SHOCKVERTISING: CONCEPTUAL INTERACTION PATTERNS AS CONSTRAINTS ON ADVERTISING CREATIVITY

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Abstract

This paper explores the conceptual scaffolding of six *shockvertisements* raising awareness on environmental preservation. The analysis shows that advertisers make use of a finite set of cognitive operations (metaphor in interaction with metonymy) to downgrade people through the attribution of animal or plant characteristics and to enhance animals and plants through the opposite process. The simple and universal nature of these mappings, in which 'defenselessness' emerges as the quintessential attribute common to people, animals, and plants, assures advertisers that their message will be interpreted straightforwardly and almost effortlessly by viewers of different countries and cultural backgrounds (yet with some variation in the degree of communicative impact).

Key words: metaphor, metonymy, multimodality, *shockvertising*.

Contents

1. Introduction

In a globalized world governed by multinational corporations[1], there is an increasing need for advertising companies to explore alternative means to convey their messages across a broad spectrum of target audiences. *Shockvertising* (a portmanteau word combining "shock" and "advertising") renders unusual combinations of elements in odd scenarios in order to attract audiences to a certain brand or to bring awareness to a certain public service issue, health issue, or cause[2]. Even though *shockvertising* has proved useful to capture consumers' attention (cf. Dens and De Pelsmacker 2010, Parry et al. 2013, Stadler 2010, Ting and de Run 2012), the novel juxtaposition of elements casts doubts on the intelligibility of the message: do creative, aggressive, or shocking renderings work in favor of the intended understanding of the persuasive message or to its detriment?

This paper aims to show that the array of inferences triggered by unconventional multimodal settings, such as those found in shockvertising campaigns, can be steered and constrained by means of a finite set of cognitive operations (for the purposes of this paper, metaphor in combination with metonymy). Six *shockvertising* billboards raising awareness on environmental preservation are analyzed. In spite of the apparent differences among them, we argue that they are understood along the same cognitive principles. This is so because they all render tailored versions of the Great Chain of Being (Lakoff and Turner, 1989), a cultural model that defines essential characteristics of humans, animals, plants and objects. The analysis shows that advertisers make use of metaphorical and metonymic portrayals of one element (e.g. people) in terms of another element (e.g. animal/plant) in order to downgrade *people* through the attribution of *animal* or *plant* characteristics, while enhancing the positive image of *animals* and *plants* through the opposite process. The function of the metonymy in each of the

[2] Common topics in *shockvertising* are, according to Waller (2004), urging drivers to use their seatbelts, promoting STD prevention, bringing awareness of racism and other injustices, or discouraging smoking among teens.

advertisements under consideration is to develop a specific situational scenario to the extent required for the more general GREAT CHAIN metaphor to be possible. Subsequently, metonymy also paves the way to a fully-fledged system of inferences to be derived from the metaphor that is necessary for the intended interpretation of the billboard. *Simultaneous metonymic expansion in both the metaphorical source and target domains* is a conceptual mechanism of special significance in printed advertising since it bridges the gap between the concrete situations depicted in the billboards and the advertisers' intended persuasive messages.

Besides the contribution to the cognitive linguistic enterprise, this paper may prove relevant for advertisers and marketing experts. The conscious and strategic use of such conceptual mechanisms during the stage of advertising creation may ensure (1) the creation of a positive image of their promoted products, (2) the expected interpretation of the advertisement by audiences, and (3) the cancellation of misguided interpretations. Additionally, the thorough analysis of conceptual patterns of interaction in advertising may offer a solid theoretical basis for further empirical investigation on multimodal communication. Our proposals on conceptual complexity, communicative impact and multimodality can be reformulated as testable hypotheses with a view to checking whether conceptual complexity can be quantitatively measured, and what are the effects of such figurative complexity on the understanding of advertising in terms of speed and depth of interpretation and of the perceived appeal towards the advertised product.

In order to deal with these issues, this paper has been structured as follows. In Section 2 we offer a brief description of the six billboards under examination. We then provide an overview of the theoretical framework in Section 3, which is based on the combination of recent developments of metaphor-metonymy interaction patterns (Ruiz de Mendoza 2000, Ruiz de Mendoza & Galera 2014, Ruiz de Mendoza & Pérez 2011) with the findings of contemporary studies on multimodal discourse (Forceville 1996, 2009a,b). In section 4 we tackle methodological issues, wherein we justify the selection of the corpus and ground the analytical questions driving the subsequent section. In Section 5 we present the results of the analysis of the six aforementioned *shockvertisements* where multimodal metaphor in interaction with metonymy triggers tailored versions of the GREAT CHAIN metaphor. The analysis sheds light on the fact that even the most creative and innovative combination of elements in advertising can be conceptually

framed within a finite set of conceptual patterns of interaction between metaphor and metonymy. The conscious incorporation of these cognitive devices during the stage of billboard design may help advertisers to control and limit the range of undesired interpretations by their targeted audiences, and therefore to create more effective campaigns. There are, however, some limitations as regards the cultural specificity of several of the conceptual mappings under scrutiny. Cultural issues may render a campaign unsuccessful in some countries while fruitful in others. In Section 6 we conclude by summarizing the essential proposals of this paper and by suggesting some potential lines for further research.

2. Schockvertising

Shockvertising is a type of advertising generally regarded as one that "deliberately, rather than inadvertently, startles and offends its audience by violating norms for social values and personal ideals" (Darren et al. 2003: 268). This form of advertising is often controversial, disturbing, explicit and crass, and may entail gore and provocative messages that challenge the audience's conventional perception of the social standards. In particularly, the six advertisements included in our study present unrealistic portrayals of humans, animals and plants, in which the *animalized* rendering of a person entertains the interpretation of humans as prey, whereas the *personification* of animals and plants raises the awareness of them as equals to humans within the global ecosystem.

2.1. British National Health Service's campaign "Get Unhooked"

The British National Health Service released in May 2007 the campaign "Get Unhooked" (*Figure 1* shows one of its billboards) to encourage the population to quit smoking. These public service advertisements display images of smoker's faces and lips being hooked as fish in order to illustrate how they are *hooked* on cigarettes. It is precisely the polysemy of the verb "hook" that activates the metaphorical reading PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS in the visual part of the advertisement: "hook" refers both to (1) catching fish with a homonymous curved piece of thin metal with a sharp point (literal meaning) and also to (2) being trapped in a difficult situation or addicted to

drugs (metaphorical meaning). The imagery of a hooked the fish which is unable to escape and will eventually die (sense 1) maps onto people being enslaved by drugs and probably suffering a miserable death (sense 2). Interestingly enough, the explicit representation of the hook highlights the understanding of the evoked fish as a "prey", thus cancelling friendlier characterizations such as "pet" or "food". In this line, according to UK national news[3], the Department of Health holds that the literal depiction of the hook in the ads was intended to confront smokers with the "controlling nature" of their addiction in order to help them stop smoking. This meaning implication arises from the metaphor, by which the way we control fish on a hook characterizes the way drug addiction controls people's behavior.

Figure 1. "Get Unhooked"

2.2. *Rhode Island Coalition Against Domestic Violence*'s campaign "It's not acceptable to treat women like [a piece of meat]"

The Rhode Island Coalition Against Domestic Violence (RICADV) is a non-profitable organization working to eliminate domestic violence in Rhode Island (USA). It is a leader local association that enhances the social awareness against domestic violence by

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[3] http://www.4ni.co.uk/northern_ireland_news.asp?id=61888 (retrieved on 10th December 2014).

providing information and support to the victims through a number of member agencies. The advertisement under scrutiny (Figure 2) features a piece of raw meat "wearing" female clothes which points to a metaphorical reading in which a person is understood as a piece of meat. Once again, friendly or respectful portrayals of animals (e.g. pets) that could ease the impact of the billboard are absent. The text reinforces the metaphorical interpretation WOMEN ARE RAW MEAT and DESIRE IS HUNGER by means of the introduction of the word "like": "It's not acceptable to treat a woman *like* one [*piece of meat*]". Women are thus seen as an object of consumption whose only purpose is to satisfy men's desires. In turn, lustful men are seen as unemotional scavengers that only want their physical satisfaction. It continues in a non-metaphorical manner: "Most men agree, but few speak out. Please, be heard. A man's voice is an effective way to change demeaning societal attitudes towards women".

Figure 2. "It's not acceptable to treat a woman like one [piece of meat]"

2.3. Association Against Animal Abuse's campaign "Against fur"

Figure 3. "Against fur"

The Association Against Animal Abuse is one of the oldest and largest associations of animal protection in Germany. This particular campaign, "Against fur", calls for action against the reckless hunting and slaughtering of animals to obtain fur for garments. The billboard chosen for analysis (Figure 3) graphically displays a fox with a naked female human body around its neck, thus reversing the real world situation in which humans are the ones wearing animal fur scarves. The reversing of roles between humans and animals in the campaign advertisement is built on these previous metonymies: whereas

the fox stands for the whole class of animals that are commonly used to make clothes, the woman stands for the class of all human beings that wear fur (usually females). Note, however, that the fact that the woman is depicted naked allows for a picture where humans are envisaged in their non-rational, animal-like state. Then, role reversal forces an unnatural metaphor, one where we think of people as if they were animals that can be used to make garments and where we think of animals as if they were people wearing animal fur.

2.4. *World Wildlife Fund for Nature*'s campaign "Set harm, get harm"

Figure 4. "Set harm, get harm"

World Wildlife Fund for Nature (henceforth WWF) is an international non-governmental organization dealing with the conservation, research and restoration of the environment. This advertisement (Figure 4) depicts an eagle tattooed on a wounded human back. The gunshot wound on the human back coincides with the wound a real eagle would have received from illegal hunters. Since the viewer is aware that the eagle is not a real but a tattooed one, the human blood coming out from the alleged eagle

wound makes the scene all the more dramatic. The textual part, addressed to a Chinese viewer, reinforces the interpretation of the advertisement on the basis of the metaphor ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE: "Set harm, get harm". Again, the eagle stands for the whole class of animals that should be protected and for mankind. The billboard is part of a series where animals at risk of extinction (an eagle, a shark and a Bengal tiger) appear tattooed on human skin in such a way that animal and human bleeding coincide.

2.5. *WWF*'s campaign "Killing a tree is murder too"

Figure 5. "Killing a tree is murder too"

WWF's forest conservation program is geared towards halting deforestation around the world, from rainforests to temperate forests. The advertisement under consideration (Figure 5) displays a sinister scenario in which a man, half buried, has been beheaded. The viewer, however, is aware that the man actually is meant to represent a tree because the cut on the neck does not show flesh and blood but the circles of tree wood. The similarity between trees and humans is reinforced by the fact that the beheaded body emerges from the ground and that the axe blow is dealt close to the ground. The linguistic part "Killing a tree is murder too" further strengthens the metaphorical reading in which cutting a tree is understood as the assassination of a person and not as a source of wood or grazing land.

2.6. *WWF*'s campaign "Help Mother Nature"

Figure 6. "Help us to protect Mother Nature"

As with the previous billboard, this advertisement (Figure 6) displays a transversal cut of a tree trunk in which a human fetus is conceptually integrated within the wood circles. In principle, the visual part suffices to determine that here the trunk is meant to represent a woman's womb, since it protects and nourishes the fetus it contains. The accompanying text "Help us to protect Mother Nature" corroborates this metaphorical interpretation.

3. Towards a unified theoretical framework for multimodal conceptual interaction

3.1. The multimodal approach to CMT

Metaphor constitutes a powerful source of inferences because of its focus on searching for and putting into correspondence common attributes between a source and a target domain. Advertisements provide a fruitful field for the study of this type of conceptual mapping, since metaphor can be a useful mechanism for advertisers to make indirect claims about their products (thus enhancing the creative possibilities of the

advertisement). In the case of advertising, the metaphoric target focuses on the characteristics and values that the advertiser wants to draw the consumer's attention to.

Over the past decades, a huge number of publications and studies on metaphor have insisted on the conceptual nature of metaphor (Lakoff 1987, 1993; Lakoff & Johnson 1999). However, the main body of research on conceptual metaphor has exclusively focused on its verbal manifestations. An interesting approach to multimodal metaphor has been developed by the pioneering work of Charles Forceville (1996, 2009 a,b). This scholar, who calls attention to the necessity of carrying out research into non-verbal or partly verbal metaphor, defines multimodal metaphors as "those whose target and source are each represented exclusively or predominantly in different modes" (Forceville 2009a: 24). In the light of the multimodal approach to CMT, the billboards under consideration here involve multimodal metaphor based on the combination of visual source domains and a verbovisual target. For example, the hook in 2.1 above is a visual source that is used to lead the audience to rethink their normal attitude about smokers as represented by the verbovisual target made up by the woman and the text "the average smoker".

One of the greatest advantages of CMT for this example is that it sheds light on the principles that regulate the comparison between the fish (via metonymic expansion of the hook) and the person. The metaphor PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS is conceptually motivated by the exploitation of the Great Chain of Being system (Lakoff and Turner, 1989). This cultural model unifies and defines essential characteristics of humans, animals, plants and objects in such way that each member possesses all the qualities of the members below it, but not those above it (i.e., animals have animal attributes and also some of the attributes of plants and objects, but they do not have human characteristics). Many GREAT CHAIN metaphors, in which one item is perceived in terms of another (e.g., animals are understood as humans), are vital in order to understand the way in which the behavior of an animal or a plant is perceived and structured in terms of human behavior (and vice versa).

Furthermore, a CMT perspective also accounts for the interpretation of the metaphor at work in the advertisement under scrutiny as a projection of the type "humans as prey" instead of one of the "humans as pets/food" kind. Since the aim of NHS is to portray smokers as victims that are prey to their own addiction, it seems reasonable to think that

"defenselessness" is the common feature put in correspondence between a hooked fish and a smoker. It is precisely this paradigmatic centrality of the transferred feature that enables us to talk about one entity exclusively in terms of this feature. Because of the simpler nature of these metaphors, Ruiz de Mendoza & Pérez (2011) have referred to them as one-correspondence mappings, which work "by highlighting one attribute or a tight-knit cluster of related attributes that are perceived to be similar across domains" (Ruiz de Mendoza & Pérez, 2011: 18). Furthermore, the relation between the core feature and the schema in which it is contained is also put in common through the generic-level mapping. The centrality of the feature "defenselessness" within the "hooked fish" schema is put in correspondence through the metaphorical mapping to "smokers" in such way that smokers are not seen anymore as independent and autonomous people with an unhealthy habit but as helpless victims about to die.

3.2. Patterns of conceptual interaction

As revealed above, an analysis exclusively focused on metaphor yields a great inconsistency: "hook" is not a valid metaphorical source domain, since smokers are not structured here as fishing tools but as prey to fishermen. The viewer needs to undertake some sort of cognitive adjustment in order to find a more appropriate metaphorical source domain. In this case, a metonymy allows the viewer to bridge the conceptual gap between the hook, which is represented visually, and the fish (necessary for the metaphor to take place). Additionally, it is also clear that the metaphorical target domain is not only a female smoker[4]; a subsequent metonymy triggers a full array of inferences in which the specific visual scenario is expanded in order to access the whole community of British smokers (i.e., the target audience of this campaign).

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4 Smoking among women is on the rise according to statistics. Although the woman stands for the class of all smokers, the metonymic target is construed from the perspective of the source, thereby giving it a greater degree of conceptual prominence which is probably intended to convey a subsidiary message and to a more specific target, i.e., female smokers.

Goossens (1990) set the departure point to deal with the different ways in which metaphor and metonymies may interact. His initial proposal was later expanded by Ruiz de Mendoza (2000) and Ruiz de Mendoza and Díez (2002) into a complete system of interaction patterns between both tropes, which has been later framed under the generic label of *metaphoric complexes* (Ruiz de Mendoza and Pérez 2011)[5]. Ruiz de Mendoza (2000) has detected that *metonymic expansion processes* (roughly PART FOR WHOLE conceptual configurations) can provide a vantage point of access to a metaphorical source domain or can trigger a wider array of inferences in the metaphorical target that are necessary for the intended interpretation task to occur. For the sake of illustration, let us briefly consider an example of *metonymic expansion within the metaphorical source domain*. In "He beat his breast and said, 'God, have mercy on me, a sinner' " (Ruiz de Mendoza and Galera 2011: 11), the breast-beating action is metonymically developed into a situation in which a person beats his breast in order to show regret for his actions. In turn, this constructed situation (in which a person openly manifests sorrow by beating his breast) provides conceptual correspondences for a target scenario in which the speaker regretfully manifests his distress in order to avoid punishment or any other undesired consequences of his behaviour. There are also domain expansion processes developing an array of inferences in the metaphorical target domain. This is the case of "Jack Nardi should have known to zip his lip around federal agents" (Ruiz de Mendoza and Galera 2014: 111). The resemblance between a zipper of a clothing article and a person's closed lips makes it possible to establish a metaphorical correspondence between these two domains. A metonymy is subsequently required in the metaphorical target domain to develop the picture of a person with his lips kept closely together into a scenario in which a person will not disclose secret information (as a result of the incapacity of talking derived from having the mouth closed). The resulting pattern is one of *metonymic expansion of the metaphorical target domain*.

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[5] The reader is referred to Ruiz de Mendoza (2000, 2002), Ruiz de Mendoza and Díez (2002) and Ruiz de Mendoza and Galera (2011) for a full description of each of the six patterns so far identified in the linguistic realm.

The productive combination of metaphor a metonymy in this interaction pattern is aimed at seeking balance between cognitive economy and meaning effects. It should be noted the different role and cognitive burden carried out by the metonymy in each of these two cases. When metonymic domain expansion is embedded in the metaphorical source domain, it only has the function of preparing a metaphorical source domain with sufficient conceptual material to map onto all relevant target elements, thus displacing the major inferential activity to the metaphorical mapping. In turn, domain expansion in the metaphorical target is characterized by a relative higher interpretive weight insofar as the metonymy develops the partial conceptual material provided by the metaphorical mapping into a fully-fledged scenario.

It thus comes as no surprise that metaphtonymies are central to advertising since they contribute to find a middle point between the requested interpreting effort posited by the advertisement and the quantity and relevance the consumer obtains in terms of meaning effects. In advertising, domain expansion processes in interaction with metaphor have a sort of "iceberg effect": they allow advertisers to construct a partial and specific situation in a billboard that prompts the reconstruction of a more complex and abstract persuasive message in the consumers' mind. What is more, the analysis of our six *shockvertisements* reveals a new pattern of conceptual interaction exclusive of multimodal environments: s*imultaneous metonymic expansion in both the metaphorical source and the target domains* (as found in the NHS advertisement). This novel pattern of conceptual interaction has not been yet identified in linguistic data. All in all, this pattern seems all the more intrinsic to advertising (it has been found in the six advertisements under study) since it grants the balance between inferential effort and meaning effects.

In spite of the benefits of metonymy-metaphor interaction for advertising, there have been only three academic papers devoted to the combination between metaphor and metonymy (in the view of Ruiz de Mendoza and Díez 2002) in multimodal settings: Uriós-Aparisi, (2009), who offers an application to TV commercials; Hidalgo and Kralievic (2011), who discuss ICT's printed billboards in the light of this conceptual pattern, and Author (2013), who devotes some attention to the potentiality of this conceptual complex in *greenwashing* campaigns.

4. Corpus selection

Advertising, in the same sense as metaphors, "borrows characteristics and affective values from certain more or less structured domains of human experience and transposes them to the product advertised" (Velasco-Sacristán and Fuertes-Olivera 2006, p. 221). The choice of shockvertising as our case study is justified by its genre specificities: if mainstream advertising needs to make positive claims in a novel way about a product in order to attract the consumer's attention, this task becomes even more necessary and complex in *shockvertising*, given that it engages with consumers by means of a negatively-connoted message. Therefore, a greater, yet clearer persuasive complexity is to be expected in this type of advertising.

The six examples under scrutiny have been retrieved from WWF's official website [www.wwf.org], the picture databases [www.coloribus.com], [www.advertolog.com], and [www.adsoftheworld.com], together with simple searches of the keyword "shockvertising" in Google Images. The billboards shown in Section 2 have been chosen because they reflect three kinds of parameterization of the GREAT CHAIN metaphor: PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS for examples 1, and 2; ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE for examples 3 and 4; and PLANTS ARE PEOPLE for examples 5 and 6. In order to support this analytical decision, I draw on the principle of *replicability* over the principle of *frequency* for corpus selection in qualitative studies. This is an adaptation of Ruiz de Mendoza (2013) for the study of grammatical constructions. According to this scholar, a construction (or form-meaning pairing) is so to the extent that it is replicable, i.e. reproducible, and thereby understood as conveying the same range of meaning implications by other competent speakers of the same language with minimum (i.e. immaterial) variation. On the grounds of replicability, the analyst is entitled to formulating valid hypotheses and to predicting similar conceptual behavior in other advertisements of a comparable nature by relying on the features found in a limited sample of multimodal advertisements. Consequently, replicability-based analyses do not aim to make any claim on whether a phenomenon is common or rare; they are qualitative, rather than quantitative in nature and they only focus on providing an explanation for the intelligibility of a given experience should it take place again.

5. Analysis

This section presents the detailed analysis of the patterns of conceptual interaction that underlie the six *shockvertisements* introduced in section 2. There are three subsections each of which follows one of the specifications of the more general GREAT CHAIN metaphor. The analysis is structured into four research questions: (1) how visual and verbal elements contribute to the identification of the pictorial metaphor and/or metonymy; (2) how metaphor and metonymy interact; (3) how such interaction contributes to draw the required set of inferences out of the advertisement and cancels misguided interpretations; and (4) how such multimodal interaction enhances the persuasive elements present in advertising discourse.

5.1. People are animals

Examples 1 and 2 display people who show different animal attributes: example 1 represents a person that resembles a hooked fish, and example 2 a piece of raw meat dressed as a woman. The necessity of a metaphorical mapping to figure out the meaning of the billboards is hinted at in both the visual part (a human-fish hybrid and a woman-raw piece of meat composite, respectively) and the textual part (in example 1 the ambivalence of the word "hook" may refer to both the tool to catch fish and the addiction to some sort of drug; in example 2 the word "like" highlights the correspondence between a woman and a piece of meat, referred to as "one" in the textual pay-off).

A second question is to establish the direction of the mapping, that is, the characterization of the domains as metaphorical source and target. The information provided in the logo informs on the identity of both the addresser and addressee in these advertisements. Since both are organizations that work in favor of human (and not animal) well being in different social spheres, the consumer is aware that the person is the target topic of the billboards ("smoker" in example 1 and "woman" in example 2) onto which the advertiser ascribes the evoked animal characteristics and values (as will be described later on). Therefore, the former can be characterized as metaphorical target domain whereas the latter corresponds to the metaphorical source domain.

Although the consumer has resolved the visual incongruence in terms of the PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS metaphor, the remaining mismatch between the visual part and the textual part warns the viewer about the necessity of further conceptual adjustment so as to obtain the full interpretation of the message. Thus, in example 1, the hook (represented visually and also textually in the imperative "get unhooked") provides an economical point of access to a broader situation in which a fish is captured with a hook. This constructed situation is then mapped onto a real life situation, represented by the picture of a woman (visual) who is addicted to smoking. The information provided by the textual pay-off and the logo triggers an additional metonymic expansion process whereby the woman represents the whole British community of smokers. This allows the metaphor SMOKERS ARE HOOKED FISH to take place.

In much the same way, there is simultaneous metonymic expansion in both the metaphorical source and target domains in example 2: the represented piece of meat (visual) stands for the dead animal it comes from. The female clothes (visual) are metonymic for the woman (textual) who wears it. It is precisely the visual representation of the female clothes over the piece of meat that calls for the connection between the evoked scenario of a slaughterhouse and the dead animals and the real life situation of women victims of abuse and violence (brought up by the textual pay-off). As shown, the linguistic cue is crucial in both cases in order to determine whether the visually represented item is the source or the target of the pictorial metaphor and also to alert about the necessity of additional cognitive processes.

SMOKERS ARE HOOKED FISH and WOMEN ARE RAW MEAT are parameterizations of the more general metaphor PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS, a variant of the general GREAT CHAIN metaphor by which a human being is depersonified, (i.e. human attributes are taken away so that the person is seen as an animal). Figures 7 and 8 schematically represent the interaction patterns between metaphor and metonymy within each of these advertisements.
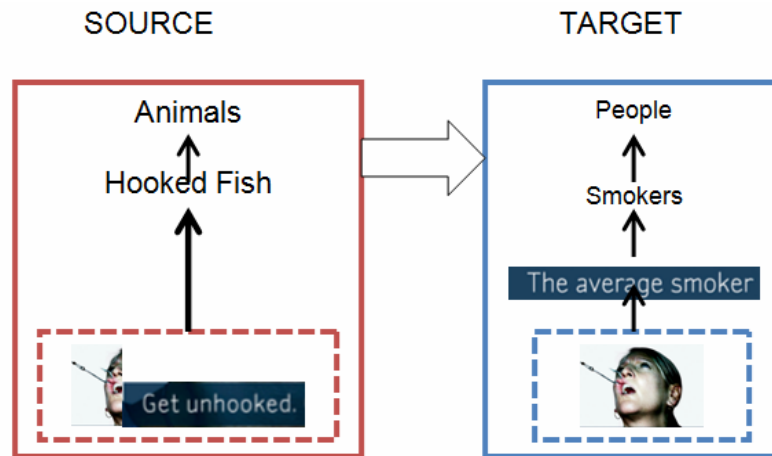
Figure 7. Graphical representation of the SMOKERS ARE HOOKED FISH metaphor in example 1 (white arrow for metaphorical mapping; black arrows for metonymic mapping)
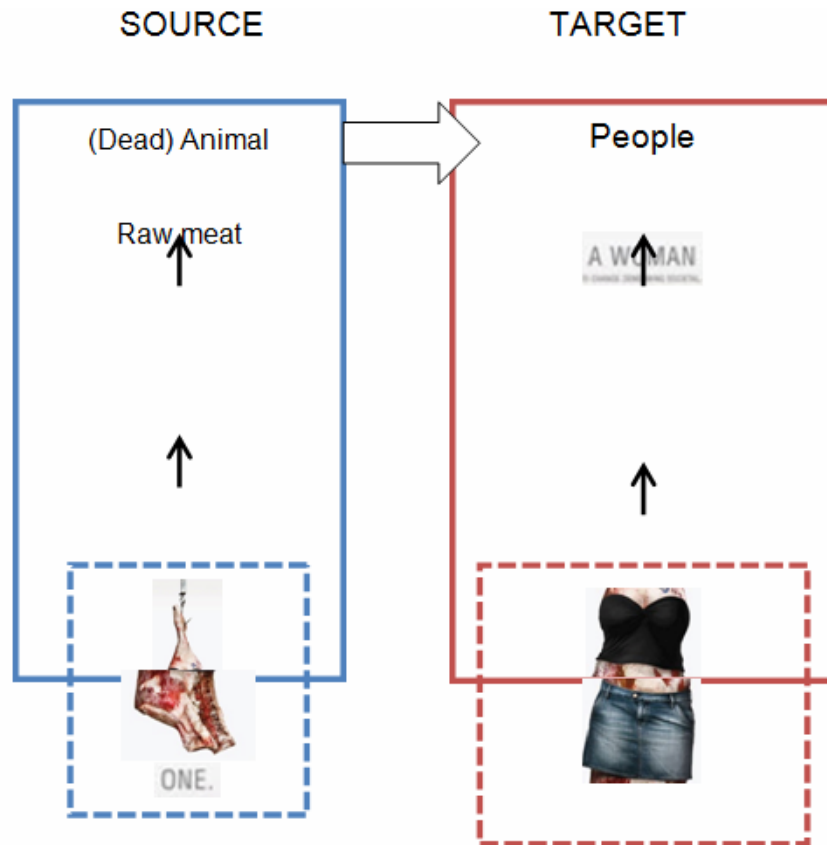

Figure 8. Graphic representation of the WOMEN ARE RAW MEAT/DEAD ANIMALS metaphor in example 2 (white arrow for metaphorical mapping; black arrows for metonymic mapping)

The issue remains as to whether the combination between metaphor and metonymy actually guarantees a successful interpretation of the message. In this regard, Ruiz de Mendoza & Pérez (2011) have noticed that in Great Chain metaphors there is only one correspondence between source and target domain, which is ultimately "behavior". Therefore, consumers are able to derive the expected interpretation of the advertisement almost effortlessly because there is only one metaphorical correspondence mapping to be undertaken: "animal behavior". Indeed, both a hooked fish and a piece of raw meat are "prey" to humans involved in violent human behavior, and such property is mapped onto humans: smokers are portrayed as prey to their own addiction in example 1, and women are depicted as victims of sexist attitudes in example 2.

However, the multimodal nature of these scenarios confers a stronger impact that works in favor of the noticeability and retention of the advertiser's message. Such impact stems from the multimodal metonymies that specify the common attribute between the two domains. Given that examples 1 and 2 are highly situational, the workings of the metonymy are twofold: the metonymy provides an vantage point of access to the whole metaphorical source scenario, which, once mapped onto a metaphorical target situation, is metonymically enriched in order to trigger enough inferences for a satisfactory interpretation of the message. That is to say, the interaction pattern highlights "defenselessness" as the common attribute between a hooked fish and a smoker, and further constrains it as the loss of control and eventual death of a hooked fish (example 1) and the amorphous inanimate combination of flesh and bones (example 2). Viewers of these two billboards would thus conceive smokers as passive and doomed beings subject to impending death and battered women as voiceless victims subject to reckless violence.

Both the pictorial context and text are extremely valuable for the advertiser to effectively communicate his message and effectively engage consumers against smoking and women mistreatment, respectively, in a smooth inferential process. It should be realized, however, that in spite of the strong visual impact of both advertisements, these campaigns could not be equally successful in every country. For instance, the awareness against the unhealthy effects of smoking is not as widespread in Asian countries as it is in Europe and North America. Under precisely the opposite

premises, some Scandinavian audiences would not find the "Get Unhooked" billboard significant since the habit of smoking is rather uncommon in these countries. In turn, the impact of the visual metaphor in example 2 is stronge enough to reach a broader population beyond the community of Rhode Island. In fact, the visual part could be pertinent and potentially effective in broader-scale awareness campaigns against human trafficking or sexual tourism.

5.2. Animals are people

A similar reasoning process holds for the analysis of examples 3 and 4. These billboards warn viewers against the reckless hunting of endangered species: in example 3, the German Association Against Animal Abuse calls for action against the use of animal fur in fashion; in example 4 WWF encourages the Chinese population to protect eagles at risk of disappearance. Once again, animal and human elements are simultaneously present in both cases. In example 3, the picture shows a fox with a human scarf around its neck. Here, the text highlights the animal component by stating the advertiser's opposition to the use of animal fur. In turn, example 4 visually integrates the animal and the people component by representing a tattooed eagle on a bleeding human back. The ellipses in the verbal pay-off concurrently call for both metaphorical domains: "[If you] set harm [to an eagle], [you] get harm". Applying the same rationale as in the previous examples, it can be claimed that FOX and EAGLE are suitable metaphorical target domains since the scope of both associations is the protection of animals. Both animal domains inherit human properties via metaphorical mapping, such as the ability of wearing garments or bleeding (human blood), respectively[6].

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6 It has to be pointed out that there are two reverse metaphors in interaction in example 3: ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE structures the understanding of a fox as a human wearing a endangered animal's fur, whereas PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS allows the viewer to conceptualize the human body around the animal's neck as an fur scarf. Since the analysis of the metaphorical basis underlying the understanding of the human-scarf hybrid has already been covered in the previous section, in the following I am just focusing on the personification of the fox.

The textual part plays a similar role as in examples 1 and 2. In example 3, the verbal pay-off calls for several conceptual mappings to resolve the mismatch between the odd visual part and the verbal statement. As regards the metaphorical source domain, a double metonymic expansion process connects the human skin (visual) to the luxurious garment it makes and subsequently to the person who wears expensive garments that require the hunt of endangered animals, i.e., fashion victims. Following the same rationale, the verbal part "fur" offers an additional conceptual route to access the more encompassing metaphorical source domain FASHION VICTIM. As regards the metaphorical target domain, the visual depiction of a fox is enough to bring to the fore all the endangered species at risk of illegal hunt for fashion purposes. Such generalization is reinforced by the linguistic part (which states the opposition to "fur", and not just to fox fur).

In the case of example 4, the evidence of a gunshot (visual) constitutes a relevant constituent element within a broader domain in the metaphorical source, i.e., the person who receives the gunshot. The elision of the subject in the textual "set harm, get harm" targets the message not only to illegal hunters (who could suffer from prison due to their illegal actions) but also to a wider group of people who would suffer from the extinction of animal species. In the metaphorical target domain, the eagle would stand via metonymic expansion for the whole of endangered species (as mentioned elsewhere, the same campaign also released billboards with tattooed shark and a Bengal tiger). Figure 9 and 10 show schematic representations of the patterns of interaction between metaphor and metonymy in ENDANGERED SPECIES ARE FASHION VICTIMS and ENDANGERED SPECIES ARE WOUNDED PEOPLE, respectively. These two metaphors are specifications of the more general metaphor ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE, which ultimately underlies the understanding of both examples 3 and 4.
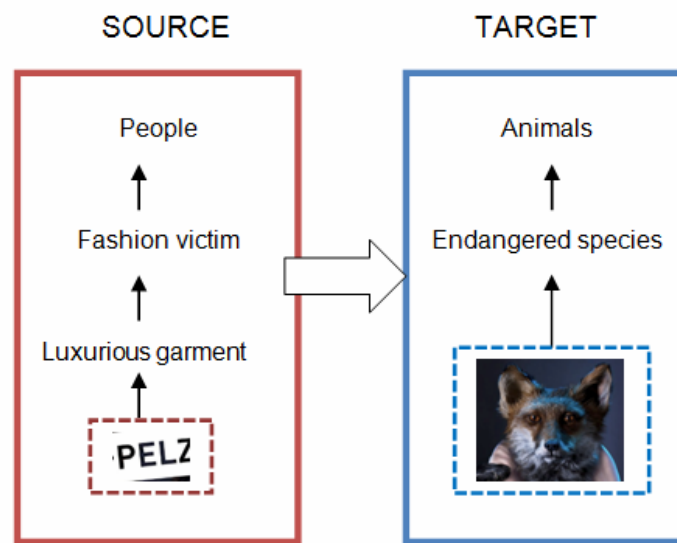
Figure 9. Graphical representation of the ENDANGERED SPECIES ARE FASHION VICTIMS metaphor in example 3 (white arrow for metaphorical mapping; black arrow for metonymic mapping)
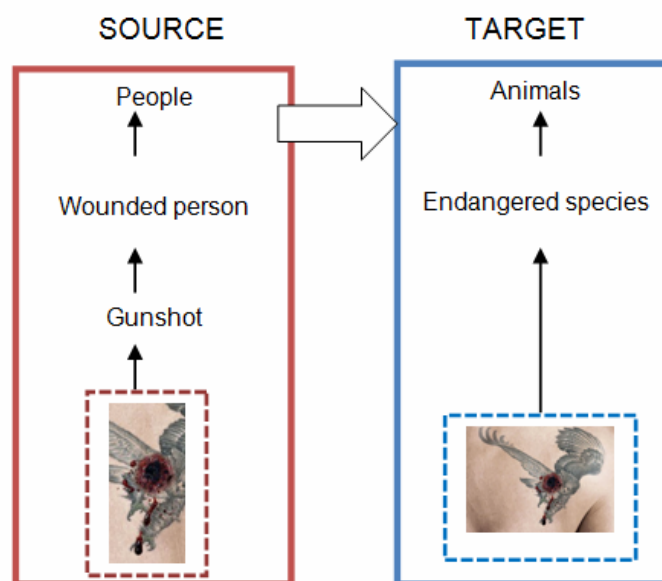

Figure 10. Graphical representation of the ENDANGERED SPECIES ARE WOUNDED PEOPLE metaphor in example 4 (white arrow for metaphorical mapping; black arrow for metonymic mapping)

Let's turn now our attention to the discussion of the inferences triggered by the interaction between metaphor and metonymy in these two examples. As mentioned earlier on, advertisers rely on GREAT CHAIN metaphors because they prompt the construction of complex persuasive messages following the path involving the least

inferential load. The sole metaphorical correspondence in this case is the one between animal and human behavior, which is highlighted and elaborated via metonymy. The visual part and the verbal hints of the advertisement "fur" and "do harm" force the consumers to discard the ability of thinking or the ability of loving (the differentiating features between people and animals) as the human properties attributed to animals in these billboards. In fact, in example 3 we map people falling prey to a shopping spree (in a sense the reckless buyers are victims to their own purchasing activity) onto endangered animals falling prey to illegal hunters. There is a duality in the interpretation of the victim as a (1) literal victim of hunting to obtain fur (cued by the visual allusion to a fur-scarf in the picture and the textual mention "against fur") and as a (2) figurative "fashion victim" (cued by the visual component). Such a duality highlights the feature shared by animals and people. In consequence, *defenselessness* arises once again as the attribute that relates endangered foxes victims of illegal hunt to fashion victims.

A much more straightforward reasoning holds for example 4. The fortuitous coincidence of the bleeding wound in the eagle and in the human back highlights the simultaneous "vulnerability" of both people and animals to illegal reckless hunting. Yet people are not directly affected by illegal hunting, it is precisely mother nature (the planet) and the alteration of its ecological balance what would make humans suffer unforeseeable consequences. In turn, the disappearance of several species due to illegal hunting is here rendered as a painful and treacherous attack in the same way as shots in the back are (thus blocking unintended interpretations of the advertisement, such as the notion of a dignified or natural animal death).

Similar cultural caveats as those raised for examples 1 and 2 apply to the communicative impact (and therefore, the success) of these campaigns. In particular, the specificity of the WWF advertisement (example 4) deserves careful consideration. Yet the Chinese characters could be easily translated to any language, it is not clear whether the protection of the target species in this campaign (namely, eagle, shark and Bengal tiger) would be relevant for a Western audience, given that they are autochthonous species in China. In any case, the message is clear and powerful enough to work efficiently if advertisers would decide to substitute the tattooed animal by the corresponding endangered species in each country.

5.3. Plants are people

Besides human-animal hybrids, the visual corpus search revealed the existence of human-tree composites (since forests are also endangered species). PLANTS ARE PEOPLE metaphors alter the natural Great Chain of Being hierarchy by raising the status of a plant to that of a human being that has a perceptually evident ability to feel and suffer. Both examples 5 and 6 render similar scenarios wherein a partial human element is creatively combined with a vegetal ingredient: in example 5, the beheaded human neck shows the wooden circles of a tree trunk (instead of the expected bones and flesh), while example 6 shows a human fetus inside the circles of a tree trunk.

In order to establish the sequence of mappings, it could be argued that the pictorial context in example 5 would alert viewers that the odd human body is meant to be conceived as a tree because he is buried in a forest; however, the lack of visual background in example 6 (presumably, to draw all the attention to the picture) forces the viewer to bear in mind the textual element in order to determine the direction of the metaphorical projection. In spite of the workings of the pictorial context, it is undeniable that the identity of the addresser, WWF, signals the viewer that both billboards are meant to protect trees from deforestation (and not humans from beheading or abortion), thereby highlighting PLANTS ARE PEOPLE over other conceptual possibilities. In addition, the words "killing", "murder" and "mother" directly point to the personification of nature, which reinforces the saliency of this metaphor.

However, and as shown in the previous analyses, further conceptual elaboration is necessary to connect in a meaningful way the impacting but highly situational billboard and WWF's message against deforestation. Several metonymic expansion processes are required in both domains in order to activate the metaphor structuring the understanding of the billboards: in example 5, the metaphorical source domain PERSON is reached through a mediated metonymic expansion in which a beheaded human torso (visual) stands for a person (hinted by the textual part), whereas the metaphorical target domain TREE (visual and textual) is accessed via metonymic expansion of one of its relevant components, i.e. TREE CUT (visual). Correspondingly, in example 6 the depicted fetus (visual) offers an economical point of access to a broader metaphorical source domain

via two chained metonymic expansion operations, which make the fetus stand for the womb that contains the fetus and for the human "mother" (textual) who conceives the baby. Consistently, the metaphorical target domain is also elaborated via metonymic activity: the depicted tree trunk (visual) is expanded into broader categories, i.e. tree and, subsequently, nature (cued by the textual part).

As evidenced, the information provided by the linguistic directs and constrains the extent of the metonymic chain of expansion processes. It can be further claimed that the specific CUT-DOWN TREE IS A BEHEADED PERSON and A TREE IS A PREGNANT MOTHER are specifications of the more general PLANTS ARE PEOPLE by means of an additional simultaneous metonymic expansion process in both metaphorical domains since the massive disappearance of trees (and not the loss of one) would affect all mankind (and not just the beheaded person in example 5 or the mother in example 6). See below the graphic representations of the interaction patterns and the set of correspondences in both advertisements. Figure 11 schematizes the correspondences between the beheaded human body (visual) and the cut-down tree (visual), the person (hinted by the textual "killing", "murder") with "tree" (textual) and (the lack of) people with (the lack of) trees.
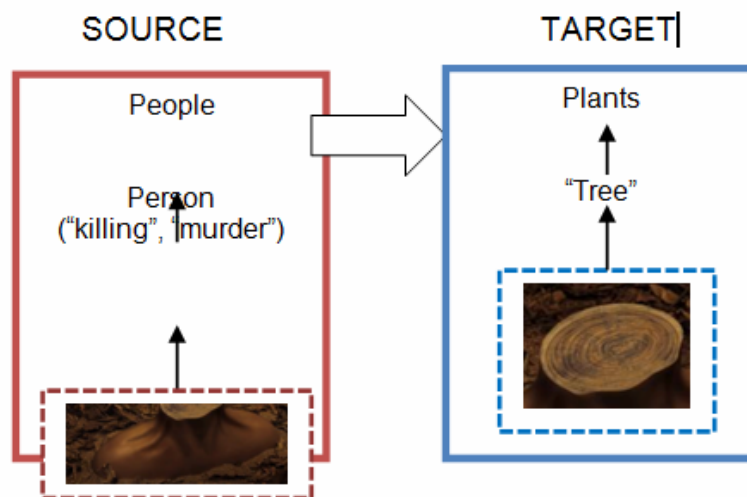

Figure 11. Graphical representation of the CUT TREE IS A BEHEADED PERSON metaphor in example 5 (white arrow for metaphorical mapping; black arrow for metonymic mapping)

Figure 12 shows the correspondences of the human fetus (visual) as the living entity in the womb with the sap inside the trunk as the nurturing substance which keeps the tree

alive, the trunk (visual) with the female womb as protecting containers, and tree/"nature" (textual) with "mother" (textual) as both givers and preservers of life.
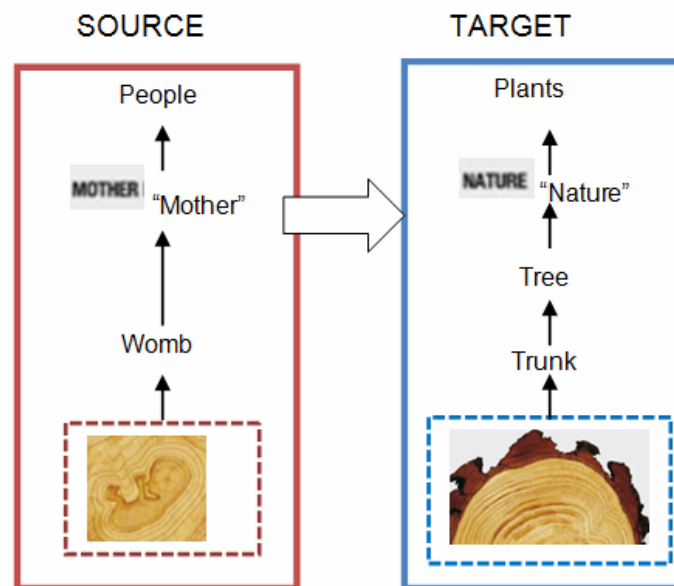

Figure 12. Graphical representation of the TREE IS A PREGNANT MOTHER metaphor in example 6 (white arrow for metaphorical mapping; black arrow for metonymic mapping)

Let us now consider how the combined workings of metaphor and metonymy contribute to triggering the intended inferential activity. In so doing, we need to determine the quintessential feature of "human behavior" that is put in correspondence with trees in danger of deforestation. In principle, consumers would consider a few common characteristics between humans and plants that make them living beings: both need water and light to survive, and both turn oxygen into carbon dioxide. However, a closer look at the billboard reveals that none of these traits are relevant for the advertiser's message. For instance, in example 5, the torso of a half buried beheaded person stands for people that by destroying forests also bring incidental harm to themselves. This metonymic target, however, would fall short of conveying so much meaning without the existence of a metaphor from the half-buried torso onto a tree stump. The human torso first maps onto the tree stump in order to structure the damage inflicted to the tree in terms of the damage inflicted to the person (by beheading him). Then, the beheaded torso would stand via domain expansion for all the mankind and the harm that we will get as a result of deforestation. Thus, the productive interaction between of metaphor and metonymy allows the consumer to afford access to concrete human behavioral

component, i.e. the impossibility to escape and death, and maps it onto trees, thereby easing the understanding of trees as defenseless victims of reckless woodcutting. An additional remark is to be made in relation to the brutality of the executioner, who attacks an unarmed and exposed victim. This feature enhances the communicative impact of the billboard by adding emphasis on the dramatic consequences of deforestation, and by canceling unwanted inferences for the purposes of this campaign (such as the benefits of cutting trees for people as source of raw material for furniture, paper or grazing land).

By contrast, the portrait of plants as victims is much less straightforward in example 6. A feasible central common attribute to human mothers and to "Mother Nature" can be "protection" and "nourishment", since the womb preserves the life of the fetus in the same sense as "Mother Nature" protects all the human beings from extinction. However, the examination of linguistic part triggers a different interpretation of the advertisement. Instead of praising the benefits of the nature, the imperative "Help us to protect" is calling for social engagement to stop deforestation. This textual ingredient thus primes "defenselessness" and "vulnerability" to the detriment of other common attributes, namely, "protection" and "nourishment". Neither a tree nor an incipient fetus can avoid being harmed by being cut down or through abortion respectively. All in all, protection could still be a secondary feature that could be activated in the interpretation task.

As should be expected, metonymy once again invokes a much more impacting scenario that goes beyond the isolated workings of metaphor. The social awareness about the cruelty of doing harm to highly vulnerable beings (such as tortured people and fetuses) is far more acknowledged than the necessity of preserving forests as natural sources of oxygen and natural goods. By portraying tortured individuals and pregnant mothers as vulnerable human beings (in different senses and degrees), advertisers trigger an emotional response toward deforestation in the targeted audiences, which ensures that their campaign will not go unnoticed.

6. Final remarks

Over the course of this paper our aim has been to show the importance of carrying out a comprehensive study of the patterns of conceptual interaction between metaphor and metonymy in advertising. There are three professional communities that could benefit from this study: first, cognitive linguists may find a novel path to explore creative meaning construction; second, advertisers can incorporate these mechanisms to design more impacting campaigns that are at the same time effective and meaningful for a cross-cultural audience; and third, psycholinguists and other cognitive scientists might find a source of testable hypothesis in need of empirical validation.

The detailed analysis of the six shockvertisements here offered elaborates on previous work on multimodal metaphor in advertising (e.g. Forceville 1996, and the references in Forceville and Uriós-Aparisi 2009) in the four ways. First, the critical overview of the affordances and limitations of CMT in their application to a specific example of shockvertising has evidenced the need to overcome previous analytical shortcomings arising from the partial explanation of meaning construction in highly creative and shocking multimodal persuasive messages. A multimodal approach to metaphor in interaction with metonymy helps to achieve finer-grained analyses that also contribute to discard faulty interpretations. In this case, each of the parameterizations of the GREAT CHAIN metaphor (PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS in example 1 and 2; ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE in examples 3 and 4, and PLANTS ARE PEOPLE in examples 5 and 6) is conceptually realized in terms of one metaphorical mapping, "defenselessness", which emerges as the quintessential attribute common to people, animals, and plants in these shockvertisements.

Second, the application of Ruiz de Mendoza's (2000) rationale to the detection of patterns of conceptual interaction between metaphor and metonymy in verbal examples leads to the formulation of a novel pattern of conceptual interaction that seems to be pervasive in multimodal contexts: simultaneous metonymic expansion process in both the source and the target domain of the metaphor. This interaction pattern achieves optimal balance between production economy and meaning effects, since the advertiser only needs to portray part of a complex scenario to evoke a full array of inferences that make up the persuasive message (in a sort of "iceberg effect"). This novel conceptual

interaction pattern has been found in our six examples. However, further research is nonetheless needed to confirm whether this is a productive interaction pattern in multimodal contexts.

Third, the careful consideration of the elements that trigger the identification of the metaphor and metonymy sheds new light on the dynamic interplay between the visual and the textual mode to the extent with which both contribute to the construction of the message. In this regard, the analysis has revealed that metaphors are usually rendered visually in terms of hybrid images in which both metaphorical and target domains are present (for other possibilities of representation, cf. Forceville 2008). In turn, metonymic expansion processes have been triggered and constrained predominantly by the textual part of the billboards. The verbal mode usually cues the necessity of conceptual adjustment between specific visual scenarios and advertisers' messages, but it also determines the nature and extent of the metonymic mapping.

Fourth, the novelty of shockvertising as a case study draws attention to the existence of alternative creative strategies that do not follow mainstream marketing instructions, but that nonetheless have a greater communicative impact. Despite sharing common meaning construction tools with regular advertising (i.e., metaphor in interaction with metonymy), shockvertising subverts the core genre advertising convention of rendering positive and novel portrayals of the advertised products. Instead of exploiting "safer" positively connoted topics (i.e. cleanliness and economy) shockvertisers prefer more controversial topics (such as sex and violence) to engage consumers in the interpretation of their messages.

As evidenced, this study lends support to the versatility of a theoretical framework based on conceptual interaction patterns between metaphor and metonymy to account for different discourses and environments. However, the application of quantitative methods to the survey of multimodal corpora opens new avenues of research. Some potential lines of further investigation relate to the study of the frequency of a varied range of matters: are one of/both metaphorical domains usually present/absent? Is the metaphorical domain usually represented visually/textually? What is the frequency with which a person is included as source domain (thereby basing the mapping on embodied features)? How many items in the billboard do refer to the same metaphorical domain (thereby reinforcing its identification)? Additional research is also required to test

empirically whether the simpler nature of these mappings effectively (1) attract consumers' attention, (2) allows a straightforward effortless interpretation, and (3) is understood by speakers from different countries and diverse cultural backgrounds (yet with some variation in the degree of communicative impact of the message), in line with some preliminary research carried out by Littlemore & Author (in preparation). The answers to these questions would probably unveil factors that could either ease or hinder the understanding of advertising by a wide spectrum of audiences.

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