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Mais s'il nous est permis d'insister sur la portée de telles réalisations, ce sera en raison de la conscience que nous avons de l'importance que revêtent les espaces mis à la disposition des études et des recherches, celles qui sont à même d'enraciner chez les enseignants et les chercheurs les rigueurs de l'esprit scientifique ainsi que les règles de l'académisme universel.

Ainsi, osons-nous croire qu'avec l'enthousiasme de nos collègues et l'aide de notre université, nous pourrions jeter les fondements d'une saine concurrence intellectuelle et donc d'un véritable débat d'idées dont l'éclosion et l'entretien sont, non seulement notre dû, mais surtout notre lot le plus sacré.

Dr. M'hamed Ali Halouani
Le Doyen de la Faculté des
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**Processing Pictorial Metaphors in Advertising :
A Cross-cultural View¹**

Zouhair MAALEJ^{*}

Abstract

Studies of verbal metaphor processing abound (Black, 1962 ; Shibles, 1971 ; Sacks, 1979; Ortony, 1979 ; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980-1999 ; Lakoff, 1987 ; Lakoff & Turner, 1989, etc.), while those studying pictorial metaphor (PM) in advertising are just beginning to become a common practice (Cook, 1992; Kennedy, Green & Vervaeke, 1993; Forceville, 1991-1996 ; Messaris, 1997). Studies of pictorial metaphor in advertising in a cross-cultural perspective are fewer. Given this omission, the present paper undertakes the study of the processing of pictorial metaphors in advertising (Forceville, 1991; 1996), with special reference to cultural constraints on cognition or "cultural cognition" (Shore, 1996). It will be argued that the associations made by metaphor processors between source domain (SD) and target domain (TD) both in verbal and pictorial metaphoricizing are essentially a function of the interaction between cognition and culture (Foley, 1997:169). Cultural models (Quinn & Holland, 1987; Shore, 1994) will be claimed to filter information available to our cognition. In case the pictorial material fails to evoke or connote anything in the mind of the audience because it is not part of any of their cultural models, cognition is not activated to deal with the pictorial material metaphorically. However, in case cognition is triggered (because the pictorial material is part of the audience's cultural models), the audience makes sense of the material perceived. In a cross-cultural setting, the pressure exerted on cognition by cultural models is claimed to (i) cause understanding to be blocked

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altogether, (ii) coerce different audiences into different interpretations in case their respective cultural models clash, or (iii) occasion a situation where the pictorial material is processed as a PM but whose effect is qualitatively dissimilar in two different cultures.

Key words: verbal metaphor, pictorial metaphor, verbo-pictorial metaphor, advertising, cognition, cultural models, persuasion.

Introduction

By classifying metaphor as a deviation from the norm, formal linguistics treated it as parasitic on language while cognitive linguistics considers it as central not only to language but also to thought and action (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980-1999 ; Dent-Read & Szokolszky, 1993; Cienki, 1998). The modern concern with verbal metaphor started in the early 1960s, and produced an impressive body of landmark publications (Black, 1962; Shibles, 1971; Sacks, (1979), Ortony (1979; 1993), Lakoff & Johnson, 1980-1999; Lakoff, 1987; Johnson, 1987; Lakoff & Turner, 1989; etc. However, the study of non-verbal metaphor or "pictorial" metaphor (Forceville, 1991; 1996) is a nascent sub-discipline of metaphor theory. Accordingly, apart from a special issue of *Metaphor and Symbolic Activity* (1993, vol. 8, n° 3) and very few articles in some other journals, as far as my knowledge goes, literature on pictorial metaphorizing is not as thick on the ground as that of its verbal counterpart.

Pictorial metaphor is a living piece of evidence that thought is metaphoric. V. Kennedy (1993), studying metaphor in visual art, demonstrates how Edward Gorey manipulates through metaphor modern beliefs and fears by casting them in a traditional setting. On the other hand, Morris (1993) discusses what he calls "visual rhetoric" in political cartoons, and focuses on how metaphor is exploited to achieve effects. J.M. Kennedy, Green & Vervaeke (1993) study the different devices pictorial metaphorizing capitalises upon to persuade. More recently, Forceville (1996), in a full-size book on this issue, convincingly puts the study of pictorial metaphorizing on a par with its verbal counterpart. In this paper, it is argued that understanding pictorial metaphors in advertising essentially follows the same path as the one followed by its verbal counterparts as explained by Forceville (1996), and that, as with verbal

metaphors (VMs), pictorial metaphors (PMs) require for their understanding some "shared sub-cultural background" (Forceville, 1996 : 112), without which the cognitive construction of PMs may fail flat. After Lakoff & Johnson (1999:12), "cognitive" is taken here to mean "any mental operations and structures that are involved in language, meaning, perception, conceptual systems, and reason."

The objective of this study is to point to the limitations of a universally-accepted understanding of PMs, and to argue for a cline² of cultural acceptability or "cultural cognition" (Shore, 1996: 334). Cook (1992: xv) argues that "although advertising seems to be homogenous and increasingly international and cross-cultural, such generalizations about its nature or reception immediately run into trouble." Because metaphor manifests itself first at the level of cognition (Forceville, 1996:108) and because the level of cognition necessarily involves perception and conceptualisation (Langacker, 1987:101), the implicatures triggered by verbal and PMs alike "depend on the cognitive context shared only by people with the same (sub) cultural background" (Forceville, 1996:125). Elsewhere, Forceville (1999:173) rightly claims that "gender, age, and cultural background may all play a role" in picture interpretation in general. Lakoff & Johnson (1999: 96), speaking about primary metaphors, argue that "they are highly constrained both by the nature of our bodies and brains and by the reality of our daily interactions." Assuming that as humans we experience the same emotions of love, fear, anger, lust, etc., this should not imply that our different physical environments are not determinative in constraining our cognition, thus forcing upon us different conceptualisations requesting different mental treatments.

This paper is divided into four major sections. The first one deals with advertising and its relation to persuasion. This section concludes that in order for persuasion to obtain through a PM, a reasonable amount of shared experience between communicator and audience is a prerequisite for the latter to embark on metaphoric processing. The second section concerns itself with a short contrastive study of verbal metaphor and pictorial metaphor, adopting the relevance-theoretic framework (Sperber & Wilson, 1995). The third section investigates cultural models, and attempts to adapt them to the relevance-

² Alan Cienki (private communication) drew my attention to the fact that "there is really a gradient from more universal to more culturally-specific metaphors" rather than a binary distinction between universal and culture-specific ones.

theoretic framework. The last section, which constitutes the bulk of this paper, discusses some of the PMS dealt with by Forceville (1996) in view of providing arguments for the cultural constraints on processing PMs in a non-western cultural context.

1. Advertising and persuasion

Advertising involves a small group of people with particular interests in mind, seeking to cause a larger group to consent to be persuaded with regard to a commodity or a service. Such a predisposition to persuasion in the audience enhances the creation of "the impulse to buy" in their (O'Neill's (1986: 117) With the development of consumerism in modern societies, competition between marketing agents has become so fierce that nearly everything is advertised for. This situation has given rise to a massive rush against the dock to conquer new buyers by changing their buying habits. Advertising is not only a flourishing business in the modern world, but, most importantly, a field of study grouping around it multidisciplinary researchers from linguistics, stylistics, psychology, sociology, pragmatics, and other fields. The literature on advertising in the Anglo-Saxon world is so thick that a status on a par with that of literary studies has been claimed for it (Cook, 1992).

The history of advertising has always been linked to the issue of persuasion, which consists in causing attitude change (Severin and Tankard 1992:147). The main social function of advertising is "to persuade people to buy a particular product" although it "may also amuse, inform, misinform, worry or warn" (Cook, 1992: 5). There exist two types of advertising: non-commercial and commercial advertising. Although non-commercial advertising may target the same audience as its commercial counterpart, it is limited to attitude change in political propaganda or other government communications. Commercial advertising, however, comes in three types: "prestige or good-will advertising," "industrial or trade advertising," and "consumer advertising" (Vestergaard & Schröder, 1985:1-2). In prestige advertising, "firms advertise not a commodity or a service, but rather a name or an image." This type aims at building an image in the public, without seeking immediate gains. However, in industrial advertising "a firm advertises its products or services to other firms." In this type, participants are equal, since "both the advertiser and the prospective reader have a special interest in and a particular knowledge about the product or service advertised." In consumer advertising, however, the two

participants are "unequal as far as interest in and knowledge about the product advertised are concerned."

Advertising capitalises on many resources to persuade. Holmes (1997: 211) argues that "adverts often operate within a mythological social domain, drawing on stereotypical rather than realistically representative societal values, attitudes and beliefs." Cook (1992:177), on the other hand, argues that effective advertising draws on "four different participant worlds," which are not all exploited by advertisers. What an ad cannot dispense with is "the world of the sender (in which the products are manufactured and distributed)," which stands in a factual relation to "the real world of the receiver (in which the product may be purchased)." Apart from these two real worlds, there are two non-factual worlds: "the fictional world of the characters" and "the fantasy world of the receiver," which are manipulated for persuasion by advertisers. From among all these worlds, "what the ad seeks to achieve is enough contact between reality and fiction, sending and receiving, characters and consumer, fantasy and fact, for the passage of the product to be feasible."

The place of PM in advertising is not negligible as PM combines image with text at least in the case of VPMs. Forceville (1999:173) argues that "interpretations of a picture will be considerably constrained by the awareness that it belongs to a certain genre." The power of the image in advertising is important in "creating mood, imparting information, persuading and making claims" (Cook, 1992: 37). Discussing the visual and the verbal in advertising, Cook (1992: 49) claims that "not only have pictures gained ground, but also language, where it is used, leans further and further towards the meanings it derives from interaction with pictures. In addition, many ads create powerful and complex messages entirely ... through pictures..., and are virtually language-free." This quotation encapsulates Forceville's distinction between "verbo-pictorial" and "purely pictorial" metaphors, respectively. However, Cook (1992: 55) holds "visual metaphors" in advertising to be a primitive form of conveying messages as "they manifest an atavistic tendency... to return to pre- or quasi-literate forms of communication."

Such a view of pictorial metaphor is simplistic in the face of the complex cognitive efforts audiences implement to make sense of the challenge offered by communicators to the human mind. As evidence of the complexity of using images in communication, Kress & van Leeuwen (1996:172), in contrast, call reading images a modern form of visual literacy.

2. Verbal metaphors (VM) and pictorial metaphors (PM) contrasted

One possible similarity between VM and PM is the fact that both may require the same cognitive treatment : identification, processing, and interpretation, although I know of no single work that contrasts them psycholinguistically. Another common feature to both is that "pictorial metaphors, like their verbal counterparts, are embedded in' and dependent on, a cultural context" (Forceville, 1996:127). VMs are a species of metaphors that, in spite of their indeterminacy, offer their processors some degree of linguistic explicitness that may facilitate the search for the direction of the mapping. They offer their processors the lexical fleshing making up the metaphoric expression as a sort of something to start with without so much (at least at the beginning) relying on pure guesses. For a PM to obtain, "it is necessary that a 'literal', or conventional reading of the pictorial representation is felt either not to exhaust its meaning potential, or to yield an anomaly which is understood as an intentional violation of the norm rather than as an error" (Forceville, 1996: 64).

Forceville (Forceville, 1991: 7), however, distinguishes two kinds of PMs: "Verbo-pictorial" and "pictorial." Forceville (private communication) points out that "the test for VPMs is whether anything metaphorical remains if you mentally delete all text. "A VPM includes "one verbal and one pictorial term." PMs, however, "feature two pictorial terms." Forceville (1991: 16) argues that VPMs depend for their processing on textual material, without which they become non-metaphors. However, no textual material is necessary with PMs, although that may be invoked to really understand what features are mapped (Forceville, 1996: 163), and audience almost exclusively relies on the visual side of the ads in processing them. Calling a PM a "visual metaphor," Messaris (1997:10) defines it as "the representation of an abstract concept through a concrete visual image that bears some analogy to the concept."

Working within a relevance-theoretic framework, Forceville (1996: 109-111) sums up three major axes for PMS' processing: (i) detection, (ii) terms identification, and (iii) salient features determination of the ground. With regard to (i), while VPMs may attract attention to themselves by setting side by side (in the case of metaphor in praesentia) two terms that are perceived as unexpectedly grouped, pure PMs can only rely on "the pictorial context," and will only display a misplaced pictorial detail (Forceville calls them one-

pictorially present term metaphors (MP1 s)). Given the presumption of relevance (Sperber & Wilson: 1995), such seemingly inappropriate linear layout of two terms in the case of VMs and unexpected display of a pictorial detail in the case of PMs are made sense of; and will serve as triggers of a metaphoric reading and/or interpretation. Thus, compared to their verbal counterparts, MP is at a slight disadvantage vis-à-vis detection for the difficulty of the determination of the two terms of the metaphor.

Regarding (ii), i.e. the determination of the two terms of the metaphor, linguistic linearity (in the case of metaphor in praesentia) with VMs mediated by a form of verb "to be" facilitates determining which term is source domain (SD) and which term is target domain (TD). In other words, this step is vital as it shows the direction of the mapping. With PMs, however, such a determination is not evident, and, in the absence of linguistic material to disambiguate the direction from SD to TD, the PM may be read in a symmetrical fashion in extreme cases. Forceville (1996:111) argues that "it is the combination of the understanding of the wider pictorial-cum-verbal context and the classification of the picture as an advertisement that is responsible for the distribution of primary subject and secondary subject." This distribution is crucial because "metaphors are asymmetrical" (Vervaeke & Kennedy, 1996: 277), and reversing the order of elements yields different interpretations: e.g. BRIDGE IS ARGUMENT is different from ARGUMENT IS BRIDGE.

As to (iii), mapping with VMs in praesentia and in absentia is determined by the general context, linguistic and otherwise. Since in VMs "the categorisation produces the similarity, not the other way round." (Glucksberg & Keysar, 1990), "high-salient predicates" are "promoted or emphasized" in predicate promotion metaphors and "get introduced" for the first time in predicate introduction metaphors (Ortony, 1979: 200). Such a typology of metaphor suggests that searching for the ground relating the two terms is an active process, requiring the audience to embark on a hunt for the imagined predicates mapped from the SD onto the TD. Similarly, in PMS the recognition by the audience of the communicator's intention is crucial in a search for the ground of the metaphor. Therefore, the search should start here, and Forceville (1996:112) is right in acknowledging for PMS the same indeterminacy associated with VMs.

3. Cognitive and Cultural Models

Lakoff (1987: 68) introduced *idealised cognitive models* or ICMs, which are structures that enable us to organise knowledge. For Lakoff (1987: 341), cognitive models are not "*internal representations of external reality*" for two reasons: (i) "they are understood in terms of embodiment, not *in* terms of *direct* connection to the external world." (ii) "they include imaginative aspects of cognition such as metaphor and metonymy." To illustrate, Lakoff gives the concept of *week*; which is an invented or idealised ICM structuring our calendar in terms of a seven-day linear sequence, with work occupying a five-day sequence and a weekend, arguing that the concept of week is not universal.

Related to ICMs, cultural models (CMS) are shared by members of the same social group or subgroup. Aitchinson (1994:70) takes ICMS to be "*private* and cultural architectures, and only partially in touch with 'reality'." Holland & Skinner (1987: 85) define a cultural model "as learned mental representations of some aspect of the world." These mental representations "guide attention to components of the world and provide inferences about these components and their various states and form a framework for remembering, reconstructing, and describing experiences." Quinn & Holland (1987: 6) argue that "cultural models are invoked to rationalize and sometimes disguise behavior for other people and for ourselves." However, they also claim that there exists no coherent cultural system of knowledge but "an array of different culturally shared schematizations formulated for the performance of particular cognitive tasks, accounts for the co-existence of the conflicting cultural models encountered in many domains of experience" (Quinn & Holland, 1987:10). Emphasising the link between ICMS and CMS, Ungerer & Schmid (1996: 50) argue that "cognitive models and cultural models are thus just two sides of the same coin. While the term 'cognitive model' stresses the psychological nature of these cognitive entities and allows for inter-individual differences, the term 'cultural model' emphasizes the uniting aspect of its being collectively shared by many people."

Within the same culture, it is not necessarily the case that individuals share completely the same cultural models. Cross-culturally, conflicting cultural models explain the existence of different cultures and their different cultural values. The claim that metaphor is culture-specific is reflected in the fact that different cultures conceptualise experience in varying ways (Snell-

Hornby, 1988-95: 56). Since metaphor is culture-specific, conflicting models in different cultures are very likely to clash, justifying research on PM in a cross-cultural perspective. of importance to the purposes of this paper is the idea advanced by Shore (1996: 51) that "models imply not simply that something exists but that something exists for someone". Shore hypothesises the existence of "idiosyncratic" models alongside "instituted" or conventional models, which implies that not all "instituted" models are part of individuals cultural knowledge. 'n a cross-cultural perspective. "something exists for someone" could by analogy be extended to "something exists for a given culture." implying that individual cultures have their own "idiosyncratic" models that make their specificity. In relevance-theoretic terms, this is reminiscent of Sperber & Wilson's (1985: 142) "relevance to an individual," which might be extended to "relevance to a given individual culture." The idea offered by Shore and extended to relevance theory for the purposes of this paper allows me to defend the view that because metaphor is deeply embedded in culture and because individual cultures make provisions for idiosyncratic models of thought and perception, then the role of cultural models in processing metaphor, whether verbal or pictorial, is a determinative one.

To illustrate this, Sperber & Wilson (1995:16) argue that "all humans are constrained by their species-specific cognitive abilities in developing their representation of the world, and all members of the same cultural group share a number of experiences, teachings and views." However true this might be, the cognitive patterns that reflect our culture are not always shared by ail individuals as is clear in the following example from literature :

JERRY: [*Out of the blue*] Do you have TV and everything?

PFIER: WIIY yes, we have two; ore for the children.

JERRY: You're married?

PEJER: [*With pleased emphasis*] Why. certainly.

JERRY: It isn't a law, for God's sake

PETER: No ... no, of course not.

JERRY: And you have a wife.

PETER:[*Bewildered by the seeming lack of communication*] Yes!³

This exchange shows that, although they belong in the same culture. Jerry and Peter do not share the same system of cultural values as is clear from

³ Edward Albee (1995). *The Zoo Story and Other Plays*. London: Penguin Books, p. 5.

"certainly," which tells us that Peter holds marriage to come before children. Jerry, however, believes that one may have children without being married, which reverses the equation between marriage-children, and makes the latter possible without the former. Later in the play, the explanation for this lack of overlap in cognitive models comes from the fact that Jerry declares himself as a homosexual. Although it is common in the West to have children outside wedlock, it is not the case that Peter could be said to share with Jerry this cultural value in spite of his "No..... no, of course not." which is issued to prevent a face-threatening act. In a cross-cultural setting, this cultural value is held by people from the Arab culture to be quite odd, as Jerry's cultural logic totally contradicts theirs; what is a law for them "isn't a law" for Jerry. If a "violation of physical reality" constitutes the essence of PM in advertising (Messaris, 1997: 10), the violation of cultural reality yields different interpretations for different cultures, as will be demonstrated in the rest of the paper.

4. Pictorial metaphor in cognition and culture

4.1. Theoretical background

One view of metaphor relevant to the study of pictorial metaphor is what is known as the "Realist approach to Metaphor" (Dent-Read & Szokolszky, 1993), which considers that a real-world view of metaphor must ground it in action and perception. According to Dent-Read & Szokolszky (1993: 230-31), for instance, "metaphor expressed in action and visual displays is more basic than metaphor in language." To link the different modes of metaphor expression, Dent-Read & Szokolszky (1993: 231-33) argue that "metaphors in action and visual displays can be expressed verbally, and verbal metaphors often can be expressed visually or in action," and that "the study of linguistic metaphor must begin with the study of metaphor in perception and action." Dent-Read & Szokolszky (1993: 239) conclude that "a complete account of metaphor must include an analysis of its real-world informational basis and of the perceptual-cognitive processes that are involved in the detection and use of this information in the comprehension and informational basis of metaphor, whether verbal or nonverbal."

Understanding metaphor cannot be separated from how perception works. Dent-Read & Szokolszky (1993: 227) argue that "metaphors come from perceiving not only in the sense that they can be non-linguistic (visual, or even

acoustic) but also because language and cognition are intrinsically perceptual phenomena." Lakoff & Johnson (1999: 37) claim that "basic-level concepts depend on motor movement, gestalt perception, and mental imagery, which is carried out in the visual system of the brain." This provides ample clues as to how pictorial metaphors can be dealt with in the same way as their linguistic counterparts. This is consonant with the Realist conception of metaphor proposed by Dent-Read & Szokolszky (1993: 240) as "a form of resonating to the world."

4.2. Culture in cognition

Lakoff & Turner (1989: 214) rightly argued that "to study metaphor is to be confronted with hidden aspects of one's mind and one's culture." Arguing for cultural relativism, Lakoff & Johnson (1999: 462) mention that "those aspects of meaning that are universal across cultures arise from the commonalities of our bodies and our bodily and social experience in the world." This presupposes that there are aspects of meaning that are culture-specific because they do not necessarily arise from bodily consideration and the same world experience. Lakoff & Johnson (1999: 539) claim that "morality, politics, God, knowledge, human nature, the meaning of life, and a vast array of other important life issues" are "views we inherit from our culture." Studying colour systems in a cross-cultural context, Stanlaw (1997: 259) argues that "languages can certainly vary semantically, but obviously not without constraint; people cannot just call anything anything, after all. These constraints, however, are often a complex interface of both human cognitive universals, and the particulars of cultures and languages in contact. It is on this edge that much of the linguistic and social action takes place."

After Sperber & Wilson (1995: 23), the concepts of "communicator" and "audience" will be used as a default reference to advertiser and receiver/reader, respectively. A PM is direct evidence for the audience that the communicator intends to use it to communicate its informative content in order to change the cognitive environment of the audience by making them engage in "inferential communication." When communicators from different cultures have different knowledge and beliefs about the concepts used, their understanding may be thwarted, impeded, or changed by their respective cultural models. In this section, it is my intention to develop the idea of "cultural cognition" (Shore, 1996). Foley (1997) discussed a similar view

within anthropological linguistics called "Relativism," which is defined as "a philosophical position which claims that experience in the form of culturally mediated human interests plays a crucial role and determinative role in cognitive functioning." If, as Foley emphasised it, an investigation of the relation between culture and cognition falls within anthropological linguistics, then this paper is on metaphor in advertising from an anthropological linguistics perspective. In the rest of this section, different PMs are analysed with a view to determining the interplay between culture and cognition in their processing in TA by contrasting them with that of a Western processing.

4.2. 1. The Asgrow ad⁴

The first PM discussed in Forceville (1996:114) will be called, for convenience, the Asgrow *ad*. This ad shows sweetcorn seeds in a wine held between two "professional" fingers.

The top of the ad reads: "ASGROW: L'APPELLATION TRÈS CONTRÔLÉE", and the bottom, "Des semences pour l'agriculteur exigeant." By this text, the *ad* selects its own audience (which could be assumed to be the French-speaking population of modern farmers), and to be persuasive the ad capitalises on the wine drinking tradition familiar to most Western audiences, irrespective of religion and social class.



⁴ Permission to reproduce the pictorial metaphors has been sought from Forceville.

The reading given to the Asgrow a" by Forceville is SWEETCORN SEEDS ARE WINE, the motivations for such a reading being both textual and pictorial. The textual evidence is "L'APPELLATION CONTROLEE", which is evocative of wine quality; the pictorial evidence is the enigmatic presence of sweetcorn seeds in a wine glass, which triggers in a relevance-theoretic framework a sweetcorn-as-wine reading where wine is the SD and sweetcorn is the TD.

However, processing this ad outside its cultural context may not be as straightforward.

To account for this processing difference provisions for two possible audiences within the Tunisian culture will be posited: a religious sub-culture and a less religiously-minded one. For the less religious sub-culture audience (LRA), since sweetcorn in the form of seeds is imported and transformed into starch, but not home-grown, it is not part of their sweetcorn-schema or cultural model, which only includes the finished product in modern culture (i.e. popcorn) Consequently, this sub-culture does not make provisions for advertising for sweetcorn, although the glass may be recognised as a wine glass. I must admit that at first sightreading I was unable to react to the pictorial material as described by Forceville, and if not for the explanations the author had given, I would not have grasped the meaning of the PM.

For the religious sub-culture audience (RA), however, reading the PM as Forceville did is, however, nearly unattainable.

(i) the RA being a non-wine drinking audience, no provisions are made for what is known in the West as a "wine glass." There do exist coffee cups, tea glasses, and water/milk glasses, all of them having different and appropriate sizes and shapes. However, glasses similar to the Western "wine glass" may be used in formal occasions for drinking coke, lemon, and all sorts of syrup;

(ii) since the glass is not recognised as a wine glass, there is no specific way of, holding a wine glass for the RA (although this knowledge might be available to some of them through films or exposure to such socialising practices in foreign countries), and since the contents of the unrecognised wine glass are puzzling in Relevance4heoretic terms, no association is expected to take place between sweetcorns and the wine glass, which turn out to be at the heart of SWEETCORN SEEDS ARE WINE;

(iii) because the seeds are in a wine glass that has not been recognised as such, the conceptual metaphor capitalised upon in the pictorial display is unlikely to call to mind the metaphoric understanding intended, namely, SWEETCORN SEEDS ARE WINE;

(iv) the textual material may not help understanding either, as to make sense of L'APPELLATION TRES CONTROLEE the audience needs to relate the knowledge of wine glasses to the text, and to be able to recognise the whole pictorial display as a VPM. This lack of knowledge within this sub-culture is responsible for the failure to map the wine glass standing in a metonymic relation to wine as SD onto the seeds as a TD.

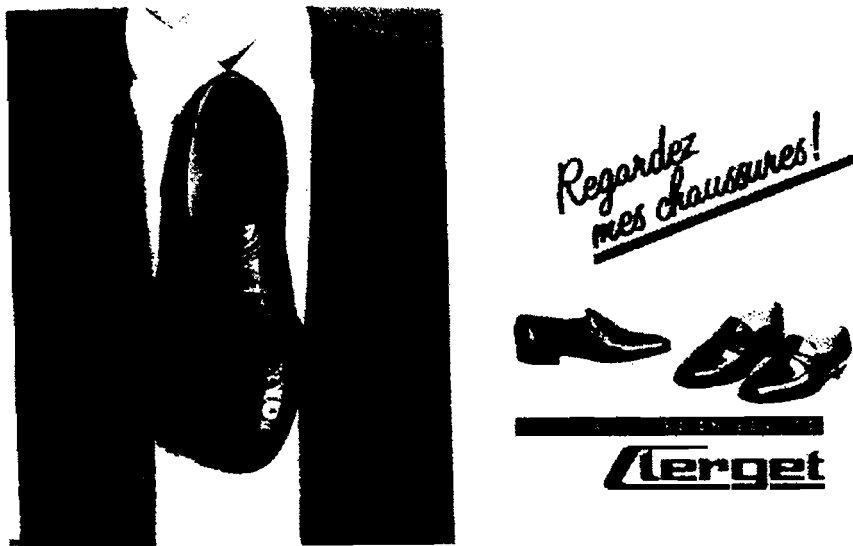
In the previous PM, cultural considerations have been dominant in cognitively impeding partly or wholly the processing of the pictorial material as a PM whose verbalisation in conceptual theory terms is SWEETCORN SEEDS 15 WINE. Such an impediment is suggestive of and caused by the close linkage between cognition and culture, which tends to cancel, so to speak, the capacity of the former to cope with the PM owing to the unavailability of experience and/or knowledge within the cultural models we live by. It could be hypothesised that cognition works tightly in conjunction with what might be termed for the purposes of this paper "cultural filters" ("y analogy to linguistic filters) within our respective cultural models. If the object of cognition (such as a perceptual PM) could potentially be part of the cognitive environment of the audience, it is filtered through, i.e. the object is made sense of (i.e. as a full-fledged PM here). However, if the object of cognition does not evoke anything in the mind of the audience because there is no place for it in their cognitive environment or cultural models, the object is blocked at the entrance of the filter, and no sense is made of the object of it.

4.2.2. The Shoe ad

If the Asgrow ad has yielded incomplete or no processing at all of the pictorial material as a for one section of Tunisian society, it is not the case that PMs always block processing.

Very often, the PMs yield a different interpretation in accordance with the audience's culture.

Consider, for instance, the following PM (henceforth, Shoe ad) discussed in Forceville (1996: 110):



Foreville's verbalisation of the PM 's SHOE IS A TIE. By virtue of placing the shoe in the same location the tie normally occupies on a man's torso, the communicator is suggesting to the audience the mapping of the value of the tie in the West onto the shoe.

It must be admitted that the Shoe ad is easier to process than the Asgrow ad. I showed it to my students, and they were quick to recognise the correlation between the shoe and the tie. However, after drawing their attention, as a second thought, to the cultural appropriateness of using a shoe on the chest to advertise for shoes, I was able to elicit from the different readings :

- (i) from a religious perspective, the PM SHOE IS A TIE, with the shoe positioned on someone's chest 's likely to be frowned at. A shoe is associated with dirt and impurity (Muslims must take off shoes in religious rites), and to set it where it is in the Western ad is a cause for puzzlement even for a learned LRA ; (ii) from a social class viewpoint, the shoe b- positioned on the chest is likely to call to mind the TA idioms, "to tread on someone with one's shoe" (to trample. in English), which 's suggestive of social inequality (as everywhere else, in Tunisia the rich are thought not to respect the poor, and they can have a humiliating de

towards the poor owing to the money they have.)

Another idiom that the shoe's position may call to mind is "to tread on someone's heart" (to coerce someone into acceptance, in English), which might be felt as some sort of imposition;

(iii) from a regional point of view, many city dwellers may recognise that the shoe is positioned in an inappropriate place, rather to be occupied by a tie, but may not recognise the whole thing as a metaphor, or might see bad taste in such an advert about shoes. However, country dwellers in Tunisia, who do not have in their cultural models the tie as part of a man-schema, are very unlikely to associate the shoe with the tie, let alone recognise the SHOE IS A TIE as a PM. They might also see in the shoe the extension of the body, with the wearer treading on somebody else, especially if the picture is seen horizontally.

Again, this ad is a further confirmation that understanding is not separate from cultural models that govern cognition. It could be hypothesised at this level that since advertising depends on persuasion, the persuasiveness of PM is inversely proportional to the degree of sensitivity of an audience to a given religious, social or regional issue, i.e. the greater an audience is sensitive to religious, social, and regional matters, the harder it is for a communicator to persuade them and vice-versa.

It should be pointed out that in both the Asgrow and the Shoe ads what made the difference in interpretation is almost exclusively the pictorial display rather than the textual material. In both ads the SD and the TD are present in the pictorial display. In the Asgrow ad, the SD (wine) is signalled metonymically through the presence of the wine glass which stands for wine quality capitalised upon in conceptualising the TD (sweetcorn seeds) whereas in the Shoe ad the SD (the position) is used as a location where the TD is positioned (shoe).

Forceville (1996:126) calls these "metaphors with two pictorially present terms (MP2s)." Therefore, in these two cases perception causes the difference in interpretation in the two cultures.

4.2.3. The BMW1 ad

So far, the analysed PMs have confirmed the claim that the pictorial display monitors the difference in processing. The next PM is an ad about an

old BMW motorbike model (henceforth, BMW1 ad). For convenience, the PM is given below together with the translated text from Dutch :



With a BMW motorbike you know what you've got. And with a date that remains to be seen. Of course dating (or : a date) can be very attractive. But so is a BMW motorbike.

If, however, you are really looking for a long-lasting relationship, what could be more reliable than a BMW motorbike ? A BMW motorbike is what you could call the very opposite of a dayfly.

For one of its strong points is its life expectancy. It lasts for years. Without ageing quickly. And without high maintenance costs. They are machines of almost indestructible quality.

Moreover, they are comfortable. The rider controls his machine. And not the other way round. What is noticeable is the sense of peace when you're riding a BMW. You will discover that you are not the only one who wants to ride on a BMW.

That becomes particularly apparent when you find out about the very high trade-in value if you sell it. But that won't happen until much later. First make a test ride at your BMW dealer's. A date can wait. BMW makes riding marvellous. (Forceville, 1996 : 149-151).

Forceville proposes BMW MOTORBIKE IS LOVER and MOTORBIKE IS

GIRLFRIEND as two possible verbalisations of the PM. This reading of the PM may not easily be exported to all sub-cultures of the Tunisian audience.

The fundamental concept capitalised upon in the PM is not available for all Tunisians. Dating as a concept does not exist for an important portion of Tunisians, therefore cancelling the entailments of the conceptual metaphor used in talking of the BMW motorbike as a lover and girlfriend. If the text of the BMW1 ad were to be translated into TA, the result would be a target text where the cultural value of marriage is violated. Heterosexual interpersonal relations before marriage for the RA do not involve dating, which the communicator is very unlikely to hijack to the audience as "attractive". Young ladies are either fiancées or wives for the RA but fiancées are not girlfriends in the

Western sense. Within this sub-culture, heterosexual relations are conceived of within wedlock is a sin. Thus, most of the features associated with dating and girlfriend, which are exploited by the communicator to talk the audience into opting for a mechanical girlfriend, find themselves simply downplayed or even switched off as a result of their absence from this sub-culture. Thus, the audience of this sub-culture is very unlikely to be persuaded by the communicator's metaphor's SD.

4.2.4 . The BMW2 as

The next VPM is another version of a BMW motorbike ad (henceforth, BMW2 ad) :



The text that accompanies the BMW2 ad is quoted from Forceville (1996 : 154).

Disagreeable as this way of making contact may be, here he is, file new BMW K 75 RT hoping to get to know you. That's may be a slightly unusual way to begin, but there's a reason for it. After ail, he 's sporty and quite good-looking, even though we say so ourselves. He owes his strong, dynamic character to the three-cylinder engine that even at as far as 3000 revolutions per minute can deliver eighty per cent of file torque.

The K 75 RT loves travelling, as his aerodynamically designed fairing shows. But the motorbike is not the touristy type. You will often meet him in sports circles as well.

That's why he has carved out a truly brilliant career with file police. For he is not just fast, but also solid and reliable.

The K 75 RT is not a drinker. Few others are as economical when it comes to petrol. Moreover he knows when to stop. After all he can come equipped with the special BMW-designed anti-blockage system (ABS) for motorbikes.

He is open to new influences. To give an example, file K 75 RT 15 file first motorbike that can be fitted with a catalytic converter specially developed by BMW.

All in all this attractive type (see photo) 15 file ideal travelling companion to explore new horizons with.

Please reply immediately, at file address of your nearest BMW dealer.

The new BMW K75 RT. (Forceville, 1996 : 153-154)

Forceville conceptually interprets the BMW2 ad as MOTORBIKE IS (PROSPECTIVE) PARTNER. I have no quarrel with the reading, but the fact that it could be assigned "a homosexual reading" is questionable from a cross-cultural perspective

In spite of the homosexual suggestiveness of "the ideal travelling companion to explore new horizons with" felt by a Western audience, the BMW2 ad is for the RA devoid of such suggestiveness, and could be verbalised as MOTORBIKE IS (PROSPECTIVE) MALE FRIEND. In many Arab countries, it is very common to see male friends greeting each other by

kissing on the cheeks, holding each other's hands while walking, or even patting each other's shoulders quite frequently showing closeness, etc. in a way reminiscent to a Western audience of intimate homosexuality. Male friendship for most Arabs does not include in its schema the notion of homosexuality, homosexuality being something frowned upon in Arab countries (even though the history of kings and princes was full of lust for homosexuals they used to recruit from among their subordinates).

On the other hand, for the RA the BMW2 ad is unlikely to appeal to young ladies because they do not, with a few exceptional cases, ride them but are ridden. If the ad were addressed to young ladies, it would be seen as implicitly encouraging them to indulge in doubtful sexual relations with a male (as suggested by the "he" referring to the motorbike), which would cancel the motorbike-as-male metaphor's entailments. In spite of the more neutral and generic word "partner" in the text of the PM, young ladies are not felt at all to be targeted, as Forceville explained, as potential persuadees.

It should be noted that in both the BMW1 and the BMW2 ads what was at the origin of the difference in interpretation lies exclusively with the textual material rather than the pictorial display. In both ads the SD is presented in the textual material and the T') through the pictorial display. Neither the BMW1 ad nor the BMW2 ad is suggestive, without the accompanying textual material, of a girlfriend or a male friend, respectively.

Conclusion

The very existence of PMs is substantial evidence in favour of the view that metaphor resides in thought and language. Our thought processes enable us to make sense of pictures by seeing the SD and the TD of the mapping in the same way we see the two domains when the metaphor is verbalised. If we can make sense of PMs by invoking the mapping through metaphoric concepts, then this is further evidence for the reality of conceptual metaphors in our thought systems (Cienki, 1998). The arguments raised in this paper for non-autonomous cognition as exemplified by the interpretation of PMS attest to the validity of cultural relativism as made possible through the young pictorial subtheory of metaphor.

The gist of this paper has been directed to showing how PMs can be at times culture-specific, i.e. only appraised, appreciated, and relevant within their culture of origin to a specific audience, which does not at all reject a universal

cognitive dimension as combining with culture specificity (Foley, 1999). Many PMs are a case in point of the way cognition is tightly constrained by cultural models we internalise as part of our knowledge of the world we live in. For that, Lyons (1981: 323) argues that "much of the meaning of expressions, including their descriptive as well as their social and expressive meaning, is non-universal and culture-dependent." In this paper, I have tried to show that, like their verbal counterparts, the processing of PMs is quite sensitive to cultural considerations. Such a sensitivity seems to regulate cognitive knowledge in one direction rather than the other.

As has been emphasised earlier; the Asgrow and Shoe ads owe their re-interpretation almost exclusively to the pictorial display, whereas the BMW1 ad and the BMW2 ads' re-interpretation is governed by the textual material exclusively. It has transpired from the cross-cultural reading of the ads that when cultural experience with concepts overlaps in two different cultures, similar processing seems to be greatly facilitated, and communicator and audience will be said to have enough overlap in their respective cognitive environments and cultural models to enable them to communicate without much misunderstanding. However, if experience with concepts turns out to be at odds with one another in different cultures, defeat of inter-cultural communication by cognition may result owing to cognition's failure to accommodate the concept capitalised in the source culture either through the pictorial display itself or the textual material. There are other cases where in the target culture processing occasions a totally different understanding because of the incompatibility between cognitive and cultural models, or processing takes place but thwarts persuasion because of the inadequacy of the SD within the culture.

In multicultural societies, PMs in advertising are very likely to trigger different interpretations in the mind of people not belonging in the same sub-culture, which puts more strain on communicators to study sub-cultures, if they want their PMs to take effect. However careful advertisers may be, they might not fully realise the extent to which the PMs they build on trigger culturally-biased interpretations, which may prove costly in terms of the losses that would be incurred by the company hiring them. Working within the translation of advertising, Séguinot (1994: 250) argues that "as the visual element is key in promotional material, the marketing of goods and services across cultural boundaries involves an understanding of culture and semiotics that goes well

beyond both language and design." Within our cultural models, the assumed cultural filters constrain our cognitive capacities, thus acting, so to speak' like customs officers vis-à-vis the smuggling from a source culture of PMs held to be illicit by our cultural standards. The conclusion I ain drawn to is that PMs can contribute quite a lot to cognitive science by teaching us that cognitive models are neither autonomous nor culture-free, but work in tight collaboration with cultural models.

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