(Non-)metaphorical meaning constructions in advertising: a comparative study between American and Finnish beer commercials

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Place, date   Signature

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Abstract

This thesis aims at analyzing the structure of (non-)metaphorical meaning constructions in twelve American and twelve Finnish beer commercials. Following the recent developments in cognitive studies, an analytical model based on Blending Theory (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002) is used in order to gain understanding of how consumers construct (metaphorical) meanings in commercials. Taking part in the on-going theoretical discussion regarding the analysis of multimodal metaphors in commercials, the analysis of the present study shows that a model based on Blending Theory can provide fruitful results for a cross-cultural comparison of commercials.

Keywords: Conceptual blending; Metaphor; Language and media; Language and culture

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1. Introduction

"Language is no longer regarded as peripheral to our grasp of the world in which we live, but as central to it. Words are not mere vocal labels or communicational adjuncts superimposed upon an already given order of things. They are collective products of social interaction, essential instruments through which human beings constitute and articulate their world."
Roy Harris, 1988

1.1 Background and preview

Metaphors have been of interest for philosophers, semioticians, and rhetoricians for hundreds of years. The study of the phenomenon resulted in numerous fruitful results. It was cognitive linguists, however, who truly gave a push forward to the study of metaphors. Instead of understanding metaphors as mere figures of speech, traditionally parts of poetry and rhetorical style, scholars began to perceive them as matters of thinking. In 1962, Black already recognized metaphors as more than linguistic expressions of ideas: he described them as a way of thinking. This line of thinking was continued in academia with the influential work by Lakoff and Johnson, who in their *Metaphors We Live By* (1980) showed that metaphors are omnipresent in our lives. Metaphors guide our life, thoughts and actions as the way we think – our conceptual system – "is fundamentally metaphorical in nature" (ibid.: 3). With the help of metaphors, according to Lakoff and Johnson's Conceptual Metaphor Theory, language users can conceptualize complex or abstract phenomena in terms of physical, more basic experiences. This is performed with cognitive mappings from a source to a target domain. Metaphor is thus a matter of cognition and not merely one of language.

However, the vast majority of scholars have until recently been almost exclusively interested in the linguistic manifestations of metaphors. If Lakoff and Johnson's theory is to be proved correct, it is only plausible to find evidence of conceptual metaphors in other media as well. Forceville (1994, 2002, 2007, 2008a, b, 2009, 2012) has demonstrated that it indeed is possible to detect metaphors in static and moving images. In images, metaphors can appear in one or several modes of communication. In addition to research into images, such as billboard advertisements or commercials, the recent years have also witnessed studies into metaphors in

gestures (Cienki & Müller, 2008), in music (Zbikowski, 2008) and cartoons (Eerden, 2009) to name but a few. Like in the field of semiotics, then, also in metaphor studies there has been a theoretical move towards multimodal research.

The advocates of Conceptual Metaphor Theory have recently witnessed the rise of a comp(l)eting view with the research into conceptual blending by Fauconnier and Turner (1996, 1998, 2002). Blending Theory is not explicitly a theory of solely metaphors, as it offers more of an insight to the day-to-day cognitive processes on a more general level. However, Blending Theory helps in the understanding of certain meaning constructions of metaphors. In certain metaphors, it is possible that new meaning emerges – meaning that is not directly mapped from source to target domain. The new meaning can emerge in the blended space, which is one of the four spaces in the integration network-model of Fauconnier and Turner. Conceptual blending thus allows for highly creative possibilities of meaning construction – and Blending Theory for the understanding of these possibilities.

Highly creative are often also the metaphors present in advertising. Advertising, a genre of persuasive discourse, aims most often for the selling of a product. In order to assist in the selling, the advertisement is typically created as fun, intriguing, or entertaining. For all these activities, advertisers can use various creative, rhetorical tools such as metaphors. Until rather recently, however, most researchers have used Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) when analyzing metaphors in advertising, be it in static images or in commercials. For instance, Lantolf and Bobrova (2012) analyzed American and Ukrainian beer commercials from the CMT-perspective. It has been suggested, though, by Forceville (2012) and Joy et al. (2009), that Blending Theory might provide fruitful results for the analysis of advertising metaphors. Also other scholars, such as Joseph Grady (2005; Grady et al., 1999), have suggested that the identification of metaphors in integration networks may only be the beginning of a successful analysis of how meaning is cognitively constructed. Advertising is often analyzed as being reflective of cultures and their values (e.g. Kövecses 2005). This is also typical of metaphors, that are often described as being influenced by culture and linked to the culturally-based background knowledge we need in order to understand metaphorical meanings. These three, advertising, culture and metaphor, are often in an intertwined relationship, which is plausible to take into account when conducting research into metaphors.

In the present enterprise, then, research into (non-)metaphoric meaning constructions in beer commercials will be conducted. The choice for the specific type of product advertised, beer, derives from the previous research. Notably Forceville (2007, 2008a, b) and Lantolf and Bobrova (2012) have looked at the structure of meaning constructions in beer commercials, and suggested different kinds of results. Hence the present study wishes to continue the on-going theoretical discussion regarding multimodal metaphors – or other meaning constructions – in beer commercials.

1.2 Research questions and the structure of the study

This study aims at answering the following questions, as constructed on the basis of the theoretical developments in the field of metaphor studies:

- Can Blending Theory (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002) provide more elaborate information of meaning constructions in TV commercials than Conceptual Metaphor Theory?
- What are the structural characteristics of American and Finnish beer commercials?
- Can beer function as a part of the source-domain of the metaphor present in a beer commercial?
- Do the American and Finnish commercials show, and furthermore share, patterns?
- If so, can some of the patterns be explained with culturally related aspects?

These research questions show that the present study will move a step further from Conceptual Metaphor Studies and look at (non-)metaphoric meaning construction in beer commercials with the help of Blending Theory. The structure of the integration networks of beer commercials from two cultures, American and Finnish, will be analyzed. The study will also aim at finding more evidence for or against a recent finding made by Lantolf and Bobrova (2012) regarding the placement of the product being sold, beer, in the source-domain. Furthermore, a cross-cultural analysis regarding the structural and will be provided of the American and Finnish beer commercials. Overall, the aim of this study is to participate in the

on-going theoretical discussion regarding multimodal metaphors and their structures in commercials.

This thesis is structured the following way: after the introduction of the topic, the research questions and the principal aim, **Chapter 2** offers a deeper look into the theoretical framework used for the present investigation. In **Chapter 3**, the method used for this study shall be described in detail together with the set of data. **Chapter 4** presents the results of the analysis. Discussion of the results is provided in **Chapter 5**. Finally, **Chapter 6** examines the conclusions and implications of the research.

2. Theoretical background

2.1 The semiotic background

The science that studies signs, such as gestures, traffic signs or metaphors, and how those signs produce meanings, is semiotics. This broad field of research functions as a general framework for the present enterprise, as the (non)-metaphorical constructions of meaning are at the center of discussion.

2.1.1 Ferdinand de Saussure's semiology

The interest in signs and their meanings reaches back several millennia. What started as a branch of medicine by Hippocrates (460-377 BC) has been debated by Greek philosophers and English scholars of the Enlightenment (Danesi & Perron, 1999). However, the modern understanding of semiotics was clarified at the turn of the 20th century by the Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure (1857-1913). In his influential *Cours de linguistique générale* (1916), de Saussure introduces several concepts, that came to form the foundations for semiology – the name the linguist gave to the study of signs. Among the concepts are the two parts of a (linguistic) sign; its components named the *signified* and the *signifier*. The signified, in de Saussure's theory, refers to the concept evoked in cognition, whereas the signifier is the sound-image, the phonemes combining to a word. Which signified corresponds to which signifier is arbitrary, according to de Saussure: an idea is not linked with the sounds by means of "any inner relationship" (964). The underlying idea of language is, then, that it is conventional. It is "collective behavior" (965) that determines which signifier comes to be used in referencing to which signified. And indeed, because the elements of language are conventional, language itself works, as stated by Robert D. Angus (2005). In addition to the Saussurean view on semiotics, the American philosopher Charles S. Peirce (1839-1914) played his part on the formation of contemporary semiotics (Danesi & Perron, 1999). The philosopher formulated a three-part model of the sign consisting of a *representamen*, an *object*, and an *interpretant*. In comparison with the two-part model of de Saussure, Peirce's features the object as an addition. The object in his theory represents the entity to which the sign refers to. Peirce's perspective

perhaps had slightly more complex typology behind it than the one of de Saussure, but due to the scope of this thesis it is satisfactory to focus on the Saussurean view.

2.1.2 Roland Barthes' semiotic analysis

Even though de Saussure's main interest was language and its components, he believed that the study of other significatory systems, such as rites and customs, would contribute to the theory of semiotics. Semiological systems, according to de Saussure, are frequent in society, thus further research was waiting to be conducted. The Saussurean ideas on semiotics were taken aboard by Roland Barthes (1915-1980), the French philosopher, who discussed the semiotic analysis of images in his essay *Rhetoric of the Image* (1964). Barthes' essay focuses on the meaning of images: how does meaning get into one, and where does the meaning end? Barthes takes the *linguistic* message and its denotative and connotative parts apart from the image, in which he recognizes four signs. These four connotative signs form the *iconic* message, also called *connoted* message, of the image (ibid., 34-5). The interpretation of all the signs within the iconic message require "a generally cultural knowledge" (ibid., 35). Starting thus from de Saussure's days, the importance of societal and cultural input into the interpretation of signs has not been underestimated. Furthermore, there is a third message in the image, the *literal* one, which can also be called the *denoted* message. According to Barthes, this message is not coded, like its iconic counterpart. It is the image "in its innocent state" (Forceville 1994: 10). All the messages, however, do have signifiers and signified in interplay. These signifiers function as *connotators*, and form a set called *rhetoric*. (ibid., 49) One signifier can then possibly be substituted with another, and in that case there would be a case of metaphor or metonymy (ibid., 50). Interestingly for this thesis, it was an advertising image – a print advertisement for an Italian spaghetti brand named *Panzani* – that Barthes studied closely in his influential essay. His choice for an advertising image was due the fact that "in advertising the signification of the image is undoubtedly intentional" (ibid., 33). The advertising image is filled with full signs, that are formed in order to facilitate the optimal reading (ibid., 33) Barthes' study laid foundation for a branch of semiotics, the study of persuasive signs in advertising. This field of research will be discussed in the following.

2.1.3 Semiotics and advertising

The semiotic investigation of advertising has become widespread since Barthes (Beasley &
Danesi, 2002). Scholars such as Ellen Seiter (1987), Jean Umiker-Sebeok (1987) and Ron
Beasley, Marcel Danesi and Paul Perron (2000) have looked at advertising and marketing from
a semiotic aspect with interesting results[1]. Also Edward F. McQuarrie and David G. Mick
(2003; Mick, 1986) have conducted profound work on the textual and visual semiotics of
advertising. The wealth of signs and their meanings in advertising have often been analyzed on
two levels of interpretation: a *surface* level and an *underlying* one (Beasley & Danesi 2002).
Ron Beasley and Marcel Denasi describe the two levels as follows: on the surface level, we
find signs used in a creative manner. These signs create a range of meanings that are
embedded in the underlying level. The signs come together and form *textuality* (ibid.).
Textuality, an intrinsic feature of advertising, ensures that a stable personality is created for the
product (ibid.). This, in its turn, is of utmost importance for the competitivity of the product
(ibid.). One of the basic techniques for generating textuality, as discussed by Beasley and
Denasi, is figurative language. A widely analyzed example of this is metaphorical use of
language. Other techniques or elements can include layout and design, casting of a
commercial, or jingles and slogans. These different elements in Beasley and Denasi's analysis
are present in various modalities – this demonstrates the shift towards a more multimodal
analysis in semiotics.

2.1.4 Semiotics and multimodality

Today's communication is often of multimodal character: this has not been left unnoticed in
the scientific field of semiotics. Multimodality is a phenomenon in which a variety of semiotic
modes are integrated into a unified whole (van Leeuwen & Kress, 2011). Among these modes
can be intonation, gestures, misé-en-scene – the possibilities depend on the modes in question.
Resources such as television, computer and recording camera have all made it possible to
distribute and record multimodal communication, and have thus facilitated the scientific

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1 See more in: Beasley, R. and Danesi, M. (2002). *Persuasive signs – the semiotics of advertising.* Berlin: Mouton
de Gruyter.

research of multimodal semiotics. The research is required as the linguistic and the visual parts of semiotic messages, such as commercials, are not necessarily 'making sense' in isolation anymore (ibid.). Even a message that on the surface seems 'purely' linguistic, such as a press release without images, does make use of various fonts, colors and layouts. All of these contribute to the content of the message, if analyzed from the perspective of multimodal semiotics. Despite Barthes' attempts to theorize the semiotics of images and even the integration of text and image, the linguistic and visual messages were still to be understood separately (ibid.). It was with the work of scholars such as van Leeuwen and Kress (2011), Baldry and Thibault (2006) and Hodge and Kress (1988)[2] when the importance of all the communicative modes present in a message was highlighted. This development from linguistic theories, via pictorial theories, towards multimodal theories is also to be seen in the scholarship assigned to metaphor, as will be discussed in the following chapter.

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2 See more in van Leeuwen, T., and Kress, G. (2011). *Discourse semiotics.* In T. Van Dijk (Ed.) Discourse studies – a multidisciplinary introduction. London: Sage Publications. 107-125.

2.2 Cognitive linguistics and metaphor

2.2.1 Before the Cognitive Linguists

One central topic of interest in the broad field of semiotics is, and has been throughout the years, metaphor. Metaphor, the phenomenon of understanding one kind of thing in terms of another, is indeed an important aspect of signs and their processing: it is a rather complicated sign in itself, whose meaning has to be revealed by the individual confronted with it. The phenomenon has intrigued the minds of researchers ever since the times of the philosophers of Ancient Greece. The study of metaphor, however, has intensified especially in the field of cognitive science and its linguistic branch. This chapter will function as an overview of the most relevant theoretical developments in metaphor research throughout the years.

Despite the occasional remarks made towards metaphor before him by Homer and Plato, the rhetorician Aristotle was perhaps the first to systematically investigate the phenomenon of metaphor. In his *Poetics*, Aristotle describes a metaphor as follows: "A "metaphor" is the application (to something) of a *name* belonging to something else, either (a) from the genus to the species, or (b) from the species to the genus, or (c) from a species to (another) species, or (d) according to analogy" (1457b iii, reproduced in NATC, my italics). This description demonstrates Aristotle's stance towards metaphor: his view is focused on language, as he talks about the *name* of something in place of the name that belongs to that something. Furthermore, Aristotle's idea of metaphor, as presented in *Poetics*, is closely linked with literary language: by using metaphor, an unusual word form, one can avoid familiar or commonplace language, and achieve impressiveness (chapter 22, *Poetics*). Despite this view getting some support from recent scholars, such as Kirby's (1997) idea of 'the semiotic Aristotelian metaphor', Aristotle's strict focus on the linguistic and non-everyday aspects of metaphor has mainly gained opposing voices from the modern researchers.

2.2.2 Conceptual Metaphor Theory

Perhaps the most significant turn in metaphor studies was the publication of George Lakoff and Mark Johnson's *Metaphors we live by* in 1980. In their influential book, the cognitive

linguist and philosopher, respectively, introduce their theory of *conceptual metaphors*. Moving away from a purely linguistic phenomenon, the book's central thesis is that also our thoughts and actions are metaphorical: metaphor is a matter of cognition more than of language. In comparison with the ideas of Aristotle, Lakoff and Johnson's theory emphasizes the everyday use of language. According to conceptual metaphor theory (henceforth CMT), metaphors form the core of our conceptual system, but they are often left without conscious notice, as "our conceptual system is not something we are normally aware of" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 3). Metaphors in our minds, and our lives, are largely conventionalized (ibid.). This is reflected in the fact that the concepts are culturally bound: the example provided by Lakoff and Johnson refers to the concept of time, which is largely tied to the contemporary Western culture. Time is conceptualized with a metaphor such as TIME IS MONEY (ibid.: 8). In today's industrialized society we understand time as something that can be spent or saved – the metaphor thus reaches our actions, not only the linguistic expression. But cultural experience is not the only basis for conceptual metaphors in Lakoff and Johnson's theory: they also highlight the input of physical experience. A typical example of metaphors based on physical experience is the group of *orientational* metaphors, which mainly have to do with spatial orientation such as up-down. Because our posture is more erect when we are filled with positive emotions, we talk about HAPPY IS UP. Other types of metaphors introduced by Lakoff and Johnson (ibid.) are *ontological* and *structural* metaphors. The first type does indeed feature a physical world entity in the source domain. The second type has a different, structured and clearly defined concept as its source domain (de Mendoza Ibanez & Hernandez, 2011), and is thus perhaps less based on actual physical experience.

  With Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) theory, along with comments or improvements from other scholars, the terminology has been somewhat stabilized for scholarship within metaphor studies. First, when talking about conceptual metaphors, there are two *domains* that are present: the *target* and the *source* domains (see Image 1). The target domain is in 'A is B'-metaphors, such as 'LIFE IS A JOURNEY', is the first domain. Source domain, then, is the latter. The conceptual domains are rich mental representations that consist of background knowledge, that may contain information about relations or elements, for example[3]. Typically, the target domain is slightly more abstract or unfamiliar, whereas source domains often are more

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3 See more: Semino, E. (2008). Metaphor in discourse. New York: Cambridge University Press.

concrete, physical and familiar (Semino, 2008). The basic and fundamental experiences, such as moving along a path from place a to place b, are often described within CMT as 'image schemas'[4]. These schemas are "simple, skeletal mental representations" (Semino, 2008:7) in the source domain.
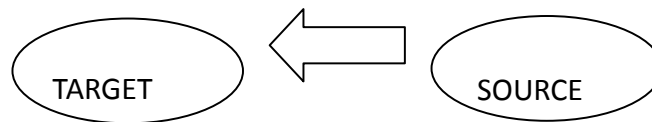
Image 1. Conceptual mapping(s) from source to target domain

Second, the metaphorical relation between the two domains is then created with a *mapping* across the conceptual domains. In this mapping, certain features of the source domain are mapped onto the target domain – and naturally, other features are left aside. Lakoff and Johnson call this systematicity 'highlighting and hiding' (1980: 10). In the example ARGUMENT IS WAR, for instance, features such as attacking and defending are highlighted, while features like killing are not. CMT with its conventional metaphors has been, since the publication of *Metaphors we live by* in 1980, the central theory for metaphor studies. However, various scholars have voiced their concerns, suggestions or ideas of continuation regarding CMT. Two of the further theoretical developments in the realm of cognitive or conceptual metaphor will be discussed in the following.

2.2.3 Multimodal metaphor

One of the scholars expanding the scope of CMT is Forceville (1994, 2007, 2008a, b, 2009). Following the conceptual path shown by Lakoff and Johnson, Forceville calls for the importance of looking at metaphors in different media. Forceville criticizes CMT of its focus on solely linguistic evidence for the existence of conceptual metaphors (Forceville, 2008a). If metaphors indeed are as essential to cognition as Lakoff and Johnson theorized, "it makes sense that they should occur not only in language but also in static and moving pictures,

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4 See more: Johnson, M. (1987). The body in the mind. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

sounds, music, gestures, even in touch and smell – and in their various permutations" (ibid.: 463). All possible manifestations of metaphor should thus be studied in order to avoid running a risk of misinterpretation (ibid.). By referring to McLuhan's well-known thought of the medium being the message, Forceville makes his point crystal-clear. He first (1994) looked at pictorial metaphors in static advertisements, inspired by the work previously done by Barthes in semiotics. In his theorization, Forceville uses terminology familiar from earlier discussion on metaphor by Lakoff and Johnson. However, Forceville stresses the *similarity* of domains, as he writes that "elements such as physical resemblance, spatial resemblance, resemblance pertaining to size, and other properties that can be visualized, play a more important role in pictorial metaphors than in verbal ones (ibid.: 3). He also highlights the notion of *directionality*: metaphorical transfer is primarily *unidirectional*, from source to target, according to the scholar. From Barthes' earlier discussion of linguistic, denoted and connoted messages, Forceville derived the importance of *context* when analyzing pictorial metaphors.

Context is one of the ways of cueing the target and source domains in pictorial metaphors. Although pictorial metaphor has been examined extensively[5], no unified theory of it exists yet. Forceville (1994, 2008a) has done perhaps the most substantial effort to create that. Forceville suggests that there are considerable differences between monomodal verbal and pictorial metaphors (2008a). These include the fact that *linearity* is missing from static pictures: there are no grammatical rules for disambiguating target and source like in "A is B"-linguistic metaphors. Another difference to be taken into account is the verbalization of pictorial metaphors, that may bias the possible interpretation of the metaphor in question. With these challenges in mind, Forceville distinguishes three types of pictorial metaphors (2002; in 2008a). These types include *contextual metaphors*, *hybrid metaphors*, and *pictorial similes*. Contextual metaphors include a contextual element that cues the source domain and leads to another object being metaphorized in the image. Hybrid metaphors feature two objects (representing the target and source domains), that normally would be considered as different entities, merged into one object. This hybrid entity then has cues from both original elements contributing to the metaphorical conceptualization. The third type introduced by Forceville is pictorial simile – in this type, two complete objects are represented in such a way that they look similar. The possibilities to cue the similarity include, for example, form, position, and

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5 See a list of scholars in Forceville (2008a: 464)

color. Based on studies by Van Rompay (2005 – see Forceville 2008a), Forceville introduces a fourth subtype of pictorial metaphor (2008a): *integrated metaphor*. This type features an object that is represented as a whole in such a way that it, without any contextual cues, resembles another object due to the positioning, shape and so on. All these types of pictorial metaphor are thus possible to interpret without a linguistic component in the context. In addition, all the types of pictorial metaphor can also represent conceptual, conventional metaphors in the Lakoff-Johnsonean tradition. Furthermore, it is worth a mention that it is possible for pictorial metaphors to occur in moving images. It is also possible, naturally, and often rather likely, that an image features text, such as a brand name, a slogan or even a crucial component for the metaphorical expression to be understood as a metaphor. In that case, Charles Forceville talks about a multimodal metaphor.

Multimodal metaphors, as characterized by Forceville (1999, 2008a, 2008b, 2009), "are metaphors whose target and source are each represented exclusively or predominantly in different modes" (2009: 24). Forceville describes a mode as belonging to one of the following groups: pictorial signs; written signs; spoken signs; gestures; sounds; music; smells; tastes; or touch (2009: 23). The diversity of modes reveals that multimodal metaphors can occur in various different genres, including conversation, print advertisements, or TV commercials. Moving images naturally allow more modes to cue the target and source domains of a metaphor (Forceville, 2008a). A domain can be cued musically, or through a sound effect, for example. The dynamics of the camera can also play a role in the construction of a metaphors, as similarity between the domains can be created, for instance, with the help of angles (ibid.). Furthermore, the simultaneous representation of target and source domains found in linguistic and static pictorial metaphors need not be present in metaphors in moving images, as the domains can be represented seconds or hours apart (ibid.). Multimodal metaphors often lead to creative, thus unconventional, solutions, which have "a local impact" (ibid.: 473) – they may contribute to the overall theme in the narrative in question, but they "do not permeate these narratives as such" (ibid.: 473). While the main body of research so far has focused on the creative use of multimodal metaphor, there has been research conducted in multimodal metaphors which do fit in the line of thought of the Lakoff-Johnsonean tradition of conventionality of metaphors. For example, multimodal metaphors can also occur in conversation where gestures can be metaphorical. Gestures can, for instance, be used to cue

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the source domain of a metaphor, while the target domain is cued verbally (Cienki & Müller, 2008). Cienki and Müller (ibid.) have also identified various different possibilities for metaphorical gesture and verbal expression -combinations, such as when a different metaphors is expressed in speech and gesture (ibid.). In addition to gestural metaphors, researchers have also recognized constructions of conventionalized metaphors in animation films and comics[6]. All the research made within the scope of multimodal metaphor has contributed to the development of "a healthy metaphor theory" (Forceville 2008a: 476). However, since its inception three decades ago, the Conceptual Metaphor Theory has raised some questions among theorists. In the following, a few of the criticizing views will be introduced.

2.2.4 Challenges to the Conceptual Metaphor Theory

Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) CMT has been central to the theorization of linguistic, and later also pictorial and multimodal, metaphors for more than thirty years. Just like any relatively young theory, also CMT has stirred some opposing opinions from the field. Ruiz De Mendoza Ibánez and Pérez Hernández (2011) introduce some of the most recent commentaries on CMT, or CTM – Contemporary Theory of Metaphor – as they refer to the Lakoff-Johnsonean theory. The theory has been criticized, for instance, of "circularity in postulating conceptual metaphor" – the problem lies in conceptual metaphor and that according to CTM, "we talk about life in terms of journeys because we think of life in terms of journeys; and we know we think of life in terms of journeys because we talk about life in terms of journeys" (De Mendoza Ibánez & Hernández Pérez, 2011: 165). However, the current view by cognitive linguists holds that some aspects of life can be understood in terms of some aspects of journeys (ibid.). Another criticism towards CTM has been, according to De Mendoza Ibánez and Herández Pérez, that many of the conceptual metaphors identified by Lakoff and Johnson can actually be analyzed as analogies or similes. Metaphorical thought can be based on analogical reasoning, as is the case with an animal metaphor like "LAWYERS ARE SHARKS". In this example, analogy is present as in their professional environment, lawyers behave like sharks to their prey. However, the analogy is "naturally partial" (ibid.: 166), as it impossible to think of sharks as dishonest or greedy. These are "semantic implications that directly arise from the target"

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6 See a list of works in Forceville (2008a: 474-6)

(ibid.: 166)[7]. Besides the ideas mentioned in De Mendoza Ibánez and Hernández Pérez' (2011) article, also relevant to the present enterprise is the criticism towards CMT made by Steen (2003, 2008). Leaving commenting on his valuable discussion of deliberateness of metaphors to minimum due to the focus of this essay, Steen's idea of the importance of the communicational aspect of metaphor should be highlighted here. Steen bases his idea on psycholinguistic evidence, in addition to CMT, and states that "metaphors have linguistic, conceptual, and communicative properties, and the latter have been ignored or interpreted in conceptual or linguistic terms instead of their own" (Steen, 2008: 222). Although his work is on linguistic metaphors, the idea of some metaphors actually not being processed metaphorically is worth a notion. According to Steen, deliberately used conventional metaphors may be processed by comparison (a cross-domain mapping in the terminology of CMT), whereas non-deliberate ones are most likely not processed metaphorically. His notion of deliberate metaphor refers to "a relatively conscious discourse strategy that aims to elicit particular rhetorical effects", and as "metaphor may be used deliberately for divertive purposes in literature, advertising, or journalism; or it may be used deliberately for persuasive purposes in advertising (...)" (Steen, 2008: 224). Before diving into metaphor in advertising, though, one highly important theory within the field of cognitive science, also in relation to metaphor, shall be discussed in detail.

2.2.5 Blending Theory

In 1999, Lakoff and Johnson provided a more complex version of their CMT, which was based on several theories constructed by other scholars. Among these theories were both Fauconnier and Turner's (1996, 2002) theory of *conceptual blending* and Grady's (2005) theory of *primary metaphor* (De Mendoza Ibánez & Hernández Pérez, 2011). In this chapter, the focus will be turned away from CMT towards blending theory, or conceptual blending, as the basics of the theory will be laid out. In the following chapter, blending theory will be discussed with regards to metaphor.

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7 See more points of criticism in De Mendoza Ibánez, R. and Hernández Pérez , L. (2011). The contemporary theory of metaphor: myths, developments and challenges. In *Metaphor and Symbol*, 26: 161-185.

2.2.5.1 Basic principles

Blending Theory (BT), as developed by Fauconnier and Turner (1995, 1996, 1998, 2002), is a cognitive theory that focuses on a basic mental operation behind real-time meaning construction. This operation is not something human beings are consciously aware of[8]. It is "highly imaginative but crucial to even the simplest kinds of thought" (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002: 18). The basic unit of BT is 'the Network Model', which consists of basic principles: the *mental spaces*, *cross-space mappings* between them and the *emergent structure*. Mental spaces are "conceptual packets constructed as we think and talk, for purposes of local understanding and action" (ibid.: 40). They are connected to *frames*, which contain long-term schematic and specific knowledge. Schematic knowledge refers to knowledge such as "walking along a path", whereas specific knowledge refers to personal experiences such as "the day I conquered Mt. Everest". Mental spaces can function as *input spaces* in the Network Model. Input spaces, whose number can vary from two to more, have elements and structures of their own. Counterparts in the input spaces are connected with partial *cross-space mappings,* also called *counterpart connections*. These connections come in various types, including 'Change', 'Identity', 'Cause-Effect', 'Part-Whole', 'Analogy', 'Disanalogy', 'Similarity', and 'Uniqueness'[9]. There are also mappings that connect the *generic space* with the two input spaces. The generic space is one that contains conceptual structures that both inputs have in common. Some of the structures and elements of the input spaces are inherited by the *blended space*, the fourth mental space of the Network Model. The result of *compression*, the blend, has material from the inputs that combines and interacts in it. The blend can then develop an *emergent structure* that is not in the inputs.

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8 All the terminology in this chapter is from Fauconnier & Turner (2002), if not mentioned otherwise
9 See Fauconnier and Turner (2002: 101) for the complete 15-part list
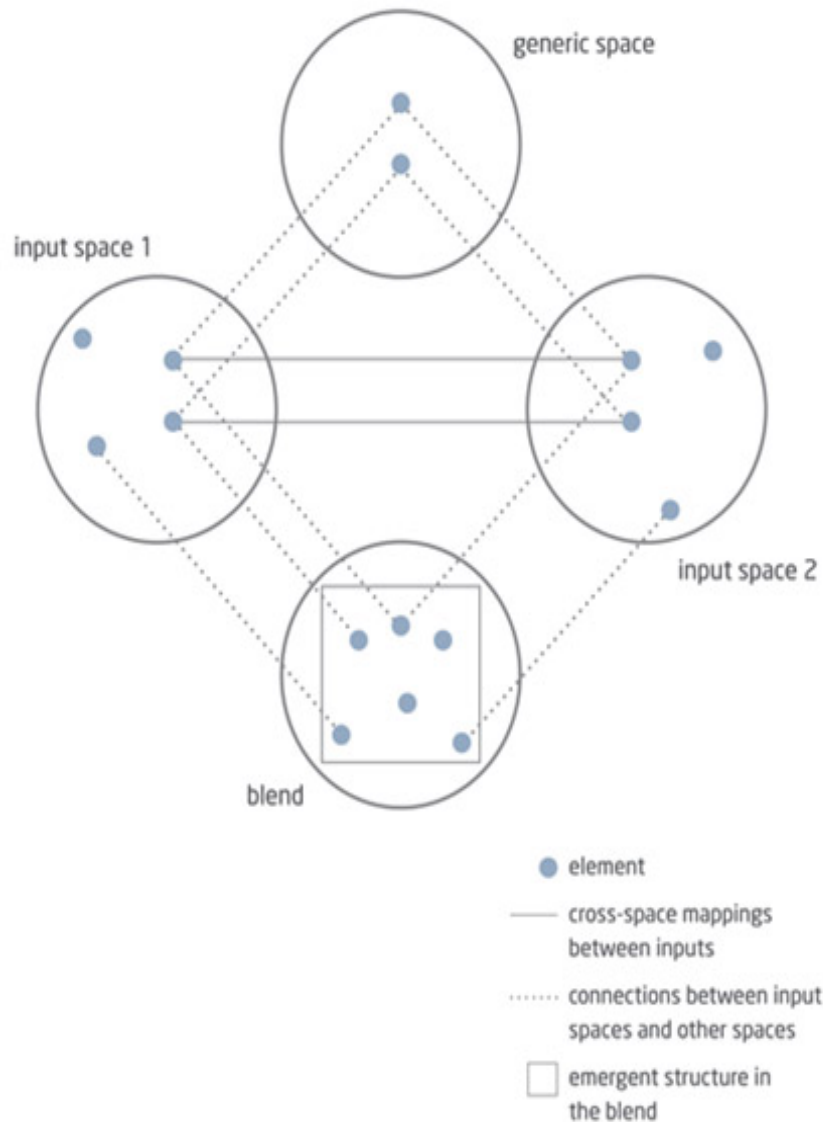
Image 2. The Conceptual Integration Network Model (adapted from Fauconnier and Turner's model in *The Way We Think*, 2002:46)

The emergent structure will result from the three basic processes involved in blending – *composition, completion,* and *elaboration*. With composition, the projection of content from the inputs into the blend is referred to. Completion refers to the additional structure brought to the blend when a structure from the input spaces corresponds with information in our long-term memory. With this correspondence, a pattern or structure can be 'filled out' (Grady et al.,

1999). Finally, by elaboration the theory refers to the simulation of the event in the blend, which can be continued endlessly. Like elaboration, also completion is of "open-ended nature" (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002: 49): this functions as a platform for the creative possibilities of blending. And indeed, as Grady et al. (1999) mention, research on BT often focuses on novel or creative conceptualizations, such as metaphors, whereas a theory like CMT has conventionality in the center of attention. To refer back to the three processes involved in blending: at all of the three stages, potential for new content emerges. New frames, or new features, or new juxtapositions can occur in the blended space. This 'newness' differentiates the four-space model from the two domain-model of CMT. With the help of the four-space model, it is possible to explain certain meaning constructions, like the widely quoted example of "THE SURGEON IS A BUTCHER". In this example, quoted in Grady et al. (1999) for example, the notion of the incompetence of the surgeon is not projected from source to target (in CMT terms). The notion of incompetence arises from the blended space and demonstrates the usefulness of BT in certain cases of meaning construction: it is rather often that blending of information and its active combination play a notable part.

Fauconnier and Turner differentiate between four different kinds of integration network types (2002: 120-135): simplex, mirror, single-scope and double-scope. The most simple one of them is called *a simplex network*. This type of network has two input spaces: one of which has an effective frame with roles in it, and another one with unframed elements with values. An example of a simplex network is in the format of "X is the Y of Z", such as "Homer is the father of Bart". The blend in this instance integrates the frame and the values without any clashes. In a second type of network, however, clashes can occur. These *mirror networks* can have clashes between the input spaces below the frame level: a typical mirror network features spaces, be they input, generic or blend, that all share an organizing frame. On the level of the organizing frame, there are no differences between the organization of the spaces, but at a more specific level, however, clashes are possible. The clashes can be resolved in the blend of a mirror network in two ways: first, only one of the clashing elements will be projected to the blend; or second, the clashing elements will both be brought into the blend, but as separate entities. As will be seen in the following, single-scope and double-scope networks often have clashes on several levels.

2.2.5.2 Blending Theory and metaphor

Within BT, metaphor is usually explained in terms of single-scope networks (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002). Single-scope networks are characterized by the asymmetric projection of organizing frame: they have two input spaces with different organizing frames, and only one of them is projected to the blended space. Since the inputs have different frames, a visible conceptual clash is present. Hence single-scope networks give us a feeling of understanding one thing in terms of another. This, of course, is the basis for a metaphor: indeed, single-scope networks are described by Fauconnier and Turner as "the prototype of highly conventional source-target metaphors" (ibid.: 127). The source in this instance is the input space providing the organizing frame, and the target is the one providing the focus of understanding.

Also double-scope blends can underlie metaphorical expressions (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002). Typically, a double-scope network has two input spaces both contributing to the organizational frame of the blend. In addition, the blended space will have a new organizing structure and emergent meaning of its own (Joy et al., 2009). Due to both input spaces providing material for the blend, and the fact that they often are sharply different, offers possibilities for severe clashes within the network. However, these clashes challenge imagination instead of blocking the network: double-scope networks can thus lead to highly creative (metaphorical) blends.

The relationship between metaphor and BT, then, has been extensively explored by Grady, Oakley and Coulson (1999) and Grady (2005). Blends are, as seen above, constructed with the help of links between the input spaces present in the Integration Network. These links, or counterpart relations, guide the way the blend is built. (Grady et al., 1999). The *counterpart connections* can be "connections between frames and roles in frames, connections of identity or transformation or representation, analogical connections, metaphoric connections, and, more generally, "vital relations" mappings (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002: 47). Grady et al. (1999) and Grady (2005) take the metaphoric connections under close inspection.

Metaphors can function as the counterpart mappings: conventionalized metaphors, that have historically begun as creative uses of language by a limited number of individual(s), can provide triggers that will allow conceptual blending to proceed (Grady et al., 1999). Grady's (2005) concept of *primary metaphors* should be highlighted here regarding this matter. Grady

(ibid.) states that primary metaphors – metaphors not based on similarity or analogy, but experiential correlation – constitute a special sort of counterpart connection. What makes them special, according to Grady, is the fact that "they are the basis for so many figurative conceptualizations, many of which we hardly notice are not literal" (ibid.: 1613). However, not all experiential correlation leads to metaphoric connections between concepts (Grady, 2005). In several instances it may be a question of metonymy – an instance of conceptualization in which "two senses may be contrasted but where the contrast is bridged by contiguity instead of similarity" (Steen et al. 2011: 10). Correlations that do lead to metaphoric associations between concepts, however, must meet three conditions, according to Grady (2005). First, the source and target concepts (thus the two input spaces) shall be associated with sensory and non-sensory impressions, respectively. Second, the two correlated concepts shall also have the same highly schematic structure: they must be construable as actions, scalar relations or atemporal relations, for example. Third, a difference in one domain shall be associated with a corresponding difference in the other. For instance, if anger increases, heat increases in "ANGER IS HEAT"-metaphor[10]. However, identifying a metaphorical connection between the input spaces can sometimes be only the inception for a deep analysis of a blend (Grady et al., 1999).

Not only the connections creating blends, but also the blends themselves can be analyzed as metaphoric. *Metaphoric blends* have often aspects related to their structure, content and the setting that make them seem metaphoric (Grady et al., 1999)[11]. In a metaphoric blend, *fusion* takes place. Two different elements from the input spaces fuse into one element in the blend. This differentiates metaphoric blends from other types of blends: in the other types, it is possible that there are distinct elements in the blend as well. In the metaphorical fusion, certain aspects of the input domain structure will not enter the blend, while certain aspects from the blend will not move back to the inputs. This yields from one of the defining characteristic of metaphors: in understanding metaphors, our critical knowledge of a conceptual domain is momentarily blocked. Next to fusion, metaphoric blends are different from non-metaphoric blends as they feature *asymmetric topicality*. This term reflects the aforementioned asymmetricality of projections, described by Fauconnier and Turner (2002). Asymmetric topicality refers to the target and source inputs of the metaphor: the target is

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10 See more Grady (2005: 1605-8).
11 All the discussion in this paragraph is from this source if not referenced otherwise.

topical, while the source provides means for re-framing. Topicality thus determines the directionality of the metaphor. Some metaphorical blends, however, do allow for projections in many directions – they are in the minority, though. The last factor, according to Grady et al. (1999), that makes a blend metaphoric, is the *context*. Focusing on linguistic expressions of metaphoric blends, the researchers note the following: how metaphorical a blend seems, depends largely on the perceived difference between two entities. The level of figurativeness is a case in point: a more abstract expression will seem more figurative, thus metaphorical, than a more realistic one.

2.2.5.3 Recent developments within BT

It is also worth mentioning that BT – also in its relation to metaphor - has recently been elaborated on by Brandt and Brandt (2005) and by Coulson and Oakley (2005). Brandt and Brandt (2005) take a cognitive-semantic approach to metaphor by introducing a mental space - framework, that is derived from CMT, BT and cognitive semiotics. They work backwards, as it were, when attempting to describe the cognition involved in the understanding of a metaphorical expression. Brandt and Brandt (ibid.) argue that it is plausible to account for metaphors, and other expressive blends, in semiotic terms. They wish to semiotically specify the mental spaces, which leads to 'Reference Space' and 'Presentation Space' for Input Spaces 1 and 2. These spaces bring the semiotic aspect to the design of the model: Reference Space introducing the signified object, and Presentation Space introducing the signifying sign. In Brandt and Brandt's (ibid.) multi-space model, also Semiotic, Virtual and Meaning Spaces are present. Their model functioned as inspiration for Coulson and Oakley (2005), who combine the Reference and Presentation Spaces with Fauconnier and Turner's (2002) Blended Space. The Presentation Space is akin to the source domain in CMT, and the Reference Space to the target domain. The latter features elements that represent the focus of the discourse participants, whereas the first includes a mental scenario that evokes the Reference Space. With this nomenclature the scholars wish to ''capture the fact that language users consider some inputs to the blend to be more important than others in terms of their consequences for the on-going activity" (ibid.: 1516). In addition, Coulson and Oakley (ibid.) highlight the local

contextual aspects in their model of blending and mental space theory. Based on Langacker's[12] idea of grounding, they introduce a Grounding Box to their diagrams of conceptual integration networks. This enables the scholars to discuss the role of "implicit and explicit assumptions" in meaning construction (ibid.: 1517), as the Grounding Box includes the analyst's list of important contextual assumptions. It should be noted that the Grounding Box is not a mental space, but more of a tool for the analyst to specify the roles, values and experiences that the language users may have prior to the conceptual integration. These two studies, Brandt and Brandt (2005) and Coulson and Oakley (2005), have brought the importance of the semiotic aspect and the local context of integration networks to the fore.

2.2.6 A remark on metonymy

Last, researchers within the traditions of both CMT and BT have throughout the years paid attention to a phenomenon, that is often described as being in close interaction with metaphor. This phenomenon, metonymy, is one described by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) as "using one entity to refer to another that is related to it" (ibid.: 35). Like metaphor, metonymy is thus seen by them as a cognitive process – however, a different kind of process. The difference lies in the conceptual domains: in metaphor, the two elements are elements of different domains, whereas in metonymy, the belong to the same domain (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; see also Semino, 2008). The two phenomena are frequently analyzed as separate but overlapping (Semino, 2008), and they often interact in language use (Semino, 2008). But years before the Lakoff-Johnsonean theorization of conceptual metaphors, Jakobson (1956) – the Russian linguist and literary theorist – noted the distinction between metaphor and metonymy and saw the two in a continuum of two poles, metaphor and metonymy. These two Jakobson saw as the two basic modes of thought, reflected in language (Jakobson 2002). Metonymy can also be found in BT, where the counterpart connections named as 'Part-Whole' represent a type of metonymy: an example of this is understanding a person's face (part) as one's personal identity (whole) (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002).

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12 Langacker 2002 in Coulson and Oakley 2005: 1516.

2.2.7 Conclusion

This section has discussed the main lines of theorization within metaphor studies. Largely based on cognitive linguistics, Conceptual Metaphor Theory has been central to the scholarship since the publication of *Metaphors We Live By* by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson in 1980. The theory, that switched the focus of metaphor studies from language to cognition, was expanded by Charles Forceville, who was willing to prove the claims made by CMT true with the help of metaphors in different media. However, CMT, like any young theory, received some criticism next to the continuations of the theory. A competing or completing, depending on one's point of view, theory was provided by Gilles Fauconnier and Mark Turner, whose Blending Theory provides a four-space model for analysis of metaphors. Despite not explicitly being a theory of metaphor like CMT, Blending Theory does indeed have valuable insights for metaphor research. Kövecses provides a suitable description of the relationship of the two cognitive phenomena:

"Blending is a process that *makes use of* but *also goes beyond* conceptual metaphors, in that it can account for cases in which people imaginatively construct elements that cannot be found in either the source or the target domain." (2005: 128; my italics)

Furthermore, the recent developments in BT and the on-going debate regarding metaphor and metonymy were introduced. In the following chapter, the discussion of theoretical developments shall be continued, but from an angle featuring metaphor and advertising.

2.3 Metaphor in advertising and commercials

Metaphor has been seen as a powerful rhetorical tool since the Ancient rhetoricians. Today, possibilities for using that tool are naturally enormously different now in comparison with what they were in Aristotle's days: all the new media provide platforms for realizations of metaphors, be they linguistic, pictorial or multimodal. In all these forms, metaphor is widely used in advertising. In this chapter, metaphor in advertising, especially in commercials, will be discussed in detail.

2.3.1 Metaphors within the genre of advertising

Advertising is a specific genre of persuasive discourse. The underlying goal of any advertisement is to sell a product. In order to sell, or perhaps make the selling fun, intriguing or even hidden, advertisers can use various rhetorical tools, including metaphors. A commercial, then, can be analyzed as an instance of a *genre event* (Steen, 2011): not only is the goal clear, but also the participants, the medium, often also the main lines of the content are known, for example. This knowledge, that all language users possess and use in communicative situations, can be labeled as *genre knowledge* (ibid.). In metaphor research, it is thus plausible to take the genre into account, as the genre "determines and constrains its possible interpretations to an extent that is difficult to overestimate" (Forceville, 2006: 14). Previous research has shown, that metaphors in advertising, or its subgenre commercials, indeed share some common characteristics.

Metaphor is a valuable tool for advertisers due to its many-sided rhetorical character. From various semiotic, linguistic and other studies of advertising metaphors it has become evident that metaphors work like "ants of advertising": a single metaphor can perform the task of a hundred words (Morgan & Reichert, 1999: 1). Advertisers often only have a limited space or time slot for conveying their message in advertisements, be they mono- or multimodal (Forceville, 2008). Hence pithy metaphors come in handy. Another favorable characteristic of metaphors is their tendency to capture the viewers' attention in advertisements (Beasley & Danesi, 2002; Forceville, 2008a, b; Semino, 2008). The attention of the viewer can be captured with personification (Beasley & Danesi, 2002) or with humorous or intriguing metaphors

(Forceville, 2008a), for instance. By capturing, and hopefully keeping, the viewers' attention, the metaphor employed will help in the competition between various brands: brands can create their distinguished identity with the help of metaphors (Beasley & Danesi, 2002). Metaphors in moving images, then, have even more modalities to bring about their usefulness for advertisers: as Forceville states, multimodal metaphors allow for "subtler ways of being conveyed, hence achieving their rhetorical effects more unobtrusively" and they tend to have an even "more sensual and emotive impact on viewers" (Forceville 2008a: 477). Due to the enormous possibilities provided by multimodal metaphors for the creators of advertisements, it is crucial to understand how they are constructed and comprehended. In the following, after a brief look into research into advertising metaphors from a consumer response perspective, research into metaphor and blends in multimodal advertisements will be taken under inspection.

2.3.2 Metaphor in advertising: consumer response perspective

Metaphors in advertising have been of interest to numerous scholars working within advertising and marketing research. Primarily, the interest was conceptual with studies like Stern (1988, 1990) et al.[13], but soon after also the curiosity of the effects of advertising metaphors started triggering fruitful studies. For instance, McQuarrie and Mick (1996) take a text-centered approach and explain with their framework how metaphor, among other rhetorical figures, functions as a useful tool in reaching some of the goals of advertisers: either to motivate the reading of an advertisement, or to make an ad memorable at a glance. McQuarrie and Phillips (2005) take a look at indirect persuasion with both linguistic and pictorial metaphors, and find that such indirect advertising claims "may be advantageous because they render the consumer more receptive to multiple, distinct, positive inferences about the advertised brand" (7). In their article from 2004, Phillips and McQuarrie propose a new typology for visual rhetorics of advertising, and compare rich and complex visual figures with regard to, for instance, belief change from the consumer's perspective when encountered with the image. Gkiouzepas and Hogg (2011) take the typology, as suggested by Phillips and McQuarrie, further, and contribute with their research to the debate about the persuasive

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13 See Morgan and Reichert (1999: 2) for more studies

advantages of metaphors over similes. Next to these studies in print advertisements, also metaphors in television commercials have been researched from a consumer response perspective. Wiggin and Miller (2003) look at American TV commercials, that intended to recruit new members to the Army. Their research shows that a combination of verbo-pictorial metaphors is an effective manner of capturing the potential recruits attention and creating a positive image of the Army. These studies are indeed valuable from a consumer research perspective, but they can be complemented with a deeper understanding of how consumers process metaphors in advertising, be they represented in static print advertisements or commercials with moving images.

2.3.3 Metaphor in commercials: the conceptual metaphor perspective

Metaphors in commercials have been researched mostly by Forceville within his theorization of pictorial and multimodal metaphor (2007, 2008a, b). The emerging theory is continuing on the conceptual line of thinking about metaphor, as initiated by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). In multimodal metaphors, like their verbal counterparts, one or more features are mapped from the source to the target, which will temporarily be transformed conceptually (Forceville, 2007). Similarity will be at play in the metaphorical construction: however, in multimodal metaphors in commercials, the similarity between target and source is often created (Forceville, 2012). In commercials, then, the interpretation and identification of target and source domains is highly dependent on the genre itself, as the viewers of a commercial will expect to see the creation of a positive brand image during the short clip (ibid.; Forceville, 2008b). Hence it is thus plausible that the product most often serves as the target domain in commercials (Forceville, 2007). The product is in the center of attention in the commercial, and it is explicitly salient in the text. According to Forceville's research, the target is usually cued visually in commercials, whereas the source domain may be cued visually, verbally, sonically or pictorially (Forceville, 2009). The preference tends to fall on sonic cues, sometimes in combination with visual or verbal modalities (Forceville, 2007). Furthermore, the order in which target and source of metaphor are depicted in commercials is specific to the genre: the source domain is sometimes cued before the target domain. Forceville (2007) speculates that this may be due to the advertisers' need and will to hold on to the viewers'

attention - by reversing to order of the domains, it is possible to intrigue, tease or surprise the viewers. In addition, it is typical for metaphors in commercials to often have only positive qualities mapped from source target – unless the idea is to put a competitor in bad light (ibid.). What this means for the target and source is that the source domain must have a higher status or value than the target. For instance, in a metaphor like BEER IS WINE, wine tends to be seen as a more prestigious beverage and is hence more likely the source than target domain in a metaphor.

Forceville's theorization of the target and source domains of multimodal metaphors has recently been questioned by Lantolf and Bobrova (2012). The scholars found evidence in their research that it also is possible that the product serves as the source domain of the multimodal metaphor in a commercial. In the cross-cultural analysis of American and Ukrainian beer commercials and their multimodal conceptual metaphors, Lantolf and Bobrova used the framework created by Forceville (2007, 2008a, b, 2009). In commercials from both cultures, the researchers found that the most pervasive conceptual metaphor was HAPPINESS IS DRINKING BEER. The structure of this conceptual metaphor is thus different from the research reported previously. The metaphor thus tries, according to the researchers, to convince the viewer that the abstract notion of HAPPINESS is understood in terms of DRINKING the producer's BEER (Lantolf & Bobrova, 2012). In the commercials featuring this metaphor the source domain was most often cued in visual and verbal modalities, while the target domain was cued in visual (smiling, partying) and sonic (laughing, singing) modes. The unidirectional mappings from source to target included for instance obtaining beer → realization of desire; happiness → up, lightness, drinking beer in heaven; and sharing beer → making friends (see ibid.: 51 for all mappings). Although perhaps HAPPINESS IS UP can be classified as a conventionalized metaphor in the Lakoff-Johnsonean view, the other mappings and the overall conceptual metaphor (HAPPINESS IS DRINKING BEER) in Lantolf and Bobrova's analysis are rather novel. The challenge here is analyzing advertising metaphors in a multimodal environment, such as commercials, with a framework based on the Conceptual Metaphor Theory. As Forceville himself writes, metaphors in advertising are typically experienced by the viewers as surprising and creative combinations of the two domains (2008b), and constructed by their makers in such a creative manner that the metaphor will indeed entertain,

surprise or tease the viewer (2012). For the analysis of creative, novel metaphors in commercials, a theory other than CMT may prove useful.

2.3.4 Metaphor in commercials: the conceptual blending view

The theory of conceptual blending can complement our understanding of how viewers construct metaphorical meaning in commercials. Blending in advertising rhetoric has not raised the interest of scholars as widely as metaphor. However, from the point of view of consumer researchers, Joy, Sherry, and Deschenes (2009) discuss the phenomenon in their article "Conceptual blending in advertising". The authors highlight the need for applying blending theory (BT) to analyses of advertising, as the theory goes further than CMT in accounting for the process of meaning construction online - "BT helps to identify those images and words that have an immediate impact on consumers and inspire them to act" (ibid.: 39). BT is a theory of sometimes short-lived, on-the-spot, novel conceptualizations (Grady et al., 1999), thus it has its advantages for advertising, which is of an on-the-spot nature itself. The 'dynamic evolution' of meaning construction is described in more detail in BT, while CMT focuses more on the 'stable knowledge structures' in our memories (ibid.). This online, dynamic view provided by BT will also help in understanding how metaphorical mappings function in commercials: as Joy et al. (2009) state, in advertising, like in other genres, there often is more at play than simple unidirectional mappings discussed within CMT. From Joy et al.'s research it comes clear that metaphoric projections in advertising often involve more than two concepts and/or bidirectional projection (ibid.). This may be reflected in the reversal of the source-to-target mapping. Interestingly, this reversal was one of the main findings of Lantolf and Bobrova's (2012; see above) research into beer commercials.

2.3.5 Conclusion

This section has provided an overview of metaphor in the genre of advertising, both from the point of view of CMT and BT. It was seen that conceptual metaphors are widely utilised by advertisers due to their effective rhetorical character. Some of the characteristics of metaphors in a subgenre of advertising, commercials, were laid out. It was also shown how metaphor

research could benefit from applying the BT to research into metaphors in commercials. Indeed, "blending is an additional and all-important cognitive process that greatly enhances the potential for creative thought" (Kövecses 2005: 270) – it also has potential to help in understanding how creative metaphors are constructed and understood.

2.4. Metaphor and culture

2.4.1 What is culture?

Culture surrounds us in a ubiquitous manner. The definitions of this widely discussed concept vary from manifestations of so-called high culture such as literature, to an umbrella-term for the dominant ideologies of a community, on to all-embracing views that include the surrounding physical world (Deignan 2003; Kövecses 2005). In this thesis, the view adopted is in line with the one adopted by the Hungarian metaphor scholar Kövecses (2005): based on anthropological descriptions of the concept of culture, he describes culture as "a set of shared understandings that characterize smaller or larger groups of people" (2005: 1). These understandings are "sometimes, but not always, realized, stored, and transmitted in their language" (Quinn, 1991:57). Despite this view not being exhaustive, it suits the aims of the present enterprise well. In relation to the tradition of conceptual metaphor studies, this way of describing culture fits the idea of metaphorical thinking not being only present in language, but also in thought. The shared understandings suggested by the anthropologist view can thus perhaps often be metaphorical understandings (Kövecses, 2005). In this chapter, the relationship between culture and metaphor will be explored from both the perspective of Conceptual Metaphor Theory and Blending Theory. After that, a brief look into cross-cultural studies will be provided.

2.4.2 CMT and culture

In the view of today's Conceptual Metaphor Theory, the concept of culture is central to the construction and understanding of metaphors. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) state in their *Metaphors We Live By* that the values of a culture will be coherent with the metaphorical structure of fundamental concepts in the culture in question. These are based on embodied human experiences, that according to Lakoff and Johnson (ibid.) are universal across cultures. An example of this is "AFFECTION IS WARMTH" (Kövecses, 2005), that is likely to hail from the childhood experiences of all human beings: in our mothers' arms, we all felt warm. However, it is worth noting that Lakoff and Johnson's early work raised notable critique

regarding the theory's focus on the individual's embodied experience (see Quinn, 1991). Indeed, the analysis provided by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) does not seem to address cultures fully in plural, but focuses on the Western, perhaps Anglo-American evidence. In later work it has indeed become evident that next to the so-called universal metaphors, there seems to be plenty of variation across metaphors in world's languages (Kövecses, 2005), demonstrating the input of culture to metaphors. Cross-cultural variation of metaphor manifests itself most often in one of the three roughly identified types theorized by Boers (2003): differences between the source-target mappings that have become conventional in a culture; differences between value-judgments that are associated with the domains; or differences regarding the pervasiveness of metaphor as such, in comparison with other rhetorical figures. An example of the first type of variation occurs when, for instance, two languages show the same source-target mapping but the mappings lead to different degrees of productivity or conventionality (ibid.). In real-life language use this can be seen for instance sports metaphors – a baseball metaphor will most likely be productive in an American context, but might not be that in a culture unfamiliar with the game. The second type identified by Boers refers to instances of culture-specific connotations of certain metaphors. An example of this can be the use of a metaphor such as GOVERNMENT IS A MACHINE, which is most likely to have different connotations in countries with low and high level of respect towards the governmental institutions. Boers' third type of variation can then reflect a culture's ”rhetorical etiquette” (Boers, 2003: 236), if metaphor is mixed or competing in the discourse with other rhetorical devices, such as metonymy. It is also worth mentioning that whereas most of the research on culture and metaphor has been on metaphors occurring in written or spoken language, also the construction and interpretation of multimodal metaphors can be affected by the culturally specific environment in which the metaphors occur (Forceville, 2007). Furthermore, although Deignan (2003) warns about a too much of a straightforward approach to the relation of culture and metaphor and wishes to emphasize the possibility for metaphor being an incomplete ”cultural reliquary” (ibid.: 255) instead of simply ”a synchronic reflection of culture” (ibid.), it is clear that metaphor and culture are closely intertwined within Conceptual Metaphor Theory.

Kövecses (2005) takes the theory of conceptual metaphor and its variation a step further. He sees metaphor as ”inevitably conceptual, linguistic, neural-bodily, and social-cultural – all at the same time.” (ibid.:293). Differences in social-cultural experiences and

cognitive processes between individuals may, then, lead to variation in metaphors. In detail, cross-cultural variation of metaphor can be explained by the construction of *complex metaphors* (Kövecses, 2005). He continues on the theorization of primary and complex metaphors, but wishes to emphasize the relevance of complex metaphors to a culturally-focused theory of metaphor. Complex metaphors are built from the potentially universal primary metaphors, and become, under the influence of culture, more complex and more culturally specific than their primary counterparts (ibid.). This view is also shared by Boers (2003) and Deignan (2003). Furthermore, in his analysis of the cultural variation of conceptual metaphors, Kövecses (ibid.) differentiates several *aspects* of metaphors that all play a their parts in the variation. For instance, source and target domains are a part of the eleven-point list[14] of the aspects. An example of the source and target-aspect is when a particular abstract domain is expressed in a variety of ways in different languages (ibid.). Examples of this, given by Kövecses, include the conceptualization of love as a JOURNEY, UNITY, or HUNTING in different cultures (ibid.). Also metaphorical mappings can vary across languages, highlighting the cross-cultural variation. Interestingly, Kövecses also takes blending into his list of aspects of metaphor variation. Of these three – source and target, mappings, and blending – Kövecses characterizes mappings as examples of aspects being affected by variation, whereas source and target and blending as producers of metaphor variation. Blending and its relation to culture will be taken under inspection in the following.

2.4.3 BT and culture

Blending and its fundamental properties are influenced by culture. Be the blend metaphorical or not, the mental spaces and the relations around them are built of knowledge, that can be learned in the moment ("immediate experience (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002: 103) or that is based on previous understandings. Fauconnier and Turner (2002) discuss the organization of the shared elements between the spaces and their relations with the help of *framing*. When the elements and relations are organized as "a package that we already know about" (ibid.: 102), the mental space in question is framed. Framing is a commonly used term in discourse analysis, in which it is characterized as a fixed schema "shared by everyone within a social

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14 See the complete list in Kövecses (2005: 117).

group" (Yule, 1996: 86). Frames can thus be developed into conceptual integration networks that can survive the test of time and surrounding culture, and take their place in collective memory and knowledge (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002). Fauconnier and Turner (ibid.) highlight the importance of "human beings *and* their cultures" (396; my italics) in all possible fields of life involving blends, such as ideology, language, religion and science, and state that they have "step by step, made blends, unmade them, reblended them, and made new blends, always arriving at human-scale blends that they can manipulate directly" (ibid.: 396). Although leaning more towards the philosophical discussion of how we think debated by Lakoff and Johnson on one side, and Fauconnier and Turner on the other, this idea does demonstrate that our cognitive processes are highly influenced and integrated with our cultures.

2.4.4 Cross-cultural studies: Hofstede's dimensions

By looking at metaphors in discourse in different cultures, cross-cultural linguistic (and conceptual) variation can thus be detected. In order to understand the variation even better, it is worthwhile to briefly look at cross-cultural studies from the perspective of social sciences. A classical view on cross-cultural studies is the one of Hofstede (1980, 1984). Hofstede introduces in his book *Culture's consequences* (1980) the research into 40 (later on 53) countries, which revealed four main dimensions with which dominant value systems in the researched countries can be distinguished. Furthermore, Hofstede compares 38 other studies, be they survey or non-survey, comparative studies, with his own study and shows that all the studies significantly correlate with one or more of the four dimensions. Hofstede shows, that based on the four dimensions, countries can be divided into culture areas. The dimensions, then, are identified as follows (Hofstede, 1984): first, "Power Distance", which describes how power is spread in a culture, how it is used and how the authorities are seen. More specifically, it relates to the anthropological or societal issue of social inequality. Countries with a short power distance are for example the Nordic countries and the US. In these cultures, democracy and equality are highlighted (Gustafsson & Kari, 2009). The second dimension is "Uncertainty Avoidance", which refers to whether people in a culture feel threatened by ambiguous situations, and whether they have created institutions that can help in avoiding those situations. Countries that have strict rules to avoid uncertainty, like Germany, France, Japan and Greece

(ibid.), often have citizens that are afraid of uncertain situations. The third dimension, as identified by Hofstede, is "Invidualism versus Collectivism". This dimension reflects the two ends of a bipolar continuum: cultures can be very individualistic and focus on only looking after themselves and their immediate family, or they can be collective, when people take care of each other in exchange for loyalty within collectivities or in-groups. Examples of individualistic countries are the Nordic countries, the US, Germany and Great Britain (ibid.), and of collectivist countries the Asian nations. Last, the fourth dimension is also represented on a continuum: "Masculinity versus femininity". A masculine culture is described as one with dominant values such as money, success and things, whereas a feminine one is one with values like caring for others, and a high quality of life. Also the choice for social sex roles and their effect on the society is a part of this dimension. A typically masculine cultures are Japan and the US, while traditionally feminine cultures include the Nordic countries and the Netherlands (ibid.).

The dimensions identified by Hofstede can be of valuable addition to metaphor studies. Hofstede's view has also been adapted by metaphor scholars, such as Littlemore (2003). Littlemore looks into the understanding of metaphors by English as a second language -speakers from Bangladesh, and uses Hofstede's cultural values (dimensions) in her analysis. Littlemore found it was more likely for the students to interpret the metaphors during a lecture in ways that supported their own value systems (ibid.). In addition, this process was more likely if the contextual clues were unclear and hence did not support the interpretation according to the communicator's value systems. Hofstede's cultural dimensions will also be of help for an analysis of metaphors in a commercial type of discourse such as advertising, as his own study was based on multinational workplace (Hofstede 1980, 1984).

2.5. Overview of the discussion

In this chapter, the discussion began from the semiotic background for the present study. From Roland Barthes' interest towards the meaning of images to the widespread semiotic investigation of advertising and on to multimodal semiotic analyses: semiotics is the general framework for the present enterprise. A more specific framework, then, is provided by scholarship within metaphor studies. Conceptual Metaphor Theory, as initiated by Lakoff and Johnson, has recently witnessed the rise of a comp(l)eting view with the research into conceptual blending by Fauconnier and Turner. Blending Theory enables the understanding of certain meaning constructions of metaphors. In some metaphors, new meaning can emerge in addition to elements projected form the target and source domains. The new meaning emerges in the blended space of integration networks – mental models present in all our cognitive activity. This allows for highly creative possibilities of meaning construction.

Highly creative are often also the metaphors present in advertising. The main body of research so far, however, has used theories following the Lakoff-Johnsonean tradition. Research into pictorial and multimodal metaphors in advertising by Forceville has led to most fruitful results during the early 21st century. Forceville's work has inspired other scholars to look at the matter in more depth: for instance Lantolf and Bobrova suggest that the source-target directionality in metaphors can also involve the product as the source instead of Forceville's theorization of product serving as target in most instances. Lantolf and Bobrova looked at a specific type of metaphors: ones in beer commercials in the US and Ukraine, and made a cross-cultural comparison of these.

Culture, then, has always played a significant role in metaphor studies. Both CMT and BT see culture as a fundamental part of metaphor understanding. Across cultures, our embodied experiences can function as the basis for metaphorical expressions. Culture influences the background knowledge we need in order to understand metaphorical meanings. We all share frames, within our cultures, that organize the mental spaces present in integration networks. On a higher level it can also be stated that not only culture and metaphor are intertwined, but advertising can be added to the list. Advertising is highly integrated in our cultures, and metaphors are an often-used rhetorical tool in them. It is thus fruitful to keep this

interrelatedness of the three aspects in mind while looking at metaphors in commercials in two different cultures.

This chapter on the theoretical framework has functioned as a springboard for the research into metaphors in American and Finnish beer commercials. The present study shall participate in the on-going discussion of the structure of metaphors in commercials. In order to shed light on the matter of whether the product, in this case beer, can also function as the source for a metaphor, a step away from the strict source-target -schema will be taken. By taking this step, and using an analytical model based in Blending Theory, a broader question regarding the analysis of meaning constructions in commercials will be tackled. In the following, a description of the method used for the analysis will be given. After that, the data will be introduced, followed by a discussion of the results.

3. Method and data

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the method used for the study shall be laid out in detail. As the field of metaphor research in commercials is rather young, a combination of methods was considered suitable for the present enterprise, highlighting important aspects of different angles. In addition, the set of data will be introduced and the process of analysis will be described.

3.2 Nature of the material leading to the model

Advertising is a creative business – beginning from the creation of a brand name to large-scale campaigns in various media. Commercials, broadcast on television or online, are end results of numerous creative processes. Furthermore, they provide possibilities for new, creative representations of metaphors with their multimodal character. This has also recently been recognized by Forceville: metaphors in commercials are often of highly creative nature due to their form. In his chapter "Creativity in pictorial and multimodal advertising metaphors" (2012), Forceville agrees that in order to formalize creative (cognitive) processes, Blending Theory can be of help. Indeed, as was laid out in chapter 2, BT can shed light on creative meaning constructions emerging in the blended mental space. Due to the possibilities for creative metaphors in commercials, Blending Theory was chosen to build the basis of the method used for the analysis in this paper. Furthermore, Forceville's focus on the creativity of form was taken into account when the method for the present study was designed.

Also the importance of *context* was given special attention. As the aim is to provide a cross-cultural analysis of a selection of Finnish and American beer commercials, the different contexts in which the commercials were shown should be represented in the method. The importance of local contextual information was taken aboard with *the grounding box*, introduced by Coulson and Oakley (2005) in their "Coded Meaning Model". An addition to the integration network of BT, the grounding box is not a mental space but a box representing the analyst's list of important contextual assumptions. The box can thus be used to represent the discourse participants' values, roles, experiences or other types of background knowledge

affecting meaning construction. Information flows from the grounding box to the mental spaces, and in some instances even back to the box. Despite the grounding box being highly reliant on the analyst's individual interpretation, the concept reflects such a valuable aspect of understanding meaning construction in commercials that it was chosen to be a part of the model used in the present study.

3.3 The model

The model used for the present study is based on Coulson and Oakley's (2005) Coded Meaning Model. The model is depicted below.
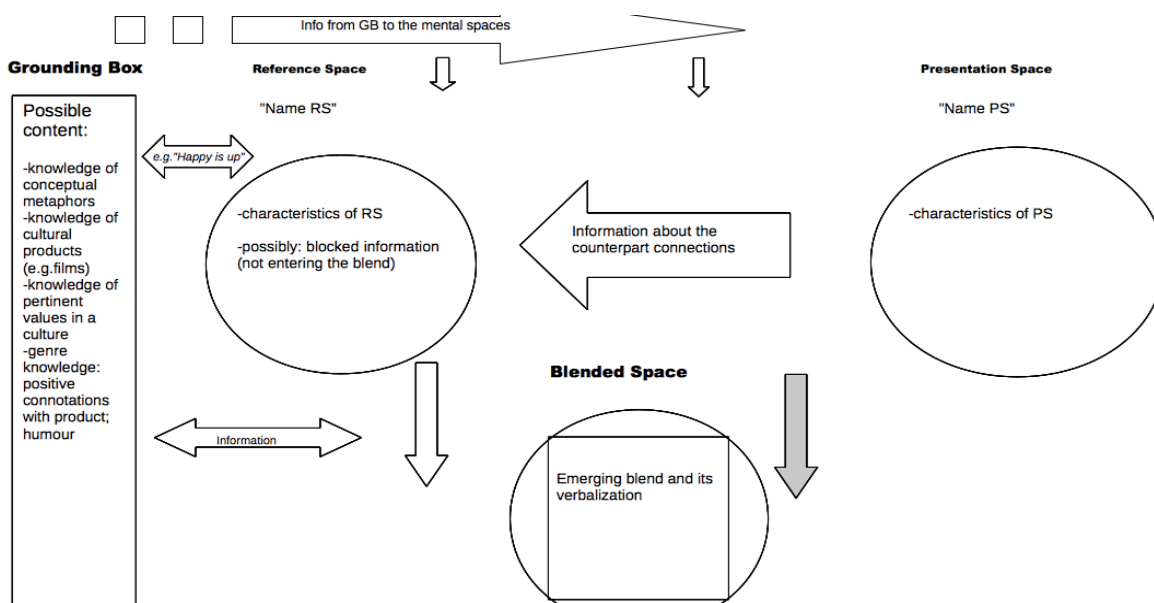
Image 3: The model for present study

In order to make the visualization of the model as effective as possible, some adjustments and assumptions were made. First, the terminology for the input spaces follows the ones used by Coulson and Oakley (2005), but they have been swapped around (in the present version Reference Space on the left, Presentation Space on the right). This was done in order to reflect the traditional target-source -representation of metaphors. Within BT, there is no set standard for the order of representation, and the order should not matter for the results of the interpretation (Lundmark, 2005). Second, like Coulson and Oakley (2005) and Lundmark

(2005), the generic space that traditionally occurs in BT analyses was left out. Third, some details belonging to the grounding box were generalized and left unmarked. These details include the assumption that all the American data were broadcasted to a largely American public, and vice versa regarding the Finnish data. It was also left unmarked that the participants of the discourse event, the commercial, were the creators of the commercial and the viewer. Circumstances of the discourse event were only marked if they were known. Furthermore, it should be mentioned that also regarding the mental spaces, only the aspects relevant for the present analysis were noted down. Last, the complexity of blends is not visualized in a standardized manner. This is a deficiency of the present study and would ideally be corrected in a further study. It is worth mentioning that many blends are complex, and the unique descriptions can be found in the Appendix II and III.

3.4 Description of data

The data chosen for the analysis presented in this paper consists of 12 American and 12 Finnish commercials, found on YouTube.com in 2012. The data is to be found in an appendix in DVD-format. The commercials all have a common topic: they all advertise beer. The length of the commercials in question varies from 15 seconds to 90 seconds – however, 16 of the 24 commercials are around 30 seconds in length, falling into the typical length of commercials. The American commercials are all spoken in English, whereas in the Finnish commercials Finnish, Swedish, English and an unidentified Native American language are utilized. The analyst is fluent in all languages in question, despite the Native American language: the commercial in which the unidentified language was detected has, however, English subtitles. It is assumed that all the commercials have been broadcast in national networks in both countries. Most of the American commercials were broadcast on television during the final of Super Bowl, the annual highlight of the American football season. There is no such information regarding the Finnish set of commercials. Based on the information on YouTube, the commercials were broadcasted during the 1990s, 2000s and 2010s.

3.5 The reasons behind the choice of data

The choice for the set of data was first and foremost inspired by the article by Lantolf and Bobrova (2012), in which the scholars described their research into 16 American and 16 Ukrainian beer commercials. In order to participate in the theoretical discussion they suggested about the structure of metaphorical constructions in beer commercials, it was considered plausible to try to integrate as many of the commercials analysed by Lantolf and Bobrova as possible. Due to technical issues (some of the links to commercials provided by Lantolf and Bobrova were broken; and one commercial was deemed to be a spoof made by consumers), only eight commercials from Lantolf and Bobrova's study were incorporated in the data set for the present study.

The other four American commercials and their 12 Finnish counterparts were chosen in order to represent a diverse selection of beer commercials from both cultures. Although the amount of data is limited due to the time- and word restrictions of the present study, it has been compiled so that it reflects different campaigns, brands and sales. No commercial is from the exactly same campaign as any other. Four different brands from both countries are represented in the data. Furthermore, the sales of beer brands were taken into account: *Bud Light* being the best selling beer in the US15, it has the most (five) representatives in the data set. Also the Finnish part of data represents the best-sellers, as the top three breweries are featured in the data set. Because of a light beer being sold most in the US, but light beers being almost non-existent in the Finnish market, a somewhat older product, *Light Beer*, from Finland was added next to the well-known brands.

3.6 Description of the analysis

The analysis was performed in June and July 2012 by one analyst. First, each commercial from YouTube was analyzed according to the model. Each commercial resulted in a unique sheet, to be found in the Appendix. Second, the structural characteristics of the commercials were collected. Then, all the sheets and the list of structural characteristics were analyzed, per culture, in order to find out whether it was possible to track certain patterns in the data. These

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15 Advertising Age 9 January 2012 (http://adage.com/article/news/coors-light-blasts-bud-2-brew/231980/)

patterns were then noted down and a cross-cultural analysis was made. The cross-cultural analysis was, however, left to quite the minimum in order to avoid speculation. This was due to the analyst only being a native of one of the cultures analyzed. The results of the analysis can be read in the following chapter.

4. Analysis

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the results of the analysis of the data will be discussed in detail. First, the analysis of the American set of data will be introduced. A special focus shall be set upon the structural characteristics of the meaning constructions – integration networks, following BT – and the emerging patterns regarding the construction of networks. Second, the analysis of the Finnish data will be described, with the structural characteristics and emerging patterns of meaning construction. Following the discussion of both sets of data, a comparative analysis of the two will be provided. It is worth mentioning that when analyzing the emerging patterns, a rather broad approach – following the method used – was taken: also possible influences of the local context (with the help of the grounding box) were taken into account. This approach reveals the importance of completing the traditional Conceptual Metaphor Theory with Blending Theory and its recent developments.

4.2 American commercials

The twelve American commercials chosen for analysis delivered a number of interesting findings. Especially the importance of integrating the grounding box to the analytical model, and hence looking beyond the conceptual metaphors, became evident from the results.

4.2.1 Structural characteristics

In order to facilitate a discussion of emerging patterns regarding the meaning construction in the data, it is plausible to briefly introduce the structural characteristics found in the material. Of special interest for this study are the following aspects: the *type* of counterpart connections in the integration networks, the *metaphoricity* of blends, the *modalities* in which the counterpart connections are cued, and the *location of the sold product* in the integration network.

Of the 12 American commercials analyzed, nine feature metaphorical counterpart connections in their integration networks. Following Grady et al. (1999), connections like 'Similarity' and 'Analogy'[16] were analyzed as demonstrating metaphorical ties. Of the three commercials not having metaphorical connections, one was analyzed as having 'Disanalogous' connections and two as featuring 'Part-whole' (metonymic) connections. Also 'Causal' connections occur in two commercials, but in combination with other connections.

The metaphoricity of blends in the American commercials was detected on five occasions. Again, following Grady et al. (1999), a metaphorical blend was analyzed as a blend with *asymmetrical projection* of organizing frames. Next to these single-scope blends (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002), also the notion of double-scope networks was taken into account. These blends, with projection from both input spaces, can lead to "highly creative" metaphors (131).

In the American data, the modalities cueing the counterpart connections were visual, verbal (written and spoken), and sonic. These modalities led to numerous instances of different types of mono (pictorial)- and multimodal metaphors[17]. Although this does not fall within the main focus of the current study, it is perhaps interesting to mention that among the findings are pictorial contextual metaphor (*Bud Light Wine and Cheese*), pictorial simile (*Miller GD Light*) and multimodal metaphor involving visual target and musical source (*Budweiser Rocky*).

The product being sold in all the commercials, beer, does not occur explicitly in the Presentation Space, PS (the equivalent of source in CMT-theories). There are two instances, of when beer can be seen as being a part of the PS: in *Bud Light Skier*, it is a part of the blend that functions as PS in the 'Disanalogy'-connection; and in *Budweiser Cowboy*, beer can be seen as being in a metonymic relationship with alcohol in the PS.

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16 See Fauconnier and Turner (2002: 101) for the complete 15-part list of types of connections, or "vital relations"
17 For types of mono- and multimodal (pictorial) metaphors see Forceville (2007a, b, 2008)

		Commercial:											
Struct. char.:		A1	A2	A3	A4	A5	A6	A7	A8	A9	A10	A11	A12
Metaphoric connections?				x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x
Metaphoric blend?				x			x		x		x		x
Modalities:		vis., son.	vis., son.	vis., son.	vis., son.	vis., verb.	vis., verb.	vis., son.	vis.,writ.	vis.	vis.	vis., verb.	verb, writ.
Product in source domain?													

Image 4: Overview of American data – structural characteristics

These results, regarding the structural characteristics of the integration networks, raise questions about emerging patterns, especially in relation to previous studies on American beer commercials. Some answers shall be provided in the following.

4.2.2 Emerging patterns

The two most salient emerging patterns identified in the American part of the data will be introduced in this section. Adequate examples shall be provided to support the discussion.

4.2.2.1 Conceptual metaphors as basis for integration networks and connections in them

Next to their role in the connections within integration networks in the American commercials, metaphors were detected to guide the interpretation of the blends. This phenomenon has been discussed widely by theorists working with conceptual blending: especially Grady (2005; Grady et al., 1999) discusses primary metaphors as counterpart connections. These findings are of special interest to the present study, as they demonstrate the importance of adding a model based on Blending Theory to the analysis of (non-) metaphoric meaning constructions in commercials.

Example 1: *Miller GD Light*

A commercial of Miller's Genuine Draft's Light -version begins with a shot of the neck of a bottle of Miller's Genuine Draft. The camera then follows the shape of the bottle down to the

bottom, where the viewer sees the logo of Miller. While the camera moves down, "For those of you looking for the big taste of Miller Genuine Draft.." is pronounced by a male voice. At 0:07, the camera pans to the right and at finds the bottom of the light-version of the same beer at 0:09. When the camera stops, we hear "..in a light beer". At 0:10, the camera turns up again, and starts moving upwards along the shape of the bottle. Meanwhile, "we proudly present: cold-filtered Miller Genuine Draft Light" is pronounced by the voice-over, and a high building starts emerging on the right side of the frame. (depicted underneath)

Image 5: Screenshot of Miller GD Light: 0:13

After this pictorial simile with bottle as the target and high building as the source, we see a shot of the neck of the GD Light-bottle as high as people on the balconies of the high building (0:15). At 0:17, the shot is back down again, this time showing that people standing next to the beer bottle are of miniature-size. They gaze in awe at the bottle. After a shot of the middle of the bottle with the building on the background, and one more shot of the face of a blown-away viewer, the camera moves to an aerial angle at 0:20. The cap of the bottle is in the middle of the frame. At 0:22, from the downright corner of the frame, a giant object starts moving towards the cap. The camera then quickly moves, in the aerial view, to depict the masses staring upwards with their heads tilted. At 0:25, with the camera back in an angle from

underneath, we see the giant white object again, this time slowly moving to the left. At 0:26, the voice-over starts pronouncing "Also available in 12 ounce sizes". During the sentence, at 00:28, we see the 'whole picture': the giant Miller GD Light-bottle standing in the middle of a field with a large-scale bottle opener with a tower crane underneath it. At the bottom of the frame appears the text "Big draft taste comes to light".

In this example, not only a pictorial simile is to be found, but also the knowledge of the conventional, conceptual metaphor MORE IS UP is of importance for the understanding of the meaning. This metaphor, identified by Lakoff and Johnson as an orientational metaphor with a physical basis ("If you add more of a substance or of physical objects to a container or pile, the level goes up" 1980:16), is referred to with the angle of the camera. First, the target, taste, is cued verbally (spoken) in the beginning of the commercial (0:05). The camera then shows the big size of the bottle of Miller GD Light by starting from underneath, and following the bottle's form up until the viewer may almost feel like her neck would begin to hurt was she the one behind the camera. The viewer is invited to construct an idea of the size of the bottle being so big (also in comparison with the high "building"), it must have a lot of taste in it. This interpretation of the visuals is guided by the conceptual metaphor MORE IS UP. This metaphor, like possibly other culturally common metaphors, is based in the grounding box together with other types of background knowledge. The viewer of the commercial – the potential buyer – is thus expected to be familiar with the conceptual metaphor in order to understand the meaning construction the way it is most beneficial for the producer of the commercial: that the viewer becomes attracted by the product due to its positive qualities, in this case taste, and feels the urge of purchasing the product.

In the integration network of this commercial (see Appendix I) it can be seen that the conceptual metaphor has been placed to the grounding box. It is thus expected that the viewer is familiar with the (possibly) universal metaphor. The placement of the metaphor in the box allows for the analysis of the meaning construction on a deeper level, as the conceptual metaphor is seen as merely the starting point for the construction of meaning. This demonstrates the benefits of adding aspects of blending to the analysis: with a pure focus on conceptual metaphors and their manifestations - following CMT – important information regarding meaning construction is left unnoticed.

The same phenomenon occurs in other instances in the American data. In *Bud Light Flight, Budweiser Magic Beer* and *Miller Light Beer Heaven*, HAPPINESS IS UP is identified as a part of the grounding box. For example, in *Bud Light Flight,* HAPPINESS IS UP is featured in both the mental spaces, as flying is the Presentation Space and drinking Bud Light is the Reference Space. Here, the protagonist clearly is happy while flying (given away by visual cues such as smiling, cheering). Furthermore, in the Reference Space, drinking Bud Light will make him happy again (as can be expected of the protagonist with the beaten posture, but a Bud Light in his hand). In *Budweiser Magic Beer*, then, there is a 'Disanalogous'-relationship between the two mental spaces: a man with and another one without Budweiser. HAPPINESS IS UP 'feeds' the mental spaces and leads to the visual and sonic cues between the spaces: the happy man's posture is straight, while the sad man's is not; and the happy man hears exhilarating music, while the sad man hears nothing but silence (higher versus lowest-of-the-low pitch[18]). In *Miller Light Beer Heaven*, HAPPINESS IS UP is intertwined with background knowledge of religious concepts in the grounding box: heaven, the Presentation Space, is up in the sky, and it is an extremely happy place, as depicted in the commercial.

Another interesting type of a conceptual metaphor functioning as basis for the integration network is the case of idioms in *Sam Adams Match*. Idioms, combinations of at least two words with an overall meaning that cannot be interpreted on the basis of the meaning of their parts (Lundmark, 2005), have raised the interest of various metaphor scholars. In cognitive linguistics, the distinction between idioms and conventional metaphors is often vague or sometimes not recognized at all (ibid.), hence in this study they are seen as part of the same phenomenon. *Sam Adams Match*, then, is built upon the idiom of finding one's soulmate. Beer is in this case personified, thus "further specified as being a person" with an ontological metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 33), but the notion of grounding box featuring the knowledge of idioms, such as love at first sight, should not go unnoticed. The information from the grounding box helps the viewer to understand the verbal (spoken and written) cues including "love at first taste" and "find your beer soulmate". In a CMT analysis, however, the

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18 For discussion of metaphors in music, see Johnson, M. (2007). The Meaning of the Body. 235-262.

importance of idioms may have been left aside due to the interest in personification (see also Lantolf & Bobrova, 2012, who analyzed this specific commercial as well).

4.2.2.2 Metonymy in mental spaces and in connections between them

Another theme emerging in the American data is metonymy. Metonymy, an instance of using one entity to refer to another that is related to it (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 35), has the tendency to occur in theorizations together with metaphor. The two phenomena are closely related, but they serve somewhat different purposes. An example of metonymy is the PART FOR THE WHOLE -situation, in which for example face is used to refer to a person (ibid.). In the analytical model created for the present study, then, metonymy can appear as counterpart connections ('Part-Whole'), and as frames of mental spaces (be the spaces inputs or blends). This demonstrates the value of looking beyond conceptual metaphors: by adding aspects of BT, the construction of the input spaces (or target and source in CMT) can be understood.

Example 2: *Bud Light Party*

The commercial begins with a woman arriving to, presumably her and her partner's, kitchen with groceries. She is met by her partner, who greets her and asks what she got. She does not get further down the list than Bud Light, when her partner stands up, takes a bottle of Bud Light and states: "Here we go!" (0:04). He then starts singing with an auto-tuned voice: "Baaaaabyyy!" (depicted below).

Image 6: Screenshot of Bud Light Party 0:05.

His partner asks what he is doing, and he answers: ”I'm gonna rock this paaartyyy!”. He leaves his partner asking ”what party?”, while he goes to the living room and takes a telephone in his hand. At 0:11, we see a frame divided into four, depicting a group phone-call the protagonist is making to his three friends. All the three friends then continue on the song the protagonist begun, all singing with an auto-tuned voice. At 0:21, the song ends with the final turn by one of the friends singing in a public transportation vehicle, and a voice-over pronounces ”It's the sure sign of a good time – just right taste of Bud Light”. At 0:23, simultaneously with ”just”, we see four bottles of Bud Light entering the frame as if dropped on a table. At 0:25, the voice-over pronounces ”Here we go” with the frame featuring the same sentence written. After the logo (0:26), the viewer is taken to a party, where the same female protagonist sits next to someone with tinted skin on a couch. She asks with a surprised tone ”T-pain?!” and the camera pans rapidly to left, showing the hip-hop artist T-pain at the party. The commercial ends with T-pain singing with his trademark, the auto-tuned voice, to the female protagonist ”Pass that guacamoooole!”.

In this example, metonymy is to be found in the organizing frames of the mental spaces (see Appendix). With the Presentation Space (”Music (as a part of a party)”) being cued sonically with the use of auto-tune singing, and Reference Space (”Bud Light (as a part of a party)”) cued visually, the viewer is asked to see the similarity between the two spaces. In order to

understand the metonymic organization of the mental spaces, the viewer is expected to be knowledgeable of the pop-culture of the late 1990s, when the American hip-hop artist made auto-tune a big hit among the youth – the typical 'party-people'. This leads to a meaning construction of "Like music, also Bud Light is part of a party". In the end, when T-pain himself is depicted *at* the party, this construction is strengthened in the viewer's mind.

Metonymy in the organizing frames is also found in *Budweiser Rocky* (with only the Reference Space having a metonymic frame) and *Bud Light Wine and Cheese*, in which parts of the mental spaces, creatively named "Men's world" and "Women's world", have metaphorical counterpart connections. In this commercial, inside cheese, baguette and Chablis, men bring to "a couple's party" Bud Light, and a tiny travel-TV with football on it. *Contextual (pictorial) metaphors* are thus used to cue the similarity between the parts of the mental spaces. Thus with the addition of the grounding box, it is possible to understand how the viewer constructs the mental spaces: they are based on cultural stereotypes of "women's" and "men's" "things" and values. By understanding the satisfaction of the men, when they are by themselves in their secret kitchen party, the viewer can then understand that the mental spaces as wholes are in a 'Disanalogous' relationship.

In addition to the mental spaces and their frames, also the counterpart connections between the spaces can represent metonymic relations. In *Budweiser Cowboy* and the already earlier discussed *Miller Light Beer Heaven*, 'Part-Whole' connections are to be found. In Budweiser Cowboy, the metonymic relationship is along the same line of thought as in the abovementioned example with the auto-tune. In the integration network for this commercial, visual and sonic cues are used to sign that Budweiser is a part of a party. In *Miller Light Beer Heaven*, the metonymic cues lead to the idea of Miller Light being a part of heaven. In both instances, the 'Part-Whole' connections are also present in the blended space.

An interesting detail in the American data, perhaps with future studies in mind, is the emergence of causal counterpart connections together with 'Part-Whole' -relations in *Budweiser Cowboy* and 'Similarity'-relations in *Budweiser Bridge*. The direction of the causal mappings, on the basis of these two instances, seems to be from the Reference Space to the

Presentation Space; while the other types ('Part-Whole' for example) of mappings are from Presentation to Reference Space.

4.2.2.3 Culture and its influence to the integration networks in American commercials

It has already been demonstrated to some extent with the examples above that by adding the grounding box to the model for analyzing integration networks in commercials, some parts of meaning constructions can be understood better. The importance of cultural input is one of the reasons to explicitly add the grounding box in the model. For instance, in *Bud Light Party* it was seen that knowledge of American pop-culture (and appreciation of it), identified in the grounding box, is essential for the construction of the Presentation Space and hence the delivery of the most adequate message to the consumer. The cultural input for the construction of mental spaces is also notably present in *Budweiser Bridge* and *Budweiser Rocky*.

In the case of *Budweiser Bridge*, a cultural cue given sonically is found. The song playing in the background of the commercial is from an American film, *Stripes*, from 1981. The film evolves around the protagonist, who decides to join the U.S. Army. And indeed, connotations with the military service are to be found from the integration network, in which "working together in order to obtain beer" is depicted as similar to "working together in the Army". Values such as staying organized and listening to the leader are mapped from the grounding box to the network.

In the other example, *Budweiser Rocky*, the cultural cue is also given sonically together with visuals. Interestingly, in this instance the song in the background of the commercial is also from a film (series). The *Rocky*-films are the blockbusters from four decades, with the first one having appeared in 1976. The story reflects the traditionally American values with the depicted "American Dream" - a path from rags to riches - that the protagonist takes.

With a purely CMT-based approach, the analysis of the abovementioned commercials may only focus on, for example, the personification of a horse (*Budweiser Rocky*), or a conceptual metaphor such as HAPPINESS IS UP (Budweiser Bridge – as analyzed by Lantolf and Bobrova, 2012). A BT-based approach demonstrates, as seen above, that the local context plays a crucial role in meaning construction.

With these three examples of emerging patterns given – the conceptual metaphors as basis for integration networks, the metonymic relations and frames, and the cultural influences – I now wish to move to the analysis of the Finnish data.

4.3 Finnish commercials

The twelve Finnish beer commercials analyzed in this study offered fruitful results. Especially some interesting findings regarding personification were detected. Furthermore, cultural influences appeared to have a part in meaning construction.

4.3.1 Structural characteristics

Of the 12 Finnish commercials analyzed, eleven feature metaphorical counterpart connections ('Similarity', 'Analogy') in their integration networks. The only one analyzed as not having metaphorical connections in it is *KOFF Kevytolut*. Also 'Part-Whole' -type of connections were identified in the Finnish commercials in four instances. Other types of relations occurring, each one time, were 'Cause-Effect' and 'Disanalogy'.

The metaphoricity of blends in the Finnish commercials was detected in five occasions. Interestingly, most of these examples possibly feature a simile in the blend instead of a metaphor. They were, however, counted as belonging to the same group of metaphorical blends following the procedure of linguistic metaphor identification by Steen et al. (2011): a potential marker of a simile, in this case 'like', alerts the language user for the fact that some kind of comparison is taking place[19].

In the Finnish data, the modalities cueing the counterpart connections were visual, verbal (written and spoken), and sonic. These modalities led to various instances of different types of mono (pictorial)- and multimodal metaphors. Among the findings are pictorial contextual-cum-similes (*Light Beer Hunting*), pictorial contextual metaphors (*KOFF Extra Draught)* pictorial simile (*Lapin Kulta Waiter*), pictorial integrated metaphor (*Lapin Kulta*

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19 For more information on the method for linguistic identification, as created by the MIPVU-group, see Steen et al. (2011). A method for Linguistic Metaphor Identification. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

North), multimodal metaphors involving visual source and verbal (spoken) target (*Olvi CXX*), or visual and sonic source with verbal (spoken) target (*Light Beer Legend*).

The product being sold in all the commercials, beer, with the brand itself, only occurs once in the Presentation Space, PS. In the case of *KOFF Cowboy*, the protagonist of the PS, Big Hat Joe, drinks KOFF – hence the identification of the brand in the PS. In four other instances beer was noted as being a part of the PS, but the beer brand being the Reference Space.

Struct. char.:		Commercial: F1	F2	F3	F4	F5	F6	F7	F8	F9	F10	F11	F12
Metaphoric connections?		x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Metaphoric blend?			x			x		x	x				x
Modalities:		vis., son. writ.	vis., son.	vis., son. verb.	vis., verb.	vis., son.	vis.	vis., son.	vis., verb.	vis., son. writ.	vis.	vis., writ.	vis., writ.
Product in source domain?		(x)											

Image 7: Overview of Finnish data – structural characteristics

4.3.2 Emerging patterns

Like with the American commercials, also here the most salient emerging patterns of the data will be introduced. To support the discussion, adequate examples shall be provided from the data.

4.3.2.1 Understanding beer as a person or an animal

Meaning constructions that invite the viewer to understand beer as a person or an animal are to be found in the Finnish set of data. The phenomenon, referred to as personification, is often discussed within the scholarship of metaphor studies: already Lakoff and Johnson (1980) mention it in their *Metaphors We Live By*. The attribution of human characteristics to inanimate objects is seen as a fundamental type of metaphor (ibid.). Following the discussion in Steen et al. (2011), animation is also viewed as a type of personification in the present study.

Example 3: *OLVI Tulipalo*

This commercial begins with a frame depicting a fire truck on the right, plenty of fire hoses next to the truck in the middle of the frame and a door, behind a thick layer of smoke. The sounds we hear remind one of an emergency situation – a constantly loud, rather low-pitched noise fills the background. At 0:06, a firefighter's back starts to emerge from the door. He walks with his back towards the camera with his arms low on his side, as if carrying something heavy – most likely with someone – on a stretcher. The firefighter keeps on walking, while a quiet tinkling sound starts to emerge. At 0:12, the sound gets louder, and is now easily recognizable as stemming from several glass bottles. Simultaneously, the firefighter lifts the object he is carrying. At 0:13 it is revealed of being a black large object (depicted below).

Image 8: Screenshot of Olvi Tulipalo 0:13

At 0:14, the firefighter turns the object around with his co-worker, revealing the real nature of the object: a refrigerator with Olvi's logo on its side. The refridgerator is turned so that it faces the viewer with its contents: it is completely filled with Olvi beer. At 0:20, the firefighters pose with the refrigerator and show winning gestures, while the viewer hears the jingle of

Olvi. The frame after, at 0:22, features the final image of an empty glass of Olvi being placed in a determined manner on a coaster, while a content sigh, most likely voiced by a man, is heard. In the same frame, the logo of Olvi is depicted on the left.

In this commercial, beer is personified as a human being carried out of a fire. The visual cues of the firefighters' carrying an object give away the contextual information to be filled in by the viewer: this is an example of a pictorial contextual metaphor. The metaphor can also be classified as multimodal, as the sonic cues reveal the emergency-like nature of the situation. Visual cues, together with the knowledge of values the viewer is expected to have, also give away the importance of beer in this situation: there is no one (or -thing) else depicted in any of the frames – most often in fire emergencies, it is possible human victims who are saved first (instead of inanimate objects, such as beer).

In another commercial by the same brand, *Olvi CXX,* beer is also personified. In this commercial, however, the gender of the source is made explicit. In Olvi CXX, a blend ”Beer is (like) a woman” is cued with the help of multimodal metaphors. The metaphors are constructed in most instances as similes, as the possibilities of zooming in and out with the camera are utilized. For example, at 0:10, the camera zooms into the female protagonist's breasts while she pronounces ”CXX”. Pronounced with a strongly Finnish accent of English, the pronunciation is phonologically close to the word 'sex', which in its turn is to be found in the visual cue, her breasts covered by a red bikini top. In this example, both the source and the target are presented simultaneously, making the metaphor a simile[20]. Also at 0:22, the same technique with the camera is used, when the zooming in occurs simultaneously with the protagonist pronouncing 'taste'.

Beer is also appointed characteristics of an animal – an example of this is *Light Beer Legend*. In this commercial, the Presentation Space is a bald eagle: a noble, strong but light bird. These characteristics are visually and sonically compared with the Light Beer with its slogan ”Light and strong taste”. Interestingly, the visual imagery and the bird itself are American. Furthermore, the song used in the commercial was covered by the American duo Simon &

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20 See Forceville (2008) for more information on similes in commercials.

Garfunkel in 1970. The cultural influences are important to note in the analysis, as they may guide the meaning construction. By adding the theoretical developments from BT to the analytical model of the present study, they can be detected. The American influences were also detected in several other occasions in the Finnish data, as will be seen in the following.

4.3.2.2 Culture and its influence to the integration networks in Finnish commercials

Throughout the analysis of the Finnish commercials, a common theme emerged in numerous instances. Of special interest to the present, cross-cultural, study of meaning construction is the source of the them, as the perhaps most pervasive emerging pattern in the Finnish data is the influence of American culture and values. This influence was detected with the help of the grounding box: in an analysis solely focusing on conceptual metaphors, this may have left unnoticed.

Example 4: *KOFF Extra Draught*

*The commercial for KOFF's Extra Draught opens with a scene at a garden-party. At the party, the three male protagonists – a group of friends – are sitting around a table. One of the friends (depicted in the middle) is playfully imitating drumming. The camera then shows an overview of the other guests at the party, who are standing at the yard, conversing in a rather peaceful manner. Then, at 0:04, the friend on the right states (my translation): "Isn't it right, Pesonen[21], that this needs something..". While he is pronouncing his statement, the other guests are shown again. Right after (at 0:08) when 'something' has been pronounced, the viewer sees a shiny, black, muscular horse, turning its head slowly while standing in the middle of prairie. Simultaneously with the frame with the horse, a strong sound, most likely originating from a guitar, can be heard. At 0:10, the camera moves back to the party, where the friend on the right continues: "something **ex**tra[22]". At 0:12, then, while the visual track still being at the party and the three friends, on the soundtrack the opening tunes of Europe's Final Countdown are heard. The visual track then moves back to the horse(s) on the prairie, where one of them stands on its back feet while neighing. The visual track moves back to the*

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21 A typical Finnish surname
22 Bold: word stress. This was analyzed as a cataphoric reference to the horses.

friends at the party for a second while the soundtrack stays in the famous pop-rock song. At 0:16, the horses are depicted again, this time running around wild in the rocky surroundings. The visual track goes back to the party, and back again to the horses, three more times. At the party, one of the friends makes a gesture and sound referring to running horses. At 0:27, then, the horses are depicted in a different environment: in a suburb, pulling a carriage. With the same back-and-forth -technique continuing, the horses are shown running with their carriage in the suburb, while the friends at the party are acting as if waiting for something. At 0:30, the content of the horses' carriage is shown: it is a giant can of KOFF.

Image 9: Screenshot of KOFF Extra Draught at 0:32.

The horses run in the suburb, which based on the mise-en-scène seems to be American. At 0:34, the viewer is faced with a frame with the horse carriage seemingly moving directly towards the camera. At 0:35, the shot is back at the party, once again, when the soundtrack's song ends abruptly with a sound of something running against a door/fence. This is depicted simultaneously, when also a strong neigh is heard. The group of friends bursts into laughter at 0:37. Then the friend on the right makes a gesture and sound for the others to be silent and calls "Come in!". This call is followed by a united laughter by the friends. At 0:41, the final frame features a can of KOFF Extra Draught placed in a determined manner on the table, while a strong, swooshing sound is heard. Together with the can, there is text in the last frame: the name of the beer, and a sentence "More malt, more hops".

This example demonstrates the influence culture has on the integration network in various ways. First, the mise-en-scène of the commercial cues American surroundings with its palm trees (above), grand white villas and broad lanes, despite the use of Finnish by the protagonists. Second, the use of horses in the commercial has strong similarities with the Budweiser's advertising campaigns: the Clydesdales of Budweiser are rather well-known, at least in America. Third, continuing with the American advertising campaigns, especially the ones of Budweiser: they often feature a strong, energetic song (such as the theme song of Rocky the film, above) – like in this commercial by KOFF. These three aspects all contribute to the Presentation Space of the integration network, with it being named as "American beer" (see Appendix). KOFF Extra Draught is in the blended space, then, understood as being like American beer with the help of the visual and sonic cues. Without the information from the grounding box, in this case the knowledge of American beer commercials (for Budweiser-reference) and TV-series (for mise-en-scène), the meaning construction would not be analyzed in a complete manner.

American influences are also found in other instances. *In KOFF Cowboy*, as the name reveals, an American cowboy named 'Big Hat Joe' is identified in the Presentation Space. His American identity is cued as a similarity with the brand's 'international winner' -identity, leading to compression into 'Uniqueness'[23] in the blended space. In *Olvi Seurapeli* the viewer is invited to compare Finnish and American cultural stereotypes with each other, when the Finnish protagonists of the commercial are depicted as standing in a face-off known from Westerns, and as playing their version of the American game frisbee with Olvi beer. A similar theme occurs in *Lapin Kulta Waiter*, in which the Finnish man is juxtaposed with the American – with this leading to a blend with beer being like a Finnish man. In *Lapin Kulta North*, the influence of American culture and values reaches the blend as the similarity of the protagonist with American, overtly masculine (adventure)-heroes, such as Cary Grant or Indiana Jones, is cued visually[24]. In the same commercial, the sound of an eagle can also

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23 See Fauconnier & Turner (2002: 89-138) for more on compression processes.
24 For more discussion on Lapin Kulta's advertising campaigns see Markkio, S. (2006). Kultaisena kuohuvan Lapin Kullan vetovoima. Unpublished MA thesis.

possibly cue American connotations[25]. Also in *KOFF Indian Beer*, the Native American influences are present in the mise-en-scène of the commercial as well as in the name of the product itself.

With the two most pertinent patterns in the Finnish data having been now discussed, a comparative analysis of the results in the two cultures will be provided next.

4.4 Comparative analysis

In order to proceed to a discussion of the cross-cultural analysis, it is worthwhile to have a brief overview of the similarities and / or differences in the data from two cultures, the American and the Finnish.

4.4.1 Structural comparison

For the present study the following aspects were considered worth analyzing: the *type* of counterpart connections in the integration networks, the *metaphoricity* of blends, the *modalities* in which the counterpart connections are cued, and the *location of the sold product* in the integration network.

Overall, as can be seen from Image 4 and 7 (above), the two sets of data show several similarities regarding the structural aspects. The types of counterpart connections are often metaphorical, thus representing the categories 'Similarity' and/or 'Analogy'. The Finnish data has two more (11 out of 12 versus 9 out of 12) commercials featuring metaphorical connections, but in a selection as limited as the one for this study, the difference is not considered notable. Other types of connections emerging in the data are Part-Whole (in American data two times, in Finnish four), 'Causal' and 'Disanalogy' with less notable numbers of instances.

Both sets of data show that despite having metaphorical connections between the two input spaces, the blended space is not necessarily metaphorical. In both sets, five of twelve blends are analyzed as metaphorical. The modalities used in the commercials in both cultures

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25 Bald eagle is the national bird of the U.S. and it enjoys special importance in Native American cultures (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bald_eagle)

are the same: visual, verbal (spoken or written) and sonic. There are no notable patterns in one culture showing more preference towards, say, sonic sources. Furthermore, the advertised product is never explicitly present in the Presentation Space (source domain) – only in one instance there is reason to believe that the brand's beer might be present in the mental space.

4.4.2 An overview of patterns across the data

The most salient patterns of both the data sets were introduced earlier in this chapter. Yet so far the focus has been on the patterns within the cultures – there are, however, overlapping patterns between the two sets of data as well.

In the American analysis the following patterns were found most pertinent: conceptual metaphors as basis for integration networks, metonymic relations and frames, and cultural influences in the analytical model. In the Finnish data, then, conceptual -or primary - metaphors do not appear in noticeable amounts in the present analysis. Metonymic relations appear in one case explicitly (*Light Beer Hunting*) and in three instances implicitly in the 'Part-Whole' form of "a drink of someone" - with the drink representing a part of the person's identity. In these three cases, beer is indeed analyzed as being a part of a whole person's identity, such as in *Lapin Kulta Greetings*, in which the blended space was analyzed as 'Lapin Kulta is the drink of Finnish (war) winners'. Interestingly, in all the cases analyzed as featuring this pattern, all of them have strong ties to masculine values within the person's identity. The often-occurring theme in the American data, 'beer is a part of a party', is only present in one Finnish commercial. The last pattern, cultural influences in the analytical model, deriving from the grounding box, is clearly to be found in the Finnish data with the described American influences. Furthermore, also the presence of Finnish culture and nature is found in the analytical models of four Finnish commercials. For instance, the 'Finnish-ness' of Lapin Kulta beer is highlighted in *Lapin Kulta North*.

In the Finnish analysis, then, the following patterns were found most pertinent: the attribution of animate characteristics to the inanimate product, beer, and the American influences on the meaning constructions. Personification is also found in two American commercials (*Bud Light*

Budd Light and *Sam Adams Match*), as opposed to the three Finnish examples. There are no references to Finnish culture – which would, perhaps, be quite surprising – in the American data.

Overall, the perhaps most pertinent pattern throughout the set of data of 24 commercials is the notable influence of culture. In the following chapter, this and other results of the analysis will be discussed in relation to theoretical developments in academic research.

5. Discussion

This chapter will provide a discussion of the results of the present study in relation to the work conducted by previous researchers. The structural aspects of metaphors in (beer) commercials will be discussed in the light of earlier studies. Within the structural aspects falls the question of the placement of the product being sold, beer, in the meaning construction: is it possible, that beer is a part of the source domain, or is it more likely that it appears in the target? Also the emerging patterns in the data shall be looked at, based on patterns found by other scholars. One of the most pertinent patterns, the influence of culture, shall also be discussed in detail. In addition, the discussion takes part in the on-going theoretical developments in the field of metaphor studies by suggesting that in order to gain more understanding of (non-)metaphorical meaning constructions in beer commercials, a model that integrates Blending Theory and a Grounding Box is beneficial.

5.1 Structural matters

Indeed, as the structural analysis of American and Finnish beer commercials shows, there is often more to an analysis than conceptual metaphors, if the data is looked at from a BT-perspective. Next to the conceptual metaphors influencing the meaning construction from the grounding box, also metaphorical connections are found in the data. A special case of metaphoric connections seem to be primary metaphors (Grady, 2005): these were found in the analysis (in *Miller GD Light*, for instance). Some of the connections, however, do not lead to a metaphorical blended space – as is the case with *Budweiser Bridge*. In this example, the 'Similarity'-relations between the mental spaces seem to lead, with the help of information from the grounding box, to 'Causal' relations in the blend. This finding follows the line of theorization started by Grady et al. (1999), who state that conventional metaphoric relationships may just be the starting points for the analysis of complex blends. It is thus important to go further than looking for conceptual metaphors when analyzing (non-)metaphorical meaning constructions in beer commercials.

5.1.1 The placement of the sold product

Lantolf and Bobrova (2012) suggest in their article "Happiness is drinking beer: a cross-cultural analysis of multimodal metaphors in American and Ukrainian commercials" that the product being sold, beer, can also appear in the source-domain of the metaphorical construction. This suggestion is contradictory to previous research into multimodal metaphors, mainly conducted by Forceville. Whereas the study of Lantolf and Bobrova is based on the Conceptual Metaphor Theory, a model based on Blending Theory was chosen for the present research. Within BT, however, one of the input spaces can be treated as the equivalent of the source domain. Despite the difference in terminology, thus, the results of the two studies are comparable.

The sold product, beer, does not occur explicitly in the Presentation Space (or source domain) in any of the 24 commercials analyzed in the present study – eight of them also having been analyzed by Lantolf and Bobrova. Instead, what the present study suggests is that the commercials analyzed as featuring mappings that fall within the conceptual metaphor of HAPPINESS IS DRINKING BEER, can also be interpreted in different ways. For example, they can be analyzed as resulting in metonymic blends ('Beer is an essential part of a party' in *Bud Light Party* or 'Beer is a part of heaven' in *Miller Light Beer Heaven*). The mappings of Lantolf and Bobrova's study, such as HAPPINESS IS UP, can also work as a springboard for metaphorical blends, as is the case with *Bud Light Flight*. In this commercial, the knowledge of the conceptual metaphor helps the viewer in understanding the blend, when drinking beer is compared with flying. In *Budweiser Magic Beer*, HAPPINESS IS UP, together with MORE IS UP, occurs in the grounding box, helping in the construction of the mental spaces, as the identities of the two men in the Presentation and Reference Spaces are built on physical posture related to the conceptual metaphor. The blended space, however, is not analyzed as metaphorical. These results also demonstrate the deeper understanding gained with the help of an analytical model based on BT.

5.2 Emerging patterns

The results of the present study regarding the emergent patterns show similarities to previously conducted studies into (non-) metaphoric meaning constructions in commercials. For instance, the results show that the distinction between metaphor and metonymy is not always clear: metonymy can function as basis for metaphor – as is the case with *Bud Light Party*, for example - and vice versa in some instances. This phenomenon has also been identified by previous scholars, such as Radden (2002), who discusses four different types of metonymy-based metaphors and shows that the notion of metonymy-based metaphor is indeed closely related to especially metaphors with experiential basis. In commercials, the interaction between metaphor and metonymy is often present especially in multimodal environments such as commercials (Urios-Aparisi, 2009). The two phenomena can be layered in order to reach the most fruitful rhetorical results – in this case persuasion. Furthermore, Urios-Aparisi (ibid.) states that metonymy can highlight an aspect of reality of the sold product. Some of the commercials analyzed in the present study, such as *Bud Light Party* or *Bud Light Wine and Cheese,* appear to have this phenomenon in them.

Another emergent pattern found in the data, personification, is also widely found in advertising. Anthropomorphism – a cognitive bias whereby people are prone to attribute human characteristics to things – helps consumers to understand personification and makes it effective (Delbaere, McQuarrie, Phillips, 2011). Personification in advertising has the possibility to create positive brand connotations and emotional responses (ibid.). Emotional responses are most likely evoked in consumers with the case of *Olvi Tulipalo*, in which beer is personified as a human being in serious, life-threatening danger. In *Budweiser Rocky*, the animation is likely to lead positive brand connotations. Furthermore, it can be speculated if these positive brand connotations may affect the Finnish viewer's interpretation of *KOFF Extra Draught*. The connotations may be carried over with the reference to the Clydesdales of Budweiser, that are present in the form of the horses and brave song, reminiscent of a Budweiser –commercial.

5.2.1 Culture in meaning constructions of beer commercials

The most remarkable pattern across the data of 24 commercials is the influence of culture. It becomes evident from the analysis of the data that culture, and its values, affect the meaning constructions in beer commercials. In both American and Finnish commercials, the input of culturally influenced knowledge (as located in the grounding box) is noticeable in the integration networks. Be it in the form of influencing input spaces and their construction, or in the form of information flowing to the blended space, culture seems to be a matter that cannot be passed in the analysis of meaning construction. For example, in *Budweiser Rocky*, the American values of working hard to reach one's dreams and success are present in the grounding box (as the viewer is expected to be familiar with the storyline of the film *Rocky*). From there, they are projected to the mental spaces, including the blend. Working hard - like Rocky Balboa - is a sign of a masculine culture, as described by Hofstede (1980). More of this type of signs are found in the Finnish data.

In the Finnish data, a common pattern is the influence of American culture and values. The values of a masculine culture, with appreciation of money, success and material things, are present in numerous examples. The values, often masked within cultural references, such as the eagle in *Light Beer Legend* or the cowboy in *KOFF Cowboy*, can function as input for the mental spaces. Interestingly, Hofstede identifies Finland as a feminine culture: a culture with appreciation of 'softer' values such as caring for others and enjoying a life with high quality. It seems, thus, that the masculine values of the American culture overpower the Finnish, feminine, values – and this in a Finnish context.

5.3 Genre and product type: drawing it all together?

The importance of genre and the type of product advertised can be derived from the analysis. Beer commercials, belonging to the genre of TV commercials with an alcoholic beverage advertised in them, show specific characteristics of *a genre event* (Steen, 2011). They are broadcast to a certain public and in certain media, most often within a specific culture; they serve a commercial goal; they may show similarities in content – all the possible aspects of a genre event (Steen, 2011) can be filled in for them. The participants, with the focus in this case

on the viewers, possess *genre knowledge*: knowledge that is present in all communicative situations, be it an instance of knowing how to address an older colleague, or how to read a column.

The goal of beer commercials is to sell beer – this should come as no surprise. As most of the beer consumers in both U.S.[26] and Finland[27] are male, it also is plausible that the commercials are aimed at the people most likely to purchase the advertised beverages. This is also reflected in the content: as is demonstrated by the present study, beer commercials reflect masculine values.

It can be suggested, then, that the genre of an advertisement together with the type of product represented in it seem to hint at having a strong influence on the values that are communicated in a product advertisement. In the present study, the Finnish beer commercials seem to depict the American values in order for the genre event to be successful - a commercial not selling beer can perhaps not be described as a successful one. The intrinsic link between the specific genre and product and the meaning constructions present in advertising has been looked at by various scholars (e.g. Forceville, 2008b; Famelart, 2011). The expected values that the target group – most likely men – is thought of appreciating may thus have a yet-to-be-decided impact over the dominant values in a culture. The present study, however, is of a small scale in order for these claims to be anything else but hints. However, what these claims do show is that it is of utmost importance to include blending theory in the analysis of (non-)metaphorical constructions in commercials, as the values of an individual and a culture can be both analyzed as being a part of the grounding box. The inclusion of culture and values can add more to the analysis of how meaning is cognitively constructed.

5.4 BT as a complementary approach to CMT

The results of the present study demonstrate the importance of including conceptual integration to the analysis of meaning construction in (beer) commercials. The structural characteristics of the analyzed data show, with the direct comparison with the study made by Lantolf and Bobrova (2012), that there often is more to the analysis than the conceptual metaphors. In some instances a metaphor may just be the starting point of the analysis. In

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26 Beer Demographics in the
U.S.http://www.beerbrewing.com/beerbrewing/US_beer_industry/beer_demographics.htm
27 Beer Demographics in Finland: http://demo.seco.tkk.fi/tervesuomi/item/ktl:4801

recognizing this, a model integrating the recent developments in Blending Theory is beneficial. In addition, the emergent patterns speak for the implementation of BT. Culture is the most notable pattern in the data: its analysis can be highlighted with the inclusion of a grounding box, with the local context in it, to the analytical model.

Overall, then, the results of the present study follow the recent developments in research into (non-) metaphoric meaning constructions. Grady et al. (1999) state that the two approaches, CMT and BT, are complementary. They share many aspects, but BT can target different phenomena, including the influence of culture. Forceville (2012) encourages the use of BT in mono-or multimodal advertisements – print or audiovisual – as he argues, that advertising metaphors often show traces of highly creative, online cognitive processes. The complementary nature of BT has also been proved by the research into conceptual blends in print advertising by Joy, Sherry and Deschenes (2009). As "advertising images are complex cultural artifacts" that may "serve ideological agendas" (ibid.: 48), BT complements CMT and opens up deeper understandings of how consumers construct meaning of advertisements. Blending Theory provides different, additional information to Conceptual Metaphor Theory, and should therefore be featured in the analysis of (non-) metaphoric meaning constructions in commercials.

6. Conclusion

This thesis has looked at (non-)metaphorical meaning constructions in twelve American and twelve Finnish beer commercials. The theoretical background for the present study was introduced and identified as belonging to the broad field of semiotics. A study of signs, the study of metaphor gained momentum with the publication of *Metaphors We Live By* by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), and the emergent Conceptual Metaphor Theory. Lakoff and Johnson's work led to 'the cognitive turn' in metaphor studies: metaphor was no longer seen merely as a matter of language, but as a matter of thought. Cognitive is also the comp(l)eting theory, that was created by Fauconnier and Turner (2002): Blending Theory focuses on basic mental operations behind real-time meaning construction. Despite not being a theory dedicated only to metaphor, it has provided useful for analyzing metaphoric meaning constructions.

Following the recent developments in cognitive studies, an analytical model based on Blending Theory (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002) was used in order to gain understanding of how consumers construct (metaphorical) meanings in commercials. The data was analyzed with the help of a constructed model, based on the Coded Meaning Model (Coulson & Oakley, 2005). The results of the analysis showed that Blending Theory can indeed provide more elaborate information of meaning constructions in TV commercials than Conceptual Metaphor Theory. The structural characteristics of the commercials were analyzed and emergent patterns were discussed, also with a cross-cultural approach. It became evident that American and Finnish beer commercials share several structural aspects regarding meaning construction: for instance, that they usually do not feature the product being sold, beer, in the source domain. An opposing result was suggested by a previous study into American and Ukrainian beer commercials (Lantolf & Bobrova, 2012), in which beer was often found in the source domain. Interestingly, culture appeared to have quite an impact to the integration networks in both American and Finnish sets of data. The most emergent pattern appearing in the data, cultural influences, could indeed be addressed and analyzed with the help of the grounding box, a recent development within Blending Theory. An analysis as thorough could not have been possible solely with using Conceptual Metaphor Theory, as the notion of local context cannot be addressed as extensively with the Lakoff-Johnsonean theory. It was suggested, however,

that the two theories should be used in a complementary manner, as they both provide important information of meaning construction.

It should be noted that the present study has its limitations. In this thesis, only 24 beer commercials were analyzed. Therefore, the results should only be seen as suggestive. In addition, the analysis was only conducted by one researcher, thus personal interpretation might have played its part in the analysis. The cross-cultural analysis was, however, left to a minimum due to the fact of the analyst only is a native of one of the cultures in question. Furthermore, the analytical model was simplified in order to enhance the visualization of it. Despite these limitations, the study still provides a commentary on recent theoretical developments in metaphor studies and can function as a springboard for further studies. It would be interesting to conduct a similar type of study with different product types, perhaps ones that are traditionally advertised for women, in order to see whether the suggestion of values of the target group overpowering the prevailing values in a culture has evidence in other types of data. In addition, further studies regarding the analytical model would be beneficial for the further development of the theorization of (non-) metaphorical meaning constructions in commercials.

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Appendix I.

YouTube –links for Finnish and American commercials. The data is also on a DVD, Appendix IV.
Please note that the numbers (e.g. F1 or A12) are equivalent to the ones used in Image 4 and 7 above.

FINNISH DATA:

F1 KOFF Cowboy   http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=L20S2zjDgvs&feature=related
F2 KOFF Extra Dr.   http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LlzfL2WFFpQ
F3 KOFF Indian   http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lwSpKqORubc&feature=related
F4 KOFF Kevytolut   http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uoj1WQV8tnI&feature=related

F5 LIGHT Beer Legend http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LdZ80syLF3E&feature=related
F6 LIGHT Beer Huntinghttp://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2pRIm6hQto4

F7 OLVI Tulipalo   http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=n6mUq33ParI
F8 OLVI CXX   http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uLZc-DmFIuw
F9 OLVI Frisbee   http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iYlbeWzRGk8

F10 LAPIN KULTA Northhttp://www.youtube.com/watch?v=v1U1YRzqaxY
F11 LAPIN KULTA Greetings
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WM9oMt12kVY&feature=related
F12 LAPIN KULTA Waiter
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2j9iO6IgDO0&feature=relmfu

AMERICAN DATA: (* used by Lantolf & Bobrova, 2012)

A1*BUDWEISER Magic Beer http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bRqFPAKQ7WU
A2 BUDWEISER Cowboy
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bWdKse5nKqE&feature=related
A3 BUDWEISER Rocky   http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KLtjVuXOBQk
A4* BUDWEISER Bridge   http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EnMloXnGC7U

A5* BUD LIGHT Skier   http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LEVQAU_LITI
A6* BUD LIGHT Flight   http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KYR1X4yJPpY
A7* BUD LIGHT Party   http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ul63nCoYhBc
A8 BUD LIGHT Budd Light
     http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UNzpbNtwK7k&feature=endscreen&NR=1
A9 BUD LIGHT Cheese & wine
     http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aEWtTVaIH0M&feature=relmfu

A10*MILLER GD Light   http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XOQKmGE7JxA
A11*MILLER LIGHT Beer Heaven http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WhOFTXzOXvU

A12*SAM ADAMS Match
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GwBUstMm3Mw&feature=related