the metaphor) — is connected to the new characterised form that the smoke assumes, creating a metaphorical interpretation of SMOKING IS A SUICIDE METHOD. The basis of this metaphor is the fact that the smoke, assuming the shape of noose, resembles a specific method of suicide.

This brief summary has contributed to highlighting how similarities can be visually conveyed. While metaphors in texts and speech move around the dynamics that allow one to justify the relation between domains, the pictorial level adds the manifestation of similarities as a further element of analysis. Whereas linguistic metaphors are based on similarities, the crucial aspect of visual metaphors is that the similarities are perceivable.

3.2.2) Pictorial metaphors: theoretical and methodological implications.

As we have anticipated, the description of the pictorial metaphor types may be associated with the analysis of three theoretical elements that have characterised the first section of this dissertation. In this regard, the role of metonymy, the notion of similes and incongruity represent a crucial step in establishing theoretical coherence between linguistic metaphors and non-linguistic metaphors and lay the foundations for a methodological framework.

- The role of metonymy in pictorial metaphors

Summarising the central points of the first part, in Section 2.7 we have asserted how metaphors and metonymies are two complementary and interrelated phenomena. Although several authors

maintain different positions (see 2.5.2), the idea that metonymies are functional to create metaphors is not only theoretically well supported, but it is even more convenient if applied to the realm of non-linguistic metaphors. Returning to the examples discussed in relation to the pictorial metaphor types, it is possible to note how the metaphorical representations are driven by metonymical relations. In Figure 2, it was easy to infer the metaphor STARBUCKS COFFEE IS BLOOD. The passage from the image to the metaphor was made possible both by the Starbucks logo (which, in the genre context of the image, assumes the role of TARGET) and by two main metonymic relations. As the image shows, the first metonymy is the one that connects the domain of COFFEE to the 'Starbucks logo', the wording 'Medium Roast' and the 'dark brown liquid' that is possible to see from the transfusion bag. Actually, following a classic definition of metonymy (Kövecses and Radden, 1998: 39), the three subdomains 'provide mental access' to their superordinate domain. The three elements allow one to immediately understand that the COFFEE is the superordinate domain because they convey meanings and properties that are usually associated with coffee. Similarly, in Figure 2, the domain of BLOOD is not explicitly presented, but it is metonymically created by connecting it to a visual element ('the bag for transfusion') that makes an unambiguous reference to BLOOD. The presence of metonymies as a structural element for pictorial metaphors is not limited to contextual metaphors. In Figure 3, an example of a hybrid metaphor, a shoe, seems to merge into a chameleon, with the result THE SHOE IS A CHAMELEON metaphor. At this point, the image does not leave many doubts, but it is still interesting to ask what the meaning of such a metaphoric construction is. Two possible solutions to this question may be advanced. First, the chameleon represents a great capacity of adaptability because of its ability to change its skin coloration and so the shoes represent this ability because they can 'fit' every situation. Second, the shoes are available in several colours,

because the chameleon can assume several colorations. Whether the first or the second hypothesis is preferred, a metonymic construction can be seen in both of them. The superordinate domain of CHAMELEON can, in fact, be metonymically connected with 'adaptability' or with 'colours'. The 'adaptability' and the capacity of 'changing colours' stand in a metonymic relation with the CHAMELEON since these properties alone may represent the presence of this animal. Although these properties can refer to other possible domains (other animals also have similar properties), it is hard to imagine a superordinate domain that can express such properties, i.e., as the capacity to match different situations and plurality of colours, better than the chameleon. The chameleon is such a common reference to the properties of 'adaptability' and 'changing of colour' that its derived adjective (i.e., chameleonic, in English; *camaleontico* in Italian and Spanish) is related to the meaning of changing colours or other attributes. The properties of 'adaptability' and 'changing of colour' are elements that are in contiguity with the domain of CHAMELEON because they represent "a close, non-similarity based association between concepts as can be observed among the elements of the same frame or between the frame as a whole and one or some of its elements" (Tabacaru and Feyaerts, 2016). This notion of contiguity characterises a view of metonymy in agreement with Feyaerts (1999; 2000) and Barden (2010), in which the elements of a metonymic structure – in this case, CHAMELEON and 'adaptability' and 'changing of colour' – describe an associative-functional relationship, such as object-properties (Feyaerts, 1999: 64). In other words, the presence of the chameleon is necessary to evoke some properties that in the context of the advert refer to shoes. The image does not need any further visual (or textual clue) because the properties of 'adaptability' and 'changing of colour' are automatically contiguous to the chameleon itself. If, in this case, the association between properties and object does not need any further elements of clarification, the example in Figure 4 uses a

particular layout to orient the metaphoric interpretation. On the right side of the image, we have a Mini Cooper S and, on the left, a piece of insect that — given the shape, colours, and hair — can be associated with a bumblebee. Similar to the previous example, this is a comparison between a product and an animal. However, while in Figure 3 the chameleon merges into the product itself, Figure 4 presents a sort of comparison in 'parallel' with some salient features. The resulting metaphor — THE MINI COOPER IS A BUMBLEBEE — also seems to be based on a visual metonymy. Analogously to the previous example, an animal and some of its prominent properties are used to convey particular properties of a product. The decision to convey the representation of THE MINI COOPER IS A BUMBLEBEE can be based on the wish to describe the Mini Cooper S as something small (Mini, in fact!), but with a strong and brave personality. In this regard, the strong and brave personality has been metonymically associated with a bumblebee, given that it represents an insect feared by man, also has a defensive weapon (i.e., the sting). Although the features of a strong and brave personality can refer to a long series of subjects, the association with the bumblebee seems to be quite effective because of the physical resemblance between the car and the insect. Where the link between domain and subdomains is too vague or general, the pictorial context helps to justify such a relation. Analogously to what has been said for Figure 2, the same dynamics are also involved in the last image. In Figure 5, some smoke, coming from a cigarette takes the shape of a noose that is tied around the neck of a woman. The image has been interpreted as conveying the metaphor SMOKING IS A SUICIDE METHOD because it establishes a connection between the act of smoking and having a deadly impact on the smoker. Looking at the image, it is possible to notice how the source domain SUICIDE METHOD is metonymically represented by the noose of smoke around the neck of the woman. The passage from the noose to the SUICIDE METHOD stands in metonymic relation because

the noose around the neck is a common method of suicide. The message of the image cannot be reduced to a less dramatic "cigarettes are killing you!", because the noose originates from the cigarette that the woman is smoking.

This analysis of metonymical relations within images containing metaphors reveals how metonymy is a necessary process for creating and understanding metaphors. From these bases, the notion of metonymy as a phenomenon separated from metaphor is weakened. In accordance with what we said in Section (2.5.2), metonymy should be considered a complementary process to metaphor because its role is crucial to establishing any metaphoric conceptualisation. As we have explained in the previous parts, this work is about the identification of metaphors in non-linguistic material and from this purpose a possible objection could be made. If metaphors are related to metonymies, why is it important to specify that the object of analysis is restricted to metaphors? Why not say— more generally — that this work is about metaphors and metonymies, or about any possible conceptualisation? The images we have analysed are to a certain extent both metaphorical and metonymical, so the identification of the (more) metaphorical side or the (more) metonymical side only depends on the active role of the recipient (see also Barnden 2010: 3). In agreement with what we have pointed out in Section 2.5.2, the reason why we have decided to identify metaphors is because metaphor can be seen as a superordinate phenomenon as it also includes metonymies (i.e., SMOKING IS A SUICIDE METHOD because 'the noose around the neck' is a suicide method). If we tried to identify both metaphors and metonymies, there would be a basic asymmetry because metonymies are crucial to understanding metaphors, but not vice versa. In this way, metaphors remain the main object of analysis with metonymy as a background process that may be involved in their interpretation. This view is coherent with

what we have discussed in 2.5.2. While on a linguistic level metaphor and metonymy are often considered as an expression of the same more general phenomenon, in which metonymies represent the base, the visual dimension also allows one to clearly 'see' how metaphorical structures are constituted of metonymic relations. In addition, the role played by metaphors in several creative contexts (adverts, artworks, and marketing strategies) is crucial because of the capacity of metaphors to convey — often creatively — a large number of meanings in a small space (words or images). Considering the fact that metaphors have such a role and that commercials are the focus of the investigation, the idea of using metaphors as an inclusive concept seemed to us more empirically supported.

- Metaphors and similes: a pictorial perspective

In Section 2.5.1, we discussed the role of simile. After reviewing some of the assumptions that have informed recent debates about the role of simile in relation to metaphor, we have pointed out that similes and metaphors are the same phenomenon. This points to the lack of a solid criterion of distinction and the argument that — despite their different forms — both figures convey the same process of conceptualisation. If the discussion of similes and metaphors develops because of the different linguistic form ('X IS Y' vs 'X is like Y'), it is difficult to conceive how this element of distinction can be applied to an image. The lack of grammar and the absence of other references reinforce the conclusion that similes and metaphors are appellative of the same conceptual process. Considering the images we have analysed, it is possible to advance two further arguments. First, one of the three main approaches to the relation between similes and metaphors regards intensity. Where similes can be seen as weaker comparisons, metaphors provide a stronger relation between domains (Glucksberg and Keysar, 1993: 406). Following the examples discussed in 2.5.1, if a speaker says "Richard is like a lion," it is possible to strengthen the asser-

tion by saying "Richard is a lion". As we have pointed out, this linguistic distinction cannot be made for images, because of the lack of grammatical elements. From this, it should also be noted that an image implies a level of subjective understanding that goes beyond language. Figure 3, for example, showing a hybrid figure, halfway between a shoe and an animal, exposes the recipient to a personal evaluation that can hardly be considered strictly as a metaphor or a simile. The shoes can be considered as a surrealistic animal (THE SHOE IS A CHAMELEON), or as a very eccentric shoe that looks like a chameleon (THE SHOE IS 'LIKE' A CHAMELEON). Both views are correct, in principle. The ambiguity and the complexity of the image do not allow any reduction to a specific phenomenon. The second argument is about the use of the notion of pictorial simile that Forceville discusses (1996). The idea of using the notion of pictorial simile in a discussion about pictorial metaphors can represent an element of integration per se. In this context, the pictorial simile is used to convey the idea that a comparison between two objects is made. Following the approach described above, the comparison can be made about a 'weak' relation that concerns certain features. The example in Figure 4 could state that the MINI COOPER is not actually a BUMBLEBEE, but rather that it looks like one. The comparison, in fact, is realised through the correlation of elements such as colours, shape, and position in the image. The interpretation that the MINI COOPER has some other aspects that the BUMBLEBEE possesses (strong personality, aggressiveness, etc.) is more in the direction of a metaphorical understanding (THE MINI COOPER IS A BUMBLEBEE), but cannot be considered as excluding the simile-based approach. The decision to consider the MINI COOPER in terms of a weak comparison (metonymy) or in terms of a stronger identity with the BUMBLEBEE (metaphor) depends on the interpretation that the viewer decides to convey.

In terms of theoretical background, this discussion has been useful in introducing two other elements and in confirming in a pictorial context the ideas that we have pointed out in the previous parts. First of all, similes and metaphors cannot be considered as two different phenomena, as they both convey the understanding of an element in terms of something else. In this regard, metaphors and similes can be considered as part of a wider process of conceptualisation, in which the intensity (a 'strong' vs a 'weak' relation) aims to conceive metaphorisation not as a discrete property but as a process (see Hanks, 2006; Dunn 2014). In line with what we have said in 2.7 and with metonymy, the relation between simile and metaphor cannot be established a priori, but it always depends on the active role of the viewer. When we tried to identify metaphors from the verbalisations of the subjects, we did not relate the focus to the identification of specific patterns of words that match a strict definition of metaphor. On the contrary, considering the 'fluidity' of the definition of metaphor and the different levels of intensity that metaphors can assume, the goal was be to collect all those attempts of the subject to understand and conceptualise one object in terms of another. The focus, therefore, is on the relation between domains, rather than on the processes that relate to two domains.

- Clues and incongruity in pictorial metaphors

What we understand from the analysis of the images is that the composition of the pictorial level helps the recipient to bypass the lack of grammar and lexicon that define non-linguistic representations. As we pointed out at the beginning of this section, understanding metaphors in the form of visual images means facing a complex task. For this reason, artists, advertising agents, or marketing experts are used to using extra pictorial elements to facilitate metaphoric understanding. Although the images in the examples were edited in order to simplify the relation between

images and metaphors, the examples that we have discussed above contain certain clues. With the exception of the image in Figure 5, Figures 2-4 present a series of elements that can facilitate understanding. Figure 2, for instance, clearly shows the Starbucks logo, a symbolic element that recalls the domain of coffee. If the bag for blood transfusion had not had this logo, even the presence of the wording 'Medium Roast' might not be sufficient to match the black liquid with coffee. More subtly, Figure 3 allows one to see the typical design of a famous brand of sportswear. Probably with the absence of the three stripes design, the chameleon and the shoe would have been considered as a surrealistic image, with no metaphoric implication. Similarly, the car in Figure 4 has the effect of creating a comparison with the rear part of a bumblebee because it is easily identifiable as a Mini Cooper S. The written text on the license plate helps the viewer to construe Figure 4 as an advert that is functional to promote the Mini Cooper. After understanding that the car is the protagonist of the image, the bumblebee is understood as an element that conveys some content related to the car. If the image had presented a car with no references to the Mini Cooper, the advert would have been considered just as 'interesting' only because of the similarity of shape and colours between the insect and the car. In other words, in this example, the car name triggers the recipient to understand the image as an advert and then the similarity with the bumblebee becomes functional in creating further meaning.

The central idea behind these visual clues (logo and design) and written clues (car name and brand) is the notion of incongruity. As we have seen, these images express an incongruity, both in terms of combination of images (hybrid metaphors and similes) and in terms of context and presentation (contextual metaphors and integrated metaphors). The incongruity that is presented in each image helps to define how it operates and the role it has in relation to metaphoric understanding. In Figure 2, the incongruity is about the bag for transfusion and the dark brown content

that suggests Starbucks coffee. The bag for transfusion would generally contain blood, or would be empty. The discordance between the image shown and the conventional context creates an incongruity between what a viewer would expect and the actual image. From this, the role of the metaphor is to 'correct' the interpretation of the image and to present a context in which it makes sense. If Figure 2 works on the level of context, the same cannot be said of Figure 3. The idea of merging a chameleon with a shoe conveys a sense of unrealism. While Figure 2 presents something unexpected, but technically easy to achieve (anyone can open an empty bag for transfusion and pour in some coffee), Figure 3 plays with something that cannot be done or found in nature. In this case, the viewer moves to find a solution to the incongruity, starting from something that cannot exist ('a shoe cannot be a chameleon' or 'a chameleon cannot be a shoe). Figure 2 and Figure 3 operate in the same way, but the advert presenting the chameleon merged with a shoe seems to be more difficult to solve, both because of the bigger 'distance' between a normal context and the image and also because of the lack of explicit clues (no logo, nor written text). Conversely, the modality by which incongruity operates in Figure 4 is different from the previous examples. In Figure 4, the layout of the image invites one to make a comparison between a car and a bumblebee. The correlation between size, colours, shape and position creates the perfect context for parallelism, but the element of incongruity arises from the difficulty of putting in relation two objects that — despite the induced similarities — share prima facie few properties. In this example, the pictorial context of the image seems to suggest an unconventional interpretation. The incongruity is produced by inviting the viewers to see the similarities between two objects that cannot be put in relation in a normal context. Finally, the image in Figure 5 seems to convey a form of incongruity more similar to the first two examples. The pictorial context presents a woman smoking a cigarette, in which the only element that attracts attention for its incon-

sistency with a normal situation is the particular and well-defined shape of the smoke. Although smoke can assume an infinite number of shapes, the details that it assumes in the picture invite one to perceive an incongruity between what the viewer would expect and the actual image. The role of the metaphor is to normalise the anomaly and to add further meaning to the particular shape of the smoke. Therefore, the role of the metaphor is to draw attention to the connection between two domains (SMOKING and SUICIDE METHOD) which may not be seen as related by viewers.

As we have seen, the role of metaphor in pictorial representation moves around two main axes. Firstly, the role of incongruity, which triggers the viewer to go beyond the literal level and to infer other interpretations, and secondly, the role of visual or textual clues, that help and orient the viewer to find the specific interpretation that the author wants. These elements are particularly useful when considering examples of bimodality and – more interestingly – multimodality. On the one hand, the introduction of another modality involves more control by the author of a certain representation regarding the correct understanding that the viewer should use. This aspect is related to the fact that the more modalities are involved the more elements the authors have to orient towards a specific interpretation. On the other hand, as research in visual cognition has established (see, van Mulken, le Pair and Forceville, 2010: 3418), people are generally attracted by stimuli that deviate from expectation, even if they require more elaboration. From these bases, we will try to discuss how complexity can lead to multiple interpretations and how a subjective evaluation of bimodal and multimodal representations assumes a central role in metaphor understanding.

3.3) Modes in interaction: exploring bimodality

Although we have defined bimodality as the interaction of two modalities in the process of metaphorical understanding (Section 3.1), this notion does not find great application in metaphor research. On the one hand, the meaning that we have associated with this term is substituted by a definition of multimodality that is common in authors such as Urios-Aparisi (2009: 97) or Müller and Tag (2010: 92), who consider multimodal metaphors as metaphors produced in two modalities. From this, considering that, for us, the use of two modalities and the use of several modalities present different theoretical implications, we have decided to maintain a more detailed distinction. On the other hand, the notion of bimodality is used in its 'descriptive' acceptation by scholars à la Forceville (1996), in order to describe which modalities are involved in the construction of domains (for instance the notion of verbo-pictorial metaphor). This notion leaves implicit the number of modalities involved and makes clear how the metaphor is conveyed, i.e. with words (verbo-) and images (-pictorial). As we have explained earlier (3.2), the decision to focus a theoretical analysis only on examples that use text and images depends on the fact that such metaphors are vastly present in literature and for a matter of clarity. Although music and lyrics in a song can also convey bimodal metaphors, at this point of this dissertation, we prefer to use examples that can be easily understood by the reader, as is the case of metaphors present in adverts and on billboards. In the final part of the previous section, the notion of modality was described in terms of two main dynamics. That is, a second modality can either control the interpretation of the stimulus or it can produce more complexity. In order to present and debate on this issue, we have decided to use two examples. These examples, taken from two different adverts, illustrate how 'control' and 'complexity' should not be considered as two contrastive effects, but as two different expressions of the same phenomenon. In order to show how the action

of a second modality can influence the interpretation of the image, the examples will be present-
ed first in an edited version (without the textual element) and then in their original version. In
this way, the impact of the interaction of the modalities will be put in evidence

- Bimodality: Levels and interaction

The first example illustrates how the interaction between modalities can facilitate the understand-
ing of a metaphorical representation.
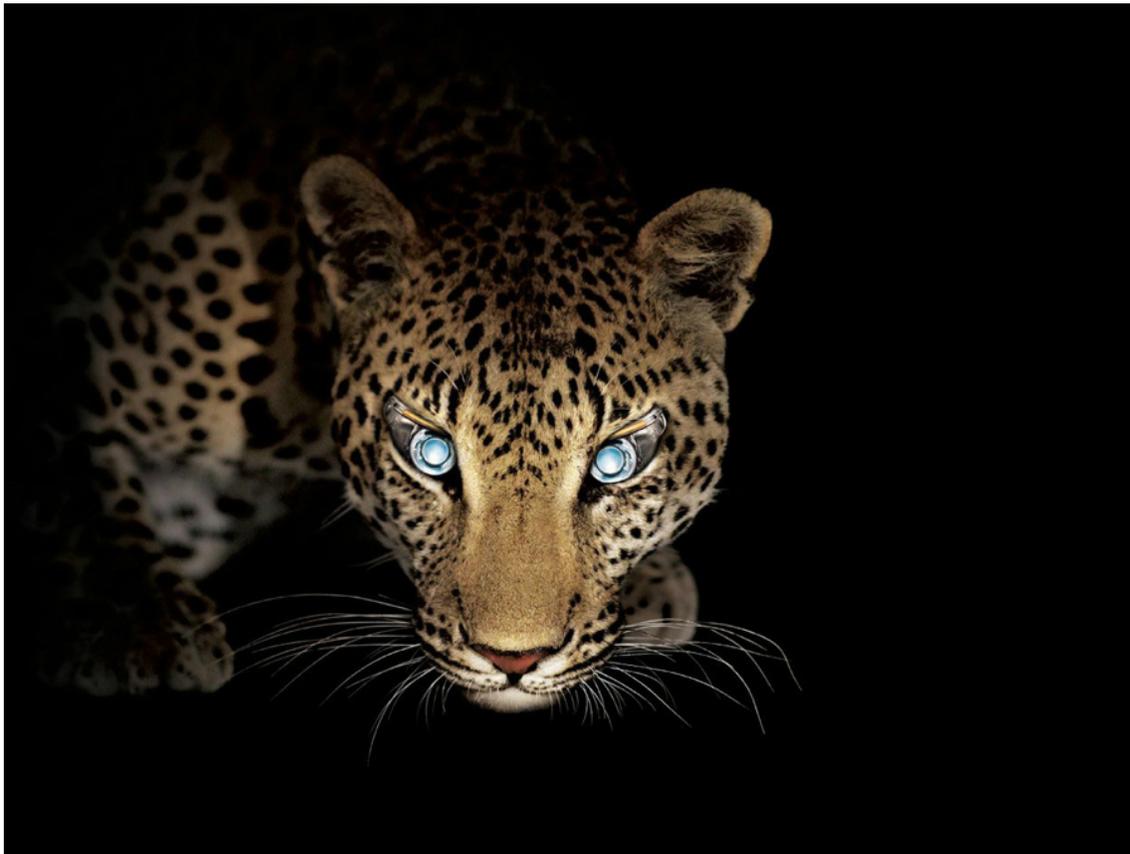
Figure 6: Doctored – 'BMW – Night Vision', Publicis Dallas

Figure 6 represents a feline that looks at us frontally, staring at the viewer. The image is realistic
in its representation, except for a detail that inevitably catches the attention. The eyes of the fe-
line (probably a leopard) do not resemble any natural eyes, but look artificial. The incongruity

between a naturalistic representation of a leopard and the image presented in Figure 6 leaves space for a possible non-literal interpretation, but no elements are available to yield to a more pertinent interpretation. Without further clues, the image might be interpreted as depicting a cyborg – a fictional living being whose abilities are extended by mechanical elements built in its body – or as an artistic expedient, which allows one to put emphasis on the eyes of the leopard, in order to accentuate its ability. Although the interpretation can be different, what is clear is that there are not enough clues to reach a conclusion. Things are different in the original version of the image, Figure 7. This image provides us with two additional elements, that are absent in Figure 6, which represents the logo of a famous car brand.
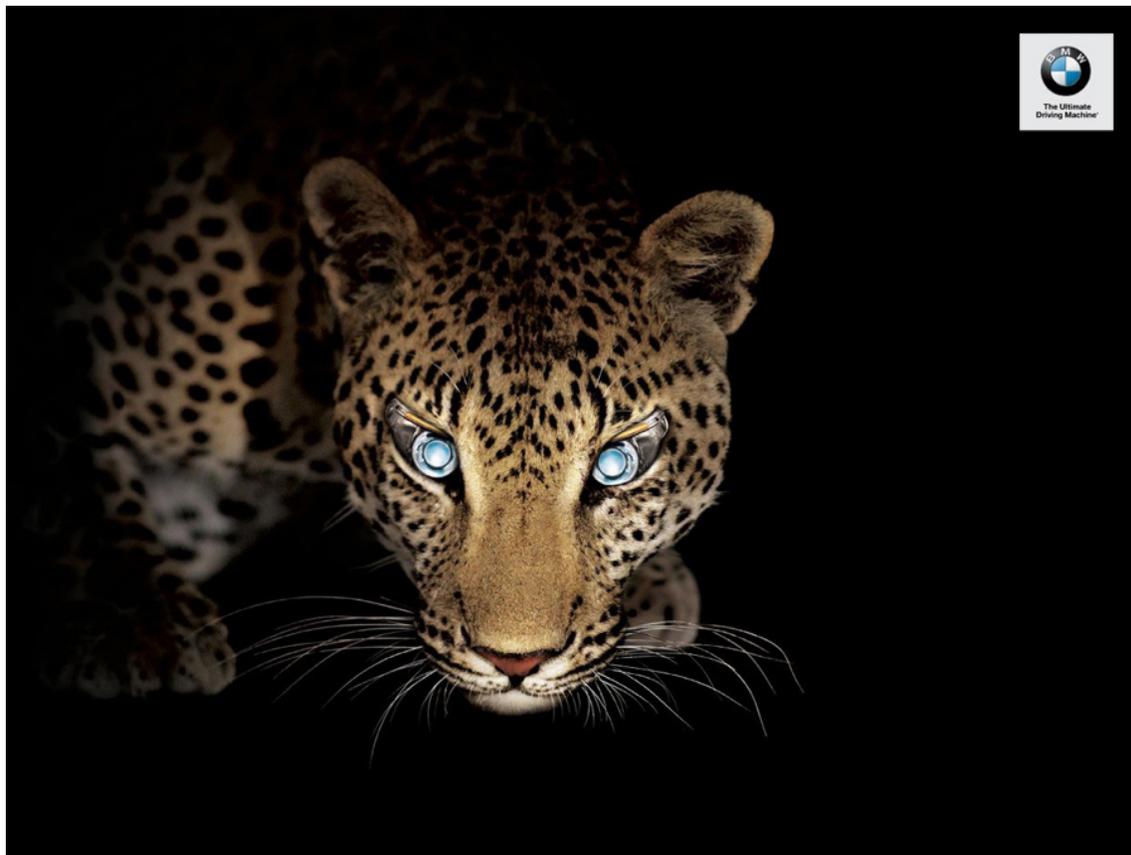
Figure 7: 'BMW – Night Vision', Publicis Dallas

The two pieces of information are given by a verbal-pictorial element that presents the BMW logo and the motto 'The ultimate driving machine'. In this context, the logo and motto push toward two interpretations that will help to solve the incongruity regarding the role of the 'mechanical' eyes of the leopard. In this advert, BMW is certainly trying to promote a BMW car; therefore, the motto tries to promote the car in a hyperbolic way. The connection between the eyes and the BMW can be solved in terms of the metaphor BMW CAR LIGHTS ARE LEOPARD EYES. The other meanings that are conveyed by the motto invite one to extend the metaphor of the lights to the more general metaphor THE BMW CAR IS A LEOPARD. The elements suggested by the motto 'The ultimate driving machine' and the context of the image (now enriched by the clues that the logo and motto have provided) help to convey a certain message that the general metaphor has started. It is possible that the BMW advertiser wanted to communicate the message that, as the BMW CAR represents the 'ultimate driving machine', the LEOPARD can represent the 'ultimate' predator because of the abilities and the skills that evolution has shaped in it. In this context, the logo and the motto select all those properties of the LEOPARD that would match a comparison with the BMW CAR. Among the several meanings that can be associated with a leopard, it is certainly typical of these animals to be very efficient predators, as they are the 'ultimate' products of a long and highly-selective process of adaptation and evolution. In the same way, the adjective 'ultimate' suggested by the motto in relation to the BMW ('driving machine") wants to convey the same idea of perfection that characterizes leopards. Visually, the integration between the domain of LEOPARD and BMW CAR is realised in what was called 'hybrid metaphor' in the previous section, since the animal and the car are merged together.

This section intended to indicate how verbo-pictorial metaphors, as a specific type of bimodality represents a gestalt of meanings that can be understood without all the elements being made

available. This suggests that bimodality can present a certain level of control over the viewer because all the elements work together to convey the interpretation that the author wants. However, as the next section will demonstrate, these cases do not represent the only way bimodal metaphors work. The interaction between two modalities can either orient towards meanings, or it can lay the foundation for a pictorial context in which the presence of two modalities can produce more meanings, and therefore more metaphorical interpretations.

- Bimodality: Producing multiple interpretations

As we have pointed out before, adverts, artworks, and marketing strategies can use metaphors to convey messages following two general strategies. On the one hand, certain stimuli can be selected because they are immediately understandable, even though the number of meanings may be limited. On the other hand, other images can imply a large number of meanings, but they can be harder to understand. If bimodal representations can provide a series of constraints within which the interpretation that the author prefers can be reached, the presence of text and image(s) can also multiply the possible conclusions that can be drawn. The example in Figure 8 shows how complex the interaction between modalities can be. The edited version of Figure 8 presents a female model wearing a provocative dress beside an ambiguous object. From this preliminary view, it is possible to infer only a limited amount of information. For instance, an informed evaluation can move to identify the model as the pop star Beyoncé and to conclude that the ambiguous object may be a bottle of perfume. Apart from this, few other elements can be deduced and the image can be solved in terms of a pictorial simile about the model and the bottle of perfume. The association between these two elements is motivated by the similarity of colours (both red with a progressive gradient toward a light colour going to the top) and by certain aspects of the

compositional structure that highlight the intention of a comparison (the elements are one next to the other, but the model also includes the bottle of perfume in her space).

Figure 8: Doctored – 'Beyoncé – Heat, catch the Fever', Michael Thompson

The pictorial simile that follows can be, for instance, THE PERFUME IS A PROVOCATIVE WOMAN. The decision to associate these two elements can be an attempt of the author to give a sort of personality to the image, or to visually present how the scent of the perfume is conceptualised. The domain of a PROVOCATIVE WOMAN can highlight how the scent of perfume is easy to spot and to remember, that it can be functional for seduction and so on. In this case, Figure *8* is reduced to a pictorial metaphor that only creates a link between domains, the base of which can be shared by a provocative model and a bottle of perfume. However, the interaction between two modalities can also extend the range of possible meanings and even aspects that were considered as minor (the colours, for instance) which assumes further relevance. Figure *9*, the original version of the image presented, well represents this dynamic.

Figure 9: 'Beyoncé – Heat, catch the Fever', Michael Thompson

First of all, the original image promptly confirms several aspects of Figure 8. The text on the bottom right "The first fragrance by Beyoncé" clarifies the identity of the model, the presence of the bottle of perfume, and the commercial nature of the image. However, the top left texts "Heat" and "Catch the fever" give space to further considerations. Being an advert, the genre of the image implies that the object in Figure 9 is a perfume. Therefore, the model and the two texts should be related to the perfume in order to produce meanings. The domain of HEAT can be associated to the perfume because the bottle resembles a flame, both in terms of shape and in terms of colour gradients. "Heat", in this case, cannot only represent the name of the perfume promoted by Beyoncé, but can also create an association with the appearance of the bottle. In the same way that we have described the role of the model, HEAT can also be functional to present some properties of the perfume. For instance, HEAT can refer to a certain physical sensation that the consumer can feel after spraying the perfume. From this, it is possible to point out that the metaphor THE PERFUME IS HEAT can describe the association between the bottle of perfume

and its denomination. The motto "catch the fever" adds further meanings that can be related both to THE PERFUME IS A PROVOCATIVE WOMAN and to THE PERFUME IS HEAT. "Catch the fever" can refer both to the domain of HEAT (as in the metaphor THE PERFUME IS HEAT), or can be associated to the domain of PROVOCATIVE WOMAN to yield sexual or romantic implications. The idea to present HEAT (FEVER) as a base for sexual or romantic content has been largely described in metaphor research, as we discussed in Section 2.3.1. Therefore, the object in the advert can be presented in terms of THE PERFUME IS SEXUAL AROUSAL or THE PERFUME IS ROMANCE. In these examples, the two metaphors are supported by the simultaneous presence of the motto, the provocative model and the name of the perfume itself.

What we have tried to explain here is how the interaction of modalities can multiply the possible number of meanings and then the number of metaphorical interpretations. This aspect is also functional to put into focus theoretical and methodological implications that we have encountered in the first part of this work. In Section 2.7, we have stated that the identification of metaphors is based on the personal evaluation of the language user. The metaphors we have discussed so far are the result of a process of subjective evaluation and nothing would prohibit another viewer to find other metaphorical interpretations. In this regard, the development of a methodology aimed at identifying conceptual structures should account for the fact that several modalities can produce several metaphors and that the identification of such structures only depends on the active role of a recipient.

3.4) Metaphors and TV commercials: facing Multimodality

In contrast to the previous parts in which we have discussed in detail how monomodality and bimodality operate, this section about multimodality will be structured as a brief extension of what we have already said in relation to these two subjects. As we have pointed out in 2.1, our definition does not fit the general definition of multimodality because we prefer to use the one that highlights how multimodality is about the interaction of at least three modalities. While, in metaphor research, it is common to find a definition of multimodality in terms of the expression of two modalities (see, Urios-Aparisi, 2009: 97; Müller and Tag, 2010: 92), we claim that this notion would better fit the notion of bimodality instead. Therefore, multimodal metaphors are those structures whose target and domain are 'exclusively' or 'predominantly' expressed in at least three modalities. However, it would be difficult to present a list of all those aspects that are common in multimodality because some aspects also depend on the specific combination of modalities that are involved. If, on the one hand, certain features belong to multimodality as a general class of phenomena, on the other hand, several aspects are influenced by the specific medium through which multimodality is represented. In order to provide a list of the main dynamics and features that characterise multimodality, we have preferred to avoid descriptions that are too generic in favour of an analysis that sees TV commercials as a basis for the development of a theoretical framework. To summarise what we have discussed so far, metaphors used in TV commercials seem to present the following properties.

- Different levels of information

The modalities involved in a TV commercial convey very different levels of information. Some modalities can depict an entire domain, while others can have just an ornamental function. As

this aspect is also shared by certain bimodal representations, the large number of modes involved in multimodality amplifies this effect.

- Images in movement

TV commercials present animated material and therefore the presence of Target and Source domains can occupy different temporal collocations. This aspect implies that – while in textual and verbo-pictorial metaphors the domains are 'fixed' – animation provides a new dimension to the understanding of metaphors. For instance, it is possible that, while certain metaphors are produced sequentially (first, one domain and then the other domain), other metaphors occupy the same scene simultaneously. This aspect can be considered as an extension to what happens, for example, in relation to pictorial similes (sequential comparison) and to hybrid metaphors (where the two domains appear merged together)

- Multimodal clues

The identification of TARGET and SOURCE can be oriented by elements that — *per se* — do not constitute a mode. In this regard, the camera movements, the direction of the sequences, the use of lights or visual effects facilitate the process of interpretation although these aspects do not represent any conceptual element. This feature is comparable to the one we have encountered about pictorial similes, where the layout of the image (distance, colours, and shape) helps one to put in relation the two depicted objects.

- Multimodal similes, multimodal metonymies.

In analogy to what we have said for pictorial and verbo-pictorial metaphors, multimodality cannot present different conditions that would allow a neat distinction between metaphors and similes, nor between metaphors and metonymy. If, on the one hand, a multimodal context presents

the same lack of grammar and lexicon that characterised other forms of non-linguistic metaphors, the greater complexity produced by the interaction of several modalities can make the identification of these structures a far more complex task. In analogy to what we have said in Section 2.2.1.1, in a multimodal context, metonymies will be considered as a constitutive process of metaphor conceptualisation and similes as part of the same process that involve metaphors.

- Multimodality and incongruity

Although metaphors can be explained using different cognitive processes, the idea of using incongruity resolution as theoretical base is justified by the fact that creative productions exploit the expectations of the viewer. Considering the fact that metaphors are often used in creative contexts and that TV commercials represent a widespread creative production, the incongruity resolution theory seems to be an appropriate approach. In addition, considering that multimodality in TV advertisements operates similarly to how it operates in the pictorial or verbo-pictorial context, one can reasonably argue that multimodal metaphors may be identified using the same approach.

- Plurality of meanings

The central idea raised in relation to bimodality is that the action of another modality can, on the one hand, orient the interpretation of the viewer, but it can also provide the basis for several subjective interpretations. We consider multimodality as an ideal context for the identification of metaphors based on the personal evaluation of the viewer.

After showing that the most distinctive aspects of multimodality can be considered as an extension of the dynamics that we have encountered for monomodality and bimodality, it is now possible to summarise the aspects that will constitute the base for a methodological framework of

multimodal metaphor identification. The methodology that will allow us to identify metaphors in TV commercials should have the following properties:

1) The methodology we are going to use is based on a wide definition of metaphor that includes both analogous phenomena (such as simile) and complementary processes (such as metonymy). The central point is that metaphor is a general process that allows one to understand one element in terms of another. The decision to focus on a weak comparison (simile) or on a constitutive aspect of a metaphor (metonymy) will be based only on the active role of the viewer.

2) The decision to focus on different aspects of TV commercials, and, therefore, on different levels of conceptualisation implies that the viewer will be able to verbalize their thoughts in relation to the TV commercials. Although the subjects will have a certain freedom to verbalise their thoughts, the notion of freedom should not be taken in an absolute sense. Our main concern is to provide subjects with an experimental setting that gives them more autonomy than those settings in which subjects answer questions of interest to the researchers. The verbalisation of thoughts will be the result of a subjective process of understanding and interpretation conducted by the viewer with the least possible number of interferences from the researcher or from the experimental setting.

3) The idea of using the incongruity-resolution theory as a basis to understand how metaphors are used requires a methodological framework that also allows us to understand how metaphors are processed by each viewer. This will be crucial to identify the conceptual operations that are

at the basis of the use of metaphors and it will explain how functional these operations are to the understanding of the TV commercials.

These parts have laid the groundwork for a theoretical framework of metaphor. From this point on, this dissertation will try to explain how metaphors find application in the real world and the impact they have on single and multiple recipients.

4) Metaphor: ideology and critical approaches

The first two parts of this thesis have outlined a conception of metaphor both in language and, in particular, in multimodal representations. Nevertheless, even acknowledging the importance and ubiquitous role of metaphor as a linguistic and conceptual process (see Lakoff and Johnson, 1980; Lakoff, 1987), the reasons for identifying metaphors go beyond theoretical speculation. As we discussed at the beginning of Section 2, metaphor serves two essential functions: first, metaphor allows one to understand and communicate an abstract/less familiar element in terms of a more concrete /familiar element; second, metaphor can convey a large amount of information with a minimal effort. Considering that any metaphor puts in relation two elements and that, for the same target domain, a wide number of source domains can be used, then, for any metaphor, a set of relevant information can be associated with it. The set of information takes the shape of meanings and mental associations and may influence the recipient in various ways. In other words, if metaphor activates a series of contents and has the capacity to produce a rhetorical effect, the use of alternative metaphors may produce different sets of information and have potentially different effects on the recipient. (Charteris-Black and Musolff, 2003: 166).

4.1) Metaphor, rhetorical dimension and agency

Describing how different metaphors relate to the same target domain can produce different sets of information and potentially different rhetorical effects and can thus be a challenging issue. Traditionally, metaphors are extracted from large corpora of different languages and - after a

process of contextualisation - are discussed in relation to the potential rhetorical effects that they may convey (see Charteris-Black, 2004; Musolff, 2004; Semino, 2008). This process cannot be discussed in a few lines, but it is possible to describe the impact of metaphors by providing some clarification.

- *Metaphor and the rhetorical dimension*

In public debate, immigration policies represent one of the most complex and controversial issues. What scholars have tried to investigate (see Charteris-Black, 2006; Hart, 2011; Musolff, 2012) is how the metaphorical conceptualisation of the notion of immigration can produce different rhetorical effects. Let us consider these examples.

(10) Europe is in crisis and refugees and their culture will invade it.

(11) Europe is in crisis and refugees and their culture will revitalise it.

From these examples, we can see how the same phenomenon has been conceptualised in two different ways. IMMIGRATION, here represented by refugees and their culture, is shown in (10) in terms of an INVASION, according to a largely used metaphor in the media (see Charteris-Black, 2006; Semino, 2008; Hart, 2011; Musolff, 2011). Conversely, the example in (11) presents a different conceptualisation that scholars such as Hart (2008: 3) have referred to as a VITAL INGREDIENT. Although the examples represent a simplification, it is easy to see how the two conceptualisations evoke different sets of information and achieve different rhetorical effects. Example (10) suggests a scenario in which IMMIGRATION is a phenomenon to be guarded against. The domain of INVASION does not only convey the idea of migrants and their culture as a threat, but also suggests an interpretation in military terms (i.e., barbaric invasions and the fall of the Roman Empire, or the invasion of Poland by Nazi Germany). In addition, the Eu-

ropean crisis is seen here as a negative condition that will facilitate the invasion by refugees and their culture. In (11), the metaphor of IMMIGRATION as a VITAL INGREDIENT presents an interpretation of the positive effects that may occur. The fact that Europe is in crisis helps one to conceptualise refugees and their culture as a resource that will contribute to its recovery. IMMIGRATION is seen as vital and as a necessary element.

Figure 10: 'Invasion, Immivasion', Kevin Tuma

From these premises, it is evident that these conceptualisations produce different rhetorical effects. The use of these metaphorical conceptualisations in written texts, but also using visual representations (see Figure 10 for an example of IMMIGRATION IS INVASION) may play a crucial role in influencing the recipient, especially when their use is part of "[…] persuasive genres of language such as political speeches, but also many other genres such as advertising, propaganda, and media discourse" (Charteris-Black, 2012: 4). The idea that the widespread use of

metaphor in mass media can influence a person's perception of certain issues poses the question of what, or who, motivates the choice of one metaphor instead of another.

- Rhetorical dimension and agency

The identification of the intention that explains a certain metaphor choice over its possible alternatives is a crucial aspect in any critical approach on metaphor in the real world. The author's intention, or agency, arises between the psychological and the linguistic level. However, among the different critical perspectives that have been discussed on the relation between agency and metaphor, we have decided to focus our attention on three examples in particular because they are more relevant to our analysis: Conceptual Metaphor Theory, Critical Discourse Analysis and Critical Metaphor Analysis. Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), developed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980; 1989) – briefly described in Section 2.3.1 – is the theory of experientialism, which states that our conceptual system is grounded in our sensory-motor experiences with the physical world. Following Hart (2008: 5), "CMT constitutes a theory of cognitive semantics, then, which explains the motivation for particular mappings as grounded in experientialism connections between domains, leaving no room for speaker intention". A strong view of this approach (see Goatly, 2007) would suggest that metaphors such as IMMIGRATION IS INVASION are used unconsciously and have the power to influence the way we think, speak and act. While CMT is a theoretical approach to cognition and semantics, the purpose of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) – as described by its founders (Fairclough, Wodak, Fowler, Kress, Van Dijk, etc.) – is to provide the reasons why a linguistic construction (metaphor included) is used. The use of one element among different alternatives of a certain linguistic element implies the role of 'choice'. Then, the (moral) purpose of CDA is to identify those choices that are 'ideological', in the sense that they legitimate and justify asymmetrical relations of power, such as con-

trol, exploitation and exclusion (see Wodak and Meyer, 2001). Similarly, the Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA) described by Charteris-Black (2004; 2006; 2013) proposes the analysis of the use of metaphor in order to unveil which metaphors communicate an ideology. The use of metaphors is then a function of an ideology, but in relation to the role of the agency, CDA and CMA present some crucial differences. From a CDA perspective, considering the example in (10), it is possible to claim that the choice of conceptualising IMMIGRATION in terms of something that evokes fear (INVASION) is not the product of a fully aware decision, but the result of an unconscious ideological adhesion (see Charteris-Black 2012: 9). On the other hand, the CMA advanced by Charteris-Black, suggests that it is possible to understand the agency by considering the social role that a metaphor has in persuasion, as the decision to use one metaphor instead of another might depend on the purpose with which a metaphor is imbued. As Charteris-Black points out: "Explanation of metaphors involves identifying the social agency that is involved in their production and their social role in persuasion." (Charteris-Black, 2004: 39). In this context, the social agency advanced by Charteris-Black may be interpreted as the author's intention behind the use of a certain metaphor. For CMA, the ideology is formed through a certain use of metaphors in which, however, the issue of the author's intention cannot be fully addressed. Metaphor is then the result of a purposeful decision, although the intentions behind it cannot be made fully explicit or explicitly stated (Charteris-Black, 2012: 9). In other words, what Charteris-Black points out is that the reasons behind the use of a certain metaphor cannot be made explicit because they concern psychological aspects that are external to the methods used in linguistics. However, we can say that every metaphor can be functional to a certain rhetorical or persuasive purpose.

From this brief discussion, we consider the approach described by Charteris-Black as the most coherent regarding the role of agency. Understanding if a particular conceptualisation is the product of a conscious or unconscious process is something that probably goes beyond the methods of these critical approaches. For this reason, we consider the notion of purposeful metaphor – as advanced by Charteris-Black (2012) - more relevant for our aims because it concerns the outcome of a metaphor and its social impact, without making any further assumption about the author's intention.

4.2) Metaphor, ideology and the social world

The impact of metaphors in shaping and communicating ideology (Charteris-Black, 2012: 8) raises the problem of how to define the notion of ideology. Ideology is a term with a long and complex history, rooted particularly in Marxist philosophy, which defines it as a misleading representation, or 'false-consciousness', that covers and distorts the way we perceive the material and social reality (Jones, 2000: 234-236). The three views of the interaction between metaphorical conceptualisation and ideology discussed above are underpinned by different views of ideology, but are, essentially, similar and overlapping. Their different understanding of ideology is outlined below.

- Critical linguistic approaches to ideology
The theoretical approach of CMT does not assume the presence of an 'explicit' ideology to analyse and describe, but it claims that "[m]etaphors, which entice us 'to understand and experience one kind of thing in terms of another' [...] play a central role in the construction of social and

political reality" (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 156). Therefore, the ideology that Lakoff and Johnson may implicitly state is the result of the social consequences that embodied metaphors determine, shaping the way we understand the everyday world. Among the various metaphorical conceptualisations that have been identified as an expression of this embodied ideology, Goatly (2007) discussed examples such as: IMPORTANCE/POWER and CONTROL in terms of UP (p. 35), the notion of TIME in terms of MONEY (p. 68), the role of FIGHTING to conceptualise several human activities (p. 72), the description of LIFE in terms of a MACHINE or COMMODITY (pp. 89-90 and 103), sexuality in terms of VIOLENCE (p. 83), etc. These metaphors, like many others, contribute to creating a conceptual system that influences the way we live. The ideology that Lakoff and Johnson refer to cannot be, therefore, identified with a 'label', but it implicitly operates at the base of our cognition. Although CDA and CMA agree about a view of ideology as a "coherent set of ideas and beliefs that provides an organised and systematic representation of the world about which they can agree" (Charteris-Black, 2011: 22-21), concretely, these views are characterized by political and moral implications. CDA and CMA are influenced at different levels by Marxist philosophy and by the Frankfurt school (Wodak, 2001: 9). The adherence to these philosophical movements is not only conceived in terms of theoretical acceptance, but more in terms of a concrete political action. The view of ideology shared by CDA and CMA is therefore centred on notions that have crucial importance for the tradition of the Marxist and the Frankfurt Schools, such as the notions of power, domination, and inequality (Van Dijk, 2001: 113). What emerges from Lakoff and Johnson's perspective and from critical approaches to language such CDA and CMT is a vision of ideology that reflects either our embodied metaphorical conceptualizations (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 156) or a very specific view

that associates ideology to particular power dynamics (Kress, 1992: 89). Nevertheless, it is possible to outline two main criticisms of these two theoretical approaches:

(i) Lakoff (1995, quoted in Goatly, 2007: 384) argues that the embodied metaphors that constitute our view of reality can be contrasted with other metaphors, both alternative and creative, which – *per se* – have no particular interest. From this basis, we can suggest that even original, creative, metaphors can be seen in terms of ideology. The decision to restrict the capacity of metaphors to shape reality only to those that have a deep conceptual base might be an important limitation. Metaphor is a fundamental tool that allows speakers to understand and communicate abstract and unfamiliar concepts and so creative metaphors have the same capacity. In addition, as we have discussed in Section 2.6, creative metaphors present a series of properties and implications that conventionalized metaphors might not have. In line with Hanks (2006:1), "dynamic metaphors [a different name for creative metaphors] are coined ad hoc to express some new insight; conventional metaphors are just one more kind of normal use of language" (my notes between brackets).

(ii) Although CDA and CMT embrace the perspectives of the Marxist and Frankfurt Schools' about the notion of ideology in terms of relations of power, some fundamental definitions that have been provided present ideology in more general terms as a "system of ideas and beliefs" (see Van Dijk, 2006: 116; Charteris-Black, 2012: 22-21). This contradiction leaves space for the possibility that some ideologies might not be based on power dynamics. Most CDA and CMT applications concern the analyses of political issues on public discourse, such as, for instance, immigration (Charteris-Black, 2006; Semino, 2008; Musolff, 2011), racism (Van Dijk, 1993; Reisigl and Wodak, 2001; Musolff, 2007), sexism (Hiraga, 1991; Koller, 2004) and the dynamics of capitalism (Charteris-Black and Musolff, 2003; Koller, 2003) and these issues all reflect, in

one way or another, uneven relations of power. It is, however, possible to conceive of ideologies that do not reflect a relation of power, but that have an impact on society. Among these ideologies that still comply with the definition in terms of "system of ideas and beliefs", we can suggest hedonism and consumerism as two ideologies that do not present any evident relation of power. While hedonism is a view based "on the openness to pleasurable experiences" (Veenhoven, 2003: 437), consumerism is a set of values and ideas "intended to make people believe that human worth is best ensured and happiness is best achieved in terms of our consumption and possessions" (Sklair, 2010: 136). In this regard, we assume that some authors might claim that, indirectly or interpretatively, these two ideologies can also be an expression of some relations of power, but their meanings taken *tout court* do not represent any of the dynamics described by the above mentioned studies.

We claim, therefore, that it is legitimate to take a critical approach that both operates with creative metaphors and that conveys a different ideological content than the ones described by the dominant approaches to CDA and CMT.

4.3) Theoretical perspectives on metaphor and ideology

The possibility that different approaches to ideology analysis may be related to metaphorical conceptualisation poses the crucial problem of how it is possible to interpret metaphors in the light of ideology itself. This issue, faced in several different ways by the approaches we have discussed, is linked to at least three main theoretical aspects: (i), the dynamics of justification that are involved in the process of ideological interpretation, (ii) the theoretical aspects pertaining

to the notion of ideology that emerge from the use of these dynamics, and (iii) whether and how the metaphorical conceptualisation of ideology may vary through culture and time. In order to address these and other issues, we will review a number of studies addressing the question of how ideological interpretation takes place.

4.3.1) Different dynamics for different ideologies

Metaphorical conceptualisation, in itself, cannot directly be assumed to represent any ideology. The connection of a metaphor with a certain ideological content seems to depend on two main dynamics: the connotation with which a source domain is used and the interpretation that the researcher makes in considering a metaphor as coherent with a certain ideological content. Interestingly, there are two different views of ideology that emerge from the different dynamics that justify the ideological meaning of a metaphor: one based on 'explicit' systems of ideas and beliefs and one based on the interpretation of some (negative) sets of attitudes and behaviours. In order to clarify and discuss these two dynamics, let us consider some examples:

(12) IMMIGRANTS ARE ANIMALS

(13) ARGUMENT IS WAR

The example in (12) is one of the dominant metaphors described by Santa Ana (1999) in relation to an analysis of anti-immigrant rhetoric in US public discourse. The ideology that Santa Ana refers to can be described in terms of racism (Santa Ana, 1999: 217). In this case, how does the metaphor in (12) relate to racism? Santa Ana uses a definition of racism provided by Miles (1989) in which he states that racism is conceived as:

> […] a system of categorization, and by attributing additional (negatively evaluated) characteristics to the people sorted into those categories. This process of signification is therefore the basis for the creation of a hierarchy of groups…
>
> (Miles, 1989, quoted in Wetherell and Potter, 1992: 15–16)

The system of categorisation and the creation of a hierarchy of groups is functional to identify IMMIGRANT as something 'inferior' to human beings, i.e., the conceptualisation in terms of ANIMALS. Within the discourse on immigration, the source domain ANIMALS has a precise connotation and therefore a clear meaning in regard to a racist ideology. In this case then, the meanings that ANIMALS evokes are functional to an ideological purpose. Since Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 4), the metaphorical conceptualisation in (13), ARGUMENT IS WAR, has been largely considered as one of the most convincing examples of how a metaphor can convey particular meanings in relation to an ordinary concept (see, Koller, 2002). Expressions such as "*Your claims are indefensible*", "*She attacked my arguments*", "*His criticisms were right on target*" and "*If you use that strategy, he'll wipe you out*" are a way of representing activities such as criticism, debating and talking with a violent and military connotation. A metaphor such as (13) describes then an ordinary activity in terms of power and violence, with a potential negative effect in mass media communication. As Goatly claims (2007: 80):

> The mass media encourages adversarial politics by constructing it in terms of an entertaining contest between rival personalities. After all, headlines in newspapers are the places where one is most likely to find criticism or argument expressed in military metaphors. These are designed to produce a sensational and dramatic effect, for the tool of sensationalism is hyperbole, and the essence of drama is conflict.

Contrary to (12), the interpretation of ARGUMENT IS WAR in ideological terms does not depend on the evaluation of the source domain in relation to a specific ideology. While, in IMMIGRANTS ARE ANIMALS, the source domain ANIMAL is functional to representing human

beings as inferior, the domain of WAR represents a highly rhetorical choice, because of the negative meanings that war evokes. The decision to use a metaphor as in (13) depicts a certain view of how people verbally interact, but it cannot be considered as part of a specific system of ideas and beliefs. The idea that human interactions are characterized by adversariality does not imply any 'explicit' ideology, but more likely a general system of attitudes and behaviours. In other words, while the source domain ANIMAL conveys negative meanings that are the expression of a well-defined ideology (i.e., racism), the domain WAR implies a series of negative meanings as well, but its understanding as an ideology is certainly more interpretative of a series of attitudes and behaviours. To a certain extent, the dynamic described in relation to example (12) is close to the CDA and CMA tradition, while the modalities regarding the example in (13) are more typical of the Lakoff and Johnson tradition. Therefore, although the ideological 'justification' of (12) and (13) presents different dynamics, the researcher operates in an interpretative way in both cases. Certainly, the dynamics involved in (12) seem to be more precise in explaining how the domain ANIMAL is connected to racism, but the process also presents a certain level of interpretation. In addition, even if racism and the general system of attitudes and behaviours we have referred to as adversariality are different phenomena that operate on different levels, they still share some essential properties that make them similar. For instance, any ideology cannot be considered only as a system of ideas and beliefs, but also as a construction that orients people to different aims and purposes. This aspect, in continuity with the Chartheris-Black definition of metaphor (Charteris-Black, 2012: 2), sees ideology as purposeful constructions that orient and guide people to certain thoughts, attitudes and actions. Although the processes that relate metaphors to ideology can be different and the resulting perspectives on ideology can describe explicit or more interpretative notions of ideology, we can highlight which aspects are

potentially more functional for the investigation of metaphor from an ideological perspective. For this reason, Section 4.4 will try to detail the most fundamental aspects that will characterise our theoretical approach and the methodological application. However, before proceeding to the description of a unitary approach, it is crucial to consider another aspect, i.e., whether and how the metaphorical conceptualisation of ideology may vary through time and culture.

4.3.2) Variation of metaphor in ideological analysis

What we have discussed so far concerns the relationship between metaphors and ideologies. Certainly, different metaphors can represent and communicate different – and more or less defined - ideological content. As we have discussed in Section 2.3, the similarity of the two domains in metaphorical structures may be justified in different ways. Among these, we have considered the possibility that some conceptualisations can propagate and remain widely used for long periods of time until they become entrenched in a speech community (Croft and Cruse, 2004; Musolff, 2014). The extension of the process of propagation and entrenchment can certainly vary, but can also operate for several centuries (see Musolff, 2004). Certainly, metaphors that are entrenched within a speech community can also convey and communicate ideologies, but a crucial aspect to investigate regards the relation between the metaphorical conceptualisation of ideology and temporal variation. This issue assumes great importance also because we left open the possibility that even creative metaphors, which are metaphors that describe a justification in the *hic et nunc*, can represent ideologies. In order to help to clarify this point, we can consider the following visual representation we have elaborated.

Metaphor based on
Experiential
Information

Discourse Metaphor

Metaphor based on
Sociohistorical
information

Metaphor based on
Conceptual pact
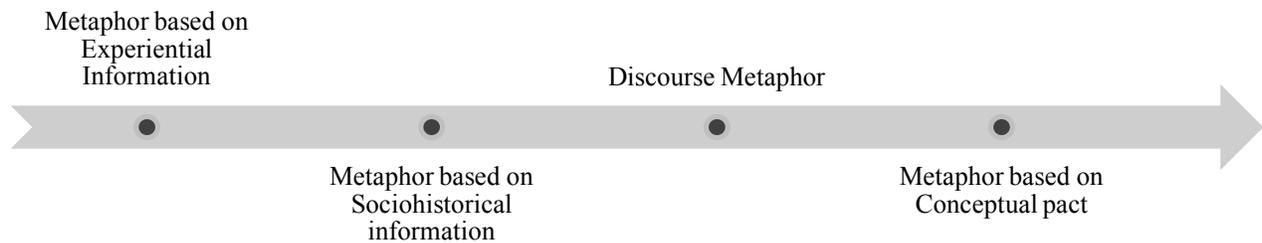
This visual representation helps to broadly describe the different processes of metaphorical justi-fication in relation to the temporal variation that may occur; from the more stable (metaphor based on experiential information) to the fastest-changing (metaphor based on a conceptual pact).

As discussed in Section 2.3, experiential-information-based metaphors are those metaphors that were identified within Lakoff and Johnson's tradition and that are considered as the embodied conceptual system that constitutes our view of reality. In line with Croft and Cruse (2004) and Musolff (2014), we have presented metaphors that have become part of a speech community, such as the metaphors based on sociohistorical-information. In relation to what we have dis-cussed in Section 2.6, metaphors based on the conceptual-pact can be considered as creative metaphors since the speakers agree to creatively speak of X using the language and norms of Y (Hanks, 2006, in Veale, 2013: 1).

Of great importance is the notion of discourse metaphor. While certain metaphors can become part of a speech community, other conceptualisations can also be used only for a very limited period of time, or in relation to specific kinds of discourse. Examples of structures that have a long history as recurrent conceptualisations can be LOVE IS A JOURNEY (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980), NATURE IS A BOOK (Kay, 2000) or A NATION STATE IS A PERSON (Musolff, 2009). Conversely, metaphors that refer to the idea of HEALING A DISEASE in terms of

FIGHTING A WAR can be considered as less stable conceptual structures (Larson, Nerlich and Wallis, 2005). One of the ways to describe this kind of metaphorical projection is the notion of discourse metaphor. Following a definition advanced by Zinken, Hellsten and Nerlich (2008: 363), it is possible to describe a discourse metaphor as "a relatively stable metaphorical projection that functions as a key framing device within a particular discourse over a certain period of time"; or, as Musolff suggests with the notion of metaphor scenario, "a set of assumptions made by competent members of a discourse community about "typical" aspects of a source-situation, for example, its participants and their roles, the "dramatic" storylines and outcomes, and conventional evaluations of whether they count as successful or unsuccessful, normal or abnormal, permissible or illegitimate, etc." (Musolff 2006: 28). The element that makes the discourse metaphor an expression pertaining to a historical moment is based on the fact that discourse metaphors employ a deep cultural knowledge of the context in which they are used. Two aspects found in Zinken, Hellsten and Nerlich (2008: 367) are that the conceptualisation of the same class of phenomena can quickly vary and that the change in this conceptualisation can be triggered by changing socio-political circumstances (see also Nerlich and Hellsten, 2004; Musolff, 2004; 2008; Nerlich, 2005). For instance, the conceptualisation of two epidemics, 'Foot and Mouth Disease' (FMD) and 'Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome' (SARS), has been largely different despite their temporal proximity. While the FMD that broke-out in the beginning of 2001was mainly described in the UK press in terms of WAR (i.e., HEALING FMD IS FIGHTING A WAR; FMD IS AN ENEMY), the SARS that spread only two years after was conceptualised in terms of a political issue and the WAR metaphor was largely absent. According to Wallis and Nerlich (2005: 2367), the reasons behind this change might have been the immediate context of the war in Iraq (2003) at the time of the FMD epidemics and the subsequent

shift in public discourse from the domain of WAR towards the issue of TERRORISM (i.e., "war on terror"), "pushing commentators to create distinctive discursive systems for the two stories". Analogously to other "types" of metaphors, discourse metaphors can also represent and communicate ideologies "(see White and Herrera, 2003: 277). The conceptualisation of SARS in terms of a political issue conveyed aspects such as the collaboration among countries and institutions, partnerships and support; the FIGHTING A WAR metaphor evokes an interpretation which "[…] concentrates on the physical, sees control as central, and encourages the expenditure of massive resources to achieve dominance" (Annas, 1995: 746). Therefore, not only do discourse metaphors vary rapidly, but their resulting ideological interpretation also changes. To a certain extent, the features of discourse metaphors might also concern creative metaphors. Creative metaphors certainly do not represent any stable key framing device as is the case with discourse metaphors, but they can quickly change through time and they can evoke different ideological meanings. Considering that the use of several conceptualisations in media and public discourse can also be the product of creative metaphors, we prefer to consider them as a complementary phenomenon to discourse metaphors. It is reasonable to expect that some creative metaphors may match the 'needs' and the 'preferences' of a certain speech community until they become part of a discourse tradition. Given a corpus of texts, discourse metaphors would certainly be more common and used than creative metaphors, but the ideological function of creative metaphors could still have an impact on an audience. From this point on, we consider discourse metaphors and creative ones as part of a wider phenomenon of conceptualisation that we call creative-discourse metaphor. This notion does not describe any new typology of metaphors, but simply represents a more general term to describe metaphorical conceptualisations that can quickly vary through time and can present some ideological meanings.

This brief discussion shows that metaphorical conceptualisation changes and, as a consequence, ideological interpretations change as well. However, it is also crucial to understand how the same ideology may be conceptualised through different metaphorical constructions. Metaphorical constructions can quickly vary throughout time and culture and they can represent the same ideological contents in different ways. In order to show conceptual variation in the analysis of ideologies, let us consider three main examples: metaphor variation for the same ideological content; metaphor variation for the same ideological content in relation to time; metaphor variation for the same ideological content in relation to culture.

- Metaphor variation and ideology

The variation of metaphors in relation to a single ideological phenomenon can be described by an analysis of how the same issue is reported during the same period in a single country. For instance, the analysis of immigration, in relation to a racist discourse, can be conceptualized in different ways and, consequently, for different rhetorical purposes. In an analysis conducted by Santa Ana about the anti-immigrant discourse in US media (1999), IMMIGRANTS are conceptualised as ANIMALS (ibidem: 198) in order to convey their "inferiority", or as an ARMY and DANGEROUS WATER (ibidem: 200), in order to represent their dangerousness for the country. They are also shown in terms of ALIENS (ibidem: 197) to emphasise their non-belonging to the US, and also in terms of COMMODITY and WEEDS (ibidem: 198)

- Metaphor variation and ideology in different times

Metaphor variation at different times and in relation to the same ideological content can represent a crucial kind of analysis to understand how metaphors can change the way an ideology is conceived. The case of militarism – a belief that considers military capability a way to promote

national interest – can represent a good example of metaphor variation over time. If, for Heraclitus, war was represented as "the father of all things" (Raaflaub, 2001:307), launching the first crusade (1095), Pope Urban II referred to his military intentions in terms of "the will of god" (Graham, Keenan and Dowd, 2004: 9). The Italian futurist manifesto elaborated by Marinetti (1909) evoked the notion of war in terms of the "hygiene of the world" and then Mussolini described war as "religion and poetry together" (Nelis, 2007). These different conceptualisations show that a series of meanings related to militarism have been used in different times with different purposes.

- Metaphor variation and ideology in different cultures

Scholars such as Kövecses (2005; 2010) have clearly shown how the same target domain is conceptualised in different ways according to the cultural context in which the metaphor takes place. Similarly, the possibility that the same system of ideas and beliefs can be represented in distinct cultures with different metaphorical conceptualisations is a central issue in order to understand how metaphors emerge from the context in which they are used. In order to understand how the "theory of affliction" is conceptualized nowadays in different religions and cultural traditions, Kirmayer (2004: 35) claimed that it was possible to identify a series of metaphorical interpretations. For instance, while for Traditional Chinese Medicine (e.g., Unani medicine), for Islam and for Ayurveda, 'affliction' is explained in terms of "imbalance/disturbance of elements, energy or humours" (i.e., PHYSICAL SUFFERING IS LACK OF BALANCE), for Christianity, the dominant conceptualisation is about "moral error, sin and demonic possession" (i.e., PHYSICAL SUFFERING IS LACK OF MORALITY). From other perspectives, such as Divination and Possession cults (e.g., the Candomblé religion), the origins of disease were related to the consequence of "offending spirits or ancestors" (i.e., PHYSICAL SUFFERING IS LACK OF RE-

SPECT). Then, the ideological nature of the "theory of affliction" consists in relating the cause of physical suffering to non-physical conditions with the intent of regulating the life and conduct of believers (Kirmayer, 2004: 41). For instance, a theory of affliction based on respect for spirits and ancestors might influence practice and behaviours toward authority, while a notion of affliction in terms of lack of balance may orient toward a sense of harmony for the community.

As discussed in this brief section, appreciating the variation of metaphors in relation to ideology is crucial to understanding how conceptualisation can adapt to changing circumstances. At this point, in order to integrate these insights, we will present a unified theoretical framework that includes five main points, concerning the notions of metaphor, ideology and ideological analysis. This framework is an attempt to combine different theoretical views into a single perspective whilst at the same time overcoming the limitations of the different views presented.

4.4) Building blocks for an ideological analysis of metaphors

In order to present a unified approach, we have highlighted the theoretical aspects that emerge as the most functional for the purposes of this dissertation. These aspects, which may be considered as the result of the discussion we have conducted so far, can be summarised in the following way.

(a) Both creative and more conventionalised metaphors are purposeful constructions that can represent and communicate ideological content (Charteris-Black, 2012: 2).

(b) Ideologies can be associated with well-defined constructions (i.e., racism) or to more general systems of attitudes and behaviours (i.e., adversariality). As we have discussed, ideologies are not only related to relations of power, but, most importantly, are constructions that orient people to having certain purposes. Racism is intended to create or maintain discriminations, adversariality to conceive the other as an opponent, hedonism to seek and prefer pleasure. To some extent, ideologies are also purposeful constructions.

(c) As discussed above, the process of attributing an ideological value to a metaphor always depends on the interpretation of the researcher. There can be different degrees of interpretations, but those interpretations that explicitly refer to a well-defined ideology may benefit from more supported arguments. For this reason, although ideology can refer to a wide number of meanings, we claim that an ideological analysis should be related to a specific construction. For instance, a general discussion about ideology can state clearly which ideology produces assumptions that are too general and interpretive or which ideology should be discussed (e.g., racism, hedonism, consumerism, militarism, etc.) and would help produce more general analyses.

(d) Metaphors may vary through time and thus the way we convey an ideology depends on time and culture. An analysis of metaphors and ideology should always be related to the historical and cultural context in which the conceptualisations take place. The theoretical notions of creative metaphors and discourse metaphors are fundamental to the understanding of how a certain conceptualisation may vary in a short time and in a particular context.

As we will see in the next section, these aspects are the basis from which our methodology for the ideological interpretation of metaphors will derive.

5) Metaphor: the case of consumerism in TV commercials

From this discussion in Section 4 about metaphor variation and ideology, we will move on to face a specific example: The case of the 'Great Recession', as an historical context that may trigger an ideological shift in the conceptualization of consumerism in TV car commercials, which may, in turn, be reflected in metaphor variation. The decision to use TV commercials reflects both the intent to work with multimodality and to analyse a medium that is related to consumerism itself. Among the most challenging aspects that have been discussed in this section, one of great relevance concerns the suggestion of an operative definition of consumerism.

5.1) Metaphor variation and the 'Great Recession': an ideal scenario

As we pointed out in Section 4.3.2, metaphors can change through time and, therefore, carry different ideological meanings. In addition, ideologies can also maintain their meanings even if the conceptual structures that convey them may vary. For instance, the ideology that we have referred to as militarism has been represented in history by different conceptual structures as "the father of all things", "the will of God", and "the hygiene of the world", even though the ideology itself has not substantially changed. Another aspect that has emerged in our discussion about metaphor and ideology is that the conceptual variation of a phenomenon within a certain discourse can be triggered by some particular 'real world' circumstances. As Wallis and Nerlich (2005: 2367) claimed, the tendency, in public discourse, to represent two epidemics such as FMD and SARS changed on the conceptual level after a period of two years because of the

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break-out of the 'war on terrorism'. The 'War on terrorism' is certainly a circumstance that has a great emotional and political weight and probably these aspects have had the capacity to trigger a conceptual shifting. However, this correlation has been only rarely debated and no supported conclusions can be advanced. For this reason, Zinken, Hellsten and Nerlich suggest that:

> The study of conceptual metaphors has proliferated since the 1980s. However, cognitive linguists have rarely examined the repeated or continued use of such metaphors in times of emotional turmoil or in times of scientific or political uncertainty. This is a gap that needs to be filled if we want to understand how general and local aspects of culture and cognition interact in the ways people think and act in "the real world"

> (Zinken, Hellsten and Nerlich, 2008: 367)

Therefore, recognising the need to explore how socio-political circumstances may affect conceptualisation, we carried out a comparison between two different time periods: before and after an event that caused great uncertainty and "emotional turmoil": the global economic downturn that hit most of the economic world from the first quarter of 2008 (Duménil and Levi, 2013).

This event, which henceforth will be generally referred to by the name of 'Great Recession' in agreement with scholars such as Grusky, Western and Wimer (2011), has been selected mainly for two reasons. First of all, because it presents political, economic, and emotional implications and, therefore, has the potential to cause a relevant conceptual change. Secondly, the recency of the event has not yet permitted a deep analysis of its conceptual and linguistic nature. Consequently, we designed an experiment what compared metaphorical structures conveyed in TV commercials belonging to a 'pre-Great Recession condition (2007-2008)' with metaphorical structures conveyed in TV commercials belonging to a 'Great Recession' condition (2011-2012).

5.2) TV commercials: the car industry

The decision to analyse the conceptual structure of two groups of TV commercials belonging to different temporal conditions raises the problem of which commercials to use. If the selection of commercials should necessarily reflect the historical moment in which they are broadcast, the number and varieties of commercials is so huge that the selection should be supported by some rigid criteria. The necessity of making clear the reasons why some commercials were selected depended on the necessity of designing an experimental setting that reduced the influence of the researcher. As we pointed out in Section 4.2.1, the criteria of the selection of the material are rarely made explicit and the choice is usually based on the personal decision of the researcher. This means that the choice of the material can reflect the intentions of the expectation of the researcher and then be functional to ad hoc explanations. From these bases, we decided to focus our attention on a specific type of product and on objective criteria of selection. After a series of attempts, we opted for cars, as the product advertised in the commercials, and for the selection the best-selling cars in each biennium (2007-2008 vs 2011-2012). The decision to make an analysis of TV commercials raises the question of what kind of products should be selected. Considering that it is hard establish a criterion of selection (i.e., Which products advertised by the commercials should be considered? Which should be excluded? Why?), the decision to analyse commercials that promote the same kind of product seemed to be easier. In addition, the decision to focus on TV commercials advertising cars was based on four main reasons. Potentially, every kind of product would have the right features to be included in this type of analysis. However, what makes the car an ideal product for a historical analysis is the combination of properties of the product and its relation with the market. Firstly, cars are a familiar product to the great ma-

jority of people (as drivers, passengers, or simply by seeing them every day on the streets or on TV). Although other products can have similar levels of exposure, cars are beyond doubt one of the most common products. Secondly, cars represent one of the most expensive products that are regularly and systematically advertised on TV. This implies that the role of advertising can be crucial in the decision to buy them or not. Thirdly, compared to other products that can be bought on a regular basis, the decision to buy a car can reflect the historical context in which the purchase is made. Finally, the size of the car market and the competition among brands and models makes relevant the role that - advertising can have on the purchase decision.

As we have stated, TV car commercials respond to the criterion of diffusion, since they advertise cars that registered the highest sales during two specific biennia. The decision to use this criterion is based on two distinct reasons: the first one is of a methodological nature and the second one is an expression of the historical connotation of this work. The need to provide an objective procedure of selection obeys the rules of validity, since it reduces the possibility that the researcher could affect the results of the analysis. Furthermore, a criterion of selection based on the most sold cars can well describe what two well-defined biennia actually represent. The most sold cars and their respective TV commercials can portray the dominant values and preferences that the 'pre-' and 'Great Recession' contexts had expressed.

In other words, similarly to how the most seen movies and the most popular songs can tell us much about a certain historical moment, some of the most sold products may well represent what people preferred in a specific historical period. Considering that the analysis we conducted is strongly based on a historical context, the choice of the material to analyse should also be an expression of a historical dimension.

5.3) A critical and historical analysis: the notion of consumerism

The idea of making a comparison between metaphors conveyed in two groups of TV commercials and belonging to two different historical moments is something that needs to be completed with a further level of analysis, that is, the ideology that gives shape to the metaphors themselves. Given the 'real world' importance of these conceptualisations, we have decided to compare, in the light of an ideological construction, whether and how metaphors vary from one condition to another. Considering that the possible ideological interpretations can be various, we have decided to focus our analysis on a specific pattern of implications that we call consumerism. As will be shown in detail, consumerism may be considered an ideology both because it presents a system of beliefs, values and ideas and – in agreement with what we pointed out in Section 3.4 – because it orients people to having certain purposes. The decision to focus on the consumerist implications of TV commercials is based on three main reasons. First of all, since TV commercials are artefacts that can induce people to become consumers, the decision to analyse their consumerist implications seems to be coherent with the goals of TV commercials themselves. Secondly, the TV commercials we analysed belong to two different historical moments separated by the global economic crisis of 2008. Assuming that the economic crisis may have affected the consumer's behaviour, and assuming that TV commercials may have been used to persuade consumers to buy in spite of the crisis, our hypothesis is that consumerist values may have been (re)conceptualized from one condition to another. This was explored through the analysis of car TV commercials, with particular reference to their metaphorical content. Finally, with respect to other ideological implications with a strong theoretical and historical perspective, consumerism has not received particular attention in metaphor studies. From these considerations,

we believe that a critical-historical analysis of how consumerism has been conceptualised in TV commercials over time and in two different cultural settings makes a valuable contribution not only to metaphor analysis but also to the understanding of consumerism as a form of ideology.

5.3.1) Consumerism in metaphor studies: a perspective on TV commercials

The decision to analyse the consumeristic implications of metaphors presents two main problems, one of a theoretical nature and the second regarding the methodology used. To begin with, the first problem concerns the use of a working definition of consumerism that would allow an understanding of how this form of ideology may be linked to metaphorical meaning. Then, it is necessary to create an instrument that makes it concretely possible to connect consumerism to the metaphors collected in this study.

Providing an operative definition of consumerism is a hard task, since this concept can be investigated by different disciplines. What distinguishes the notion of consumerism from the more general definition of consumption is that while the latter describes the activity of the consumer within a marketplace, the former can be understood as an ideology with a related set of values and beliefs (McGregor, 2008: 545-552). More specifically, consumerism can be defined in the following way:

> Consumerism [ideology] refers to a set of beliefs and values, integral but not exclusive to the system of capitalist globalization, intended to make people believe that human worth is best ensured and happiness is best achieved in terms of our consumption and possessions. This is relentlessly reinforced by an infrastructure of transnational cultural practices within capitalist globalization.
>
> (Sklair 2010: 136)

From this definition it is possible to understand how consumerism represents an interesting combination of economic and historical dynamics with subjective and psychological factors. For our

investigation, the problem of such a multidimensional concept makes it particularly challenging to produce a definition of consumerism that would fit our purposes. Since consumerism represents different values and beliefs for entire socio-economic systems (i.e., the capitalist globalization), it is not possible to conceive of this ideological implication as a unitary phenomenon. If people are induced to buy goods and services with the aim of achieving happiness and self-worth, and if people in a large socio-economic system can also be radically different from one other, it is legitimate to claim that the motivations which induce people to consume can vary. This aspect was first raised by Gabriel and Lang (1995) who recognized how consumerist ideology can mean different things to different people. As McGregor later added, detailing the subjectivity of the consumerism, consumerism can have at least three distinct purposes:

> First, consumerism is the essence of the good life and a vehicle for freedom, power and happiness. Consumers have the ability to choose and enjoy material objects and experiences (e.g., consumer services). Second, consumerism supplements work, religion and politics as the main mechanism by which social status and distinction are achieved. Displays of all of the goods accumulated gain prestige and envy the ideology of conspicuous consumption. Third, consumerism is the pursuit of ever higher standards of living thereby justifying global development and capitalism via trade and internationalism of the marketplace.
>
> (McGregor, 2013: 6)

The acknowledgement that, from a consumerist perspective, people can be induced to buy products for different reasons has moved us to consider the reasons for buying (i.e., style of consumptions), as the ideal dimension in order to produce an operative definition of consumerism. In order to give substance to consumerism, the style of consumption may be defined considering both the properties of the objects that induce people to purchase them and the semiotic strategies that are used by advertisers in order to promote these objects. The decision to take into account these two aspects is based on empirically supported analysis, such as the one suggested by Alvensleb-

en and Meier (1990). The central notion of their analysis is that the psychological dimension of the purchase (selection and choice) primarily involves consideration of the properties of the object and the image that the product conveys. If the properties of the objects have the capacity to induce people to evaluate certain sets of features, the image of the product is related to its semiotic strategies of promotion (Codeluppi, 2013: 74-75).

Among the possible theoretical frameworks that describe these dimensions, two are particularly relevant to our investigation. The properties of the product will be taken into account using the design-based studies conducted by Norman (2004; 2013) and the semiotic strategies of promotion of the products advanced by Codeluppi (2013).

- Properties and products

Discussing the properties of a product is clearly a hard issue to face, since each kind of product has different patterns of properties. Obviously, the properties of a car are not much related to the property of a perfume or a pair of shoes. If attention is focused on the single features of a product it is then unlikely to provide generalisations, especially in relation to the purpose of this study. A useful solution to evaluating the properties of a product being outside of its single features is to consider the design created for a certain product. Following a classic definition (Ralph and Wand, 2009: 109), the design is related to the properties of a product since it defines the properties of a product with the intent to accomplish a certain goal in a specific environment, satisfying a set of requirements and constraints. From this perspective, the properties of a product would then emerge as a consequence of the interaction between different systems: the purposes for which a product is created (goal), the context in which the product will have to accomplish its goal (environment), what the consumer wants (requirements) and the limitations set by the cost, the available technology, and so on (constraints). Considering that different patterns of properties

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can define different kinds of objects, an influential distinction between products was provided by Norman (2004). Norman's central idea is that objects can be defined according to the emotional responses they produce. According to Norman, products can be defined in terms of visceral, behavioural and reflective properties. Visceral products are those products that concern appearances, as they "cause an immediate visceral reaction" (Norman, 2004: 64). Behavioural products deal with the pleasure that comes from their use and from their effectiveness (Norman, 2004: 5). Reflective products reflect self-image, personal satisfaction, and the memories of the consumer (Norman, 2004: 39). Therefore, the design categories provided by Norman not only define how products and their properties can differ, but also lay the foundation for the first distinction of style of consumptions. From this, design categories are related to the different kinds of people that would buy products in response to different motivations. Although consumerism induces one to "believe that human worth is best ensured and happiness is best achieved in terms of our consumption and possessions" (Sklair, 2010: 136), people can decide to purchase because of different reasons, as the design categories suggest. Obviously, people that decide to buy product X because of its appearance (visceral design) have different values, beliefs and motivations than a consumer who wants to buy product Y because of its functionality (behavioural design). Design categories contribute to the definition of different style of consumptions.

- Strategies of promotions

Typologies of design do not only represent the patterns of properties of products, they also describe some styles of purchase that can characterise several consumers. However, although typologies of design are able to capture what can make a consumer choose one product instead of another, there are still some aspects to consider. Even if a product conveys a certain idea of design, its image cannot be conveyed only by its material level because other factors can be in-

volved in its perception. At the basis of these factors, there are promotion processes to which products can be subjected and which need to be taken into account. Promotion strategies can affect both the perception of a product and even its use. For instance, if product Z does not present any particular pattern of properties in line with the typologies of design, its image can be defined by a process of promotion around its functionality and then be considered as a product expressing a behavioural design (Norman, 2004: 5). One of the most effective theoretical and empirical frameworks to analyse the strategies of promotions comes from the work of Floch (1990/2001 quoted in Codeluppi, 2013: 76). He described and then experimentally tested several phenomena of consuming from a semiotic perspective, reaching the conclusion that there are four main strategies of consumption (1990/2001 quoted in Codeluppi, 2013: 76). These strategies can be defined as follows:

Practical: A strategy that aims to underline the experience of use and the usefulness of a product: comfort, reliability, functionality, and so on.

Utopic: Strategies that concern existentialist aspects such as the identity of the consumer, his memories, and personal satisfaction.

Critical: Strategies that are about non-existentialist aspects of the products, such as their convenience, quality-price correlation and analysis of cost and benefits.

Recreational: Strategies that are relative to non-utilitarian features, for instance refinement, luxury, and prestige.

These strategies of valorisation present analogous content with the typologies of design described by Norman (2004). Specifically, it is hard not to see how the practical strategy of valori-

sation presents similar content to the behavioural typology of design, as both share a focus on the 'experience of use' and the 'functionality' of a product. Similarly, the utopic strategy and the reflective design are both about deeper dimensions of the consumer, such as 'memory', 'identity', and 'personal satisfaction'. A different interpretation comes from the relation between the visceral design typology and the critical and recreational strategies of valorisations. Considering that the visceral typologies include appearance, this kind of design can be associated to the recreational strategy, also because, as Floch states, the term recreational should be intended in the sense of a free and immediate reaction (Codeluppi, 2013: 76). This idea of free and immediate reaction is also mentioned by Norman:

> The visceral level is pre-consciousness, pre-thought. This is where appearance matters and first impressions are formed. Visceral design is about the initial impact of a product, about its appearance, touch, and feel.
>
> Norman (2004: 36-37)

The critical strategy seems to be absent from the perspective described by Norman, but this should not be a surprise. As we have stated, the critical strategy concerns aspects such as price, cost benefits, and so on. Considering that Norman's perspective is focused on the design and the relative properties of the objects, it is not surprising that the aspect of price is excluded from this approach. Price and cost/benefits are aspects that rely on several factors (brand, material, income of the buyer, place of manufacture, and so on), which do not necessarily match an analysis based on the products' design. Cross-referring Norman's typologies of design with Codeluppi's strategies of valorisation it is possible to produce a solid framework to capture those aspects of consumerism that we have called styles of consumption. A remaining issue that still needs to be addressed concerns those expressions of consumerism that are defined as green consumerism and

critical consumerism (see, for example, Muldoon 2006, Sassanelli 2015). These types of consumerism seem to have the same properties of the more general consumerism (Sklair 2010: 136), but differ in their actual properties that motivate the purchase (i.e., sustainability, eco-friendliness, fair trade, recyclability, etc.). The existent literature does not help to clarify to which of the strategies of valorisation advanced by Floch (1990/2001) these categories of consumerism can be referred. The main obstacle is to understand if green and critical consumerism are more related to a critical strategy or to a utopic one. The critical strategy is certainly more related to non-existential aspects (i.e., price, cost-quality, and so on), but the aspect of the cost and benefits relation could also consider related issues such as the cost of a product in relation to its social and environmental benefits. However, given that the decision to consider green or critical aspects of a product is primarily a matter of values, which also reflect the identity of the consumer, we have decided to consider these expressions of consumerism as belonging to the utopic strategy. The utopic strategy, in line with the reflective design described by Norman, is about all those aspects that concern the consumer's self-view, including their identity and their existential dimension. In line with what we have discussed, it is now possible to present the styles of consumption. The styles of consumption can be considered as the motivational factors that induce people to buy certain products because of their pattern of properties (design typology) or because of the image emerging from processes of advertising and promotion (strategies of valorisation). Combining the elements between design typologies and strategies it is possible to advance the following series of styles of consumption:

Practical-Behavioural: This kind of style of consumption would appeal to those who value the practical properties of a product, such as comfort, reliability, ease of use and performance. These properties are practical and can generally be quantified.

Utopian-Reflective: Consumers driven by a utopian-reflective motivation are influenced by the need to express their self-image, to make manifest traits of their identity, their memories and experiences. This kind of style of consumption is rooted in the personality of the consumer and it establishes a deep connection between the user and the product.

Critical: This motivation is associated with the evaluation of non-existential aspects, such as convenience, analysis of cost and benefits. Interestingly, this decision does not rely on the object per se, but it represents the result of a rational and careful examination of the good.

Recreational-Visceral: The properties of a product and its image can be considered as opposed to the ones described in the practical-behavioural decisions. In this case, a purchase is determined by non-utilitarian reasons, such as the prestige of the brand, the image of luxury, the design and all those properties that produce a certain social impact.

Although we have given shape to a definition of consumerism that combines typologies of design and strategies of promotion in order to advance the notion of styles of consumption, what is still missing is a direct connection between such notions and the level of language. In order to create a link between the conceptual structures suggested by metaphors and the style of consumption, it is possible to list a series of domains that help define the conceptual content of every style of consumption.

- From the styles of consumption to the conceptual domains

The process of connecting the styles of consumption to levels of metaphor implies the conversion of the main aspects of each style into conceptual domains. Only when the styles of consumption are reduced to domains is it possible to establish if a certain metaphor belongs to a cer-

tain style or not. Considering that the styles of consumption described can be related to any product, we claim it is crucial to define the conceptual domains around features that belong only to cars. In this case, the connection between the metaphors in a TV commercial and their relevant style of consumption would be less ambiguous and more oriented towards properties that are usually related to cars. On the contrary, if we decided to list a series of general conceptual domains, it is possible that several aspects that are relevant for cars and their purchase would be lost. After a recursive process from TV commercials to styles of consumption and back, we have decided to describe the conceptual domains of the styles of consumption in the following way:

Style of Consumption	Practical Behavioural	Utopian-Reflective	Critical	Recreational - Visceral	Neutral
Main Aspects	Utility Practical aspects	Self-image Identity	Cost Cost/Benefits	Aesthetic Non-practical aspects	Rest
Conceptual Domains	- Comfort - Performance - Easy to drive - Reliability - Security - Customisation	- Tradition - Innovation - Uniqueness - Personality - Feelings - Mood - Cultural Knowledge	- Convenience - Saving - Promotions - Fuel consumption	- Prestige - Style - Luxury - Taste - Social Impact	Rest

Table 1 - Description of styles of consumption

From this table, it is possible to notice how the four styles of consumption have been reduced to a series of conceptual domains. While the main aspects summarise the content of each style, the conceptual domains create a base to connect the levels of the metaphors. As it is possible to acknowledge, some conceptual domains reflect the main aspects of each style of consumption, while others can be considered as an attempt to 'translate' certain aspects into a conceptual domain. While the practical-behavioural style presents some of the main practical aspects that can characterise a car, the utopian-reflective style tries to convey a series of meanings that are an

expression of personality traits. Specifically, 'tradition' and 'innovation' represent two diametrically opposed approaches toward consumptions, one that can refer to a conservative view of the world, and one that is innovative and more directed towards the future. Moreover, the reference to 'cultural knowledge' reflects all those shared meanings that are part of an individual within a certain community. In this regard, Codeluppi (2013: 77) also considers all those legends, myths, and symbols that are part of the memory of the consumer. Among the styles of consumption, it is useful also to consider a neutral style that include all those metaphors that cannot be reduced to a specific style of consumption. In the following part, we will describe in detail how metaphors can be associated with conceptual domains and which operative expedients are necessary in order to make this process clear and to maximize the validity of the interpretation.

From this point on, we need to clarify how a single metaphorical interpretation can actually be interpreted in the light of the style of consumption. As we will see, this issue is crucial to understand how a certain metaphor can convey some ideological meanings. However, considering that this practical aspect is pertinent to a methodological discussion, we will discuss the question in Section 6, 'Multimodal metaphor: an ideological interpretation'.

PART II – METHODOLOGY

Multimodal metaphors: identification and ideological analysis

As we stated in the introduction of this dissertation, this work is about the variation of metaphorical patterns in two groups of TV commercials and its implications for consumerism. According to the discourse metaphor perspective, metaphors can be seen as "a relatively stable metaphorical projection that functions as a key framing device within a particular discourse over a certain period of time" (Zinken, Hellsten and Nerlich, 2008: 363), that may, in addition, change and vary in relation to "times of emotional turmoil or in times of scientific or political uncertainty" (2008: 367). Considering that the economic recession of 2007 can be seen as a period of deep emotional and political uncertainty, the necessity of understanding how such an event has changed the structure of the way consumerism is conceptualised is of great importance, the only way to describe a change to a structure is to make a comparison with a different era. Hence, the need to compare the years preceding the economic recession (2007-2008) with the years strongly characterised by the recession (2011-2012). The challenges that this work posits, therefore, are to

identify a procedure for the identification of metaphors in multimodal contexts and a systematic procedure to assign an ideological value.to each metaphor Obviously, a dissertation centred around the identification of metaphors and their ideological implications requires a clear definition of what metaphors actually are and how they interact. For this reason, we have discussed these aspects in the previous parts.

Now that we have developed a theoretical framework of multimodal metaphor functional to our purposes, we can move towards a description of the methodology that allowed us to identify metaphors in TV commercials. Section 6 is dedicated to listing all the properties that our methodology should have and the way these features are relevant to the identification of metaphors in multimodal contexts. Specifically, we will discuss how a procedure such as the 'Think aloud' task can represent a tool to describe processing and metaphor identification. After presenting the aspects related to metaphor identification, this part will also introduce the ideological analysis of the metaphors that we discuss in Section 7. The problems of developing a framework for the evaluation of metaphors from an ideological perspective are the following: first, the ideological interpretation should be related to a definable phenomenon (in our case, consumerism); second, the methodology should be capable of identifying clear cases of metaphorical structures. Section 8 describes how the two methodological frameworks will be used for the purposes of this dissertation. Specifically, we will present the criteria of selection of subjects and material that will be used for the development of an empirical analysis of how metaphors in TV car commercials conveying consumerism vary between the 'pre-Great Recession' and the 'Great Recession' conditions.

6) Multimodal metaphor: an identification framework

The description of a methodological framework for the identification of metaphors in non-verbal representations has been the object of interest for several scholars. However, what emerges from some of the most cited articles in the field of metaphor research is the lack of agreement about the underlying theoretical aspects of metaphor theory and a series of limitations about methods and procedure of analysis. In relation to what we will discuss in this section, the most relevant limitations can be summarised in five main categories:

1) The minor role of the recipient vis-à-vis of the researcher;

2) A series of theoretical presuppositions about the nature of non-linguistic representations;

3) The lack of attention to the metaphor processing side;

4) The lack of reliability of the methods used;

5) The lack of clarity of crucial aspects in the identification and analysis settings.

From this point on, we will try to describe how these aspects represent a problem for the study of metaphors in non-linguistic contexts and how these limitations can be solved using the methodological framework we have conceived for this dissertation.

6.1) Limitations in non-linguistic metaphor research

The corpus of articles where these limitations have been encountered refers to the works of some of the most influential scholars in the field of visual and multimodal metaphor research. The idea of conceiving certain theoretical and methodological aspects as limitations is justified both at the basis of some theoretical reasoning and from empirical evidence that we have found in a series of some related preliminary studies.

6.1.1) Researchers and subjects

The idea of using subjects to infer the presence of metaphors is not the norm in non-linguistic metaphor research. Works conducted by Forceville (2004), Urios-Aparisi (2009) and Yu (2011) prefer to leave the process of identification to experts or to the researchers themselves. If a medium such as a commercial is created with the intent of being experienced by several people, the idea of using experts to analyse it contradicts the nature of the medium itself. Consequently, this practice can undermine the validity of the analyses, as the understanding of a medium for wide audiences (i.e. TV commercials) is entirely produced by a single recipient. In addition, the practice of analysing data which were obtained by the same person can increase the risk of ad hoc explanations. In order to increase the validity of our analyses and to produce more reliable conclusions, we prefer to leave the interpretation and understanding of the material up to the subjects.

6.1.2) Some assumptions for non-linguistic metaphors

As it is possible to see from works such as Forceville (2007), Urios-Aparisi (2009) and Yu (2011), complex representations such as TV commercials are 'reduced' to a single metaphoric construction. In line with what we have observed in 3.2.2, despite the possible presence of sever-

al meanings and interpretations that the interaction of modes can produce, scholars prefer to associate certain non-linguistic representations as the expression of a single general metaphor. This presupposition can have an intrinsic logic, but it does not reflect the authentic nature of the medium and of its comprehension. The presence of a single metaphoric construction cannot be established de facto because multimodal representations can convey several metaphorical interpretations. From this, we consider participants free to infer any metaphor they prefer, without trying to associate a commercial to a certain specific conceptual construction. In terms of validity, all the conveyed metaphorical interpretations have the same value, even if they deviate from the original intention of the author of the TV commercials. As we said in the previous section, creative artefacts such as TV commercials are produced with the intention of conveying a certain message. However, the complexity of the medium can also leave space for subjective interpretations that move away from the original intended meaning. On this regard, we are not interested in evaluating if a participant interprets 'correctly', but what interpretations he/she produces when exposed to it.

6.1.3) Metaphor processing as a methodology foundation

Since bi- and multimodal metaphors have become a central topic in cognitive and linguistic studies, the problem of understanding how people make sense of them has been addressed by several researchers (see Forceville, 1996; Phillips, 1997; McQuarrie and Mick, 1999; Proctor, Proctor and Papasolomou, 2005). Despite the fact that these scholars have come to develop new insights into how metaphors are processed in non-linguistic representations, these investigations seem to be affected by a lack of attention about how processing is related to the identification of metaphorical structures (see, Šorm and Steen, 2013: 3). As suggested by Proctor *et al.* (2005: 70), there is "[the] need for more research into the process of recognising metaphors and understand-

ing how they shift from being understood at a literal level to being understood at a figurative level". The lack of attention we mentioned refers to the absence of an explicit model that predicts which processes are involved in metaphorical understanding. This is well expressed by Šorm and Steen:

> As a consequence, the results are to a large extent ad hoc and explained in post hoc fashion. To promote the development of general theories of visual metaphor processing, it is desirable to construct theories first and to validate them against available or novel data.
>
> (Šorm and Steen, 2013: 3)

From our perspective, the importance of metaphor processing is crucial because it allows us to understand which mental operations are performed when a metaphor is understood in order to connect the identification of a metaphor from its underlying mental operations. For this reason, we have detailed not only how we define metaphor both as an independent phenomenon and in relation to comparable processes such as simile and metonymy but also how we place metaphor in relation to wider cognitive processes (i.e., the incongruity resolution theory).

6.1.4) Researcher bias and other operative limitations

The role of the researcher can often affect those studies that are based on the active role of the subject. In the phase of putting subjects into the condition of verbalising thoughts, the researcher can severely limit the validity of metaphor interpretations. Studies conducted by Forceville (1996), Phillips (1997), McQuarrie and Mick (1999) and Proctor et al. (2005) asked subjects to analyse metaphors in adverts, drawing meanings by specific questions (i.e., What is the message of this advert?). The risk of such targeted questions is that they induce reports from subjects that are more centred on the message than on the perception of the stimuli. Although recipients tend

to interpret the message of an advert when they are exposed to it, it is also possible that they never understand it, or that their perception is limited to merely looking. In addition, if the questions per se can influence the reaction of the subjects, the questions asked can also influence the way the subjects perceive the stimulus, as the order of the questions can influence the order in which thoughts are produced in the minds of the subjects. A possible alternative to the use of targeted questions is the one of creating a context in which subjects can verbalise their thoughts not in relation to a set of questions. As we will discuss in the next section, in order to reduce as much as possible the elicitation of answers by the researcher, we suggest the use of a think aloud protocol.

6.1.5) Data collection and replicability

The modalities in which the verbalisations are obtained do not represent the final stage of the process of analysis. Some studies propose written reports to collect the thoughts of the subjects (i.e., Forceville, 1996; Phillips, 1997 and Proctor et al., 2005), but a crucial aspect concerns the moment when the verbalisations are actually collected. If the written reports give the subjects more privacy to elaborate their thoughts, collecting written reports may cause serious disadvantages at the same time. The more time passes between the viewing of the material and the beginning of the process of verbalisation the less accurate the reports can be. In addition, the more time the subjects spend writing their thoughts, the more possible it is that creative processes and memory deterioration can intervene. Therefore, if data are collected in the presence of such limitations, it is hard to imagine how these studies can be effectively replicated. In this regard, it is important to develop a procedure for data collection that would minimise the time between the material exposition and the verbalisation, reducing the impact on creative and constructive processes.

6.2) Main methodological dimensions

After listing the main limitations of metaphor research in non-linguistic representations, we can move to propose some of the correctives that can increase the validity of the methodology and the accuracy of the results. The main principles that form the methodology we suggest for the identification of metaphors in multimodal material can be summarised as follow:

1) Emphasis on the active role of the recipient;

2) A 'Think aloud' task for the verbalisation of the thoughts of the recipient;

3) An analysis of how multimodal metaphors are processed by the recipient.

In the next three sub-sections, we start detailing the principles of the methodology we suggest, placing particular emphasis on the advantages that we expect to obtain.

6.2.1) The recipient and their centrality

Non-linguistic representations are usually selected because they are pre-evaluated by a researcher as containing or expressing metaphors (see Forceville, 2007; Urios-Aparisi, 2009; Yu, 2011). Instead of influencing the viewers' response by presenting material that can more easily trigger a metaphorical interpretation, we have decided to leave subjects to convey any interpretation by presenting TV commercials that have not been selected according to reason of convenience. In this case, the viewers of the commercials have more space for personal evaluations.

6.2.2) The 'Think aloud' task as an identification tool

The 'Think aloud' task is a method of investigation that finds great relevance in several linguistic fields, such as translation studies (Bernardini, 2002; Li, 2004), pragmatics (Kasper, 2000) and

metaphor studies (Šorm and Steen, 2013). At the base of the 'Think aloud' task there is the assumption that the verbalisation of the thoughts can give access to those concepts and processes that subjects convey when a task that involves cognition is performed. Considering that viewing a TV commercial is a cognitive task, the 'Think aloud' task can be considered as a functional method to understand which conceptual operations are involved, in particular about how metaphors are processed (Ericsson and Simon, 1993). From an operative point of view, the 'Think aloud' task presents at least three main advantages: (i) it allows the subjects to verbalise their thoughts and to reduce the influence of the questions of the researcher; (ii) the verbalisation of thoughts occurs in real-time, thus limiting creative processes and memory deterioration; (iii) the 'Think aloud' task provides an appropriate connective between processing and identification since it allows one to understand how the subjects are processing a commercial and to collect which contents are associated with it.

6.2.3) Multimodal metaphor processing theory

The 'Think aloud' task allows one to collect the thoughts of subjects, but it does not provide any direct information about how to analyse their verbalisations. In this regard, it is crucial to provide a tool of interpretation that shows which mental operations are undertaken by the verbalisations and how they are related to metaphor processing. Considering that we have used an approach to metaphor that privileges a view in terms of incongruity resolution, the tool of interpretation that we use rely on the same theoretical principles. Among the possible alternatives, we have decided to use a tool roughly based on the visual metaphor processing model advanced by Šorm and Steen (2013) for the processing of visual metaphors in pictorial and bimodal representations such as adverts, artworks, and political cartoons. The decision to use this model depended on the assumption that – analogously to what we claimed in 1.7 – in Šorm and Steen (2013), metaphors

can be conceived as cognitive processes that solve the incongruity between "elements that make the visual at least initially complex and potentially ambiguous" (2013: 6).

The model described by Šorm and Steen (2013) moves around three broad main categories that are compatible with the analysis we conducted in the previous section, specifically:

1) The incongruity perception, which involves the recognition of basic perceptual elements (colours, shape, patterns) that contrast with previous knowledge;

2) The incongruity resolution, which concerns the creation of cross-domain mappings (i.e., metaphor) which can solve the incongruity, thus producing a new interpretation;

3) Contextual processing, which involves the addition of further information that can serve as a 'guide' to the understanding of the metaphor (Šorm and Steen, 2013: 11). As it is possible to notice from one of the examples from the previous section, these three principles reflect the way

Figure 10: Sturbucks - Doctored - "Visual Metaphor", David Shankin

we have approached metaphor analysis in bimodal representations. Using one of the examples we have previously discussed, we have in this case the incongruity perception, which involves the recognition of some perceptual elements (i.e., the Starbucks logo on a transfusion bag) and contrasts with previous knowledge of the object (i.e. transfusion bags do not present coffee brand logos, because they contain blood). The incongruity can then be solved creating a cross-mapping between two of the most salient objects present in the figure that can make 'sense' of the picture. A possible solution may be the conceptualisation of STARBUCKS COFFEE in terms of BLOOD, as the coffee is occupying the physical space (i.e. the inside of the transfusion bag) that is usually reserved for blood. The construction of the metaphor STARBUCKS COFFEE IS BLOOD is then the core of the incongruity resolution. In the final step, contextual processing, the metaphor is enriched by further elements that serve to 'justify' its understanding. For instance, it is possible to say that the choice of using a transfusion bag in relation to coffee depends on the will to emphasise how coffee is a fundamental fluid for every human activity (like blood), or that its representation as transfusion bags can be interpreted as something related to emergency situations. In fact, as transfusion bags are used in cases of extreme gravity in order to save lives, in a certain way coffee can also be particularly useful because of the stimulating action of the caffeine (i.e., being energetic for an intense session of work). From these bases, the model proposed by Šorm and Steen (2013) fits the way we conceive metaphors. After collecting the thoughts of the subjects with the 'think aloud' task, Šorm and Steen (2013) moved to an analysis of the mental operations that are undertaken by verbalisation. In order to do this, they developed a protocol for the categorisation of the fragments of the verbalisations organized around the three above-mentioned principles. Specifically, the verbalisations – after being divided into clauses – are assigned by the researcher to that specific catego-

ry   (category   label)   that   describes   its   operational   content   (criterion).
The codebook designed by Šorm and Steen (2013: 18-19) is presented in Table 1 and illustrates
the protocols of the 'think aloud' task.

Category label	Criterion
0	
0.1 *irrelevant*	When participants (a) talk about not-task related issues, (b) evaluate the task or task-situation at a meta-level, (c) comment on themselves, or (d) use interjections.
0.2 *incomplete*	When an utterance is grammatically incomplete and context does not help to arrive at the intended meaning.
0.3 *inaudible*	When an utterance is not loud or clear enough to be heard.
1 *incongruity perception*	
1.1 *recognition problem identification*	When participants express their difficulty or doubt with identifying a visual element.
1.2 *target labelling*	When participants designate a visual element or a property thereof with a label in terms of language belonging exclusively to the target domain.
1.3 *source labelling*	When participants designate a visual element or a property thereof with a label in terms of language belonging exclusively to the source domain.
1.4 *target or source labelling*	When participants designate a visual element or a property thereof with a label in terms of language not clearly belonging to either the target domain or the source domain.
1.5 *source and target labelling*	When participants designate a visual element or a property thereof with a label, using one term belonging exclusively to the source domain and another belonging exclusively to the target domain.
1.6 *incongruity identification*	When participants express awareness of an inappropriateness within the visual scene.
2 *incongruity resolution*	
2.1 *resolution problem identification*	When participants express their difficulty or doubt with solving a visual metaphor.
2.2 *metaphor recognition*	When participants express their metalingual awareness regarding a metaphor as being non-literal, comparative, or an image.

2.3 *target construc-tion*	When participants process a metaphor in terms of language belonging exclusively to the target domain.
2.4 *source construc-tion*	When participants process a metaphor in terms of language belonging exclusively to the source domain.
2.5 *target or source construction*	When participants process a metaphor in terms of language not clearly belonging to either the target domain or the source domain.
2.6 *metaphor con-struction*	When participants interpret a metaphor in terms of language belonging to both the target and the source domain.
2.7 *metaphor con-text construction*	When participants connect the metaphor to the intentions of the designer.
2.8 *metaphor appre-ciation*	When participants express their judgment concerning the class or the qual-ity of the metaphor.
3 *contextual processing*	
3.1 *designer pro-cessing*	When participants deal with the identity of the designer.
3.2 *genre processing*	When participants deal with the type of picture.
3.3 *title processing*	When participants deal with the title of the picture.
3.4 *other verbal text processing*	When participants deal with a verbal text other than titles of paintings.
4 *rest*	When participants express something that cannot be coded according to one of the previous categories.

Table 2 Codebook by Šorm and Steen (2013: 18-19)

From this, the fragments of the verbalisations were categorised as the following examples show.

In Šorm and Steen (2013: 23), a participant reacts to a guitar advert by saying:

"That's a picture with a guitar. And the model next to it is a kind of organic, plant-like whole. But it also has the mushroom cloud of an atom bomb. So it probably is a guitar with nuclear power."

In response, the researchers categorised the verbalisations in this way:

target labelling	**That's a picture with a guitar**
source labelling	And the model next to it is a kind of organic, plant-like whole
source labelling	But it also has the mushroom cloud of an atom bomb
metaphor construction	So it probably is a guitar with nuclear power

Table 3 Analysis of a verbalisation by Šorm and Steen (2013: 23)

Similarly, an artwork by Salvador Dali known as 'Le cabinet anthropomorphique' was referred to in Šorm and Steen (2013: 24) by the following thoughts:

"What strikes, what I, what strikes me first, really, is that nice picture of that boulevard in Paris or whatever it is in the distance with those ladies who are elegantly sauntering there"

The verbalisation that follows was described in the following way:

incomplete	What I —
target or source labelling	What strikes me first, really, is that nice picture of that boulevard in Paris
recognition problem identification	Or whatever it is in the distance with those ladies who are elegantly sauntering there

Table 4 Analysis of a verbalisation by Šorm and Steen (2013: 23)

As Šorm and Steen (2013: 17) stated, the coding is the result of an operation that "moved back and forth between data and the codebook" and therefore, the categories they described are the result of the specific verbalisations they collected. Although this codebook can be used as a general tool of analysis, a series of pilot studies that we conducted before this work revealed the presence of theoretical and practical problems that moved us to use the codebook of Šorm and Steen (2013) just as a starting point. In the following, we will detail our methodology for multimodal metaphor identification, presenting the elements which - from the experimental setting to

operative issues – have been improved in relation to our necessity. As a series of pilot studies have indicated, the codebook developed by Šorm and Steen (2013) suffers from some limitations, whose main aspects can be summarized as follow:

- Clauses and utterances: a distinction

To start with, while the 'Think aloud' task advanced by Šorm and Steen (2013) claims to use clauses as basic units of analysis, we have preferred to use the notion of utterance. Although it is possible to agree with Šorm and Steen (2013) about the fact that clauses "have been used as the basic semantic unit of discourse in quite a few analytical approaches" (ibidem: 17), since clauses are easy to classify (ibidem: 17), we prefer to work with utterances since they better reflect the natural spoken language. Specifically, while clauses can be isolated from a transcription "when a group of words contained a subject and predicate of its own and formed part of a sentence" (ibidem: 17), by contrast utterances can be isolated when a unit of speech is bounded by silence. Considering that utterances better represent the spoken language (i.e., verbalisations), we have decided to use them as the base of our analysis.

- Level of detail of the codebook

Although the codebook developed by Šorm and Steen (2013) is coherent with other processing models, such as the cognitive processing model of aesthetic experiences of visual artefacts proposed by Leder, Belke, Oeberst and Augustin (2004), the idea of evaluating the mental processing by a codebook interpretation is probably too optimistic. We are not saying that the categories described by Šorm and Steen (2013) in Table 1 are not correct or comprehensive, but that their identification cannot result in an unambiguous evaluation. For instance, from our pilot studies it was very hard to distinguish between 'fuzzy' categories such as 1.4 and 1.5, where the 'target or source labelling' and 'source and target labelling' can be considered as two similar pro-

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cesses. Even though the descriptions provided by the authors try to describe two different mental operations, on an empirical level, the decision to use 1.4 or 1.5 is influenced more by the personal evaluation of the researcher than by rigid evaluation. Similarly, a form of ambiguity is caused by 2.2 ('metaphor recognition') and 2.6 ('metaphor construction'). The recognition of metaphor described in 2.2 ("when participants express their metalingual awareness regarding a metaphor as being non-literal, comparative, or an image") is in a way an expression of 2.6 ("when participants interpret a metaphor in terms of language belonging to both the target and the source domain"), since the recognition of a metaphor implies that the metaphor has been in any case 'constructed' by a subject. Considering that the great complexity of Šorm and Steen's model does not allow one to clearly distinguish between certain operations, we have decided to create a less detailed codebook, putting together all those mental operations that are too fuzzy or too similar to be described. More specifically, we have decided to unify "source and target labelling" and "target or source labelling" into a single process ("Target and/or Source Labelling") rather than two distinct ones. In the same way, we have preferred to use the general category of "metaphor identification" to include both the processes of "metaphor recognition" and "metaphor construction".

- Discretional attributions and ambiguity.

The most important limitation of the codebook is not restricted to the fuzziness of the categories that represent some mental operations. More importantly, the role of the researcher contributes towards highlighting the limits of the model proposed by Šorm and Steen (2013). The main consequence of a codebook particularly rich in categories is the difficulty in finding agreement between two analyses or between two or more researchers. In other words, this kind of model leaves space for subjective judgments, as the researcher has to deal with the ambiguity of certain

categories and with a personal evaluation. During the pilot studies, we identified how the same researcher can evaluate the same verbalisations in different ways and how the evaluations of two different researchers do not easily match[5]. This limitation, rooted in the nature of the tool of evaluation, is further expressed by the fact that in Šorm and Steen (2013: 17) only one category is connected to a single segment of verbalisation. Although the authors acknowledge the possibility that some categories can describe one segment, the combination of such a codebook and this kind of operative choice makes the model described by Šorm and Steen (2013) less easy to apply. For these reasons, we have preferred to associate the possibility of attributing more than one category to the same segment with a simplified codebook. The process of analysis was conducted by two researchers that tried to find an agreement between verbalisations and categories, so as to maximize the solidity of each evaluation.

- Extra-metaphoric constructions and commercial processing

The model described by Šorm and Steen (2013) was created with the intention of analysing the visual processing of materials such as political cartoons, adverts, and artworks. Although working with a wide variety of contents can be recommended, our intention is to deal only with multimodal material and specifically with TV commercials. This shift from the analysis of bimodal representations to one of multimodal material tries to modify those categories that are more relevant for visual processing than for multimodality. For instance, the contextual processing described in 3.1 ("designer processing"), 3.2 ("genre processing") and 3.3 ("title processing") is not

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[5] The author of this dissertation and one assistant.

very functional to the analysis of TV commercials since the genre, the title and the designer do not represent information that can easily be recalled. While in Šorm and Steen (2013) the subjects had to analyse different kinds of material allowing them to be aware of the difference of genre, or the name of the author of an artwork and its title, TV commercials leave less space for this type of contextual information. In order to present a contextual processing analysis, we have decided to create two broad categories, one that deals with contextual processing such as expressing narrative, judgments, appreciation or intentions and a second one that collects all those thoughts that deal with the aims of the commercial, such as the message, the products and so on. In this way, the codebook moves towards a further simplification, without losing that contextual processing aspect that is crucial to understanding a certain representation.

- The 0- category issue

As we have pointed out, the 'think aloud' task leaves autonomy to subjects to verbalise their thoughts. However, the presence of irrelevant, incomplete, or inaudible utterances is a very frequent feature of spoken language, especially in the absence of an interlocutor. As Šorm and Steen (2013: 17) have reported in their study, the presence of these non-functional utterances – described in the 0-category in Table 1- can reach high percentage, considering that in their analysis almost 35% of the total units fell into this category. In order to reduce the impact of this kind of utterances – especially the 'out of the context' thoughts - we have decided to ask subjects not to generally verbalise their thoughts about the TV commercials, but to verbalise their thoughts about a series of conceptual categories that are structural for the commercials, such the product, the *buyer*, the *act of buying*, the *reason for buying* and *the feelings or the emotions related to the purchase of the product*. This strategy, preliminary tested in a series of pilot studies, leaves the

subjects with a remarkable level of autonomy in expressing their thoughts, but, at the same time, subtly makes their verbalisations potentially less dispersive. Although this expedient limits the subjects' freedom to verbalise any content they prefer, this setting still leaves more freedom than those structured by a question-answer scheme. Our main concern was to find an experimental setting that allows a wide degree of freedom without risking a high percentage of non-functional utterances.

- Processing as a base for the identification

In Section 2.7, we have argued that the processing analysis should constitute a basis for any methodology of identification. The reason behind this argument is that the processing analysis allows one to understand which mental operations are performed when a metaphor is understood in order to connect the identification of a metaphor to its underlying mental operations. However, Šorm and Steen (2013) present a work about the processing of metaphors in which the problem of the identification is not addressed. For this reason, we have decided to support the codebook with a further level of analysis. The idea we have developed in response to the pilot studies is to identify as metaphors those conceptualisations that are verbalised under the label of *metaphor identification.* The reason behind this decision is that only the meanings conveyed by this category can constitute the basis for the identification of two domains since the metaphor is explicitly reported by the subject. In addition, while the content of the *metaphor identification* category is not clear enough for the identification of a metaphor, we have decided to also use all those meanings present in other categories that are in a way contextually relevant with what is expressed in the *metaphor identification* category. We will present further details of this step in the next section. From these premises, the next section will now present the codebook we have developed and all the features that characterise the methodology we will use for this work.

6.3) A multimodal metaphor identification methodology

From what we have discussed in the previous sections, the goal is now to detail all the steps of our methodology for the identification of metaphors in multimodal representations. To begin with, considering the criticisms of Šorm and Steen's model (2013) and the results of the pilot studies, it is important to present the codebook for the interpretation of verbalisations.

- Codebook and target domains

As discussed, the subjects have to watch a series of TV commercials and they have to verbalise their thoughts in relation to a series of related target domains such as the product, the *buyer*, the *act of buying*, the *reason for buying* and *the feelings or the emotions related to the purchase of the product*. The verbalisations were then transcribed, parsed into utterances, and then assigned to one or more categories that describe their content in terms of multimodal metaphor processing. The process of interpretation of the utterances was based on the following codebook:

Code	Category label	Criterion
0	**Non-functional**	
0.1	Irrelevant	Talking about not-task related issues
0.2	Incomplete	Utterance does not help to arrive at a definite understanding.
0.3	Inaudible	Utterance not clear enough to be heard.
1	**Incongruity perception**	
1.1	Problem identification	Difficulty or doubt with identifying an element.
1.2	Target labelling	Describing an element in terms of target domain.

1.3	Source labelling	Describing an element in terms of source domain.
1.4	Target and/or source labelling	Describing an element in terms of an ambiguous domain.
1.5	Incongruity identification	Awareness of an inappropriateness within the scene.
2	**Incongruity resolution**	
2.1	Resolution problem identification	Difficulties in constructing a metaphor.
2.2	Metaphor identification	Meta-lingual awareness regarding a metaphoric interpretation.
2.3	Target construction	Processing a metaphor in terms of the Target domain.
2.4	Source construction	Processing a metaphor in terms of the Source domain
2.5	Target and/or source construction	Processing a metaphor in terms of an ambiguous domain.
3	**Contextual processing**	
3.1	Extra-Metaphoric Construction	Expressing narrative, judgments, appreciation or intentions.
3.2	Advertising Processing	Dealing with the aims of the commercial
4	**No Evaluation**	Dealing with something external to the previous categories.

Table 5 Codebook for utterances analysis

In line with the arguments given in Section 6.1, our codebook presents fewer categories than Šorm and Steen (2013) and provides a higher level of generality in describing the processing categories. As Table 4 shows, the processing categories are organised into 4 main units, whose details will be elaborated as follows:

Non-functional (0): The 0 category includes all the verbalisations that for different reasons cannot be used for our purposes. The utterances can be either irrelevant to the analysis (0.1), incomplete (0.2), or impossible to understand (0.3).

Incongruity perception (1): Category 1 is about the attempt to understand the TV commercial. When the subject expresses their thoughts about a literal view of the image, describing what is happening on the screen in relation to one of the target domains we suggested, the processing category is *target labelling* (1.2). When the description concerns any other element subject present in the scene, we would refer to it as *source labelling* (1.3). In several cases, the distinction between target and source was hard to define, therefore, when the labelling is not clear, the category was applied as *target and/or source labelling* (1.4). TV commercials can often be too complex for some viewers and their understanding can be limited. In cases where the subject is not able to label any element we use the category *problem identification* (1.1). If, during the viewing, the subject realises that there is a discrepancy between the scenes of the commercial and its meaning, the verbalisation was labelled in terms of *incongruity perception* (1.5).

Incongruity resolution (2): The incongruity resolution includes the processes that concern the creation of a metaphor as an attempt to go beyond the incongruity. As the *metaphor identification* states (2.2), the creation of a metaphor is conveyed by the metalingual awareness that a certain scene can be understood in terms of metaphor. If the subject reports a series of properties or aspects that belong to the target domain of the metaphor, or to the source domain, we used the category *target construction* (2.3), or *source construction* (2.4). In addition, when the properties or the aspects are related to a domain, but their attribution is not clear, *the target and/or source*

construction was the category to apply. Incongruity resolution can be a hard process to go through and, even if the subject realises that the scene should be interpreted metaphorically, the use of a metaphorical interpretation to solve the incongruity is not immediate. In these cases, it is possible to use the category resolution problem identification (2.1).

Contextual processing (3): The creation of metaphor is not the only process that can give sense to the viewing of material. The subject can in fact focus his attention on other mental operations, such as creation of narrative or of interpretations that explain why the commercial presents a certain scene. Besides this, the subject can be oriented towards the formulation of judgments about the commercials or expressing his appreciation for it. In all these case, we speak of extra-metaphoric construction (3.1). The subject can also deal with all the aspects that are related to the commercial as a medium, considering for example the aims of the commercials or the stylistic features of them. When these contents are presented, the relevant category is about advertising processing (3.2).

No Evaluation (4): Any other content that cannot be referred to using one of the previous categories can instead be described in terms of no evaluation.

- Metaphor identification

As we have anticipated in the previous parts, the analysis of metaphor processing is supported by the metaphor identification stage. Metaphor identification allowed us to collect all those metaphorical conceptualisations that are verbalised by the subjects. In this regard, the transcript in Table 2 will provide a useful example, that is, the verbalisation of the advert of the Gibson guitar presented in Šorm and Steen (2013: 23):

"That's a picture with a guitar. And the model next to it is a kind of organic, plant-like whole. But it also has the mushroom cloud of an atom bomb. So it probably is a guitar with nuclear power."

According to the codebook presented by Šorm and Steen (2013: 23), this verbalisation has been related to a single metaphoric construction ("So it probably is a guitar with nuclear power"). The information presented in this utterance, however, does not give us enough information to refer to a specific metaphoric construction because the nature of the utterance is to break the wider contextual meaning. In fact, saying that a "guitar" has "nuclear power" conveys metaphor interpretation, but does not make it clear to which other element the guitar is related in order to have such "nuclear power". A possible solution is to relate the utterance identified as "metaphor construction" (or, according to the new denomination we proposed, metaphor identification) to those pieces of information that are contextually relevant. In this case, the utterance processed as a metaphor ("So it probably is a guitar with nuclear power") can be related to 'atomic bomb'. In fact, it is possible to infer that the metaphor that the subject is processing is THE GIBSON GUITAR IS AN ATOMIC BOMB. In other words, our analysis used the information presented in the metaphor identification category as a starting base for the construction of a metaphor. Some information can then be suggested by other units, which are in a way coherent with the content of the metaphor identification category. In addition, from our pilot study it has emerged that several units of metaphor identification do not need any integration, because they convey all the information needed for the creation of a metaphor. This is possible because the metaphor identification category, as we described in the section about the level of detail of the codebook, can be considered as the sum of "metaphor recognition" and "metaphor construction" and therefore it contains variable levels of information that may reflect different types of processing.

After presenting and discussing the methodology that will constitute the first section of the experimental part of this work, we will move to the second section. The second section will detail the ideology analysis framework of this work and will put in focus several details related to the choice of the material and the subjects and, more importantly, will constitute the basis for the hypotheses that characterized this work.

7) Multimodal metaphor: an ideological interpretation

As we have seen, Section 6 was dedicated to outlining a methodology for the identification of metaphors in TV commercials. In this Section how such metaphors may be ideologically interpreted in the light of consumerism will instead be detailed. Considering that an investigation of metaphors in relation to consumerism does not have other approaches in literature, the methodology that will be presented is just the result of an attempt to provide an empirical tool for an ideological analysis of metaphors. In this Section, we then discuss how a metaphorical conceptualisation can actually be interpreted in the light of the styles of consumption discussed in 5.3.

7.1) Metaphors and consumerism: an empirical analysis

Before describing the procedures that would allow us to interpret a certain metaphor in relation to consumerism, we think it is advantageous to present the table regarding styles of consumption again. As we discussed in Section 5.3, consumerism is a complex object of analysis because it combines economic and historical dynamics with subjective and psychological factors. For the purposes of this thesis, we have decided to operationalise the notion of consumerism as an expression of style of consumption and to create a connection between such a notion and the level of language because of some conceptual categories, which is the content of the following table.

Style of Consumption	Practical Behavioural	Utopian-Reflective	Critical	Recreational - Visceral	Neutral
Main Aspects	Utility Practical aspects	Self-image Identity	Cost Cost/Benefits	Aesthetic Non-practical aspects	Rest
Conceptual Domains	- Comfort - Performance - Easy to drive - Reliability - Security - Customisation	- Tradition - Innovation - Uniqueness - Personality - Feelings - Mood - Cultural Knowledge	- Convenience - Saving - Promotions - Fuel consumption	- Prestige - Style - Luxury - Taste - Social Impact	Rest

(SAME AS TABLE 1) - Description of styles of consumption

In order to maximize the validity of this operation, we have decided to create three operative criteria: (i) the direct association, (ii) an indirect criterion called conceptual equivalence, and (iii) a more interpretative approach which we have named conceptual interpretation. In order to make the explanation of this process clearer, we supported the definition of the criteria with a practical example. First of all, we considered the so-called direct criterion in order to describe how a source domain present in a metaphor can be directly related to one of the conceptual domains of the styles of consumption. For instance, if, from the verbalisation of a TV commercial the metaphor FORD FIESTA IS BEING HAPPY emerges, the source domain BEING HAPPY was related to the Utopian-reflective style of consumption, since BEING HAPPY is a 'mood'. As we have said, 'mood', 'personality' and other existentialist traits are an expression of the Utopian-reflective style of consumption. Secondly, if a participant verbalises a metaphor that — not directly, but by conceptual equivalence — could be considered as an expression of a conceptual category, we speak in terms of indirect criterion. For instance, if a verbalisation reports THE LANCIA Y IS A COUCH, the source domain COUCH was considered as the expression of the Practical-behavioural style of consumption since COUCH can be conceptually associated to the

domain of COMFORT. Thirdly, the conceptual interpretation criterion happens where there are not evident semantic clues and we interpreted each specific source domain in order to maximise the coherence between its meaning and the conceptual categories. Considering that a process of interpretation is highly subjective, we have decided to use two different researchers for this task, the author of this dissertation and an assistant. When a metaphor is too ambiguous to fit into a single style of consumption, the metaphor can also be considered as an expression of two different styles. In addition, if the researchers do not find any agreement about which style(s) of computation a certain metaphor represents, it was considered as neutral and therefore excluded from the analysis.

In this section, we have detailed the methodology for associating metaphors to consumerism. The first section consisted of presenting an operative definition of consumerism as the expression of four main styles of consumption, styles that represent the combination of two different theoretical approaches: one focusing on the properties of the products (design typology) and one relating to the strategies of promotion of the products. The process of attribution centred around three main criteria, which involve different types of analysis and two supplemental expedients (such as the possibility of considering a metaphor as the expression of two different styles of consumption and the opportunity to exclude a metaphor from the analysis when it cannot be reduced to any style). In the next section, we will present and discuss the experimental study, analysing the choice of the material, the participants, and the hypotheses of work.

8) Multimodal metaphor: material, subjects and criteria of selection

After conducting in the first part a literature review about the notions of metaphor and multimodality and after presenting the ideological meaning that metaphors have in the 'real world', the second part of this thesis has been dedicated to explaining how metaphors will be extracted from TV commercials and how they can be interpreted in the light of a concept of consumerism. From these bases, the following section will try to detail all the methodological aspects and to illustrate how the research design and the analysis of data have been developed. Specifically, we will explain what criteria have been used for the selection of the subjects and of the material and how the conditions of analysis are functional to the hypothesis of this study

8.1) Participants: culture and language

The first step of this section consists in describing how metaphors have been identified and verbalised by the participants as response to the TV commercials. In order to satisfy the methodological and theoretical aspects we have discussed in the previous section and to provide a good context for testing our hypothesis, the selection of the subjects and the material has been evaluated with care. As we will see, one of the main aspects of this thesis consists of taking into account a socio-economic condition ('The Great Recession') and a type of material (TV commercials) that, by their nature, are cross-cultural objects of analysis.

The 'Great Recession' and the relative TV commercials that have been broadcasted before and during cannot be extrapolated from the context in which they have been experienced. For this reason, we decided to conduct our analysis with participants from two different countries: Italy and the United Kingdom. The decision to work with such participants depends on two main reasons: a theoretical reason and a reason of convenience. Considering that the 'Great Recession' has affected – among others –- European countries and the impact of the crisis has hit them with different levels of intensity, we have preferred to work with participants whose countries have arguably been affected by the crisis in different ways. Although the 'Great Recession' has severely affected the UK, Italy has suffered deeper and more serious consequences in terms of GDP, stock market and Special drawing rights (Rose and Spiegel, 2012: 31). In addition to this aspect, the reason for working with Italian and UK participants was motivated by the opportunity to conduct this analysis in the UK and by the fact that the author of this thesis is Italian, and consequently had greater ease in finding participants.

We have, therefore, collaborated with 30 university students (aged 22-32), 15 Italian and 15 from the UK, equally divided between males and females. Each potential participant was preliminarily asked to rate — using a 7-point Likert scale — their 'car world knowledge' ("How much do you know about cars and car brands?": 0-No Knowledge to 7-Expert knowledge) and 'TV viewing frequency' ("Among all the media, how often do you watch TV?": 0-Never to 7-Always). Only those people reporting a score of less than 3 were subjected to the experiment. Behind these criteria, there was the need to work only with participants that presented a minimum degree of knowledge of both cars and TV commercials. The decision to use a threshold value of 3 is certainly arbitrary, but it reflects a fairly low level of knowledge. If the 'car world knowledge' index described how much participants know about cars and car brands, the 'TV viewing frequency'

indicated the participants who watched TV less often and would therefore be likely to have a more limited knowledge of TV commercials. These two indices, together, allow for selecting participants with little prior knowledge and conceptualisations that may affect their interpretations of the TV commercials.

8.2) Material: TV car commercials, culture and language

The decision to use TV commercials, and specifically TV car commercials as we have anticipated in Section 6.2, has raised the question of the selection of the material. The selection of TV car commercials should not only represent an 'objective' criterion of selection, but also be representative of the two historical periods in which the commercials were broadcast. The decision to analyse the commercials that promote the most-sold cars in each condition (2007-2008 for the pGR vs 2011-2012 for the GR) raised three main practical questions. Firstly, the number of sold cars can be calculated in different ways and using different methods. Secondly, considering that we are working with biennia, it is possible that the same car model was promoted by more than one commercial, with consequent problems of selection. Thirdly, although TV commercials are broadcast in order to reach a great number of people, it is still possible that some commercials are hard to collect, either because there are no 'copies' on the internet, or because the available commercials do not reflect the country we mean to work on. In other words, if we look for an X commercial that has been broadcast in Italy and we find the same X commercial that has been broadcast in Germany, the commercial was not used because it contains some information in German that cannot be understood by the Italian participant. In order to face these issues, we proceeded in the following way. In the two conditions, 'pre-Great Recession' and 'Great Reces-

sion', we have a total of 20 commercials equally subdivided between TV commercials that have been broadcasted in Italy and in the UK.

The first issue has been satisfied using the number of the most sold cars per biennium using the registration number available on the website of 'The Society of Motor Manufacturers and Traders (SMMT)[6] for the UK condition and the web version of the Italian magazine 'Quattroruote'[7] for the Italian condition. For the second aspect, that is, the number of commercials for each car, we have analysed only those commercials that — for a specific year — represent the most-sold car. For example, if in 2007, 130,000 units of car X were sold in the UK and 140,000 in 2008, and for each year the car brand had launched different commercials, we selected only the commercial that refers to the year in which more cars were sold. In this case, during 2008. Finally, for the third aspect - the possibility of missing or non-representative commercials - we developed two strategies. For instance, if the commercial for car Y for 2008 had not been available, the choice would have fallen on the 2007 model; if commercials for car Y for 2007 and 2008 had not been available, the criterion was to substitute car Y with the first available car we encountered beyond fifth position. What has emerged from these criteria is the following list of TV car commercials:

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[6] http://www.smmt.co.uk/smmt-membership/member-services/market-intelligence/vehicle-data/

[7] http://forum.quattroruote.it/threads/classifiche-di-vendita-in-italia-dal-1967-a-oggi.61198/

ITA	Lancia: Ypsilon – 'Rendezvous'	pGR
ITA	Ford: Focus – 'Ode to Ford'	pGR
ITA	Fiat: Grande Punto – 'Filava Dritto'	pGR
ITA	Peugeot - 207 – 'Coccinelle'	pGR
ITA	Ford: Fiesta – 'This is now'	pGR
ITA	Fiat: 500 – 'Drive it easy'	GR
ITA	Lancia: Ypsilon – 'Il lusso è un diritto'	GR
ITA	Ford: Fiesta – 'Il future è adesso'	GR
ITA	Fiat: Punto – 'La mini che amiamo'	GR
ITA	Fiat: Panda – 'Questa è l'Italia che piace'	GR

UK	Volkswagen: Golf – 'The Great Pretender'	pGR
UK	Ford: Focus – 'Ode to Ford'	pGR
UK	Vauxhall: Corsa – 'Back into driving'	pGR
UK	Peugeot: 207 – 'Coccinelle'	pGR
UK	Ford: Fiesta – 'This is now'	pGR
UK	Peugeot: 2007 – 'Envy'	GR
UK	Ford: Fiesta – This in now' II	GR
UK	Ford: Focus - 'Start More than a Car'	GR
UK	Vauxhall: Corsa – 'Back into Driving'	GR
UK	Volkswagen: Golf – 'Depeche Mode'	GR

Table 6 List of the most cars per condition and country

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8.3) Procedure: Think-aloud task, TV commercials and language

As we pointed out in Section 5.1, the choice of using a 'Think aloud' methodology is based on the idea of giving more weight to the active role of the participant, trying to reduce the impact of the researcher. While, in multimodal studies, the researcher autonomously interprets the material by asking specific questions to the subjects, our first concern consisted of leaving more space to the participants to produce their own interpretations. In this regard, the 'Think aloud' task is then a useful tool of analysis. However, the 'Think aloud' method has the defect of giving too much freedom to the participants, with the consequent risk that they may verbalise an excessive number of non-relevant or non-functional thoughts. In order to achieve a compromise between these aspects, we asked participants to verbalise their thoughts about a series of conceptual categories that are structural to the commercials, such the car itself, the buyer, the act of buying, the reason for buying and the feelings or the emotions related to the purchase of the product. The participants were, therefore, asked to watch some commercials and verbalise, immediately after each commercial, their thoughts in relation to such domains. Considering that we had to organize our analysis around two main types of conditions – the historical condition ('pre-Great Recession' vs 'Great Recession') and the different language of the commercials (Italian vs English) – we decided to subject each participant to the historical condition, but to keep the viewing of the material language-specific. In other words, while each participant was exposed to commercials belonging to both historical conditions, we decided that participants would only view commercials in their native language in order to make any interpretation as precise as possible and to avoid any bias derived from a lack of understanding.

To begin with, the idea of exposing participants to the commercials of each historical condition presents the advantage of balancing the weight of each condition and of minimizing the risk of connecting the commercials with the topic of the Great Recession. For this reason, we - decided to use a total of 4 commercials (2 for the pGR condition and 2 for GR) as the setting of the analysis. The reason for using specifically 4 commercials emerged during a series of pilot studies we conducted. Viewing commercials and verbalizing their contents can be a hard task and 4 commercials was discovered to be the best option to minimize the fatigue-effect. In order to further reduce the impact of the historical condition on the process of interpretation, each condition was presented to each participant in a random order. For instance, while a participant viewed commercials in the order pGR-GR-GR-pGR, another participant worked with commercials in the form of GR-pGR-GR-pGR. The order was random, but each participant analysed 2 commercials for the pGR condition and 2 for the GR condition.

To summarise, the procedure can be described by the following:

- 15 Italian participants and 15 UK participants view 4 TV commercials each.

- Participants present a low level of knowledge about car and TV commercials (< 3)

- Each participant view 4 commercials, 2 for the pGR condition and 2 for the GR condition in random order.

- Italian participants watch only Italian commercials

- UK participants watch only UK commercials.

- The verbalisation of each commercial start just after the first viewing.

- Verbalisation has no limits of time.

- The total number of verbalisations (reports) is 120, i.e. 30 participants in total x 4 commercials each.

- Each TV commercial is analysed up to 6 times per condition (15 participants per condition each with x 4 commercials to view: the total number of commercials per condition).

Before starting the analysis, each participant receives written and spoken instructions about the 'think aloud' task. In addition, the analysis is introduced by a 'warm-up' part, in order to famil-iarise the participants with the 'think aloud' task. The warm-up part uses a TV car commercial that is not included in the above-mentioned list. The only interference what was allowed during the experiment was when participants stopped thinking aloud. In that case, the researcher had to use a brief and direct reminder such as "Please [participant name], keep on talking". After the 'Think aloud' task, participants were thanked for taking part in the study and debriefed.

The instructions are provided in the Appendix and they also contain aspects about copyright and ethical issues.

PART III – DATA ANALYSIS

Multimodal Metaphors in TV car commercials:

Results and Discussion

In this Chapter we will present the results of the two analyses that we have described in the previous sections. In order to simplify the reading of the results, this Chapter is organised into three parts.

The first part of this section (i.e., 9.1) discusses the results of the metaphor processing that emerged from the analysis of the TV commercials. This Section will describe how some conceptual dynamics used in the TV commercials may be related to the development of metaphorical interpretations.

Section 9.2 describes the results concerning the metaphors that were identified in the 20 TV commercials. The presentation of the results will include information on the total number of metaphorical conceptualisations (i.e., token) and the main units that reflect a particular kind of metaphorical expression (i.e., type). The results will also include information about the quantity

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of tokens and types in relation to the two sets of conditions we decided to analyse: Italian vs British TV commercials and 'pre-Great Recession' vs 'Great Recession'.

The third section of this Chapter (9.3) presents the results of the metaphorical interpretation in the light of consumerist ideology. This section includes not only the attribution of each metaphor type to each style of consumption, but also the explanation of how this process of attribution is justified. Finally, we provide a discussion of how the 'Great Recession' has influenced the use of metaphorical conceptualisation in the Italian and English conditions.

9) Processing, Identifying and Interpreting multimodal metaphors: Results

9.1) Processing metaphors: from conceptual operations to multimodality

As we have pointed out in 6.1.1, the focus on metaphor processing is crucial because it allows one to qualify the process of metaphor identification in terms of the mental operations involved. In line with our theoretical framework (see 3.4), we consider the active role of the recipient as a crucial aspect for any metaphorical understanding, reflecting how participants have 'used' the information from the TV commercials in order to derive metaphorical meaning. The three conceptual operations may be labelled as '*metaphor suggestion', 'metaphor expansion' and 'metaphor heuristic'.*

9.1.1) Metaphor suggestion: the case of 'Ford Focus – Ode to Ford'

Ford Focus' 'Ode to Ford' is a commercial from 2008 broadcast in Italy and the United Kingdom in which members of an orchestra play several parts of a Ford Focus in order to produce a pleasant Waltz. The commercial starts with a series of framings on the different musicians and then finishes with a *panning shot* of the car and with the final motto 'The new Ford Focus. Beautifully arranged.'[8]

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[8] The Italian version of this motto is "Nuova Ford Focus. Magnifica esecuzione" ("New Ford Focus. Wonderful execution")

Figure 11. Ford Focus 'Ode to Ford'

What has emerged in relation to this commercial is that the majority of the participants (6 Italian and 6 British) associated the musical instruments with parts of the Ford Focus, making explicit the metaphors PART OF THE FOCUS IS A MUSICAL INSTRUMENT and THE FOCUS IS AN ORCHESTRA. The interpretation of the source domains is clearly suggested by the framings and by a sort of 'coherence' between the style of the music and the movements performed by the musicians with the musical instruments. These visual and musical clues help to immediately convey the above-mentioned metaphorical interpretations. In support of this immediacy, there is also the fact that only 3 participants asked to watch the commercial more than once. As it is possible to see from a sample of transcriptions, the relation between PART OF THE FOCUS and MUSICAL INSTRUMENT is almost instantaneous.

'Ah, stanno suonando le parti della macchina *("Ah, they are playing the parts of the car")*	2.3	Target construction
Un'orchestra suona le parti della macchina *("An orchestra plays the parts of the car")*	2.3	Target construction
Ah, carina *("Ah, it's nice")*	3.1	Extra-Metaphoric Construction
Quindi la Focus è uno strumento musicale *("Then the Focus is a musical instrument")*	2.2	Metaphor identification

Table 7. Participant: 1 (ITA) extract

"Stanno suonando la macchina, o meglio alcuni pezzi della macchina	2.3	Target construction

("They are playing the car, or rather, some pieces of the car")		
Un'orchestra che suona i pezzi della macchina *("An orchestra that plays the pieces of the cars")*	2.3	Target construction
Magnifica esecuzione come si sente dallo spot *("A magnificent performance as you can hear from the commercial")*	3.1	Extra-Metaphoric Construction

Table 8 Participant: 4 (ITA) extract

It's about musical instruments	1.3	Source labelling
the car is represented as a perfect combination of different instruments	2.3	Target construction
The parts of the car are like violins, trumpets, musical, musical instruments	2.3	Target construction

Table 9. Participant: 26 (UK) extract

This Ford is like a musical instrument, or an orchestra	2.2	Metaphor identification
that's why it can perform such a great music	3.1	Extra-Metaphoric Construction
Beautifully arranged, the motto, can refer to the car or the music	3.1	Extra-Metaphoric Construction
The music is very classy and elegant	3.1	Extra-Metaphoric Construction

Table 10. Participant: 29 (UK) extract

At this point, after presenting the conceptual content of each TV commercial and the relevant style of consumption we can move toward the quantification of the styles of consumption both in relation to the historical condition and in relation to the language of the commercial. The following table provides then a general overview of the styles of consumption and provide a basis for describing how consumerism has been conceptualised across two different historical moments and what conclusions can be eventually drawn from it. As is possible to understand from the transcriptions, the identification of the CAR, or some of its parts, has been easily associated with the MUSICAL INSTRUMENT domain. The process of *metaphor suggestion* has been mainly

caused by the likely intent of the author of the commercial who, in fact, uses any possible visual and musical element to trigger the intended metaphorical interpretation. The idea behind the commercial does not leave much room for the participants other than to identify the metaphor. In line with the 'incongruity resolution' approach, the participants certainly identify an incongruity between what the viewer would expect and the actual content of the commercial, but the resolution of the incongruity is so overtly suggested that it is basically 'simultaneous' to its identification. Specifically, if, on the one hand, the representation of some musicians playing parts of a car is certainly highly unusual, on the other hand, the commercial presents a systematic series of framings in which, for instance, a particular sound heard during the progression of the commercial may be realistically related to one particular part of the car. For instance, at a certain point in the commercial it is possible to hear a sort of bass drum, the noise from which seems to be produced by the movement with which a musician hits the hood of the car. The sound produced by the hood of the car then seems plausible as the sound of a normal bass drum. This audio-visual element is one of the elements that helps the participants to immediately solve the incongruity between the PARTS OF THE CAR and the MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS. This example of a commercial therefore reflects how the incongruity and the resolution of the incongruity itself can be presented at the same time.

9.1.2) Metaphor expansion: the case of 'Lancia Ypsilon – Rendezvous'

Lancia Ypsilon 'Rendezvous' is a commercial broadcast in Italy in 2007 in which the famous stylist Stefano Gabbana drives his Lancia Ypsilon in a sort of desert. Then, a woman with big wings arrives from the sky. Stefano Gabbana approaches her and then kisses her on the mouth. In the final sequence of the commercial, Gabbana and the woman leave in the Ypsilon toward an unknown destination.

Figure 12. Lancia Ypsilon 'Rendezvous'

The transcriptions of the think-aloud produced by 3 out of the 6 participants that viewed this commercial, show that the metaphorical content of this TV commercial was retrieved through a different process that takes into account the complexity of the scene. The commercial conveyed a certain complexity since every participant watched it more than once before starting the verbalisation (for 'Ode to Ford' only 3 participants watched the commercial more than once). From these viewings a sort of general interpretation has emerged. The woman has been identified as a 'Devil', or as an unspecified evil creature, and Stefano Gabbana as an 'Angel', or as an unspecified positive creature. The evil traits of the woman are explained by some visual elements, for instance she has eyes with flames and produces some animalistic sounds, while the positive role of Stefano Gabbana is essentially deduced from the fact that he is the protagonist of the commercial. The interpretation of the commercial then sees Stefano Gabbana as being in a desert waiting for the Devil to come, emulating in a certain sense the biblical encounter of Jesus with Satan in the Judean Desert; after the arrival of the Devil, the protagonist approaches her and then 'redeems' her with a kiss. The 'redemption' is visually portrayed by the fact that the image of the woman changes and that, while being together in the car, the woman looks just like a normal woman. Considering that the commercial is about a car, how is this narration being related to the car itself? According to the responses, the metaphorical meaning in this commercial lies in the connection between the car and the transformative power of good conveyed in the scenes. Consider the following sample of transcriptions:

Lei sembra un Diavolo, o qualcosa del genere, di crudele *("She looks like a Devil, or something like that, something cruel")*	1.3	Source labelling
Lui, non so, di certo deve essere buono, è il soggetto principale *("He, I don't know, but for sure he is something good, he is the main character")*	1.3	Source labelling
E poi la bacia ed è come se la trasforma, insomma *("And then he kisses her and it's like if he transforms her, I'd say")*	1.3	Source labelling
La macchina, la macchina sembra sua *("The car, the car looks his")*	3.1	Extra-Metaphoric Construction
Allora la Ypsilon deve essere uno strumento del bene *("So, Ypilon has to be a tool of good")*	2.3	Target construction
Oppure è un sentimento, un sentimento di bene, diciamo *("Or it's a feeling, a feeling of good, let's say")*	2.4	Source construction

Table 11. Participant: 2 (ITA) extract

Non saprei, la macchina è di questo stilista, *("I don't know, the car is this stylist's")*	3.1	Extra-Metaphoric Construction
E poi tutto così romantico alla fine *("And then everything is so romantic at the end")*	3.1	Extra-Metaphoric Construction
E la macchina non saprei, invece *("and I don't know about the car, instead")*	1.1	Problem identification
la macchina è allora anche un sentimento *("The car is then also a feeling too")*	2.3	Target construction
Un sentimento *("A feeling")*	2.4	Source construction
Come l'amore, la macchina è amore, può essere *("Like love, the car is love, It might be")*	2.2	Metaphor identification

Table 12. Participant: 4 (ITA) extract

Gabbana arriva e bacia questo Diavolo *("Gabbana comes and kisses this Devil")*	3.1	Extra-Metaphoric Construction
Allora lui è un angelo, diciamo *("and then he is an angel, let's say")*	1.3	Source labelling
Un angelo che bacia il Diavolo ci stà *("An angel that kisses the Devil, it makes sense")*	3.1	Extra-Metaphoric Construction
E la macchina sarà come il Paradiso *("And the car will be like the Heaven")*	2.3	Target construction
Difatti sembra quasi una nuvoletta *("In fact it looks like a little cloud")*	2.4	Source construction

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Con l'angelo e quella che era il diavolo *("With the angel and the one that was the Devil")*	3.1	Extra-Metaphoric Construction
Forse adesso sarà un angelo anche lei. *("Maybe she will be an angel too")*	3.1	Extra-Metaphoric Construction

Table 13. Participant: 11 (ITA) extract

From this sample of verbalisations, it is possible to see how the participants have tried first to give an 'identity' to the main characters and to create a sort of explanation for the scenes. The action of making sense of the narration is then followed by the attempt to explain how the car and the consequent aim of the commercial would fit into the narration itself. In this case, it is possible to consider the attempt to fit the car into the narration as an example of 'incongruity', since the presence of the car is largely in contrast with the events depicted in the commercial. The incongruity between the narration and the presence of the car is solved by creating a series of interpretations that would match the aims of the commercial, i.e., presenting the car in a positive way and promoting its purchase. The 'passage' from the level of the narration to the car and the aims of the commercial is made through the use of metaphors that relate the car to some 'positive' domains. For instance, Participant 2 seems to use the following sequence of arguments. Considering that the woman is a negative character and then Gabbana is the good one, the fact that Gabbana has been able to transform the woman into a good character means that Gabbana has a certain power or special abilities of doing good. Then, the car looks like his property, which might also have some relation with the good role and the good power of Gabbana, such as A TOOL FOR GOOD or a FEELING. The last passage is then an attempt to 'force' the car toward a positive interpretation that would fit the context of the commercial. From this, the following metaphors can be derived: THE YPSILON IS A TOOL FOR GOOD and THE YPSILON IS A FEELING.

Metaphor Expansion
Positive property in the scene ⇒
Aim of the commercial

Incongruity Resolution
Car + Positive property
=
Positive property in the
scene

Incongruity Identification
Scene ≠ Aim of the commercial
(Car + Positive property)
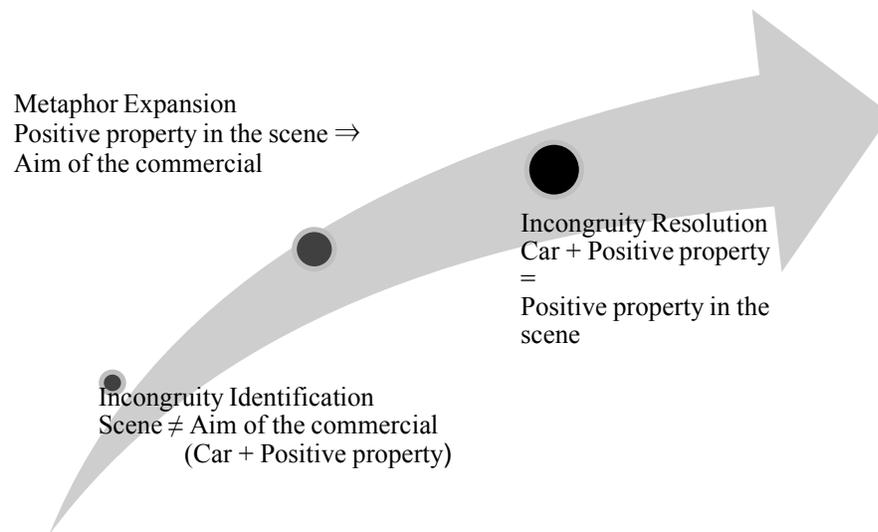
Figure 13. Representation of metaphor expansion

In terms of visual information, the commercial does not give any clue in order to conceptualise the car in terms of A TOOL FOR GOOD or a FEELING. However, the incongruity between the car, the aims of the commercial and the scenes portrayed in the commercial have to be resolved and the metaphors are then functional to this. The use of these metaphors seems to represent an attempt to create a sort of coherence between the positive role of Gabbana and the positive role that the car has to have in the commercial. The arguments that Participant 2 seems to use can be based on the following dynamics. If Gabbana is a good character with some good power and the car belongs to him, then the car might also be equipped with some good power. The metaphor THE YPSILON IS A TOOL FOR GOOD might then operate to create coherence between the car and Gabbana. Similarly, if Gabbana operates by transforming the woman with a kiss, in a very intense and romantic scene, it is possible to deduce that the power that Gabbana owns might just be the feeling that he has shown to the woman. Participant 2 refers in terms of a general FEELING OF GOODNESS, while Participant 4 makes a more precise interpretation referring to it as LOVE. In this case, the FEELING and LOVE domains have been seen as a product of the

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scene in which Gabbana kisses the woman, because, apart from this action, the protagonist of the commercial does not perform any other action. If Gabbana has changed the nature of the woman (from Devil to a normal condition), then the kiss cannot represent only a kiss, but might also represent the expression of a feeling. Participant 2 referred to it in terms of a general 'feeling of goodness', while Participant 4 in terms of 'love'. In this case, the dynamic that we have called metaphor expansion, operates by connecting the car – which for the aims of the commercial has to present positive properties – with something 'positive' that the participant has found in the commercial itself. While Participant 2 has moved from a general TOOL FOR GOOD to a less vague FEELING OF GOODNESS, Participant 4 has more directly shifted his attention from the main sequence of the commercial (the kiss) to the concept of LOVE, connecting the latter to the CAR. The reason for calling this dynamic metaphor expansion is the fact that the presence of a single visual element (the kiss, for instance) expands from a certain meaning (a kiss as the expression of the feeling/tool that has changed the woman) to another (a kiss as the expression of a feeling/tool that positively describes the car).

A similar dynamic has been shown by Participant 11. Participant 11 also interpreted the relation between Gabbana and the woman in terms of an angel and the Devil but has provided a different explanation about the role of the car. From his perspective, considering that Gabbana is an Angel and the Devil has changed her nature after the kiss, Participant 11 deduces that maybe the Devil-woman has become an angel, too. Now, considering that, at the end of the commercial, Gabbana and the woman are (happy) in the car, Participant 11 hypothesises that the car may represent PARADISE, generally considered as a place in which angels (happily, we can infer) exist. Certainly, the concept of PARADISE is connoted with positive features and to this extent referring to a car using a positive element such as PARADISE can be coherent with the aims of the com-

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mercial. In addition, in order to justify less vaguely the connection between the car and PARADISE, Participant 11 tries to use some visual elements, claiming that the Ypsilon is PARADISE since it looks like a 'little cloud', a visual element generally used to be the most representative of Paradise. The reference to the car in terms of a 'little cloud' depends both on the shape of the car (short and rounded, like a stereotypical cloud) and on its colour (a sort of white/light grey, another element stereotypically associated with clouds). Participant 11 has used the same expansion of meanings as participants 2 and 4, but has also exploited visual elements to give substance to his interpretation. In other words, in the case of Lancia Ypsilon 'Rendezvous' we have seen that some participants have encountered some difficulties in solving the incongruity between the portrayed scene and the aims of the commercial. The dynamic that we have called metaphor extension consists in a series of processes that try to find a coherence between the scenes portrayed in the commercial and the aims of the TV commercial, so as to represent the car in a positive way. Participants have tried to use visual and narrative elements to associate the car with an element connoted with positive aspects (for instance, LOVE, PARADISE). As we have seen, the processes that have tried to create positive conceptualisations about the car have been complex and – to a certain extent – hard to describe. The linking between visual elements and specific meanings is certainly subjective and might be considered as an interpretative stretch, but this has been motivated by the will of the participant to make sense of the commercial and to present the car in a positive way.

9.1.3) Metaphor heuristic: the case of 'Ford Fiesta – This is now'

In 2008, the Ford Fiesta commercial 'This is now' was broadcast in Italy and the United Kingdom. The commercial is about a series of TVs moving through a city at night. The colourful images that the TVs show are in a sort of contrast with the monotony and boredom of the city. At a

certain point, a Ford Fiesta appears from the TVs and the commercial ends with the motto 'This is   now'.

Figure 14. Ford Fiesta 'This is now'

While in the previous example the participants tried to understand the plot of the commercial by reference to the introduction of the initial situation, in the 'This is now' commercial the processes of understanding the presentation of the protagonist, the presentation of the 'antagonist', the crucial event (equivalent to 'the kiss') and the change of the initial situation are less evident. In addition, while in Lancia Ypsilon 'Rendezvous' the possible positive elements portrayed in the commercial were the 'base' to connect the car to some positive conceptualisation, the 'This is now' example evidences the participants' attempts to reduce the entire viewing to simple and quick metaphorical conceptualisations. For this reason, we have decided to call this dynamic metaphor heuristic, since heuristics are considered in psychology 'fast and frugal' processes of sense making (Gigerenzer, 2004). As it is possible to see from the following sample of verbalisations, some participants did not try to engage with the 'plot' of the commercial, but directly moved to convey a metaphorical interpretation. Let us consider the following examples:

It says This is now, this maybe refers to the car	1.5	Incongruity identification
Fiesta is a kind of now, like today	2.3	Target construction
I mean, driving this car is like living the day.	2.2	Metaphor identification
Or a part of the day	2.4	Source construction

Table 14. Participant: 17 (UK) extracts

That's about time, time in general	1.4	Target and/or source labelling
And the car is about time too	1.2	Target labelling
Time, this is now, the idea of time	1.3	Source labelling
Fiesta is time in the sense of a different dimension	2.2	Metaphor identification
That's why this is now, Fiesta is now,	2.3	Target construction
I'd say that, it's about time	2.4	Source construction

Table 15. Participant: 18 (UK) extract

Il resto non si capisce tanto *("The rest is hard to understand too much")*	1.5	Incongruity identification
Sembra tutto così distaccato *("Everything looks so detached")*	1.5	Incongruity identification
This is now, sarà forse per la macchina? *(This is now, maybe is refers to the car?")*	1.2	"Target labelling
Una cosa che va nel tempo, come un viaggio nel tempo *("It'something that goes through time, like a time travel")*	1.3	Source labelling
E' la macchina che viaggia nel tempo, anche se non saprei *("It's the car that travels through time, but I am not sure")*	2.1	Resolution problem identification
Se guidi questa macchina viaggi nel tempo *("If you drive this car you travel through time")*	2.2	Metaphor identification
Una cosa di fantascienza *("A science-fiction thing")*	3.1	Extra-Metaphoric Construction

Table 16. Participant: 3 (ITA) extract

Dallo slogan capisci che si parla dell'oggi *("From the slogan you can understand that is about today")*	3.2	Advertise Processing
Come delle cose moderne, all'avanguardia *("It's like some modern things, the avant-garde")*	3.1	Extra-Metaphoric Construction
La macchina è un'espressione del nostro tempo *("The car is an expression of our time")*	2.2	Metaphor identification
Se la guidi capisci il nostro tempo *("If you drive it you understand our time")*	2.2	Metaphor identification
Capisci la modernità *("You understand modernity")*	2.2	Metaphor identification
Capisci dove viviamo, la nostra epoca *("You understand where we live, our time")*	2.2	Metaphor identification
Può anche essere un'epoca storica proprio *("It might also be a historical period")*	2.2	Metaphor identification

Non so se mi sono spiegato ("I don't know if I made my point")	4	No Evaluation

Table 17. Participant: 7 (ITA) extract

What emerges from this sample of verbalisations is a different dynamic that describes how some metaphorical conceptualisations may be produced. The distinguishing feature of this process, which we have called metaphor heuristic, is that some participants do not seem to be interested in explaining what the commercial is actually portraying. In 'This is now', most of the framings are about TV sets that move through a city and only the last part of the commercial shows a Ford Fiesta and presents the motto. What are the reasons that have induced some participants to 'ignore' the actual scenes of the commercial and to directly move towards metaphorical interpretations? Certainly, in the instructions for the experiment, the participants are told to verbalise their thoughts about a series of target domains (the car, the reasons for buying a car, etc.), so it is possible that in relation to this commercial the participants have just followed the instructions literally. In other words, while, for other commercials, the participants also verbalised a series of thoughts about, for instance, the plots and details of the scenes, in relation to 'This is now' some participants just preferred to verbalise conceptualisations about the suggested target domains. So, what is the factor that induced some participants to verbalise thoughts, for instance, about the plot and other details of the scene, while for 'This is now' the general tendency (8 out of 12) was to convey a metaphorical interpretation? A possible explanation appears to depend on the perceived complexity of 'This is now'. As we stated in section 7.1, after the experimental task, every participant reviewed the commercials on a 7-point Likert scale in regard to two general criteria: complexity and appreciation. Ford Fiesta 'This is now' is the commercial that reached the highest score of complexity (6,4 on an average of 3,7). This complexity seems to have been motivated by three main reasons. First, the commercial does not give any clue about the reasons

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why some TV sets are moving through a city; second, it is hard to give an explanation about how TVs are transformed into the car; finally, it is not clear how the motto is related to the TVs and to the idea of promoting a car. From this lack of sense, it is possible that the metaphor conceptualisations operate to give a 'fast-and-frugal' (see Gigerenzer and Todd, 1999; Gigerenzer, 2004) interpretation of the commercial, without presenting any other element about the plot of the commercial. In this context, metaphor represents a shortcut to reach a satisfactory interpretation. Metaphors can be considered as a 'fast-and-frugal' operation because they allow one to produce an interpretation to a complex stimulus in a few seconds (fast). In addition, considering that the interpretation is the result of a quick elaboration, the cognitive load of the participant is also necessarily low (frugal). The co-occurrence of 'fast' and 'frugal' is a necessary attribute of heuristics (Gigerenzer, 2004: 63-63). We therefore argue that confronted with a stimulus that is too hard to understand, some participants have tried to 'solve' the commercial by reducing it to a single metaphorical conceptualisation concerning the car. While, in the previous examples, the participants first tried to understand the plot of the commercial and then tried to connect some positive elements from the scene with the conceptualisation of the car, 'This is now' does not allow one to advance almost any explanation about the plot of the commercial. Therefore, it is possible that the participants use metaphors as a heuristic process to give sense to the commercials. The idea of metaphor as a process that guides one to solving incongruity is at the base of the theoretical framework of this thesis and this example helps us to describe a possible dynamic of metaphor processing that emerges in relation to highly incongruous stimuli. Since the first systematic studies of heuristics in cognition (e.g., Tversky and Kahnemann, 1973), heuristics have been associated with two main contextual conditions: uncertainty or ambiguity and the amount of time. Specifically, while uncertainty and ambiguity reflect the lack of understanding

about a certain stimulus, the amount of time concerns how much time a person has before judging or evaluating a stimulus. Considering that heuristics work when there is the necessity to quickly judge or evaluate an uncertain stimulus, we argue that metaphors in certain contexts may operate in a similar way. In relation to uncertainty or ambiguity, 'Time is now' certainly represents a stimulus that is hard to understand since it goes beyond the expectation of the viewer and does not provide any clue to help its understanding. The amount of time as a condition is instead represented by our experimental setting, since the 'think aloud' task induces participants to verbalise their thoughts as soon as possible. Although the participants are left free to verbalise their thoughts when they want and although in the instructions it is stated how and when to start the verbalisation, it is unquestionable that participants are under a sort of pressure to verbalise their thought as soon as they can. The context of the experiment represents a situation that pushes participants to be fast. Considering that heuristics operate in conditions of uncertainty and ambiguity and under time pressure, it is possible that metaphors intervene as heuristics in order to 'solve' the incongruity of the stimulus. This does not mean that the metaphorical conceptualisation is a heuristic – such as for instance the representativeness heuristic (Kahnemann and Frederick, 2005: 269) – but that metaphorical conceptualisation in certain situations may operate in a similar way. 'This is now' presents a stimulus that is hard to solve because of the lack of a plot and of clues which means that participants are induced by the experimental setting to verbalise something about the commercial itself. Considering that few elements are possible to verbalise, participants seem to reduce the complexity of the commercial to a series of conceptualisations about the car and the driving experience. From the transcriptions, it is possible to extract the following metaphors: "I mean, driving this car is like living a day" as DRIVING A 'FIESTA' IS LIVING A DAY, "Fiesta is time in the sense of a different dimension" as 'A FIESTA' IS TIME, "Se

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guidi questa macchina viaggi nel tempo ("If you drive this car you travel through time") as DRIVING A 'FIESTA' IS TIME TRAVELLING and "La macchina è un'espressione del nostro tempo" ("The car is an expression of our time") as 'THE FIESTA' IS A HISTORICAL PERIOD. As it is possible to see, these conceptualisations operate by creatively relating a car to a different concept. While for the previous examples it was possible to 'reconstruct' the mental operations that have connected target domains to some source domains, in this context, this operation cannot be done. We argue that the idea of connecting the 'FIESTA' to a HISTORICAL PERIOD or TIME is not the result of a careful operation, but is probably more the outcome of the necessity of producing a 'fast and frugal' conceptualisation. There is no doubt that the participants used the final motto as an 'interpretative key' for the development of these conceptualisations, but perhaps it is not possible to try to understand how the motto has been used to convey domains such as TIME, HISTORICAL PERIOD or TIME TRAVELLING. In this sense, we argue that any 'reconstruction' of the logic of the verbalisation would be pointless. Another important question is, why are these conceptualisations specifically related to the car, or to a related domain such as DRIVING A CAR? Although the participants were told to verbalise their thoughts about some specific domains – such as the car, the buyer, the act of buying, etc. – we argue that there is a more plausible reason that justifies the use of these metaphors in relation to some specific domains. The complexity of 'This is now' does not allow one to understand anything about the plot and the only certain elements are that the commercial is about a car and that – being a commercial – the car has to be presented in some positive way. Therefore, it is not surprising that the conceptualisations refer to the car or to some related domains. As we have tried to explain, 'This is now' presents dynamics of metaphor processing that arise from the impossibility (or from the incapacity) of solving the incongruity of the commercial starting from a

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known narrative or visual elements. In this regard, the heuristic metaphor can be considered as the attempt to reduce something complex and inexplicable into a simple metaphorical conceptualisation. The aim of this discussion has been to present some of the dynamics of metaphor processing that emerged from the interpretation of the participants' verbalisations. These dynamics can be described as general ways to use the information that commercials convey. We have identified three metaphor processing patterns, which we have called 'metaphor suggestion', 'metaphor expansion' and 'metaphor heuristic'. The reason for using such labels depended only on the will to make them easy to describe. The notions of 'suggestion', 'expansion' or 'heuristic' do not have a specific theoretical value, but they represent a practical way to label and describe some conceptual operations. Moreover, when we refer to some metaphor processing in terms of 'heuristic', we are not claiming that metaphors are one of the heuristics as described by Tversky and Kahnemann (1973) or Frederick and Kahnemann (2005), but that, more simply, some metaphors may operate in a similar way, as for instance in relation to conditions of uncertainty/ambiguity and to the available amount of time. As we have seen, these dynamics have been described in relation to three different commercials, considering some of the verbalisations that were produced in relation to them. This does not imply that these dynamics have been identified only in relation to three commercials, but that these commercials represent the most meaningful (or clear) examples to discuss such issues.

9.1.4) Processing metaphors: frequency of the conceptual dynamics

As we mentioned in the description of the procedure (section 9.1), after every commercial the participants were invited to express an opinion about the 'complexity' of the commercial using a 7-scale Likert scale (0 – Very Simple; 7 – Very Complex). We have tried to identify the main ways to process the TV commercial (the patterns of conceptual operations we have called dy-

namics) in order to see which dynamics are more 'used' in relation to each commercial. From the analysis of the 'think-aloud' transcription we produced a series of interesting results. The following tables show the language and historical condition of the commercial and then the average of the perceived complexity of the commercials and the most used dynamic based on the analyses of the verbalisations with the support of the codebook as described in 6.3. Analysing the verbalisations in relation to the codebook, we have been able to identify the conceptual dynamics that the participants expressed and to determine the most used dynamic by isolating the one that reached a use greater than 50%. The information about the participants' transcriptions was derived from the codebook, but the association between the codebook and conceptual dynamics was based on the interpretation of the researcher. From the connection between perceived complexity and the most used dynamic it has been possible to see how the frequency of the patterns of conceptual operations is linked to the perceived complexity.

ITA	Lancia: Ypsilon – "Rendezvous"	pGR	5,3	Expansion
ITA	Ford: Focus – "Ode to Ford"	pGR	2,7	Suggestion
ITA	Fiat: Grande Punto – "Filava Dritto"	pGR	3,1	Expansion
ITA	Peugeot - 207 – "Coccinelle"	pGR	3,9	Suggestion
ITA	Ford: Fiesta – "This is now"	pGR	6,4	Heuristics
ITA	Fiat: 500 – "Drive it easy"	GR	2,2	Expansion
ITA	Lancia: Ypsilon – "Il lusso è un diritto"	GR	2,1	Expansion
ITA	Ford: Fiesta – "Il future è adesso"	GR	3,1	Expansion
ITA	Fiat: Punto – "La mini che amiamo"	GR	2,5	Expansion

UK	Volkswagen: Golf – "The Great Pretender"	pGR	3,2	Expansion
UK	Ford: Focus – "Ode to Ford"	pGR	2,8	Suggestion
UK	Vauxhall: Corsa – "Back into driving"	pGR	4,4	Heuristics
UK	Peugeot: 207 – "Coccinelle"	pGR	3,3	Suggestion
UK	Ford: Fiesta – "This is now"	pGR	6,3	Heuristics
UK	Peugeot: 2007 – "Envy"	GR	5,9	Heuristics
UK	Ford: Fiesta – "This in now" II	GR	6,1	Heuristics
UK	Ford: Focus - "Start More than a Car"	GR	2,2	Expansion
UK	Vauxhall: Corsa – "Back into Driving"	GR	2,9	Expansion
UK	Volkswagen: Golf – "Depeche Mode"	GR	3,4	Heuristics

Table 18 Frequency of conceptual operations is relation to the perceived complexity

This table is useful to understand the frequency of the dynamics within our corpus. What emerges is that while 'metaphor suggestion' is clearly the least used conceptual dynamic, 'metaphor expansion' and 'metaphor heuristic' present larger applications. In addition, it is worthy to notice how the relation between perceived average complexity and conceptual dynamics does not follow any specific trend, except for the use of 'metaphor heuristics' in relation to the perceived complexity of the commercials. As we will show in the section about the discussion of the results (10.1), the information contained in the tables has an important theoretical value, especially for what concerns the default notion of metaphor.

9.2) Identifying metaphors: from multimodality to metaphor types

The present section aims to provide a detailed analysis of the metaphors that have been identified in the 120 verbalisations, for a total of 971 utterances. In order to provide a clear overview of how many and which metaphors have been extracted, this section is organised in order to present the metaphor types, including also metaphor occurrence and relevant examples. As we will see, the quantification of metaphors per commercial assumes great importance for the development of the next section, that is, the ideological analysis. Before presenting and commenting on the results concerning the identification of metaphors, it is important to say that, in comparison with the almost 35% of the units analysed by Šorm and Steen (2013: 17) that could not be used (see 'The 0-category issue' in 6.2.3), from our transcriptions the percentage of non-usable utterances was less than 12% (114 units out of 971 total utterances). As we expected, the fact that the participants verbalised their thoughts in relation to specific target domains (instead of having 'com-

plete' freedom as in Šorm and Steen's experiment) made the reduction of the 'out of context' thoughts possible. From the analysis of the transcriptions, it has been possible to identify a total of 8 metaphor types and one residual category for a total of 112 metaphor constructions (59 ENG and 53 ITA). The 'residual' category includes all those source domains that cannot be placed into a precise category. The categorisation into 8 metaphor types and 1 residual category is based on "[grouping] the conceptual elements into source domains by using lexical fields (as exemplified in standard thesaurus categories) as well as patterns of collocation and relative frequencies in the emerging corpus" (Musolff, 2004: 11). Table 17, reported in the next few pages, illustrates the metaphor types in relation to the use of single source domains. As we have already explained, the source domains are linked to the target domains that are used to trigger the metaphorical conceptualisations. The source domains refer indistinctly to any target since the experiences that are verbalised (car, driver, reason to buy, etc.) are necessarily connected and interdependent. In table 17, we have also provided some samples of verbalisations in relation to each metaphor type for illustration. In this way, it is possible to connect a specific metaphor type to some of its uses. The metaphor types we have identified are:

- Feeling and Personality: source domains that describe states and attitudes (i.e., LOVE), but also particular relations (i.e., FRIENDSHIP) and human traits (i.e., BEING STRONG).

- Art and Artefacts: source domains that refer to artistic creations (i.e., SONG), or to persons that engage in activities related to creating art or practising the arts (i.e. MUSICIAN).

- People: source domains that represent people, both in general terms (i.e. RELATIVE) and persons with particular function (i.e., ASSISTANT).

- Nature and Animals: source domains that describe natural inanimate entities (i.e., RAINBOW), but also animal creations (i.e. NEST) and creatures (i.e., HORSE).

- Fight and Combat: source domains that represent any device used with intent to protect one from living beings, structures, or systems (i.e., SHIELD).

- Actions and Dynamics: source domains that describe a wide range of processes that convey relevant emotions and sensations. The central element of this category is that actions and dynamics related to the car (i.e., DRIVING) are referred to as other experiences such as WINNING or TIME TRAVELLING.

- Health: source domains that refer to medical entities such as MEDICINE or to substances that can affect how an organism works (i.e. DRUGS).

- Commodities: source domains that describe any commodity or marketable item produced to satisfy needs or wants (i.e. TELEVISION).

- Other (Residual Category): any other source domain that cannot be clearly placed into one of the previous metaphor type categories

Metaphor Type	Metaphor (Occurrence)	Example
Feeling and Personality (19)	*Feeling (4)* *Falling (Being) In Love (2)* *Mood (2)* *Being Strong (2)* *Joy (3)* *Friendship (1)* *Appreciating/Loving A Country (2)* *Making Love (3)*	*FIESTA is joy, a feeling of joy* *driving a 207 is like falling in love*
Art and Artefacts (24)	*Music/Song (4)* *Art (2)* *Artwork/Piece of Art (3)* *Artist (2)* *Musician (3)* *Monument (2)* *Musical Instrument (8)*	*then a FOCUS is a musical instrument* *a PUNTO is a song because it has rhythm*
People (11)	*Friend (3)* *Relative (1)* *Assistant (2)* *Woman (3)* *Stylist (1)* *Actor (1)*	a FIESTA will never let you down, like a friend [FOCUS] it's like an assistant, you can ask and…it's at your service
Nature and Animals (7)	*Ladybug (3)* *Horse (1)* *Rainbow (1)* *Nest (1)* *Dog (1)*	*the owners are ladybugs, both of them* *a CORSA is like a rainbow*
Fight and Combat (5)	*Shield (2)* *Bunker (1)* *Armour (2)*	*a FOCUS is a shield, I mean against danger* *[in the FOCUS] you feel protected like in a bunker*
Actions and Dynamics (9)	*Risking Life (2)* *Time Travelling (1)* *Winning (3)* *Living A Day (2)* *Being Special (1)*	*driving a PUNTO is like winning a race* *a CORSA is a matter of risking your life, it's the same thing*
Health (7)	*Stimulant (3)* *Drug (2)* *Tranquilliser (2)*	*you're addicted to a GOLF, like a drug* *207 is your stimulant, like Viagra*
Commodities (14)	*TV (5)* *Suit/Tuxedo (3)* *Laundry Machine (2)* *Swimming Pool (1)* *Puppet/Doll (3)*	*a FIESTA is a TV, a real TV* *a GOLF is a suit, for great moments*

Other **(19)**	*Devil/Angel (2)* *Paradise (2)* *Right (3)* *Money Saver (2)* *Room (1)* *Time/Historical Period (2)* *Freedom (2)* *Power (2)* *Human Sense (2)* *Instinct (1)*	*a YPSILON is a right,* *a GOLF is power*

Table 19. Metaphor types and tokens. Number of occurrences are indicated in brackets

From the presentation of the main metaphor types and their specific realisations of each type, we can provide a detailed description of how the source domains have been identified. As the examples show, the discussion of the source domains also helps one to understand some of the reasons why these domains have been used in relation to the cars and their related experiences.

- Feeling and personality

Feelings and traits of personality is one of the most common source domains in our sample of TV commercials. The reason why a product such as a car is so often associated with such abstract entities may depend on the will of the authors (i) to represent cars as an expression of emotional or character traits of their owners and (ii) to anticipate the feelings that the owner can feel while driving them. Examples of these metaphorical constructions are:

"Fiesta is joy, a feeling of joy" (FIESTA IS JOY)

"Driving a 207 is like falling in love, I'd say"

(DRIVING 207 IS FALLING IN LOVE)

"Once you turn on the car [YPSILON] and drive it, you're like in love"

(DRIVING YPSILON IS BEING LOVE)

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"You own a Golf because Golf means being strong and…a sensation of strength"

(OWING GOLF IS BEING STRENGH)

According to our sample of commercials, the most common source domains within feelings are positive feelings (JOY, LOVE), but also more general sensations such as BEING STRONG. Although it is also possible to interpret these expressions as the 'results' of a sort of causal process (i.e. "You buy this car and then you will feel strong"), from the use of forms like 'X is like Y' or 'X means Y' it is possible to infer that the use of such domains reflects the will of the participants to conceptualise the cars in terms of something else, as is the case in metaphor.

- Art and artefacts

In order to associate cars with an element with positive connotations, many of the commercials portray cars – and associated experiences – in terms of art or artistic artefacts. This may reflect the advertisers' intention to endow the car with further meanings that go beyond the practical values of the product itself. Among the source domains, it is possible to identify the following examples:

"Then a Focus is a musical instrument, indeed"

(FOCUS IS A MUSICAL INSTRUMENT)

"CORSA is complex, I, I don't know, it's a piece of contemporary art"

(CORSA IS A PIECE OF ART)

"Punto è una canzone, perchè ha ritmo"/ "*Punto is a song, because it has rhythm*"

(PUNTO IS A SONG)

"Fiesta ha tanti significati, colori, ma è tutto così complesso, una tela di un pittore" /

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A Fiesta has many meanings, colours, but everything is so complex, a painter's canvas" (FIESTA IS CANVAS)

The references to music and figurative arts allow one to go beyond the dimension of the industrial product and embrace a notion of higher value. In this way, the potential buyer does not buy only a product, a commodity, but also something that can have a deeper meaning.

- People

Human properties and people are common source domains in metaphor conceptualisation (see Kövecses, 2010: 161-162). In the sample of commercials, we have identified metaphorical meanings that connect cars with people with specific functions or particular roles. Among them, we have found:

"A Fiesta never let you down, like a friend…. your best friend, yes, yes"

(FIESTA IS A FRIEND)

"[Focus] It's like an assistant, you can ask and…it's at your service"

(FOCUS IS AN ASSISTANT)

"[Punto] E' una cosa che ci appartiene da sempre, fa parte della nostra famiglia, come un parente, sai lo zio, il cugino? Una cosa di famiglia diciamo"/ "It's something that has belonged to us forever, it's part of our family, like a relative, you know, an uncle, a cousin? It's family, let's say" (PUNTO IS A RELATIVE)

"[Ypsilon] E' come una donna bellissima, di classe, esclusiva, molto affascinante" /

"[An Ypsilon is like a beautiful woman, classy, exclusive, very charming"

(YPSILON IS A WOMAN)

The source domains related to people convey several meanings. If, on the one hand, cars can be generally related to people with different roles/functions, the selection of the people always reflects people with highly distinctive features. In fact, while the FRIEND domain reflects trustworthiness and reliability and the ASSISTANT stands for someone "at your service, the reference to a (beautiful) WOMAN conveys stereotypical notions of rarity and exclusivity. As it is possible to see, the use of particular people serves to associate the car with some properties that characterize the car itself.

- *Nature and animals*

The use of source domains related to nature and animals is highly frequent in metaphorical conceptualisations (see Kövecses, 2010). As in the case of human properties and people source domains, nature and animals provide an endless list of features that can be associated with cars. Some of these features can be found in the following examples.

"So full of colours, yellow, blue, red, a Corsa is like a rainbow" (CORSA IS A RAINBOW)

"The owners are ladybugs, both of them" (CORSA OWNER IS A LADYBUG)

"Corsa is a nest, it's for the insects you see" (CORSA IS A NEST)

"La Punto è da domare, come un cavallo di razza, non è per tutti diciamo" *"Punto is something to tame, it's like a purebred horse, it's not for everyone let's say"* (PUNTO IS A HORSE)

The use of nature and animal entities is functional to conveying particular features of the cars. Some of these source domains are immediately associated with a positive connotation (i.e. a

purebred horse to tame means that the car has an intrinsic value that also requires some particular abilities) while others are maybe just functional to catch the eye of the viewer because of unusual associations (the car owner is a ladybug, for instance).

- Fight and combat

Although the 'fight and combat' source domains are considered common ways of conceptualisation in advertising (see Lazar, 2009), our sample of commercials has revealed only a limited use of metaphors linked to the militaristic field. Specifically, according to our transcriptions, the use of militaristic metaphors always highlights the safety features of the cars. For instance:

> "Focus is a shield, I mean against dangers of driving, you know, a shield to be safe" (FOCUS IS A SHIELD)
>
> "[Focus] It's a shield, or an amour for the driver." (FOCUS IS A SHIELD/ARMOR)
>
> "Yes, all these devices, and the airbags and the Active Drive and it's like being safe, You feel protected like in a bunker" (FOCUS IS A BUNKER)
>
> "[Punto] E' un auto che ti protegge dai rischi della strada, è un discourse sulla sicurezza, come un'armatura in guerra" "It's a car that protects you from the risks of the road, it's a discourse about security, it's like an armour in times of war" (PUNTO IS AN ARMOUR)

From these conceptualisations it is possible to see how militaristic metaphors convey a concept of a car as something that can protect the driver from the dangers of driving. The metaphors arise from the attention that the authors of some commercials have directed at certain security devices (airbags, Active Drive) that can prevent car accidents.

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- Actions and dynamics

The source domains that we have called 'actions and dynamics' represent a heterogeneous category of conceptualisations that serve to represent several phenomena. While in the previous examples the source domains were associated with a sort of semantic or functional similarity, these source domains describe different processes of doing or experiencing something. From our sample of commercials, we have found the following examples:

"The Corsa is a matter of risking your life, it's the same thing, the same emotions, the adrenaline and and…things like that" (DRIVING 'CORSA' IS RISKING LIFE)

"Se guidi questa macchina viaggi nel tempo" / "*If you drive this car you travel through time*") (DRIVING A 'FIESTA' IS TIME TRAVELLING)

"Guidare una Punto è come vincere una gara di corse" / "*Driving a Punto is like winning a race*" (DRIVING A 'PUNTO IS WINNING A RACE)

"Questa macchina e lo spot, la macchina diciamo, ti vogliono dire che avere Punto è come primeggiare, ma non nelle gare, ma proprio nella vita" / "*This car and the commercial, the commercial let's say, wants to say that owing a Punto is like winning, not only in a race, but also in life*" (OWING PUNTO IS WINNING)

The essence of these examples consists of associating a car-related experience (driving, buying, owning) to another – semantically or functionally unrelated – experience. This means that the general notion of driving or buying a car is described in terms of something else, for instance TIME TRAVELLING or RISKING LIFE. In order to convey the sensations and the emotions deriving from a process that are experienced by having a certain car, the authors of the commercials try to associate these sensations to other – positively connoted – sensations. For instance, a

potential buyer wants to purchase a car that means feeling adrenaline (maybe because of the performance of the car) or that represents a sort of fascinating experience (maybe because the car is so technological that you have the sensation of being in the future). Interestingly, we argue that the association between these sets of sensations is not based on a casual relation (i.e., If you buy X you will feel Y) but that the products are identified with the sensation themselves. The association of the sets of emotions is based on particular expressions (i.e. 'means', "X is the same thing as Y' and the copula 'X is (like) Y'). From this perspective, the association between some cars and particular sensations endows the cars with further meanings. As we have seen in the previous examples, providing further values and going beyond the material value of the car is a frequent strategy in advertising.

- Health

We have grouped under 'health' a small category of source domains that refer to the semantic field of medical and sanitary elements. Our corpus of commercials does not contain many examples, but some conceptualisations are undoubtedly interesting because of their relation to drugs, medicine or similar entities. For instance:

"From the motto you understand that the 207 is a stimulant, like Viagra" (207 IS A (SEXUAL) STIMULANT)

"Can you be addicted to a car [Golf]? Well, yes, I think so and that is the meaning of the ad" (GOLF IS A DRUG)

"E tutta una questione di euforia, di spensieratezza, Punto diventa come una droga, stai così bene che non puoi farne a meno" / *"It's just a matter of euphoria, of light-heartedness, the Punto becomes like a drug, you feel so good that you cannot live*

without it" (PUNTO IS A DRUG)

"Un'auto [500] che ti tranquillizza e risolve tutti i tuoi problemi, un tranquillante naturale" / *"A car that calms you down and solves all your problems, a natural tranquiliser"* (500 IS A TRANQUILISER)

What emerges from these examples is that some cars are related to particular experiences that add to the inherent value of the cars themselves. While in the 'action and dynamics' source domains the cars were related to a wide range of experiences, in this case, the cars are associated with particular entities with prototypical functions. The metaphors comprise a class of entities that cause or induce some physical effects - (sexual) stimulants, tranquilisers and drugs – and whose functions - in the context of the commercials - convey a positive connotation of the cars. If a 207 can increase the manhood of the owner (A SEXUAL STIMULANT) and a Fiat 500 can serve to "calm you down and solve all your problems" (A TRANQUILISER), the experience of owning/buying a Golf or a Punto is so positive that "you cannot live without it". The use of 'health' source domains is functional to representing some physical consequences that these cars can produce.

- Commodities

The source domains that we have generally called 'commodities' include a wide number of other products that are associated with the cars. The interesting aspect of these source domains is that, even if some of the source domains we discussed are to a certain extent also commodities (A STIMULANT, for instance), these source domains represent other products that are easy to find in commercials or in other forms of advertising. Among the several source domains, we have:

"The Fiesta is a TV, really a TV, I mean, see the images?" (FIESTA IS A TV)

"I'd say a Golf is like a very cool suit, a suit, not something for…pretenders, great quality stuff" (GOLF IS A SUIT)

"Qua [Ypsilon] sembra un abito da sera, uno smoking, sai le serate di gala ?" *"Here it looks like evening wear, a tuxedo, you know the gala nights?* (YPSILON IS A SUIT/TUXEDO)

"500 è una cosa ache secondo lo spot tutti dovremmo avere, come una lavatrice, ed infatti fanno vedere la lavatrice e… poi non so" / *"A 500 is something that according to the commercial everybody should have, like a washing machine, and in fact they show a washing machine and…then I don't know"* (500 IS A WASHING MA-CHINE)

In these examples, the authors are certainly trying to convey a series of further features that can be associated with the cars; in fact, for some examples, it is clear why certain commodities have been used as source domains. For instance, the idea of using a SUIT, or a TUXEDO, in relation to a car is probably motivated by the need to convey the notions of elegance, quality and exclusivity; by contrast, associating a car with a common household appliance (WASHING MA-CHINE, TV) may depend on the fact that "everybody should have" that specific car.

- Other (Residual Category)

The final category represents all those source domains that are hard to reduce to a single semantic or functional category. Among the several conceptualisations, some of these features can be found in the following examples:

"A Golf is a kind of power that changes things, even your life"

(GOLF IS A POWER)

"A Focus is your sight, your senses" (FOCUS IS A HUMAN SENSE)

"Going everywhere, no limits, expressing yourself, a Corsa is a sort of freedom"

(CORSA IS FREEDOM)

"Come dice Cassell Ypsilon è un diritto al lusso, il diritto al lusso" / *"As Cassell*

says, an Ypsilon is a right, the right to luxury" (YPSILON IS A RIGHT)

"Volano nella 207 e si danno da fare, come quando sei in camera da letto. I sedili e la

plancia come il letto o il divano" / *"They fly in the 207 and they do it, like when you*

are in a bedroom. The seats and dashboard are like a bed and a sofa" (207 IS A

ROOM)

The cars have been associated with a wide range of source domains. The variety of conceptuali-sations does not allow one to generalise about the role played by such source domains, but what is clear is that advertisers try to relate the cars to entities that convey positive features. Among them, POWER, FREEDOM and RIGHTS represent source domains with positive connotations.

This section has provided a summary of the quantity and the variety of the metaphorical con-structions that have been verbalised by the participants from a sample of TV car commercials. What has emerged from this discussion is that the metaphors can be organised around 8 main metaphor types and a residual category which convey particular semantic or functional proper-ties. From this, it is possible to see how the advertisers try to associate the cars with some posi-tive features conveyed by the source domains themselves. Considering the limited size of our sample of commercials, the source domains we have found should not be considered as the only

– or even as the most representative - ways to conceptualise cars. The metaphor types we have described are simply the results of the verbalisations that a certain group of subjects have produced in relation to a sample of commercials. The conclusions we have reached have a limited explanatory value and do not say anything about – for instance - the reasons why a certain source domain was 'chosen' instead of another one or why certain metaphors types are more frequent.

9.3) Interpreting metaphors: from multimodality to consumerism

The present section discusses how metaphors can be interpreted in the light of consumerist ideology. In order to move from metaphors to a discussion about ideology it is necessary to provide information about the number of metaphors per commercial and to make explicit which metaphors are expressions of which style of consumption. As we discussed in 5.3, the styles of consumption can be considered as the motivational factor that induces people to buy certain products because of their pattern of properties (design typology) or because of the image emerging from processes of advertisement and promotion (strategies of valorisation). Furthermore, we have decided to operationalise the notion of consumerism as an expression of style of consumption and to create a connection between such a notion and the conceptual level. In this regard, it is possible to see here the table we described in 7.1, so as to present in clear form the content and the description of the styles of consumption. In order to explain how we decided to link metaphor types to consumption, the present section will be organised in two main parts. The first section will provide further details about the metaphor types we have identified, stating which source domains have been used in relation to each commercial and each variable (ITA vs UK and 'Great

Recession' vs 'pre-Great Recession'). In this way, it will be easier to understand how the source domains may refer to styles of consumption. The second section clarifies the criteria we have used to link specific source domains to the different styles of consumption. The second section clarifies instead the criteria we have used to link specific source domains to the different styles of consumption. Specifically, we will explain how the single sources can be interpreted and which conceptual aspects have been crucial for the interpretation. In addition, we will see also which conceptual features of the metaphor types are functional for the aims of the TV commercials.

Style of Consumption	*Practical Behavioural*	*Utopian-Reflective*	**Critical**	*Recreational - Visceral*	**Neutral**
Main Aspects	Utility Practical aspects	Self-image Identity	Cost Cost/Benefits	Aesthetic Non-practical aspects	Rest
Conceptual Domains	- Comfort - Performance - Easy to drive - Reliability - Security - Customisation	- Tradition - Innovation - Uniqueness - Personality - Feelings - Mood - Cultural Knowledge	- Convenience - Saving - Promotions - Fuel consumption	- Prestige - Style - Luxury - Taste - Social Impact	Rest

Table 20 - (SAME AS TABLE 1) - Description of styles of consumption

9.3.1) Interpreting metaphors: tokens and commercials

To begin with, we will now present the source domains that have been verbalised in relation to each commercial. Apart from the source domains, the following table is organised according to the name/title of the commercial, the language in which it was broadcast ('ITA' vs 'ENG') and its historical condition ('GR' vs 'pGR'). In this way, we aim to provide a clear representation of which source domains have been verbalised in relation to each commercial linking this information to variations in the styles of consumption. For the sake of clarity, it should be noted that the source domains that refer to each commercial are not the metaphor type (the general meta-

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phorical conceptualisation), but the metaphor tokens, as presented in Table 16. As we realised during a pilot study and we will show in the following section, the ideological value of each metaphor type normally coincides with its relevant metaphor tokens. However, considering that some metaphor types and the residual categories present a series of exceptions, the process of association between conceptualisations and styles of consumption will be based on the interpretation of the single metaphor tokens. Relating each commercial to the metaphor tokens produces stronger and clearer links between conceptualisation in the commercial and the styles of consumption before and after the Great Recession.

UK	VW: Golf – "The Great Pretender"	pGR	Being Strong (1) Actor (1) Suit/Tuxedo (1) Power (1)
UK	Ford: Focus – "Ode to Ford"	pGR	Musical Instrument (4) Music/Song (2) Musician (1)
UK	Vauxhall: Corsa – "Joyride"	pGR	Joy (3) Drug (1) Bunker (1) Woman (1) Puppet/doll (3)
UK	Peugeot: 207 – "Coccinelle"	pGR	Making Love (1) Ladybug (1) Stimulant (1) Room (1)
UK	Ford: Fiesta – "This is now"	pGR	Drug (1) TV (2) Time/Historical period (1)
UK	Peugeot: 2007 – "Envy"	GR	Dog (1) Swimming pool (1)
UK	Ford: Fiesta – This in now" II	GR	Artwork/Piece of Art (1) Freedom (1)
UK	Ford: Focus – "Start More than a Car"	GR	Assistant (1) Shield (2) Armour (2) Human Sense (2) Instinct (1)
UK	Vauxhall: Corsa – "Back into Driving"	GR	Friend (1) Rainbow (1) Risking Life (2) Freedom (1)
UK	VW: Golf – "Depeche Mode"	GR	Friendship (1) Friend (1) Music/Song (3)

ITA	Lancia: Ypsilon – "Rendezvous"	pGR	Feeling (2) Falling (Being) in Love (2) Woman (2) Stylist (1) Being Special (1) Devil/Angel (2) Paradise (2)
ITA	Ford: Focus – "Ode to Ford"	pGR	Musical Instrument (4) Music/Song (3) Musician (2)
ITA	Fiat: Grande Punto – "Filava Dritto"	pGR	Being Strong (1) Mood (1) Feeling (1) Horse (1) Stimulant (2) Winning (2)
ITA	Peugeot – 207 – "Coccinelle"	pGR	Making Love (2) Ladybug (2) Nest (1) Stimulant (1)
ITA	Ford: Fiesta – "This is now"	pGR	Art (1) Living a day (2) TV (3)
ITA	Fiat: 500 – "Drive it easy"	GR	Mood (1) Assistant (1) Tranquiliser (2) Washing machine (2) Money saver (2)
ITA	Lancia: Ypsilon – "Il lusso è un diritto"	GR	Artwork/Piece of Art (1) Actor (1) Suit/Tuxedo (2) Right (3)
ITA	Ford: Fiesta – "Il future è adesso"	GR	Art (1) Time Travelling (1)
ITA	Fiat: Punto – "La mini che amiamo"	GR	Feeling (1) Music/Song (1)
ITA	Fiat: Panda – "Questa è l'Italia che piace"	GR	Appreciating (Loving) a country (2) Time/Historical period (1)

Table 21 Metaphor tokens in relation to the TV commercials

After presenting the metaphor tokens in relation to each commercial, country and historical period, it is now possible to move towards the description of the criteria we have used to refer each source domain to the style of consumption.

9.3.2) Interpreting metaphors: tokens, commercials and styles of consumption

In section 5.3, we discussed how a complex notion such as consumerism may be "reduced" to a series of styles of consumption. The central aspect of the styles of consumption is that they reflect both the properties and connotations of the cars and the semiotic strategies that are used by advertisers in order to promote them. In addition, we also suggested in section 6.1 how the styles of consumption can be operationalised into a series of conceptual domains, so as to have an element of connection with the metaphors. As we discussed in Section 7, in order to connect the styles of consumption to the metaphors, we have three operative criteria: (i) direct association, (ii) an indirect criterion called conceptual equivalence, and (iii) a more interpretative approach named *conceptual interpretation*. On the basis of the metaphor types discussed in Section 9.2., we can summarise the interpretation of the source domains in the following way, considering one source domain for each metaphor type. In this way, it will be easier to understand how a certain source domain can refer to a specific style of consumption and how the operative criteria can be used.

- Feeling and personality

Source domains about feeling and personality include (i) expression of emotional or character traits of the car owners and (ii) anticipation of the feelings that the owner can have while driving the car. The strategy of relating cars and their experiences to such domains seems to be an expression of the Utopian-Reflective style of consumption and is influenced by the need to express self-image, to make manifest identity traits, memories and experiences. The link between these

source domains and this style of consumption is based on a direct association as the conceptual domain PERSONALITY and FEELINGS is directly related to the Utopian-Reflective style of consumption. For instance, the source domain LOVE is clearly linked to the Utopian-Reflective style of consumption since 'Feelings' is a conceptual dimension of the style of consumption itself. In this case then, the interpretation is based on the direct association between the source domain LOVE and the conceptual dimension FEELING.

- Art and artefacts

The idea of associating these domains with the cars is motivated by the will to enrich the car with further meanings, in a way external to the area of the interest of the car industry. Art and artworks represent entities with a relevant social impact, but also convey ideas of style and taste. For this reason, the most appropriate style of consumption seems to be the Recreational-Visceral one, since the style determines non-utilitarian reasons, such as the prestige of the brand, the image of luxury, the design and all those properties that produce a certain social impact. For instance, the source domain MUSICIAN can be easily related to non-utilitarian and aesthetic features such as taste and style, since some positive connotations of MUSICIAN consist of a figure that is able to give performances that are appreciated for their style and their good taste. In this case then, the connection between the source domain MUSICIAN and the conceptual dimensions of the Recreational-Visceral style of consumption consists of an indirect reference since MUSICIAN can be conceptually associated to the domain of taste and style.

- People

The 'People' source domains are particularity various and can be generally related to people with different roles/functions; the selection of the people always reflects people with highly distinctive features. In this sense, the role of the car is to convey particular functions or properties that emerge from the role played by the human subject (i.e., as reliable as FRIEND, as helpful as an ASSISTANT). In this sense, it is possible to interpret these domains as an expression of the Practical-Behavioural style, since this kind of style of consumption appeals to those practical properties of a product, such as comfort, reliability, ease of use and performance. An example of this relation between human subjects and particular functions is the source domain FRIEND. FRIEND can be associated with people you can trust because of their reliability, but reliability is also a conceptual dimension that can refer to cars. Therefore, FRIEND may be conceptually associated with reliability using the indirect criterion of reference. Among the source domains we have also identified the domain of WOMAN, as an expression of a prototypical idea of beauty. Considering that Practical-Behavioural style is about properties that are practical and can generally be quantified, the domain of WOMAN should instead be related to the Recreational-Visceral since the style determines non-utilitarian reasons, beauty included. In this case, the relation between WOMAN and non-functional features such as beauty is also justified by the indirect criterion.

- Nature and animals

As for other source domains, the 'Nature and animals' domain is used to convey particular meanings. However, this metaphor type has also expressed a series of conceptualisations (LADYBUGS, NEST) that do not seem to present any particular interpretation. In this sense, when a

source domain is used to represent certain practical aspects (i.e., as reliable as a DOG) or to make manifest traits of identity (as indomitable as a WILD HORSE) we talk of Practical-Behavioural and Utopian-Reflective styles; in any other case, the source domains does not fall into any particular category. In a way similar to the association between FRIEND and reliable, the source domain DOG can also be interpreted in terms of Practical-Behavioural using the indirect criterion. Conversely, indomitable cannot refer to a concrete property of the car, but it concerns some traits of personality that may instead refer to the car itself. In this case, the interpretation of WILD HORSE as the Utopian-Reflective style is also justified by an indirect criterion that relates indomitability to the conceptual domain personality.

- Fight and combat

From what we have seen, this kind of source domain serves to put emphasis on a specific range of properties relating to the security of the cars. It is easy, therefore, to interpret this property as an expression of the Practical-Behavioural type, since security is one of the conceptual domains that is related to this style of consumption. The cars can be expressed through the domains of SHIELD, BUNKER and ARMOUR. The idea of security is implicit in them and their connection to the Practical-Behavioural styles is clearly indirect since the conceptual domain of security is only implied by the domains of SHIELD, BUNKER and ARMOUR.

- Actions and Dynamics

The central idea behind this group of source domains consists of associating the cars with a series of experiences (e.g., TIME TRAVELLING, RISKING LIFE, WINNING) that serve to con-

note the car with further meanings. Considering that the association of these experiences with the car does not reflect any particular, or concrete, feature of the car itself, the role of these source domains is to emphasise general sensations of driving or owning the car. In this sense, the style of consumption that may be associated with these types of conceptualisation is the Utopian-Reflective one because it highlights the emotional connection between the user and the product. In other words, if RISKING LIFE provokes certain emotions and feelings and feeling is one of the Utopian-Reflective style, it is possible to connect the conceptual dimension 'feeling' to the source domain RISKING LIFE. In this case the indirect criterion is also used.

- Health

As discussed, this metaphor type includes a small category of source domains with specific references to objects such as STIMULANTS, DRUGS and TRANQUILISERS. The role of using these source domains serves to describe physical sensations that the car, or its relevant experiences, may induce. In this sense, the role played by the ¨Health¨ source domain is similar to 'Action and dynamics' and 'Art and Artefacts'. In fact, the function of 'Health' is to establish a deep connection between the cars and the owners, a connection that in this case also assumes the point of view of a physical connection, as in the form of the Utopian-Reflective style. In a similar way to the 'Action and dynamics' metaphor type, the role of STIMULANTS, DRUGS and TRANQUILISERS is also to convey some feelings (and to a certain extent also the mood) that found their connection to the Utopian-Reflective style because of the indirect criterion, since feeling and mood are crucial conceptual dimensions of this style of consumption.

-Commodities

'Commodities" refers to a wide group of source domains that associate cars to other commodi-

ties. The function of creating such a conceptualisation serves either to highlight certain non-practical features of the cars (i.e., as elegant as a TUXEDO) or to emphasise an emotional connection (i.e., this car is a fundamental and essential commodity like a TV). From this, the styles of consumption may refer to the Recreational-Visceral and to the Utopian-Reflective styles. In these examples, the elegance of the TUXEDO and the essentialness of the TV are related to their respective styles of consumptions through the indirect criterion (elegance as style, one of the conceptual dimensions of Recreational-Visceral) and because of the interpretative criterion, since being essential can only be interpreted as a trait of personality that a car can convey. In other words, while elegance is certainly a distinguishing feature of the TUXEDO (as is reliable for a DOG), the domain TV is too rich in terms of meaning to be reduced to some typical aspects. Therefore, the association between a TV and being essential has to be provided by an interpretation. As we discussed in section 6.1, the conceptual interpretation criterion happens where there are not evident semantic clues and each specific source domain is interpreted in order to maximise the coherence between its meaning and the conceptual categories.

-Other (residual category)

This group of source domains refers to a wide group of conceptualisations that can hardly be reduced to a single category. In this group it is possible to identify every style of consumption and the three operative criteria. For instance, while some source domains reflect the Practical-Behavioural style because of the comfort that a car conveys (i.e. comfortable like a ROOM); others are associated with self-image and tradition as per the Utopian-Reflective style (i.e., conveying general states such as POWER), some conveys Critical aspects (i.e. functional to saving

money like a MONEY SAVER) or related to aesthetic and social impacts as per Recreational-Visceral style (i.e., seductive and powerful like a DEVIL). As far as the operative criteria are concerned, POWER refers to the performance of the car by the direct relation between POWER and performance, other source domains like ROOM and MONEY refer to comfort and the functionality of saving money through the indirect expression of conceptual categories and DEVIL/ANGEL is related to the car by an interpretation of the conceptual dimensions of the source domains in relation to the context that the commercial presents. From this overview, we can now present in Table 20 how every source domain is an expression of styles of consumption. In this way, the relation between source domains and styles of consumption is not only easier to read, but also gives one the possibility of understanding how single metaphor occurrences generally follow the style of consumption that refers to the metaphor types themselves.

UK	VW: Golf "The Great Pretender"	pGR	Being Strong (1) Actor (1) Suit/Tuxedo (1) Power (1)	Utopian-Reflective (1) Recreational-Visceral (1) Recreational-Visceral (1) Practical-Behavioural (1)
UK	Ford: Focus "Ode to Ford"	pGR	Musical Instrument (4) Music/Song (2) Musician (1)	Recreational-Visceral (4) Recreational-Visceral (2) Recreational-Visceral (1)
UK	Vauxhall: Corsa "Joyride"	pGR	Joy (3) Drug (1) Bunker (1) Woman (1) Puppet/doll (3)	Utopian-Reflective (3) Utopian-Reflective (1) Practical-Behavioural (1) Recreational-Visceral (1) Neutral (3)
UK	Peugeot: 207 "Coccinelle"	pGR	Making Love (1) Ladybug (1) Stimulant (1) Room (1)	Utopian-Reflective (2) Neutral (1) Utopian-Reflective (1) Practical-Behavioural (1)
UK	Ford: Fiesta "This is now"	pGR	Drug (1) TV (2) Time/Historical period (1)	Practical-Behavioural (1) Recreational-Visceral (2) Neutral (1)

UK	Peugeot: 2007 "Envy"	GR	Dog (1) Swimming pool (1)	Recreational-Vis... Recreational-Vis...	
ITA	Lancia: Ypsilon "Rendezvous"	**UK** Ford: Fiesta "This is now" II pGR	Feeling (2) Falling (Being) in Love (2) Beautiful Woman (2) Stylist (1)	Utopian-Reflective (2) Utopian-Reflective (2) Artwork/Piece of Art (1) Recreational-Visceral (2) Freedom (1) Practical-Behavioural (1)	Utopian-Reflec... Critical (1
		UK Ford: Focus – "Start More than a Car"	Being Special (1) Devil/Angel (2) Paradise (2)	Practical-Behavioural (1) Assistant (1) Utopian-Reflective (2) Shield (2) Recreational-Visceral (2) Armour (2) Human Sense (2)	Practical-Behavi... Practical-Behavi... Practical-Behavi... Practical-Behavi... ctical-Behavi...
ITA	Ford: Focus "Ode to Ford"	pGR	Musical Instrument (4) Music/Song (3) Musician (2)	Recreational-Visceral (4) Recreational-Visceral (3) Recreational-Visceral (2) Freedom (1)	ctical-Behavi... creational-Vis... topian-Reflec... Critical (1
ITA	Fiat: Grande Punto "Filava Dritto"	**UK** VW: Golf pGR "Depeche Mode" pGR	Being Strong (1) Mood (1) Feeling (1) Horse (1) Stimulant (2) Winning (2)	Utopian-Reflective (1) Utopian-Reflective (1) Friendship (1) Utopian-Reflective (1) Friend (1) Utopian-Reflective (1) Music/Song (3) Utopian-Reflective (2) Utopian-Reflective (2)	Utopian-Reflec... Utopian-Reflec... Recreational-Vis...
ITA	Peugeot – 207 "Coccinelle"	pGR	Making Love (2) Ladybug (2) Nest (1) Stimulant (1)	Utopian-Reflective (2) Neutral (2) Practical-Behavioural (1) Utopian-Reflective (1)	
ITA	Ford: Fiesta "This is now"	pGR	Art (1) Living a day (2) TV (3)	Utopian-Reflective (1) Utopian-Reflective (2) Recreational-Visceral (3)	
ITA	Fiat: 500 "Drive it easy"	GR	Mood (1) Assistant (1) Tranquiliser (2) Laundry machine (2) Money saver (2)	Utopian-Reflective (1) Practical-Behavioural (1) Utopian-Reflective (2) Practical-Behavioural (2) Critical (2)	
ITA	Lancia: Ypsilon "Il lusso è un diritto"	GR	Artwork/Piece of Art (1) Actor (1) Suit/Tuxedo (2) Right (3)	Utopian-Reflective (1) Recreational-Visceral (1) Recreational-Visceral (2) Critical (3)	
ITA	Ford: Fiesta "Il future è adesso"	GR	Art (1) Time Travelling (1)	Recreational-Visceral (1) Utopian-Reflective (1)	
ITA	Fiat: Punto "La mini che amiamo"	GR	Feeling (1) Music/Song (1)	Utopian-Reflective (1) Recreational-Visceral (1)	

| | ITA | Fiat: Panda
Questa è l'Italia che piace | GR | Appreciating (Loving) a country
(2)
Time/Historical period (1) | | Utopian-Reflec
Neutral (|

Table 22 Style of consumption in relation to the TV commercials.

At this point,

after presenting the conceptual content of each TV commercial and the relevant style of con-

sumption we can move toward the quantification of the styles of consumption both in relation to

the historical condition and in relation to the language of the commercial. The following table

therefore provides a general overview of styles of consumption and provide a basis for describ-

ing how consumerism has been conceptualised across two different historical moments and what

conclusions can eventually be drawn from it.

	Practical- Behavioural	Utopian- Reflective	Critical	Recreational- Visceral	Neutral
pGR	6	26	0	26	7
GR	12	13	7	11	1
pGR/ITA	3	19	0	15	2
pGR/ENG	3	7	0	11	5
GR/ITA	3	8	5	5	1
GR/ENG	9	5	2	6	0

Table 23 Style of consumption in relation to language and 'Great Recession'

From this table, we see how the styles of consumption present two different distribution patterns, both in relation to the historical condition (pGR vs GR) and in relation to the historical condition according to the cultural setting. As we have discussed throughout this thesis, the crucial question is whether the styles of consumption appear to have changed as a result of the Great Recession, especially taking into account the fact that the two countries in question have experienced the Great Recession with different levels of intensity. Table 22 shows three main trends.

- First of all, from table 22 we can observe a substantial decrease of the Utopian-Reflective style and the Recreational-Visceral one between the 'pre-Great Recession' condition and the 'Great Recession'.

- Secondly, this tendency is partially compensated for an increase in the Practical-Behavioural style and the Critical, showing how the passage between these historical moments has produced a conceptualisation of the consumerism more specifically focused on practical and 'utilitaristic' aspects and on the centrality of cost/benefits.

- Third, with the exception of the Practical-Behavioural style for the British TV commercials, the most evident changes refer to the Italian condition, where the Utopian-Reflective style and the Recreational-Visceral one see a halving and a reduction of almost one third respectively.

These conclusions describe a scenario in which the Great Recession may have induced an attitudinal and perceptual variation in the way participants conceptualise material aimed at the promotion of products; in addition, in line with the considerations in section 8.1, the changes between styles of consumption seem to be particularly evident for the Italian condition, since Italy has suffered deeper and more serious consequences (Rose and Spiegel, 2012: 31).

10) Discussion: an overview

Chapter 8 presented the results from the analysis of the 20 TV car commercials. The results have been described in three main parts: the analysis of how metaphors are processed in TV commercials (9.1), the identification of how many and which metaphors were verbalised by the participants (9.2) and the outcomes of which styles of consumption may be used to interpret metaphors (9.3). In this section, we will try to discuss these results in the light of theoretical and methodological considerations that have emerged from the analysis. In order to maintain a balance between the results and the discussion of the results, this section will be organised into three parts, one for each type of result, that is, processing, identification and interpretation.

10.1) Discussion of the results: Processing

The analysis of how metaphors are processed was the object of discussion in section 8.1 and brought to light some theoretical and empirical results. Our definition of metaphor in this thesis is based on three main features (see 3.4). First of all, metaphor has been considered as an overarching category that includes both analogous phenomena (such as simile) and complementary processes (such as metonymy). The central point here is that metaphor is a general process that allows one to understand one element in terms of another. Secondly, metaphors cannot be merely considered as a construction that is – more or less – deliberately used or created by an addresser;

they are also the product of the active role of the recipient who decides to understand a certain stimulus in a metaphorical way. Thirdly, considering that metaphoricity may be described as a gradual rather than a discrete property, the processual nature of metaphor may be described in terms of a process that intervenes in certain situations. We have anticipated how ambiguous (not well defined) and/or incongruous stimuli (distance between content and the literal level) may provide the ideal context for using metaphors as a process of normalisation or, as we have mentioned, of resolution. These aspects, first discussed in relation to linguistic metaphors and then in visual representations, have also been found in the TV commercials we have analysed. What we have shown in our analysis (9.1) is that – although the TV commercials were not pre-selected as conveying metaphors – participants have verbalised the commercials as containing constructions that conceive one conceptual element in terms of another. In order to understand how participants elicited these metaphorical constructions, we have described three main conceptual dynamics that we have identified in the corpus of verbalisations and we have labelled them 'metaphor suggestion', 'metaphor expansion' and 'metaphor heuristic'. These dynamics describe three different patterns of conceptual processes in which the information in the commercials is used in different ways in order to make sense of the entire representation. As we discussed in 9.1, the modes of expression in the commercials (characters, shots, plot and music) are informed by the aims of the advertising genre, which is about presenting the car in a positive way and promoting its purchase. The analysis has in fact shown how the participants' interpretations of the commercials are strongly oriented by their awareness of viewing an advertisement. The type of processing dynamic used, on the other hand, is strictly connected with how 'complex' the commercials are perceived to be. In 'Ode to Ford', we have seen how the participants easily interpreted the musicians playing some parts of the car as an expression of the metaphors PART OF A FO-

CUS IS A MUSICAL INSTRUMENT and FOCUS IS AN ORCHESTRA. The process of meta-

phor suggestion has been caused mainly by the intent of the author of the commercial who uses

any possible visual and musical element to trigger the intended metaphorical interpretation and

to reduce the complexity of the commercial itself as much as possible. The idea behind the

commercial does not leave much freedom to the participants other than to identify the metaphor.

From a theoretical perspective, the metaphors that reflect the producers' intentions are those that

have been largely investigated by authors like Forceville (2008) on the basis of Carroll's (1992),

Kennedy's (1982) and Whittock's (1990) insights. As Forceville (2008: 468-469) himself states:

> However, I do support Carroll, Whittock, and Kennedy's emphasis on metaphor pro-
> ducers' intentions. Usually when we interpret something as a metaphor, this some-
> thing was probably meant to be construed as a metaphor – after all, the ascription of
> intentionality to our fellow humans' communicative acts crucially governs human in-
> teraction (e.g., Gibbs, 1999a; Ponech, 1999; Sperber & Wilson, 1995; Tomasello,
> 1999). I therefore propose to consider intentional metaphors as the default, but not
> rule out in principle metaphorical analyses of phenomena which their producers did
> not envisage as metaphors.

The point of view described by Forceville, i.e. to consider intentional metaphors[9] as default met-

aphors, seems to have two main limitations. First, although some representations are very likely

created with the intention of conveying a certain metaphor, we do not have any tool to evaluate

the producers' intentions. TV commercials, and advertising in general, are certainly the result of

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[9] In this context, the notions of deliberate metaphors and intentional metaphors are considered as synon-

ymous, since they both describe a construction in contrast with a view of metaphor as conventional, au-

tomatic, and unconscious (Steen, 2008: 56).

a strategy of marketing and of communication, but it is also true that their base concept can also be the product of some unconscious artistic/creative intuition. A possible solution might be to interview advert producers about their intentions, but this would probably be difficult to achieve. Furthermore, interviews would not be a very consistent source of reliable data since they do not take into account the producers' unconscious artistic/creative intuition. The impossibility to distinguish between conscious and intentional productions and unconscious and less intentional productions makes it difficult to consider intentional metaphors as default metaphors. Not surprisingly, some authors prefer not to talk about metaphors that are produced deliberately since:

> A belief in deliberate metaphor carries with it the assumption that people make conscious judgment about the creation of some metaphors which is a special kind of reasoning, and not something, I argue, that speaker or listeners, authors or readers, really do ...Yet there is no definitive set of criteria for indicating whether some metaphors are deliberate […]

One may reconsider the intentionality of metaphor production and posit that metaphor may just have an effect, a purpose, which is to induce a certain conceptualisation in the recipient, but that very few things can be said about the role of the producer and their intentions. As Charteris-Black claims:

> I would like to suggest that the term 'purposeful metaphor' is preferable for a theory of discourse and communication because it is oriented to the intended outcome of a metaphor and makes no assumptions about whether it is conscious or unconscious — which are really considerations of thought.
>
> (Charteris-Black, 2012: 5)

What is crucial is that, even if we had the tools to decide whether a metaphor is intentional or not, deliberately created or not, and that it has some effects, we would still have to assume that "deliberate metaphors thus do have effects – but perhaps not always the intended ones" (Musolff,

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2011: 17). Therefore, it is hard not to see again the role of the recipient as active agent (as discussed in 1.6), in which metaphor production and understanding is based on a conceptual pact that can be between two speakers when they agree to speak creatively of X using the language and norms of Y (Veale, 2013: 16). Since nothing can be said about the producers' intentions and since these also depend on the active role of the recipient, we understand that metaphors may essentially be conceived as productions that rely on the creativity of both the producer and the recipient. Based on these considerations, the idea of using the notion of metaphor suggestion to describe some patterns of conceptual operations focuses on the possibility that a metaphor's producer is simply suggesting a certain interpretation to the recipient, but the recipient can always use the suggestion in any possible way. In line with the incongruity resolution theory (see Romero and Soria, 2013), the recipient only tries to normalise the stimulus and to remove any incongruous or ambiguous interpretation. In the examples we have labelled as metaphor suggestion, the metaphor's producers are only trying to suggest some possible ways to solve the situation, but nothing precise can be said about the intentionality of the producers themselves. If the producers' intentions can hardly be considered as a criterion for establishing deliberate metaphors as the default, another critical aspect emerges from the empirical value of the analysis we have conducted. Although 'metaphor suggestion' with its associated producers' intentions have been considered by authors like Forceville (2008: 468-469) as the default metaphor, interestingly – as table 17 in section 9.1.4 shows - the 'metaphor suggestion' dynamic is, in our study, the least frequent dynamic; conversely, the other two dynamics, that we have labelled 'metaphor expansion' and 'metaphor heuristics', seem to find a wider application. What emerges then from our corpus of TV commercials is that a conceptual dynamic so rarely used in this (and perhaps other multimodal contexts) cannot be considered as an expression of the default metaphor. As it

is possible to see in others works such as Forceville (2007), Urios-Aparisi (2009) and Yu (2011), complex representations such as TV commercials are usually 'reduced' to a single metaphoric construction (see 6.1.1). In line with what we have observed in 3.2.2, despite the possible presence of several meanings and interpretations that the interaction of modes can produce, scholars prefer to associate certain non-linguistic representations with an expression of a single general conceptual metaphor. A classic example of this tendency comes from Yu (2011). Yu applies a decompositional approach to analysing the metaphorical structure of a commercial by reducing it to one single general conceptual metaphor. The result of the analysis is the PEOPLES OF THE WORLD MAKING CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE BEIJING OLYMPICS ARE BIRDS FLYING FROM VARIOUS COUNTRIES TO BEIJING WITH TWIGS TO BUILD A BIRD'S NEST metaphor. This interpretation can have an intrinsic logic, but it does not reflect the authentic nature of the representation and of its comprehension. The presence of a single or fixed metaphoric interpretation cannot be established de facto because complex representations like TV commercials can convey several metaphorical meanings. As we have said, creative artefacts such as TV commercials are produced with the intention of conveying a certain message. However, the complexity of the medium can also leave space for subjective interpretations that move away from the original intended meaning. Because of this, we were not interested in the evaluation of the participant's 'correct' metaphorical interpretation', but in discovering which interpretations the participants produced when they were exposed to the commercial. The central role of the recipient and the possibility that the same representation can convey several meanings is clearly exemplified by the way 'metaphor expansion' and 'metaphor heuristics' operate.

In the case of 'metaphor expansion', the producer's intentions are not suggested by the content of the TV commercial itself. On the contrary, the recipient is induced to 'create' a subjective inter-

pretation by using some of the elements of the commercials (music, images, etc.) as reference in order to link them to the aim of the commercial itself. In this case, the commercial's producers do not suggest a metaphorical interpretation, but are just providing some elements to make sense of the commercial (i.e., a plot, characters, narrative elements). The recipient tries to make sense of the commercial by using some of the elements in the commercial and linking them to the positive interpretation of the car. This step takes place because the recipients, after realising that the representation they are watching is a TV commercial and that TV commercials are created with the intent of conveying some positive meanings about the advertised product (i.e., a car), try to connect the positive interpretation inherent in the aim of the commercial with some functional elements that are represented (i.e., a plot, characters, narrative elements). In other words, the recipient tries to 'find' some positively connoted elements in the commercials (i.e. Two ANGELS are in a CAR, a physical space, therefore that physical space might be PARADISE) and to relate them to the aim of the commercial as presenting the product in a positive way. Considering that PARADISE is an element with positive connotations, it is possible to put in relation the product in the commercial and two physical spaces (i.e., the CAR, since CAR and PARADISE have common properties). This conceptual operation might be 'paraphrased' in the following way: considering that the aim of the commercial is to present the CAR in a positive way, and considering that the commercial conveys the concept of PARADISE, among others, we can use the concept of PARADISE to make sense of the CAR, both because PARADISE and CAR share some common properties and because PARADISE has some positive connotations that might be used to present the CAR in a positive way. PARADISE then seems to be functional to giving shape and substance to the CAR domain, representing what metaphors do (i.e., understanding something in terms of something else). If, in the 'metaphor expansion', the producer's intentions

are particularly hard to find, the dynamic we have labelled as 'metaphor heuristics' makes interpreting TV commercials even more subjective.

The content of the commercials to which 'metaphor heuristics' may be applied does not provide particular elements to 'make' sense of the commercials. In contrast with 'metaphor expansion', these commercials do not allow the recipient to identify any specific functional elements (i.e., a plot, characters, narrative elements). In this case, the recipient cannot use any of these elements to relate to the advertised product. Considering that the human mind is designed to make sense of any stimulus and to complete this operation as soon as possible when the context requires fast interpretations (see Gigerenzer and Todd, 1999), participants use metaphorical conceptualisations to reduce the complexity of the commercial to a simple relation in which the advertised product is conceived in terms of something else. In the 'metaphor expansion' processing mode, participants were careful in selecting domains that had both 'common properties (i.e. physical spaces) and positive connotations ('something for angels'); conversely, in this case, the participants simply take any element to trigger the metaphorical conceptualisation. Domains such as TELEVISION or TIME TRAVELLING seen in some of the examples do not share any properties with the CAR domain, but are just used to give a certain shape and substance to the concept of CAR. In this way, the level of subjectivity is particularly high, since a participant can decide to put the CAR domain in relation with every possible visual element depicted in the commercials. Similar to the notion of heuristic (Tversky and Kahnemann, 1973), the conceptualisation need not be accurate, but quick. We agree that metaphors which are more explicitly 'suggested' by the producers certainly represent an important type, but the assumption that such metaphors are the default metaphor seems hard to sustain. What we have tried to explain in this section is that the metaphor, which is expressed by a pattern of conceptual operations that we have called

'metaphor suggestion', is both too problematic to define because of the fuzziness of the notion of 'deliberate' or 'intentional' and because, from an empirical perspective, it does not even represent the most frequent case of metaphor. Instead, we prefer to consider as default metaphors those representations that can vary from recipient to recipient, in which the interaction between producer and recipient plays a more important role than the producers' intentions.

10.2) Discussion of the results: Identification

The identification of metaphors that we conducted in section 9.2 brought to light the extent of metaphorical meanings (112 in our case) to be derived from TV car commercials (20 in our case) when a think-aloud process is used. The metaphor constructions are the product of the verbalisations (971 utterances in total) that 30 participants expressed during the experimental session. The metaphors we collected — and then grouped into 8 metaphor types and 1 residual category through determining how the source domains fit lexical fields and patterns of collocation and relative frequencies — may be discussed in relation to two main theoretical and methodological issues. To begin with, (i) it is important to take into account how these source domains derive from the TV commercial and whether the experimental setting affected the verbalisation of metaphors (target domains as conceptual trigger); and (ii), it is necessary to clarify how these source domains may be interpreted in terms of a wider conceptual and discursive phenomenon (the nature of the verbalised metaphors).

- Target domains as a conceptual trigger

As discussed in section 6.2.2, the 'think aloud' task leaves autonomy to subjects to verbalise their thoughts. However, the presence of irrelevant, incomplete, or inaudible utterances is a very frequent feature of spoken language, especially in the absence of an interlocutor. As Šorm and Steen (2013: 17) reported in their study, the presence of these non-functional utterances – described in the 0-category in Table 1—can reach a high percentage, considering that in their analysis, almost 35% of all units fell into this category. In order to reduce the impact of this kind of utterances – especially the 'out of the context' thoughts - we decided to ask subjects not to generally verbalise their thoughts about the TV commercials, but to verbalise their thoughts about a series of conceptual categories that are structural to the commercials, such as the product, the buyer, the act of buying, the reason for buying, and the feelings or the emotions related to the purchase of the product. This strategy, preliminarily tested in a series of pilot studies, leaves the subjects with a considerable level of autonomy in expressing their thoughts, but at the same time, subtly makes their verbalisations potentially less dispersive. Although this expedient limits the subjects' freedom to verbalise any content they prefer, this setting leaves more freedom than those structured by a question-answer scheme. Our main concern was to find an experimental setting that allowed a wide degree of freedom without risking a high percentage of non-functional utterances. From the results described in 9.1, the percentage of non-usable utterances was less than 12% (114 units out of a total of 971 utterances). As expected, the fact that the participants verbalised their thoughts in relation to specific target domains (instead of having 'complete' freedom as in Šorm and Steen's experiment) led to a reduction in the 'out of the context' thoughts. However, what may be questioned regarding the use of the target domains (i.e., the buyer, the act of buying, the reason for buying and the feelings or the emotions related to the purchase of the product) to produce verbalisations, is whether the verbalisations were directed at

the TV commercials or at the target domains themselves. In other words, if the participants verbalised their thoughts about a stimulus, it is crucial to understand if their thoughts were triggered by the content of the TV commercials or by the attempt to fulfil the instructions of the experiment. When Šorm and Steen (2013) decided to give participants the chance to freely verbalise their thoughts about some visual materials, they certainly wanted the participants to focus their attention on the content of the material itself. As we have seen, this approach has great advantages, but also some practical problems. In this regard, we argue that the use of some target domains to induce people to focus on specific aspects of the commercials can hardly be considered as a factor that may have diverted attention from the content of the TV commercials. In support of this claim, we advance three main arguments. First, although the use of some target domains has reduced non-functional utterances to nearly 12% (the so-called 0-category), this reduction can be considered as marginal, since it shows how, in any case, the participants have produced verbalisations that certainly did not concern the target domains. Šorm and Steen (2013) do not provide the precise number of verbalisations that were specifically categorized as irrelevant (0.1), incomplete (0.2), or inaudible (0.3) in their study. The authors identified a general 83 '0-category' units out of 271 total units (Šorm and Steen, 2013: 17), which is almost 35%. Assuming that the proportion of incomplete and inaudible units was similar in their study and ours, it is possible to infer that the target domains that were used may have affected the irrelevant units in particular. The irrelevant category includes those verbalisations that are about 'talking about non-task related issues' (see 6.2.3); so, probably, the instructions to verbalise thoughts about some target domains may have affected this aspect. On the one hand, a reduction to 12% is a relevant result in terms of the number of verbalisations that are useful for the analysis. On the other hand, this reduction does not justify any assumption that target domains may have affected

– in practical terms – the freedom of the participants and the fact that irrelevant verbalisations were still produced seems to confirm this. Another aspect to take into account concerns the continuity between target domains and the TV commercials. In theoretical terms, it is hard to disagree with the fact that verbalising about some TV commercials and verbalising about some TV commercials around some target domains may describe two different experiences. However, it is important to consider how the target domains are about the TV commercials, and in particular about the product and the aims that concern them. In practical terms, the experience of verbalising about some TV car commercials cannot be very different from that of verbalising thoughts about target domains on the cars or car-related experiences embedded in the commercials. Despite varieties in form, TV car commercials present some car models, trying to convey meanings that would persuade people to buy the car, including the elicitation of the feelings that the owner may experience after the purchase. The target domains we have used (buyer, the act of buying, the reason for buying, and the feelings or the emotions related to the purchase of the product) are necessarily related to the TV commercials, despite the different importance that a single commercial may place on each of these domains. In this sense, there is strict continuity between the content and the aim of the TV commercials and the content of the target domains. If we had decided to trigger verbalisations about TV commercials starting from general and decontextualised target domains (i.e. LOVE), this would have created important theoretical and methodological problems (i.e., LOVE is a domain that does not concern every TV car commercial)[10]. On the

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[10] Some commercials may have been about LOVE and then the target domains would have been relevant,

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contrary, the target domains we have used are all related to the TV commercials and, therefore, it is hard to argue that they may have acted as potential elements of disturbance or may have excessively reduced the freedom of the participants. The third aspect that needs to be taken into account is the categorisation into source domains. As we showed in section 9.2, the metaphors we have extracted have been categorised in relation to the source domain. We identified 8 metaphor categories and one residual category. This categorisation does not specifically distinguish between individual target domains. One can argue that this lack of distinction among target domains may create confusion, since the same source domain (i.e. LADYBUG) can be used to refer, for instance, to the target domain of buyer or car (THE BUYER IS A LADYBUG or THE CAR IS A LADYBUG). In principle, this might be a valid criticism, but it does not consider the nature of the advertising genre. TV commercials are productions that try to compress a high number of content features into a few seconds. For this reason, the information and the content of TV commercials are often blended in the same shots or combined in the same multimodal elements. For instance, in the commercial 'Ford Focus – Ode to Ford', the scenes in which the musicians play some parts of the Ford Focus, the source domains MUSIC and MUSICIAN can be linked to the CAR, the BUYER and the related experiences, such as DRIVING THE CAR or OWNING THE CAR. The reasons why the two target domains have been considered as wider source domains is because in TV commercials there are no clear distinctions between the product and other related experiences, since everything is represented as a single perceptual experience.

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but this cannot work as a generalisation.

If a commercial portrays the concept of POWER in relation to a car, the concept of POWER is also projected onto the figure of the buyer. As we have seen from the discussion of the metaphor types (section 9.2), features of the car are often seen as features of the buyer and vice versa. If a Punto is a WILD HORSE, the related features of a WILD HORSE (i.e., wild, untamed, free spirit) also become the features of the buyer, which then means that driving a Punto is like being wild, untamed, and a free spirit. The target domains cannot be analysed as separate units since together they represent a more general domain. In this regard, the decision to provide clear instructions for verbalising around certain target domains was conceived with the intent of giving participants a wide choice of where to start their verbalisations. In addition, considering that the target domains include most of the contents that a TV commercial can convey, the target domains may also have given the impression to the participants that they could verbalise their thoughts about everything they wanted. Therefore, referring every source domain to its related target domain would have produced in principle a more precise analysis, but would have distorted the process of interpretation and conceptualisation that the participants conveyed.

- The nature of the verbalised metaphors

The metaphors we have analysed and categorised in the form of source domains may certainly be interpreted in different ways. As we discussed in section 4.3.2, one possible way of interpreting metaphors consists of describing the different processes of metaphorical justification in relation to their stability: from the more stable conceptualisations, as is the case of discourse metaphors, to the fastest-changing metaphors based on a conceptual pact. Authors like Zinken, Hellsten and Nerlich (2008: 363) call discourse metaphors those elements of connection between language and habitual analogies. In section 4.3.2, we claimed that the element that makes the discourse

metaphor an expression pertaining to a historical moment is based on the fact that discourse metaphors employ a deep cultural knowledge of the context in which they are used. Zinken, Hellsten and Nerlich (2008: 367) highlight that the conceptualization of the same class of phenomena can quickly vary and the change in the conceptualization can be triggered by changing socio-political circumstances (see also Nerlich and Hellsten, 2004; Musolff, 2004; 2008; Nerlich, 2005; Frank, 2008). In relation to what we discussed in Section 1.6, metaphors based on conceptual pacts can be considered as 'creative' metaphors since the speakers agree to creatively speak of X using the language and norms of Y (Hanks, 2006, in Veale, 2013: 1). These metaphors necessarily present a faster changing and less historically entrenched use because they are the result of a 'negotiation' between a sender and a recipient. What has emerged from the analysis and the categorisation of the source domains is that some of the metaphors emerging from the TV commercials can certainly be considered examples of discourse metaphors. TV commercials convey and represent information and conceptualisations typical of a certain historical moment, but they are also creative productions that may originate, for instance, from the individual initiative of an artist or a group of artists. In other words, it is possible that the production of a TV commercial depends on the (conscious) will to reflect certain historical and contextual 'sensitivities' and/or the (unconscious) creative act of one or more people that may actually be at odds with conventional representations. As we are not able to ask the authors of the TV commercials about their choices, we have no other option but to assume discourse metaphors and creative ones as a wider way of describing metaphors. In section 4.3.2, we already mentioned this possibility by using the notion of creative-discourse metaphor, to signal that some discourse metaphors may be historically and culturally entrenched and yet change over time, revealing the active role of the speaker. The impossibility to distinguish between creative and discourse metaphors is also due to the lack of a

distinguishing criteria. Discourse metaphors and creative ones are very much subject to time, but the analysis we have conducted draws a comparison between material from two different but very close historical moments. This makes it too difficult to distinguish between more stable conceptualisations (discourse metaphors) and less stables conceptualisations (creative metaphors). As Zinken, Hellsten and Nerlich (2008: 363) claimed, discourse metaphor is 'a relatively stable metaphorical projection that functions as a key framing device within a particular discourse over a certain period of time', but our analysis does not allow to observe if a certain conceptualisation has been stable over the two biennia we analysed. Certainly, the analyses we have conducted give us the chance to isolate some source domains and to see how their use has changed between the 'p-Great Recession' and the 'Great Recession' condition, but very few things can be said about the nature of these conceptualisations. If a source domain X is present in both conditions—showing a possible stability 'over a certain period of time'—this source domain is not necessarily an expression of a discourse metaphor. However, if a source domain Y is present in just one historical moment—therefore showing less stability than discourse metaphors—we cannot just consider it as a creative conceptualisation, since the presence or the absence of a certain source domain might depend on several other factors concerning TV commercials (the sample size, its representativeness) as well as the ability of the participants to convey 'creative' interpretations. In fact, as creative metaphors specifically represent the outcome of a process of negotiation between a speaker and a recipient, the capacity of the participants to produce creative metaphors has not been controlled in the process of the participants' selection. As Silvia and Beaty (2012) claim: "People high in fluid intelligence (Gf) made metaphors that were much more creative" (ibidem: 5), where fluid intelligence can be defined as "the ability associated with using "deliberate and controlled mental operations to solve novel problems that cannot

be performed automatically" (ibidem: 3). Among the variables that we have tried to control when selecting the participants (i.e., gender, age, nationality, average car knowledge and average time spent watching TV), we did not have the chance to analyse and control if our participants were balanced in terms of fluid intelligence. Considering that the amount of fluid intelligence may significantly affect the production and interpretation of creative metaphors, we cannot say anything specific about the amount of creative metaphors that we eventually identified. Therefore, we have few analytical and theoretical tools to use in order to infer something about the nature of the metaphors we have identified and the general notion of creative-discourse metaphor is felt to be appropriate for our findings.

10.3) Discussion of the results: Interpretation

A central aspect of this thesis has consisted of analysing how consumerism has been metaphorically conceptualised in different historical moments. In order to explore this correlation, we first provided an operative definition of consumerism in terms of four styles of consumption and then we defined three different criteria to link specific source domains to the different styles of consumption. The use of relevant analytical categories to frame metaphorical conceptualisations in the light of consumerism is predicated on the need to reduce subjective interpretations as much as possible. From the results we obtained in section 9.3, we can take into account two main aspects that would help us better understand what we have achieved in terms of metaphor interpretation. To begin with, (i) we will discuss how, for a certain metaphor token, its respective metaphor type presents the same style of consumption interpretation. Then, (ii) we will try to evaluate what the variation of the styles of consumption says about the impact of the 'Great Recession'.

- Ideological continuity between metaphor tokens and metaphor types

At the beginning of section 9.3, we claimed that, in order to produce more precise interpretations, every metaphor token would be analysed in the light of the styles of consumption. However, we have also shown in the discussion of the metaphor types and in the results of the metaphor tokens interpretation, how the ideological value of each metaphor type normally coincides with its relevant metaphor tokens. If we exclude some exceptions (for instance the source domain WOMAN or all those source domains that do not have a clear ideological interpretation), metaphor types are in contiguity with their forming conceptualisations. As discussed, the 'People' source domains, for example, are particularity varied in the corpus of TV commercials and can be generally related to people with different roles/functions; the selection of the people always reflects people with highly distinctive features. In this sense, the role of the car is to convey particular functions or properties that emerge from the role played by the human subject (i.e., as reliable as a FRIEND, as helpful as an ASSISTANT, as trustworthy as a RELATIVE). In this sense, it is possible to interpret these domains as an expression of the Practical-Behavioural style since this kind of style of consumption appeals to the practical properties of a product, such as comfort, reliability, ease of use and performance. An example of this relation between human subjects and particular functions is the source domain FRIEND. A FRIEND can be associated to people you can trust because of their reliability, but this is also a conceptual dimension that can refer to cars. From this interpretation, an important exception is represented by the WOMAN source domain. We see from the corpus that the metaphor token of WOMAN works mainly as an expression of prototypical beauty rather than as an idea of some role/function. Although WOMAN may refer to a relatively abstract super-category, in the context of the analysis, the metaphor token of WOMAN is functionally used to describe a particular entity characterised by specific

properties such as beauty and seductiveness. Considering that the Practical-Behavioural style is about properties that are practical and can generally be quantified, the domain of WOMAN should be related to the Recreational-Visceral style since this style determines non-utilitarian reasons, beauty included. The WOMAN source domain represents an exception to the other source domains represented in the 'people' metaphor type because its function is largely different from source domains like FRIEND, RELATIVE and ASSISTANT. Apart from similar exceptions, we have found a large correspondence between the ideological value of the metaphor types and their relevant tokens. The reason behind this tendency seems to lie in the interaction of the conceptual level of the metaphor types with the aims of the commercials. As we have discussed, the metaphor types are the results of lexical fields, patterns of collocation and relative frequencies (section 9.2) and from this semantic similarity emerges the similarity in the aims for which they are used. FRIEND, RELATIVE and ASSISTANT can be grouped into a single semantic category ('People') because of common conceptual properties (i.e., having a common function, being close or intimate to the agent, etc.). As a consequence, it is possible to claim that the same common conceptual properties that give shape to the metaphor types are also the elements that justify the same style of consumption interpretation. We have described how the styles of consumption take into account the link between metaphors and consumerism by using specific conceptual domains. In this regard, the relation between styles of consumption and common properties of the metaphor tokens is based on the same conceptual content (i.e. conceptual domains). In other words, the ideological continuity we have found between metaphor types and metaphor tokens might be explained by the fact that the similar metaphor tokens are based on the conceptual content of their relevant style of consumption. If the metaphor tokens present the same ideological interpretation in terms of style of consumption because of their shared con-

ceptual content, the metaphor type—the superordinate category that groups the metaphor to-kens—should also present the same style of consumption interpretation since its conceptual properties are the same as its constitutive metaphor tokens. In other words, if typical aspects of source-domain situations (for instance, the metaphor types that share source domains with simi-lar conceptual properties) present a set of assumptions, we can claim that the same set of (ideo-logical) assumptions might also concern the same source-domain situation (i.e. the metaphor types). In this sense, the presence of exceptions such as those for the WOMAN domain might be explained not as an exception in terms of the above mentioned conceptual dynamics, but proba-bly because the WOMAN domain is enriched with further cultural and historical meanings that encompass the common conceptual properties of similar domains such as FRIEND, RELATIVE, and ASSISTANT. While FRIEND, RELATIVE and ASSISTANT belong to the 'people' catego-ry, WOMAN is connoted with a series of prototypical meanings (i.e. beauty) that are not shared by other similar domains and which reveal properties of a type other than 'having a function' and 'being close or intimate to the agent'.

- Meanings and interpretations of the Great Recession's ideological variation

Section 8.3 is dedicated to the analysis of the metaphor tokens in the light of the styles of con-sumption. What has emerged is that the interpretation of the source domains produces three main trends concerning the most significant variations between the 'pre-Great Recession' and 'Great Recession' and between these historical conditions in relation to the language of -TV commer-cials. In table 22 we showed how there is a substantial decrease in the Utopian-Reflective style and the Recreational-Visceral one, between the 'pre-Great Recession' condition and the 'Great Recession'. We found how an increment in the Practical-Behavioural style and the Critical one

compensates for this tendency, showing how the GR experience appears to have produced a change in the conceptualisation of consumerism, more specifically focused on practical and 'utilitaristic' aspects and on the centrality of cost/benefits. With the exception of the Practical-Behavioural style for the British TV commercials, the most evident changes are noticed in the Italian commercials, where the Utopian-Reflective style and the Recreational-Visceral one see a halving and a reduction of almost one third respectively. These findings show how the conceptual variations in the use of source domains point to a variation of styles of consumption. At this point, how can we evaluate these conclusions? The 'Great Recession' has certainly been a very complex phenomenon that affected the first years of the twenty-first century and therefore every reduction to one single aspect (i.e. a conceptual and ideological variation) might seem like an attempt at trivializing. The effect of the 'Great Recession' on society may be addressed in various ways. To the extent that the process of metaphorical conceptualisation has been shown as depending on the historical context in which it takes place (see section 3), the metaphorical analysis undertaken in this thesis provides one way of exploring the changes in consumerist style brought about by the GR. Some of the results obtained seem to be consistent with those reported by Piercy, Cravens and Lane (2010: 6-7) and Garzema (2010) in marketing research to analyse the effect of the 'Great Recession'. The decrease of the Utopian-Reflective and the Recreational-Visceral styles, i.e. styles that in different ways represent immaterial and non-practical aspects, has been described by Piercy, Cravens and Lane (2010: 6) in these terms:

> […] European research points to a consumer desire for "voluntary simplicity" and behavioural changes that include cutting back on "aspirational" luxury shopping. Shoppers are suffering from what Bain & Co. call "luxury shame", and are feeling guilty about buying indulgences.

Rigby (2009; quoted in Piercy, Cravens, and Lane 2010: 7) also describes a deep change in values:

> Accordingly, companies like Unilever are increasingly recognising that customer buying processes have changed and become more complex in very significant ways, and that the severity of the downturn will change behaviour in the long term – we face growing numbers of consumers for whom frivolity is "unacceptable" and "frugality" is cool.

The shift toward a different way of orienting consumption between the 'pre-Great Recession' and the 'Great Recession' has also concerned the increase in critical aspects of consumption as a more environmentalist approach to goods and products. This point has been described by Gerzema (2010) in relation to how consumers are changing their attitude towards a more 'mindful' consumption:

> The study also showed that 62% of Americans agree that "Since the recession, I realize I am happier with a simpler, more down to basics lifestyle" [and] 77% of people agreed that "How I spend my time is more important than how much money I make." The research suggests that "mindless consumption" is becoming more "mindful" and that brands and marketing can play a greater role in connecting with the values shifts of the post-crisis consumer: 72% of people agreed that "I make it a point now to buy brands from companies whose values are similar to my own." And two-thirds of all people agreed that "I make it a point to avoid buying brands whose values contradict my own.
>
> (Gerzema, 2010 in Kotler, 2011: 134)

These studies refer to research conducted on American or generally European consumers, but we can still assume that similar results may also be expected in British and Italian contexts. In this sense, the results we have found seem to be in line with similar conclusions reached by scholars in marketing research.

Regarding the different impact of the 'Great Recession' on Italy and the United Kingdom, our results appear to confirm our initial hypothesis that Italy has suffered deeper and more serious consequences than the United Kingdom (Rose and Spiegel, 2012: 31). This may explain why the ideological variation of the Italian TV commercials seems to be more evident than the British TV commercials. With the exception of the Practical-Behavioural style, the results for the Utopian-Reflective style and the Recreational-Visceral one convey a halving and a reduction of almost one-third respectively between the 'pre-Great Recession' and the 'Great Recession' conditions. Unfortunately, we do not have enough evidence to clearly determine if this trend has been observed in other studies (for instance, in marketing studies). What we claim, however, is that the 'Great Recession' has left an undeniable mark on the way products are associated with metaphorical conceptualisation, and that different uses of metaphors point to different ways of interpreting consumerism.

The question arises as to whether studies in metaphor interpretation, such as ours, may, actually, make an important contribution to marketing research. The analyses of Piercy, Cravens and Lane (2010), Garzema (2010) and Kotler (2011) were conducted using interviews and surveys, two qualitative methods that share few aspects with a metaphor analysis. The analogous results obtained from these approaches show how metaphor analysis may succeed in describing content that is traditionally investigated by establishing a direct interaction with individuals. Although the 'think aloud' task focuses on participants' thoughts, access to the participants' interpretations is less influenced by the researcher than is the case for interviews and surveys. Interviews and surveys may affect the participants' responses in different ways, for instance regarding the typology, the form and the content of the questions. The 'think aloud' task, by contrast, gives more freedom to the participants and this can result in more genuine responses. Certainly, the process

of metaphor identification and interpretation as a basis for an ideological analysis can result more complex and less readily interpretable than an interview, but it presents several advantages. The research we have conducted has explored the companies' perspectives (the car manufacturers and the contents they wanted to convey) as well as the perspectives of the advertising agencies that produced the TV commercials (how to convey the content suggested by the car manufacturers), and of potential consumers (how the participants reacted to the TV commercials). This research has made it possible to link these three agents into a single methodological framework. While Piercy, Cravens and Lane (2010) investigated the perspective of the companies, Garzema (2010) took into account the consumers' perspective. In marketing research, as in advertising studies, the idea of joining the role of companies, promotion and the consumer into a single analysis has not yet been investigated, especially regarding the effects of the 'Great Recession'. The role of metaphor analysis may result as an important tool to perform studies, even in fields that traditionally do not use conceptual interpretations as a main methodological framework. Marketing research, and other approaches to economic issues, can also contribute to reinforcing the validity of the results that metaphor studies produce. Metaphor is generally taken into account in economics in terms of representation of knowledge, with the intent of describing which rhetorical effect is conveyed (see Charteris-Black and Ennis, 2001; White, 2003; Fukuda, 2009; Alejo, 2010). Besides, what this thesis has also tried to do is make a prediction about how certain conceptual and ideological patterns might have varied between the 'Great Recession' and an immediately preceding biennium. When metaphor studies concern issues that are traditionally investigated by other approaches, the contribution of these approaches can have a crucial role in making the metaphor studies results more effective. The conclusions we have reached about the variation in the ideological meaning of metaphors would have been far less concrete without the support

of studies such as Piercy, Cravens and Lane (2010), Garzema (2010) and Kotler (2011). Nevertheless, non-linguistic studies are rarely used to support metaphor studies. If metaphor studies can contribute to expand the depth of the analysis that approaches like marketing and advertising research can achieve, metaphor studies can use these approaches to reinforce the validity of their results. In particular, concerning the 'Great Recession' and consumerism, this work represents one of the first attempts to use marketing research to support the results drawn from a conceptual analysis.

11) Conclusion

This work was designed with the primary aim to address three main research questions. Specifically: Q1) Can a difference be detected between the metaphorical content of TV commercials produced before and after the 'Great Recession'; Q2) Does this influence depend on the severity with which the 'Great Recession' has hit a certain country; and Q3) to what extent does the variation in the use of metaphors reflects an ideological shift in the conceptualisation of consumerism. In the light of what we have investigated, we can affirm that a substantial difference in terms of conceptual source domains may be found in the TV commercials we analysed before and after the 'Great Recession' (Q1). The interpretation of the conceptual source domains in the light of consumerism made this variation more evident, showing how consumerism conveyed a different use of source domains between the 'pre-Great Recession' and 'Great Recession' conditions (Q3). In order to understand if this variation depends on the severity with which the 'Great Recession' has hit a certain country, the experimental part focuses the attention on Italy and the UK, two countries that according to a series of parameters (see 8.1) were affected by the 'Great Recession' from different perspectives. From our analysis (see 9.3), TV commercials broadcast in Italy seem to reflect a more evident variation in terms of styles of consumption, possibly reflecting the fact that Italy has suffered deeper and more serious consequences than the UK. In this sense, not only has the 'Great Recession' induced a variation, but most importantly this variation seems to depend on the severity with which the 'Great Recession' has affected one country instead of another (Q2). In this sense, this dissertation has contributed to demonstrating how metaphorical conceptualisation depends on the historical context in which it takes place, showing

how events as the 'Great Recession' may contribute to affect the way people use metaphors. In order to address the above questions, this dissertation needed to explore, in greater detail than in previous studies, the role of metaphors in multimodal representations. This was achieved by focusing on three different aspects of such representations. The first aspect concerns metaphor processing, the second, metaphor identification and the third ideological interpretation. Before considering the identification of metaphors in TV commercials, we discussed how different metaphor processing dynamics can be used by people to make sense of the commercials themselves. Furthermore, we wanted to understand how the metaphorical patterns interpreted by the participants are subject to the contextual variable of the 'Great Recession'. Considering the multiplicity of the issues discussed, the contributions of this research to the understanding of metaphor representations are presented, in further detail and in terms of their theoretical and methodological impact in the next three Sections.

11.1) Contributions to metaphor processing theory

Although other authors have already taken into account how metaphor use and understanding depend on the active role of the agent, our work has tried to detail for the first time an approach that considers metaphor processing and metaphor identification as the expression of interdependent dynamics. From our perspective, analysing metaphor processing without considering metaphor identification – and vice versa – results in an oversimplified way of studying metaphors. As we have discussed, the reason behind this argument is that exploring the processing practice enables the researcher to understand which conceptual operations are performed when a metaphor is understood/produced. This makes it possible to connect the identification of a metaphor with its

underlying metaphor choice process. The active role of the agent in comprehending a stimulus as a metaphor reveals how the processing of the metaphor as a sense-making device is strictly related to which metaphor is used. The identification of one metaphor instead of another depends on how the stimulus is processed by the agent. Metaphor processing and metaphor identification have traditionally been seen as two distinct phenomena; this dissertation has shown how the two moments are inextricably linked to each other.

The decision to work with multimodal metaphors has posed the problem of which definition of multimodal metaphor to use. The dominant notion of multimodal metaphor that is used in metaphor studies did not seem to fit the purposes of this study because of a number of limitations. Apart from investigating multimodal metaphors as an over-simplified phenomenon, the notion of multimodal metaphor used by scholars such as Forceville (2006), Urios-Aparisi (2009: 97) and Müller and Tag (2010: 92) does not consider the role of the agent in interpreting the multimodal metaphors themselves. This dissertation has introduced for the first time a notion of multimodal metaphor as the interaction of at least three modes that 'exclusively' or 'predominantly' convey a certain meaning. This is not a matter of definition, but it is the acknowledgment that multimodal metaphors present a higher complexity than traditionally considered in other approaches. Other approaches have put metaphors derived from the interaction of two modes (such as picture and text in a billboard) on the same level as metaphors built around multiple interactions, such as images, sounds, music, and written and verbal text in TV commercials. Comprehending the fact that multimodal metaphors have a particular characterisation has made it possible to extend their role beyond traditional approaches. What has emerged from our analysis is that multimodal metaphors do not represent a solid pattern of interaction between target and source domains; instead, they work more frequently as sense-making devices than help one to understand representations,

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such as TV commercials, that are often very complex in their nature and endowed with different meanings that need to be experienced in a matter of seconds. This notion of multimodal metaphor transforms multimodality into a more specific phenomenon that has implications greater than those which it is traditionally believed to have.

11.2) Contributions to metaphor identification

Apart from these theoretical implications, our analysis also represents one of the first attempts to conduct a multimodal metaphor corpus analysis based on objective selection criteria. Although other studies have also tried to investigate large corpora of multimodal representations, the present work is original in analysing audio-visual material that was selected based on clear criteria. The decision to use the most sold cars in particular biennia to select the TV commercials is coherent with a perspective that has tried to reduce the role of the researcher in influencing the results. The empirical basis and the selection criteria represent two valuable aspects of this work. The idea of describing how multimodal metaphors have changed between two historical periods has raised the issue of the nature of these metaphors. On the one hand, metaphors present a creative dimension, since they are the product of a non-conventional, creative decision; on the other hand, metaphors can be produced starting from conceptualisations that find wide applications within a certain context. Considering that TV commercials can be used either way to establish a conceptualization, we decided to coin the notion of creative-discourse metaphor. This notion has the advantage of creating a bridge between a view of metaphor as a relational phenomenon with a producer and a recipient and a perspective that analyses the use and the spread of metaphor within a speech community. The variations between the two historical conditions cannot be fully

considered as discursive since several metaphors may be the product of a single creative decision. Conversely, the variations cannot be explained in terms of single conceptualisations since the impact of the discourse metaphors has induced some conceptualizations to be used within the two conditions. The notion of creative-metaphor can be a useful term to describe the metaphorical variation that we observed between two close historical conditions and represents a theoretical innovation of this work.

11.3) Contributions to metaphor interpretation

Metaphorical variation was the basis for a comparative investigation of how consumerism was conceptualised between 'pre-Great Recession' and 'post-Great Recession' and, in this sense, this work is innovative for the following reasons. First of all, this work has provided an original operative definition of consumerism that we operationalised as the properties of the objects that induce people to purchase them and the semiotic strategies that are used by advertisers in order to promote these objects. Secondly, the idea of undertaking an analysis presenting a detailed methodology to interpret metaphors from an ideological perspective represents a step forward in the way of doing critical analysis. Traditionally, the ideological impact of a metaphorical conceptualisation is reduced to the interpretation that the researcher makes. By contrast, this work has shown how critical analysis needs precise methods to ascribe metaphors an ideological value, trying to reduce subjective bias as much as possible. Our methodology has not only provided an operative way of creating a link between a multi-disciplinary notion and its conceptual implications, but, most importantly, it has detailed which operations can be used to ascribe metaphors an

ideological value. The merit of this work, therefore, lies primarily in presenting a new way of conducting critical analysis of metaphorical conceptualisation. It does, however, also contribute to the discussion of the impact of a historical event such as the 'Great Recession' on consumerist ideology – which, had not yet received much attention in metaphor studies –.

11.4) Limitations and further research

Regarding limitations, we can point out three main aspects. First of all, the main limitation of this work might be found in its attempt to use niche, speculative and unconventional theoretical notions. We have used a particular notion of metaphor based on the active relation of producer and recipient (2.7), a new definition of multimodal metaphor (3.4), the encompassing notion of creative-discourse metaphor (4.3) and an original operative definition of consumerism (5.3). A large part of our work is, therefore, based on a theoretical framework that has not been used before and will need further testing and adjusting. Although this aspect is common to every innovative contribution, the decision to base an entire piece of research on several new theoretical perspectives may be considered as strategically risky. In more practical terms, the outcome of our experiment is affected by the limited number of TV commercials and participants imposed by the context in which this work was conducted. It is inevitably difficult to reduce a multi-layered notion such as consumerism to a limited number of conceptual variations and further work will be needed to refine this categorization. This may be achieved by conducting a larger analysis and using a higher number of participants than was possible in this thesis. Moreover, as the 'Great Recession' has been a worldwide and complex phenomenon, a wider picture would be obtained by analysing TV commercials from other countries and to extend the range of the advert types.

Further precision in the application of the codebook to the categorisation of metaphor types (9.1) and consumerist style (9.3) could be achieved. Although we reduced the subjectivity of the researcher's interpretation by providing a clear description of the procedures and by using the combined judgment of two scholars, it is possible that other points of view could have produced different results. The reliability of the interpretative evaluations could, therefore, be further increased by involving additional trained raters and, possibly, focus groups. In the light of these limitations, future research should take into account the innovative contributions of this work in order to test them, both from a theoretical point of view and using different methodologies. Of particular interest is the notion of creative-discourse metaphor. Future research could investigate patterns of metaphorical conceptualisation in pairs of historical moments that differ in terms of temporal distance. Some patterns could be investigated in different historical moments that differ for a short period (e.g. a few years) and then for longer periods (e.g. three decades). In this way, it may be possible to describe how creative metaphors may be entrenched into a speech community until becoming discourse metaphors or which variations particular conceptualisations may encounter in relation to different historical moments. Other researchers using the same approach taken in this thesis could try and explore the relationship between global historical events and metaphorical variation by using a wider number of variables, i.e., more languages, more age groups and different participants (other than university students). Since metaphorical conceptualisation and social phenomena exist on different levels, any attempt to put them in relation to each other should consider as many aspects as possible, both for material selection and for the number/variety of the participants involved in the study.

Appendix

Instructions in Italian:

"Ciao, questo è una sorta di esperimento nel quale cercheremo di capire quanto bravi sono i pubblicitari al servizio dei marchi automobilistici nel riuscire ad comunicare ed esprimere la qualità dei modelli di auto che intendono pubblicizzare. Per capire tutto ciò ti faremo visionare 4 spot pubblicitari. Durante ciascuno spot pubblicitario dovrai semplicemente guardare le immagini sullo schermo del computer e dire tutto quello che ti passa per la testa. Considerando che siamo principalmente interessati a capire come i pubblicitari abbiano presentato determinati aspetti, ti saremmo estremamente grati se magari potessi focalizzare la tua attenzione su alcuni aspetti in particolare, quali ad esempio:

1) L'AUTOMOBILE PRESENTATA NELLO SPOT

2) COLUI CHE NELLO SPOT POSSIEDE L'AUTO o COLUI CHE SEMBRA INTENZIONATO A COMPRARLA

3) COSA SI DOVREBBE PROVARE NEL COMPRARE o POSSEDERE QUESTA AUTO

4) LE RAGIONI PER ACQUISTARE L'AUTO

5) LE EMOZIONI\SENSAZIONI CHE SI DOVREBBERO VIVERE DOPO AVER COMPRATO o PROVATO QUESTA AUTO

Ovviamente, questo non vuol dire che dovrai concentrarti solo su questi aspetti. Sei liberissimo di esprimere qualsiasi impressione, opinione, idea a riguardo degli spot pubblicitari. Dinanzi a te troverai sullo schermo la schermata di VLC, un noto software per visualizzare video sul computer. Alla tua sinistra puoi facilmente individuare una playlist: essa contiene i 4 spot pubblicitari che dovrai visionare. Ciò che devi fare è semplicemente fare un doppio click su ciascun video e guardarlo. Puoi guardare ciascun video un massimo di tre volte ed esprimere ciò che pensi in qualsiasi momento durante lo spot o dopo lo spot), ma ricorda solo alcuni punti: devi cortesemente visionare ogni video presente nella playlist, senza escluderne nessuno. Durante questa prova sarai completamente solo. Nessuno interferirà con te, ma sarai libero di chiedere assistenza in qualsiasi momento. Questa prova è audio-registrata, quindi cortesemente cerca di parlare nella maniera più chiara possibile. Non vogliamo che nessuna tua impressione vada persa. E tranquillo, tutto si svolgerà nel più completo anonimato e solo un ricercatore ascolterà le registrazioni.

Grazie mille e buona visione. :)"

Questioni Relative al Copyright:

Il materiale usato all'interno di questo esperimento (spot pubblicitari, marchi automobilistici, modelli, musiche e testi) appartiene ai rispettivi proprietari. L'utilizzo degli stessi, ai fini di ricerca è stato concesso nel rispetto delle norme vigenti.

Consenso Informato e questioni etiche.

L'intero esperimento non presenta e non presenterà alcuna finalità commerciale, esterna all'ambito della ricerca accademica. Nulla di quanto registrato e trascritto sarà utilizzato per finalità tali da favorire, più o meno direttamente, i marchi automobilistici illustrati, i modelli di auto, o la promozione di altri elementi coperti da copyright quali immagini, musiche e materiali di tipo testuale. L'intera sessione d'esperimento - registrazioni audio e trascrizioni - non verranno condivise all'interno di ambiti diversi da quello accademico, pubblicazioni accademiche escluse. L'intera sessione d'esperimento, trascrizione incluse, sarà registrata in forma totalmente anonima.

Instructions in English:

"Hello,
this is an experiment in which we will try to understand how effective communication in the marketing service of automobile brands is, in expressing the quality of the car models they intend to advertise. To understand this, we will be watching 4 commercials. During each advertising spot you will simply look at the pictures on the computer screen and say everything that crosses your mind. Considering that we are primarily interested in understanding how advertisers have presented certain aspects, we would be extremely grateful if you could focus your attention on some particular aspects, such as:

1) CAR IN THE SPOT

2) THE CAR OWNER or THE PERSON WHO SEEMS INTERESTED IN PURCHASING IT

3) WHAT ARE THEY EXPECTED TO FEEL WHEN BUYING THE CAR OR ONCE THEY OWN IT

4) REASONS TO BUY THIS CAR

5) EMOTIONS YOU EXPECT TO HAVE AFTER TEST DRIVING OR PURCHASING THIS CAR

Obviously, this does not imply that you must only concentrate on those aspects. You are perfectly free to express any feeling, opinion or idea about the commercials. On the screen you will visualise a VLC interface, a popular piece of software for viewing videos on the computer. On the left hand side, you will spot a playlist: it contains the 4 commercials you will be watching. You simply need to double click on each video and watch it. You can watch each video up to a maximum of three times and verbalise your thoughts anytime you want (during the commercial or after it), but please remember a couple of things: View each video in the playlist, without excluding any of them. During this test you will be completely alone. You will not be disturbed, but you are free to ask for assistance at any time. This test is audio-recorded, so please try to speak as clearly as possible. We don't want any of your considerations to get lost. And don't worry, the entire process will be absolutely anonymous and only a researcher will listen to the recordings.

Thank you and enjoy the videos :)"

Copyright Issues.

The material used in this experiment (commercials, automobile brands, models, music and lyrics) belongs to their respective owners. Its use, for the purpose of research, was merely possible in compliance with applicable regulations.

Consent and Ethical Approval.

The entire experiment does not present any commercial purpose, outside the domain of academic research. No recording and transcript will be used for external purposes, such as to favour — more or less directly — the carmakers brands, car models, or the promotion of other elements such as copyrighted images, music and text-based materials. The entire experiment session — audio recordings and transcriptions — will not be shared in different areas other than academia, scholarly publications excluded. The entire experiment session, including transcription, will be recorded in full anonymity.

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