Mappings and narrative in figurative communication

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Abstract

Showing how metaphors are used to talk about entities, relations and attributes in one domain by drawing on another, Conceptual Metaphor Theory has sometimes been used in language analysis to highlight and explore fixed correspondences between domains. Another perspective is given by Schön (1979) who suggested that metaphors can draw a relationship between the topic and a common sequence of events—i.e. that metaphors can impose a narrative sequence on their topic, and by Musolff (2006, 2007), who described "scenarios," metaphors based on fragments of experience, incorporating a culturally shared evaluation. In two case studies, these complex relationships are further explored: The first examines three artifacts apparently realizing LIFE IS A JOURNEY, initially in terms of correspondences between domains. The second provides a detailed analysis of two speeches about education, analyzing them both in terms of metaphorical mappings and correspondences, and as narratives. The exploration of narratives is informed by a reference corpus, which is used to provide data from the language at large about the behavior of words and phrases from the education speeches.

Keywords

Metaphor, cross-domain correspondences, narrative, metaphor scenario, metaphoreme, corpus methods

1. Introduction

Gibbs and Cameron (2008) view metaphor as an emergent and dynamic phenomenon. They stress that conceptual mappings such as LIFE IS A JOURNEY are one of the forces that shape metaphor in use, but not the only one. Gibbs and Cameron (ibid.: 65) describe the mappings postulated by Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) as "enduring metaphorical concepts," and write that the other forces that shape metaphor-in-use include previous metaphorical utterances in the ongoing discourse, intimacy and distance between participants as it is adjusted during the discourse, and socio-cultural norms. The ongoing and shifting influences of these and other forces result in figurative language that is, they claim, "soft-assembled in the flow of talk" (ibid.: 70).

El Rafaie (2014) also contends that CMT has tended to present a static picture. In her discussion of embodiment, she notes critically that bodily experience is often assumed to be universal, albeit filtered by culture. In fact, she argues embodied experience is dynamic, varying between different individuals according to factors such as gender, age, culture and context, and within the same individuals over time, for example, through experiencing the effects of ageing, injury or illness.

In a number of case studies, Deignan et al. (2013) have shown that figurative language use varies significantly across different genres and registers. The same authors (Semino et al. 2013) have also explored how the meanings and use of apparently the same metaphorical expressions evolve and change over time in the telling and re-telling of stories and ideas.

Cameron and Deignan (2006) have discussed how the dynamic, emergent view of metaphor contributes to the analysis of figurative expressions in text. They claim that figurative language use tends to stabilize into highly restricted linguistic phrases, which they

term “metaphoremes,” such as “walk away from,” meaning ‘abandon an ongoing responsibility’. Metaphoremes are defined as “the bundle of stabilizing linguistic, semantic, pragmatic, and affective patterns in the use of the word as metaphor, together with its possibilities for variation” (ibid.: 679). As this definition suggests, metaphoremes are shaped by forces that include conceptual metaphors, previous uses in the ongoing discourse, genre, register and other socio-cultural factors. The authors also note that metaphoremes may be temporary and sometimes specific to a particular discourse or context. An in-depth illustration of this is provided by Semino and Demjén (*this volume*), who explore a highly genre- & situation-specific metaphoreme, “the (cancer) card.”

The present chapter embraces this dynamic approach to metaphor in communication. Here, I begin by considering my data in terms of cross-domain conceptual mappings, an approach which has been variously critiqued by the writers cited above as static, suggesting a universality and permanency that does not exist, or concerned with the cognitive at the expense of the social and local. I use this approach in analyzing a number of texts and other artifacts and I demonstrate that it offers some useful insights. I then compare it with a narrative approach, informed by Musolff’s (2006, 2007) scenario’s and Cameron and Deignan’s (2006) construct of the metaphoreme.

I begin by discussing three artifacts: a collection of related spoken texts, a drawing with written labels, and a photograph, all apparently realizations of LIFE IS A JOURNEY. In the following section, I overview important work linking metaphor and narrative. I finally illustrate the two analytical approaches in more depth, through a text and corpus analysis of two recent texts on educational policy.

2. LIFE IS A JOURNEY realized

2.1. Example 1: JOURNEY metaphors in talk

A study of 14 men who had suffered spinal chord injuries causing paralysis, through playing the sport of rugby union provides the data for my first set of realizations of LIFE IS A JOURNEY (Sparkes & Smith 2005). The injured men were interviewed about their lives, before and after the accidents that had changed these completely. The researchers found that the men used three different narratives in constructing their life histories. These were "Restitution," used by 11 men, "Chaos," used by one, and "Quest," which two of the men used. Restitution narratives focused on the possibility of a medical cure, while Chaos was despairing, and without structure. Quest narratives, according to the authors, seemed to indicate acceptance of what had happened and a willingness to make it meaningful in itself. The narratives by David and Doug, for example, include many JOURNEY metaphors. However, these are used in notably different ways (ex 1, 2).[1] The two men also describe the importance of other people, especially other disabled people, who they both call "guides," thereby extending the conventional JOURNEY metaphor (ex 3).

(1) I've *covered a lot of ground*... I've *made a lot of progress*, but there are a lot of *ups and downs* on the *journey* I'm on. It isn't easy. (David, ibid.: 85)

(2) Along the way there are a lot of problems that can force me *off the track*...I can't take life for granted. For one, I know that there will be a *rocky road ahead* of me at some point and *obstacles* to think about. For now, I have to contend with everyday *barriers* placed by society, and the occasional emotionally bad day, but who knows what the future will bring, (Doug, ibid.)

(3) People are like *guides*, helping and *guiding* people along their journey. (Doug, ibid.)

2.2 Example 2: JOURNEY metaphors in text and picture

The above example of realizations of LIFE IS A JOURNEY consists of transcribed spoken language. My second example, provided in Figure 1, is multi-modal, consisting of drawn pictures and written commentary. It is, in El Rafaie's terms (2016), a verbo-pictorial metaphor and was produced in a single sitting of a few minutes, without preparation, by an English school student aged 13 in a lesson for Religious Studies (a compulsory subject in the national curriculum for England).[2] To start a discussion about beliefs and values, the teacher told the students to write and draw their life so far "as a journey." I have looked at the drawings done by several students taught by the same teacher, and discussed the task with them. They reported that they were told to draw a road, to think about their major life events to date, and to represent them alongside the road. All the drawings I saw had the road in common, and the text "I was born." Initially, this particular student misunderstood the teacher's instructions, and started writing about a literal journey, as seen in the crossed-out text at the top and bottom of his drawing of a road (the *Chevin* is a local hill, which in his first version, he jogged up).

[insert Figure X.1 about here]

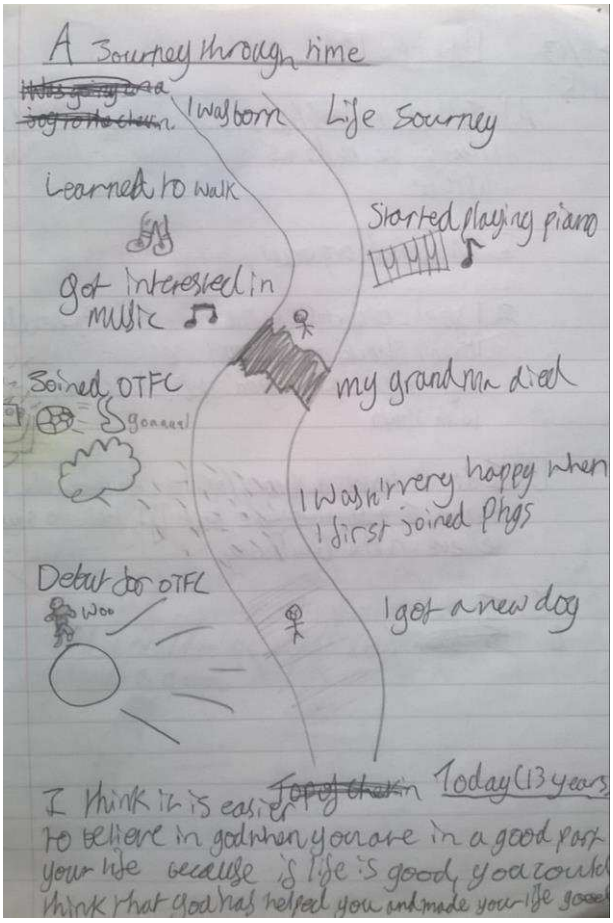

Figure X.1: Life as a journey through time

The drawings done by the students all demonstrated the ability to use the JOURNEY conceptual metaphor. Some of the correspondences that they produced are different from those cited in the literature. Lakoff (1993) and Gibbs (2013, 2014) write of difficulties as obstacles in a journey, and success as smooth or fast travel, as does Doug, one of the disabled men cited above. This student does not describe his life in terms of difficulties and success in quite the same way as examples taken from adult discourse. Rather, he lists sad and happy times, and many emotional events are shown in terms of the weather, which for a child or adolescent may be more immediately related to his prototypical literal journey (perhaps his walk to school) than physical characteristics of the route. His unhappiness when he moved from his primary school to secondary school ("PHGS") is shown as a cloud and rain; happiness,

when he started playing for his local football team ("OTFC") and got a new pet dog, is shown as sunshine. However, what was probably the most intense time emotionally in his life to date, the death of his grandmother, is shown pictorially as an obstacle, a dark break in the road. These data give support to the CMT claim that metaphorical mappings are used readily and on occasion creatively by all language users, to think about and communicate experience and emotion.

2.3 Example 3: JOURNEY metaphors in an image

My third example is purely pictorial. It demonstrates a more specific version of the JOURNEY mapping, and one often mentioned by research students in Britain, A PHD IS A JOURNEY. My university's Virtual Learning Environment includes a folder of materials for PhD students. A colleague offered the photograph reproduced in Figure X.2, which she had taken herself, as a cover picture for the folder.[3] Staff and students on the working group agreed that the photograph illustrated PhD work well, so it has been used for several years.

[insert Figure X.2 about here]

Figure X.2: The PhD journey

I have discussed this image with colleagues and PhD students, and asked whether they think that it is a suitable image for the content of the folder, and if so, why. There is wide agreement that the image, suggesting a journey on foot following this pathway, depicts the PhD process reasonably well. Quotations from current and former PhD students include those given in (4). In (4.d-e), they talk about the limitations suggested by the image, phrasing their criticism in terms of the metaphor:

(4) a. It shows *the ups and downs*.

b. I'm *in the dark wood at the bottom* at the moment.

c. It's good the way *you can't see the end*, just like you don't know where your research will take you.

d. There should be *paths that go off sideways*.

e. This makes it look like *the path is set out for you* but actually you have to *find your own way*.

2.4 Correspondences in LIFE IS A JOURNEY

The three examples discussed demonstrate the versatility and accessibility of the JOURNEY mapping. People are able to develop and expand metaphorical mappings, sometimes inventively, and to use them to express their own experiences. In Example 1, a paralyzed sportsman uses it to describe how he makes sense of his vastly changed future, in Example 2, an adolescent uses it to convey his feelings of sadness and happiness at events of significance

in his life so far, while in Example 3, students can use it to describe the difficulties of the research process.

In none of the three cases, do the users of the metaphor have any specialist knowledge or experience of metaphor study or the use of metaphors in text or image production, or were given time to reflect or prepare their thoughts. The comments made in Example 3 also document the user's ability to reflect consciously on using the metaphor.

What is more, all three of these examples show the users' ability to generate correspondences creatively. Gibbs (2014: 169) describes some established correspondences for LIFE IS A JOURNEY: "entities in the domain of life (e.g. the people, their goals, the ways they try to obtain these goals) correspond systematically to entities in the domain of journeys (e.g. the traveller, the vehicle, destinations etc.)." Table X.1 surveys some of the correspondences in the above examples that have been generated creatively.

[insert Table X.1 about here]

Source domain entity or experience	Target domain experience	Example
Rocky road	Persistent difficulties in life associated with disability	Example 1
Dark gap in the road preventing further movement	Inability to act due to bereavement	Example 2
Periods of sunshine during the journey	Periods of happiness	Example 2
Being lost in woods	Struggling with conducting research	Example 3

Table X.1: Creative correspondences of LIFE IS A JOURNEY

The explanation of these examples in terms of correspondences allows for creativity and adaptation, and can thus be considered a dynamic one. However, this approach tends to lead to a focus on structural analogy, that is, the fixed points of relationship between source and target domains, and thus on paradigmatic relationships between entities in each domain. These are, of course, important, but present only one of the possible perspectives on a domain mapping. In the next section, I discuss the analysis of metaphorical mappings from a different angle.

3. Narratives and metaphoremes

Sparkes and Smith (2005), authors of the study reported in section 2.1, view metaphors as a component of a narrative: the narrative organizes the speaker's telling of their life history, and each narrative has characteristic metaphors. They refer to metaphors as being "within" a specific narrative (ibid.: 5). The JOURNEY metaphors that they describe, cited above, are

situated within a Quest narrative in their model. In the discourse of other informants, they identified metaphors of sport and of war, which they situated within a narrative which they term “Restitution.”

The study of narrative and the study of metaphor have separate histories, but Sparkes and Smith are not the only scholars bringing the two together to explore people’s understandings of complex issues. Hanne (2015) has analyzed the use of medical metaphors and narratives in politics. While stressing that narrative and metaphor frame political thinking in different ways, he claims that “in political discourse, narrative and metaphor both have cognitive and emotive dimensions, … we regularly slip backwards and forwards between the two” (ibid.: 4-5). Similarly, Elena Semino has shown how narrative and metaphor interact in the talk of patients suffering from chronic pain and from cancer and that they both have important interactional and emotive functions (see also Semino, *this volume*).[4]

A related position is to see metaphor and narrative as being different sides of the same coin. Schön’s (1979) analysis of housing policy discourse uses a precursor of the now-standard CMT technique of looking for semantic themes in the linguistic metaphor vehicles to propose a source domain. In one of the texts he analyzes, the literal meanings of “blight,” “health,” and “cycle of decay” set up a source domain, HEALTH AND DISEASE, or in his terms, a “frame,” through which the target domain, INNER-CITY HOUSING, is conceptually structured and viewed: “things are selected for attention and named in such a way as to fit the frame constructed for the solution … they describe what is wrong with the present situation in such a way as to set the direction for its future transformation” (ibid.: 265). In other words, the mapping of DISEASE onto INNER-CITY HOUSING not only gives the target domain a structure, but can draw a relationship between the topic and a common sequence of events. In this way, metaphors can impose a narrative sequence on their topic.

Ritchie (2010, *this volume*) has also argued that metaphors can imply or reference stories, and stories can be used metaphorically. He begins his chapter in this volume by quoting part of a speech made by Barack Obama in 2008 (ex 5):

(5) And if we *walk away* now, if we simply *retreat* into our respective corners, we will never be able to *come together.*

Emphasizing that looking for correspondences is not enough, Ritchie (*this volume*) claims that the passage can only be fully understood if taken as a "metaphorical story." He argues, here and elsewhere, that many figurative expressions can be understood more fully, and their extended, associative meanings can be better described and explored, if they are considered in terms of the shared stories that they index.

Several scholars have noted that specific metaphors reference narratives that are culturally shared. Gibbs (2011: 122) discusses a group of idioms which include "skate on thin ice" and "get away with murder" and which he calls "isomorphic idioms," because (the components of) their literal and discoursal, figurative meanings are systematically and transparently related. Gibbs remarks that these idioms frequently evoke "mini-narratives," that is, they have a figurative meaning that is accessed through knowledge of the more extended story hinted at in the literal meaning.

With his work on "scenarios," Musolff (2006, 2007) captures a similar insight. A scenario is "a set of assumptions made by competent members of a discourse community about 'typical' aspects of a source-situation, for example, its participants and their roles, the 'dramatic' storylines and outcomes, and conventional evaluations of whether they count as successful or unsuccessful, normal or abnormal, permissible or illegitimate, etc." (Musolff

2006: 28). As his definition indicates, scenarios importantly include not just a bare sequence of events but associated beliefs and evaluations. Musolff (2007) reports a corpus investigation into the figurative use of "dinosaur" using the Bank of English. He reports the "basic scenario" about dinosaurs, viz. that they became extinct, but shows how a more complex narrative has developed around the metaphorical use of the term, taking target-domain features in what appears to be an example of conceptual blending:[5]

> This extinction outcome is usually linked to a set of stereotypical attributes of the prehistoric animals, i.e. that they were very big, slow, not quick-witted and, crucially, failed to adapt to changing conditions in their environment. In melodramatic, moralistic presentations of the scenario … the failure to adapt is interpreted as a 'culpable' lack of concern or even disdain for one's own species' survival (Musolff 2007: 82)

Schön commented that the framing of housing in terms of disease, discussed above, suggests a particular solution. Similarly, Musolff (ibid.) claims that the choice of metaphorical scenario strongly leads the reader or hearer towards a particular conclusion.

I have discussed two broad approaches to the study of figurative expressions: In the first they are seen in terms of domain correspondences, in the second as mini-narratives (or as referencing known narratives). In the next section, I describe a detailed text and corpus study of political speeches about government policy on the training of school teachers. In accordance with the general approaches outlined in this chapter so far, I analyzed the figurative expressions in the speeches in two ways: first by looking at the structural mapping and (potential) correspondences, and then by looking at the narratives that they may tell or index.

4. Figurative language in political speeches

4.1 Methods and Data

The following speeches were analyzed:[6]

(i) "Towards a school-led education system" (2,837 words):

speech to teachers, head teachers and other education professionals given on 18th January 2013 by Charlie Taylor, a former head teacher who was at the time Chief Executive of the National College for Teaching and Leadership (the body that leads teacher training in the UK);

(ii) untitled speech about the teacher education scheme "Teach First" (2,037 words):

speech given at the "Impact Conference," Leeds, UK, on 29th July 2015 by Nicky Morgan, at the time of the speech and still at the time of writing the Secretary of State for Education in the UK.

Employing the "Metaphor Identification Procedure" (MIP, Pragglejaz 2007), I analyzed the two speeches by hand in order to identify metaphorically-used words and phrases. Using MIP, the analyst considers the contextual meaning of each lexical unit, decides whether the word has a more basic meaning, and if so, whether the relationship between these two meanings is one of comparison. MIP works at the level of the lexical unit which, in most cases in the Pragglejaz examples, is the individual word. Given the growing body of work stressing the importance of fixed expressions in language (e.g. Hunston 2013), I took a more phraseological perspective on the text than earlier MIP-led work. That is, in a number of places I consider strings of words to be a single lexical unit where other analysts might have split them into separate words. I then analyzed these figuratively-used words and expressions from two different perspectives,

as now described.

4.2 Analysis of structural mappings and correspondences

Having identified individual figurative expressions, I explored how they might be connected through underlying systematic mappings. To do this, I followed the procedures developed by Cameron and Low (2010; see also Maslen 2016). Figurative expressions are identified and labeled as "vehicles," and vehicles are then grouped semantically into "vehicle groups." The analyst then examines the topics of the various vehicle groups in order to construct "systematic metaphors." While Cameron and Low use the term "systematic metaphor" deliberately, viz. to avoid the commitment to mental mappings entailed in the term "conceptual metaphor," this difference in theoretical outlook is not one that is a direct concern of this chapter. I have employed the systematic-metaphor procedure because of its rigor and clarity, rather than from a commitment or otherwise to the status of either systematic or conceptual metaphors.

Table X. 3 presents an example of the data, sentences 7-13 from Charlie Taylor's speech. The words and phrases that I identified as figuratively used are in italics. Table X.4 shows how these lines were analyzed using the framework developed by Cameron and Low (2010).

[place Tables X.3 and X.4 about here]

[7] … I'd like to discuss in this speech *our direction of travel* in each of them. [Teacher training, school improvement and leadership]

[8] **Teacher Training**

[9] Too often, even now, schools have got a *blind spot* when it *comes to* teacher training. [10] It is something that is done somewhere else, by someone else - *remotely*, without schools' *input*. [11] Ask many *head* teachers about teacher training and they won't have a lot to say about it. [12] They don't know what goes on or how it is done. [13] In the past teachers were often *parachuted* into schools *from on high.*

Table X.3: Sentences [7] to [13] from speech (i) by Charlie Taylor

Sentence	**Vehicle**	**Vehicle Group 1**	**Vehicle Group 2**
7	*direction of travel*	JOURNEY	
8	*blind (spot)*	SEEING	JOURNEY/DRIVING
9	*comes to*	GOAL-ORIENTED MOVEMENT	
10	*remotely*	DISTANCE	
10	*input*	COMPUTER	
11	*head*	BODY	
13	*parachute*	WAR	JOURNEY
13	*from on high*	UP/DOWN	

Table X.4: Applying the "systematic-metaphor" framework to data from speech (i)

One such table was created for each of the two speeches. I then grouped and counted the vehicle groups. Relatively few vehicles in my analysis belonged to a second vehicle group but where these were found, they were included in the count. Using this procedure, I identified

173 metaphor tokens and 7 metonym tokens in the Taylor speech, and 153 metaphor tokens and 1 metonym token in the Morgan speech (I used the definition of metonymy provided by Littlemore, *this volume*).

One vehicle group that was used fairly frequently is CONCRETIZE, to describe the use of a metaphor denoting a physical attribute or process to refer to something abstract, where a more specific vehicle group is difficult to establish; this corresponds to the CMT category of "ontological" metaphors (e.g. Lakoff & Johnson 1980; Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez & Pérez Hernández 2011). While this is not a very satisfactory label, it seems preferable to using a more specific label but perhaps over-interpreting the linguistic data. Table X. 4 presents the 10 most frequent Vehicle Groups identified in this way.

[insert Table 4 across the next full page, vertically oriented]

Speech (i) by Taylor			**Speech (ii) by Morgan**		
Vehicle group	**Frequency**	**Example linguistic metaphors**	**Vehicle group**	**Frequency**	**Example linguistic metaphors**
JOURNEY	29	*towards, lead, direction of travel, way, barrier, progress, fall behind, blaze a trail*	JOURNEY	28	*heading, came, return, way, towards, progress, go, every step of the way*
SEE	18	*see, clear, illusions, focus, views, blind (spot)*	SEE	13	*see, focus, clear, look at, regard*
CONCRETIZE	17	*merged, coalesce, scale, take on*	CONCRETIZE	10	*ownership, produce, make, ounce*
BODY AND BODILY ACTION	17	*head, face, sit, itch,*	LOCATION/ SPACE	10	*(comfort) zone, in line with, widespread*
BUSINESS	15	*turnover, customers, partnerships*	FORCE	7	*driving, impact, pushed, energy*
UP/DOWN	10	*from on high, low, down, under, on top of*	BUSINESS/ MONEY	5	*wealth, rewards, outcomes*
CONSTRUCTION	9	*build, structure, support*	MACHINE	5	*works, engage*
METONYMY	7	*pots of money, comes calling, fingers crossed*	UP/DOWN	5	*highest, highly, raised*
SIZE	4	*reduce, huge*	WAR/FIGHT	4	*tackling, battle, on the ground, frontline*
SPORT	3	*performance, goal*	BODY AND BODILY ACTION	4	*heads, body*

Table X. 5: Most frequent vehicle groups in the two speeches

The next stage in the procedure is to group topics with vehicle groups to identify "systematic metaphors," which some analysts would consider to be cognitive mappings. In discussing this analytical procedure, Maslen (2016) notes that "systematicity emerges through repeated, coherent connections between topics and vehicles." If the topics are not examined in detail, a temptation for the analyst at this stage could be to construct connected meaning from the vehicle groups, but in some cases this may not be justified. For example, there are a number of instances of BODY AND BODILY ACTION vehicles, used to talk about the topics of SCHOOLS and EDUCATION. Out of context, this could suggest a systematic mapping EDUCATION IS A PERSON, or A SCHOOL IS A PERSON. Most of the 17 linguistic realizations in the Taylor speech are "head" or "head teacher," which would fit with the latter. However, other examples seen in context do not fit with this. They include:

(6) a. … the changing *face* of teacher training (Taylor, sentence 54)

b. … the expectation of employment does not *sit with* an individual school (Taylor, sentence 38)

c. … get teachers through that *three year itch* that often leads to them leaving the profession (Taylor, sentence 63)

These figurative expressions share some elements of meaning but it seems unlikely that there is underlying systematicity here, in the sense of one mapping that could be expressed as something like A SCHOOL IS A PERSON. The metaphors seem to be much more local than this, and to understand them we need to understand in much more detail what is referenced by them.

The same applies to the UP/ DOWN vehicle group. Things that are UP in the two speeches include "standards," "the regard in which teachers are held," "pupils' expectations,"

and “the government” (which is metaphorically positioned as above schools), and things that are DOWN include “staff turnover.” It is not even possible to construct a very general GOOD IS UP mapping, because, as I show below, sometimes expressions such as “on high” seem to have negative connotations in context, while “staff turnover” is an example of something where DOWN is good (cf. Hampe 2005; see also Winter & Matlock, *this volume*).

Another vehicle group behaves differently however: most FIGHT/WAR metaphors could actually be seen as realizations of a coherent mapping, expressed as TEACHING IS A BATTLE, and A SCHOOL IS A WAR ZONE. These occur in both speeches, for example:

(7) a. Teachers were often *parachuted in* (Taylor, sentence 13)

b. The real *battle* is about changing behavior (Morgan, sentence 33)

c. *Frontline* professionals (Morgan, sentence 40)

The majority of the vehicle groups of figurative language expressions do not, however, constitute sufficient evidence for the existence of a coherent mapping, at least within these two texts. Singling out figurative expressions and presenting them side-by-side in tabular form as I have done is an informative exercise, but runs the danger of suggesting a connection within vehicle groups that may not actually exist. I then undertook a second kind of analysis, informed by the work on narrative and scenarios, informed by metaphoremes, discussed above.

In the following section, I describe how I analyzed figurative expressions from the text as individual expressions, attempting to understand any narratives that these may reference.

4.3 Analysis of narrative and metaphoremes

The second analysis aimed to consider any syntagmatic, sequential, or narrative relationships constructed by figurative language in the texts, as opposed to the analysis of potential networks of structural correspondences described above. An analysis like this is subjective when considering a single use or small numbers of uses of a term in a single text. I therefore used reference corpora to compare the uses in the speeches with uses of the expressions across a range of other texts. Here, I describe this analysis of the following figurative words and expressions: "were often parachuted in" (Taylor, sentence 13), "from on high" (Taylor, sentence 13), "every step of the way" (Morgan, sentence 23), "wall" (Taylor, sentences 58, 60).

BE + parachuted + in

Verbal "parachute" is used by Taylor in the phrase "teachers were often parachuted into schools from on high." Intuition suggested that *BE parachuted in(to)* indexes a WAR narrative, but used figuratively has negative connotations. This would contribute to the central message of Taylor's speech, which is an argument against the university-based training of teachers and in favor of a government scheme by which training largely takes place in schools under head teachers.

The software *Sketchengine* was used to search the Oxford English Corpus, which consists of approximately 2 billion running words. *BE + parachuted + in(to)* (all inflected tokens)[7] occurs 1,073 times, of which 500 were randomly sampled. Of these, in 214 "parachuted" was the simple past form or the past participle used in a perfect tense, that is, active voice; only 5 of these were metaphorical uses. Disregarding these citations left 286 citations where "parachuted" was the past participle used in a passive voice structure, as in the use in the speech. Of these, a further 13 were discounted, where the subject (the entity that was

parachuted) was something non-human, such as “aid supplies.” Of the remaining 273 citations referring to people, 71 were literal and 202 metaphorical.

The literal citations overwhelmingly referred to a WAR narrative, with “parachuted” often collocating with expressions such as “enemy lines” and “enemy territory.” The metaphorical citations all describe someone being put into an organization or situation from outside. In a small number of these the evaluation seems neutral, especially when the context is business (ex 8).

(8) … the industry veteran who was *parachuted in* as company chairman last July. (The Sunday Times, 18th September 2005)

More frequently, the implication appears to be that the person is arriving to a position either that they are not qualified for, or do not know well because they are an outsider. In this scenario, a powerful agent, who is either indifferent or actively hostile to the interests of those within the situation or organization has placed them there, either to privilege that person or to actively change the way the organization or situation works. While this evaluative orientation cannot be identified objectively for single citations, the cumulative evidence from context across a large number of citations enables the analyst to identify a scenario, in Musolff’s terms, with its typical evaluations (ex 9).

(9) a. But other local activists have warned against an outside candidate *being parachuted in* by the party 's leadership in London (The Telegraph, 16th February, 2010).

b. All three are fine players but does their presence on the staff suggest that it is easier to get into Yorkshire 's first team by *being parachuted* in from elsewhere rather going through the Academy? (The Press, York, January 2002)

Given that this use of "parachute" is closely associated with a specific lexico-grammatical structure, *BE + parachuted + in(to),* this is also an instance of a "metaphoreme," which, as discussed above, "take a limited though variable form and have tightly restricted semantic and pragmatic meaning" (Cameron & Deignan 2006: 686-687).

The narrative (/ scenario/ metaphoreme) approach also enables the analyst to see evaluative meaning that cannot be derived from a structural-mapping analysis. Examination of the semantic relationships within the source domain, presumed to be WAR, does not suggest a negative evaluation. Similarly, the corpus citations of literal *BE parachuted in(to)* do not have a negative evaluation, indeed, they often appear in narratives of courage. The narrative/metaphoreme approach does not, however, offer any explanation as to why the evaluative polarity is reversed between literal and figurative.

From on high

In Taylor's speech, "parachuted in" is followed by "from on high." In the analysis of vehicle groups, this expression was described as an UP/DOWN metaphor, probably realizing the mapping IMPORTANT IS UP, given that it seems to refer to central government. There are 907 citations of the string "from on high" in the Oxford English Corpus, of which a sample 500 were analyzed. The collocates list generated by Sketchengine for the string suggests that it often has a religious meaning (10.a). Frequent collocates also include nouns referring to speech acts or written messages (10.b):

(10) a. savior, decreed, tablets, revelation, blessing, judgment, divine, Spirit

b. decree, directive, orders, commands, instructions

A few citations literally describe a commandment or other action issued from a God to his followers. However, in the majority of the metaphorical citations, “from on high” is used with a highly negative meaning, probably derived ironically from the meaning ‘given by God’, as in (11):

(11) a. Opinion is one thing; pronouncements *from on high* without taking into consideration any of another person's points or commentary is valueless. (The Tyee, Canada, 2004)

b. Isn't journalists taking intelligence handed down *from on high*, at face value and without question what got us into trouble the last time? (McKeating, J. 2005 Chicken Yoghurt, current affairs weblog)

This is another instance of an analysis in terms of narrative and metaphoremes showing an evaluative orientation that is not found through an analysis of vehicle terms. I now analyze an example of the JOURNEY group using the same approach.

Every step of the way

Morgan’s praise of a teacher training scheme called *Teach First* includes the following:

(12) I know that another one of the fantastic things about Teach First is that you’ll have experienced mentors to help you *every step of the way*. (sentence 23)

“Every step of the way” occurs 1736 times in the Oxford English Corpus, of which a random sample of 500 citations were analyzed. There are just 17 citations in which the expression is used literally, which is not surprising given that “way” itself is only rarely used with literal meaning (Stubbs 2003). The figurative citations tend to suggest that the metaphorical journey

referred to by “way” is a difficult one. There are three discernible subgroups, those that mention fighting or protesting along a path to a negative outcome (e.g. “we’ve fought them every step of the way”), those that write about negative behavior happening at every stage of a process, and those that mention support in difficult times. The latter is the semantic pattern that Morgan’s use follows (ex 13).

(13) a. His illness covered a time frame of about eleven weeks. Sheila was there with him almost *every step of the way* in Galway. (The Western People, local newspaper, Ireland, 2004)

b. … it won't be easy. It will take time and effort. There will be suffering and setbacks but I can promise you this: America will be with you *every step of the way*, as a partner, as a friend. (speech by Barack Obama, July 2009, from CNN transcript)

c. It's not an easy thing to do and there were many times when I didn't want to go on, but my husband encouraged me *every step of the way*. (Manchester Evening News, July 2004)

Unless Morgan’s speech-writers are breaking the usual semantic pattern of this metaphor, it seems that teaching as a novice is being presented as a difficult and lengthy journey. As for the previous examples discussed, the narrative account gives an insight into the evaluative stance, confirmed by an examination of these citations from the reference corpus.

Wall

The final example I discuss here, “wall,” is isolated, in that it does not appear to be part of a larger vehicle group, and there are just two tokens. It could perhaps be seen as being nearly synonymous with “barrier,” and thus part of a LIFE IS A JOURNEY mapping, but, noting Cameron and Low’s (2010) caution not to over-generalize on slim evidence, it has been treated

as a one-shot metaphor, and therefore does not appear in Table X.5, listing the most frequent vehicle groups. The context is as follows:

(14) There has in some cases been an artificial *wall* between universities and schools. The universities do the training, but after that the school takes over. This is changing, *the wall is coming down* and there is movement in both directions. (Taylor, sentences 58-60)

I was interested to explore the narrative potentially referenced by "the wall is coming down," and searched for other instances of this string. In the Oxford English Corpus there are 3,595 citations where the lemma *COME* occurs in the same citation as *WALL*. I filtered the concordance to eliminate the plural form "walls," leaving 2,809 citations. 779 of these contain "down." A number of these citations seemed to refer to the demolition of the Berlin Wall, which started in 1989 and was a hugely symbolic event politically, often cited as a metonym for the re-unification of Germany. In 406 of the 779 citations of *wall + COME + down*, the name *Berlin* occurs, usually in the string "Berlin Wall." As I wished to see whether "wall" could reference 'Berlin 1989' *without* explicit mention, I discounted these and analyzed the remaining 373 citations. Of these, I discounted a further 98 where *either* "wall" was not the grammatical subject of COME (15.a), or where it was used with a different, metaphorical meaning (15.b).

(15) a. I recall I looked above and saw an avalanche, nearly 200m width was coming down from the *wall*. (Rockclimbing.com articles 2004)

b. we saw a *wall* of raging water *coming down* on the car. (American Morning: News CNN transcripts 2008)

This left 275 citations, analyzed as shown in Table X.5. Citations where “wall” references ‘Berlin 1989’ are much more frequent that the others. Further, these have a much stronger tendency to appear in the direct lexico-grammatical form *wall COME down*. Lexico-grammatical variants such as “wall had come crashing/ tumbling down” are more likely to reference other meanings in these citations. Conversely, the bare form *wall COME down* almost invariably references ‘Berlin 1989.’

[insert table X.5 here]

Reference	Examples	Freq
Accidental or deliberate demolition of a physical wall, unconnected with Berlin 1989	– When they tried to fix it, the outside *wall came crashing down.* (Croydon Guardian, 2003)	29
The demolition of the Berlin Wall	– After the *Wall came down*, East German teachers had to plan new curricula more in line with the schools in the West. (student History essay, 2005) – … two years before *the Wall came down* he [Reagan] was making that statement and everybody thought that this was pie in the sky at the time. (Insight program 'Remembering Ronald Reagan', CNN transcript 2004)	215
Removal of other literal or psychological political barrier	– Protestant and Catholic communities come together only through a gate in the concrete "Peace line" wall that divides them, both sides expressed the same sentiments. No one is ready for *the wall to come down,* but neither do they want to go back to the 30 years of the Troubles. (The Telegraph, 12th March 2009) – Later that year, Congress passed, and President Lyndon Johnson signed, the voting rights act. All Americans could vote. Another *wall had come tumbling down.* (CNN News 5th March 2000)	31
Total		**275**

Table X.5: Main senses of *wall + COME + down* in the Oxford English Corpus

Taylor's use of the expression "the wall is coming down" (sentence 60) can be analyzed as a mapping of STRUCTURE, or as noted above, if "wall" is taken to denote a kind of barrier, as a JOURNEY mapping. However, this analysis shows that it shares its lexico-grammatical form with established ways of referring to the demolition of the Berlin Wall, in fact, that this lexico-grammatical form is only very rarely used to talk about other kinds of walls. It seems possible therefore, that Taylor's utterance either deliberately or subconsciously references 'Berlin

1989', thereby apparently comparing the claimed divide between schools and universities with the division between the East and West parts of the city. Well-known facts about the Berlin Wall include the lack of communication of any kind between ordinary people on opposite sides of the wall, and the widespread jubilation when the wall came down, and friends and families who had been separated for decades could finally mix freely. The narrative scenario has evaluative components that make it ideal for putting a positive spin on dismantling an institutional barrier.

5. Conclusions

In the previous section, I described the analysis of four expressions from two speeches, using two complementary approaches. I claimed that the second approach, considering them in terms of scenarios, and more broadly the narratives they may reference, especially when compared with other examples from a reference corpus, gives additional insight into associations and evaluations. This is consistent with what Musolff (2006, 2007) found in his work on scenarios, using a range of text types. I also drew on Cameron and Deignan's (2006) work on metaphoremes, which—while similar in its broad approach—adds an informative emphasis on lexico-grammatical patterns.

Earlier in this chapter I discussed three artifacts that seem to realize LIFE IS A JOURNEY, largely following the previous work in the literature that has stressed correspondences. It may be that correspondences have been over-emphasized in discussions of this mapping. The people who produced or saw these three artifacts very readily produced and identified correspondences when prompted, but both the artifacts and people's reaction to them largely

represent creative thinking and production. Creative and conventional thinking and discourse draw on the same resources (Lakoff 1993, 2008) but may use them unevenly. In all metaphorical communication, especially the prosaic, the narrative element of metaphor seems to be important.

The relationship between the two in ongoing production and reception is interesting, and perhaps of different types. Sparkes and Smith (2005), authors of the study of disabled men's discussions of their lives, described "Quest" as the over-arching narrative in these discourses; they write that "Quest" contains some JOURNEY metaphors. That is, in their model, narrative operates at a higher level than metaphors. It is possible that the relationship works the other way as well, that is, a JOURNEY mapping can unite a whole passage, with mini-narratives inside. This may be what happens in the two pictures; in the 13-year-old's drawing, a road—a metaphor—frames a number of narrative incidents along the way. Similarly, when students saw the photograph metaphorically depicting the PhD process, they produced mini-narratives such as "getting lost in the woods." In the education speeches, a number of war-related expressions suggest a systematic mapping of the domain of WAR onto teaching in schools; within this there are narratives such as a soldier being "parachuted in" behind enemy lines.

For the linguistic examples, I have tried to show how the use of a reference corpus can help to show how which narratives may be referenced, but this methodology is, obviously, much more difficult to pursue for multi-modal artifacts.

My preliminary studies, presented here, and the work of scholars cited here such as Musolff, Semino, Hanne and Ritchie, seem to suggest that metaphors interact with narratives in several ways. In terms of nesting and levels, narratives may operate at both a higher and

lower level than metaphors. The relationship between them, in different kinds of texts and non-linguistic artifacts, remains to be fully explored.

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Notes and acknowledgements

[1] Italics are used as in the original.

[2] Figure X.1 is reproduced with the kind permission of the student and his parents.

[3] I thank my colleague for the permission to reproduce her photograph in Figure X.2.

[4] Semino, Elena (2015), *Metaphor and narrative in health communication.* Keynote presentation at Modelling Narrative Across Borders, European Narratology Network, University of Ghent, April 2015.

[5] For technical details on conceptual blending/integration see Fauconnier and Turner (2002).

[6] Both speeches are available on the UK government website: https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/(last access 3 June 2016).

[7] All inflected tokens of a lexeme form its "lemma." Lemmas are given here as capital letters in italics.