

6 Pictorial metaphor in advertisements and billboards

Case studies

INTRODUCTION

Let me very briefly recapitulate the most important insights we have gained hitherto. The essence of metaphor, as Lakoff and Johnson pointed out, is understanding or perceiving one kind of thing in terms of another kind of thing. A metaphor, then, consists of two ‘things’: a ‘literal’ primary subject and a ‘figurative’ secondary subject. Metaphor occurs first of all on the level of cognition, and can manifest itself on the pictorial as well as the verbal level—and possibly in yet other ways. Both the primary and the secondary subject of the metaphor can be envisaged as domains of meaning elements, ranging from verifiable facts to connotations, and including beliefs about and attitudes towards that subject. According to Black, in each metaphor one or more features of the domain of the secondary subject (the ‘source domain’) are mapped on to the domain of the primary subject (the ‘target domain’). This mapping process involves the foregrounding, adoption or modification of certain features in the primary subject. There is thus a matching between elements from the source and target domains. The similarity between the two terms of the metaphor is not necessarily pre-existent, but is often created by the metaphor itself. The three crucial questions to be asked of anything purporting to be a metaphor are: (1) What are the two terms of the metaphor, and how do we know? (2) Which of the two terms is the metaphor’s primary subject and which is its secondary subject, and how do we know? (3) Which features are projected from the domain of the secondary subject upon the domain of the primary subject, and how do we decide on these features? In answering all three questions various contextual factors must be taken into account. Moreover, it is important to realize who is the communicator of the metaphor and who is its addressee. The principle of relevance, as defined by Sperber and Wilson (1986), plays a vital role in assessing the interpretation of the metaphor.

In this chapter I will propose that Black’s theory can be used to develop an account of pictorial metaphor, and show how this can be done.

CASE STUDIES: METAPHORS WITH ONE PICTORIALLY PRESENT TERM (MP1s)

Consider Figure 6.1,¹ in which the foregrounded object is a shoe. We see immediately that there is something odd about this shoe: it is located in a place where we would not ordinarily have expected it. Since we trust that the communicator of this message, the advertiser, is trying to be optimally relevant, we expect that the odd position of the shoe is not a mere whim. We realize that the shoe is depicted in a place where we ordinarily would have expected something else, namely, a tie. Therefore this shoe is not merely a shoe but also suggests the concept TIE. Put differently, the viewer is invited to understand and perceive the phenomenon SHOE not in its usual, 'literal' sense, but in terms of the very different phenomenon TIE. Since understanding and perceiving one kind of thing in terms of another is the essence of metaphor (Lakoff and Johnson 1980:5), we can regard the SHOE/TIE relation as a metaphor. The metaphor can be verbalized as SHOE is TIE.

Three questions immediately arise. First, how do we know at all that the second term of the metaphor is TIE and not something else? After all, the TIE is not even visible. This becomes clear when we consider Figure 6.2, a doctored version of the advertisement. Even with the help of the text ('Regardez mes chaussures!'—'Look at my shoes!') we would not be able to identify the second term of the metaphor. Indeed, in this picture we cannot even say that what we have here *is* a metaphor, since there is no (suggestion of a) second term. Thus it is thanks to the pictorial context that we can establish which is the absent term of the metaphor. Black's creativity theory here is entirely applicable: the similarity between the two terms is not pre-existent but—with the aid of this specific context—created. At this stage we have answered the first of the three questions that need to be asked of anything that purports to be a metaphor, i.e., what are the two terms of the metaphor?

The second question is, how do we know that the metaphor is SHOE is TIE rather than TIE is SHOE? This question pertains to the identification of the metaphor's two terms: what is the metaphor's primary subject and what is its secondary subject? Here we have a problem which at first sight might seem to be characteristic of pictorial metaphors, since the elements in pictures are not linearly perceived in the way a sequence of words is. And it is this linearity which is such a great help in the distribution of primary and secondary subject in the case of verbal metaphors. After all, in the type of verbal metaphors which theorists usually cite, the examples are one-line metaphors of the paradigmatic 'A is B' type, in which the term mentioned first invariably is the primary subject and the second the secondary subject. This might lead us to think that all verbal metaphors feature this neat, linear order, with its simple distribution of primary subject and secondary subject. But this is not always the case. Christine Brooke-Rose, after observing that 'most equations with the copula put the proper term before the metaphor [=



Figure 6.1 Source: Advertising agency: Publi-Est/Gerstenhaber + Cie.



Figure 6.2 Source: doctored version of Figure 6.1

secondary subject]’, gives the following counterexample from Spenser’s *Amoretti*: ‘That ship, that tree, and that same beast am I’ (Brooke-Rose, 1958:117–18). Here the secondary subjects (ship, tree, beast), are mentioned *before* the primary subject ‘I’. The form of the verb ‘to be’ employed, however, here is an additional clue—absent in pictorial meta-phors—as to the order of the terms: the form ‘am’ indicates that the subject cannot be but ‘I’. But of course the presence of a form of the verb ‘to be’ is by no means indispensable. As the examples ‘rusty joints’ and ‘the brook smiled’ (see Chapter 2) show, verbal metaphors may well occur without a form of ‘to be’ and hence often require closer analysis before their primary and secondary subjects can be identified as such.

Returning to the pictorial metaphor of Figure 6.1 we realize that in the absence of the kind of information that in the paradigmatic verbal ‘A IS B’ cases usually suffices to assess the order of the terms (linearity and grammatical clues), the key device in determining this order in its pictorial counterpart has to be a different one, namely context. Context here has to be taken in a wider sense than above, where we invoked the pictorial context to determine the second, pictorially absent, term. Invoking the immediate pictorial context of the shoe, i.e., the male torso-and-shirt-and-jacket, helps little to determine the *order* of the terms. But if we extend the context to include an assessment of the *genre* in which the metaphor occurs, this problem is solved. Here it is the awareness that the picture-cum-text we are looking at is an advertisement and that the advertisement is one for shoes rather than for ties which guides the viewer’s distribution of primary subject and secondary subject as SHOE IS TIE instead of TIE IS SHOE. Of course the three shoes depicted on the right, as well as the verbal reinforcement of the product to be sold (‘La chaussure en beaute’; ‘Shoes at their most beautiful’), steer the addressee into assessing that this is an advertisement for shoes. Hence it is the combination of the understanding of the wider pictorial-cum-verbal context and the classification of the picture as an advertisement that is responsible for the distribution of primary subject and secondary subject.

The third point to be made with reference to this metaphor is the matter of feature transfer. What feature(s) is/are projected from the domain of the secondary subject (TIE) upon the primary subject (SHOE)? Helped by (1) the general awareness that the communicator is trying to be optimally relevant; (2) the more specific awareness that this is an advertisement and hence that the communicator has the intention of making a positive claim for the product advertised; and (3) the even more particular verbal reinforcement ‘La chaussure en beaute’, the viewer presumably will take the metaphor to hint that the feature transferred can be formulated as ‘non-functional beauty’. More informally phrased, the interpretation could be something like: ‘Clerget shoes are so beautiful that it would be a shame to wear them on your feet, where they are hardly noticeable; rather, you ought to wear them proudly, well in view, on the spot where you normally wear your favourite tie’. In line with what relevance theory predicts, subtle variations of this interpretation are

possible, and to be expected: after all, metaphors allow room for a measure of idiosyncratic interpretation—that is, ‘weak implicatures’. Thus, one could also interpret as follows: ‘In the uniform of the businessman—his suit—the tie is conventionally the item of clothing that allows him most to express his personal taste. By using the metaphor SHOE IS TIE, Clerget now exhorts (prospective) buyers to consider Clerget shoes as another opportunity to express personal taste’. But what happens, one might wonder, if this advertisement is seen by somebody for whom TIE does not at all evoke positive connotations—say by an anarchist or a punk who regards the wearing of ties as a despicable concession to a disgustingly capitalist society. The issue is, in fact, very similar to one that Black raises about the connotations evoked by the concept WOLF in people confronted by the metaphor MAN IS A WOLF (Black 1962:40). As Black warns, the metaphor would no doubt be understood very differently by people living in a culture where wolves are seen as embodying reincarnations of dead humans. That is, if one wished to express the idea that man is cruel, aggressive, bloodthirsty etc. in such a culture, the metaphor ‘man is a wolf’ would be inappropriate. The same applies here. If the advertiser wished to convey to an anarchist that Clerget shoes are beautiful, enable one to express one’s personal taste etc., then the present metaphor would be a rather unfortunate choice of stimulus. However, it seems probable that the anarchist does not exactly belong to the advertiser’s target group anyway, so that this is not really a problem: the advertiser is not trying to be relevant to anarchists... But now substitute for the anarchist, a persistent critic might object, a businessman who considers ties awkward, unnecessary and irritating pieces of clothing. Surely *he* belongs to the target group of the advertisement? Admittedly, this is more problematic. But although the advertiser here risks the loss of a potential customer, the chances are considerable that the businessman will realize that in the (sub)culture in which he works, ties are generally considered to be beautiful, enabling one to express personal preference etc., rather than as awkward pieces of clothing. In this respect, this particular businessman is in a situation similar to biologists confronted with the metaphor ‘Richard is a gorilla’. The biologists are aware that in Western culture gorillas are considered to be aggressive animals, and although from their own expert knowledge of gorillas they know this to be factually wrong, they nonetheless understand the metaphor to mean ‘Richard is aggressive’ rather than ‘Richard is a nice, peace-loving man’ (see Searle 1979:102).

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In the examples discussed, the primary subject of the metaphor coincided with the product advertised, and this product is visually present in the advertisement. This is hardly surprising since one would expect an advertiser to make some sort of claim about her product, and the primary subject is the term of the metaphor about which something is predicated. Moreover it makes sense that an advertiser should want to depict her product, if possible. These appear not to be isolated examples. Let me briefly touch upon a number of similar examples. Figure 6.5 is perhaps more difficult than the preceding ones. It may be rendered verbally as PETROL NOZZLE IS GUN. Again, I propose, we realize that PETROL NOZZLE is the primary subject because it is metonymically closer to the product advertised, Volkswagen, than GUN is. To state that the feature transferred from GUN to PETROL NOZZLE is simply ‘capable of killing’, while appropriate, is not quite satisfactory. The metaphor needs further specification: the posture of the man holding the NOZZLE against his temple suggests that he is on the verge of committing suicide. It would already be more suitable to say that the feature transferred from GUN to NOZZLE is ‘being a potential instrument

of suicide'. Nonetheless, we have not yet sufficiently interpreted the metaphor. After all, we expect the advertiser to be optimally relevant to us, and at this stage we can still say, 'So what?'. We also must take into account the rest of the advertisement, that is, the text, which can be translated as 'Or else buy a Volkswagen'. We are to adduce the knowledge from our cognitive environment that cars run on petrol and that petrol is poured into a car via a petrol nozzle. The anchoring verbal text suggests that the man in the picture is the owner of a car that is *not* a Volkswagen. From all this, the viewer is to deduce that the man is unhappy with his present car, even so unhappy that he is on the verge of committing suicide. If he buys a Volkswagen, however, his troubles will be solved. Have we now sufficiently interpreted the metaphor, and the way it functions in the broader context of the advertisement? In terms of relevance theory we can say that in return for our 'effort' we have now received some cognitive 'effect'. This effect could be formulated as the awareness that Volkswagen claims that if we buy one of their cars, we avoid a lot of the kind of troubles that owners of other cars have. I suspect that most people will volunteer an interpretation similar to this one. If this intuition is correct, then it is warranted to call this interpretation a *strong* implicature of the advertisement as a whole. In the previous chapter it was argued,



Figure 6.5 Source: Advertising agency: DDB, New York

however, that word and image texts, and ads in particular, often encourage the derivation of weak implicatures as well. In the present case, I would say that *for me* the metaphor is open to further elaboration, that is, I feel I have not finished adapting the relevant features from the domain of the secondary subject GUN to the domain of the primary subject PETROL NOZZLE. The presumed unhappiness of the owners of non-Volkswagens can be further narrowed down: after all it seems likely that their sorrow has something to do with the petrol itself. Since my knowledge of the world tells me that one thing car owners are often unhappy about, in connection with petrol, is its high price, I am inclined to interpret the metaphor PETROL NOZZLE IS GUN more specifically, in the present context, as suggesting that non-Volkswagen owners are unhappy about their cars because these cars use up so much costly petrol— which constitutes a marked difference with respect to Volkswagens. Un-doubtedly, to some viewers/readers this may seem far-fetched. If so, this implicature is to be labelled as a weak rather than a strong one.

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At this stage I have established that in all but one of the metaphors hitherto discussed the pictorially present term of the metaphor is the primary subject; that the primary subject is, or metonymically refers to, the product advertised; that the pictorially absent term is unambiguously suggested by the pictorial context; that if the pictorial context should leave us in doubt as to which term is the primary subject and which the secondary subject, we need only *one* element from the next layer of context to resolve this doubt, namely, a realization of what the product is; and finally that there is a projection of identifiable and nameable features from the source domain upon the target domain, although—in accordance with the insights of relevance theory—not all features will be seen as transferrable with equal strength, nor will precisely the same features be deemed transferrable by all addressees.

CASE STUDIES: METAPHORS WITH TWO PICTORIALLY PRESENT TERMS (MP2s)

Hitherto I have examined advertisements containing metaphors in which only one term of the metaphor was pictorially present. There are also advertisements, however, which contain metaphors that feature both terms pictorially. Figures 6.11 and 6.12 show fairly straightforward examples. In Figure 6.11 we easily recognize the two terms of the metaphor as EARTH and CANDLE, both of which have been partially depicted. There is no pictorial context which might help us establish beyond doubt the order of the terms, so we have to consult the anchoring verbal context to decide which of the terms is the primary and which is the secondary subject. The heading itself ('We extract energy from the earth as if it were inexhaustible') and the information (in small print at the bottom) that the authority which, in 1976, commissioned this warning advertisement was the Dutch Ministry of Economic Affairs suggest not only that EARTH is the primary subject of the metaphor, but also supplies the feature mapped from the secondary subject CANDLE on to the primary subject EARTH: 'providing an exhaustible amount of energy'.

Figure 6.12 (originally in black and white), a Dutch advertisement of the late seventies, provides another fairly clear example. Both terms have been depicted, the BRICKS in their entirety, the EARPHONES only partially, namely, in the electrical cord and the part of the earphones that goes over the man's head. The EARPHONES refer to the product advertised and thus occupy the primary subject position, leaving the secondary subject position for the BRICKS. The metaphor, then, is EARPHONES ARE BRICKS. The heading translates as 'Most earphones have one big disadvantage', reinforcing the feature transferred from secondary subject to primary subject—heaviness. Notice that the primary subject's referent is obviously earphones of a kind that are *not* promoted by the manufacturer. This example proves therefore that a primary subject can also refer *antonymically* to the product advertised.



Figure 6.11 Source: Advertising agency: McCann-Erickson



Figure 6.12 Source: Advertising agency: KVVH/GGK

To further support the claim that the subdivision into MP1s and MP2s is a valid one, it may finally be added that the distinction has a parallel in verbal metaphors, namely in the opposition between *metaphor in praesentia* and *metaphor in absentia*. Ricoeur (1977:186) gives the examples 'Jim is an ass' and 'What an ass!'. In the first sentence both primary subject and secondary subject are given; in the second sentence the primary subject is not given and must be recovered from the context. There is one crucial difference between the verbal metaphor in absentia and the MP1 metaphors examined above, however: whereas in the verbal specimens it is the primary subject that must be recovered from the context, in pictorial ones, as we have seen, this is usually the secondary subject.

CASE STUDIES: PICTORIAL SIMILES

In the three previous sections a distinction was made between pictorial metaphors with one pictorially present term (MP1s) and those with two pictorially present terms (MP2s). In the former type one of the terms (usually the secondary subject) is itself pictorially absent but unambiguously suggested by the pictorial context. In the latter type the two terms are conflated into a hybrid phenomenon pictorially featuring parts of both terms. But this dichotomy does not exhaust the possibilities.

Consider Figure 6.17. It features a picture, part of a German advertisement for swimwear, in which a girl in a bathing suit and a dolphin are depicted next to one another, in mid-air, apparently in the process of diving into the water. The positions of girl and dolphin are strikingly similar; moreover, the resemblance between the dolphin's smooth skin and the girl with her well-fitting bathing suit is emphasized by the identical angle of light on both of them; and one can perceive a further, less emphatic similarity between the dolphin's fin and the girl's hair sticking out. But the similarity is not just physical: dolphins are known to be good swimmers and to leap up from the water. These various aspects of resemblance invite the viewer/ reader to equate girl and dolphin in much the same way as in the MP1s and MP2s discussed before. Slotting the two terms in the metaphorical primary and secondary subject positions is no problem either: since the picture is part of an advertisement, and the text informs us that the ad promotes swimwear, relevance theory predicts that the bathing-suit-wearing girl is a more probable candidate for the primary subject position than the dolphin. Features that qualify for mapping from the domain of DOLPHIN on to the domain of GIRL are 'smooth skin' (adaptable to 'bathing-suit-as-second-skin' or 'perfect fit' in the target domain), 'beauty and elegance', and 'naturalness'.

Figure 6.17 is not an isolated example. The same line of reasoning can be pursued for Figure 6.18, which appeared in a Dutch magazine. Here the two phenomena juxtaposed are BUTTERFLY and WATCH. Since Lassale watches are the product advertised, WATCH is the primary subject and BUTTERFLY the secondary subject. At least one of the features projectable from BUTTERFLY to WATCH is suggested in the pay-off: The profile of elegance'.

Although Figure 6.19, a Dutch ad, is more complicated, it seems to me that it should be ranked together with the preceding figures. The pay-off can be translated as 'But we have Dommelsch [beer]', and the two terms compared are BEER CRATES and GREAT WALL OF CHINA.⁹ The primary subject, here metonymically associated with the product advertised, is BEER CRATES, whereas GREAT WALL OF CHINA is the secondary subject. It is to be noticed in this advertisement that it is the *dissimilarities* as much as the similarities that count here, as the contrastive 'but' of the text emphasizes. One of the features of GREAT WALL OF CHINA that is projected upon DOMMELSCH BEER is probably 'famousness', 'prestige', and/or 'national pride'. Dutch Dommelsch beer, we can interpret, resembles the Great Wall of China in having (or deserving?) a similar kind of national fame, prestige or pride. Simultaneously the dissimilarity between GREAT WALL OF CHINA and DOMMELSCH BEER is stressed: Holland cannot boast an architectural project as renowned as the Chinese Wall. It is to be added that the idea that the Dutch should not lose any sleep over that ('well, so what—after all we have good, typically Dutch Dommelsch Beer') plays an important role in the dissimilarity.



Figure 6.17 Source: Advertising agency: Young & Rubicam

The three advertisements discussed in this section, then, can be analysed in the same way as the MP1s and MP2s investigated earlier. Nonetheless they differ in a technical manner from both MP1s and MP2s. Let us first consider more precisely how they are distinguishable from MP1s. The label MP1 was reserved for metaphors where one of the terms was pictorially absent but unambiguously suggested by the pictorial context. Stripping the ad of all pictorial context made it impossible to infer what the non-depicted term of the metaphor was. In the examples considered in this section, however, both terms have been pictorially rendered, and I contend that the two terms would be seen as similar even if the entire pictorial context were to be eliminated. Hence it would be inappropriate to subsume these examples under the label MP1.

In MP2s, on the other hand, parts of each of the two terms of the metaphor have been depicted; both remain identifiable even if both the pictorial and the verbal context were to be removed. That holds for our present examples, too. But there is one important difference: all the examples labelled MP2s consist of hybrid phenomena that were nonetheless perceived as a single object. The two objects were, in one way or another, physically integrated into a single gestalt. In Figures 6.17–6.19, on the other hand, the two phenomena compared are clearly separate entities.

Since the examples discussed in this section are technically different from MP1s and MP2s, they deserve a label of their own. One attractive possibility is

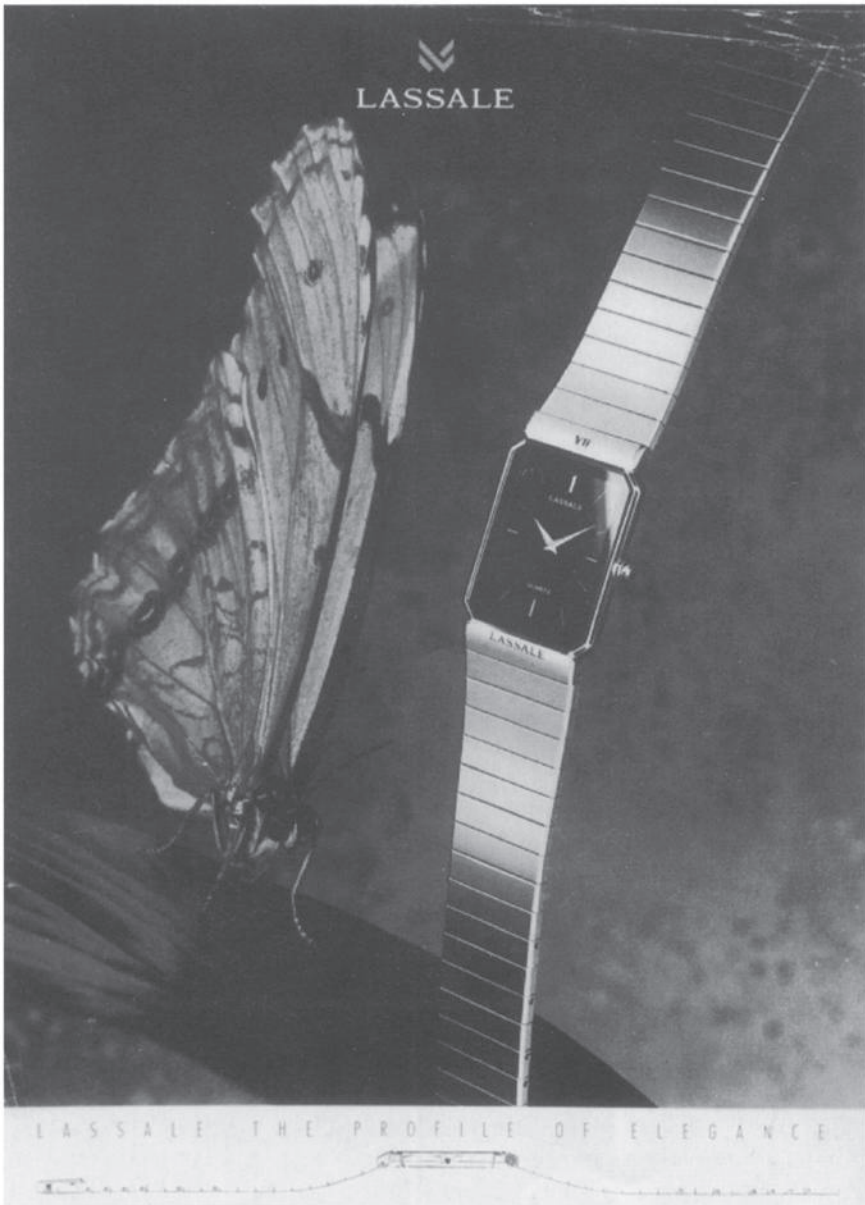


Figure 6.18 Source: Advertising agency: Campaign Company



Figure 6.19 Source: Advertising agency: Noordervliet & Winninghoff/Leo Burnett

to call them ‘pictorial similes’. In the following paragraphs I want to explore whether this suggestion can be formally supported. For the label ‘pictorial simile’ to be acceptable, the phenomena in Figures 6.17–6.19 should somehow correspond to MP1s and MP2s in a way analogous to the correspondence between verbal simile and verbal metaphor. Let us consider whether establishing this analogy is warranted.

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Metaphors suggest a stronger fusion between primary subject and secondary subject than similes. Verbrugge, rejecting the idea that the difference between a metaphor and its corresponding simile is merely stylistic, hypothesized that

The metaphor form seems more likely to evoke an imaginal experience in which the topic’s [i.e., primary subject’s] identity is transformed, while the simile is more likely to evoke a process of comparison in which the roles of the two terms are relatively equivalent. If so, the frequency of experiencing fanciful transformations should be greater in response to metaphors than to similes.

(Verbrugge 1980:108–9)

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CASE STUDIES: VERBO-PICTORIAL METAPHORS (VPMs)

In the previous sections a distinction was made between MP1s (or pictorial metaphors *in absentia*), MP2s (or pictorial metaphors *in praesentia*) and pictorial similes. In all three types, the two terms were pictorially represented or unambiguously suggested by the pictorial part of the advertisements. However, we can distinguish yet another major variant of pictorial metaphor, namely the variant in which one of the terms is rendered pictorially and one is rendered verbally. Let us consider a number of these verbo-pictorial metaphors (VPMs) more closely.

A first example (Figure 6.20) is provided by a Dutch ad for Venco liquorice with the heading ‘het zwarte goud’ (‘black gold’). We need not waver between possible ways of naming the pictorial term; it cannot but be ‘liquorice’ as there is nothing else pictorially represented. Since LIQUORICE and BLACK GOLD cannot be equated in a literal relationship, the relationship, to make sense, must be a metaphorical one. The next question is, what is the primary subject and what is the secondary subject? Since LIQUORICE rather than BLACK GOLD is the ad’s concern—the product the addressee has to be informed about—it is clear that we are invited to conceive of LIQUORICE in terms of BLACK GOLD rather than of BLACK GOLD in terms of LIQUORICE. We can verbalize this metaphor, then, as LIQUORICE IS GOLD, or LIQUORICE IS BLACK GOLD. Having identified the two terms of the metaphor as well as assessed their order, we now have to determine what is or are the feature(s) projected from secondary upon primary subject. It

is possible, of course, simply to focus on GOLD, with as its outstanding property 'being valuable'—this being one of the dominant connotations of GOLD—and consider the adjective 'black' to have been added solely because of its appropriateness to liquorice. I suspect, however, that for many viewers/readers the collocation 'black gold' evokes more specific connotations. Both in Dutch and in English, the phrase in one of its senses refers, metaphorically again, to coal, and the ad obviously exploits this idea: the physical resemblance between the liquorice and the structure of coal is reinforced by the way the liquorice has been depicted. In this second reading, the property projected from coal upon liquorice draws on the notion of coal as a valuable natural resource. In both readings the crucial property projected from the secondary subject BLACK GOLD upon the primary subject LIQUORICE remains 'being valuable'. Supposing that many viewers/readers will bring to bear the connotations of the 'black gold-as-coal' on their interpretation of the metaphor, it might at first seem strange that the makers of the ad apparently did not worry about the fact that 'coal' also has the property of 'inedibility', which is a rather negative one in this context. (Incidentally, it is probably partly for this reason of avoiding unwanted connotations that the Dutch slogan for a long-running campaign promoting milk was 'Melk, de witte motor'—'Milk, the white motor'—rather than the more logical 'Melk, de witte benzine'—'Milk, the white petrol'. After all the idea is that the human body 'runs' on milk, much as a machine (a car?) runs on petrol.) But this apparent carelessness about the negative connotation of inedibility in the liquorice ad is explained away when we consider who are the addressees of this advertisement. The group of addressees is not the general consumer: one would not be likely to have come across this advertisement in a national newspaper, or on a billboard out on the streets. This ad appeared in a trade journal for retailers who had to be persuaded to stock 'Venco liquorice' with the promise that it would yield them a huge profit. Hence, the property 'being valuable' of the BLACK GOLD is far more relevant than the property of 'inedibility' in this situation. Although the body-copy of the advertisement gives some clues as to the target group, at least as important a hint comes from another contextual factor: the journal in which it appeared. Once more we here have evidence for Sperber and Wilson's claim that relevance is always relevance to an individual.

HET ZWARTE GOUD.

Als je de volle smaak van echte drop als volwaardig merkartikel op de markt brengt; als je dat binnen een jaar tot marktleider in z'n segment laat uitgroeien; als anderen dat dropje vervolgens bekronen als één van de beste introdukties in het levensmiddelenkanaal, dan mag je als fabrikant op z'n minst een beetje trots zijn op die zakjes ouderwets lekkere Voldrop. **Venco**



Figure 6.20 Source: Advertising agency: Young & Rubicam

SUMMARY

In this chapter a number of magazine advertisements and billboards were discussed with reference to the (verbo)pictorial metaphors they were claimed to contain. It was shown that Black's interaction theory of metaphor was applicable to these metaphors, and that their interpretation was guided by Sperber and Wilson's (1986) relevance theory. The three central questions that in the close of Chapter 3 were argued to be crucially important for the determination whether something should be termed a metaphor could all be satisfactorily answered with regard to the phenomena in these advertisements. A consideration of various levels of context (verbal, pictorial, cultural) was shown to be essential for the answerability of Black's three questions. Moreover, the fact that the similarity between the two terms of the metaphors usually was a result of the metaphor rather than the other way round corroborates Black's creativity thesis: the similarity between the two terms of a metaphor is often *created* rather than pre-existent. Four subtypes of pictorial metaphor were distinguished, classification depending on the nature of the second term (usually the secondary subject):

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- 1 *Pictorial metaphors with one pictorially present term (MP1s)*. Here the second term is not depicted, but unambiguously suggested by the pictorial context. Removal of the pictorial context results in the disappearance of the second term, and hence in non-metaphor. In most cases the pictorially present term is, or refers metonymically to, the product advertised. Removing the verbal context does not usually affect the identification of the two terms²³—although it may problematize their characterization as primary and secondary subject respectively.
- 2 *Pictorial metaphors with two pictorially present terms (MP2s)*. Here parts of both terms are pictorially represented, resulting in a hybrid phenomenon perceived as a single gestalt. Removal of the pictorial context—if present in the first place—still allows the reader/viewer to identify both terms. Removing the verbal context again does not affect the identification of the two terms, although it may problematize their characterization as primary and secondary subject respectively.
- 3 *Pictorial similes*. Here both terms are pictorially represented in their entirety. Removal of the pictorial context—if present in the first place—still allows the reader/viewer to identify both terms. Removing the verbal context again does not affect the identification of the two terms, although it may problematize their characterization as primary and secondary subject respectively.
- 4 *Verbo-pictorial metaphors (VPMs)*. Here one of the terms is rendered textually, while the other is rendered pictorially. Removal of pictorial context—if present in the first place—does not affect the identification of the two metaphorical terms. Eliminating the text results in the disappearance of one of the terms, and hence in non-metaphor. In most cases the pictorial term is, or metonymically refers to, the product advertised.