9

Metaphor and metonymy

In this chapter, we will examine the central claims associated with **Conceptual Metaphor Theory**. This framework was first proposed by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson in their 1980 book *Metaphors We Live By* and has been developed in a number of subsequent publications. Conceptual Metaphor Theory was one of the earliest theoretical frameworks identified as part of the cognitive semantics enterprise and provided much of the early theoretical impetus for the cognitive approach. The basic premise of Conceptual Metaphor Theory is that metaphor is not simply a stylistic feature of language, but that thought itself is fundamentally metaphorical in nature. According to this view, conceptual structure is organised according to **cross-domain mappings** or correspondences between conceptual domains. Some of these mappings are due to pre-conceptual embodied experiences while others build on these experiences in order to form more complex conceptual structures. For instance, we can think about and talk about QUANTITY in terms of VERTICAL ELEVATION, as in *She got a really high mark in the test*, where *high* relates not literally to physical height but to a good mark. According to Conceptual Metaphor Theory, this is because the **conceptual domain** QUANTITY is conventionally structured and therefore understood in terms of the conceptual domain VERTICAL ELEVATION. Conceptual operations involving mappings, such as conceptual metaphor, are known more generally as **conceptual projection**. The claims made by conceptual metaphor theorists like Lakoff and Johnson and their collaborators directly relate to two of the central assumptions associated with cognitive semantics which we identified in Chapter 5. The first is the embodied cognition thesis, which holds that conceptual structure is grounded in embodied experience, and the second is the thesis that semantic structure reflects conceptual structure.

Recent work, particularly since Gibbs (1994), has also begun to emphasise the importance of a cognitive operation called **conceptual metonymy**. Research since the early 1990s has begun to suggest that this operation may be as least as important as conceptual metaphor in terms of providing conceptual structure (Kövecses and Radden 1998; Radden and Panther 1999). For this reason, both conceptual metaphor and conceptual metonymy are discussed in this chapter.

9.1 Literal versus figurative language

In this section we begin our examination of metaphor and metonymy by considering whether there really is a distinction to be made between **literal language** and **figurative language**. The traditional position, both in philosophy and in linguistics – and indeed the everyday view – is that (1) there is a stable and unambiguous notion of **literality**, and (2) that there is a sharp distinction to be made between literal language, on the one hand, and non-literal or figurative language on the other. According to this view, while literal language is precise and lucid, figurative language is imprecise, and is largely the domain of poets and novelists. In his 1994 book *The Poetics of Mind*, cognitive psychologist and cognitive linguist Raymond Gibbs examined this issue. Based on a close examination of the key features that are held to distinguish literal and figurative language, and based on a wide-ranging survey of different kinds of psycholinguistic experiments aimed at uncovering such a distinction, Gibbs found that there is no evidence for a principled distinction between literal and figurative language. In the following section, we begin by considering the two main claims associated with the traditional view.

9.1.1 Literal and figurative language as complex concepts

The basic assumption made by the traditional view is there are two kinds of meaning that can be straightforwardly distinguished: literal and figurative meaning. However, as Gibbs shows, there are many different kinds of literal and figurative meaning.

Definitions of literal language

Gibbs identifies a number of different definitions of literal meaning assumed within the cognitive science literature, four of which are presented in the following excerpt (Gibbs 1994: 75):

> *Conventional literality*, in which literal usage is contrasted with poetic usage, exaggeration, embellishment, indirectness, and so on.

> *Nonmetaphorical literality*, or directly meaningful language, in which one word (concept) is never understood in terms of a second word (or concept).
>
> *Truth conditional literality*, or language that is capable of 'fitting the world' (that is, referring to objectively existing objects or of being objectively true or false).
>
> *Context-free literality*, in which the literal meaning of an expression is its meaning [independent of any communicative situation].

We return below to examine each of these in turn, observing for the time being that there is more than one idea about what defines literality in language.

Definitions of non-literal language

Not only have different scholars assumed different definitions of literal language, there are many definitions of non-literal language. Here, we consider just a few categories of 'non-literal' language use: irony, zeugma and metonymy.

An expression is ironic when what is meant is the opposite of what is said. This is illustrated by the response of 'Teenage son' to his mother in example (1).

(1) Mother: Time for bed . . . You have a BIG exam in the morning!
Teenage son: I can't wait (uttered without enthusiasm).

Zeugma is a kind of ellipsis, in which a lexical item is understood, but 'left out' in subsequent clauses within a sentence, and where this lexical item has a different semantic or grammatical status in each case. One consequence is that when a lexical item has more than one meaning, a different meaning can be invoked in each clause. This can result in a humorous effect, as in example (2), where two different meanings of *expire* are invoked:

(2) On the same day my old Dad expired, so did my driving licence.

Metonymy depends upon an association between two entities so that one entity can stand for the other. Consider example (3):

(3) a. My wheels are parked out (the) back.
b. My motor is parked out (the) back.

In this example, a salient component of a car, namely the wheels or the motor, can be used to refer to the car as a whole.

This brief survey reveals that both 'literal language' and 'non-literal (or figurative) language' are complex concepts. We must therefore question the assumption that there are two distinct and discrete kinds of language use that can be unambiguously identified. In the next section, we focus in more detail on the question of whether literal and non-literal language are fully discrete.

9.1.2 Can the distinction be maintained?

Recall from above that the traditional view holds that literal language is markedly distinct from non-literal or figurative language. In this section, we investigate whether the various categories of literal language can actually be meaningfully distinguished from non-literal language.

Conventional versus non-conventional language use

This distinction relies upon the idea that while literal language is the conventional 'ordinary' or 'everyday' way we have of talking about things, figurative language is 'exotic' or 'literary' and only need concern creative writers. According to this view, most ordinary language is literal. However, on closer inspection, much of our ordinary everyday language turns out to be figurative in nature. Consider the following examples, in which the figurative expressions are highlighted:

(4) Things are *going smoothly* in the operating theatre.

(5) He was *in* a state of shock after the election result.

(6) The economy *is going from* bad *to* worse.

These sentences are representative of 'ordinary', 'everyday' ways of talking about events like operations, emotional or psychological states, and changes in the economy. However, each sentence makes use of language that relates to motion, physical location or change in location in order to describe non-physical entities. Consider sentence (4): while sailing boats can 'go smoothly' across a lake or an ocean, abstract entities like operations are not physical objects that can undergo motion. Similarly, in sentence (5), while we can be physically located within bounded landmarks like rooms or buildings, we cannot be literally located within a state of shock, because shock is not a physical entity. Finally, in example (6) a change of state is understood in terms of a physical change in location. From this perspective, the italicised expressions in examples (4)–(6) have non-literal meanings in these sentences. Despite this, these expressions represent conventional means of talking about events, states and changes. This observation presents a serious challenge to the view that

literal language provides the conventional means for talking about everyday events and situations.

Metaphorical versus non-metaphorical language use

Another definition of literality identified by Gibbs is non-metaphorical literality. According to this view, literal language is language that directly expresses meaning rather than relying upon metaphor. This view entails that we should always be able to express our 'true' meaning without recourse to metaphorical language, which involves expressing one idea in terms of another. For example, while the sentence in (7) has literal meaning, the sentence in (8) does not because it employs a metaphor: Achilles is understood in terms of a lion, which conveys the idea that Achilles has some quality understood as typical of lions such as fearlessness. This interpretation arises from our folk knowledge of lions, which stipulates that they are brave.

(7) Achilles is brave.

(8) Achilles is a lion.

However, it is difficult to find a non-metaphorical way of thinking and talking about certain concepts. For example, try talking about TIME without recourse to expressions relating to SPACE or MOTION. Consider example (9).

(9) a. Christmas is *approaching.*
    b. We're *moving towards* Christmas.
    c. Christmas is not very *far away*.

Each of these expressions relies upon language relating to motion or space in order to convey the idea that the temporal concept CHRISTMAS is imminent. These expressions represent ordinary everyday ways of talking about time. Indeed, it turns out to be more difficult to find ways of describing temporal concepts that do not rely on metaphorical language (see Evans 2004a). If certain concepts are wholly or mainly understood in metaphorical terms, then the non-metaphorical definition of literality entails that concepts like CHRISTMAS or TIME somehow lack meaning in their own right. Indeed, some scholars have actually claimed that time is not a 'real' experience. However, many everyday concepts appear to be understood in metaphorical terms. Consider the concept ANGER. Emotions like anger are, in developmental terms, among the earliest human experiences. Despite this, the way we conceptualise and describe this concept is highly metaphorical in nature, as the following examples illustrate.

(10) a. You make my *blood boil.*
b. He was *red with* anger.
c. She's just *letting off steam*.
d. Don't *fly off the handle*.
e. Try to *get a grip on yourself*.
f. He almost *burst a blood vessel*.

Consider another example. We typically think and talk about ARGUMENT in terms of WAR. The examples in (11) are from Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 4).

(11) a. Your claims are *indefensible.*
b. He *attacked every weak point* in my argument.
c. His criticisms were *right on target*.
d. I *demolished* his argument.
e. I've never *won* an argument with him.
f. You disagree? Okay, *shoot!*
g. If you use that strategy, he'll *wipe you out*.
h. He *shot down* all of my arguments.

As these examples demonstrate, the non-metaphorical definition of literality, which entails that we should always be able to express ourselves without recourse to metaphoric language, does not appear to present an accurate picture of the facts.

Literal truth versus literal falsity in language use

The truth-conditional view of literality rests upon the assumption that the basic function of language is to describe an objective external reality, and that this relationship between language and the world can be modelled in terms of truth or falsity (this idea was introduced in Chapter 5). The intuition behind this approach is that an important function of language is to describe states of affairs. Consider example (12).

(12) It's raining in London.

This sentence describes a state of affairs in the world and can be assessed as either true or false of a given situation, real or hypothetical. According to the truth-conditional definition of literality, example (12) represents literal language because it can either be literally true or false of a given situation. In contrast, expressions like *It's raining in my heart* or *You are my sunshine* can only be literally false and are therefore figurative. However, many linguistic

expressions do not describe situations at all, and cannot therefore be meaningfully evaluated as true or false. Consider the examples in (13).

(13) a. Get well soon!
b. Can you pass the salt please?
c. I now pronounce you man and wife.

These examples represent speech acts. For instance, the function of the example in (13c) is not to describe a situation, but to change some aspect of the world (this idea was introduced in Chapter 1). If we adopt the truth-conditional view of literality, which rests upon the idea of literal truth, expressions like those in (13) are neither literal nor figurative since they cannot be evaluated as true (or false) with respect to a given situation.

Context-free versus context-dependent language use

The truth-conditional view also holds that literal meaning is context-independent. This means that literal meaning does not require a context in order to be fully interpreted. Consider example (14).

(14) a. The cat sat on the mat.
b. My cat is a greedy pig.

According to this view, (14a) is fully interpretable independent of any context and the meaning we retrieve from (14a) is literal. In contrast, example (14b), which contains a metaphor, relies upon a context in which a cat habitually eats a lot in order to be fully understood. If this example were interpreted literally it would result in contradiction, since a cat cannot literally be a pig.

However, according to the encyclopaedic view of meaning assumed by cognitive semanticists (see Chapter 7) even the sentence in (14a) is not context-independent because it is interpreted against the background of rich encyclopaedic knowledge. Cultural associations, for instance, dictate what kind of cat we have in mind, and our experience of the world entails the assumption that gravity and normal force-dynamics apply so that we do not envisage the cat in (14a) on a flying carpet. In other words, a considerable number of background assumptions are brought to bear even on the interpretation of a relatively simple sentence. This brief discussion illustrates that it is difficult to pin down what aspects of meaning might be fully context-independent, which in turn calls into question the context-independent definition of literality.

In sum, we have examined a number of different definitions of literality identified by Gibbs in the cognitive science literature. We have seen that each of

these definitions is problematic in certain respects. In particular, it seems that it is difficult to establish a neat dividing line between literal and figurative meaning. In the remainder of this chapter, we examine metaphor and metonymy: two phenomena that have traditionally been described as categories of figurative language use. As we will see, cognitive semanticists view metaphor and metonymy as phenomena fundamental to the structure of the conceptual system rather than superficial linguistic 'devices'.

9.2 What is metaphor?

For over 2,000 years, metaphor was studied within the discipline known as **rhetoric**. This discipline was first established in ancient Greece, and was focused on practical instruction in how to persuade others of a particular point of view by the use of rhetorical devices. Metaphor was one of these devices, which were called **tropes** by rhetoricians. Due to its central importance, metaphor came to be known as the **master trope**. Within this approach, metaphor was characterised by the schematic form: A is B, as in *Achilles is a lion*. As a consequence, metaphor has been identified since the time of Aristotle with implicit **comparison**. In other words, while metaphor is based on the comparison of two categories, the comparison is not explicitly marked. This contrasts with **simile,** where the comparison is overtly signalled by the use of *as* or *like*: *Achilles is as brave as a lion*; *Achilles is brave, like a lion*.

Clearly, examples of metaphor like *Achilles is a lion* are based on comparison. Following Grady (1997a, 1999) we will use the term **perceived resemblance** to describe this comparison. In this case, the resemblance is not physical: Achilles does not actually look like a lion. Instead, due to cultural knowledge which holds that lions are courageous, by describing Achilles as a lion we associate him with the lion's qualities of courage and ferocity. Metaphors of this kind are called **resemblance metaphors** (Grady 1999).

Resemblance metaphors based on physical resemblance have been called **image metaphors** (Lakoff and Turner 1989). In other words, image metaphors are one subset of resemblance-based metaphors. For instance, consider the following translation of the beginning of André Breton's surrealist poem 'Free Union', cited in Lakoff and Turner (1989: 93):

> My wife whose hair is a brush fire
> Whose thoughts are summer lightning
> Whose waist is an hourglass
> Whose waist is the waist of an otter caught in the teeth of a tiger
> Whose mouth is a bright cockade with the fragrance of a star of the first magnitude
> Whose teeth leave prints like the tracks of white mice over snow

Several of these lines represent image metaphors. For example, in the third line the poet is establishing a visual resemblance between the shape of his wife's waist and the shape of an hourglass.

Resemblance metaphors have received considerable attention within conceptual metaphor theory, particularly within the approach now known as **Cognitive Poetics** (see Lakoff and Turner 1989 for a seminal study; see also Stockwell 2002, and Gavins and Steen 2003). However, for the most part, research in the conceptual metaphor tradition has not been primarily concerned with metaphors of this kind. Instead, research in this tradition has focused on the kind of everyday language illustrated in the following examples. These examples represent common ways of referring to particular experiences of relationships like marriage. The examples in (15) are from Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 44–5).

(15) a. Look *how far* we've *come.*
b. We're at *a crossroads*.
c. We'll just have to *go our separate ways*.
d. We can't *turn back* now.
e. I don't think this relationship is *going anywhere*.
f. *Where* are we?
g. We're *stuck*.
h. It's been *a long, bumpy road*.
i. This relationship is *a dead-end street*.
j. We're just *spinning our wheels*.
k. Our marriage is *on the rocks*.
l. This relationship *is foundering*.

What is striking about these examples is that they represent ordinary everyday ways of talking about relationships: there is nothing stylised or overtly poetic about these expressions. Moreover, for the most part, they do not make use of the linguistic formula A is B, which is typical of resemblance metaphors. However, these expressions are clearly non-literal: a relationship cannot literally spin its wheels, nor stand at the crossroads.

Although a slim volume, Lakoff and Johnson's 1980 book *Metaphors We Live By* changed the way linguists thought about metaphor for two important reasons. Firstly, Lakoff and Johnson observed that metaphorical language appears to relate to an underlying **metaphor system,** a 'system of thought'. In other words, they noticed that we cannot choose any conceptual domain at random in order to describe relationships like marriage. Observe that the expressions in (15) have something in common: in addition to describing experiences of relationships, they also rely upon expressions that relate to the conceptual domain JOURNEYS. Indeed, our ability to describe relationships in terms of journeys appears to be highly productive.

This pattern led Lakoff and Johnson to hypothesise a conventional link at the conceptual level between the domain of LOVE RELATIONSHIPS and the domain of JOURNEYS. According to this view, LOVE, which is the **target** (the domain being described), is conventionally structured in terms of JOURNEYS, which is the **source** (the domain in terms of which the target is described). This association is called a **conceptual metaphor**. According to Lakoff and Johnson, what makes it a metaphor is the conventional association of one domain with another. What makes it conceptual (rather than purely linguistic) is the idea that the motivation for the metaphor resides at the level of conceptual domains. In other words, Lakoff and Johnson proposed that we not only speak in metaphorical terms, but also think in metaphorical terms. From this perspective, linguistic expressions that are metaphorical in nature are simply reflections of an underlying conceptual association.

Lakoff and Johnson also observed that there are a number of distinct roles that populate the source and target domains. For example, JOURNEYS include TRAVELLERS, a MEANS OF TRANSPORT, a ROUTE followed, OBSTACLES along the route and so on. Similarly, the target domain LOVE RELATIONSHIP includes LOVERS, EVENTS in the relationship and so on. The metaphor works by mapping roles from the source onto the target: LOVERS become TRAVELLERS (*We're at a crossroads*), who travel by a particular MEANS OF TRANSPORT (*We're spinning our wheels*), proceeding along a particular ROUTE (*Our relationship went off course*), impeded by obstacles (*Our marriage is on the rocks*). As these examples demonstrate, a metaphorical link between two domains consists of a number of distinct correspondences or **mappings**. These mappings are illustrated in Table 9.1.

It is conventional in the conceptual metaphor literature, following Lakoff and Johnson, to make use of the 'A is B' formula to describe conceptual metaphor: for example, LOVE IS A JOURNEY. However, this is simply a convenient shorthand for a series of discrete conceptual mappings which license a range of linguistic examples.

The second important claim to emerge from *Metaphors We Live By* was that conceptual metaphors are grounded in the nature of our everyday interaction with the world. That is, conceptual metaphor has an **experiential basis**.

Table 9.1 Mappings for LOVE IS A JOURNEY

Source: JOURNEY	Mappings	Target: LOVE
TRAVELLERS	→	LOVERS
VEHICLE	→	LOVE RELATIONSHIP
JOURNEY	→	EVENTS IN THE RELATIONSHIP
DISTANCE COVERED	→	PROGRESS MADE
OBSTACLES ENCOUNTERED	→	DIFFICULTIES EXPERIENCED
DECISIONS ABOUT DIRECTION	→	CHOICES ABOUT WHAT TO DO
DESTINATION OF THE JOURNEY	→	GOALS OF THE RELATIONSHIP

Consider the following linguistic evidence for the metaphor QUANTITY IS VERTICAL ELEVATION:

(16) a. The price of shares is *going up.*
b. She got a *high* score in her exam.

In these sentences there is a conventional reading related to QUANTITY. In (16a) the sentence refers to an increase in share prices. In (16b) it refers to an exam result that represents a numerical quantity. Although each of these readings is perfectly conventional, the lexical items that provide these readings, *going up* and *high*, refer literally to the concept of VERTICAL ELEVATION. Examples like these suggest that QUANTITY and VERTICAL ELEVATION are associated in some way at the conceptual level. The question is, what motivates these associations?

QUANTITY and VERTICAL ELEVATION are often correlated and these correlations are ubiquitous in our everyday experience. For instance, when we increase the height of something there is typically more of it. If an orange farmer puts more oranges on a pile, thereby increasing the height of the pile, there is a correlative increase in quantity. Similarly, water poured into a glass results in a correlative increase in both height (vertical elevation) and quantity of water. According to Lakoff and Johnson, this kind of correlation, experienced in our everyday lives, gives rise to the formation of an association at the conceptual level which is reflected in the linguistic examples. According to this view, conceptual metaphors are always at least partially motivated by and grounded in experience. As we have seen, then, cognitive semanticists define metaphor as a conceptual mapping between source and target domain. In the next section, we look in more detail at the claims made by Conceptual Metaphor Theory.

9.3 Conceptual Metaphor Theory

Conceptual Metaphor Theory has been highly influential both within cognitive linguistics and within the cognitive and social sciences, particularly in neighbouring disciplines like cognitive psychology and anthropology. In this section we summarise and outline some of the key aspects of Conceptual Metaphor Theory as they emerged between the publication of *Metaphors We Live By* and the mid-1990s.

9.3.1 The unidirectionality of metaphor

An important observation made by conceptual metaphor theorists is that conceptual metaphors are **unidirectional**. This means that metaphors map structure from a source domain to a target domain but not vice versa. For example, while we conceptualise LOVE in terms of JOURNEYS, we cannot conventionally

structure JOURNEYS in terms of LOVE: travellers are not conventionally described as 'lovers', or car crashes in terms of 'heartbreak', and so on. Hence, the terms 'target' and 'source' encode the unidirectional nature of the mapping.

Lakoff and Turner (1989) observed that unidirectionality holds even when two different metaphors share the same domains. For example, they identified the two metaphors PEOPLE ARE MACHINES and MACHINES ARE PEOPLE, which are illustrated in examples (17) and (18), respectively.

(17) PEOPLE ARE MACHINES
   a. John always gets the highest scores in maths; he's a human calculator.
   b. He's so efficient; he's just a machine!
   c. He's had a nervous breakdown.

(18) MACHINES ARE PEOPLE
   a. I think my computer hates me; it keeps deleting my data.
   b. This car has a will of its own!
   c. I don't think my car wants to start this morning.

Although these two metaphors appear to be the mirror image of one another, close inspection reveals that each metaphor involves distinct mappings: in the PEOPLE ARE MACHINES metaphor, the mechanical and functional attributes associated with computers are mapped onto people, such as their speed and efficiency, their part–whole structure and the fact that they break down. In the MACHINES ARE PEOPLE metaphor, it is the notion of desire and volition that is mapped onto the machine. This shows that even when two metaphors share the same two domains, each metaphor is distinct in nature because it relies upon different mappings.

9.3.2 Motivation for target and source

Given that metaphorical mappings are unidirectional, two points of interest arise. The first relates to whether there is a pattern in terms of which conceptual domains typically function as source domains and which function as targets. The second point relates to what might motivate such a pattern. Based on an extensive survey, Kövecses (2002) found that the most common source domains for metaphorical mappings include domains relating to the HUMAN BODY (*the heart of the problem*), ANIMALS (*a sly fox*), PLANTS (*the fruit of her labour*), FOOD (*he cooked up a story*) and FORCES (*don't push me!*). The most common target domains included conceptual categories like EMOTION (*she was deeply moved*), MORALITY (*she resisted the temptation*), THOUGHT (*I see your point*), HUMAN RELATIONSHIPS (*they built a strong marriage*) and TIME (*time flies*).

Turning to the second point, the prevalent explanation until the mid-1990s was that target concepts tended to be more abstract, lacking physical characteristics and therefore more difficult to understand and talk about in their own terms. In contrast, source domains tended to be more concrete and therefore more readily 'graspable'. As Kövecses (2002: 20) puts it, 'Target domains are abstract, diffuse and lack clear delineation; as a result they 'cry out' for metaphorical conceptualization.' The intuition behind this view was that target concepts were often 'higher-order concepts': although grounded in more basic embodied experiences, these concepts relate to more complex and abstract experiential knowledge structures. Consider the conceptual domain TIME, an abstract domain *par excellence*. Time is primarily conceptualised in terms of SPACE, and MOTION through space, as illustrated by the examples in (19).

(19) a. Christmas is *coming*.
b. The relationship lasted a *long time*.
c. The time for a decision *has come*.
d. *We're approaching* my favourite time of the year.

Lakoff and Johnson (1999) argue that TIME is structured in terms of MOTION because our understanding of TIME emerges from our experience and awareness of CHANGE, a salient aspect of which involves MOTION. For instance, whenever we travel from place A to place B, we experience CHANGE in location. This type of event also corresponds to a temporal span of a certain duration. From this perspective, our experience of time – that is, our awareness of change – is grounded in more basic experiences like motion events. Lakoff and Johnson argue that this comparison of location at the beginning and end points of a journey, gives rise to our experience of time: embodied experiences like MOTION partially structure the more abstract domain TIME. This gives rise to the general metaphor TIME IS MOTION.

9.3.3 Metaphorical entailments

In addition to the individual mappings that conceptual metaphors bring with them, they also provide additional, sometimes quite detailed knowledge. This is because aspects of the source domain that are not explicitly stated in the mappings can be inferred. In this way, metaphoric mappings carry **entailments** or rich **inferences**. Consider the examples in (20), which relate to the conceptual metaphor AN ARGUMENT IS A JOURNEY:

(20) a. We will proceed in a *step-by-step fashion*.
b. We have *covered a lot of ground*.

In this metaphor, PARTICIPANTS in the argument correspond to TRAVELLERS, the ARGUMENT itself corresponds to a JOURNEY and the PROGRESS of the argument corresponds to the ROUTE taken. However, in the source domain JOURNEY, travellers can get lost, they can stray from the path, they can fail to reach their destination, and so on. The association between source and target gives rise to the entailment (the rich inference) that these events can also occur in the target domain ARGUMENT. This is illustrated by the examples in (21) which show that structure that holds in the source domain can be inferred as holding in the target domain.

(21) a. I *got lost in* the argument.
b. We *digressed from* the main point.
c. He failed *to reach* the conclusion.
d. I *couldn't follow* the argument.

9.3.4 Metaphor systems

An early finding by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) was that conceptual metaphors interact with each other and can give rise to relatively complex **metaphor systems**. These systems are collections of more schematic metaphorical mappings that structure a range of more specific metaphors like LIFE IS A JOURNEY. Lakoff (1993) outlines a particularly intricate example of a metaphor system which he calls the **event structure metaphor**. This is actually a series of metaphors that interact in the interpretation of utterances. The individual metaphors that make up the event structure metaphor, together with linguistic examples, are shown in table 9.2.

In order to illustrate how the event structure metaphor applies, consider the specific metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY. This is illustrated by the examples in (22).

(22) a. STATES ARE LOCATIONS
He's *at a crossroads* in his life.
b. CHANGE IS MOTION
He went *from* his forties *to* his fifties without a hint of a mid-life crisis.
c. CAUSES ARE FORCES
He *got a head start* in life.
d. PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS
I can't ever seem to *get to where I want to be* in life.
e. MEANS ARE PATHS
He followed *an unconventional course* during his life.

Table 9.2 The event structure metaphor

Metaphor:	STATES ARE LOCATIONS (BOUNDED REGIONS IN SPACE)
Example:	*John is in love*
Metaphor:	CHANGE IS MOTION (FROM ONE LOCATION TO ANOTHER)
Example:	*Things went from bad to worse*
Metaphor:	CAUSES ARE FORCES
Example:	*Her argument forced me to change my mind*
Metaphor:	ACTIONS ARE SELF-PROPELLED MOVEMENTS
Example:	*We are moving forward with the new project*
Metaphor:	PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS
Example:	*We've finally reached the end of the project*
Metaphor:	MEANS ARE PATHS (TO DESTINATIONS)
Example:	*We completed the project via an unconventional route*
Metaphor:	DIFFICULTIES ARE IMPEDIMENTS TO MOTION
Example:	*It's been uphill all the way on this project*
Metaphor:	EVENTS ARE MOVING OBJECTS
Example:	*Things are going smoothly in the operating theatre*
Metaphor:	LONG-TERM PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITIES ARE JOURNEYS
Example:	*The government is without direction*

f. DIFFICULTIES ARE IMPEDIMENTS TO MOTION
Throughout his working life problematic professional relationships had somehow always *got in his way*.

g. PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITIES ARE JOURNEYS
His life had been *a rather strange journey*.

The target domain for this metaphor is LIFE, while the source domain is JOURNEY. The EVENTS that comprise this metaphor are life events, while the PURPOSES are life goals. However, because this metaphor is structured by the event structure metaphor, LIFE IS A JOURNEY turns out to be a highly complex metaphor that represents a composite mapping drawing from a range of related and mutually coherent metaphors: each of the examples in (22) **inherits** structure from a specific metaphor within the event structure complex. Similarly, other complex metaphors including AN ARGUMENT IS A JOURNEY, LOVE IS A JOURNEY and A CAREER IS A JOURNEY also inherit structure from the Event Structure Metaphor.

9.3.5 Metaphors and image schemas

Subsequent to the development of image schema theory (Chapter 6), the idea that certain concepts were image-schematic in nature was exploited by Conceptual Metaphor Theory (e.g. Lakoff 1987, 1990, 1993). Lakoff and Johnson both argued that image schemas could serve as source domains for metaphoric mapping. The rationale for this view can be summarised as

follows: image schemas appear to be knowledge structures that emerge directly from pre-conceptual embodied experience. These structures are meaningful at the conceptual level precisely because they derive from the level of bodily experience, which is directly meaningful. For example, our image-schematic concept COUNTERFORCE arises from the experience of being unable to proceed because some opposing force is resisting our attempt to move forward. Image schemas relating to FORCES metaphorically structure more abstract domains like CAUSES by serving as source domains for these abstract concepts. This is illustrated by the event structure metaphor, where the image-schematic concept BOUNDED LOCATIONS structures the abstract concept STATES, while the image-schematic concept OBJECTS structures the abstract concept EVENTS, and so on.

The striking consequence to emerge from this application of image schema theory to Conceptual Metaphor Theory is that abstract thought and reasoning, facilitated by metaphor, are seen as having an image-schematic and hence an embodied basis (e.g. Lakoff 1990). Clearly, highly abstract concepts are unlikely to be directly structured in terms of simple image schemas but are more likely to be structured in complex ways by **inheritance relations**: a network of intermediate mappings. It also seems likely that certain concepts must relate in part to subjective experiences like emotions (a point we return to below). Despite these caveats, Conceptual Metaphor Theory holds that abstract concepts can, at least in part, be traced back to image schemas.

9.3.6 Invariance

As a result of the emergence of these ideas, a preoccupation for conceptual metaphor theorists in the late 1980s and early 1990s centred on how metaphoric mappings could be constrained (Brugman 1990; Lakoff 1990, 1993; Lakoff and Turner 1989; Turner 1990, 1991). After all, if metaphor is ultimately based on image schemas, with chains of inheritance relations giving rise to highly abstract and specific metaphors like LOVE IS A JOURNEY, ARGUMENT IS WAR and so on, it is important to establish what licenses the selection of particular image schemas by particular target domains and why unattested mappings are not licensed.

There appear to be certain restrictions in terms of which source domains can serve particular target domains, as well as constraints on metaphorical entailments that can apply to particular target domains. For example, Lakoff and Turner (1989) observed that the concept of DEATH is **personified** in a number of ways (which means that a concept has human-like properties attributed to it, such as intentionality and volition). However, the human-like qualities that can be associated with DEATH are restricted: DEATH can 'devour', 'destroy' or 'reap', but as Lakoff (1993: 233) observes, 'death is not metaphorized in terms

of teaching, or filling the bathtub, or sitting on the sofa.' In order to account for these restrictions, Lakoff posited the **Invariance Principle**:

> Metaphorical mappings preserve the cognitive topology (that is, the image schema structure) of the source domain, in a way consistent with the inherent structure of the target domain. (Lakoff 1993: 215)

There are a number of specific death personification metaphors, including DEATH IS A DEVOURER, DEATH IS A REAPER and DEATH IS A DESTROYER, which inherit structures from a more schematic metaphor, which Lakoff and Turner (1989) call a **generic-level metaphor**: EVENTS ARE ACTIONS (or INANIMATE PHENOMENA ARE HUMAN AGENTS). What the invariance principle does is guarantee that image-schematic organisation is invariant across metaphoric mappings. This means that the structure of the source domain must be preserved by the mapping in a way consistent with the target domain. This constrains potentially incompatible mappings.

Let's elaborate this idea in relation to the DEATH metaphors mentioned above. While DEATH can be structured in terms of the kinds of agents we have noted (DEVOURER, REAPER or DESTROYER), it cannot be structured in terms of any kind of agent at random. For example, it would not be appropriate to describe DEATH as KNITTER, TEACHER or BABYSITTER. Agents that devour, reap or destroy bring about a sudden change in the physical state of an entity. This corresponds exactly to the nature of the concept DEATH, whose 'cognitive topology' or 'inherent' conceptual structure is preserved by the attested mappings like DEATH IS A DESTROYER but not the unattested mapping *DEATH IS A KNITTER.

The Invariance Principle also predicts that metaphoric entailments that are incompatible with the target domain will fail to map. Consider the examples in (23), which relate to the metaphor CAUSATION IS TRANSFER (OF AN OBJECT):

(23) a. She gave him a headache. STATE
b. She gave him a kiss. EVENT

While the source domain for both of these examples is TRANSFER, the first example relates to a STATE and the second to an EVENT. The source domain TRANSFER entails that the recipient is in possession of the transferred entity. However, while this entailment is in keeping with STATES because they are temporally unbounded, the same entailment is incompatible with EVENTS because they are temporally bounded and cannot therefore 'stretch' across time. This is illustrated by (24).

(24) a. She gave him a headache and he still has it. STATE
b. *She gave him a kiss and he still has it. EVENT

The process that prevents entailments from projecting to the target domain is called **target domain override** (Lakoff 1993).

9.3.7 The conceptual nature of metaphor

A consequence of the claim that conceptual organisation is in large part metaphorical is that thought itself is metaphorical. In other words, metaphor is not simply a matter of language, but reflects 'deep' correspondences in the way our conceptual system is organised. This being so, we expect to find evidence of metaphor in human systems other than language. Indeed, this view comes from studies that have investigated the metaphorical basis of a diverse range of phenomena and constructs, including social organisation and practice, myths, dreams, gesture, morality, politics and foreign policy, advertisements and mathematical theory. For example, the organisation of a business institution is often represented in terms of a diagram that represents a hierarchical structure, in which the CEO is at the highest point and other officers and personnel of the company are placed at lower points; relative positions upwards on the vertical axis correspond to relative increases in importance or influence. This type of diagram reflects the conceptual metaphor SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS ARE HIERARCHICAL STRUCTURES. Conceptual metaphor theorists argue that this metaphor is in turn grounded in more basic kinds of experience, such as the correlation between height or size and influence, or the fact that the head (which controls the body) is the uppermost part of the body.

To provide a second example, linguistic theories themselves can have a metaphorical basis. The dominant metaphor in Generative Grammar, for example, could be described in terms of SENTENCE STRUCTURE IS A HIERARCHY. This explains why a proliferation of terminology emerged from this theory that reflected hierarchical relationships, including terms like *dominate*, *govern*, *control*, *bind* and so on. Moreover, sentence structure is visually represented in a number of syntactic theories by 'tree diagrams', structures that are hierarchically organised so that the sentence 'dominates' or 'contains' phrases, which in turn 'dominate' or 'contain' words. Equally, Mental Spaces Theory (Chapter 11) is a model of meaning construction that relies upon the metaphor COGNITIVE REPRESENTATIONS ARE CONTAINERS to describe the process of online meaning construction. According to cognitive semanticists, examples illustrate the central importance of metaphor in human thinking.

9.3.8 Hiding and highlighting

An important idea in Conceptual Metaphor Theory relates to **hiding** and **highlighting**: when a target is structured in terms of a particular source, this highlights certain aspects of the target while simultaneously hiding other

aspects. For example, invoking the metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR highlights the adversarial nature of argument but hides the fact that argument often involves an ordered and organised development of a particular topic (*He won the argument*, *I couldn't defend that point*, and so on). In contrast, the metaphor AN ARGUMENT IS A JOURNEY highlights the progressive and organisational aspects of arguments while hiding the confrontational aspects (*We'll proceed in step-by-step fashion; We've covered a lot of ground*). In this way, metaphors can **perspectivise** a concept or conceptual domain.

9.4 Primary Metaphor Theory

As observed by Murphy (1996), among others, one problem with Conceptual Metaphor Theory, as formalised by the Invariance Principle, is the potential contradiction inherent in the claim that a target domain possesses an invariant 'inherent structure' that limits the metaphorical mappings and entailments that can apply, and at the same time that the target domain is abstract in the sense that it is not clearly delineated. According to Conceptual Metaphor Theory, the purpose of metaphor is to map structure onto abstract domains; if a target already has its own invariant structure, why should it require metaphoric structuring?

9.4.1 Primary and compound metaphors

In an influential study, Joseph Grady (1997a) addresses this problem by proposing that there are two kinds of metaphor: **primary metaphor** and **compound metaphor**. While primary metaphors are foundational, compound metaphors are constructed from the unification of primary metaphors. Grady's central claim, which marks his approach as distinct from earlier work in Conceptual Metaphor Theory, is that primary metaphors conventionally associate concepts that are equally 'basic', in the sense that they are both directly experienced and perceived. This means that Grady rejects the view that the distinction between the target and source of a metaphoric mapping relates to abstract versus concrete concepts. Instead, Grady argues that the distinction between target and source relates to **degree of subjectivity** rather than how clearly delineated or how abstract a concept is. This view means that the Invariance Principle is redundant because the foundational primary metaphors, upon which more complex metaphor systems are based, are not viewed as providing an 'abstract' target with 'missing' structure. Consider the following examples of primary metaphors proposed by Grady, together with example sentences.

(25) SIMILARITY IS NEARNESS
That colour is quite close to the one on our dining-room wall.

(26) IMPORTANCE IS SIZE
We've got a big week coming up at work.

(27) QUANTITY IS VERTICAL ELEVATION
The price of shares has gone up.

(28) CAUSES ARE FORCES
Vanity drove me to have the operation.

(29) CHANGE IS MOTION
Things have shifted a little since you were last here.

(30) DESIRE IS HUNGER
We're hungry for a victory.

Grady accounts for these metaphors in the following terms (small capitals added):

> . . . the target concepts [e.g. SIMILARITY, IMPORTANCE, QUANTITY, CAUSES, CHANGE and DESIRE] lack the kind of perceptual basis which characterises the source concepts . . . CHANGE, for instance, can be detected in any number of domains, including non-physical ones (e.g. a change in the emotional tone of a conversation), whereas the detection of physical MOTION is directly based on physical perception. DESIRE is an affective state while HUNGER is a physical sensation. QUANTITY is a parameter in any realm, while VERTICAL ELEVATION is a physical variable, perceived by the senses. (Grady n.d.: 5/14–15)

In other words, primary target concepts reflect subjective responses to sensory perception, and represent 'judgements, assessments, evaluations and inferences' (Grady n.d.: 5/15). From this perspective, target concepts like SIMILARITY, QUANTITY and DESIRE are not dismissed as 'abstract' but are recognised as being among the most fundamental and direct experiences we have as human beings. This explains why Grady describes them as 'primary'. The key distinction between target and source in Grady's theory is that primary source concepts relate to sensory-perceptual experience, while primary target concepts relate to *subjective responses* to sensory-perceptual experience. This is reminiscent of the distinction between imagistic experience and introspective experience that we introduced in Chapter 6.

9.4.2 Experiential correlation

If primary target and primary source concepts are equally 'basic' which renders the Invariance Principle redundant, what motivates their association? Grady

maintains the assumption fundamental to Conceptual Metaphor Theory that there is an experiential basis for primary metaphor formation. However, in Grady's theory there must be a clear and direct experiential basis: an **experiential correlation**. Consider again the examples in (16), repeated here:

(16) a. The price of shares is *going up*.
b. She got a *high* score on her exam.

In our earlier discussion of these examples, we observed that QUANTITY and HEIGHT correlate in experiential terms. This experience provides the basis for the conventional association between the concepts QUANTITY and VERTICAL ELEVATION. In this respect, Grady provides a more principled theory of the experiential basis of conceptual metaphor, linking this directly to the licensing of metaphorical mappings.

9.4.3 Motivating primary metaphors

Like the more general framework of Conceptual Metaphor Theory, Primary Metaphor Theory assumes that primary metaphors are unidirectional. However, because primary metaphors involve the association of a target and a source that are equally basic and are derived from real and directly apprehended experiences, there must be a different explanation for the unidirectionality: for what makes a source a source and a target a target. Recall that the earlier view in Conceptual Metaphor Theory was that target concepts (or domains) were more abstract than the source concept (or domain), and that the source provided the target with structure that made it possible to think and talk about these abstract concepts.

In Primary Metaphor Theory, the mapping from source to target is explained in the following terms: because primary target concepts relate to subjective responses, they operate at a level of cognitive processing to which we have low conscious access. Primary target concepts are responses and evaluations, which derive from background operations (an idea that we illustrate below). According to this view, the function of primary metaphor is to structure primary target concepts in terms of sensory images in order to foreground otherwise backgrounded cognitive operations. This is achieved by employing source concepts that are more accessible because they relate to sensory rather than subjective experience. Primary source concepts, which derive from external sensory experience, are said to have **image content** while primary target concepts, which are more evaluative and hence subjective in nature, are said to have **response content**.

Recall example (25), which illustrates the primary metaphor SIMILARITY IS NEARNESS. The target concept SIMILARITY relates to a covert (background) process of evaluation that is intrinsic to judgement. For instance, when we look

at two people's faces and judge that they have similar appearances and might therefore be members of the same family, the cognitive operations that allow us to identify these similarities are part of the background. What is important or salient to us are the faces themselves and our resulting judgement of their similarity. While the concept NEARNESS is derived from sensory experience, the concept SIMILARITY relates to a subjective evaluation produced by mechanisms that are typically covert, or at least operate at a relatively low level of conscious access.

9.4.4 Distinguishing primary and compound metaphors

Recall that Grady proposes that there are two types of conceptual metaphor: primary metaphor and compound metaphor. In this section, we examine how primary metaphor and compound metaphor are distinguished in Grady's theory and how the two interact. This discussion is based on Grady's (1997b) investigation of the conceptual metaphor THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS, originally proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). The following examples are used by Lakoff and Johnson as evidence for the metaphor:

> Is that the *foundation* for your theory? The theory needs more *support*. The argument is *shaky*. We need some more facts or the argument will *fall apart*. We need to *construct* a *strong* argument for that. I haven't figured out yet what the *form* of the argument will be. Here are some more facts to *shore up* the theory. We need to *buttress* the theory with *solid* arguments. The theory will *stand* or *fall* on the *strength* of that argument. The argument *collapsed*. They *exploded* his latest theory. We will show that theory to be without *foundation*. So far we have put together only the *framework* of the theory. (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 46)

According to Grady, THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS fails as an instance of primary metaphor according to three criteria, and must therefore be considered an example of compound metaphor. We consider each of these criteria below.

Association of complex domains

Primary metaphors are simple. As Grady (n.d. 5/30) puts it, 'they refer to simple aspects or dimensions of subjective experience, not confined to any particular, rich domain, but crosscutting these domains; not associated with particular, rich, scenarios but inhering within broad categories of scenarios.' In other words, primary metaphors relate two 'simple' concepts from distinct domains. In contrast, compound metaphors relate entire complex domains of experience, like THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS. Figure 9.1, in which the small

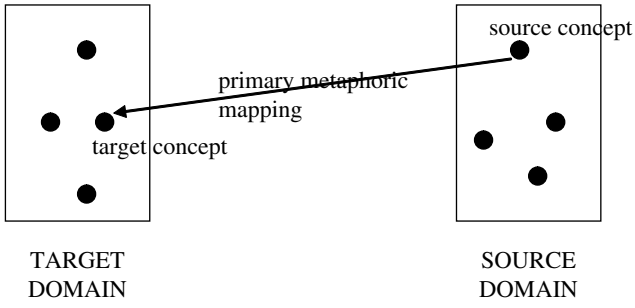

Figure 9.1 Primary metaphor

circles represent distinct concepts, illustrates the idea that primary metaphors link distinct concepts from distinct domains rather than linking entire domains. Since both THEORIES and ARGUMENTS are relatively complex and rich in detail, they do not qualify as primary target and source concepts, respectively. A consequence of the view that primary source and target concepts are associated by virtue of experiential correlations arising from human physiology and a shared environment is that primary metaphors are likely to represent **cross-linguistic universals**. In contrast, because compound metaphors arise from more detailed and specific knowledge structure, they are more likely to be culture-dependent. This theory predicts that communities with a significantly different material culture from that of the West (for example, nomadic tent-dwellers or cave-dwellers) would be unlikely to employ the metaphor THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS, but might instead structure the concept THEORIES in terms of some other culturally salient concept.

Poverty of mapping

Further evidence that the THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS metaphor does not qualify as a primary metaphor relates to what Grady calls poverty of mapping. Because primary metaphors relate to relatively simple knowledge structures – in other words, concepts rather than conceptual domains – they are expected to contain no **mapping gaps**. In other words, because a primary metaphor maps one single concept onto another, there is no part of either concept that is 'missing' from the mapping. Indeed, it is difficult to imagine how primary source concepts like MOTION, FORCE and SIZE could be broken down into component parts in the first place.

In contrast, the compound metaphor THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS relies upon two complex conceptual domains, each of which can be can be broken down into component parts. For example, BUILDINGS have WINDOWS, TENANTS and RENT, among other associated concepts, yet these components fail to map onto the target concept, as the examples in (31) illustrate (Grady 1997b: 270).

(31) a. ?This theory has French windows.
b. ?The tenants of her theory are behind in their rent.

The occurrence of 'mapping gaps' reveals that THEORIES and BUILDINGS do not qualify as the basic or simple concepts that are associated in primary metaphors.

Lack of clear experiential basis

Finally, as we have seen, Grady argues that primary metaphors emerge from a clear experiential basis. Clearly, the metaphorical association between THEORIES and BUILDINGS lacks this experiential basis: we can hardly claim that theories and buildings are closely correlated with one another in our everyday experience of the world. Although we often discuss theories in buildings, buildings are only incidentally associated with theories: we might just as easily discuss theories outdoors, in a tent or on a boat.

In conclusion, since THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS lacks the characteristics of primary metaphor, Grady concludes that it represents an instance of compound metaphor. Grady suggests that this particular compound metaphor derives from the unification of two primary metaphors. This is illustrated in Figure 9.2.

According to Grady, this unification combines two independently motivated primary metaphors: PERSISTING IS REMAINING UPRIGHT and ORGANISATION IS PHYSICAL STRUCTURE. Their unification licenses the complex metaphor THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS. The salient characteristics of THEORIES are that they have relatively complex organisation, based on models, hypotheses, premises, evidence and conclusions. Moreover, a good

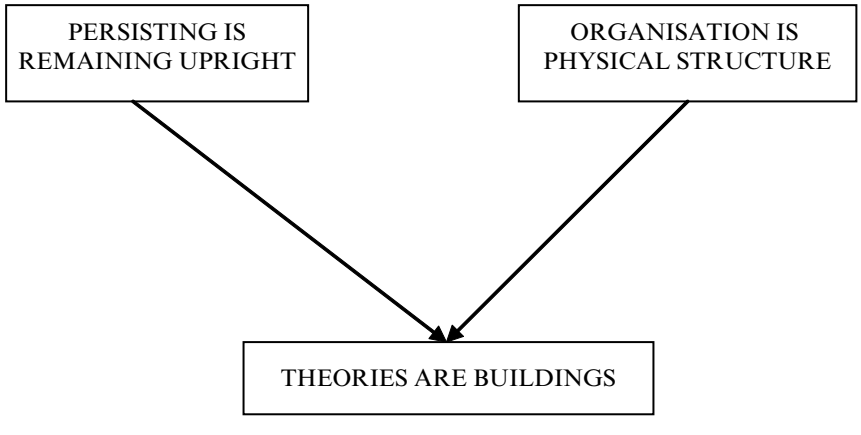

Figure 9.2 Compound metaphor

Table 9.3 Mappings for AN ABSTRACT ORGANISED ENTITY IS AN UPRIGHT PHYSICAL OBJECT

Target: ABSTRACT ORGANISED ENTITY	mappings	Source: UPRIGHT PHYSICAL OBJECT
Complex abstract entity	→	Complex physical object
Abstract constituents of the entity	→	Physical parts
Logical relations among constituents	→	Physical arrangement of parts
Persistence	→	Verticality
Asymmetrical dependence	→	Support

theory is one that stands the test of time. Two salient characteristics associated with BUILDINGS are they remain upright for a long time and have complex physical structure. In other words, the salient characteristics that unite THEORIES and BUILDINGS are exactly those found as target and source in the two more foundational primary metaphors PERSISTING IS REMAINING UPRIGHT and ORGANISATION IS PHYSICAL STRUCTURE. Grady argues that we conceptualise THEORIES in terms of buildings because, in our culture, buildings are a particularly salient – indeed prototypical – form of physical structure that is both upright and complex in structure. Furthermore, Grady accounts for 'mapping gaps' on the basis that only salient parts of the physical structure of buildings are licensed to map onto the target: although we know that BUILDINGS have WINDOWS and OCCUPANTS, these do not perform a supporting function within the physical structure of the building and are therefore unlicensed to map onto the target. Table 9.3 lists the licensed mappings that Grady provides for the unified compound metaphor THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS, which might more generally be called AN ABSTRACT ORGANISED ENTITY IS AN UPRIGHT PHYSICAL OBJECT.

Finally, the ability to construct compound metaphors has been argued to facilitate the process of **concept elaboration** (Evans 2004a), an idea that we discussed in Chapter 3. According to this perspective, the nature and scope of concepts can be developed and extended through the conventional association between (lexical) concepts and imagery. In other words, when the concept THEORY is elaborated via mechanisms like conceptual metaphor, the conceptual metaphor serves as a vehicle for **conceptual evolution** (Musolff 2004). This explanation for why concepts like THEORY are associated with metaphor provides an alternative to the argument that it is the abstract nature of concepts that motivates metaphor.

9.5 What is metonymy?

In *Metaphors We Live By*, Lakoff and Johnson pointed out that, in addition to metaphor, there is a related conceptual mechanism that is also central to human

thought and language: **conceptual metonymy**. Like metaphor, metonymy has traditionally been analysed as a trope: a purely linguistic device. However, Lakoff and Johnson argued that metonymy, like metaphor, was conceptual in nature. In recent years, a considerable amount of research has been devoted to metonymy. Indeed, some scholars have begun to suggest that metonymy may be more fundamental to conceptual organisation than metaphor, and some have gone so far as to claim that metaphor itself has a metonymic basis, as we will see. Here, we present an overview of the research in cognitive semantics that has been devoted to this topic.

The earliest approach to conceptual metonymy in cognitive semantics was developed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). They argued that, like metaphor, metonymy is a conceptual phenomenon, but one that has quite a distinct basis. Consider example (32).

(32) The ham sandwich has wandering hands.

Imagine that the sentence in (32) is uttered by one waitress to another in a café. This use of the expression *ham sandwich* represents an instance of metonymy: two entities are associated so that one entity (the item the customer ordered) stands for the other (the customer). As this example demonstrates, linguistic metonymy is **referential** in nature: it relates to the use of expressions to 'pin-point' entities in order to talk about them. This shows that metonymy functions differently from metaphor. For example (32) to be metaphorical we would need to understand *ham sandwich* not as an expression referring to the customer who ordered it, but in terms of a food item with human qualities. Imagine a cartoon, for example, in which a ham sandwich sits at a café table. On this interpretation, we would be attributing human qualities to a ham sandwich, motivated by the metaphor AN INANIMATE ENTITY IS AN AGENT. As these two quite distinct interpretations show, while metonymy is the conceptual relation 'X stands for Y', metaphor is the conceptual relation 'X understood in terms of Y'.

A further defining feature of metonymy pointed out by Lakoff and Johnson is that it is motivated by physical or causal associations. Traditionally, this was expressed in terms of **contiguity**: a close or direct relationship between two entites. This explains why the waitress can use the expression *the ham sandwich* to refer to the customer: there is a direct experiential relationship between the ham sandwich and the customer who ordered it.

A related way of viewing metonymy is that metonymy is often **contingent** on a specific context. Within a specific discourse context, a salient vehicle **activates** and thus highlights a particular target. Hence, while correlation-based (as opposed to resemblance-based) metaphors are pre-conceptual in origin and are therefore in some sense inevitable associations (motivated by

the nature of our bodies and our environment), conceptual metonymies are motivated by communicative and referential requirements.

Finally, Lakoff and Turner (1989) added a further component to the cognitive semantic view of metonymy. They pointed out that metonymy, unlike metaphor, is not a cross-domain mapping, but instead allows one entity to stand for another because both concepts coexist within the same domain. This explains why a metonymic relationship is based on contiguity or conceptual 'proximity'. The reason *ham sandwich* in (32) represents an instance of metonymy is because both the **target** (the customer) and the **vehicle** (the ham sandwich) belong to the same CAFÉ domain. Kövecses and Radden summarise this view of metonymy as follows:

> Metonymy is a cognitive process in which one conceptual entity, the vehicle, provides mental access to another conceptual entity, the target, within the same domain, or ICM. (Kövecses and Radden 1998: 39)

Observe that Kövecses and Radden frame the notion of metonymy in terms of **access** rather than mapping. Indeed, other scholars have suggested that metonymy might be usefully considered in terms of a mapping process that **activates** or **highlights** a certain aspect of a domain (for discussion see Barcelona 2003b; Croft 1993). From this perspective, metonymy provides a 'route' of access for a particular target within a single domain. For example, while it is not usual to describe a human in terms of food, from the perspective of a waitress, the food ordered may be more salient than the customer. For this reason, the food ordered 'activates' the customer sitting at a particular table in the café.

Metonymies are represented by the formula 'B for A', where 'B' is the vehicle and 'A' is the target, e.g. PLACE FOR INSTITUTION. This contrasts with the 'A is B' formula that represents conceptual metaphor. For instance, in example (33) *Buckingham Palace* is the vehicle (PLACE) which stands for the BRITISH MONARCHY, the target (INSTITUTION):

(33) Buckingham Palace denied the rumours.

This utterance is an example of the metonymy PLACE FOR INSTITUTION. Figure 9.3 illustrates the distinction between conceptual metaphor and conceptual metonymy.

There are a number of distinct kinds of metonymy that have been identified in the cognitive semantics literature. We briefly illustrate some of these below. In each of the following examples, the vehicle is italicised.

(34) PRODUCER FOR PRODUCT
  a. I've just bought a new *Citröen*.

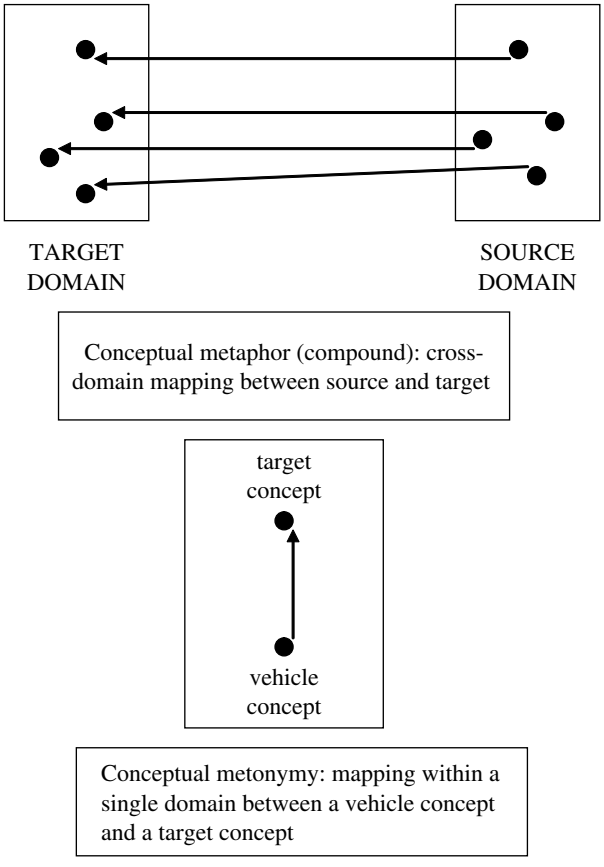

Figure 9.3 Comparison between metaphor and metonymy

b. Pass me the *Shakespeare* on the top shelf.
c. She likes eating *Burger King*.

(35) PLACE FOR EVENT
a. *Iraq* nearly cost Tony Blair the premiership.
b. American public opinion fears another *Vietnam*.
c. Let's hope that *Beijing* will be as successful an Olympics as *Athens*.

(36) PLACE FOR INSTITUTION
a. *Downing street* refused comment.
b. *Paris* and *Washington* are having a spat.
c. *Europe* has upped the stakes in the trade war with the *United States*.

(37) PART FOR WHOLE
a. My *wheels* are parked out the back.

b. Lend me *a hand*.
c. She's not just a *pretty face*.

(38) WHOLE FOR PART
a. *England* beat *Australia* in the 2003 rugby World Cup final.
b. *The European Union* has just passed new human rights legislation.
c. *My car* has developed a mechanical fault.

(39) EFFECT FOR CAUSE
a. He has *a long face*.
b. He has *a spring in his step* today.
c. Her *face is beaming*.

While most of the examples of metonymy we have considered so far relate to noun phrases, metonymic vehicles are not restricted to individual lexical items. For instance, Panther and Thornburg (2003) have argued that indirect speech acts represent instances of metonymy. Consider example (40):

(40) Can you pass the salt?

Recall from Chapter 1 that a speech act is an utterance that performs a (linguistic) action. The example in (40) is 'indirect' because it counts as a conventional way of making a request, but does so 'via' a question about the ability of the addressee to carry out the action (signalled by the interrogative form of the clause), rather than making the request directly (by using an imperative clause like *Pass me the salt*). Panther and Thornburg argue that indirect speech acts are metonymic, in that the question stands for the request. In other words, the ability to perform the action is a necessary prerequisite (or 'felicity condition') for a request to be carried out (Searle 1969), and a question about this ability stands for the request itself.

9.6 Conceptual metonymy

As we have seen, cognitive semanticists argue that metonymy, like conceptual metaphor, is not a purely linguistic device but is central to human thought. Indeed, we have already seen some non-linguistic instances of metonymy; these were illustrated in the previous chapter, where we discussed Lakoff's claims concerning the metonymic function of idealised cognitive models (ICMs) which give rise to prototype effects. According to Lakoff's theory of cognitive models, ideals, stereotypes and salient examples can metonymically represent an entire category. In this section, we look in more detail at the explanations that cognitive linguists have proposed in order to account for metonymy as a conceptual phenomenon.

9.6.1 Metonymy as an access mechanism

We noted above that Kövecses and Radden define metonymy in terms of the conceptual access it affords. This idea is based on proposals made by Langacker (1993: 30) who argues that 'the entity that is normally designated by a metonymic expression serves as a reference point affording mental access to the desired target (that is, the entity actually being referred to)'. In other words, metonymy serves as point of access to a particular aspect of a domain and thus provides access to the target concept. Furthermore, each vehicle provides a different route into the relevant conceptual domain.

According to Croft (1993), a target is accessed within a domain as a result of **domain highlighting**. Croft takes as his starting point the encyclopaedic view of meaning and adopts Langacker's theory of domains (see Chapter 7). Recall that Langacker's theory holds that a concept profile is understood with respect to a domain matrix: the range of domains that contribute to our ultimate understanding of the concept. This accounts for the fact that lexical items relate to potentially huge knowledge structures. Croft's proposal is that, from the perspective of encyclopaedic semantics, metonymy functions by highlighting one domain within a concept's domain matrix. Thus a particular usage of a lexical concept can highlight distinct domains within the concept's domain matrix on different occasions. Consider the following examples drawn from Croft (1993):

(41) a. Proust spent most of his time in bed.
b. Proust is tough to read.

Part of the domain matrix associated with Marcel Proust is that he was a man known for particular habits relating to how much time he spent in bed. This is knowledge about Proust the man. Another aspect of the domain matrix relates to Proust's literary work and his career as a writer. While the expression *Proust* in (41a) highlights the domain for Proust (Proust the man), the expression *Proust* in (41b) highlights the literary work of Proust. Thus, from the perspective of domain matrices, a particular expression can metonymically highlight distinct, albeit related, aspects of our encyclopaedic knowledge relating to Proust.

The claim that metonymy relates to a highlighted domain in a domain matrix does not amount to the claim that metonymy is a cross-domain relationship in the sense intended by metaphor theorists. Clearly, the example in (41b) is still an 'X stands for Y' relation (a metonym) rather than an 'X understood in terms of Y' relation (a metaphor). Croft argues that while metaphor requires an association across two wholly distinct sets of domain matrices, as we have seen, metonymy highlights a particular aspect of a single domain matrix.

9.6.2 Metonymy-producing relationships

The idea that metonymy provides access to (or highlights a particular aspect of) a domain matrix leads to two closely related questions. Firstly, what common patterns of access are there? Secondly, what are good vehicles for access? We address the first of these questions in this section, and the second of these questions in section 9.6.3. Our discussion is based on the study by Kövecses and Radden (1998).

In their paper, Kövecses and Radden examine the kinds of relationships that give rise to the metonymies that occur frequently in language. They observe that there appear to be two main kinds of motivating relationships: (1) those relating to the part–whole organisation of a given domain (or domain matrix) so that parts (or substructures) of a domain represent the entire domain; (2) those involving parts of a domain that stand for other parts. These are illustrated below with just a few examples taken from the extensive taxonomy provided by Kövecses and Radden.

Part–whole, whole–part relationships

(42) WHOLE THING FOR PART OF A THING
America for 'United States'

(43) PART OF A THING FOR THE WHOLE THING
England for 'United Kingdom' [Kövecses and Radden 1998: 50]

(44) A CATEGORY FOR A MEMBER OF THE CATEGORY
The pill for 'birth control pill'

(45) A MEMBER OF A CATEGORY FOR THE CATEGORY
Aspirin for 'any pain-relieving tablet' [Kövecses and Radden 1998: 53]

These examples illustrate that the part–whole structure of a domain provides a 'route' of access via metonymy. A whole entity can be accessed by a part, or a part can be accessed by the entire domain.

Domain part–part relationships

This type of metonymic relationship is illustrated here as it relates to the domain of ACTION which involves INSTRUMENTS, an AGENT, a PATIENT, an end RESULT and so on. These 'parts' or substructures within the domain of ACTION can be metonymically related, as the following examples from Kövecses and Radden (1998: 54–5) illustrate:

(46) INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION
to ski, to shampoo one's hair

(47) AGENT FOR ACTION
to butcher the cow, to author a book

(48) ACTION FOR AGENT
snitch (slang: 'to inform' and 'informer')

(49) OBJECT INVOLVED IN THE ACTION FOR THE ACTION
to blanket the bed

(50) ACTION FOR OBJECT INVOLVED IN THE ACTION
Give me one bite

(51) RESULT FOR ACTION
a screw-up (slang: 'to blunder' and 'blunder')

(52) ACTION FOR RESULT
a deep cut

(53) MEANS FOR ACTION
He sneezed the tissue off the table.

(54) MANNER OF ACTION FOR THE ACTION
She tiptoed to her bed.

(55) TIME PERIOD OF ACTION FOR THE ACTION
to summer in Paris

(56) DESTINATION FOR MOTION
to porch the newspaper

(57) TIME OF MOTION FOR AN ENTITY INVOLVED IN THE MOTION
the 8.40 just arrived

These examples from the domain of ACTION illustrate that a part of the domain can metonymically provide access to another part. Thus, together with the examples relating to part-whole structure of domains, these two sets of examples illustrate the ways in which metonymy provides access within a domain (or domain matrix).

9.6.3 Vehicles for metonymy

Kövecses and Radden (1998) propose a number of cognitive and communicative principles in order to account for the selection of a vehicle for metonymic relationships. In this section, we briefly present two of the cognitive principles:

(1) HUMAN OVER NON-HUMAN; and (2) CONCRETE OVER ABSTRACT. A central aspect of their explanation is that our anthropocentric perspective entails our tendency to privilege human and other humanly relevant entities and attributes for metonymic vehicles. The HUMAN OVER NON-HUMAN principle holds that human vehicles are preferred over non-human vehicles. Examples of metonymy that illustrate this principle include the following:

(58) CONTROLLER FOR CONTROLLED
Schwarzkopf defeated Iraq.

(59) PRODUCER FOR PRODUCT
He's reading Shakespeare.

The CONCRETE OVER ABSTRACT principle holds that concrete vehicles are preferred over abstract vehicles. This principle is illustrated by the following metonymic relationships:

(60) BODILY OVER ACTIONAL
hold your tongue (for 'stop speaking')

(61) BODILY FOR EMOTIONAL
heart (for 'kindness'), e.g. *He's heartless*

(62) BODILY OVER PERCEPTUAL
ear (for 'hearing'), e.g. *lend me your ear*

(63) VISIBLE OVER INVISIBLE
to save one's skin (for 'to save one's life')

The purpose of these principles is to provide generalisations that account for the vehicles that provide a basis for metonymy in language. Although we do not elaborate further, Table 9.4 summarises the principles proposed by Kövecses and Radden.

9.7 Metaphor-metonymy interaction

We have seen that metaphor and metonymy are viewed by cognitive linguists as conceptual processes that contribute to providing structure to the human conceptual system. According to this view, metaphor and metonymy as they appear in language are reflections of the organisation of the underlying conceptual system. Given that metaphor and metonymy are both conceptual phenomena, and given that they may in principle both relate to the same conceptual domains, questions arise concerning the interaction of metaphor and metonymy within the conceptual system. We therefore conclude this

Table 9.4 Constraints on possible vehicles in metonymy (Kövecses and Radden 1998)

Cognitive principles
Human experience
HUMAN OVER NON-HUMAN
CONCRETE OVER ABSTRACT
INTERACTIONAL OVER NON-INTERACTIONAL
FUNCTIONAL OVER NON-FUNCTIONAL
Perceptual selectivity
IMMEDIATE OVER NON-IMMEDIATE
OCCURRENT OVER NON-OCCURRENT
MORE OVER LESS
DOMINANT OVER LESS DOMINANT
GOOD GESTALT OVER POOR GESTALT
BOUNDED OVER UNBOUNDED
SPECIFIC OVER GENERIC
Cultural preferences
STEREOTYPICAL OVER NON-STEREOTYPICAL
IDEAL OVER NON-IDEAL
TYPICAL OVER NON-TYPICAL
CENTRAL OVER PERIPHERAL
BASIC OVER NON-BASIC
IMPORTANT OVER LESS IMPORTANT
COMMON OVER LESS COMMON
RARE OVER LESS RARE
Communicative principles
CLEAR OVER LESS CLEAR
RELEVANT OVER IRRELEVANT

chapter with a brief discussion of the ways in which metaphor and metonymy interact.

Metaphtonymy

In an important article, Goossens (1990) presented an analysis of the way in which metaphor and metonymy interact. He calls this phenomenon **metaphtonymy**. Goossens identified a number of logically possible ways in which metaphor and metonymy could potentially interact; however, he found that only two of these logically possible interactions were commonly attested.

The first way in which metaphor and metonymy interact is called **metaphor from metonymy**. In this form of interaction, a metaphor is grounded in a metonymic relationship. For example, the expression *close-lipped* can mean

'silent', which follows from metonymy: when one has one's lips closed, one is (usually) silent, therefore to describe someone as *close-lipped* can stand metonymically for silence. However, *close-lipped* can also mean 'speaking but giving little away'. This interpretation is metaphoric, because we understand the absence of meaningful information in terms of silence. Goossens argues that the metaphoric interpretation has a metonymic basis in that it is only because being closed-lipped can stand for silence that the metaphoric reading is possible: thus metaphor from metonymy.

The second common form of interaction is called **metonymy within metaphor**. Consider the following example adapted from Goossens (1990):

(64) She caught the Prime Minister's ear and persuaded him to accept her plan

This example is licensed by the metaphor ATTENTION IS A MOVING PHYSICAL ENTITY, according to which ATTENTION is understood as a MOVING ENTITY that has to be 'caught' (the minister's ear). However, within this metaphor there is also the metonymy EAR FOR ATTENTION, in which EAR is the body part that functions as the vehicle for the concept of ATTENTION in the metaphor. In this example, the metonym is 'inside' the metaphor.

The metonymic basis of metaphor

According to some cognitive semanticists (e.g. Barcelona 2003c; Taylor 2003), metonymy is an operation that may be more fundamental to the human conceptual system than metaphor. Barcelona (2003c: 31) goes so far as to suggest that 'every metaphorical mapping presupposes a prior metonymic mapping.' One obvious way in which metaphor might have a metonymic basis relates to the idea of experiential correlation that we discussed earlier. As we saw, primary metaphors are argued to be motivated by experiential correlation. Yet, as Radden (2003b) and Taylor (2003) have pointed out, correlation is fundamentally metonymic in nature. For example, when height correlates with quantity, as when fluid is poured into a glass, greater height literally corresponds to an increase in quantity. When this correlation is applied to more abstract domains, such as HIGH PRICES, we have a metaphor from metonymy, in the sense of Goossens. Indeed, as Barcelona argues, given the claim that primary metaphors underpin more complex compound metaphors and the claim that primary metaphors have a metonymic basis, it follows that all metaphor is ultimately motivated by metonymy.

However, although Taylor (1995: 139) has observed that 'It is tempting to see all metaphorical associations as being grounded in metonymy', he observes some counter-examples to this thesis. These include so-called

synaesthetic metaphors, in which one sensory domain is understood in terms of another, as in *loud colour*. Examples like these are problematic for the thesis that all metaphor is grounded in metonymy because there does not appear to be a tight correlation in experience between LOUDNESS and COLOUR that motivates the metaphor. Barcelona (2003c) argues that even metaphors like these can be shown to have a metonymic basis. He suggests that the metaphor that licenses expressions like *loud colour* relate not to the entire domain of SOUND as the source domain, but to a SUBDOMAIN which he calls DEVIANT SOUNDS. In this respect, Barcelona's treatment of metonymy is consonant with Croft's. According to Barcelona, these sounds are deviant because they deviate from a norm and thus attract involuntary attention. This provides the metonymic basis of the metaphor: there is a tight correlation in experience between deviant (or loud) sounds and the attraction of attention, so that a deviant sound can metonymycally represent attraction of involuntary attention. For this reason, the subdomain of deviant sounds can be metaphorically employed to understand deviant colours which also attract involuntary attention.

9.8 Summary

In this chapter we discussed two kinds of conceptual projection, **conceptual metaphor** and **conceptual metonymy**, both introduced by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) in their development of **Conceptual Metaphor Theory**. As we have seen, cognitive linguists view metaphor and metonymy as more than superficial linguistic 'devices'. According to the cognitive view, both these operations are conceptual in nature. While metaphor **maps** structure from one domain onto another, metonymy is a mapping operation that **highlights** one entity by referring to another entity within the same domain (or domain matrix). In earlier versions of Conceptual Metaphor Theory, metaphor was thought to be motivated by the need to provide relatively abstract target domains with structure derived from more concrete source domains. More recently, the theory of **primary metaphor** has challenged this view, arguing that a foundational subset of conventional metaphors – primary metaphors – serve to link equally basic concepts at the cognitive level. According to this theory, primary target concepts are no less experiential than primary source concepts, since both primary target concepts and primary source concepts are directly experienced. However, primary target concepts are less consciously accessible than primary source concepts because they relate to background cognitive operations and processes. Due to correlations in experience, primary source concepts come to be associated pre-linguistically with primary target concepts in predictable ways. The cognitive function of metaphor, according to this theory, is to **foreground** otherwise background operations. Moreover,

primary metaphors can be unified in order to provide more complex conceptual mappings called **compound metaphors**. In contrast to metaphor, metonymy appears to be the result of contextually motivated patterns of **activation** that map **vehicle** and **target** within a single source domain. Within a specific discourse context, a salient vehicle activates and thus highlights a particular **target**. Hence, while **correlation-based** (as opposed to **resemblance-based**) metaphors are pre-conceptual in origin and are thus in some sense inevitable associations (motivated by the nature of our bodies and our environment), conceptual metonymies are motivated by communicative and referential requirements and the 'routes' of access that they provide to a particular target within a single domain.

Further reading

As noted in the text, Conceptual Metaphor Theory was one of the earliest coherent frameworks to have emerged in Cognitive Semantics. Consequently, there is a vast literature devoted to this topic, as reflected in the nature and breadth of the sources listed here.

Introductory textbook

- **Kövecses (2001)**. A useful introductory overview of Conceptual Metaphor Theory by one of its leading proponents.

Key texts in the development of Conceptual Metaphor Theory

- **Gibbs (1994)**
- **Gibbs and Steen (1999)**
- **Lakoff (1990)**
- **Lakoff (1993)**
- **Lakoff and Johnson (1980)**
- **Lakoff and Johnson (1999)**

The foundational text is the extremely accessible 1980 book by Lakoff and Johnson. An updated and more extended version is presented in their 1999 book. The 1994 book by Gibbs provides an excellent review of the relevant literature relating to experimental evidence for Conceptual Metaphor Theory. The 1999 Gibbs and Steen book provides a collection of articles representing contemporary metaphor research. There is also a 1994 list of metaphors, 'The Master Metaphor List', compiled by Lakoff and his students, available on the Internet: http://cogsci.berkeley.edu/MetaphorHome.html.

Applications of metaphor theory

- **Chilton and Lakoff (1995)**
- **Cienki (1999)**
- **Johnson (1994)**
- **Kövecses (2000)**
- **Lakoff (1991)**
- **Lakoff (2002)**
- **Lakoff and Núñez (2000)**
- **Nerlich, Johnson and Clarke (2003)**
- **Sweetser (1990)**

This (non-exhaustive) list provides a flavour of the range and diversity of applications to which Conceptual Metaphor Theory has been put. Lakoff has applied metaphor theory to politics (1991, 2002), as have Chilton and Lakoff in their 1995 paper. Metaphor theory has also been applied to gesture (Cienki), semantic change (Sweetser), morality (Johnson), mathematics (Lakoff and Núñez) and media discourse (Nerlich *et al*.).

Conceptual metaphor and literature

- **Freeman (2003)**
- **Lakoff and Turner (1989)**
- **Turner (1991)**
- **Turner (1996)**

Mark Turner has been a leading pioneer both in the development of Conceptual Metaphor Theory and in its application to literature, giving rise to the related areas of Cognitive Poetics and cognitive stylistics. His 1996 book is an accessible presentation of the cognitive basis of literature, and the 1989 Lakoff and Turner book develops a theory of and methodology for the investigation of poetic metaphor. Cognitive Poetics, which has its roots in Conceptual Metaphor Theory, is introduced in two companion volumes: Stockwell (2002) and Gavins and Steen (2003). An excellent overview is presented in the volume edited by Semino and Culpeper (2003), which provides a collection of articles by leading literary scholars who apply insights from cognitive linguistics in general, including Conceptual Metaphor Theory, to literary and stylistic analysis.

Primary metaphor theory

- **Grady (1997a)**
- **Grady (1997b)**

- **Grady (1998)**
- **Grady (1999)**
- **Grady and Johnson (2000)**
- **Grady, Taub and Morgan (1996)**

A good place to begin is Grady's (1997b) paper. A more detailed treatment is offered in his (1997a) doctoral thesis.

Other views on metaphor

This section lists some sources that address many of the concerns associated with 'classic' Conceptual Metaphor Theory but either take issue with aspects of the approach and/or present competing accounts.

- **Evans (2004a).** This study investigates how we experience and conceptualise time. Evans argues that TIME represents a more complex conceptual system than is typically assumed by conceptual metaphor theorists, particularly within Primary Metaphor Theory.
- **Haser (2005).** In this important and compelling book-length review of Lakoff and Johnson's work, Haser provides a close reading and examination of the philosophical underpinnings of Conceptual Metaphor Theory. She concludes that much of the philosophical basis is extremely shaky and the theory itself is, in certain key respects, not convincing.
- **Leezenberg (2001).** In this book-length treatment, Leezenberg emphasises the context-dependent nature of metaphoric interpretations, a point which plays little part in the Lakoff and Johnson account.
- **Murphy (1996).** Presents an influential critique of early metaphor theory, including problems with the Invariance Principle.
- **Ortony (1993).** This volume, which includes an essay by George Lakoff, presents an excellent overview of the diverse traditions and approaches that have investigated metaphor.
- **Stern (2000).** Presents a critique of Conceptual Metaphor Theory that focuses on its lack of attention to the context-sensitive nature of metaphor.
- **Zinken, Hellsten and Nerlich (forthcoming)**. This paper argues that Conceptual Metaphor Theory has traditionally paid little attention to the situatedness of metaphor. In introducing the notion of **discourse metaphor**, the authors argue that culture-specific discourse-based metaphors may not derive from 'more basic' experientially-grounded primary metaphors but may co-evolve with the cultures in which they are used.

Conceptual metonymy

- **Kövecses and Radden (1998).** One of the first serious attempts to provide a detailed and carefully articulated theory of metonymy within cognitive semantics.
- **Panther and Thornburg (2003).** This edited volume brings together a number of important papers on the relationship between metonymy and inferencing, including articles by Panther and Thornburg, Coulson and Oakley, and Barcelona.
- **Radden and Panther (1999).** This book is an edited volume that brings together leading scholars in the field of conceptual metonymy.

Comparing metaphor and metonymy

- **Barcelona (2000); Dirven and Pörings (2002).** Both these volumes compare and contrast conceptual metaphor and conceptual metonymy. The Dirven and Pörings volume reproduces influential articles on the topic of metaphor and metonymy; see in particular the articles by Croft, and by Grady and Johnson. The Barcelona volume includes an excellent introduction by Barcelona, together with his own article in the volume which claims that all metaphors have a metonymic basis.

Exercises

9.1 Conceptual Metaphor Theory

Summarise the key claims of Conceptual Metaphor Theory.

9.2 Identifying mappings

The following sentences are motivated by the metaphor TIME IS (MOTION ALONG) A PATH, which relates to the moving ego model that we introduced in Chapter 3. Following the model provided in Table 9.1, identify the set of mappings underlying these examples.

(a) We're approaching Christmas.
(b) Graduation is still a long way away.
(c) Easter is ahead of us.
(d) We've left the summer behind us.
(e) When he was a boy he used to play football over the summer vacation. Now he has to work.

9.3 Identifying metaphors

Identify the metaphors that underlie these examples. Identify possible source and target domains, and state the metaphor in the form 'A is B'.

(a) That marriage is on the rocks.
(b) This once great country has become weaker over the years.
(c) In defending her point of view she took no prisoners.
(d) Those two are still quite close.
(e) We've got a big day ahead of us tomorrow.
(f) A different species is going extinct everyday.

9.4 Primary vs. compound metaphors

For the metaphors you identified in exercise 9.3, determine whether these are likely to be examples of primary or compound metaphor. In view of the discussion in section 9.4, explain your reasoning for each example.

9.5. Correlation vs. resemblance-based metaphors

Consider the following examples. Explain how the metaphors that underlie them illustrate the distinction between metaphors motivated by **correlation** versus metaphors motivated by **perceived resemblance**:

(a) My boss is a real pussycat.
(b) So far, things are going smoothly for the Liberal Democrats in the election campaign.

9.6 Metaphor vs. metonymy

Describe the main differences between conceptual metaphor and conceptual metonymy, and explain how the function of each type of conceptual projection differs.

9.7 Identifying metonymies

Identify the conceptual metonymies that underlie each of the following examples. For each example, identify the vehicle and the target, and explain how you reached your conclusions.

(a) George Bush arrested Saddam Hussein.
(b) The White House is refusing to talk to the Elysée Palace these days while the Kremlin is talking to everyone.

(c) Watergate continues to have a lasting impact on American politics.
(d) She loves Picasso.
(e) The restaurant refused to serve the couple as they weren't properly dressed.
(f) She xeroxed the page.
(g) Jane has a long face.
(h) She's not just a pretty face.
(i) All hands on deck!

9.8. Textual analysis

Select an excerpt from a newspaper or magazine article. Analyse the excerpt with respect to conceptual metaphor and metonymy. Identify the source/vehicle and target in each case, and explain your reasoning. Below are some examples of the sorts of texts you might consider selecting:

(a) an article from a woman's interest magazine relating to make-up and beauty products;
(b) an example from a men's magazine dealing with health and/or fitness;
(c) an article from a newspaper relating to sports coverage, such as rivalry between football teams or their managers;
(d) an article from a newspaper's 'opinion/comment' page(s), dealing with a current political controversy;
(e) an excerpt from an agony-aunt column dealing with relationships;
(f) a pop-song lyric dealing with love;
(g) slogans or text from advertisements that appear in newspapers or magazines.