

# Technique Repetition and Creative Metaphor

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The human capacity for creativity in poetry, literature, and music has always been intriguing. How do artists develop new ways of seeing the world and then convey these novel perspectives to their audiences? As recognized early on, a key tool within the artist's toolbox has been metaphor. Yet, how, exactly, are novel metaphors created and what is their rhetorical function?

The current study reviews research on six techniques used to develop creative metaphor and then analyzes creative metaphor use in Anna Nalick's (2004) song *Breathe* and Angela Aki's (2007) song *Moraru no Soushiki* [*Funeral of Morality*]. Based on the analysis, the paper argues that our current theories of metaphor use may need to acknowledge an additional source of creativity, which is described here with the term *technique repetition*. Essentially, this involves using the same creative technique repeatedly so as to set up expectations in the audience, facilitate processing, and amplify metaphorical effects.

As a prelude to addressing the main theme of this paper, it may be useful to review some of the relevant theoretical background. A set of underlying assumptions in Cognitive Linguistics is that metaphor is an essential part of our everyday thinking and pervasive in communication, even in conversations involving mundane matters (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Metaphor, along with its close cousin simile, involves the development of analogical correspondences between a source domain (the actual conceptual content overtly expressed in the communicative act) and a target domain (the semantic content that the speaker communicates). The cross-domain comparisons characteristic of metaphor can be studied at various levels depending on the researcher's line of inquiry (Steen, 2007). For example, an analysis of metaphor within language use may

reveal consistent cross-domain mappings that have become conventional within a language. In this case, the degree of conventionality may be operationalized methodologically through frequency of occurrence (e.g., by counting tokens of occurrence within a corpus). Yet such lines of inquiry do not directly address whether the cross-domain mapping is occurring within the minds of individual users in production or reception (Gibbs, 2006; Steen, 2007), a line of inquiry more amenable to psycholinguistic investigations.

Potential discrepancies between the cross-domain mappings that can be shown to exist at the level of language and at the level of individual language processing can emerge as metaphors become conventionalized. Bowdle and Gentner (2005) argue that this reflects the typical “career of metaphor”. In early stages, listeners are cued to process novel cross-domain mappings through analogical processes (i.e., through comparison). One highly salient cue, prompting listeners to process a metaphor as a comparison, is the use of simile (Bowdle & Gentner, 2005). As a cross-domain mapping becomes more conventionalized within a language, these cues become less necessary. At some point, the same meaning may simply be conveyed as a conventional metaphor, which, depending on context and various other factors, may or may not be processed via analogy. Bowdle and Gentner claim that eventually the metaphor’s meaning (i.e., the target) is accessed directly via cognitive processes associated with categorization instead of analogy. In some cases, the association between the source and target domain becomes completely obscured, precluding the possibility of analogy. In this case, the metaphor can be described as completely dead.

These processing differences suggest that a key feature of creative metaphor may be to encourage rich cross-domain analogies. There are various reasons for producers of language to desire this. As Steen (2007) points out, metaphor designed to “induce comparative processing” (which he calls *deliberate metaphor*) serves to “change the addressee’s perspective on the referent or topic that is

the target of the metaphor, by making the addressee look at it from a different conceptual domain or space” (p. 222). Steen’s term *deliberate metaphor* is unfortunate, in some respects, as it focuses on the internal states of the speaker or writer, in spite of the fact that Steen is clearly referring to cognitive processes occurring in both production and reception. Moreover, as he himself mentions, there is no guarantee that deliberate metaphor always succeeds. In cases of misalignment, the addressee may fail to respond to cues to process a metaphor as a cross-domain mapping.

Creative (and deliberate) use of metaphor is found throughout language, but as Cameron (2011) points out, literature and poetry provide much greater affordances for the scope of creativity. This is reflected in the striking variation in the number of novel metaphors across genres. For example, Goatly (2011) found that 56% of the metaphors used in literature involve unconventional metaphor compared to just 4% in conversation. This makes sense in light of the tremendous expertise wielded by great artists (as Cameron alludes to) and the great effort (mentioned by Steen, 2008, as a frequently concomitant feature of deliberate metaphor) required to produce great art. To this we may add the degree to which appreciators of art are willing to tolerate ambiguity and expend effort toward interpretation. Steen’s (1994) research shows that readers of literature relative to readers of journalistic texts are more likely to focus on metaphors, identify them explicitly, and evaluate them aesthetically. The same is probably true when people hear metaphors in the lyrics of songs, the focus of the current study.

In fact, these points could be extended *a fortiori* to the language of lyrics. Music, after all, differs from poetry and literature in that speakers do not need to understand the lyrics to enjoy a song. In many cases, they may relish the process of gradually peeling back further layers of plausible interpretations of a song after hearing it hundreds of times over a span of years as well as the process of coming across alternative interpretations. Relative to other verbal art forms, musical lyrics

should, by this logic, give greatest leeway for the use of unconventional metaphor, and since much music, like poetry, is designed to convey novel perspectives on reality.

The current research examines patterns of creative metaphor in an American and Japanese pop song. Prior to delving into the analysis, it may be useful to review some of the techniques underlying metaphoric creativity as discussed in previous research. Lakoff and Turner (1989) have describe several techniques characteristic of “poetic thought” that should be relevant to the analysis of lyrics undertaken here (p. 67). The first technique, “extending”, involves extension of a conventional metaphor through the utilization of source domain content that is typically inert within the metaphor. The technique can be depicted as in Figure 1.

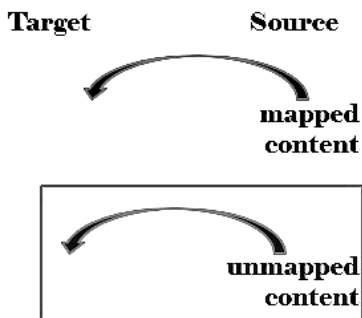


Figure 1. Creation of a novel metaphor through the process of *extension*.

They give the example of the famous soliloquy in Shakespeare’s *Hamlet* (as cited in Lakoff and Turner, 1989, p. 67):

To sleep? Perchance to dream! Ay, there’s the rub;  
For in that sleep of death what dreams may come?

Extension often creates a somewhat jarring effect in the addressee, and

thereby encourages greater attention to the source domain due to the fact that the unmapped content would normally be inert due to its inherent incompatibility with a general mapping principle (cf. Ahrens, 2010). In the *Hamlet* example, only elements that highlight activity and consciousness as opposed to inactivity and lack of consciousness would be mapped in LIFE IS DAYTIME; DEATH IS NIGHTTIME metaphor, so the use of dreaming introduces an incongruous element.

Another technique mentioned by Lakoff and Turner is *elaborating*. This involves “filling in slots in unusual ways” (p. 67). They give the example of Horace’s reference to death as “external exile of the raft” (as cited in Lakoff and Turner, p. 67). As they point out, the use of a raft (a craft that drifts aimlessly) and reference to exile in the DEATH IS DEPARTURE metaphor brings an unusual perspective, resulting in an unconventional way of conceptualizing death. While not explicit in their discussion, it should be added that the “slots” that are being filled in innovative ways are in the source domain. Elaboration could be depicted as shown in Figure 2.

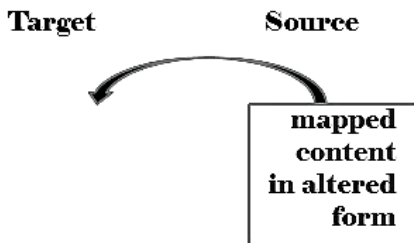


Figure 2. Creation of a novel metaphor through the process of *elaboration*.

Lakoff and Turner (1989) also mention, as a third technique for creating novel metaphor, *questioning*. As an example, they provide the following quote from Catullus (as they cite on p. 69).

Suns can set and return again,  
but when our brief light goes out,  
there's one perpetual night to be slept through.

As depicted in Figure 3, *questioning* appears to involve reflections of inconsistencies in the metaphor. As in the Catullus quote, it often involves highlighting some of the metaphor's entailments and then noting, often with a sense of irony, how the entailments appear to be at odds with what we know of the world. Questioning often appears along with other techniques. For example, the phrase "... what dreams may come?" in the Hamlet quote mentioned above actually involves questioning in addition to extension.

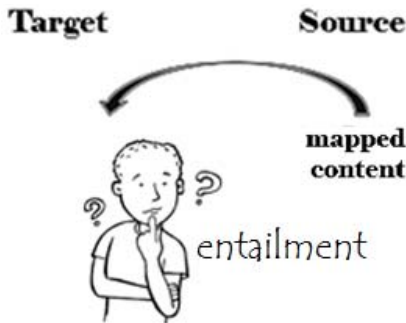


Figure 3. Creation of a novel metaphor through the process of *questioning*.

As a fourth method, Lakoff and Turner (1989) mention *composing* (i.e., the combining of metaphors within a passage). They provide, as an example, the following quote from a Shakespearean sonnet (Shakespeare, as cited by Lakoff & Turner, 1989, p. 70).

In me thou seest the twilight of such day

As after sunset fadeth in the west;  
Which by and by black night doth take away,  
Death's second self that seals up all in rest.

The passage contains multiple metaphors for DEATH such as DEATH IS NIGHT, DEATH IS LOSS OF A PRECIOUS POSSESSION, and DEATH IS REST. Composing thus involves mapping of content from multiple source domains to a single target domain as shown in Figure 4.

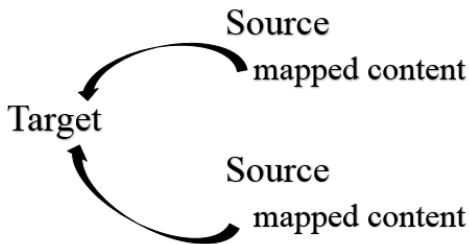


Figure 4. Creation of a novel metaphor through the process of *composing*.

The fifth technique mentioned by Lakoff and Turner (1989) is *personification*. In this case, a non-human entity is conceptualized as an agent with human attributes. As an example, Lakoff and Turner (p. 72) quote lines from a poem by Yehuda Amichai:

The world is awake tonight.  
It is lying on its back, with its eyes open.

Consider, as another example, the rap singer Nas's personification of a gun in his hit *I Gave You Power* (Jones & Martin, 1996). The song provides a first-person narrative from the standpoint of a gun. In this case, the conventional

perspective in which the youth is an active agent using a gun to gain status is upended. Adopting the perspective of disenfranchised youth, the song's unexpected shift in agency implies that guns, through their mere availability, actively transform poor communities. As a technique for associating agency with an inanimate entity, personification could be depicted as in Figure 5.

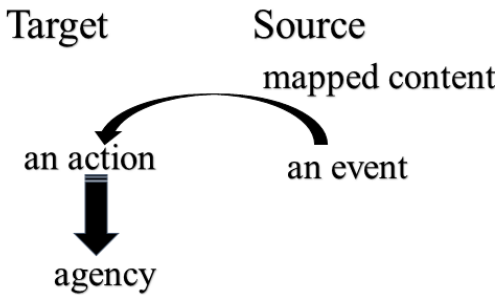


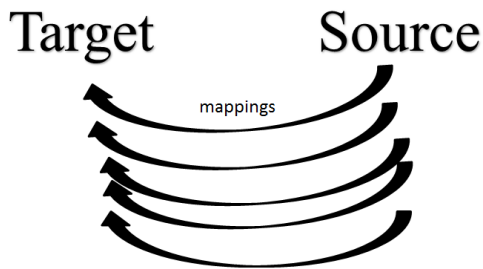
Figure 5. Creation of metaphor through the process of *personification*.

It should be noted that personification is often involved in everyday metaphors that are conventional and so familiar that they typically pass by unnoticed. For example, the statement that “Christmas is finally here” or “The battery’s dead” would not strike most readers as particularly creative. It thus seems that personification in itself is not necessarily associated with creative language unless it is combined with other techniques, such as repetition (cf. Dorst, 2011, p. 127).

As a sixth technique for developing creative figurative language, repetition can be employed as a means of enriching metaphoric expression in a number of ways. Frequently, elements of the same source domain occur repeatedly. Consider, for example, the use of metaphor in Faber’s (2000) novel *Under the Skin*. As Caracciolo (2017) points out, the protagonist Isserley’s description of two young men using numerous incongruous similes related to processed food creates an



eerie parallel with the novel’s premise: the disturbing fact that Isserley is part of an alien race that has come to Earth to kill and harvest human beings as meat. When considering repetition in instances such as this, the term *domain* should probably be construed broadly. As Gibbs and Cameron (2008) remind us, the use of the term in cases such as this that involve semantic associations may be problematic as it implies pre-existing and static categories. They therefore prefer the term “vehicle groupings”, vehicle being another term for the source domain (p. 70).



*Figure 6. Creation of novel metaphor through mapping repetition.*

As an example of mapping repetition, consider the following quote from the famous 1963 “I Have a Dream” Speech of Martin Luther King, Jr. (American Rhetoric, 2019).

It is obvious today that America has defaulted on this promissory note, insofar as her citizens of color are concerned. Instead of honoring this sacred obligation, America has given the Negro people a bad check, a check which has come back marked “insufficient funds.” But we refuse to believe that the bank of justice is bankrupt. We refuse to believe that there are insufficient funds in the great vaults of opportunity of this nation. And so, we’ve come to

cash this check, a check that will give us upon demand the riches of freedom and the security of justice.

The text, which appears in an exercise in Kövecses' (2010) book on metaphor, is a good example of how repetition can encourage addressees to consider rich mappings from a source to a target, in this case, from the domain of financial transactions to the domain of justice. Werth (1994) has referred to this sort of peppering of a text with mappings from the same general metaphor as *megametaphor*.

In some cases, repeated references to a source domain even appear within separate metaphors (i.e., as referring to different targets). As an example, consider the use of orientation metaphors involving the source domain of UP in Shakespeare's (1994) *Richard II* as discussed by Dancygier (2012, p. 151). The same source domain appears repeatedly in the play in metaphors such as GOOD IS UP, STATUS IS UP, and HAPPY IS UP, along with metonymies such as HEAD FOR CENTER OF CONTROL, HEART FOR FEELING, and KNEE FOR SUBMISSION. The UP (and DOWN) figurative language in combination with the symbolic body posture of the play's characters create what Dancygier refers to as an overall "Body/Mind blend", which serves to provide coherence and "poetic force" to the story (p. 152). Source repetition has been depicted in Figure 6.

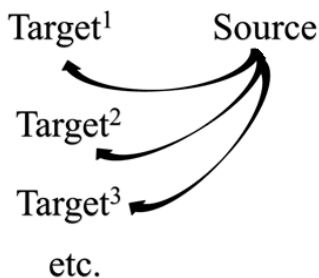


Figure 6. Creation of novel metaphor through *source repetition*

Having reviewed various techniques that underlie the creative use of metaphor, let us now consider how these techniques are used in one of the most innovative areas of metaphor use, song lyrics. An excellent example of patterned use of metaphor can be found in Anna Nalick's (2004) hit song *Breathe*. The narrative voice in the song shifts among three characters, a woman in crisis, the woman's friend, and the songwriter, who is presumably to be identified with the former. The woman in crisis calls her friend at 2:00 a.m. and asks, "Can you help me unravel my latest mistake?" She confides that she no longer loves the man she is with and that "winter just wasn't" her "season". Her friend takes her to some public institution, which, based on the subsequent reference to the "flask" in her young lover's "fist", is probably a home for battered women. The other residents of the unnamed institution look at her condescendingly, in spite of the fact that they are all there "for the very same reason". The song then relates the details of her lover who "turned 21 on the base of Fort Bliss" (a U.S. army base famous for its tank division), and who then, upon reaching legal drinking age, was continuously drunk. In spite of this, the singer confesses that she finds herself falling for him again whenever he smiles.

The end of the song switches to the songwriter's perspective. Based on the somewhat novel metaphor of a song being an inner demon that must be exorcised, the songwriter describes being awake, again at 2 a.m., getting the song "down on paper" so that it is "no longer inside" of her "threatening the life it belongs to." An interesting feature of the song is the elimination (in the editing process) of the pauses between the lines in the verses (which narrate the battered woman's tragic life). This creates the sense that the singer is not taking time to breathe, calling to mind the song's key refrain (in which pauses occur):

And breathe.

Just breathe.

Oh breathe.

Just breathe.

The other lines appearing in the refrain provide philosophical and somewhat ironical reflections on the singer's own psychological disorder, which is presumably battered woman syndrome. According to the psychological literature, the disorder is characterized by "*loss of contingency between response and outcome*" (italics in the original) and the tendency for "battering incidents themselves" to become "paired in an identifiable pattern with reinforcements, such as the positive parts of the relationship" (Walker, 2009, pp. 69, 70). In other words, battered women often suffer from a *learned helplessness* with the result that they "provoke their abuse, enjoy the chaos" and "stay in violent relationships" (Walker, 2009, p. 70).

This sense of helplessness operates as a leitmotiv throughout the refrains, where Nalick creates novel metaphors through an interesting combination of extension and elaboration. Consider the first refrain:

And 'cause you can't jump the track,

We're like cars on a cable.

And life's like an hourglass

Glued to the table.

No one can find

The rewind button, girl.

So cradle your head in your hands.

The initial reference to "cars on a cable" elicits the highly conventional LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor. In its conventional form, the metaphor highlights aspects of life related to goals, decision-making and outcomes. For this reason,

the vehicle element (e.g., car, train, etc.) within the metaphor, if included and made explicit, is typically a vehicle that can make “turns” (decisions) at various “crossroads”. In other words, the source domain content typically maps onto decision-making in life. However, Nalick’s odd elaboration of the vehicle element as “cars on a cable” implies that in the case of the battered woman, the individual on the journey is no longer in the driver’s seat where she can make conscious decisions but is, instead, merely along for the ride in a vehicle with a pre-established destination.

Some of Nalick’s use of elaboration implies questioning. A somewhat conventional metaphor is based on the notion that A LIFE SPAN IS THE EMPTYING OF AN HOURGLASS. However, Nalick immediately subverts the conventional metaphor by pointing out that we can always keep an hourglass going by turning it over. To complicate the metaphoric interpretation even further, Nalick then elaborates the metaphor by conceptualizing the hourglass as one which has been “glued to the table”.

Similar creativity is at hand in the following reference to the lost rewind button. As Dancygier and Sweetser (2014) point out, metaphors should really be understood as links between *frames*. A rewind button is part of a remote-control device, which, in turn, is part of the *TV viewing* frame. Moreover, watching a TV show is essentially the modern equivalent of watching a play, and as is well-known, plays or dramas serve as a common source domain for life. As Shakespeare (1994) famously says, in his play *As You Like It* (Act 2, Scene 7), “All the world’s a stage, and all the men and women merely players.” However, Nalick is again up to metaphorical mischief. She begins by extending the metaphor. If a TV show (as a modern form of drama) is life, we should be able to simply hit the rewind button and easily undo our “latest mistakes”. The novelty in the lyrics stems from the fact that the remote-control device is typically an unmapped element in the LIFE IS A DRAMA metaphor. Adding to the sense of irony, Nalick

further elaborates the metaphor by describing the remote-control as lost.

The juxtaposition of the cable-car, hourglass, and rewind button metaphors, which all feature odd combinations of extension and elaboration, all serve to emphasize the sense of irony that characterizes the situation of the battered woman: As an autonomous adult agent, she should be in charge of her life, but somehow, she perpetually finds herself in a helpless situation reminiscent to that of an infant, where all she can do is “cradle” her head in her hands. In a sense then, the subversion of conventional metaphors is being used to mark an unconventional situation. A repeating pattern in many of these metaphors is to initially introduce an element that violates a conventional metaphor’s mapping principle (a cable-car that can’t turn, an hourglass that can be reset, a remote-control button that can rewind the drama being watched) and then deny the extended or elaborated element (the hourglass is glued to the table, whereas the remote button is lost).

In the bridge element of the song, Nalick engages in the same sort of creative play with other conventional metaphors:

“There’s a light at each end of this tunnel,” you shout.

‘Cause you’re just as far in as you’ll ever be out.

And these mistakes you’ve made

You’ll just make them again.

If you only try turning around . . .

As a common trope, *light at the end of a tunnel* (Deignan, 2005, p. 186) combines several more basic metaphors such as DIFFICULTIES ARE LONG NARROW PASSAGEWAYS, SADNESS IS DARKNESS (Deignan, 2005; Kövecses, 2000), and LIGHT IS HOPE (Deignan, 2005, p. 186). The metaphor expresses the sentiment that the person going through difficulties (in the source, mapped onto THE PERSON IN THE TUNNEL) can take comfort from the fact

that the period of difficulties (THE TUNNEL) will come to an end and they will eventually emerge out of their sadness (DARKNESS) to find hope (LIGHT) once more. In Nalick's lyrics, however, the source element of the suffering person in the tunnel has been elaborated as a person who is *not* moving forward. The transformed metaphor, while odd and jarring, expresses the irony of the battered woman who fails to move beyond her ingrained patterns of behavior and therefore remains stuck in cycles of physical abuse. The final line, a half-finished sentence, highlights this irony by suggesting that the abused woman could simply "turn around" and put an end to her mental habits that place her in abusive relationships.

Nalick's frequent use of extension and elaboration used to point out apparent contradictions reflects a coherent discourse motive. Bernsten and Kennedy (1994) suggest that such deviations from patterns of conventional metaphor use and focus on contradictions can function as "a tool for expressing experiences that likewise deviate from or contradict what is considered to be common and coherent, with the aim of giving" the addressee "the same experience" (p. 196). In a surprising parallel with metaphor use in *Breathe*, their examination of an autobiographical memoir of childhood experiences shows similar use of contradiction to evoke experiences of powerlessness and frustration. It appears that Nalick's confusing use of techniques to initially subvert a conventional metaphor (using extension and elaboration) and then subsequently subvert the subverted metaphor conveys, in an iconic manner, the mental state of the battered woman. In other words, confusion and incoherence in metaphorical technique is here used to convey psychological confusion.

Nalick's (2004) lyrics demonstrate how repetition of the same metaphorical techniques can create a deep impression of irony running through an entire song. Using Steen's (2008) criteria, we would definitely classify this use of metaphor as *deliberate* as it clearly aims to give listeners a sense of a radically different perspective (i.e., that of a battered woman). In this paper, the term *technique*

*repetition* will be used to refer to this repeated and patterned use of a specific subset of techniques for creating deliberate metaphor (i.e., metaphor designed to guide addressees to a different perspective on a topic).

To get a better sense of technique repetition, it may be helpful to consider the Japanese pop song *Moraru no Sousiki* by Angela Aki (2007). The song, which is an extended allegory, describes a funeral held for the death of Morality. Virtually every line of the song contains at least one personification. In the initial two verses, natural forces are personified. Darkness opens up wounds; Wind whispers in attendees' ears; Sky cries tears in the form of falling stars; Trees weep and so on. In the subsequent verses, primarily emotions are personified along with several abstract nouns associated with noble human aspirations. The third verse relates the seating arrangements. Love is in front with Philosophy while Pride and Dedication sit behind them. Often short descriptions show relationships. Pride and Dedication are lost in conversation, while Purity grasps Wisdom's hand. Meanwhile, Reason rolls down her black veil.

In the following verse, Reason relates how her son Morality suddenly died, but how even in death, he will continue to live in their hearts. He will thus be like a lighthouse illuminating their way while marking the division between good and evil. Later Reason whispers to Truth that her son Hope also died, but like Morality, continues to live inside all of them. The song ends with the mist clearing as the sun appears in the sky. Reference to traditional religion is hinted at in the song through the repetition of the Latin phrase "Pater Noster" (our father).

One possible interpretation of the song is that it reflects mankind's current predicament, as morality derived from religious traditions ceases to have a hold on people's hearts, the crisis depicted by Nietzsche in his famous pronouncement that "God is dead" (Nietzsche, 1883-1892/2006, p. 5). The predicament has been echoed by many modern authors, such as Gregory (2012), who suggests that "a paradoxical characteristic of modern liberalism is that it does not prescribe" how



citizens “should live” or what they should “care about” yet “it depends for the social cohesion” on “the voluntary acceptance of widely shared beliefs, values, and priorities” (p. 375). According to the lyrics, human emotions and noble aspirations are no longer held together through an overarching morality, and as a result, mankind now senses a loss of hope. Even so, the song concludes with the paradox that Morality and Hope will continue to exert an influence even in their death. This conclusion echoes some modern thinkers’ argument (e.g., Peterson, 1999) that traditional moralities live on and continue to sustain cultures even when they no longer elicit overt belief. The notion of the dead influencing the living is perhaps more acceptable for East-Asian listeners who grew up in cultures in which the dead ancestors are thought to influence their living kin.

Returning to our linguistic line of inquiry, what role does personification serve within Aki’s lyrics? How does repeated use of personification create deliberate metaphor that serves to impose a different perspective on the topic (i.e., the loss of conventional sources of moral structure in society)? First, it may be noted that personification facilitates descriptions that would be awkward using conventional language. Emotions, in conventional language, are abstract and do not occupy space. Their personification in the physical scene of a funeral allows them to be placed in physical space, depicting their relative prominence or importance. Personification also facilitates discussion of relationships (e.g., Purity’s affinity with Wisdom) using a source domain (holding hands) that is readily understood and can be readily pictured in the mind’s eye.

The use of personification influences the style of presentation. If people were introduced in a song as characters, it would be odd to introduce so many into a narrative with so little elaboration. The rapid flipping from one character to another is only possible since the characters are already, in a sense, familiar to the listener. We know that these emotions and aspirations exist as a constellation within our mental and spiritual lives. The reflections on their relationships

within a lyrical narrative structured around the source domains of LIFE-DEATH and the closely related LIGHT-DARKNESS poles adds a novel dimension and perspective, so that the personification results in creative metaphor.

A crucial point, when examining the two songs, is that the deliberate metaphors are created through repetition of the same creative techniques: distinctive patterns of elaboration and extension, in the case of Nalick's (2004) lyrics, and personification throughout almost every line in Aki's (2007) lyrics. What is the purpose of this technique repetition? On the one hand, it sets up expectations in the audience. Deliberate metaphor tends to be unconventional and invokes deep consideration of the relevant parallels between a metaphor's source and target domain. It therefore requires listeners to discern the intended meaning through processes of comparison, often invoking analogies that are complex and not obvious. It is hypothesized here that this processing is facilitated when the same creative techniques are employed repeatedly. In *Moraru no Sousiki*, after the first few uses of personification, the listener expects to see further uses of the technique to bestow agency upon non-agentive entities (e.g., natural forces and emotions). Musical structures may facilitate this process. In *Breathe*, for example, the technique repetition is primarily associated with the refrain elements of the song. The listener thus comes to expect that identical techniques associated with the identical discourse aims (the expression of philosophical irony and reflections on personal failings) within identical elements of the composition. Technique repetition thus appears to be an additional creative technique in its own right that combines with other techniques for creating novel metaphor, so as to increase processing of the source domain and thus amplify metaphorical effects.

Apart from the particular patterns of metaphor use discussed thus far, it should be noted that the songs are especially rich in metaphor. One possible explanation for this is that metaphor appears frequently in music to foster a greater sense of intimacy between the persona of the singer and the listener.

Empirical research by Horton (2007) has shown that readers of a dialog will assume that interlocutors are more intimately familiar with one another when they use metaphors instead of literal language. The effect is amplified if there are indications in the conversation that the metaphor has been understood (Exp. 2), but the effect continues to exist even when the opposite holds true, and the listener indicates that the metaphor has not been understood (Exp. 3).

In terms of the theoretical framework, the current research has made use of Steen's (2017) concept of deliberate metaphor. This concept may be useful when discussing creative metaphor use, but some of the assumptions in Steen's framework, particularly in regard to the ways in which conventional metaphor is typically processed, are potentially problematic. Steen (2008) argues that nearly all metaphor (i.e., language that is identified as metaphorical when approached as language) is conventional (a position most cognitive linguists would undoubtedly agree with), but he furthermore contends that this conventional metaphor virtually never elicits cross-domain comparisons in production or comprehension (a much more controversial position).

Whether Steen is correct in this will ultimately be decided by the ongoing empirical research, but intuitively, his position seems highly unlikely. Consider, for example, the highly conventional metaphor TAXES ARE A WEIGHT, which underlies expressions such as *tax burden* and *tax relief*. There has been much work on how such highly conventional metaphors can be used in an insidious manner to frame a debate. Framing, used in this sense, has been defined by Entman (1993) as the selecting "*some aspects of a perceived reality*" and making "*them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation*" (p. 52). The phrase tax burden for example highlights the difficulty citizens have in paying taxes while hiding the positive elements of taxation, such as the role of progressive taxation in reducing the wealth gap.

Frames can be evoked in a number of ways, to include the use of metaphor.

As Entman states, regarding framing within political discourse, frames can exert tremendous influence (cf. Sopory & Dillard, 2002). Once a term such as *tax burden* is adopted through wide acceptance, the term (along with its accompanying frame) pushes out any alternatives. If this is true, metaphors like *tax burden* would appear to fit Steen's definition of deliberate metaphor quite nicely. However, the example would be at odds with Steen's ideas about the processing of metaphor. The term *tax burden*, in American English, has clearly become highly conventional, so much so as to be a default term employed by many people to refer to the concept of tax payments. Yet the concern that Entman and others (e.g., Lakoff, 2016) have about framing is precisely how *invisible yet influential* such metaphors become over time. It would appear, then, that the notion of deliberate metaphor, while useful, may need to be set within a framework that allows for cases in which metaphor continues to exert subtle effects even when used with little attendant awareness in both production and reception (cf. Gibbs & Chen, 2017).

The current study examined only two sets of song lyrics. Studies such as this, which focus on a limited number of cases, can say nothing definitive about the occurrence of patterns within a genre. Unfortunately, it is not clear whether the two songs analyzed here are typical as comparisons of overall metaphor use have largely ignored musical lyrics, a lacuna that should be addressed in future research. Future research is also needed to determine whether *technique repetition* occurs frequently within certain types of discourse and whether it is associated with specific communicative functions or artistic purposes.

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