

The Metaphors of Mad Men

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Abstract

This paper analyses an excerpt from the TV drama 'Mad Men' to uncover the communicative and cognitive functions performed by the metaphors of the text.

Three methods of data collection were compared for their effectiveness in harvesting metaphors. These were: a Discourse Dynamic Approach, the Use Informant Data and PRAGGLEJAZ MIP. The metaphors from the process judged to be optimal, for this kind of interpretive analysis, were analysed using an original combination of theories and frameworks to explore the communicative intent of the text.

The analysis uncovered a densely packed network of interconnected metaphors, linked thematically to deliver a central message to the addressee. This underlying message could be said to be the *pervasive* metaphor of the text - it is the construct which all other metaphors and indeed the literal text serve to support. Moreover, in decoding this meaning it also became apparent just how important cultural background knowledge is for understand this kind of multi-layered figurative language.

Keywords: Metaphor, Metonym, Advertising, Mad Men, Metaphor Identification Processes (MIP).

1 Introduction

This study will undertake an interpretative metaphor analysis of text taken from a scene in 'Mad Men', which is a TV drama set in an advertising agency in 1960's New York. The analysis was conducted by a single researcher within a limited time scale and it was these limitations that gave rise to the first question that the study sought to answer, namely: what is the most appropriate method of metaphor collection for this type of investigation?

To explore this, three methods of metaphor identification were trialled: the Discourse Dynamic Approach, described by Cameron (2010), the PRAGGLEJAZ Metaphor Identification Process (MIP) (PRAGGLEJAZ Group, 2007) and the Use of Informant Data. The intent was not to provide a comprehensive assessment of each method, as this would require a full research paper in its own right, but to conduct a time efficient appraisal as to which method would be optimal for this kind of study.

This then lead onto the second question, which was: how can this type of text be analysed for its communicative intent? The text type was defined as a 'scene' length work of fiction (which could be rendered as a written text). Here, 'scene' is used in a non-technical sense to correspond to the

natural breaks in TV and film where the focus moves from one situation to another; or a comparable section of a novel, play or poem, for example.

So finally, the last question was then: what is the communicative intent of this particular text? Initially, it appeared that the scene was operating simultaneously on multiple levels. So, it was necessary to create an analytical framework (drawing on the work of numerous scholars) that could contextualise the text in the world of the drama and the world of the audience, as well as the socio-cultural setting to which the metaphors allude. This wider context was shown, by the informant data, to be particularly important in understanding the rich complex metaphors used in the piece.

The assumption informing this study was that the analysis would be able to distil a satirical message contained within the scene; and that the process of unveiling this message would illustrate the multi-layered networks of meaning at the centre the text. Furthermore, it would demonstrate how metaphor could be employed to circumvent the rational systems of individuals and deliver concealed messages to subtly shape thought and action.

So, in the following sections, there will first be a review of terminology, analytical frameworks and metaphor identification processes. From these conclusions, the metaphors will be collected from the text and analysed for communicative function, using the methodology outlined in section 2. Finally, these functions will be examined and interpreted to hypothesise that the writers have made a satirical comment on the world of advertising through the use of the metaphors in the text.

2 Terminology

A metaphor can be defined as a figure of speech that describes one item or concept in terms of another unconnected item. They pertain to unrelated semantic fields; one field is usually abstract while the other is usually concrete or physical in nature. In the metaphor they are linked through imaginative, figurative comparison (Cameron, 2010; Carter, 1998; Gibbs, 1994; Kovecses, 2010 and Littlemore and Low 2006).

The model used in this paper will describe the mechanism of metaphors in terms of *vehicle*, *topic* and *ground* - where the item being described is the *topic*, while the metaphor is the *vehicle* and the means by which the vehicle arrives at the topic (the figurative comparison) is the *ground* (Cameron and Maslen, 2010; Goatly, 1997 and Littlemore and Low, 2006). So, to take the following example:

“He’s a little monster.”

The topic is ‘he’ – the thing being described. The marked part of the sentence, the *vehicle*, is ‘monster’ because he cannot literally be a monster. The sentence compares the boy to a monster in terms of behaviour, which is the *ground*. This metaphor works because it takes the unpleasant behaviour of the topic (the boy) and magnifies it by figuratively comparing it to a much more unpleasant vehicle (a monster), to give a descriptive impact.

This is an example of linguistic metaphor, the type found in everyday discourse. The analysis will also consider the cognitive functions of metaphor in relation to Conceptual Metaphor Theory, as described by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). From this perspective, metaphor is not just the literary

deviation of popular imagination but it is a fundamental facet of human communication. So much so, that individual metaphors map to higher level conceptualisations which order the world not only in terms of communication but also in essential cognitive understanding. So, the linguistic metaphors are, in fact, instantiations of these overarching conceptual metaphors. Lakoff and Johnson (1980: P4) offer the following as one such example:

ARGUMENT IS WAR

From this concept there are recognisable instantiations of the metaphor in everyday language, such as:

- Your claims are *indefensible*
- He *attacked every weak* point in my argument
- I *demolished* his argument

According to Lakoff and Johnson, these are not *just* figures of speech; but as Steen (1994) puts it, they are “figures of thought”, and this is why metaphors are so prevalent in everyday discourse.

Metonymy is another concept that will be employed during the analysis for its capacity to crystallise the themes of the discussion. It can be defined as, the use of one item to refer to another - in the *same* semantic field, with no figurative comparison. That is to say, they are related by meaning, in the context in which they are used (Gibbs, 1994; Kovecses, 2010; Littlemore and Low, 2006), as the following example illustrates:

“The school called today.”

In the sentence, the word school ‘stands in’ for the secretary, teacher or whichever person, within the school, actually made the phone call. The terms are related because the person works in the school and so they are part of the same category, in this context, therefore they can be substituted with no explicit comparison.

The text from ‘Mad Men’ is the scene known as ‘The Carousel’ (Youtube, 2014). It is a multi-modal presentation and as such makes full use of audio and visual modes, which include: diegetic sound (character dialogue and sound effects within the fiction), non-diegetic sound (sound which is external to the characters’ world), still images, moving images and written text. Therefore, the metaphors are not limited to the spoken discourse alone - they can be found within any of these modes or the interactions between them. Forceville (2016) describes visual metaphors in audio-visual artefacts as being cued by images (or sound) on screen. One example of this phenomenon in the ‘Mad Men’ scene is the use of cigarette smoke that periodically wafts over the projection of the main character’s family photographs. From these misty, smoky overlays it is possible to *construe* the metaphor ‘photographs are misty’ and even go a stage further to substitute photographs for its part for whole metonym of ‘memories’ to give the metaphor ‘memories are misty’, meaning that they fade over time. This further cues the linguistic metaphor ‘the mists of time’ or ‘travel through the mist of time’, which is what the advertising executive is doing metaphorically as he views the photos.

This kind of analysis could be insightful but it could also become complicated, idiosyncratic and subjective in construal. In addition, as I will argue, this scene appears to have a carefully crafted communicative intent at its heart, seemingly placed there by its writers. So, the spoken discourse, music and visuals all serve to reinforce that intended message. Therefore, the view was taken that these major themes can be derived from the metaphors in the text alone (as the visual metaphors serve to support the spoken words - as was shown to be the case for the smoke/mist example). So, in the interests of brevity and focus, visual metaphors will not be referenced on this occasion and the analysis will be limited solely to the text and the method of delivering that text.

To analyse the communicative purpose of the metaphors, the framework of Goatly (1997: P148-163) will be used. He proposes a number of functions that metaphors fulfil:

- **Fictional** – to relate to real events through the figurative comparison of a story.
- **Enhancing memorability** – to use novelty or playfulness to highlight messages.
- **Lexical gap filling** – to express something for which there is no existing term available.
- **Explanation and modelling** – to provide examples or illustration.
- **Reconceptualisation** – to propose alternative ways of thinking through metaphor.
- **Argument by analogy** – to provide persuasive impact or power through comparison.
- **Ideology** – to define beliefs or power structures in terms of unrelated concepts.
- **Calls to action** – to compel the interlocutor to complete a task.
- **Expressing emotional attitude** – to provide emotional power through non-literal means.
- **Disguise and decoration** – to entertain or to conceal through colourful, creative language.
- **Cultivation of intimacy** – to produce closeness through shared understanding of metaphors.
- **Humour and games** – to create jokes, riddles and word play, using figurative comparison.
- **Textual structuring** – to give coherence to a text by repeating a metaphorical concept.

Goatly's framework is extensive but Littlemore and Low's (2006a+b) categories of metaphor function, in turn influenced by Bachman's (1990) communicative competence framework, will also be utilised. The functions outlined are:

- **Ideational** - to create, model and explain ideas and concepts.
- **Manipulative** - to persuade using opaque and sometimes coercive methods.
- **Heuristic** - to educate.
- **Imaginative** - to form playful, poetic or novel descriptions.

There are some obvious overlaps with Goatly's model but on occasion it will be useful to refer to this alternative framework for the slight shift in emphasis.

The analysis will be structured into four sections: the field (the subject matter of the discourse), the tenor (the people involved in the discourse) and the mode (the method of communication in the discourse), plus one additional section that gives an overview of the text as a whole. This approach was influenced by the work of Semino (1990) and more specifically the methodological framework employed by Semino, Deignan and Littlemore (2013), which is in turn informed by Halliday and Hasan's (1989) work on register. This structure will help concentrate the discussion on the: who,

what and how of the text; while the frameworks of Goatly (1997) and Littlemore and Low (2006a+b) will give a detailed analysis of the communicative functions of the metaphors within these sections. Before this analysis can be commence though, the metaphors must be selected from the text and it is to this task that the study now turns.

3 Metaphor Identification

The text from 'Mad Men' is transcribed in appendix 1. It is an advertising campaign pitch to executives of the camera company Kodak, by an advertising agency's creative director. The scene is interesting because of its affective and emotional use of language. The lead character skilfully laces his speech with metaphor in order to produce an impact on those he is pitching to, within the context of the drama, but there seems to be a deeper, unstated message, implicitly conveyed to the viewer. The task of this analysis is to uncover this message and, through this text, demonstrate the subtle yet powerful, inter-related functions of metaphor.

The analysis aims to understand the metaphors at a discourse level, through their systematic groupings and their relationships to wider social, cultural and historical contexts. So, the Discourse Dynamic Approach would seem to be the most suitable method. However, as Cameron and Maslen (2010) stress, there are many difficulties that arise when searching for metaphors within discourse, which include: deciding on what exactly constitutes a metaphor; where the boundaries of each metaphor lie; and finally, what level of exhaustiveness is useful for any particular type of analysis. The metaphor identification process to be used for this study must systematically identify metaphoric language and exclude non-metaphoric language while providing lexical items or chunks that are clearly relatable to the co-text, the discourse and the wider social setting.

So, to test the appropriateness of the Discourse Dynamic Approach, for this study, it was trialled against two other methods: PRAGGLEJAZ (MIP) and the Use of Informant Data. The latter was selected because it can gather data from multiple individuals in a relatively accessible manner, while MIP was considered for its systematic and methodical approach.

Specifically, MIP was trialled rather than the updated MIPVU (Steen et al, 2010) because it is less exhaustive and so potentially more time efficient. The updated version of MIP now takes account of direct metaphors (words used in their basic, concrete meaning but made metaphoric by co-text), implicit metaphors (metaphoric ellipses and substitutions, such as pronouns) and new formations (terms which do not yet appear in dictionaries but which may use cross-domain mappings). However, it was most important, for this study, to trial the careful procedural approach to metaphor identification (common to both processes) and to evaluate the usefulness of the output. As both of these goals could be achieved using MIP it was the more basic method that was tested; and so now, it is this review that will begin the trial of the metaphor identification processes.

3.1 Review of PRAGGLEJAZ MIP (Metaphor Identification Process)

This method contrasts the contextual meaning of each lexical item (usually a single word) with the most usual, concrete or physical meaning of that item, using a straightforward dictionary comparison. If the meaning of a lexical item within the text differs from its primary meaning, and these two meanings can be linked by comparison, then the item is marked as metaphoric. This is the essence of the methodology laid out by the PRAGGLEJAZ Group (2007); for a more comprehensive description see appendix 2.

This process was completed by a single researcher, the author, using the Oxford English Dictionary online, to provide the primary contemporary meaning of each lexical item under investigation. The decision-making notes have not been included - results are presented in appendix 3 as summaries of the differences between the dictionary definitions and the contextual meanings.

Optimally, multiple researchers would carry out the MIP process and statistical reliability tests could then be calculated to check the degree of agreement between the researchers' outputs and thus validate the reliability and replicability of the metaphor identification. So, for example, when analysing a sample of the BNC Baby across four registers, MIPVU research teams were able to demonstrate a unanimity level of 92.5% (Steen et al 2010: P161). However, this kind of multi-researcher, multi-team approach was not practicable for this small-scale study and so no reliability data will be presented.

The results of this process provided a list of 47 metaphoric items in a text of 180 words (listed in appendix 3). In MIP, metaphoric density is calculated by comparing the number of metaphorical items with the total number of lexical items, in percentage terms, which in this case was 26%. This is substantially higher than other genres according to Steen et al (2010) - the density of academic texts is 18.5%, news is 16.4%, fiction 11.7% and general conversation 7.7%.

The trial of MIP revealed it to be a transparent and systematic methodology, which provides a clear and precise decision making framework that guards against the idiosyncrasies of individual researchers. The guidelines limit the scope for subjective judgements when applying the criteria and the process provides results that are accurate, precise and replicable. This is essential for quantitative analysis, which must stand up to statistical scrutiny and demonstrate empirical rigour. Furthermore, these results can be presented in a clear and convention manner that can efficiently and accurately compare texts or entire genres.

However, it was more time consuming than the other methods and required higher levels of concentration. Furthermore, while accurate and replicable, it could be argued that these outputs do not represent full, meaningful metaphors but are simply words with some degree of metaphoricity. Indeed, the authors of the MIP and MIPVU methods concede that metaphoric activity at the word level may not provide a complete picture:

“The word is the unit of analysis which is examined for metaphorical use [in MIPVU]. There are other possibilities, such as the morpheme or the phrase, and these can account for additional metaphor in usage. However, we do not mark these other possibilities, because we can only do one thing at a time.” (Steen et al. 2010: P26-27)

This 'one thing' can accurately measure the number of metaphoric words but it is debatable whether these single words really carry the meaning of the metaphor. They certainly *contribute* to the meaning but it is difficult to make the case that they *are* the metaphor. Moreover, the method doesn't have a framework that clearly relates the metaphor to its co-text; rather it compares two of the lexical units' own meanings. To really understand the communicative intent of the metaphor it is necessary to work with *the metaphor* at its most meaningful level and relate this to the wider discourse. The MIP output requires that these metaphors be reconstructed before this kind of qualitative work can commence.

For example, the first word marked as metaphoric in the list of MIP metaphors, 'glittering', could be analysed in the following manner. It uses the *gl* phoneme, which according to the theory of *phonesthemes* is strongly associated with light or vision. This could be said to amplify the impact of the glittering/shining metaphor, which is used to denote attractiveness or newness/novelty. It is also possible to say that 'glittering' is modifying 'lure', which is another term used in its non-basic form and which is meant to signify a temptation (for the public/customers). The analysis could go on to discuss the collocation with 'lure' and further detail could be extracted, but this whole process is really just one which is reconstructing the metaphor. Therefore, there is a substantial task to complete before uncovering the real unit of communicative intent, the actual metaphor: *glittering lure* or technology is a *glittering lure*.

So, it is clear that output from MIP is suited to macro statistical analysis, where the metaphoric words can be grouped, aggregated and manipulated for comparative investigations. Alternatively, at the micro, lexico-semantic level, if trying to understand the contribution each word makes toward the meaning of a complete metaphor, these results could be invaluable; but they are less well able to describe the communicative purpose of metaphors effectively.

3.2 Review of Informant Data

The informants were a group of nineteen postgraduate, linguistics students of mixed age and gender. There were six native English speakers, four advanced or near native speakers and nine at intermediate level (self-evaluated). They received a basic review of linguistic metaphor and were then shown the video excerpt, which they could also follow on an accompanying transcript. Next, on the worksheet (included as appendix 6) they were asked to identify the metaphoric vehicles. They were given no specific instructions or methodology to follow and there was no specified time limit.

A summary of the main areas of metaphoric language identified by the informants is presented in appendix 4. The Informant Data method is inherently less precise, due to the lack of consensus between informants. There was considerable overlap yet substantial inconsistency about where vehicle boundaries should be drawn. However, broadly there was agreement over the areas that were rich in metaphorical activity. So, given this outcome, the most useful way to summarise this information is as a range. This range was between 19 and 25 observed metaphors, depending on the acceptance criteria. The lower number is based on at least 3 observers marking the text as

metaphoric while the higher figure shows instances where at least one informant annotated the text.

As a note, it is worth stating that there was a small but marked difference between the metaphoric items reported by native speakers and non-native speakers of English. When compared to the native speakers, the L2 speakers generally identified the same clusters, as those harbouring metaphoric meaning, but non-native speakers were less able to interpret their meanings. A number of non-native speakers reported that they were unsure of the meanings of these sections even though they could generally recognise the areas as metaphoric. This would seem to support the view that contextual and socio-cultural references are crucial in comprehending complex metaphors, as discussed by Carter (1998: 140-141) and further described in studies by Low and Littlemore (2008) and Littlemore, et al (2011). This background knowledge is something that native speakers implicitly apply but clearly second language learners need time to accrue this information and acquire the necessary competences to decrypt metaphoric meaning, in English.

One obvious disadvantage that emerged when trialling this method was the lack of rigour, compared to MIP. The selection process was even less structured than the discourse approach, to be discussed later; but if taken from a different perspective this could be viewed as a positive. This is because the annotations are somewhat intuitive and if consensus can be found, then it is consensus not just amongst 'experts' but also agreement between sufficiently informed observers. This is actually quite desirable for a piece such as this because while it is important for researchers to analyse metaphors and theorise about their impact, informant data can provide direct evidence of this influence – especially if annotations include descriptions of cross-domain mappings.

The main issue with this method though, was the task of collating the results into a coherent view of the metaphors in a text. In the case of this particular study, it was for the lone researcher to act as an editor. As an alternative, the role of editor could have been shared with a panel of 'experts' or the decision-making process could have been devolved to the informants, by asking them to discuss their annotations until agreement on a finalised version was reached. Further options could involve informants reviewing their annotations or the annotations of others. Yet more possibilities could recruit new informants to review the original annotations or provide new annotations to be collated by editors. Any of these additions could add value to the process and careful consideration should be given to each but ultimately any viable options would need to be tested.

3.3 Review of Discourse Dynamic Approach

This approach is based on the discourse dynamic framework, described by Cameron (2010). The objective is to isolate the chunks of metaphoric language, which are contributing real communicative meaning to the discourse. This is done by first reading the text in full, to understand the communicative purpose of the piece as a whole. Then, non-literal areas are marked as potentially metaphoric. Next, within these clusters, the analyst delineates the vehicle boundaries by checking the semantic contribution that each lexical item (individually or as part of a related compound) makes toward the meaning of the text. The smallest units of *communicative* meaning are then isolated: items, which would lose value if fragmented into smaller component parts. Once

the boundaries of the potentially metaphoric vehicle has been set, it can be marked as metaphorical if it is being compared to a topic (said or implied) using shared properties of the vehicle and topic.

This method provided 30 metaphoric vehicles (listed in appendix 5), which constitutes 68 of the 180 words - to give a metaphoric density of 38%. If this is calculated as a density per 1000 words, according to the method employed by Cameron (2008: P199), this gives a figure of 167 vehicles per 1000 words.

The advantage of the discourse dynamic method, as far as this study is concerned, is that it produces mostly multi-word lexical items - phrases that have specific meanings, distinct from their constituent words. Some of these phrases are recognisable, with their own rich cultural resonance, while other others are somewhat novel. This is precisely the kind of output that is required to understand the communicative intent of the text. One of the general disadvantages of this output though, is that some detail within the metaphor is lost (the exact opposite to the problem encountered with the MIP output). To see this level of detail, the analyst would need to break the metaphor down into its components parts; but fortunately this level granularity is not required for the study. What is important though, for this analysis, is straightforward access to the cultural associations of the metaphor and that is something that the Discourse Dynamic Approach can provide.

So, for example, when using MIP, the metaphoric items '*around*' and '*around*' must be analysed as single words with the basic meaning of a circular movement in physical space. The contextual meaning contrasts with the basic meaning in that it is not referring to a physical movement but to a movement through time or memories. However, once the metaphor is re-joined, there can be a much richer analysis of its cultural meanings – with associations of nursery rhymes and the dizzying effect of the phrase, which might evoke embodied feelings of movement. Furthermore, the repetition gives a sense of recurring or evolving, with the parents as the centre point in this movement and the metaphorical pivot in the carousel of life. Interpretation at this level gives rise to a much clearer view of the way in which the metaphors are multi-layered, interlocking and interlinking to reinforce one another and produce an irresistible momentum to the text.

It must be said though, that one clear disadvantage of this method when compared with MIP is a lack of rigour in the decision-making process. There are clear guidelines in place but they are not as systematic or methodical as MIP. The Discourse Dynamic Approach is not as replicable and relies, to a much greater extent, on the subjective judgments of a single analyst, which means that it is not really reliable as a quantitative analytical tool. This problem could be mitigated, to some degree, by using multiple analysts working towards a consensus or by using the method in combination with other techniques.

3.4 Review of the Metaphor Identification Results

All three methods highlighted similar areas in the text to be those containing the metaphoric activity, but they focused on this activity in different ways and with varying degrees of precision. The accurate demarcation of metaphor boundaries is important for some types of analysis and clearly MIP can fulfil this task reliably and with most replicability. However, this is less important for other

types of analysis that seek to interpret discourse level meaning or intent. So, each method is useful for different purposes. MIP is good for quantitative and detailed lexico-semantic analysis but not well suited to understanding the communicative intent of discourse. The Discourse Dynamic Approach is somewhat the opposite: good for communicative intent and chunks of meaning but less well suited to analyse the smallest components of metaphors or provide data for statistical comparisons. The Use of Informant Data brings its own issues and chief among these is managing the inherent inconsistencies of large numbers of individuals' annotations; however, on the plus side it does bring observers views into the analysis in a clear and direct manner. All this is not to say that the methods are mutually exclusive; any of these processes could be creatively employed in combination to support the others' respective weaknesses.

So, for the purposes of this study, the Discourse Dynamic Approach was considered the most suitable, because of its ability to explicitly relate the metaphor to other parts of the text, through describing the vehicle, the topic and the ground. However, the output from this method can be refined using techniques from the other processes. One enhancement would be to check the metaphoricity of particular words, using MIP techniques, when deliberating metaphor boundaries; another would be to use the results of the informant data annotations to provide evidence or support for researchers' judgements.

So, given all of these considerations, the decision was taken to use the results from the Discourse Dynamic Approach, which were reviewed in line with the informant data and MIP results. Ultimately, no major amendments were made in light of this review but as the Discourse Dynamic Approach was the final method trialled it could be that these other results had influenced the original decision-making process.

4 Metaphor Analysis of Communicative Functions

4.1 Organising the Data

To gain an overview of the metaphors extracted using the Discourse Dynamic Approach some of the methodology of Cameron, Low and Maslen (2010) has been adopted - to systematise the data into groupings according to topics and vehicles. However, systematic metaphors, to describe the resultant groups have not been created, as the alternative methodological framework (described in section 2) will be employed.

From this systemising process an interesting pattern emerges when the vehicle units are grouped by temporal sequence, as below.

Table 1: Metaphor Vehicles in Temporal Sequence

| | | | |
|---------------------|-----|--|------|
| 1. Glittering lure | L/N | 16. Heart | P |
| 2. The public | -- | 17. Nostalgia – pain from an old wound | E |
| 3. Level beyond | Tr | 18. (More) <i>powerful</i> than memory alone | P |
| 4. Flash | L/N | 19. It's not a Spaceship | T/Tr |
| 5. Sentimental bond | E | 20. Time machine | T/Tr |
| 6. In-house | -- | 21. Backwards and forwards | Tr |
| 7. New | N | 22. Takes us to a place | Tr |
| 8. Itch | P | 23. We ache to go again | P/Tr |
| 9. Calamine lotion | -- | 24. Wheel | Tr |
| 10. Deeper bond | E | 25. Carousel | Tr |
| 11. Nostalgia | E | 26. Around and around | Tr |
| 12. Delicate | E | 27. Travel the way a child travels | Tr |
| 13. Potent | P | 28. Back home | Tr |
| 14. Sweetheart | E | 29. Place | Tr |
| 15. Twinge | P | 30. Know | -- |

The text opens with metaphor vehicles based largely on novelty (N) and light (L). This then leads into metaphors drawing on emotion (E) and physical sensation (P) until finally the vehicles focus on travel and movement (Tr) and to some extent technology (T).

Alternatively, if the data is grouped according to the topics of the metaphors (many of which are implied rather than explicit), a number of similar themes emerge. These can be broadly defined as the customer, the product and emotion, with technology also featuring heavily. These results are presented in table 2.

Table 2: Metaphors by Topic Grouping

| Vehicle | Topic | Topic Category |
|-----------------------------------|---|---|
| Glittering lure | Technology | Technology /new |
| Flash | Attractiveness of new and novel products | |
| New | Innovation (technology) | |
| The public | Potential customers | Customer |
| Level beyond | Engage/appeal to | Customer /product relationship |
| Sentimental bond | Product/Consumer relationship | |
| Deeper bond | Product/Consumer relationship | |
| Calamine lotion | Itch/craving (for product) being satisfied | |
| Nostalgia | Product/consumer relationship | |
| Delicate | Nostalgia/the link of nostalgia to the product | |
| Nostalgia | Power of nostalgia in the Product/consumer relationship | |
| (More) powerful than memory alone | Potency of nostalgia related to sales of products | |
| Wheel | Projector | Product /relationship |
| Carousel | Projector | |
| It's not a spaceship | Effective marketing campaign for the projector – not technology. Spaceship (alone gives target of projector) | Technology /new /emotion product |
| Itch | Craving for product | Emotion /customer /product |
| Potent | Nostalgia/feeling it makes to link to the product | |

| | | |
|--------------------------------|--|----------------|
| Twinge | Heart as a metaphor for emotion | |
| Takes us to a place | The possibility to relive poignant events | |
| Heart | Emotions | emotion |
| It's a time machine | Effective marketing campaign for the projector - emotion | |
| Backwards and forwards | Time travel – to emotionally significant events | |
| We ache to go again | The desire to relive poignant events | |
| Around and around | Travel the way a child travels | |
| Travel the way a child travels | A child's perception - carefree and emotionally intuitive. | |
| Back home | Love, affection and safety | |
| Place | Feeling of being loved | |
| Know | Feelings (of love) | |
| In-house | Company employee | |
| Sweetheart | Request to turn on the projector | Request |

Since the focus of this paper is the communicative functions of the scene, the analysis will concentrate primarily on the themes of the topics (technology, customer, product and emotion) as the topic is at the centre of the communicative intent. However, the themes of physical sensation and movement, apparent in the vehicles of some metaphors, will also be explored in connection to the concept of embodiment, as this is a powerful device employed by the lead character to add a sense of momentum or narrative journey, to his words. First though, the analysis will begin with an overview of the modal presentation of the text.

4.2 Analysis of the Mode

This is a TV show, a piece of fiction, and yet it depicts a marketing pitch as if real. As Goatly (1997: P164) suggests, it is possible to regard the fiction itself as a metaphor, “we are invited to imagine a whole world in which what happens is literally true.”

So with this observation in mind, the literal mode of communication is an audio-visual drama, transmitted to the viewer; but in the metaphorical sense of the fiction, the language is delivered as a

face-to-face monologue with the aid of a projector. The parallel nature of the modal presentation allows the audience to be both an outside observer of the meeting, through the screen, and a silent onlooker within the meeting. This effect depends on the extent to which the viewer is drawn into the metaphoric world of the drama. The metaphor then, has an immersive *fictional* function that draws the audience into the room with the characters, to create the tenor of the piece.

4.3 Analysis of the Tenor

The tenor, in a literal sense, involves writers and actors communicating the fictional text to the audience. However, in the metaphor of the fiction it is a monologue delivered by an advertising expert to a set of business experts with the aim of securing a contract. So, the text must work convincingly as a piece of persuasion from one group of professionals to another *and* as a drama for a non-technical audience. The function of the adman's metaphors, as directed toward the Kodak executives are: *argument by analogy* (the machine is linked with the sentiment that personal photos evoke - to persuade); *expression of emotional attitude* (memories of childhood and family are conjured - to stir emotion); *decoration, disguise and hyperbole* (the plea for sales is disguised as the universal story of family and love) and *coherent textual structuring* (shown by the systematic use of the metaphors and the way in which they overlap and entwine). Don Draper ultimately uses the metaphors to function as a *call to action* for the executives to buy the agency's services and for the potential customers to buy the product. The metaphors delivered by the main character demonstrate the desired emotional effect on potential customers by arousing those feelings in the company executives and, as a by-product, in the viewer. Therefore, this could be seen as the function *explanation by modelling*.

However, the real monologue is between the writers and the audience. The language is laden with metaphor to help the viewer understand the principles of the campaign without the need for technical detail about territories and demographics. So, this links to the *fictional* function and the *humour and games* functions plus the *heuristic* function of Littlemore and Low's (2006) model. Moreover, the writers are skilful practitioners of language, who may well have an understanding of linguistic theories. It appears that they use their command of metaphor to fulfil deeper functions. As I will argue in the next section, the viewer is asked, by the writers, to evaluate the manipulative power of this fictional adman, who himself may be metonymic of the advertising industry as a whole.

4.4 Analysis of the Field

4.4.1 *Technology*

As previously stated, the dominant metaphorical themes centre on the topics: *emotion, the product, the customer* and *technology*. This is entirely consistent with the literally stated strategy that Don outlines at the start of his monologue. So, the explicit message is reinforced at a metaphorical level,

performing a subtle re-iterative and, according to Littlemore and Low's (2006) framework, *manipulative* function. The most dominant metaphorical theme in the text is emotion, which alternates between being the most frequent vehicle in the first half of the text and the most frequent topic in the second; thus raising it to an omnipresent entity – constantly demonstrating its value in the strategy of marketing. The lines uttered by the Kodak executives set up their desire to market the projector based on technology, with the concept of the wheel as the original invention. However, allusions toward the use of technology as a marketing strategy are consistently rejected:

- *Technology is a glittering lure **but...***
- *The public can be engaged on a level **beyond** flash.*
- *It **isn't** a spaceship.*
- *It's **not** called the wheel.*

Technology is referenced directly in the first metaphor but it is alluded to metonymically in the other three, where aspects of technology stand in for technology itself. The 'flash' is the shininess of a new object, linked to technical innovation; a 'spaceship' is the cutting edge of technology; and as the Kodak executive states 'the wheel' is the archetype of invention and progress, in western society.

In these metaphors the adman dismisses the concept of technology as the tool to be used for generating sales. He uses metaphor to belittle the idea, together with metaphors that demonstrate the powerful effect emotion can have when skilfully used in marketing campaigns. Here the lead character is fulfilling the function of *argument by analogy* to elegantly rebuff the Kodak executives' request. The use of metaphor and metonym also makes this rejection more palatable and less direct, by adding distance to the higher-level concept of technology (suggested by the Kodak executives). So, it can also be seen as relationship building and part of the function of *cultivating intimacy*.

4.4.2 *Product/Customer Relationship*

Many of the metaphors relating to the product are really about the relationship between product and consumer; and the effectiveness of using emotions to hold that connection in place. Therefore, as is the case for many of the metaphors, the relationships are intertwined, which makes clear categorisation difficult. Consequently, the metaphors listed below are those that strongly allude to the product/customer relationship, but they may well hint at the emotion of this link, too.

- **The public** (potential customers and buyers of the product).
- **Sentimental bond** (with the product).
- **Deeper bond** (to the product).
- **Itch** (craving for the product).
- **Calamine lotion** (Itch/craving being satisfied – by the product).
- **Delicate ...but potent - Nostalgia** (using nostalgia to link to the product).

- ***Nostalgia ...pain from an old wound*** (potency of using in the product customer relationship like a physical pain being healed by this product).
- ***(More) powerful than memory alone*** (nostalgia is more powerful in evoking feelings, to be used to sell products).
- ***It takes us to a place*** (product makes it possible to relive and re-feel emotions that people felt during poignant personal events).
- ***It's called the carousel*** (sums up the nostalgic feelings the product can give consumers, like when they rode a carousel as a child).

These metaphors fulfil the functions of *argument by analogy* and *explanation by modelling* as they make the case to the Kodak executives that the product can be sold on nostalgia while at the same time making the case to the customer that the product can bring them happiness based on the nostalgia of captured memories. They also perform the function of *promoting intimacy*, between the admen and executives; and the product and consumer - through the manipulation of common emotional responses to family and happy memories. Moreover, they provide further textual cohesion by repeatedly making this link between the product and emotion salient throughout the monologue.

Finally, the literal explanation of nostalgia, with its metaphoricity to English speakers, and the reference to the child's carousel are performing the function of *enhancing memorability*, because they are *imaginative* and novel. The nostalgia metaphor is particularly arresting because it reverses the metaphoric mechanism so that the literal meaning becomes the metaphor. Moreover, nostalgia specifically, is a key theme that runs through the monologue; it is metonymic of emotion generally (part for whole), and this explanation of its literal meaning serves to highlight the concept of nostalgia. As West (2000) argues, in her book on the history of Kodak's advertising campaigns, nostalgia has been a key marketing strategy for the real corporation since its inception, as it sought to commodify memory through the promotion of personal amateur photography. So, the heavy referencing of nostalgia in the fiction also has a metonymic relationship to the real Kodak story – the fictional Kodak in the drama stands in for the real Kodak, which relied on the concept of nostalgia to market its products.

4.4.3 Emotion

The following metaphors are taken predominately from the climax of the monologue where the text strongly references emotion in the topics of the metaphors:

- ***Twinge in your heart*** (emotional craving made physical).
- ***It's a time machine*** (time travel through photographs – memories and emotions).
- ***Travel the way a child travels*** (emotional freedom is made into a journey).
- ***We ache to go again*** (the desire to relive poignant events - made physical).
- ***Back home*** (home is affection and warmth).
- ***Around and around*** (emotional freedom and development is made into a journey).
- ***Place we know we are loved*** (to know one is loved is to feel one is loved).

These metaphors are mostly describing emotions, using more concrete, physical structures; many of which centre around movement and travel, as highlighted earlier. This kind of figurative language has been described as giving way to embodied sensations, i.e. feelings related to the physical experiences being described. Ray Gibbs (2006: P3) makes the argument that “human cognition is fundamentally shaped by embodied experience” - so that as humans, we can only conceptualise the abstract through comparisons to the physical. If this were true, these kinds of metaphors would have a particularly strong animating power. Kovecses (2000) has expanded on this and claimed that all of the conceptual metaphors relating to emotions are governed by a generic metaphor:

EMOTION IS A FORCE

In this metaphor, the agonist (target of the force) is the receiver of the message, (in this case, the Kodak executives, the viewer or the consumer). So, according to the theory, these metaphors give a palpable sense of travel and physical sensation - to the Kodak executives, the viewer and consumer. In this context, *embodiment* could also be seen as a function of metaphor – one that would heighten the emotional impact of the message and therefore increase its effectiveness.

These metaphors with emotion as their topic occur mostly toward the end of the passage - the selling point in advertising terms. They are here as the indirect carriers of a message connecting the product to positive emotions; and they seem to prime the listener for the final word, which is ‘loved’. They provide a *textual cohesive* function and also when taken with the pitch as a whole serve the function of *disguising* the real message, which is not to tell the story of universal emotional needs and desires that affect all human beings, as demonstrated by the elegant figurative language, but rather the purpose is to sell projectors; a *call to action* function and a *manipulative* function in Littlemore and Low’s model. This kind of ‘covert communication’ as Tanaka (1994: P41) describes it, aims to “alter the cognitive environment of the hearer...without making this intention mutually manifest.” It alludes indirectly to the real topics - assigning them the characteristics of the (desirable) vehicles, which has emotional resonance or recognisability but is not necessarily valid logically. Thus, these types of messages can bypass our rationality and communicate directly with emotional desires in a manner that is not fully conscious, to the hearer; and this is the key point to be explored in the final section of the analysis.

4.5 Analysis of the Fiction as Metaphor

It appears that within the *fictional* function of the text there is another metaphor; one which could be seen as the real communicative function of the piece; and which is realised by the thematically dense linguistic metaphors.

If the field is taken as a whole, again there is a split between the literal and non-literal. The literal content is the TV show, which must fulfil the usual conventions of drama. The first level of metaphor in the field is that of the fictional world of the ad agency itself, which the viewer is asked to enter and believe, as if real. At the level of drama, the communicative function of the scene is *argument by analogy*, with the main character pitching for business as discussed above. He employs a string of

metaphors that seek to link the product to the common emotional needs and desires of people - as human beings but more importantly as consumers. Moreover, he uses metaphor to explain and demonstrate these techniques, employed by his company - and advertising agencies more generally. The adman and his agency then take on a metonymic relationship to the advertising and marketing industry. His explanation of the proposed strategy is really a lesson (*heuristic* function) in the art of product marketing (as Don explains, the lessons given to him, by Teddy), which he then demonstrates through this elegant pitch.

These marketing techniques were pioneered by Edward Bernays in the early part of the 20th century. He was a nephew of Sigmund Freud whose theories about the desires of the unconscious mind (Freud 1953) he took and developed into techniques for mass persuasion, which he named Public Relations (PR). Bernays proposed that by linking products to consumers' inner feelings he could stimulate unconscious desires in the customers, and ultimately increase sales. Curtis (2002) gives some examples of how Bernays employed these techniques for United Fruit and American Tobacco, amongst others. These were not peer reviewed scientific studies, so it is difficult to claim a causal link with absolute certainty. However, to his clients and peers, he was so successful that these methods became the norms of advertising, marketing and PR.

According to these practices the link between products and consumers should be emotional, not rational. Seen in this context, the frequent references to technology can be viewed as metonymic to rationality, as technological advances are based on rational thought. So, the metaphorical meaning of Don Draper's pitch, when directed toward the clients, can be read as, 'do not appeal to customers' rational decision-making capacity but focus on their irrational desires.' At the same time, the writers are speaking to the viewer through Don, with his metonymic relationship to the advertising industry, and the message seems to be, 'advertisers do not appeal to customers' rational decision-making capacity but they focus on their irrational desires.' This is *argument by analogy*, as the calculated manipulation of the fictional adman, is compared to the calculations of advertising, marketing and PR companies in the real world. The writers, who are the real communicators of this text, seem to be advancing the view that this is *manipulation* – above all else. For, the Kodak commercial, depicted in the scene, appears on the surface to show a new and interesting product for the viewer to evaluate, but really it is manipulating consumers' feelings by attempting to attach their emotions to the product. This conflates the emotions viewers feel for cherished people or moments with desire for the product, causing them to crave the product in an irrational, unconscious manner. The writers are unmasking the process of this manipulation and laying it bare for the audience. Given that this fictional advertising executive is metonymic of the advertising industry as a whole this leads to the conclusion that:

MARKETING IS MANIPULATION

The analysis then suggests that this is the underlying communicative intent of the piece; and if the fiction itself is viewed as metaphoric then this can be said to be its underlying or overarching metaphor. It is not a conceptual metaphor in the sense that others, in this text, are its instantiations. However, all the metaphors and indeed the literal text (of the fiction) serve to reinforce this message, making this what might be better described as the *pervasive* metaphor of the text.

5 Conclusion

The communicative functional analysis of the metaphors in this scene, from 'Mad Men', has provided a view of the densely interconnected, multi-layered and multi-dimensional use of metaphor, which is illustrative of the use of figurative language in advertising, drama and satire. It has shown the many levels of meaning communicated through the text and how the writers have exploited the non-logical properties of metaphor to produce a highly persuasive marketing pitch, while at the same time unveiling and satirising the very methods that make the pitch so compelling. So, even when Don Draper is explaining the strategy in a seemingly logical manner, appealing to the rational part of the brain, his metaphors are working on the emotional, non-logical parts of the psyche, to attempt to stir emotions and create desires. The metaphors of the text serve as covert devices to tie emotions to a product, in the context of the drama, but also to expose and satirise the stealthy coercion of the fictional ad agency and by metonymic association, the advertising industry as a whole.

The study was able to demonstrate these effects by first evaluating the various metaphor identification processes to establish which was the most appropriate for this interpretative analysis and then drawing together a diverse range of metaphor research to produce an effective methodology for examining the communicative functions of the metaphors. This process identified the thematic patterns in the metaphors and used these to explore the communicative intent of the lead character and writers.

The study also demonstrated the relevance of social, cultural and historical knowledge, in understanding figurative language, by referencing the advertising strategies of Bernays and Kodak, to enable a more richly nuanced reading of the metaphors. It is this capacity to decode the multi-textured cultural and historical references within metaphoric language that is not so readily available to non-native speakers - with a naturally lower understanding of socio-cultural factors in the English speaking world. This became apparent during the Informant Data section of this investigation when non-native informants were shown to be capable of identify metaphors but were not necessarily able interpret their meanings. These pragmatic considerations and sociolinguistic competences should not be overlooked when considering metaphor.

The final result of this analysis was to identify the metaphor *MARKETING IS MANIPULATION*, as underpinning the scene to such an extent that it could be viewed as the dominant thematic or *pervasive* metaphor of this text. This idea of pervasive metaphors could provide fertile ground for future research. Furthermore, this specific metaphor does have a certain resonance that could extend beyond the limits of this drama. So, while it was not shown to be a conceptual metaphor, in the course of this study, it could have recognisable linguistic instantiation or conceptual manifestations in additional texts, which would warrant further investigation.

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Appendix 1: TV Scene Transcript and Gloss

The following is a transcript of a scene from 'Mad Men' which is an American TV drama set in an ad agency during 1960's New York. In the scene, Don Draper - the creative director of the agency which takes centre stage - is pitching to *Kodak* for business. *Kodak* is to release a new home projector which uses a rotating, circular cassette of slides to display the images on a wall. Don is demonstrating his agency's marketing ideas for the new product.

Joe Harriman (Kodak executive 1):

So have you figured out a way to work the wheel into it?

Glynn Taylor (Kodak executive 2):

We know it's hard because wheels are not seen as exciting technology even though it's the original.

Don Draper (Adman):

- 1 Well, technology is a glittering lure but...er...
- 2 there is the rare occasion when the public can be engaged on the level beyond flash;
- 3 if they have a sentimental bond.
- 4 My first job, I was in-house at a fur company with this old pro
- 5 a copywriter – Greek - named teddy.
- 6 And Teddy told me the most important idea, in advertising is...new.
- 7 It creates an itch. You simply put your product in there as a kind of calamine lotion.
- 8 But he also talked about a deeper bond, with the product...nostalgia...
- 9 ...it's delicate, but potent...
- 10 ...sweetheart! [Don calls for the secretary to turn off the lights so he can start the projector, on which he displays a number of personal family photographs in time with the words below].
- 11 Teddy told me that in Greek, 'nostalgia' literally means: 'the pain from an old wound.'
- 12 It's a twinge in your heart, far more powerful than memory alone.
- 13 This device [the projector] isn't a spaceship, it's a time machine.
- 14 It goes backwards, and forwards...
- 15 it takes us to a place where we ache to go again.
- 16 It's not called the wheel; it's called the carousel.
- 17 It lets us travel the way a child travels, around and around, and back home again
- 18 To a place where we know we are loved.

Appendix 2: PRAGGLEJAZ MIP (Metaphor Identification Procedure)

PROCEDURE AND EXPLICATION

The MIP is as follows:

1. Read the entire text–discourse to establish a general understanding of the meaning.

2. Determine the lexical units in the text–discourse

3. (a) For each lexical unit in the text, establish its meaning in context, that is, how it applies to an entity, relation, or attribute in the situation evoked by the text (contextual meaning). Take into account what comes before and after the lexical unit.

(b) For each lexical unit, determine if it has a more basic contemporary meaning in other contexts than the one in the given context. For our purposes, basic meanings tend to be —More concrete; what they evoke is easier to imagine, see, hear, feel, smell, and taste. —Related to bodily action. — More precise (as opposed to vague) —Historically older. Basic meanings are not necessarily the most frequent meanings of the lexical unit.

(c) If the lexical unit has a more basic current–contemporary meaning in other contexts than the given context, decide whether the contextual meaning contrasts with the basic meaning but can be understood in comparison with it.

4. If yes, mark the lexical unit as metaphorical.

(PRAGGLEJAZ Group 2007)

Appendix 3: PRAGGLEJAZ MIP Results

| Metaphor | Reason | Metaphor | Reason |
|------------|---|----------|---|
| Glittering | From line 1: Technology is a <i>glittering</i> lure... Used to modify an abstract item | Lure | From line 1: Technology is a <i>glittering lure</i> ... Bait is a more physical meaning but it is stretched to the abstract meaning of temptation. |
| Public | From line 2: ...the <i>public</i> can be engaged on a level beyond flash The public as a whole are compared to potential customers. | On | From line 2: ...the public can be engaged <i>on</i> a level beyond flash Used to refer to being on an abstract item as it were physical. |
| Beyond | From line 2: ...the public can be engaged on a level <i>beyond</i> flash. Used to describe going beyond an abstract item as if physical. | Flash | From line 2: ...the public can be engaged on a level <i>beyond flash</i> Flash of light compared to gleam of new product. |
| Have | From line 3: if they <i>have</i> a sentimental bond. Used to refer having a bond to an abstract item as if it were physical. | Bond | From line 3: if they have a sentimental <i>bond</i> . Used to bond an abstract item. |
| In-house | From line 4: I was <i>in-house</i> | Old | From line 4: I was in-house |

| | | | |
|-----------------|--|-----|---|
| | <p>at a fur company with this old pro...</p> <p><i>In</i> is used to mean working for. <i>House</i> is used to mean company.</p> | | <p>at a fur company with this <i>old</i> pro...</p> <p>Age is compared to experience.</p> |
| New | <p>From line 6: ...the most important idea in advertising is...<i>new</i>.</p> <p>Newness is compared to short lived fads or novelty.</p> | In | <p>From line 6: ...the most important idea <i>in</i> advertising is...<i>new</i>.</p> <p>Refers to advertising, which is an abstract concept, as if it were a physical container.</p> |
| Itch | <p>From line 7: It <newness or novelty> creates an <i>itch</i>.</p> <p>An itch is compared to a craving.</p> | You | <p>From line 7: <i>You</i> simply put your product in there...</p> <p>Not BM, metaphoric extension to the basic meaning of 'you' as 2nd person singular/plural pronoun to a general meaning of someone in general.</p> |
| Put | <p>From line 7: You simply <i>put</i> your product in there...</p> <p>Not BM can compare to CM. Product is put in the abstract concept of an itch as a craving as if it were physical.</p> | In | <p>From line 7: You simply put your product <i>in</i> there...</p> <p>Refers to the itch as a container which the product is put inside.</p> |
| Calamine lotion | <p>From line 7: You simply put your product in there as a kind of <i>Calamine Lotion</i>.</p> | | |

| | | | |
|------------|---|--------|--|
| | Not BM can compare to CM. The product soothes the craving like the lotion would soothe an itch. | | |
| Deeper | From line 8: ...he talked about a <i>deeper</i> bond with the product... Refers to a bond with as an emotional attachment rather than a bond to a physical item. This literal meaning of bond does not have depth. It refers to the depth of emotional attachment. | Bond | From line 8: ...he talked about a deeper <i>bond</i> with the product... Refers to a bond with as an emotional attachment rather than a bond to a physical item. |
| Delicate | From line 9: It's [nostalgia as the bond to the product] <i>delicate</i> , but potent The abstract bond held in place with nostalgia is described in physical terms as delicate. | Potent | From line 9: It's [nostalgia as the bond to the product] delicate, but <i>potent</i> The abstract bond held in place with nostalgia is described in physical terms as potent. |
| Sweetheart | From line 10: ... <i>sweetheart!</i> The term for a lover meaning is used for a colleague – denoting affection but also power dynamics used as a request to perform an action. | In | From line 11: ... <i>in</i> Greek... 'In' refers to an abstract concept of a language rather than a concrete object. |
| Nostalgia | From line 11: ' <i>nostalgia</i> ' literally means: 'the pain from an old wound.' | Twinge | From line 12: It's a <i>twinge</i> in your heart... |

| | | | |
|--------------|---|-----------|--|
| | The Greek meaning differs from the basic contemporary English. | | A yearning is compared to a physical twinge. |
| Heart | From line 12: It's a twinge in your <i>heart</i> ... The physical heart is compared to emotion. | Powerful | From line 12: It's a twinge in your heart, far more <i>powerful</i> than memory alone. Powerful is used to describe emotional force rather than physical strength. |
| Alone | From line 12: It's a twinge in your heart, far more powerful than memory <i>alone</i> . This is a single emotion rather than a single person or entity. | Spaceship | From line 13: The <i>device</i> [the projector] isn't a spaceship, it's a time machine. Used here to mean something that is futuristic and representing technology. |
| Time machine | From line 13: It's <the projector> a <i>time machine</i> Used here to say that the projector has the capacity view photographs which can help us to relive memories as if we are travelling through time | Goes | From line 14: It <i>goes</i> backwards and forwards... The projector does not go move but the abstract journey through time or memories is compared to physical movement. |
| Backwards | From line 14: It goes <i>backwards</i> and forwards... The projector does not go move but the abstract | Forwards | From line 14: It goes backwards and <i>forwards</i> ... The projector does not go move but the abstract |

| | | | |
|----------|--|---------|---|
| | journey through time or memories is compared to physical movement. | | journey through time or memories is compared to physical movement. |
| Takes | From line 15: It <i>takes</i> us to a place... The projector does not physically take us but it takes the user through time in an abstract sense. | Place | From line 15: It takes us to a <i>place</i> ... This is a point in time, or memory, not a physical place. |
| Ache | From line 15: It takes us to a place where we <i>ache</i> to go again Longing is compared to a physical ache. | Go | From line 15: It takes us to a place where we ache to <i>go</i> again The user does not physically go to a place but she relives a memory. |
| Carousel | From line 16: ...it's called the <i>carousel</i> . The projector cassette is compared to a carousel. | Lets | From line 17: ...It <i>lets</i> us travel... Compares permission to capacity. This capacity is also not the basic meaning as it implies that the machine has agency. |
| Travel | From line 17: ...It lets us <i>travel</i> ... Travel through life is compared to travel through time or memories. | Travels | From line 17: ...It lets us travel the way a child <i>travels</i> . Travel through life is compared to travel through time or memories. |
| Around | From line 17: ...It lets us travel the way a child travels, <i>around</i> and | Around | From line 17: ...It lets us travel the way a child travels, <i>around</i> and |

| | | | |
|-------|---|------|--|
| | <p>around...</p> <p>Circular motion through space is compared to recurrently recalling memories through photographs.</p> | | <p><i>around...</i></p> <p>Circular motion through space is compared to recurrently recalling memories through photographs.</p> |
| Back | <p>From line 17: ...It lets us travel the way a child travels, around and around, and <i>back</i> home again.</p> <p>The back of an object is compared to a return journey.</p> | Home | <p>From line 17: ...It lets us travel the way a child travels, around and around, and back <i>home</i> again.</p> <p>Home is used for a place where we are comfortable or indeed loved rather than the basic meaning of the place we live.</p> |
| Place | <p>From line 18: To a <i>place</i> where we know we are loved.</p> <p>This is not a physical location but a 'place' in time or memory.</p> | Know | <p>From line 18: To a place where we <i>know</i> we are loved.</p> <p>This is an expression of an emotion or an intuition of another's emotion not an understanding of a fact based on evidence or learning.</p> |

Appendix 4: Informant Data Results

Appendix 4 Table 1: Text Identified as Metaphors by Three Informants or More

| | |
|-----------------------|---|
| Glittering lure | Level beyond flash |
| Sentimental bond | In-house |
| Creates an itch | Calamine lotion |
| Deeper bond | Delicate |
| Potent | Pain from an old wound |
| Twinge in your heart | More powerful than memory alone |
| It's not a spaceship | It's a time machine |
| Backward and forwards | Takes us to a place where we ache to go again |
| Carousel | Travel the way a child travels |
| Back home again | |

Appendix 4 Table 2: Text Identified as Metaphors by Fewer than 3 Informants

| | |
|---------------|------------|
| Rare occasion | Sweetheart |
|---------------|------------|

| | |
|--------|-----------|
| | |
| Public | Nostalgia |
| Wheel | Old pro |

Appendix 5: Discourse Dynamic Results

| Vehicle | Ground | Topic |
|------------------|---|---|
| Glittering lure | New, shiny and interesting. Light entraps as if mesmerising. Comparing to a fisherman's bait or hunting lure. | Technology. |
| The public | People outside of the room/group. People as a whole are compared to potential customers. Hyperbole. Many people, unknown, groups of individuals. | Potential customers. |
| Level beyond | Appeal/interest in the product is treated as a physical object. | Engage/appeal to <the public>. |
| Flash | Flash of light attracts attention. Something new is sparkling. | Attractiveness of new and novel products. |
| Sentimental bond | As if the customer is 'stuck' to the product through his appeal or attraction to it. The sentiment or feelings associated with memories of love create the link or metaphorical glue. Stickiness, inescapability of love. | Product/Consumer relationship. |
| In-house | House and home as belonging, so he belongs to the company. | Company employee. |
| New | This compares the faddish element of innovation to novelty that is short lived. Mystical appearance, stimulation, craving. | Innovation (technology). |
| Itch | Something that can't be controlled, it is persistent like a craving. | Craving for product. |
| Calamine lotion | Soothes and feels nice like buying a new product. | Itch/craving being satisfied. |
| Deeper bond | Would normally collocate as stronger bond in a more literal sentence. Here the bond (appeal of the product) is inside us with the depth being unknowable and therefore difficult to break. | Product/Consumer relationship. |
| Nostalgia | Deeper lasting feelings, which endure a lifetime. Long, intense relationship. | Product/consumer relationship. |

| | | |
|------------------------------------|---|--|
| Delicate | Making the concept of nostalgia physical and describing it as more difficult to use to construct a link, it requires subtlety and careful, gentle handling. | Nostalgia/the link of nostalgia to the product. |
| Potent | Potent has a strong association with potions and dramatic effects. Nostalgia is compared to strong potion. Magic, mystical and powerful. | Nostalgia/the link of nostalgia to the product. |
| Sweetheart | Secretary is compared to a lover with all the closeness and affection that brings. Affection, regard, authentication, mutual understanding of unstated request. | Request to turn on the projector/secretary. |
| Twinge | Physical twinge is compared to emotional desire but something uncontrollable. Clutching, beating and overwhelming. | Heart as a metaphor for emotion. |
| Heart | Almost a dead metaphor because it is so common but it compares our most important physical organ to our most important, vital mental sensations – our emotions. Passion, intensity, and personal truth. | Emotions. |
| Nostalgia – pain from an old wound | To an English speaker this putative original meaning becomes metaphoric. It compares English speakers concept of nostalgia (longing for a bygone time) to a physical wound, to pain. It's suffering from which we can heal but it will always leave a mark, a memory and feeling we never forget. Pain, healing, reflection; memory tinged with physical and emotional feeling. | Power and potency of nostalgia in the Product/consumer relationship. |
| (More) powerful than memory alone | Power is compared to effectiveness at selling the product. | Potency of nostalgia related to sales of products. |
| It's not a spaceship | The spaceship is a metonym for technology it is also compared metaphorically to the projector. | Effective marketing campaign for the projector – not technology. Spaceship alone gives target of projector. |

| | | |
|--------------------------------|--|--|
| It's a time machine | Travelling through time is compared to travelling through emotions or one's life in photos. Memories, nostalgia, feelings, personal relationships. | Effective marketing campaign for the projector – emotion. |
| Backwards and forwards | Moving through space is like moving through time. The past is behind us the future in front. Mimics the action of the projector's cassette. | Time travel – to emotionally significant events. |
| Takes us to a place | A moment in time is compared to a physical point. Temporal made physical. Also the projector is attributed as taking us somewhere physically; this is impossible but Don claims it will make us remember the time, place and feeling of these memories contained in the photos as if we're really there again. Revisit, re-experience, re-imagine. | The possibility to relive poignant events in the consumer's personal history in a bodily sense, through the projector. |
| We ache to go again | The desire to relive our most poignant moments is compared to physical pain which can only be relieved by that experiencing that moment or person in a photograph. Dull, sore, relentless pain, relieved and quenched. | The desire to relive poignant events in the consumer's personal history in a bodily sense, through the projector. |
| Wheel | Circular cassette is compared to a wheel with its connotations of technology. Rotating, first invention, simple elegance. | Projector. |
| Carousel | Circular cassette compared to a carousel with its connotations of nostalgia. Spinning, childhood fun, enjoyable times. | Projector. |
| Around and around | Circular motion of a carousel is compared to a (child's) life cycles. Innocence and emotion but evolving with each cycle. Parents and family are the centre point. Spinning, maturing, constants (of life). | Travel the way a child travels. |
| Travel the way a child travels | To travel through time is to travel through space. Travel is experience. A child has a perspective of innocence and emotional freeness but with a reliance on family. Freedom, emotionality, innocence. | A child's perception as she travels through life, carefree and emotionally intuitive. |
| Back home | Return to the centre point of life, the home, which is compared to love, affection and safety, | Love, affection and safety. |

| | | |
|-------|--|-------------------------|
| Place | Place is compared to home and its connotations of warmth and love. | Feeling of being loved. |
| Know | To know (emotionally) is to understand is to feel. | Feelings (of love). |

Appendix 6: Informant Data Worksheet

What is your level of English? Intermediate Advanced Native-like Native

| Vehicle | Ground | Topic |
|---------|--------|-------|
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Further Comments: