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Ads We Live by: The Use of Metaphors in Food Advertisements

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Abstract

Metaphors play a big role in the way in which we interpret the world around us, considering the fact that our way of thinking is metaphorical in nature. Metaphors can be found in all areas of human activity, including advertising, which has relied on the use of metaphors as a tried-and-true method to entice their customers' minds and, of course, achieve more positive marketing results. Advertisements can be analysed from the point of view of cognitive linguistics and the way in which text interacts with the visual elements, such as pictorial and multimodal metaphors. This paper's goal is to provide a theoretical framework for the analysis of metaphors in advertising, and then, choosing one of the product types, apply them and identify the prevalent patterns.

1 Introduction

The theoretical framework provided by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson is still relevant to this day, despite being introduced in as early as 1980 in their book *Metaphors We Live By*. It served as a steppingstone for many linguists and enabled prolific research of metaphors.

“Our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature.” (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 3) Lakoff and Johnson (1980) stated that the way we view and understand the world around us is highly metaphor-based, i.e. we use metaphors to explain one thing in terms of another. They also argued that conceptual metaphors are so deeply ingrained in our minds that we are not even aware we are using them, but instead we consider these analogies that connect them as something natural.

In addition, Lakoff and Johnson (1999) also stated that “the mind is inherently embodied, reason is shaped by the body” (Lakoff and Johnson 1999: 5). Basically, what they meant is that humans describe abstract phenomena in terms of concrete concepts that they can understand with their bodies, i.e. using their five senses.

Furthermore, if it is a given that metaphors are so prevalent in our way of thinking, it is only natural that they would be present in all areas of human activity, including advertising. Since the primary goal of advertising is to find its way into the minds of potential customers, it is no wonder metaphors became a frequent strategy. The number of researchers recognizing advertising as a field teeming with metaphorical meaning and including the analysis of advertisements in their studies has significantly grown (Philips 1997, Cook 2001, Scott and Batra 2003, Philips and McQuarrie 2004, Teng and Sun 2006, Yus 2014, Moreno Rodriguez 2016, Perez Sobrino 2017). It is also important to note that with the recent interest in multimodality, the research of metaphorical meaning got another opportunity to expand and explore the new outlooks that multimodality provides, with the key figure in it being Charles Forceville (1994, 1996, 2009, 2011).

The goal of this paper is to show different ways in which metaphors can be used in advertising. It will provide a theoretical framework on both monomodal, particularly pictorial, and multimodal metaphors, which will in turn enable the ensuing analysis of different types of metaphors that can occur in advertising.

2 Monomodal and multimodal metaphor

According to Forceville (2009), mode is a “sign system interpretable because of a specific perception process” (2009: 23), meaning that it can be connected to one of the five senses. Though he argues that defining modes is not as simple as it seems, he offers an approximate classification including the following: pictorial signs, written signs, spoken signs, gestures, sounds, music, smells, tastes, and touch. Meanwhile, multimodality, according to John A. Bateman (2014), is “the investigation of diverse modes of expression and their combinations” (2014: 6). So, multimodality, as the word itself says, is a phenomenon characterized by multiple modes of expression whose combinations may vary, as well as the number of modes.

Using the same analogy, a monomodal metaphor is a metaphor whose target and source domain can be found in one and the same mode, while a multimodal metaphor is a metaphor whose target and source domain are represented in different modes. However, in a more practical sense, sometimes it is hard to discern between a monomodal, particularly a pictorial metaphor and a multimodal metaphor as such.

How necessary each of the modes is for identification of target and source may differ from one addressee to another. That is, what for one person would be a monomodal metaphor of the pictorial variety, would for another be a multimodal metaphor of the pictorial-verbal variety. [...] It may depend on the context of access, or the addressee’s background knowledge, whether a given metaphor is considered to be monomodal or multimodal. (Forceville 2016: 14)

Forceville (2016) recognizes the fine line between monomodality and multimodality, and points out that sometimes it is entirely subjective, i.e. depending on the way in which any given addressee will interpret it. However, in his extensive research of pictorial and multimodal metaphors, Forceville found a way that enables a somewhat precise distinction between said types of metaphors. What should be paid attention to is the importance of text and whether said text is crucial in the understanding of the metaphor. Forceville and Bounegru (2011: 5) presented a strategy for distinguishing between a pictorial and multimodal metaphor, which I found very useful and will be using in my further analysis. Basically, we need to imagine we are erasing all verbal elements and if we can identify the target and the source of the metaphor using only the visual elements, it is a monomodal pictorial metaphor. But, if either the target or the source becomes unclear once we have erased the text, it is a multimodal metaphor.

As an example of a multimodal metaphor, they used the following advertisement together with its caption “Ice age – the mortgage meltdown”.



Figure 1 - Ice age – the mortgage meltdown (Forceville and Bounegru 2011)

Forceville and Bounegru (2011) considered the caption as the verbal element of the metaphor and they argued that this metaphor is indeed multimodal because without the mention of the word “mortgage” in the caption, the target domain of the downward mortgage chart line would not have been possible to identify.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) stated that the defining concept is usually more concrete than the defined concept, for example in the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY, JOURNEY, the target domain, is more clearly delineated and more concrete than LOVE, the source domain, and we understand the less concrete concept in terms of the more concrete concept. However, Forceville (2009: 27) points out that not enough attention had been given to metaphors where both concepts are equally concrete, especially when it comes to pictorial and multimodal metaphors. In advertising, as he notices, “metaphorical targets usually coincide with promoted products” (Forceville 2009: 28), like an elegant watch depicted as a butterfly, where both of them are equally concrete and of the OBJECT A IS OBJECT B type. Of course, this is not absolute either, since there are also cases which would go in line with Lakoff and Johnson’s views, where an object in advertising wouldn’t be presented using its similarity to another object, but instead relying on the personification of products.

Different types of metaphors also work in different ways. Pictorial metaphors may evoke different reactions than verbal metaphors, and since multimodal metaphors work in multiple modes, the processes involved in their comprehension are even more complex. Francisco Yus (2009) points out the important difference in the way pictures and utterances are processed:

Normally, pictures have a more powerful impact on the reader due to their holistic gestalt-like processing and are good for ‘visualizing’ conventionalized concepts [...] Utterances, on the other hand, are linear, and readers make interpretive hypotheses as text is processed in a word-by-word integration into phrases and sentences, which entails differences in the way literal and implicated meanings are generated. (2009: 168)

As Yus suggests, the visual mode has a bigger impact on the addressee and it already provides the addressee with the visualization of a certain concept, however the verbal mode leaves more open for interpretation since it is up to the addressee’s imagination. Though it is important to note that pictures probably have a higher chance to linger and to be remembered more often, especially if they are eye-catching, which is what most advertisements go for.

3 Theoretical approaches to metaphorical meaning and multimodality

There are different theoretical approaches to metaphorical meaning that can be applied to the study of multimodality in the construction of meaning. Each of these approaches has its strengths and weaknesses, but they are all useful contributions to the field of linguistics.

3.1 Visual-semiotic model

Visual semiotics developed under the influence of M.A.K. Halliday (1985) and his systemic functional grammar. Other linguists who were familiar with Halliday’s work such as Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen (2001, 2006) used his structuring principles and showed their existence in non-verbal context, thereby creating visual semiotics.

In linguistics, ‘text’ thus means an instance of the linguistic system. However, the sense of text is being extended to other semiotic systems, and scholars refer to instances of e.g. ‘visual semiotic’ systems as ‘(visual) texts’ (thus a painting would be a visual semiotic text) and they also refer to ‘multimodal texts’ – instances of more than one semiotic system. (Halliday 2014: 46)

Here Halliday refers to other modes of communication as linguistic „texts“, i.e. he acknowledges the presence of linguistic tools and figures in modes other than the conventional text or the verbal mode.

Kress and van Leeuwen (2001, 2006) fully embraced this and explored the way in which the so-called grammar of the visual works. They stated that there are similarities and parallels to be drawn, for example the choices of word classes and clause structures in verbal communication are similar to colour and composition choices in visual communication. They admit that they are in no way the first to deal with this subject matter, but they state that the “grammatic” aspect of the visual communication, i.e. the rules and regularities, had not been explored enough.

They presented three main elements of visual communication: representational, interactive and compositional. Representation refers to what the visual message is composed of, its structural elements such as people, places, things and events that are depicted, similar to words in a sentence.

Visual structures of representation can either be narrative, presenting unfolding actions and events, processes of change, transitory spatial arrangements, or conceptual, representing participants in terms of their more generalized and more or less stable and timeless essence, in terms of class, or structure or meaning. (2006: 79)

An example of narrative representation would be the following advertisement in which there are two participants, a man and a woman, the man presenting the action of drinking water and the woman providing a positive reaction, all to create the scene for the narrative this advertisement wants to tell.



Figure 2 - Vittel advertisement (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006)

The next advertisement is an example of conceptual representation, using something Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006: 79) call covert taxonomy, characteristic to advertisements. There is an arrangement of watches on fish, all falling under the same brand name. Covert taxonomies can show an arrangement of products as was the case here or an arrangement of people who all use the same product.



Figure 3 - Xpose range of watches advertisement (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006)

Interactive elements are the parties involved in the process of communication, i.e. people who communicate using the visual mode, the producers of the message and the viewers.

There are also three kinds of relations that can be formed between the representational and interactive elements:

- relations between represented participants
- relations between interactive and represented participants
- relations between interactive participants

Relations between represented participants exist in the message itself, while the relations between interactive participants exist outside the message. Relations between represented and interactive participants refer to the attitude towards the message.

The contact between interactive and represented participants can be direct or indirect, for example when someone is taking a picture of someone else, their contact is direct and they are facing each other, but when a reader is looking at a photograph in a magazine, there is no direct contact, and what is more, it is uncertain who to consider the producer, the person who took the photograph, the agency that selected it or the editor who chose it etc.

It is often said that the knowledge of the producer and the knowledge of the viewer differ in a fundamental respect: the former is active, allowing the 'sending' as well as the 'receiving' of 'messages'; the latter is passive, allowing only the 'receiving' of 'messages'. Producers are able to 'write' as well as 'read', viewers are able only to 'read'. (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 115)

Kress and van Leeuwen argue that this is only partly true, in a sense that producers are still more competent than readers, however the readers also have an important role and competencies that are comparable to the producers. In my opinion, this is a good way of looking at it because the producers of content have to rely on the viewers and their capabilities of understanding the message they receive, which also requires a certain amount of knowledge, therefore making them both key figures.

There are different interactive meanings as well based on the relations between participants and their attitudes, which can be closely inspected in the following tables, as well as the way in which they are realized.

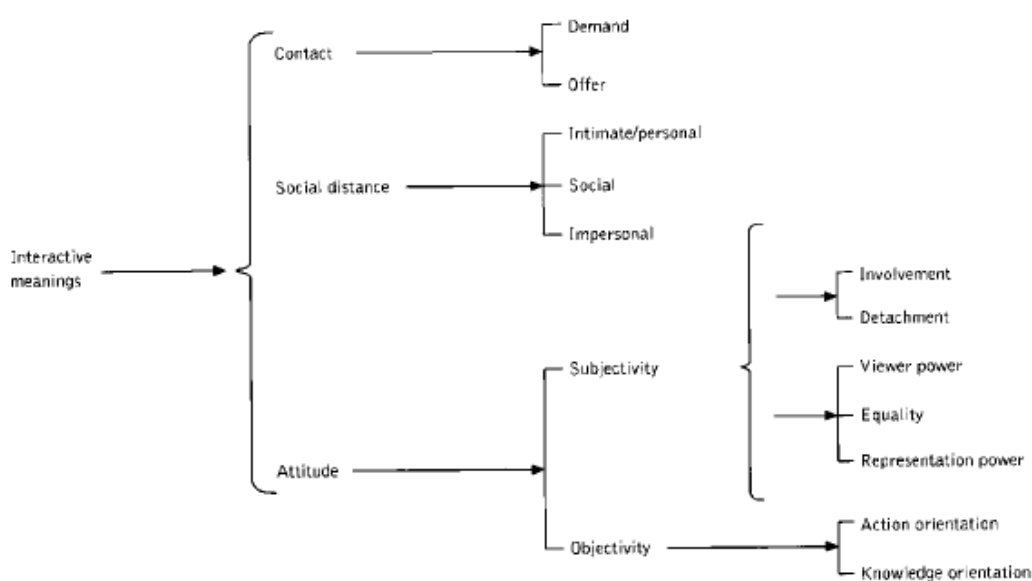


Figure 4 - Interactive meanings (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006)

REALIZATIONS

<i>Demand</i>	gaze at the viewer
<i>Offer</i>	absence of gaze at the viewer
<i>Intimate/personal</i>	close shot
<i>Social</i>	medium shot
<i>Impersonal</i>	long shot
<i>Involvement</i>	frontal angle
<i>Detachment</i>	oblique angle
<i>Viewer power</i>	high angle
<i>Equality</i>	eye-level angle
<i>Represented participant power</i>	low angle

Figure 5 - Realizations of interactive meanings (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006)

The degree of contact depends on whether the represented people are looking directly at the viewer or not, while the social distance varies depending on the distance of the shot itself, i.e. whether it's a close up shot or not. As far as the attitude is concerned, it depends on the angle of the shot itself, frontal or oblique angles distinguish between the viewer's involvement and detachment in the photograph, while the height of the angle decides whether the power resides in the viewer or the represented participant.



Figure 6 - Sterling advertisement (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006)

For example, this advertisement uses the frontal angle, emphasizing the viewers' involvement since it looks like they are virtually inside the photograph itself. As a result, the angle is high, also giving the viewers power.

Composition refers to the way the other elements are arranged as a whole, and how it affects the meaning, similar to word order in sentences. According to Kress and van Leeuwen (2006: 177), composition relates the representational and interactive meanings to each other through three systems:

- information value
- salience
- framing

Information value refers to the way in which the importance of the components is based on their positioning, i.e. top and bottom, left and right, centre and margin. Salience refers to different degrees in which the components are meant to attract the viewers' attention, depending on whether they are placed in the foreground or background, their relative size, difference in sharpness or contrast. And lastly, framing refers to the presence or absence of framing devices, which are used to connect or disconnect components and show whether they belong or not.

Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) show that when it comes to left-right compositions, the elements on the left are presented as Given, i.e. something familiar to the viewer and the elements on the right are New, i.e. something not yet known to the viewer or maybe not agreed upon. Along the same analogy, when it comes to top-bottom compositions, what is placed in the upper part is Ideal, i.e. presented as the idealized and generalized essence and what is placed at the bottom is Real, meaning it has more specific, more practical and down-to-earth information.



Figure 7 - God Shows Death to Adam and Eve (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006)

In this example God is Given, while Adam and Eve are New, and at the same time The Garden of Eden is Ideal, while death and decay are Real. The river here serves as a framing device, separating the Garden of Eden from the world of mortality.

Lastly, it's good to mention that even though Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) dealt primarily with images throughout the book, they pointed out that the patterns they discussed also apply to the „moving image“, i.e. another mode of communication.

3.2 Relevance-theoretic model

Relevance theory developed by Dan Sperber and Deirdre Wilson (1996) describes communication and its two participants, the addresser and the addressee, in a sense that it is presumed that each utterance by the addresser is deemed relevant enough for the addressee to process and worth the effort it takes.

Each utterance has its explicatures and implicatures; the explicature is the propositional form of the utterance, i.e. what is explicitly said, while the implicature is the propositional attitude, i.e. what is conveyed from the utterance without stating it.

(a) Peter: Would you drive a Mercedes?

(b) Mary: I wouldn't drive ANY expensive car.

In this conversation, even though Mary's response doesn't explicitly answer Peter's question, the contextual information is enough for Peter to conclude that Mary wouldn't drive a Mercedes since it is an expensive car. Sperber and Wilson (1996: 195) state that there are two kinds of implicatures, implicated premises and implicated conclusions. In this case implicated premise would be "Mercedes is an expensive car" and it relies on the addressee to retrieve from his memory. On the other hand, implicated conclusion is "Mary wouldn't drive a Mercedes" and it is deduced from the explicatures and the context of the conversation.

Sperber and Wilson also discuss the way in which metaphors are perceived in accordance to the relevance theory.

(a) This room is a pigsty.

In this example, the explicature is not the propositional form of the utterance itself, since the room they are talking about is obviously not a pigsty. Sperber and Wilson (1996) propose that the explicature is this:

(b) The speaker is saying that this room is a pigsty.

The implicature of this sentence is what we know as the metaphorical meaning of the word "pigsty" and that is that the room is probably very filthy and untidy.

Sperber and Wilson (1996) state that the most creative metaphors are actually weakly implicated, and that the richest metaphors will always have a lot of possible implications to be drawn from them, motivating the addressee to indulge in the exploration of its meaning. "The wider the range of potential implicatures and the greater the hearer's responsibility for constructing them, the more poetic the effect, the more creative the metaphor." (1996: 236)

So, according to the relevance theory, metaphors would be considered less relevant, but precisely because they required more effort, the addressee will be left with a feeling of satisfaction after finally deciphering the message.

This theory puts emphasis on the relevance of the message, but also on the role the addressee plays in the decoding of the meaning. Forceville (1996) mentions the ways in which the importance of the addressee's role can play a part in the way an ad is perceived:

The more strongly an assumption is communicated, the more the communicator takes responsibility for having it derived by the addressee; the weaker an assumption is communicated, the more the addressee takes responsibility in deriving it. (1996: 93)

In other words, there can be two approaches to creating an advertisement. First is to provide a clear-cut message that is ensured to be easily understood by everyone, but the second one is to present the consumers with a more ambiguous advertisement that will take some thinking to decode, but once the meaning is understood, it will provide the addressee with a sense of satisfaction that an ad with transparent meaning could not.

3.3 Multiple space-structuring model

Multiple space structuring model, developed by Gilles Fauconnier and Mark Turner (2002) deals with the process of blending mental spaces, i.e. „small conceptual packets constructed as we think and talk, for purposes of local understanding and action.“ (2002: 40)

Fauconnier and Turner (2002) illustrate the model through the so-called Buddhist Monk network from a riddle by Arthur Koestler.

A Buddhist Monk begins at dawn one day walking up a mountain, reaches the top at sunset, meditates at the top for several days until one dawn when he begins to walk back to the foot of the mountain, which he reaches at sunset. Make no assumptions about his starting or stopping or about his pace during the trips. Riddle: Is there a place on the path that the monk occupies at the same hour of the day on the two separate journeys? (2002: 39)

This riddle is used to present two mental spaces: the monk's journey upwards and the monk's journey downwards, which will serve as inputs for the blend.

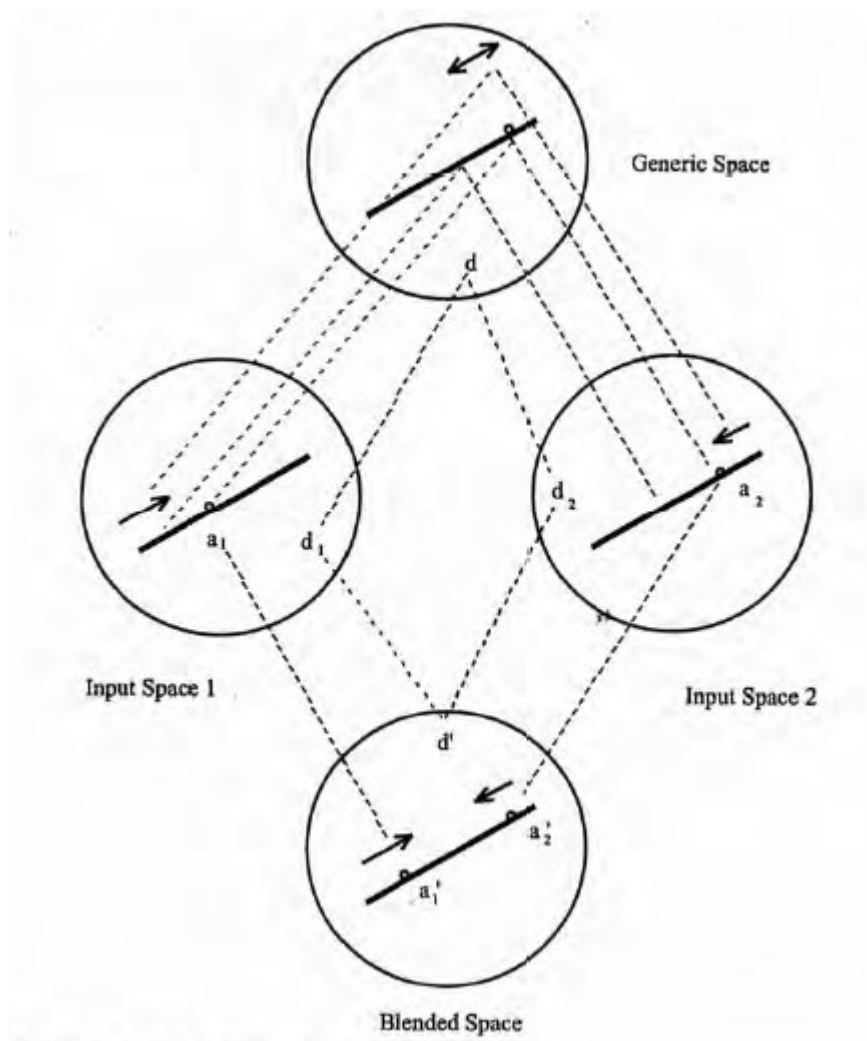


Figure 8 - Conceptual blending (Fauconnier and Turner 2002)

In this figure the process of blending is illustrated through the Buddhist Monk network.

Four mental spaces involved in the process of blending are the two inputs, the blend and the generic space that is the structure that the inputs seem to share. It is also important to note that not all elements and relations from the inputs are projected to the blend. The blend of two inputs is fulfilled through the processes of composition and completion. Composition of elements from the inputs creates relations that do not exist in separate inputs and the completion of the process brings additional structure to the blend, meaning that, even though blends are sums of the two inputs that are brought together to create them, they are also unique and develop their own characteristics simply by existing as a combination of the two.

Input Space 1 represents the journey upwards and Input Space 2 represents the journey downwards. Generic Space contains what the inputs have in common, in this case it is a moving individual, a path across the mountain and motion in an unspecified direction, illustrated here with a double-headed arrow. Blended Space, however, merges the two mountains of each input space into a single mountain, two days of travel are merged into one day, but the two individuals are preserved since their movements and positions are different.

Source-target metaphors fall under the category of single-scope networks.

A single-scope network has two input spaces with different organizing frames, one of which is projected to organize the blend. Its defining property is that the organizing frame of the blend is an extension of the organizing frame of one of the inputs but not the other. (...) Single-scope networks are the prototype of highly conventional source-target metaphors. The input that provides the organizing frame to the blend, the framing input, is often called the "source." The input that is the focus of understanding, the focus input, is often called the "target." (2002: 126, 127)

Fauconnier and Turner (2002) illustrate single-scope networks through the scenario of two men boxing as a frame for understanding two CEOs in a business competition. The boxing input is connected to the business input in a sense that each boxer represents one CEO, each punch an effort by one of the CEOs, each blow an effective action and staying in the fight continuing the business competition. One of the inputs, the boxing one, supplies the organizing frame which makes the projection to the blend asymmetrical. This example is illustrated in the following figure.

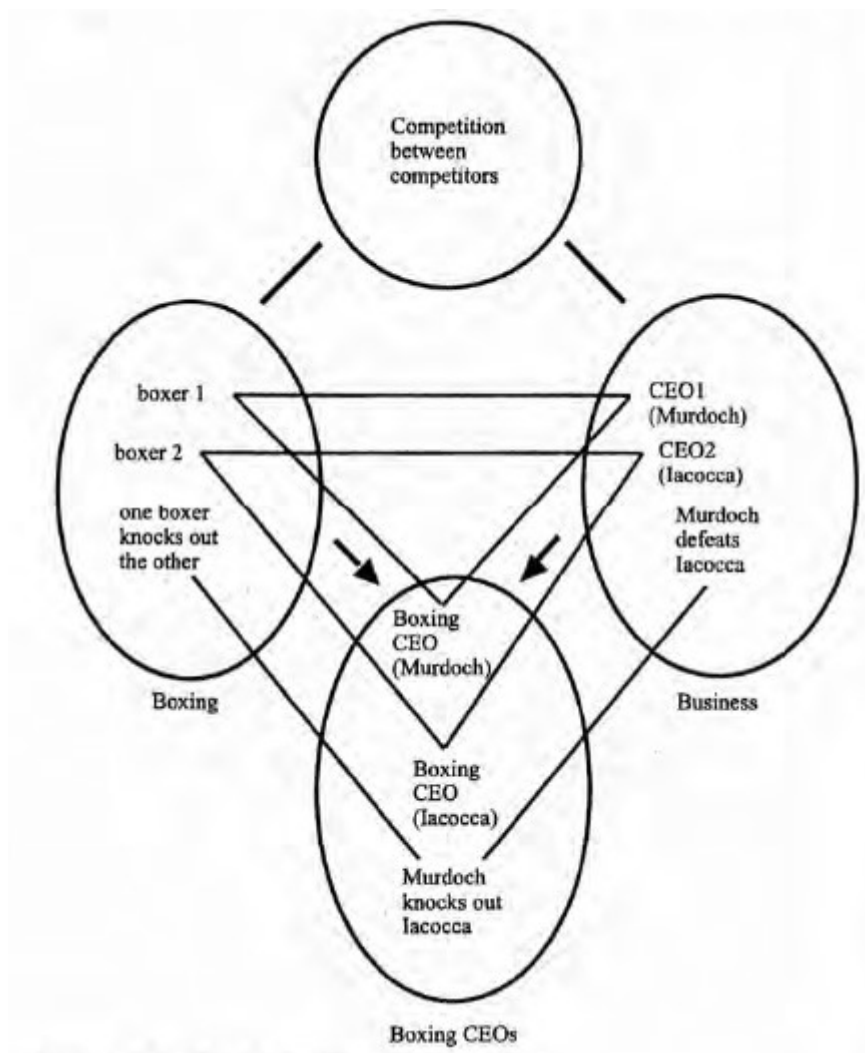


Figure 9 - Single-scope network (Fauconnier and Turner 2002)

So, when it comes to metaphors, the source domain is the source of metaphorical meaning, an object or a notion resembling the target that we are in turn understanding through the source. Here, it is the framing input, i.e. the input that provides structure to the blend (the boxing match), while the target is the focus input, i.e. the focus of our understanding (the business competition).

3.4. Conceptual metaphor model

Conceptual metaphor model, mentioned in the introduction, was developed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), showing the metaphor as conceptual mapping that helps us understand one thing in terms of another, using target and source domains.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) have proven that we think in terms of metaphors by providing countless examples of conceptual metaphors that are prevalent in our way of communication.

ARGUMENT IS WAR

Your claims are *indefensible*.

He *attacked every weak point* in my argument. His criticisms were *right on target*.

I *demolished* his argument.

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

You disagree? Okay, *shoot!*

If *you* use that *strategy*, he'll *wipe you out*. He *shot down* all of *my* arguments.

They show that it is not only that we talk about arguments in terms of war, but we see arguments as something we can win or lose, we see the person we are arguing with as an opponent, we strategize, we attack their positions and defend our own etc.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) also show that conceptual metaphors are influenced by the cultural context. They state that there could exist a culture which sees argument as a dance for example, and in that case the people arguing would be performers, and their goal would not be to win an argument, their goal would be to perform. However, the culture in whose way of thinking argument is seen as war, this probably wouldn't be considered arguing, but a whole different action altogether.

The essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another. It is not that arguments are a subspecies of war. Arguments and wars are different kinds of things—verbal discourse and armed conflict—and the actions performed are different kinds of actions. But ARGUMENT is partially structured, understood, performed, and talked about in terms of WAR. The concept is metaphorically structured, the activity is metaphorically structured, and, consequently, the language is metaphorically structured. (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 5)

Understanding one thing in terms of another is the key element of the conceptual metaphor theory. As it is said here, arguments are not a subspecies of war, but they are talked about in terms of war because that is how our conceptual systems understand them. Nobody is taught conceptual metaphors; they are already existent in the way in which we perceive the world around us.

Ever since the conceptual metaphor was introduced, metaphor itself became more than just a stylistic tool. According to Forceville (2009), who defined multimodal metaphors using the concepts of the target and source domain, they are metaphors “whose source and target are each represented exclusively or predominantly in different modes” (2009: 24).

The aforementioned theories are all useful for further analysis, from visual semiotics which directly dealt with the way in which the visual mode functions similarly to verbal communication, to the source-target conceptual metaphor analysis which helps in the clear categorization of each metaphor.

When it comes to multimodality, however, it is hard to establish a consistent framework since it is inevitably an interdisciplinary phenomenon, but the groundwork provided here is enough for a small-scale analysis.

4 Metaphorical meaning and advertisements

Advertisements provide material for very productive research of metaphorical meaning, primarily because of their frequent use of creative metaphors and what I would call “mind games” whose purpose is to catch the customers’ attention.

Advertisements have the socially established and accepted role of persuading their audience to do something, usually to buy some product, although almost any kind of change in behaviour can be included – as in public information posters or ‘anti-advertisements’ in health promotion campaigns. (Bateman 2014: 137)

Metaphors are frequently used in advertising because, in the same way that metaphors work with its target and source domains, advertising works with the product and its positive values.

The advertiser’s univocal intention to convey a positive image of the product leads the consumer to make a connection between the advertised product and the positively connoted evoked domain, which precisely takes place by means of metaphor. (Perez Sobrino 2017: 50)

Forceville (2009) talks about the analysis of multimodal meaning in advertising and states that it is necessary to integrate all the modes used and see how they contribute to the overall meaning of the advertisement as well as the intention to represent the product in a positive view. He also observes that “in a commercial a metaphor is a primarily unidirectional act meant to define the product and its benefits for the customer” (Forceville 2009: 96).

Since the ads are getting more and more creative and the visual is usually accompanied by some sort of text for easier understanding, multimodal metaphor analysis is required to completely grasp the complexity of meaning. Apart from the regular target and source domain analysis, there are other, not immediately apparent kinds of information to take into consideration, such as genre conventions and consumer’s expectations.

Their shared basis – exploring the connection between two discrete domains in metaphor (source and target) and the product and the advertising narrative in advertising – offers an opportunity to both disciplines to pursue interdisciplinary inquiries. (Perez Sobrino 2017: 119)

Advertisements as such, according to Perez Sobrino (2017: 83), can be divided into multiple categories according to the type of product, primary distinction being between physical goods and services.

In most cases, the product is the target domain of the metaphor, while the desired attributes that the ad tries to convey are the source domain. Perez Sobrino (2017) notes that it is important to keep in mind that it is the “*external consistency* (i.e. coincidence of the identity and intention of the advertisers and the beliefs of the consumers) what makes it possible to assign the role of source or target to the metaphorical domains” (2017: 88). In short, it is the job of the advertisers to make sure their ad will reach their target audience and be understood in a desired way, i.e. they must know how the consumers think. Coincidentally, there may be some culturally specific ads targeted at a specific audience that someone who does not belong to the said culture could not understand.

“Much of the imagery in advertisements must be *worked at* – that is, their audiences have to decode the messages offered in order to see what is intended.” (Yus 2014: 138) Since the addressee is actively involved in the decoding of the message provided by the advertisement, once he successfully uncovers the meaning, the message will be engrained more deeply. However, if the addressee fails, then the advertisement itself will fail, meaning that the advertisers must be careful in finding a good balance between concealing the meaning and making the meaning impossible to be found.

It is also interesting to note that in advertising multimodal metaphors behave differently from verbal metaphors.

In advertising, the target domain is usually the element that is explicitly represented (as advertisers must ensure that audiences will remember their products). In turn, metaphors in verbal discourse usually require the explicit mention of the source domain in the sentence. (Perez Sobrino 2017: 88)

We can take as an example one of the conceptual metaphors developed by Lakoff and Johnson, such as LIFE IS A JOURNEY. A sentence using this metaphor would be “He is at a crossroads in his life.” Here crossroads, i.e. part of a journey is the source domain, and it is explicitly mentioned because it’s what the metaphor revolves around. In advertisement, however, it is more important to show the target domain, i.e. the product.

There is also an interesting notion of a *metaphor scenario*, sometimes used in advertising, where the target and source domain are presented in terms of a contextual scenario. Musolff (2006) defines a metaphor scenario as “a set of assumptions made by competent members of a discourse community about ‘typical’ aspects of a source-situation” (2006: 28). So here, the source is not simply an object or a notion, it is a situation. As opposed to minimalistic advertisements, the ones that use metaphor scenarios provide a more complex representation that engages the consumers more and therefore may have an even more positive reception.

Linda M. Scott (1994) described the three components in the creation of an advertisement: invention, arrangement, and delivery. So, first, with invention comes the general idea that will be used, for example someone may say: “Why don’t we decide to show the negative effects of smoking by comparing a cigarette with a gun?”. After that, arrangement would include the decision of what elements to use, for example the shadow of the hand holding a cigarette will be in the shape of a gun. And lastly, delivery would deal with the finer details, such as the mood the ad wants to convey, for example the decision to use darker, gloomy colours for this setting.

5 Pictorial metaphors

There are four types of pictorial metaphors classified by Forceville (2016): hybrid pictorial metaphor, contextual pictorial metaphor, pictorial simile, and integrated metaphor.

Contextual metaphor turns a given object into the target of the metaphor by presenting it in a visual context as if it were the source. In the example Forceville (2016) provided a designer bag is mounted on a pedestal, as if it were a sculpture, and the visual context is what provides the source of the metaphor. If someone were to remove this bag from the pedestal and put it somewhere else, the metaphor “designer bag is a sculpture” would no longer be there.



Figure 10 - Contextual metaphor (Forceville 2016)

Hybrid metaphor is characterized with the physical integration of the target and the source. They are both recognizable but they cannot be separated, instead they form a single “hybrid” object. Forceville (2016) illustrates it with this depiction of George Bush as a toddler, the target recognizable because of its head and the source because of its characteristic way of moving, i.e. crawling.



Figure 11 - Hybrid metaphor (Forceville 2016)

Pictorial simile relies on the similarity between the target and the source, primarily using juxtaposition to highlight the resemblance. In this case, the coffee machine is juxtaposed to a line of skyscrapers, highlighting its modern design.



Figure 12 - Pictorial simile (Forceville 2016)

Integrated metaphors are also called product metaphors and they are similar to hybrid metaphors, but they differ in a sense that what hybrid metaphors depict is non-existing, while integrated/product metaphors exist in the real world, like the so-called “Sister Lamp” shown in the example.



Figure 13 - Integrated metaphor (Forceville 2016)

However, Forceville (2016) also states that the types he presented are “prototype categories” and that there are metaphors that may fall under more than one category.

Another distinction worth mentioning when it comes to pictorial metaphors is the distinction made by Barbara J. Phillips and Edward F. McQuarrie (2004) between juxtaposition, fusion, and replacement. These are the processes which are used in the construction of pictorial metaphors, and they can be connected to the four types of pictorial metaphors mentioned above. Juxtaposition is the process through which a pictorial simile is made, hybrid pictorial metaphor is made through fusion, as well as integrated pictorial metaphor, and replacement is used in contextual pictorial metaphors.

COMPLEXITY ↓	Visual Structure	RICHNESS →		
		Meaning Operation		
		Connection (‘A is associated with B’)	Comparison	
			Similarity (‘A is like B’)	Opposition (‘A is not like B’)
	Juxtaposition (Two side-by-side images)	Equal sweetener	Dexter shoes	Comfort fabric softener
	Fusion (Two combined images)	Discover card	Tide Reflex racquet	Kudos granola bar
	Replacement (Image present points to an absent image)	Silk soy milk	Welch’s juice	Canadian magazine industry Sunny Delight

Figure 14 - Typology of visual rhetoric (Philips and McQuarrie 2004)

Philips and McQuarrie (2004) used this table to illustrate ways in which the visual structures of juxtaposition, fusion and replacement work in relation to meaning operations such as connection, similarity and opposition.

As one of the examples they used a soy milk advertisement from Silk’s series of ads made using the process of replacement. In the following example there is another advertisement from that series where the cereal and the milk were positioned in a way that they resemble the yin and yang symbol. Using Philips’ and McQuarrie’s (2004) terminology, the shape of the cereal and the milk creates the present image that is meant to stand for the yin and yang, i.e. the absent image. They used this analogy to emphasize the coexistence of taste and nutrition as a characteristic of their product.

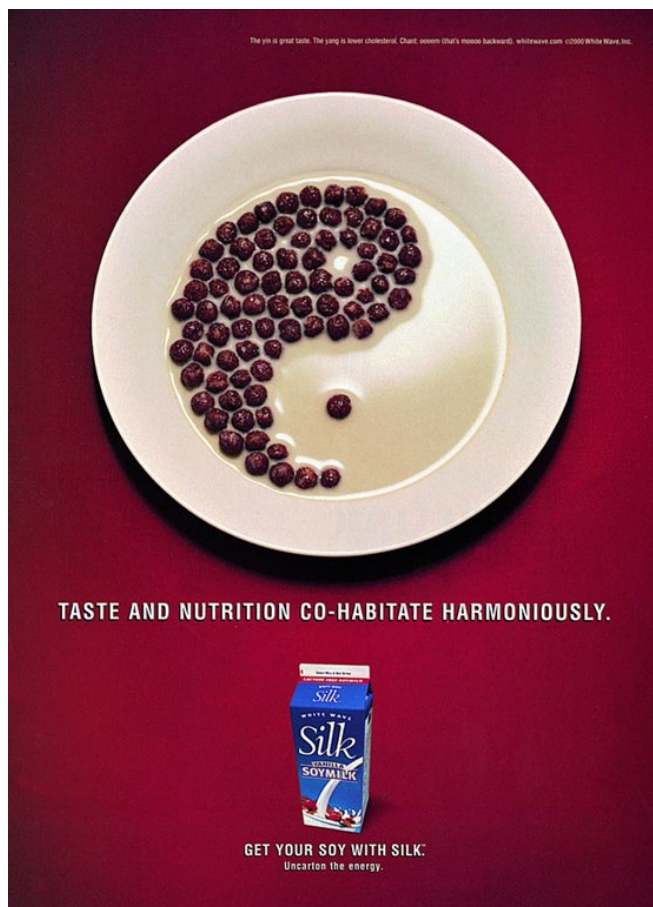


Figure 15 - Silk soy milk advertisement

6 Analysis

This paper will be dealing with the analysis of food metaphors in advertising and will try to identify what connections will arise from the selected set of advertisements.

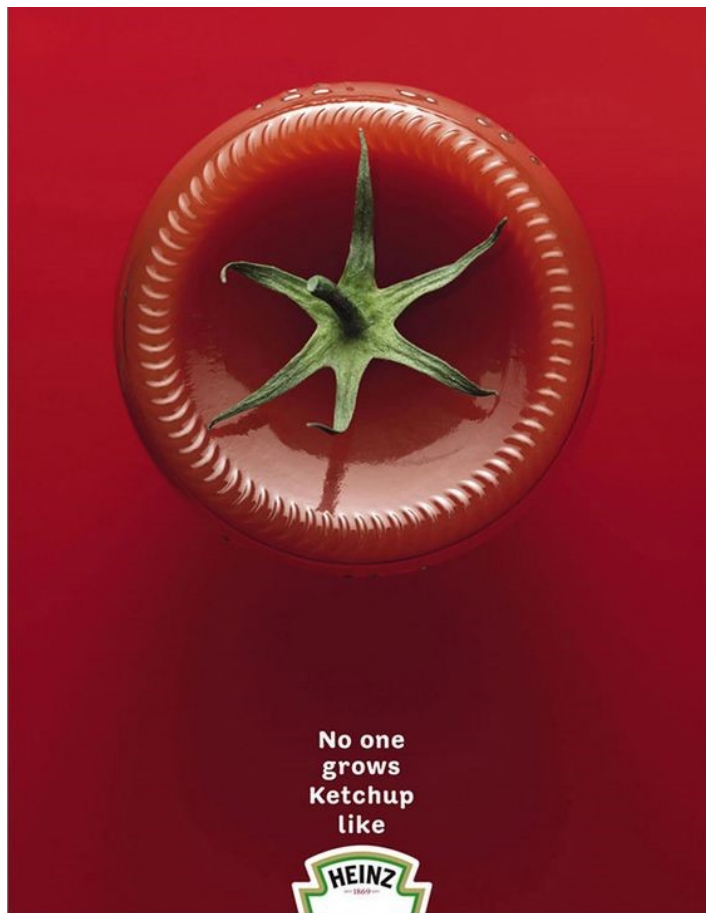


Figure 16 - Heinz ketchup ad

This is a minimalistic ketchup ad from Heinz, where the hybrid metaphor was created through the process of fusion. A ketchup bottle was made to resemble a tomato through the addition of a fruit stalk on top of the bottle. Here the target domain is the ketchup bottle, and the source domain is the tomato. The text is added to make sure everyone understands the ad, strengthening the message. The question of whether this is a monomodal or a multimodal ad presents itself, and even after we refer to Forceville and Bounegru (2011) and their method of removing the text, we cannot make conclusions that are absolute and apply to everyone. While some may realize from the shape of the bottle that it is supposed to represent ketchup, some may just see a tomato and will realize the true meaning only after reading the text.

The composition of this ad is simple, relying on minimalism and the principle “less is more” which can often be seen in advertisements to avoid the overload of visual information. Through the blend of the ketchup and the tomato, a new meaning is formed to emphasize the connection with nature, i.e. ketchup that is made from freshly grown tomatoes and entirely natural and organic.



Figure 17 - Brämhults juice ad

This is an example of another hybrid metaphor, this one purely pictorial since no text was added. It utilizes the fact that the carrot juice bottle resembles the carrot itself and uses fusion of the bottle with other parts of the carrot plant to show just how natural the juice is. The juice bottle is the target domain and the carrot is the source domain.

The composition of the ad is not as minimalistic as the ketchup one, but still fairly simple, with the bottle in the centre made to stand out from the contrasting darkness of the earth.

The general message it wants to convey is the same and the customers are made to associate the carrot juice bottle with a freshly grown carrot.



Figure 18 - Minute Maid juice ad

This is another ad for a juice, showing the bottle growing inside the orange itself through the fusion of the bottle and the orange peel. As in the previous examples, the juice bottle is the target domain, and the orange is the source domain.

Now we can already see the pattern of most food advertisements, particularly the fruit and vegetable ones, that use the opportunity to show their products fused with the ingredients themselves, emphasizing what the product comes from and how organic it is.

The colours the advertisement uses are bright, creating a warm atmosphere with the clear blue sky and the orchard in the background.



Figure 19 - Lay's chips ad

This potato chip bag is shown growing directly from the potatoes, as if it was a part of the plant itself. Created through the fusion of the bag and the potatoes, it is a hybrid metaphor, with the bag as the target and potatoes as the source.

The contrasting colours of the ground and the bag of chips together with the sunset in the background create a warm, earthy atmosphere.

The only text added is the slogan “All the Great” which plays no role in the deciphering of the message; therefore, this is a monomodal metaphor.

Although this example is similar to the carrot juice advertisement, in this case the product is above the ground. If we compare the positioning to Kress and van Leeuwen’s (2006) theory of what is ideal and what is real, here the product would be considered ideal, while in the carrot juice advertisement the product would be real. Both viewpoints make sense in a way; in the case of potato chips, they are an ideal version of the natural and organic potato chips,

while in the case of carrot juice, it is a real down-to-earth product directly made from the ideal.



Figure 20 - Nescafé coffee ad

This ad depicts a carton of coffee serving as a hot air balloon. While the metaphor itself is plain, making it clear what the source and target domains are, the text here serves as reinforcement, i.e. it gets rid of the other possible meaning implications, strengthening the focus of the message that this is light coffee.

It's also a hybrid metaphor, created through the fusion of the carton and the basket, making it apparent what it is by the addition of other hot air balloons in the background.

The colours of the ad are all pastel and light, therefore using the ambiance and the atmosphere of the ad to further the meaning of the message.



Figure 21 - Barilla pasta ad

This is a contextual metaphor which uses the similarity of the spaghetti and fireworks to create a season appropriate ad.

However, it is yet again entirely subjective whether this metaphor should be considered monomodal or multimodal since, as Forceville and Bounegru (2011) said, it depends on the individual's ability to distinguish the target and source modes. We cannot be sure that everyone would, if we removed the text, recognize the spaghetti as fireworks. With the text provided, it becomes clear because we associate the New Year with fireworks. Also, people seeing this ad in December and in May would probably react differently because in December people are accustomed to everything becoming Christmas and New Year-themed, so they would expect to see fireworks.

It is a minimalistic ad which relies on simplicity and uses the recognizable colours of the pasta brand Barilla.

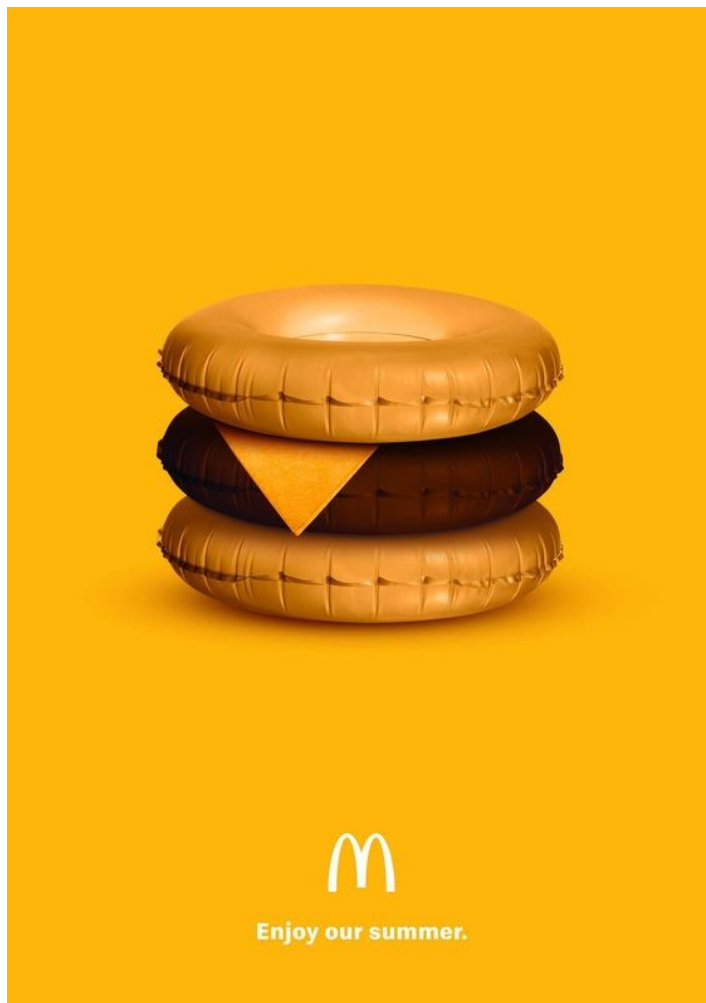


Figure 22 - McDonalds cheeseburger ad

This is an example of another season-appropriate ad, this time summer-themed. McDonalds uses this hybrid metaphor to show the inflatable floats in the shape of a cheeseburger. The ad is minimalistic as well, with the cheeseburger-shaped floats in the centre.

The text that accompanies this pictorial metaphor is “Enjoy our summer”, to reinforce the message and ensure this ad is understood by everyone. Yet again, it is hard to make concrete statements about the modality of this advertisement, considering the fact that, without the text, someone could assume these are donuts or any similarly shaped object and misinterpret the metaphor.



Figure 23 - Spring water ad

This is yet another example of a hybrid pictorial metaphor created through the fusion of the water bottle with the spring. It is similar to the natural juice ads we have encountered so far because it also puts emphasis on the direct connection between the spring and the bottle. The water is so fresh it's as if the spring itself is in the bottle.

The scene this advertisement shows is of untouched nature in the middle of an uninhabited forest, where nothing could have soiled the water.



Figure 24 - Bavaria beer ad

This Bavaria ad is entirely monomodal, since there is no text provided. It is also a hybrid pictorial metaphor, with the beer cans sporting cowboy hats and instruments. The purpose of this metaphor is the personification of the product, as if the beer cans themselves are lively people playing music, the reflectors in the background emphasizing the performing aspect.

This ad is meant to illustrate how much fun the customers will have once they drink the beer. Unlike the other examples, where the products were shown mostly fused with their ingredients, this ad doesn't focus on the way in which the beer was made, but the way in which the beer will make the customers feel once it has been consumed.



Figure 25 - Minute Maid juice ad

This is an interesting ad for a Minute Maid orange juice that uses a metaphor scenario to show the making of the juice. The ad depicts a construction site, where the juice bottle and the oranges are as big as a building and the materials used to build it, and the people working are hauling oranges that are being directly poured into the bottle with the help of a crane.

Metaphor scenarios like this one are more complex than regular metaphors because both the target and the source are composed of more elements and therefore may keep the addressees' focus longer. The source and target domains are not simply objects, they are actions that include said objects, i.e the act of construction is the act of making of the juice.

7 Discussion

When it comes to food advertisements, they mostly use narrative representation, as opposed to conceptual representation, both defined by Kress and van Leeuwen (2006). The story they want to present is usually the way in which said products are made. It could be a simple minimalistic ad, with only the main elements of a fruit and a juice bottle, for example, or it could be a whole scenario, like it was the case with the construction site juice ad. The key is to connect the feeling of nature with their product, making the customers associate it with something that was produced directly from nature and made organically. Most of these ads use warm, earthy colours, to create a natural feeling, adding the elements of the earth and the sun which will provoke a positive reaction in the viewer. However, even though narrative representations are prevalent in food advertisements with their high focus on the story they want to present, covert taxonomies could be used as well, with products that have a new line of flavours coming or with advertisements that want to emphasize the quantity of people that use them.

As far as possible meaning implications are concerned, I'd conclude that most of these metaphors are relevant according to Sperber and Wilson's (1996) theory, in a sense that there is usually only one possible meaning, and not much left to debate on. Since food advertisements have a certain pattern that they adhere to, they lost the necessity to be creative and to catch the addressees' attention with a mystery that they would need to decipher. The metaphors are usually **PRODUCT IS ITS INGREDIENT**, for example an orange juice is simply an orange in a bottle. The ads whose purpose wasn't to create a connection between the product and its positive qualities, such as the two season-appropriate ads, may be considered less relevant if we removed the text, in a sense that there could've been more possible meaning implications. However, both of these advertisements used text to reinforce the meaning. An example that stands out is the Bavaria beer advertisement, which focused on the customers instead of the product, choosing to personify their beer cans to show how the customers will feel once they drink the beer directly, instead of other advertisements that chose to show what their product comes from, assuming that once that meaning had been derived, the addressees' next implicature would be that they would feel good and healthy.

From the viewpoint of blending theory discussed by Fauconnier and Turner (2002), the framing input would be the ingredient, such as an orange or a carrot, since it provides structure to the blend, i.e. it provides the blend with the positive qualities that will shape the

focus input, or the product. The focus of our understanding is the product the advertisement depicts and we interpret the blend by assigning it the qualities of the source of the metaphor that shapes it. And as Fauconnier and Turner (2002) stated, the meaning created through blending of the two inputs is somehow unique, i.e. the blend that ensues as a result has a meaning of its own and is not just the sum of two parts. The product has its own qualities as well as the fruit or vegetable it is made from, but when they are blended, the meaning that arises is that the product is made directly from the given fruit or vegetable, connected with nature, as opposed to it being made artificially.

In the case of product advertisements, the source and the target are both concrete, even though it could be argued that the product itself is more concrete than the ingredient it is made from, since the ingredient provides the product with its positive qualities, which are abstract. In hybrid metaphors, however, which are prevalent in food advertisements, where a new object is created through the fusion of the source and the target, both would have to be more or less concrete.

The fact that there is a consistent pattern in the field of food advertising shows that the method they are using is tried and true. The way in which the customers can be influenced into associating products with positive qualities through the use of metaphors goes in line with the conceptual metaphor theory. Since we all think in terms of metaphors, it is only logical to use the very same tools to influence our thinking. Of course, this falls more in the realm of psychology, however, linguistics has always been tightly connected to it because we use words to express ourselves and of course, to think.

8 Conclusion

“A picture is worth a thousand words.” This famous saying is something we can observe to be true in the field of advertising as well. It tries to say that the visual can convey a message that is stronger than the text, but also acknowledges the fact that the visual is comparable to the text as well, i.e. measured in the worth of a thousand words. The visual has been used as a tool for successful marketing, particularly visual metaphors. And even though some advertisements use text to reinforce the message, and the advertisements themselves rely on multimodality, the metaphors are mostly monomodal, i.e. according to Forceville and Bounegru (2011) their target and source domains are distinguishable from the visual representation only. Of course, when it comes to the message of each advertisement as a whole, a simple deduction of what the metaphor’s target and the source domain are would not be enough to understand the entire message. That is why the role of text as reinforcement is very important and that is why the advertisements themselves are multimodal, even though the metaphors that were used are mostly monomodal.

The advertisements are constantly changing, and there is still a lot of room for the exploration of multimodality. Of course, multimodality as such requires an interdisciplinary analysis and it would be wrong to analyse it entirely from the point of view of linguistics, however it is interesting to see how linguistic concepts such as metaphors find their way into the visual domain and the ways in which the visual and text interact. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) said we think in terms of metaphors and they were right to such an extent that when one stops to think, it becomes apparent that metaphors are all around us, in all domains of human activity, especially creative disciplines such as advertising.

This paper’s goal was to provide a general overview of the dominant theories and, through the analysis of one type of advertisements, find the motives that prevail. Each of the product types has their own pattern, like food advertisements which emphasize their connection with nature using metaphors, whose role is to connect the product and its positive qualities.

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