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A study of Iranian and Dutch print advertisements

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Visual and multimodal interaction of metaphor and metonymy in print advertising

Zahra Kashanizadeh & Charles Forceville

Abstract

Conceptual Metaphor Theory's central idea that metaphor is a figure of thought rather than a figure of language has led to the examination of non-verbal and multimodal manifestations of metaphor. Over the past twenty years, the verbal trope of metonymy has similarly been theorized from a conceptual point of view, but the implications of this work for visual studies have only begun to be examined. Examining visual manifestations of metonymy will moreover also improve our understanding of visual metaphor, as often these latter depend on, and interact with, metonymies. In this paper we propose to explore the interaction of metaphor and metonymy in the visual/multimodal realm of print advertising, using Francisco Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez and Olga Díez' (2002) typology, and building on Paula Pérez-Sobrino's (2017) applications of this typology. Our twofold aim is (1) to see if, and if so, how, all patterns of this typology appear in ads; and (2) to investigate a number of Iranian and Dutch print advertisements in which metaphor and metonymy interact. Analyzing ads from two cultures will enable us to demonstrate how cultural background knowledge is essential for understanding metaphor-metonymy interactions.

Keywords: Visual and multimodal metaphor, visual and multimodal metonymy, metaphor-metonymy interaction, Iranian advertisements, Dutch advertisements.

1 Introduction

Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) has defined metaphor as "understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another" (George Lakoff and Mark Johnson 1980: 5). According to CMT metaphor is central to cognition, since human beings think metaphorically. This idea has led visual communication scholars (e.g., Forceville 1988, 2007; Noël Carroll 1994; Charles Forceville and Eduardo Urios-Aparisi 2009) and gesture scholars (e.g., Cornelia Müller 2008; Alan Cienki and Cornelia Müller 2008; Irene Mittelberg and Linda Waugh 2009) to explore non-verbal and multimodal metaphor in various genres and media.

In the past twenty years metonymy has come to be considered as no less crucial for understanding how human cognition functions than metaphor, and has been theorized from a

conceptual point of view (Antonio Barcelona 2000; René Dirven and Ralph Pörings 2002; Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez 2000; Jeanette Littlemore 2015). But the examination of this trope in visual and multimodal discourse has only recently started (Forceville 2009; Beatriz Villacañas and Michael White 2013; Dezheng Feng and Kay O'Halloran 2015; Pérez-Sobrino 2017). The interpretation of, for instance, print advertisements requires more complex analytical tools than a model only identifying any metaphor(s) that may structure them. Indeed, understanding how ads are meaningful, it will prove fruitful to study patterns of interaction involving both metaphor and metonymy (Francisco Ruiz de Mendoza and Alicia Galera-Masegosa 2011: 2), in continuation of the work by Pérez-Sobrino (2017).

The combination of metaphor and metonymy (sometimes called “metaphtonymy”) has been discussed in Louis Goossens (1990) and Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez and Díez (2002). These authors consider metaphtonymy to be a conceptual matter. If they are right, there must be not just verbal, but also non-verbal and multimodal manifestation of this phenomenon. Pérez-Sobrino (2017) has helped the field forward by zooming in on patterns of visual and multimodal interaction of metaphor and metonymy and metonymic chains. We want to further pursue this route and likewise take Ruiz de Mendoza's typologies as a starting point. We aim to discuss if, and if so, how, all types of this interaction function in multimodal advertisements. Since all our examples combine visuals and language, the ads are multimodal. This does not necessarily mean that any metaphors and metonyms in them are strictly speaking multimodal--see Forceville 2006 for discussion--but we will not be concerned with the difference between visual and multimodal varieties here.

In order to find suitable examples of metonymic, metaphoric and metaphtonymic relations, we inspected a large number of Iranian and Dutch print advertisements. Iranian ads were selected from data kindly provided to us by nine well-known advertising agencies in Tehran, which permitted us to examine ads designed from 2009 onwards. The Dutch ads were found on the web site of “Ads of the World”. Some more examples were found by searching on the websites of “Pinterest” and “Google images”.

After briefly elucidating our understanding of metonymy (section 2), we start by examining Pérez-Sobrino's claim that two types of metonyms (source-in-target and target-in-source) that have been defined for the verbal mode by Ruiz de Mendoza (2000) also occur non-verbally and partly-verbally. Moreover, we consider how Ruiz de Mendoza's distinction between metonymic expansion and metonymic reduction manifests itself in advertisements (section 3). In section 4 we discuss a number of Iranian and Dutch ads in light of the fourfold typology and investigate how the change of medium (visuals accompanied by language rather than language alone) may affect the interpretation of

metaphor-metonymy interactions. In section 5 we address metonymic complexes and the possible combinations between metonymic expansion and reduction processes in visuals. In section 6 we present some conclusions and discuss what cultural background knowledge and ideology is presupposed by the ads' makers (see e.g., Ning Yu 1998, 2009; Zoltán Kövecses 2005; Iraide Ibarretxe-Antuñano 2013), and how this background knowledge is reflected in the metonyms used.

2 Conceptual metonymy

Metonymy is a figure of thought in which one entity is used to refer to, or in cognitive linguistic terms "provide mental access to" (Ronald Langacker 1993: 30), another entity within the same conceptual domain to which it is related in some sort of contiguous or causal way (see also Zoltán Kövecses and Günther Radden 1998; Radden and Kövecses 1999). "In a very basic sense, therefore, metonymy is a process which allows us to use one well-understood aspect of something to stand for the thing as a whole, or for some other aspect of it, or for something to which it is very closely related" (Littlemore 2015: 4, following Raymond Gibbs 1994). The generally accepted difference between metaphor and metonymy is that the two "things" combined in metaphor belong to different conceptual domains (e.g., "love is a journey"), while those in metonymy belong to the same conceptual domain (e.g., "count noses"). In short, in metaphor we get A-as-B; in metonymy B-for-A. We need metonymy in communication because it is impossible to capture all aspects of our intended meaning in the language we use. We think metonymically because this enables us to focus on the aspect of a concept that is relevant in the situation at hand, and use this as point of access to the whole concept. "When asked to think of 'France', people might picture a place in France that they visited, or a rough map of France, or an iconic representation of France such as Eiffel Tower" (Littlemore 2015: 5).

Metonymy "allows us to use one entity to stand for another" (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 36). Probably the best-known variety of metonymy is synecdoche, in which a part stands for the whole ("he is a brain"). Other types of metonymy include producer for product, object for user, controller for controlled, institution for people responsible, the place for the institution, the place for the event (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 38–39), but Littlemore (2015) identifies yet other types. Given the conceptual status of the trope, we can characterize metonymy irrespective of the medium in which it is used as follows:

1. A metonym consists of a source concept/structure, which via a cue in a communicative mode (language, visuals, music, sound, gesture ...) allows the metonym's addressee to infer the target concept/structure.

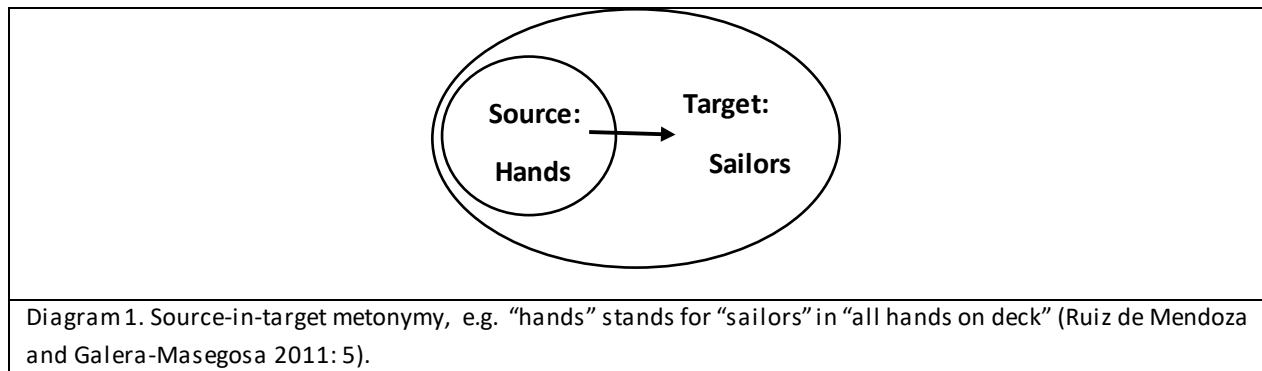
2. Source and target are, in the given context, part of the same conceptual domain.
3. The choice of metonymic source makes salient one or more aspects of the target that otherwise would not, or not as clearly, have been noticeable, and thereby makes accessible the target under a specific perspective. The highlighted aspect often has an evaluative dimension (Forceville 2009: 58).

3 Types of metonymy

Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez (2000) distinguishes two basic types of metonymy, source-in-target and target-in-source.

3.1 Source-in-target


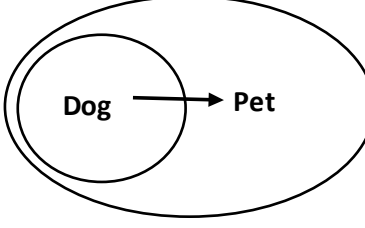
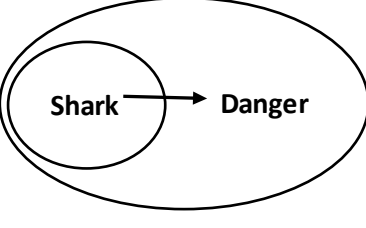
The source is a subdomain of the target. Therefore, the subdomain stands for its corresponding matrix domain. For example, “All hands on deck” is a call for all sailors aboard a ship to take up their duties. In this context, HANDS stands for the SAILORS who do hard physical work on the ship in virtue of the hands playing an experientially prominent role in the domain of labor. This type of metonymy has been discussed by other scholars as “the part stands for the whole” (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 36).



Ads can feature this type of metonymy visually or multimodally, as Pérez-Sobrino (2017) proposed. Figure 1 is part of a series of Dutch ads for “Pet & Breakfast”, which is a pet-boarding service company. The ad features a dog escaping from a shark. The pay-off “Laat je huisdier lekker thuis” translates as “Better leave your pet comfortably at home”, urging pet owners to leave their pets in this safe place when they themselves go on holiday.


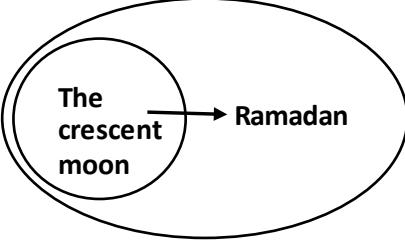
Since “Pet & Breakfast” not only hosts dogs, the dog in this ad can be considered as a metonym for a variety of pets. In this ad, DOG is thus the metonym’s source domain and PET its target domain. As

shown in diagram 2, the source-in-target type of metonymy that has been identified by Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez in language thus also appears in multimodal advertisements.


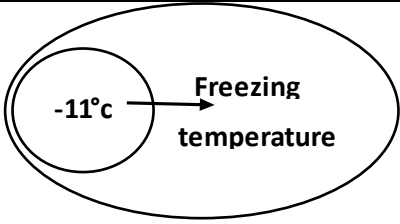
		
<p>Figure 1. Print advertisement for “Pet & Breakfast”, The Netherlands, 2009. Advertising Agency: Lowe https://www.adsoftheworld.com/media/print/pet_breakfast_shark Last accessed: 30 May 2019.</p>	<p>Diagram 2. Source-in-target metonymy, e.g. “dog” stands for “pet” in “Pet & Breakfast” ad (figure 1).</p>	<p>Diagram 3. Source-in-target metonymy, e.g. “shark” stands for “danger” in “Pet & Breakfast” ad (figure 1).</p>

The same applies to the shark in figure 1. The purpose of the advertiser is to suggest what kind of dangers may threaten the health of pets taken abroad during holidays. In this ad, the target domain of DANGEROUS PHENOMENA THAT CAN BEFALL A PET ABROAD has been cued by the source domain SHARK (an animal that does not live in the wild in The Netherlands). As an animal that is considered highly dangerous, the SHARK in the given context metonymically triggers DANGER (diagram 3).

Figure 2 is another example of a source-in-target metonym. This ad for an Iranian toothpaste was published during Ramadan, when Muslims fast. The toothpaste has been shown in such a way that it conveys a crescent moon, which is a symbol of Ramadan in Muslim culture. The aim of this ad is for viewers to infer the abstract concept of RAMADAN via one of its best-known symbols, the CRESCENT MOON. The audience needs to expand the meaning from source (CRESCENT MOON) to target (RAMADAN). The pay-off “You are God’s guest” and the cultural background knowledge are crucial to understand the meaning of this source-in-target metonymic ad.

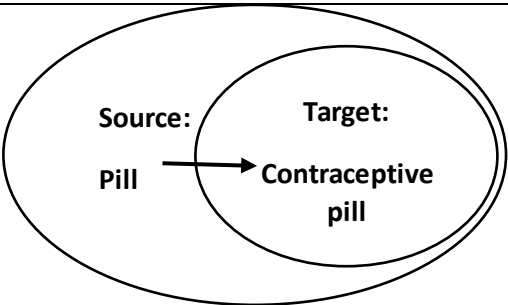
	
<p>Figure 2. Advertisement for “Pooneh” toothpaste, Iran, 2014. Advertising Agency: Iran Novin http://www.mbanews.ir/news2/index.php?newsid=16423 Last accessed: 30 May 2019.</p>	<p>Diagram 4. Source-in-target metonymy, e.g. “crescent moon” stands for “Ramadan” in “Pooneh” toothpaste ad (figure 2).</p>

Similar reasoning can be applied to the Dutch “Labello” ad in figure 3. The pay-off, “laat je lippen niet barsten”, translates as “do not let your lips burst” (where “let ... burst” is moreover a Dutch idiom meaning: “reprehensibly ignore”). The lip balm protects one’s lips when it is cold, and as shown in diagram 5, “-11°C” is part of the range of temperatures that would qualify as very low. Metonymic expansion is needed to understand the target (FREEZING TEMPERATURE) by the source (-11°C), both being in the same conceptual domain of low temperature.

	
<p>Figure 3. Advertisement for “Labello”, Netherlands, year unknown. Advertising Agency: Unknown https://nl.pinterest.com/pin/427490189603866308 Last accessed: 30 May 2019.</p>	<p>Diagram 5. Source-in-target metonymy, e.g. “-11°C” stands for “freezing temperature” in “Labello” ad (figure 3).</p>


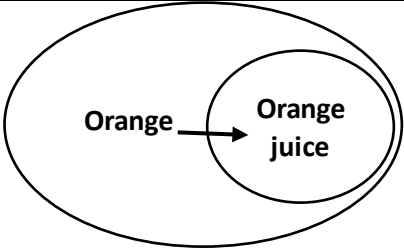
3.2 Target-in-source

In this second type of metonymy, the target is a subdomain of the source : the whole category stands for one of its members or for part of the category. Therefore, the whole domain (the matrix domain) stands for one of its subdomains. Ruiz de Mendoza and Galera-Masegosa (2011: 5) give the example “She’s taking the pill”, where PILL stands for CONTRACEPTIVE PILL.


<p>Diagram 6. Target-in-source metonymy, e.g. “pill” stands for “contraceptive pill” in “she’s taking the pill”.</p>

The target-in-source type of metonymy can also be identified in multimodal ads. The Iranian juice campaign exemplified in figure 4 was released during the 2016 Olympics and the pay-off can be translated as “#Go up with Takdaneh [the name of the brand], during Olympics”. The source (ORANGES) stands for the target (ORANGE JUICE) and has a broader meaning than the target, which is its subdomain.

Therefore, as shown in diagram 7, we can consider it a target-in-source metonymy. The bicycle in this ad can also be considered a metonym, namely for CYCLING IN OLYMPICS, or even for OLYMPIC SPORTS as a whole. This latter metonym, unlike the metonymic relationship between ORANGE and ORANGE JUICE, is a source-in-target metonymy, as SPORTS BICYCLE is a subdomain of (OLYMPIC) SPORTS EQUIPMENT in general.

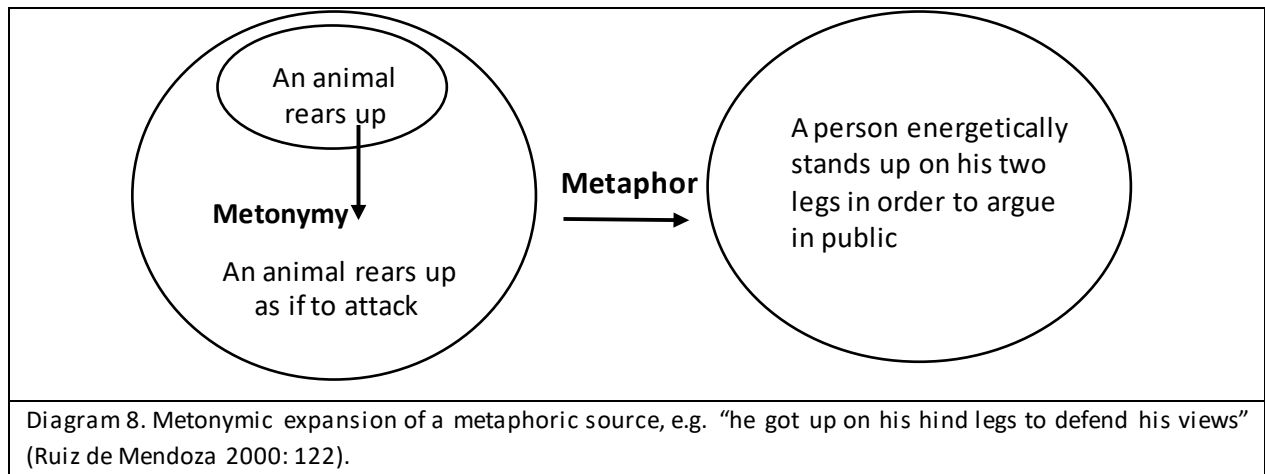
	
<p>Figure 4. Advertisement for “Takdaneh” orange juice, Iran, 2016. Advertising Agency: Aftabnet https://www.behance.net/gallery/41430539/Takdaneh Last accessed: 30 May 2019</p>	<p>Diagram 7. Target-in-source metonymy, e.g. “orange” stands for “orange juice” in “Takdaneh” ad (figure 4).</p>

4 Metaphor and metonymy in interaction

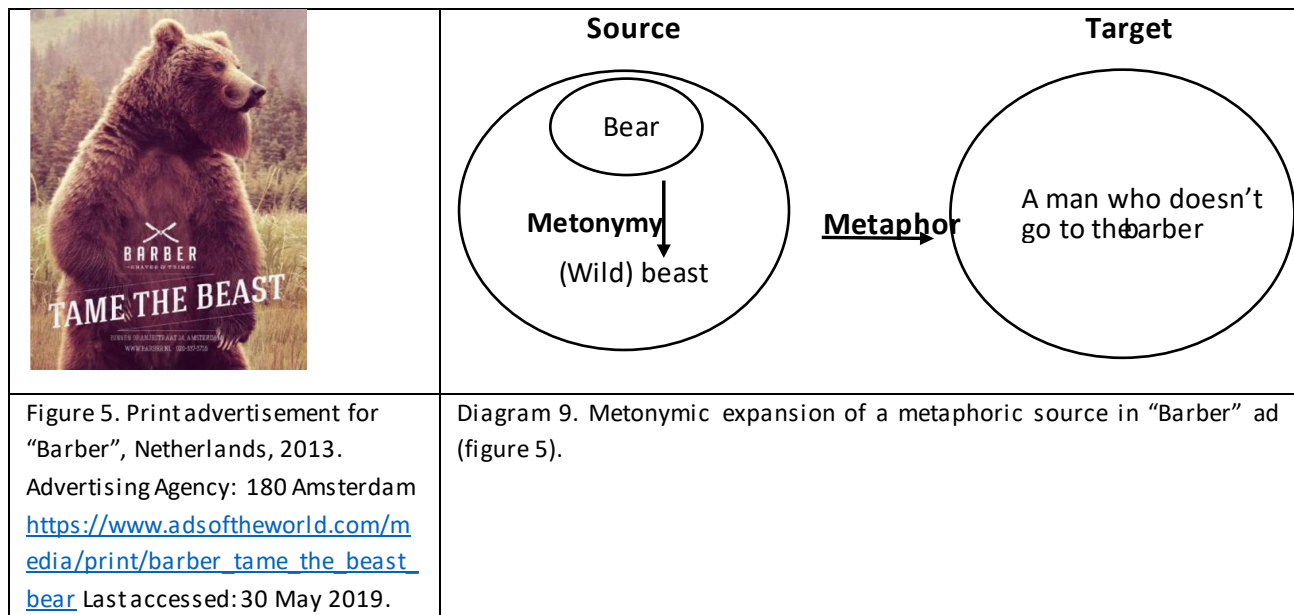
Quite often metonyms do not appear on their own, but occur in combination with metaphors. This combination, called “metaphtonymy” by Goossens (1990), has also been investigated by Ruiz de Mendoza and Díez (2002). Since there are two basic metonymic schemas--part-for-whole (source-in-target) and whole-for-part (target-in-source)--Ruiz de Mendoza (2000) proposed four basic interactional patterns of metaphtonymy in the verbal realm: (1) metonymic expansion of a metaphoric source; (2) metonymic expansion of a metaphoric target; (3) metonymic reduction of a metaphoric source; and (4) metonymic reduction of a metaphoric target. In this section, each of these patterns will be identified in a number of visual and multimodal advertisements, thereby complementing Pérez-Sobrino’s (2017) examples of metaphtonymy, which only cover the domain expansion process. In addition, a pattern that does not appear to be covered by Ruiz de Mendoza’s typology, will be discussed.

4.1 Metonymic expansion of a metaphoric source

Consider “he got up on his hind legs to defend his views”. In this example, there is metonymy within the source of a metaphor in which animal behavior is mapped onto human behavior. We first have access through metonymy to the overall scenario of an animal suddenly moving the front part of its body upwards to adopt an attacking position.

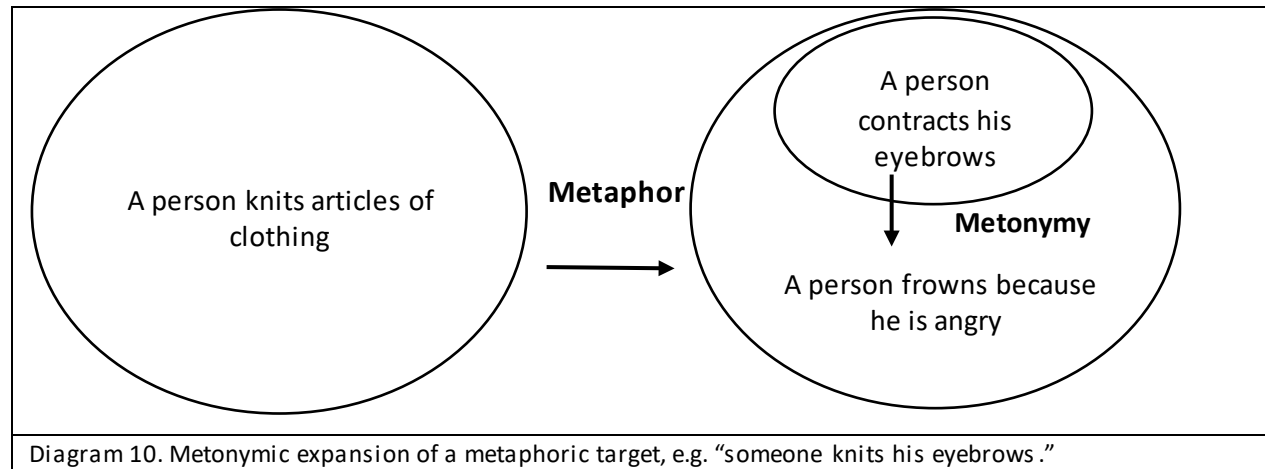


This pattern of interaction can be identified in multimodal ads, too. For example, BEAR and MAN in figure 5, an ad for a hipsters’ barbershop, are two salient entities whose relation we can regard as metaphorically related. The trimmed mustache of the bear and the pay-off “Tame the beast” help to understand the metaphoric mapping. So we can verbalize this multimodal metaphor as MEN-WITH-BEARDS WHO DO NOT GO TO THE BARBER ARE UNTAMED BEARS. But BEAR, as the source domain of this metaphor, is a metonym for the verbally cued category of “beasts” that must be tamed. Different types of such animals feature in other ads of this campaign, with the same message. As shown in diagram 9, we need to expand the meaning from the source of the metonymy (BEAR) to its target (BEAST), so the metonym manifests the source-in-target subtype, in which the source, BEAR, needs to be expanded to BEAST.



4.2 Metonymic expansion of a metaphoric target

The interpretation of the sentence “This would already make one knit his eyebrows in suspicion” requires setting up a metaphorical correspondence between A PERSON THAT IS KNITTING ARTICLES OF CLOTHING (the source domain) and A PERSON THAT CONTRACTS HIS EYEBROWS (the target domain). The result of this metaphoric mapping needs to be metonymically developed into a situation in which A PERSON FROWNS AS A SIGN OF ANGER (Ruiz de Mendoza and Galera-Masegosa 2011: 11).

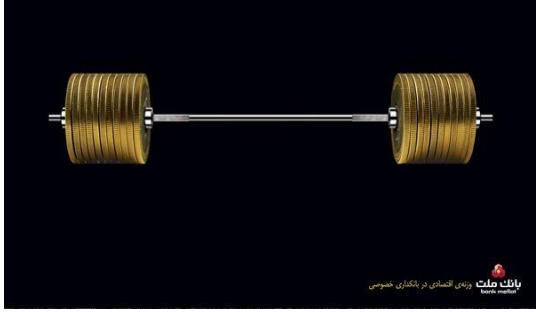
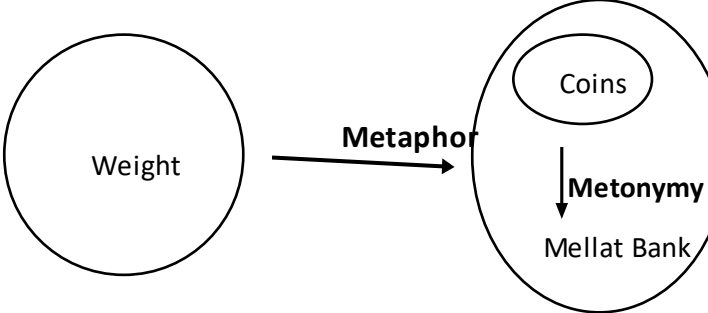


Let us now consider this interaction pattern in two Iranian advertisements. There is a metaphoric relationship between source (ARMOR) and target (RENAULT) in figure 6. The pay-off, which can be translated as “Renault, the measure of safety”, facilitates the interpretation of the metaphor, which can be verbalized as RENAULT IS ARMOR.

The brand has been depicted by its logo. The logo stands for Renault cars and is part of it, so we can consider RENAULT LOGO as a metonym for RENAULT. As diagram 11 shows, the target of this metaphor features a metonym of the expansion type.

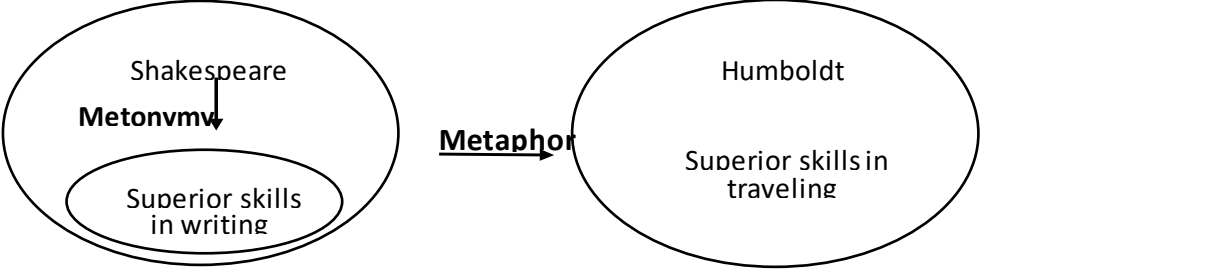
<p>Figure 6. Advertisement for “Renault”, Iran, 2010. Advertising Agency: Daarvag. Unpublished advertisement.</p>	<p>Diagram 11. Metonymic expansion of a metaphoric target in “Renault” ad (figure 6).</p>

The same line of reasoning can be pursued for the Iranian bank ad in figure 7, whose pay-off can be translated as “Mellat bank, the economic weight in private banking”. Thanks to this tagline the visually conveyed conceptual metaphor (IMPORTANCE IS WEIGHT) is reinforced. The COINS are a metonymy for the BANK (if we postulate an intermediate metonymy COINS FOR MONEY, this would be an example of what Ruiz de Mendoza (2007) and Pérez-Sobrino (2017) discuss under ‘metonymic complexes and metonymic chains’). In short, the COINS are the target of the metaphor COINS ARE WEIGHTS as well as a source in a metonymy whose target is BANK.


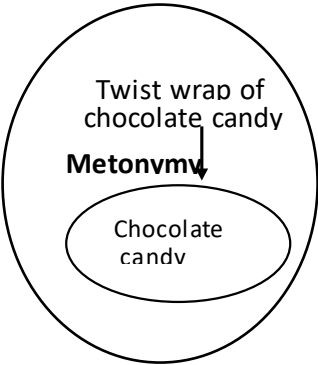

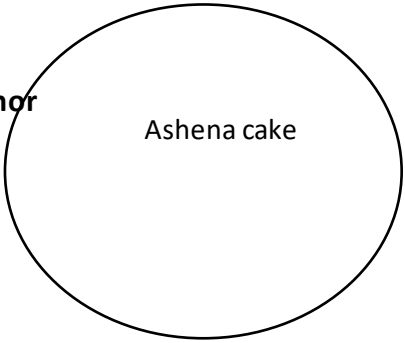
	
<p>Figure 7. Advertisement for “Mellat bank”, Iran, 2010. Advertising network: Tahamtan Aminian. https://www.adsoftheworld.com/media/print/bank_mellat_barbell Last accessed: 30 May 2019.</p>	<p>Diagram 12. Metonymic expansion of a metaphoric target in “Mellat bank” ad (figure 7).</p>

4.3 Metonymic reduction of a metaphoric source

The example “Humboldt is the Shakespeare of travelers” can be considered a metaphor, and features would map from source domain (SHAKESPEARE) to target domain (HUMBOLDT). Ruiz de Mendoza and Galera-Masegosa (2011: 13) argue that there is a metonymy in the source domain of this metaphor in which SHAKESPEARE stands for one of the subdomains associated with the Bard: his SUPERIOR SKILLS AND GENIUS. We need to reduce the meaning from the source of this metonymy (SHAKESPEARE) to the target (SHAKESPEARE’S SKILLS AND GENIUS), so we have a target-in-source type of metonymy (see diagram 13).

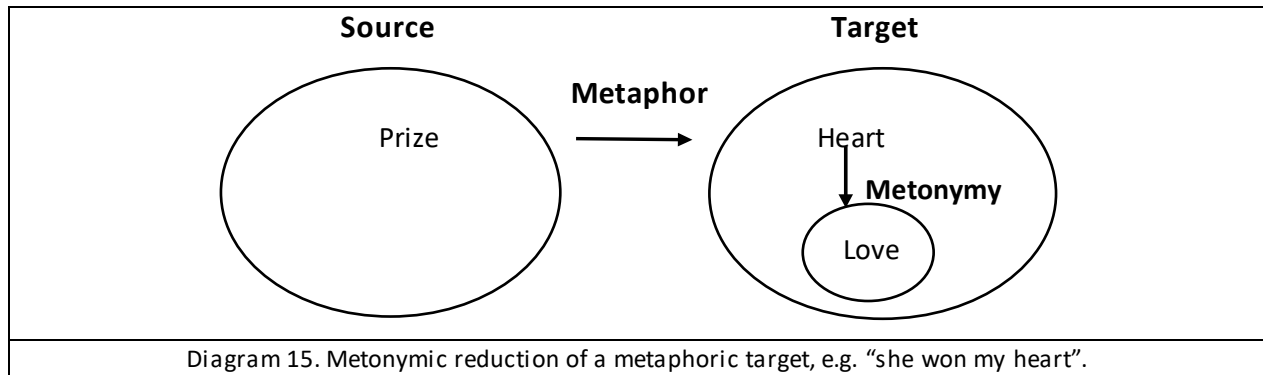

<p>Diagram 13. Metonymic reduction of a metaphoric source, e.g. “Humboldt is the Shakespeare of travelers”.</p>

It is not easy to find visual and multimodal examples of reduction in metonymies. We are not sure why this is the case. It may have something to do with the fact that something that is a noun in language must be translated into something concrete when depicted—from which depiction it is difficult to infer that something more specific is meant. Thus, one can imagine that, in specific circumstances, a poodle may metonymically stand for a dog, but not that a dog can stand metonymically for a poodle. Anyway, the only case study that we could find as a candidate for this interaction pattern in visuals is figure 8. This Iranian ad is for cakes with chocolate flavor (the tagline translates as “The taste is familiar. Chocolate cake of Ashena”). The metaphor can be verbalized as CAKE IS CANDY. As shown in diagram 14 THE TWIST WRAP PACKAGING OF CANDY is a metonym for the CHOCOLATE CANDY inside it. In this metonymy, the TWIST WRAP PACKAGING and the CHOCOLATE could be considered as PART-FOR-PART metonymy. However, “setting up one kind of relationship within a broader frame does not mean that there cannot be others” (Ruiz de Mendoza and Galera-Masegosa 2011: 6). “[T]he source-in-target/ target-in-source distinction, which involves disregarding the existence of “part-for-part” metonymies, is relevant for the ensuing analysis of interaction patterns, where only either of these two metonymic types plays a role” (Ruiz de Mendoza and Galera-Masegosa 2011: 8). As the TWIST WRAP PACKAGING contains the CHOCOLATE inside it, we consider their relation as metonymic reduction.

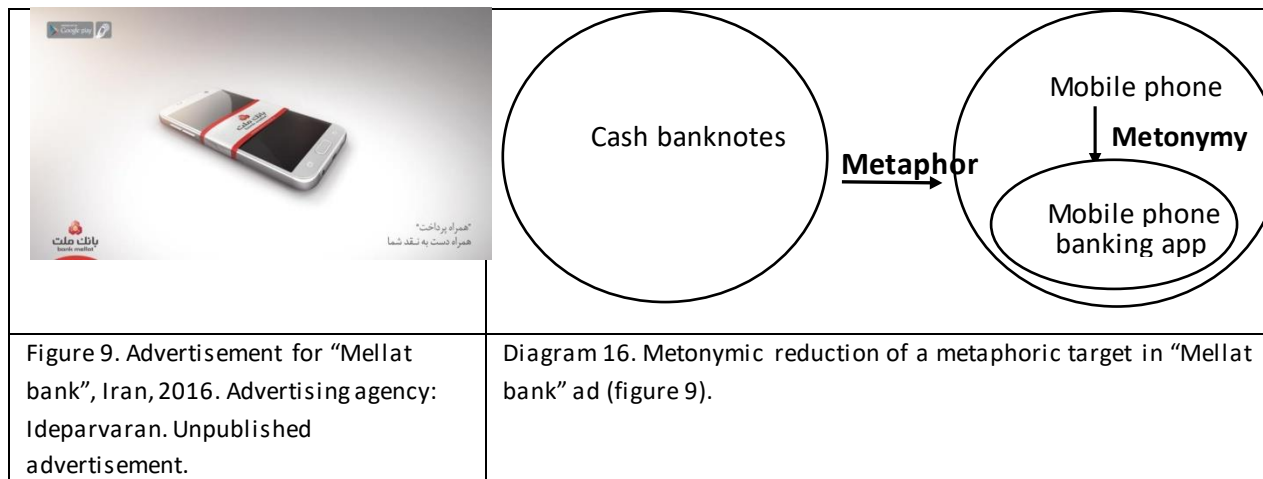
	<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around;"> <div style="text-align: center;"> <p>Source</p>  </div> <div style="text-align: center;"> <p>Metaphor</p>  </div> <div style="text-align: center;"> <p>Target</p>  </div> </div>
<p>Figure 8. Advertisement for “Ashena cake”, Iran, 2014. Advertising agency: Maat. http://maat.ir/clients/%D8%A2%D8%B4%D9%86%D8%A7/ Last accessed: 30 May 2019.</p>	<p>Diagram 14. Metonymic reduction of a metaphoric source in “Ashena cake” ad (figure 8).</p>

4.4 Metonymic reduction of a metaphoric target


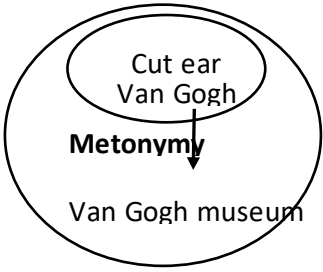
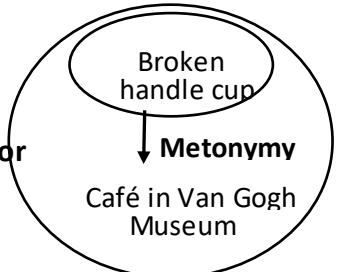
“Over the years, this girl won my heart” is the example Ruiz de Mendoza and Galera-Masegosa (2011: 13) give of a metonymic reduction of a metaphoric target. In this case, the “obtaining love” scenario is metaphorically conceptualized as a “winning” scenario. The relation between “winning a prize” and “winner” in the source domain is mapped onto “obtaining the heart” and “the girl” in the target domain. Here a metonymic reduction makes someone’s HEART stand for someone’s LOVE.



This interaction pattern can be found in verbo-visual form in an ad for an Iranian bank (figure 9). Here the cash banknotes have been replaced by a mobile phone, as can be inferred from the banderole (used to keep banknotes together) that has been wrapped around the mobile. The pay-off, which can be translated as “mobile banking app, your liquidity attendant”, helps realize that the ad is about a mobile banking application which can be used to transfer money, obviating the need to carry cash money. Thanks to the banderole we can formulate the visual metaphor as MOBILE PHONE IS CASH BANKNOTES. But the message in this ad is that you can use the mobile phone to transfer money, which is only one of its many functions. So the intended interpretation requires reducing the metonym’s source domain MOBILE PHONE to the target domain MOBILE PHONE BANKING APPLICATION.


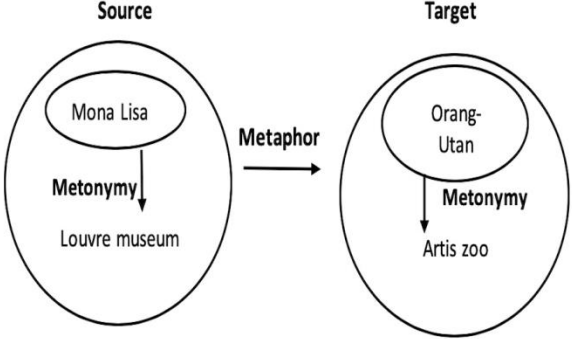


We have shown that all four metaphor-metonymy interaction patterns identified by Ruiz de Mendoza and colleagues in the verbal realm can occur in visual and verbo-visual advertisements. However, we agree with Pérez-Sobrino (2017:125) that this interaction can also manifest itself simultaneously in both target and source of a metaphoric relationship. In fact, while the advertiser might show the similarities between the two terms of the metaphor, the intended claim may actually reside in an element that is a metonymy in both the target and the source of the metaphor. Consider the ad promoting the café of the Van Gogh museum in Amsterdam (figure 10), in which the foregrounded object is a cup with a broken handle (In Dutch: “oor”, translating as “ear”). The envisaged audience of the ad is invited to register the similarity between the target (CUP) and the source (VINCENT VAN GOGH), the famous Dutch painter who cut off his ear. One could interpret this similarity metaphorically, something like EARLESS CUP IS LIKE (EARLESS) VAN GOGH. Since the CUP is here a metonymy for the VAN GOGH MUSEUM CAFE and VAN GOGH is a metonymy for the VAN GOGH MUSEUM, the audience is invited to conclude that the VAN GOGH MUSEUM CAFE is as much worth visiting as is the MUSEUM of which it is a part. Both the target and the source of the metaphor are thus parts of broader concepts in their respective semantic domains (see diagram 17).

	<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around;"> <div style="text-align: center;"> <p>Source</p>  </div> <div style="text-align: center;"> <p>Metaphor</p> </div> <div style="text-align: center;"> <p>Target</p>  </div> </div>
<p>Figure 10. Advertisement for “Van Gogh café”, Netherlands, year unknown. Advertising agency: Duval Guillaume. https://nl.pinterest.com/pin/261701428316210087/?lp=true Last accessed: 30 May 2019.</p>	<p>Diagram 17. Metonymic expansion of a metaphoric source and target in “Van Gogh museum” ad (figure 10).</p>

Another example of this interactional pattern is a billboard for the Artis zoo in Amsterdam (figure 11). In Forceville (1996: 158) the ad was analyzed as a verbo-pictorial metaphor, ORANG-UTAN IS MONA LISA. But focusing on metonymy, we can describe it more accurately. The ORANG-UTAN is a metonymy for

the ARTIS ZOO and MONA LISA is a metonym for the LOUVRE MUSEUM. Hence, we can extend the correspondences to ARTIS ZOO IS LOUVRE MUSEUM, where it is suggested that Artis is as much worth visiting as the Louvre. This ad thus exemplifies source-in-target metonymies in both the target and the source of this metaphor.

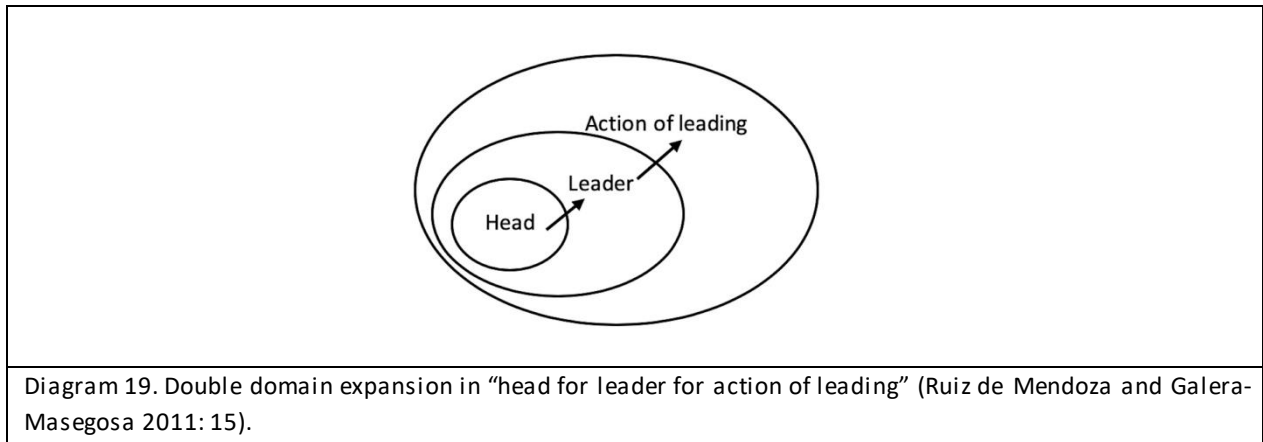
	
<p>Figure 11. Advertisement for “Artis zoo”, Netherlands, late 1980s. Advertising agency: FHV BBDO (discussed in Forceville 1996:158).</p>	<p>Diagram 18. Metonymic expansion of a metaphoric source and target in “Artis zoo” ad (figure 11).</p>

5 Metonymic complexes

Ruiz de Mendoza (Ruiz de Mendoza 2007; Ruiz de Mendoza and Galera-Masegosa 2011) distinguishes four patterns of metonymic interaction in which two or more metonymies can interact. This distinction is based on the possible combinations between metonymic expansion and reduction processes: (1) double domain expansion; (2) double domain reduction; (3) domain expansion plus domain reduction; and (4) domain reduction plus domain expansion. Pérez-Sobrino (2017) devotes special attention to two of the four metonymic complexes and has analyzed expansion processes in advertisements. In this section all four patterns will be identified in multimodal advertisements.

5.1 Double domain expansion

“His sister heads the policy unit” is a metonymic sentence in the verbal realm in which “head” can ultimately stand for the action of “leading” because of its crucial instrumental role in such an action (see diagram 19).



Double domain expansion appears in multimodal ads as well. Consider the Iranian ad for a sink which is a fusion of a sink and a goldfish (figure 12), with the tagline “Have a great year”. A goldfish is one of the items that Iranians use in order to arrange Haft-sin. Haft-sin (which can be translated as “Seven-S”) comprises seven symbolic items whose names start with the letter “S” in the Persian alphabet. It traditionally symbolizes Nowruz, the Iranian New Year's day. In this double domain expansion metonymy the GOLDFISH stands for HAFT-SIN and HAFT-SIN stands in turn for NOWRUZ, Persian New Year (diagram 20).

<p>Figure 12. Advertisement for “Iliasteel sink”, Iran, 2015. Advertising network: Tahamtan Aminian. https://deskgram.net/p/1218398740160219907_639125545 Last accessed: 30 May 2019.</p>	<p>Diagram 20. Double metonymic domain expansion in “Iliasteel sink” ad (figure 12).</p>

Here is another example, in a “History Channel” ad for kids (figure 13). In this ad, Playmobil toys are arranged in such a way that they evoke the scene of JOHN F. KENNEDY’s ASSASSINATION. The recognition of the event is helped, of course, by the mention of the place and date of this assassination in the left hand top corner of the ad. This incident alludes to all HISTORICAL EVENTS that can be seen on HISTORY CHANNEL.

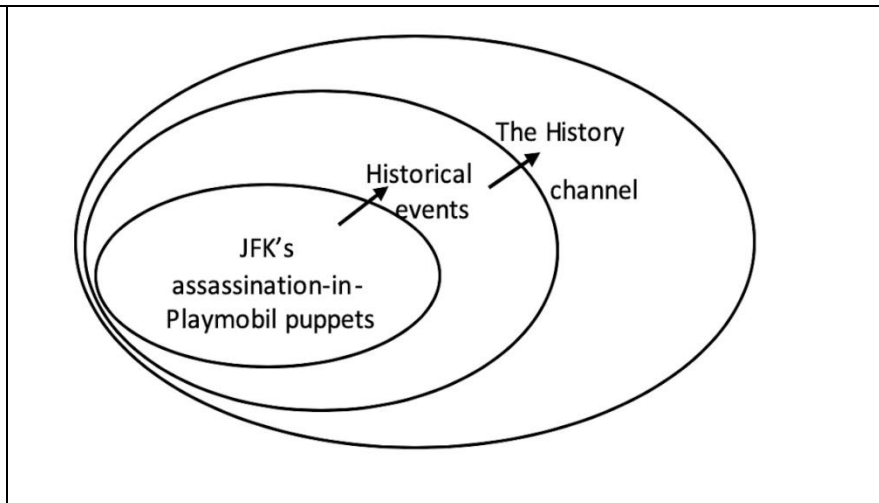
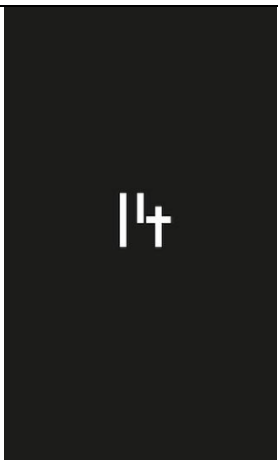
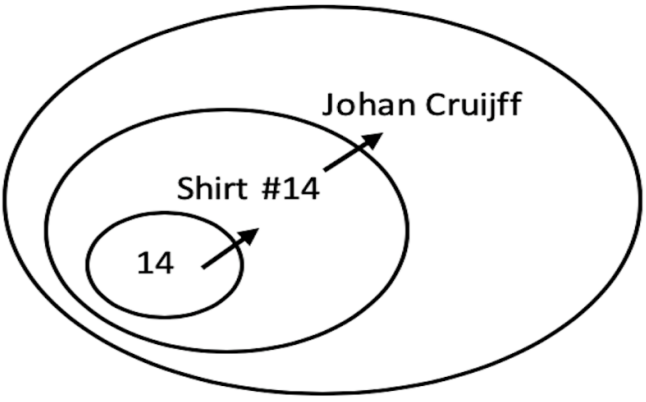


Figure 13. Advertisement for “The history channel”, Netherlands, 2009. Advertising agency: Junior. https://www.adsoftheworld.com/media/print/history_channel_jfk Last accessed: 30 May 2019.

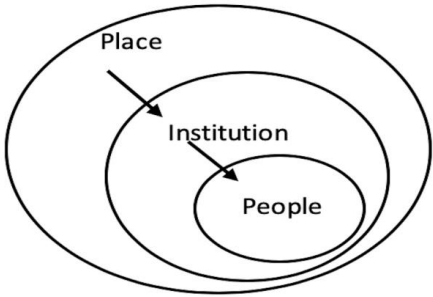
Diagram 21. Double domain expansion in “History channel” ad (figure 13).

Here is a Dutch example. The Amsterdam-based newspaper “Het Parool” paid tribute to football legend “Johan Cruijff” (on page 14 (!) – see figure 14) the day after he died, “14” being Cruijff’s shirt number. 14 is thus a metonym for SHIRT NUMBER and SHIRT NUMBER is a metonym for JOHAN CRUIJFF. Therefore, as shown in diagram 22, there is double domain expansion in this metonymy. Figure 14 moreover shows a juxtaposition of a (stylized) SHOOTING FOOTBALL PLAYER and A CROSS and both of them are source-in-target metonymies: the CROSS (source) is a metonym for DEATH (target) and the SHOOTING FOOTBALL PLAYER (source) is a metonym for JOHAN CRUIJFF (target). The position of the cross is also pertinent. It is positioned next to the feet of “Cruijff”, so we can understand the cross as a ball, which arguably is a visual pun.

	
<p>Figure 14. Paying tribute to football legend “Johan Cruijff”, Netherlands, 2016. Advertising agency: J. Walter Thompson. https://www.adsoftheworld.com/media/print/het_parool_14 Last accessed: 30 May 2019.</p>	<p>Diagram 22. Double domain expansion in “Het Parool” tribute to “Johan Cruijff” (figure 14).</p>

5.2 Double domain reduction

“Wall Street is in panic” is a metonymic example by Ruiz de Mendoza and Galera-Masegosa (2011: 15) to identify the people who are associated with an institution that is in turn identified by the place in which it is known to be located. As a consequence of domain reduction both the institution and the people are given prominence.


<p>Diagram 23. Double metonymic domain reduction in “place for institution for people”.</p>

The Iranian ad for a SIM card in figure 15, published during Nowruz (Persian New Year), is a multimodal example of double domain reduction. The pay-off can be translated as “with international roaming of Rightel, your Haft-sin is as vast as the world – International roaming with more than 48 countries--Happy New Year”. As we saw before, the GOLDFISH is a metonym for HAFT-SIN, which in turn

metonymically cues NEW YEAR, which is thus a double domain expansion. But the ad also features a double domain reduction in the meaning of the earth (diagram 24). Detailed verbal explanations in this ad explain that the international roaming of the SIM card works for 48 countries. So we can conclude that the EARTH refers to the COUNTRIES on the earth and the COUNTRIES refer to SOME OF THE COUNTRIES in which one can use the SIM card.



Figure 15. Advertisement for “Rightel SIM card”, Iran, 2014. Advertising agency: Aftabnet. http://www.pictaram.me/media/1472477836237674422_2189326707 Last accessed: 30 May 2019.

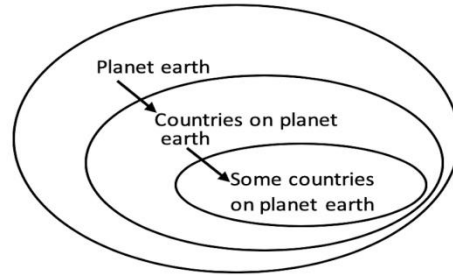


Diagram 24. Double metonymic domain reduction in “Rightel SIM card” ad (figure 15).

5.3 Domain expansion plus domain reduction

Consider “He has too much lip”. A person’s lips are prominently instrumental in speaking. This instrumental role is the starting point for the first metonymy in the complex. The second metonymy highlights the “ability” element that is essential to understand the full meaning impact of the expression (Ruiz de Mendoza and Galera-Masegosa 2011: 17).

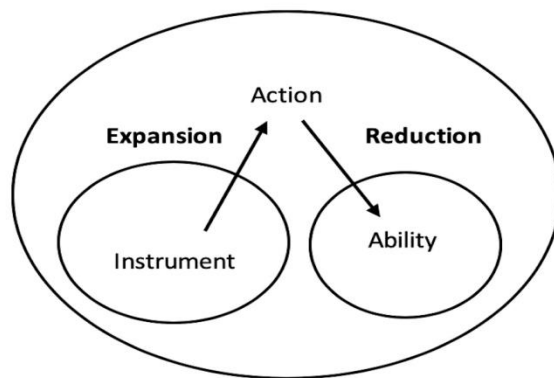
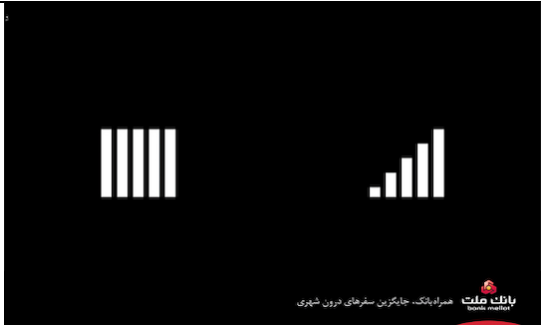
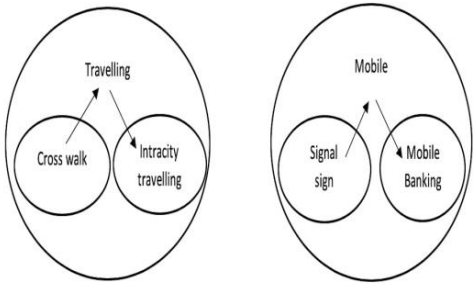

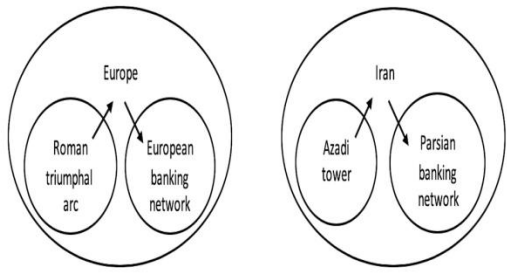


Diagram 25. Metonymic domain expansion plus domain reduction in “instrument for action for ability to perform the action.”

The Iranian mobile banking ad in figure 16 is a multimodal example for this pattern. There are two signs in this ad and both are metonyms for other concepts. The pay-off (“Mobile banking replaces the intracity trips”) helps recognize these metonymic relationships. For the sign on the left side of the image, we need to expand the meaning from CROSSWALK to WALKING or TRAVELLING and then reduce the meaning from WALKING/TRAVELLING to INTRACITY TRAVELLING TO THE BANK. Similarly, the meaning of SIGNAL SIGN on the right side of the ad should be expanded to the meaning MOBILE. But since this ad is about mobile banking, a metonymic reduction is needed to get at the meaning of MOBILE BANKING. Therefore interpreting this ad requires both domain expansion and domain reduction.

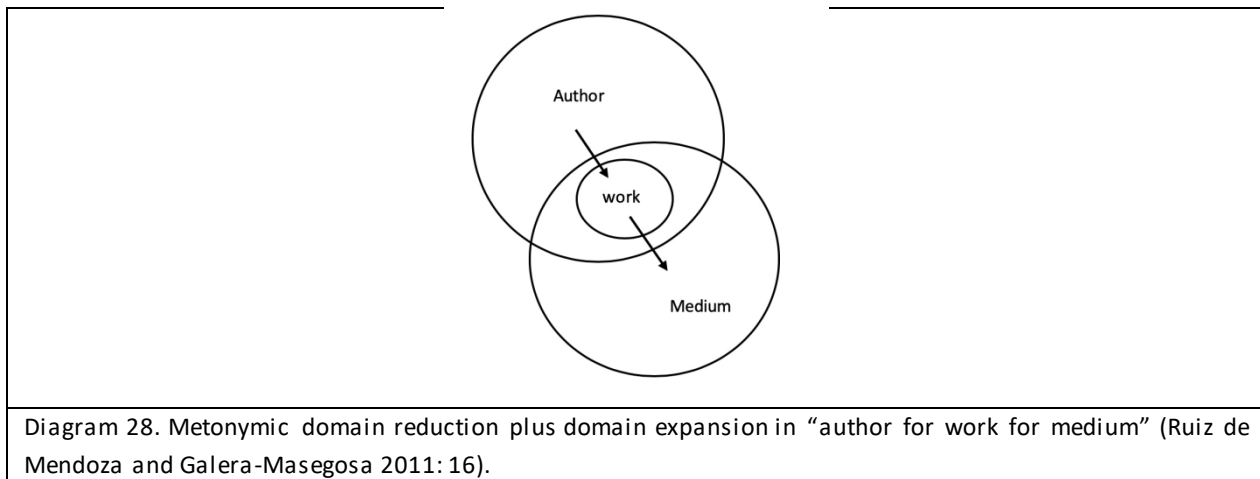
	
<p>Figure 16. Advertisement for “Mellat bank”, Iran, 2014. Advertising agency: Kargadan. http://www.mbanews.ir/news2/engine/print.php?news_id=15933&news_page=1 Last accessed: 30 May 2019.</p>	<p>Diagram 26. Metonymic domain expansion plus domain reduction in “Mellat bank” ad (figure 16).</p>

The Iranian bank ad in figure 17 is another example of domain expansion plus domain reduction in an ad. The pay-off “leveled with the world--Parsian bank has the largest network of brokerages in the country” points to the connection of the Iranian banking network with the European banking network. To show the connection concept visually, two fused objects are depicted in this ad: the famous AZADI TOWER in Iran (Tehran) and a generic HISTORICAL ROMAN TRIUMPHAL ARCH. Both structures are metonyms for the places in which they are located. We should first expand the meaning from the depicted monuments to IRAN and EUROPE, respectively, and then reduce the meaning to the NETWORKS of Parsian bank and European banks (diagram 27).

	
<p>Figure 17. Advertisement for “Parsian bank”, Iran, 2017. Advertising agency: Badkoobeh. http://badkoobeh.com/en/Works/Details/Leveled_wi_th_the_world Last accessed: 30 May 2018.</p>	<p>Diagram 27. Metonymic domain expansion plus domain reduction in “Parsian bank” ad (figure 17).</p>

5.4 Domain reduction plus domain expansion

Consider the example “Shakespeare is on the top shelf” (Ruiz de Mendoza 2007, Ruiz de Mendoza and Galera-Masegosa 2011). This metonymy is first a reduction: AUTHOR FOR OEUVRE, where an author’s name is a metonym for his/her literary oeuvre, which is understood by being expanded via its MEDIUM of presentation (e.g., a book).



A visual candidate for this category might be the Iranian ad for “Takdaneh” juice (figure 18). The pay-off translates as “with the new packaging we are still Takdaneh”. Interpreting this ad involves several figurative operations. For one thing, we are undoubtedly invited to perform a metaphoric mapping from DIAMOND (source) to ORANGE (target) to emphasize the quality of the product. But, as the information in the written text makes clear, there is also a pertinent metonym that the envisaged audience needs to process. As shown in diagram 29, the diamond-shaped ORANGE triggers ORANGE JUICE, which has a more

restricted meaning (metonymic reduction). But as the advertiser emphasizes the new packaging of the product, ORANGE JUICE, refers to the diamond-shape of PACKAGING (expansion), as this is the new type of packing for *other* juices, too.

<p>Figure 18. Advertisement for “Takdaneh”, Iran, 2015. Advertising agency: Aftabnet http://www.mbanews.ir/news2/index.php?newsid=18682 Last accessed: 30 May 2018.</p>	<p>Diagram 29. Metonymic domain reduction plus domain expansion in “Takdaneh” ad (figure 18).</p>

6 Conclusions

From a conceptual point of view, metaphor and metonymy are not just a matter of language, and can be found in other modes and media, too. The interaction of metaphor and metonymy (metaphonymy) has been discussed in Goossens (1990) and Ruiz de Mendoza and Díez (2002) as a conceptual phenomenon. In this paper, we applied Ruiz de Mendoza’s typology to multimodal discourses by investigating a number of Iranian and Dutch advertisements. We concluded that both types of metonyms (“source-in-target” and “target-in-source”) can occur visually and multimodally no less than verbally. Furthermore, Ruiz de Mendoza’s four types of interaction of metaphor and metonymy also translate well to multimodal advertising, as do metonymic complexes and chains.

Our findings support Pérez-Sobrino’s (2017) claim that two types of metonymy (“source-in-target” and “target-in-source”) also occur non-verbally and partly-verbally. We expanded on Pérez-Sobrino’s observations about metonymic chains. She devotes special attention to two (of four) metonymic complexes of Ruiz de Mendoza’s typology (2007): “double domain expansion” and “metonymic expansion plus reduction”. The reason of this focus is the “pervasive presence [...] of domain expansion operations” (Pérez-Sobrino 2017: 60) in advertising. Like her, we were not able to locate an instance of metonymic reduction in advertisements, but we did propose examples for the two other patterns in Ruiz de Mendoza’s typology: “double domain reduction” and “domain reduction plus

domain expansion". Pérez-Sobrino (2017) also focuses on metaphonymies involving two sorts of domain expansion process. We elaborated on her results by exploring the interaction of metaphor and metonymy in both expansion and reduction processes. We can corroborate Pérez-Sobrino's claim that such interaction can also occur in both target and source of a metaphor simultaneously.

We analyzed ads from two different cultures. Our findings demonstrate that in order for any message to come across and to reach its audience, an enormous number of facts, beliefs and attitudes need to be recruited (and recruitable) by the envisaged audiences (see also Forceville 2017b). Dutch ads with Dutch text are aimed at Dutch audiences and Iranian ads with Iranian text are aimed at Iranian audiences. The makers of these ads assume a lot of background knowledge in their intended audiences. As natives of these two cultures and their respective languages, the authors of this paper are able to understand certain things that may not be accessible to people unfamiliar with the cultures and their languages. Even though some metaphors and metonyms may be understandable cross-culturally, there are others that will not be. This does not necessarily make the intended meaning wholly inaccessible, but at least add layers of meaning inaccessible to people who do not belong to the target audience. For example, the crescent moon in figure 2 might be fully meaningful only in Muslim culture, while the gold fish is a symbol of New Year in Iranian culture (figures 12 and 15). A full appreciation of figure 10 requires knowledge of the story of Van Gogh having cut off his ear, which may be activated if the perceiver's language (such as Dutch) uses the same word for the body part and a cup's handle. Without this knowledge of the (sub)culture and the language, the meaning of these ads might be unintelligible or misunderstood (see Forceville 2017a).

While our examples are presumably easily understandable for their target audiences, their analysis is quite complicated—despite the fact that we have restricted ourselves to only two tropes. For one thing, recognizing a visual element as the source domain of a metaphor or a metonym sometimes requires (sub)cultural background knowledge. In other words, analyzing visual and multimodal tropes can never be a matter of mere textual analysis alone. For another, to do full justice to the ads, we need to be aware of much more than only the metaphors and metonyms that may appear in them. For instance, in several ads a visual or verbal pun adds further meaning. In figure 17, with the pay-off "leveled with the world", the Persian word that can be transcribed as "arz" in the tagline means both "currency" and "level" in Farsi. Another example is the orange juice ad in figure 18. The tagline "with the new packaging we are still Takdaneh" can be considered as a pun, as the name of the brand also means "diamond" in Persian. The tagline "have a great year" in figure 12 has been chosen since the Persian

word transcribed as “mahi” for “(a) great” also means “fish” in Persian--and the gold fish has been depicted visually.

Clearly, cognitivist scholarship of both verbal and multimodal discourse needs to examine other tropes besides metaphor and metonymy. It will be useful if cognitive linguists take the lead by rigorously theorizing the verbal manifestations of such tropes, first in isolation, and then in interaction with each other. Christian Burgers, Elly Konijn, and Gerard Steen (2016) have done this for verbal metaphor, hyperbole, and irony. The next step is to see whether, and if so, how, these tropes also function visually and multimodally. Pérez-Sobrino (2017) makes proposals for hyperbole, paradox and onomatopoeia; Vanessa Cornevin and Charles Forceville (2017) engage with allegory; Assimakis Tseronis and Charles Forceville (2017) embark on antithesis. A vast range of exciting projects is awaiting research by (teams of) scholars combining knowledge of linguistics, rhetoric, and multimodality.

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Biolines

The key theme in the research of Charles Forceville (Media Studies, University of Amsterdam) is the question how visuals convey meaning. Committed to cognitivist, socio-biological, and relevance-theoretic approaches he publishes on multimodality in various genres and media (documentary film, animation, advertising, comics & cartoons). In 1996 he published *Pictorial Metaphor in Advertising* (Routledge 1996). He co-edited *Multimodal Metaphor* (Mouton de Gruyter 2009), *Creativity and the Agile Mind* (Mouton de Gruyter 2013), and *Multimodal Argumentation and Rhetoric in Media Genres* (Benjamins 2017). A monograph with the working title *Analyzing Visual and Multimodal Mass-Communication: A Pragmatic Model* is in preparation for Oxford UP.

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