USING MULTIMODAL EXTENDED METAPHOR PROMPTS TO INDUCE THE PRODUCTION OF FIGURATIVE LANGUAGE IN LOW-INTERMEDIATE JAPANESE LEARNERS OF ENGLISH

by

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Abstract

It has been over 35 years since the publication of Reddy's 1979 study of the metaphors for communication, an article that could be said to mark the starting point of Conceptual Metaphor Theory. However, despite the understanding that metaphor and figurative language are fundamental to language, in that time there has been little progress in introducing metaphor into the L2 classroom, especially at lower levels.

This thesis argues that learners at this level have figurative resources that have not yet been acknowledged, but could be key elements in developing an L2 metaphor pedagogy. To explore this possibility, a mixed methods investigation of the effect of multimodal writing prompts based on extended metaphors was conducted with two cohorts of low-intermediate Japanese university students. The mixed methods data analysis revealed not only that the presentation of one extended metaphor could 'activate' metaphorical knowledge of other extended metaphors and induce the production of metaphoric language, but that multimodal material provides an as yet unexploited resource for an L2 metaphor pedagogy.
Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to the three women in my life, my wife Miho, and my two daughters, Tabatha and Lana.
Acknowledgements

In keeping with the idea of distributed cognition, it should be realized that rather than the conceit that these ideas sprang from my own head, the pieces of this thesis come from different people in different places.

First and foremost, I would like to thank my PhD advisor, Jeannette Littlemore. She not only put up with the marked attrition of my first language skills, without her direction and knowledge and energy, this thesis would not have happened.

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>refers to</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4E Cognition</td>
<td>Embodied, Embedded, Enactive, Extended Cognition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACL</td>
<td>Applied Cognitive Linguistics (Niemeier, 2008)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADJV</td>
<td>Adjective Variation (Ai and Lu, 2010; Lu, 2012)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADVV</td>
<td>Adverb Variation (Ai and Lu, 2010; Lu, 2012)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EFL</td>
<td>English as a Foreign Language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ELF</td>
<td>English as a Lingua Franca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ESL</td>
<td>English as a Second Language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CEFR</td>
<td>Common European Framework of Reference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBI</td>
<td>Content-Based Instruction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBL</td>
<td>Corpus Based Linguistics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CDL</td>
<td>Corpus Driven Linguistics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL</td>
<td>Cognitive Linguistics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CLIL</td>
<td>Content and Learning Integrated Instruction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CMT</td>
<td>Conceptual Metaphor Theory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EDM</td>
<td>Electronic Dance Music</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FEC</td>
<td>Free English Compositions (used in Japanese university entrance examinations)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICM</td>
<td>Idealized Cognitive Model</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ISM</td>
<td>Index of Sentential Metaphor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KET</td>
<td>Cambridge Key English Test (equal to CEFR A2 level) (Turner 2014; Littlemore, et al. 2014)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L1</td>
<td>First language (native language)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L2</td>
<td>Second language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LV</td>
<td>Lexical Word Variation (Ai and Lu, 2010; Lu, 2012)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MC-PT</td>
<td>Metaphoric Competence- Productive Test (Azuma, 2005)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MC-RT</td>
<td>Metaphoric Competence- Receptive Test (Azuma, 2005)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MC-XYT</td>
<td>Metaphoric Competence- X is Y Test (Azuma, 2005)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MEXT</td>
<td>Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (Japan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MIP</td>
<td>Metaphor Identification Procedure (Pragglejaz, 2007)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MIPVU</td>
<td>Metaphor Identification Procedure Vrije Universiteit (Steen, et al. 2010)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MIV</td>
<td>Metaphor Identification through Vehicle terms (Cameron, 2003)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MMI</td>
<td>Metaphoric Mapping Instruction (Chen, 2016)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NV</td>
<td>Noun Variation (Ai and Lu, 2010; Lu, 2012)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POS</td>
<td>Poverty of Stimulus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAS</td>
<td>Style Analysis Survey (Oxford, 1993)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SLA</td>
<td>Second Language Acquisition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TESOL</td>
<td>Teaching of English to Speakers of Other Languages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOEIC</td>
<td>Test of English for International Communication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VV2</td>
<td>Verb Variation (Ai and Lu, 2010; Lu, 2012)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WAT</td>
<td>Word Association Test (Read, 1995)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XY-PT</td>
<td>X is Y-Productive Test (Azuma, 2005)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZPD</td>
<td>Zone of Proximal Development</td>
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Chapter One: Prologue

1.0 Introduction

Aristotle, the philosopher who gave us the word *metaphor*, suggested that "Learning namely with ease... is naturally agreeable to everyone [and it is] metaphor that does this in the highest degree" (Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, quoted by Cope (1883)). I will take the idea that metaphor allows people to learn "with ease" as the starting point of this thesis, and explore why this may be the case, in particular for writing instruction of low-intermediate foreign language (L2) learners. As a teacher of English as a foreign language to low-intermediate Japanese students, I never considered touching on metaphor in class until a few years ago. For me, metaphor was for only a few highly motivated students who could be taught individually. It was not until a not particularly advanced student described his favourite scene in a brainstorming discussion in preparation for a review of Baz Lurhman's *Romeo + Juliet*, (Lurhman, 1996) that I realized the possibilities that existed in the language classroom for metaphor, specifically for low-intermediate learners.

The scene referenced by the student corresponds to Act 1, Scene 5 in Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*, where Romeo, a Montague, secretly enters a ball held by the rival Capulet family and meets Juliet for the first time. The movie is a modern-day setting of the play, and the film has this encounter occur without dialogue with Leonardo di Caprio's Romeo first seeing Claire Danes' Juliet through a large salt-water aquarium. The student picked out this scene as his favourite saying that this showed that Romeo and Juliet were from "two different worlds". It was at that moment that it became clear that rather than dealing with learners who needed

1. While a number of writers have pointed out the symbolic role of water in Lurhmann's film version of the play (cf. Martin, 2002; Loehlin, 2000; Ross, 2009), a search fails to turn up the idea that the aquarium represents a border/barrier between worlds.
to be explicitly taught metaphors, I was teaching learners who, in Hoang's words, came into the language classroom "equipped with a fully figurative mind" (2014: 7). With this realisation came my desire to explore and utilise what my L2 students already had, rather than impose the concepts of an idealised L1 (i.e. native) speaker onto them. These "fully figurative minds" are an unexploited resource for L2 language teaching; this study focuses on the first steps of utilising that resource in the teaching of composition. Danesi (1995) posits a construct that he terms "conceptual fluency", and argues for the "decoding" of concepts through explicit instruction. He goes on to suggest a form of Contrastive Analysis (cf. Fries 1927, 1945; Lado 1957) and argues that supporting conceptual fluency is a key element in second language acquisition. This study takes a different approach. Rather than assuming, as Danesi does, that students need to be explicitly taught the differences between the conceptual models in their native language and in the target language, I will argue that students can be induced to produce such language, in other words, metaphor, that would then serve as the base for improved production in the target language.

The primary area of investigation for this dissertation concerns conceptual metaphor theory (CMT). Conceptual metaphor can be defined as the understanding of one idea, or conceptual domain, in terms of a second conceptual domain. This can be illustrated through an example of a conceptual metaphor which will be discussed in more detail later in this study, that of THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS. (Following conventional notation in the CMT literature, proposed conceptual mappings are listed in all capitals in the form X IS Y.) This conceptual metaphor, along with a number of others, was first proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980a, 1980b). While a speaker may not specifically state that "theories are buildings", we can infer the existence of the conceptual metaphor through idiomatic expressions the speaker may
use and other speakers would accept. Lakoff and Johnson list a number of examples, including: "Is that the foundation for your theory? The theory needs more support. The argument is shaky. We need some more facts or the argument will fall apart" (1980b: 47). The notation of small caps indicates that while the equivalence of a "theory" being described as a "building" may never occur in a particular transcript or sample, aspects of the conceptual domain of "buildings" can be applied to entities within the second domain, with the figure below from McGlone illustrating some of the possibilities.

![Diagram](image)

**Figure 1.1** McGlone's 2007:113 diagram of source domain to target domain relations

CMT researchers argue, correctly I believe, that this facility to connect these two domains underlies human communication ability. Researchers also claim that conceptual metaphor is responsible not only for linguistic metaphor but more generally structures the way we construct grammars and use language. Continued research and discussion have explored how to best describe the relationship between target and source domain (cf. Coulson, 1997; Fauconnier & Turner, 1998, *inter alia*) and how this relationship might be re-envisioned (Müller, 2008), applying CMT to other forms of communication (Forceville, 2007) and in non-linguistic communication such as gestures (McNeill, 2005). Additionally, other developments
In linguistic research have been brought to bear, including corpus research (Deignan, 2008) and discourse analysis (Steen, 2011). All of these approaches inform this thesis.

In the second chapter, I provide a brief overview of research into conceptual metaphor, discussing the L1 bias inherent in the field and explaining why conceptual metaphor has not traditionally been a part of L2 language teaching. I also introduce one of the two conceptual metaphors (LIFE IS A JOURNEY) that I use in the quantitative portion of this thesis in order to both present an example of an extended conceptual metaphor and to present the research related to this metaphor. I will then discuss constructs from the field of discourse analysis that I will make use of in this study and discuss current developments in CMT and conclude with a discussion of 4E cognition and distributed cognition, concepts which help us understand why metaphor need not be explicitly taught.

In the third chapter, I review the construct of metaphoric competence to understand what an L2 metaphor pedagogy might look like. One thread of the research connecting metaphor and L2 language teaching has generally viewed the acquisition of metaphor as a type of vocabulary acquisition, concentrating on the lexical items that are used to express metaphors (Deignan, Gabryś & Solska, 1997; Boers & Demecheleer, 1998; Boers, 2000; Boers, 2004). A second, related thread has concerned itself with the use of Cognitive Linguistics principles in general and CMT principles in particular for the language classroom (Holme, 2004; Littlemore, 2009; inter alia). Yet another thread concentrates on the metaphoric comprehension of L2 learners (Littlemore, Chen, et al., 2011).

The focus on metaphoric comprehension is a logical outgrowth of the apparent requirement to acknowledge the range of encyclopaedic knowledge
connected with figurative language. Littlemore and Low write: "figurative language often relies heavily on encyclopaedic knowledge that is so deeply embedded in the culture that it is difficult, if not impossible, for foreign language learners to access it without the help of an authority" (2006, 71-72). Nippold, working with language-disordered L1 students, writes: "there is no clear point in human development when it can be said that idioms have been mastered" (1991: 101). The example Nippold uses is 'to hold one's tongue', an example that involves metonymy, with the tongue standing for speaking. Littlemore (2015) cites Charteris-Black (2003) and Piquer Piriz (2008) as discussing the metonymy of 'mouth' and Charteris-Black specifically notes that "not talking" is represented in both Malay and English by the combination of a verb and an oral body part (2003: 296). If we apply Nippold's statement on the mastery of idioms to the teaching of metaphor in the L2 classroom, the implicit goal is to demand that L2 speakers acquire the knowledge that L1 speakers possess in the form that they possess it. This fails to take into account the fact that metaphor is a symbolic system that can be leveraged by the learner. This is not to suggest that L2 learners can surpass the L1 speaker by such leverage; it is to argue that L2 speaker's time is better spent learning about the system of metaphors rather than dealing with metaphor on a phraseological basis, à la Boers and Lindstromberg (2008). In contrast to these approaches, this thesis concerns itself with how language teachers can use extended conceptual metaphors with Japanese low-intermediate learners, an approach not described in the literature, and how that approach interacts with the research on L2 metaphor pedagogy.

I will then discuss the concept of "World Englishes", developed from the work of Braj Kachru (1992, 1997). Kachru argues that English is no longer the sole province of what he terms the "inner circle"—where English is both used as a primary language
and where there is a traditional historic and sociolinguistic tradition of English as the
primary language of communication—but also the province of both the Outer Circle
(where English is used as lingua franca and/or a language for wider communication)
and the Expanding Circle, where English is used for international communication.
This leads to an argument for giving greater consideration to L2 learner-produced
metaphor to support acquisition of the L2, especially in earlier stages of the language
learning process than has previously been considered. This greater consideration to
learner-produced metaphor naturally leads to suggestions about an L2 metaphor
pedagogy.

In chapter four, I focus on the Japanese learner population addressed in this
thesis, Japanese university undergraduates learning English, and the writing
instruction they typically receive. I will point out that in terms of training, Japanese
students not only have received little training in L2, their L1 training in composition
is much less than has been previously assumed.

In the fifth chapter, I introduce the Japanese linguistic landscape, and tie this
to Vygotsky's concept of symbolic mediation (Vygotsky, 1930/1999) to suggest that
metaphor is best presented as an interactive system rather than as it has been, as
discrete concepts. While Vygotsky's construct of "Zone of Proximal Development"
(ZPD) has received the most attention in English as a foreign language (EFL)
research, I will argue that the mechanism of mediation provides insight into how best
to use conceptual metaphors in EFL. By understanding the process of symbolic
mediation—or as Müller (2008) terms it, "seeing as"—we can gain an insight into
how to introduce conceptual metaphor into the second language classroom in a way
that can make the greatest impact.
In chapter six, I introduce multimodality, because the prompts used to induce the production of metaphoric language present metaphoric information not only via lyrics, but also through other multimodal channels. Because multimodality researchers argue that metaphor is not exclusively verbal in nature, but can exist in other channels (Forceville, 2007), it naturally follows that metaphor presented in a visual mode—through, in this case, music videos—is able to prompt students' production of metaphoric language. I will also provide analyses of four of the videos used as prompts in order to present the contribution that not only the visual mode, but also the juxtaposition of music and lyrics, can make to the presentation of a conceptual metaphor.

The seventh chapter marks the beginning of the experimental portions of this thesis and presents the research questions that guided this research, research questions which focus on L2 metaphor pedagogy. The initial question was "what resources do Japanese learners of English bring to the classroom in terms of metaphoric language?" As we shall see from the literature review, they bring a great deal, much of which has been glossed over. This leads to the central question of the thesis, which is: "Can low-intermediate Japanese learners of English be induced to produce meaningful metaphoric language?" This question has two key points to note. The first is 'be induced'. It is trivially easy to have students produce metaphoric language, through cloze worksheets, or other focussed activities. However, this study aims to 'give rise to' metaphoric language that is produced by the learner, absent specific prompts. The second point is 'meaningful metaphoric language'. How to measure meaningfulness is one of the tasks this thesis attempts to undertake.

This general question can be refined to the following: "Can one extended metaphor support the production of meaningful metaphoric language for another
extended metaphor in low-intermediate Japanese learners of English?" There is an abundance of research on metaphor comprehension and its relation to vocabulary, but much less on the production of metaphor by low-intermediate learners and even less on the production of metaphor in longer form compositions by this level of students. It is this production of metaphor, I will argue, which is what an L2 metaphor pedagogy should focus on, especially with students of this level.

I will also make two additional arguments. The first is that extended conceptual metaphors are not individual ideas that are connected to other extended conceptual metaphors in a limited way, but are massively interconnected in ways that make it difficult to account for all the possible paths. This corresponds to not only Vygotskian theory, but has also been suggested in recent metaphor research by Müller (2008) and Kövecses (2015b). If this interconnection between dissimilar metaphors exists, it would have us consider how one extended conceptual metaphor can provide the 'activation' in Müller's sense of the word. The second is that, based on previous successful attempts in writing classes, extended metaphors are the ideal prompts for low-intermediate Japanese learners. The initial research questions were:

Question 1: **How and to what extent does the introduction of one extended conceptual metaphor to low-intermediate Japanese learners increase the production of metaphoric language when given a writing prompt that contains another extended conceptual metaphor?**

Question 2: **Is there a relationship between the amount of metaphor used by students in an essay and a teachers' assessment of the essay's quality?**

This second question grows out of the practical emphasis in this thesis. Previous measurements of metaphoric output (MIP, MIPVU) (Steen, Dorst,
Herrmann, et al., 2010) focussed on determining the metaphorical status of each lexical item. I will attempt to use a sentence-level analysis, which I will present and use to quantitatively compare to the holistic rating of a native English-speaking teacher.

Drawing on previous classroom experience, the writing prompts for the second extended conceptual metaphor were through music videos that presented the extended conceptual metaphor. In addition to several smaller weaknesses in the preliminary study for this research question, a much larger problem was revealed, which was a failure to appreciate the contribution that multimodal material could potentially make to student production of metaphoric language. This led to a reworking of the study and the addition of a third research question, which was:

Question 3: **How and to what extent does the introduction of one extended conceptual metaphor to low-intermediate Japanese learners through multimodal texts increase the production of metaphoric language?**

In the preliminary study, multimodal material that was not directly related to the extended metaphor resulted in the production of metaphoric language, a point that underlined the connectedness of metaphors and which will be discussed in chapter five. Because of this, it was necessary to reverse the order of writing prompts. This "potency" of multimodal texts was one of the initial ideas behind the thesis, but the preliminary study revealed that I had badly underestimated the contribution multimodal texts could bring, requiring the addition of the third research question.

This is followed by chapter eight, where the quantitative study of the full study is presented, and chapter nine, where I provide a qualitative analysis of student essays from both the preliminary and full studies to help answer research question
three. In chapter ten, I summarise my findings and explain what all this suggests about using multimodal texts to induce metaphoric language in low-intermediate learners and present some recommendations for classroom pedagogy supported by this research.

In the next chapter, we begin with a basic background to metaphor research in order to identify the areas that are being overlooked or elided for L2 learners.
Chapter Two: A Contextual Review of Conceptual Metaphor Research

2.0 Introduction

In this chapter, I outline metaphor research, giving a brief introduction to views of metaphor before conceptual metaphor theory (CMT), followed by a discussion of CMT research as a theory of L1 linguistics. In the next section, I examine the initial views of metaphor which have come to form the popular understanding of metaphor. In the following section, I discuss the underlying search for ordered information in modern linguistics that CMT addresses through the proposal of conceptual metaphors. After that, the basic concepts and theoretical foundations of CMT are briefly presented, emphasising how this approach expanded the domain in which metaphor was considered to function. After that, I will present some of the research connected to one conceptual metaphor (LIFE IS A JOURNEY) utilised in the quantitative portion of this thesis as an experimental prompt in order to convey the potential depth of content that conceptual metaphors bring. The next section describes a further expansion of the domain that metaphor was seen to function, within the area of discourse analysis. This is followed by some approaches to categorising conceptual metaphors. The final section discusses 4E cognition and distributed cognition, recent research which supports the approach taken in this thesis.

2.1 The feature/attribute selection view of metaphor

Before linguistic researchers began to take interest in metaphor as a key element of language, it was viewed more as a question of philosophy. Philosophers were interested in the concepts that words represented rather than their status as
linguistic entities. Because of this, the question addressed by metaphor scholars was how a word or phrase could be used to describe another word or phrase even though it was arguably a completely separate concept. The use of one concept to describe an unrelated concept made it a paradox and so a metaphor was felt to be something different from the 'ordinary' use of language (hence the distinction between 'figurative' and 'literal'). The first chapter of Holme (2004) provides a useful review. This approach to metaphor, by which I mean the understanding of metaphor held by most people outside of linguistics, is important for this thesis because this is arguably the general understanding that is held by ESL teacher-practitioners.

Traditional descriptions of metaphor (cf. Richards, 1936; Perrine, 1971; inter alia) tend to focus on nominative metaphors of the form \( X \text{ is a } Y \), for example \textit{Achilles is a lion}. The first naming scheme for these metaphors was by Richards (1936), who named the first entity ('Achilles') as the \textit{tenor} and the second entity ('a lion') as the \textit{vehicle}. A second pair of terms, often used in literary criticism, is \textit{ground} and \textit{figure}. However, in line with current nomenclature (Kövecses, 2002), I will refer to the first entity as the \textit{target} and the second as the \textit{source}. Ritchie (2013) points out analyses of metaphor often 'convert' metaphoric language that is not in the form of a nominative metaphor to a nominative metaphor, so that the phrase "if we were better communicators we'd be swimming in money" (cited in Ritchie & Schnell, 2009) would yield the nominative metaphor 'having great wealth is swimming in money' (2009: 25), with "having great wealth" as the target and "swimming in money" as the source. Cienki (2008) observes that this default description of metaphoric content carries with it a number of assumptions that affect our understanding of the target and the source. However, because this thesis deals with
language output of L2 low-intermediate learners, I will employ these descriptions as a heuristic.

Ritchie (ibid) divides the approaches to metaphor into three categories: substitution, comparison and property attribution. A brief discussion of these three types will provide a starting point. Starting with the metaphor "Achilles is a lion", we see that the target is Achilles and the source is the lion. Substitution assumes that the main feature of the source is being identified and the language that is used for the source is simply a way of bringing that attribute to the hearer's mind and applying it to the target. In this approach, the adjective *brave* can stand in for the noun phrase *lion*, so the resulting meaning is simply that "Achilles is brave". Unfortunately, this reduction obviously leaves out information that may be considered important. For example, Clarke (1995) observes that for the audience of the Iliad, "Achilles is a lion" does not simply denote that Achilles is brave, but that he has "defied the laws of human nature and the order of things" (p. 158), as illustrated by both his refusal to support Agamemnon and his defiling of the body of Hector. This is not a feature of lions, but only emerges in comparison with human society.

The second approach Ritchie suggests is that of comparison. Rather than reduce the source to a single feature, comparison suggests that "Achilles is a lion" can be replaced by "Achilles is like a lion". This has the advantage of increasing the range of features in the source that can be identified in the target. However, this approach fails to identify which attributes may be chosen and does not give us any insight into how the hearer/reader understands which attributes to link.

The third approach is property attribution, for which Ritchie cites Bortfeld and McGlone (2001) and Searle (1993). Property attribution is where attributes of the source, which, unlike features, are not necessarily inherent in the source, are
transferred to the target. Ritchie uses the example of 'men are pigs', pointing out that many of the attributes of pigs arise from the way they are kept, but the metaphor works to associate slovenliness and gluttony presumed to be attributes of the source to the target. Searle also points out that, often, these attributes are culturally associated with the source rather than being actual attributes. This would help to account for the problems mentioned with "Achilles is a lion", in that the contextual understanding of lions in Ancient Greek society would be information that becomes lost when the metaphor is taken from its context.

Any model that utilises "feature selection" (Way, 1991) faces challenges in determining which features are chosen. In addition, it is important to note that the discussions about the problems in the above accounts are cast in terms of L1 speakers. Feature selection of the L1 speaker/hearer is posed as a question of access: How do they identify the features that underlie the metaphor? For the L2 speaker, the question is not one of access, but one of acquisition: How do they acquire sufficient lexical and cultural knowledge to be able to understand and process the language? From the standpoint of these feature selection approaches, for the L2 learner, the additional challenge of interpreting metaphors is that they must both acquire and select the correct features, so metaphor teaching has traditionally been placed after students have learned the language to a level that is relatively error-free. This is, in some ways, a result of the emphasis on 'acquisition'.

While this bias is not confined to L2 metaphor teaching but is general to the field of L2 research (cf. Larsen-Freeman, 2014), this has tended to relegate metaphor teaching to the final stages of L2 instruction, with a concomitant emphasis on what Deignan (2002) terms "the decorative approach" (2005: 2). This can be connected with Larsen-Freeman's argument that the word 'acquisition' in the term 'second
language acquisition' should be replaced by 'development', and observes that the word acquisition automatically brings with it a comparison to 'monolinguals'. Viewed in this sense, the 'decorations' provided by metaphor are assumed to be added on to the learners' L2 language ability. This 'deficit' view of language development fails to take into account the resources that the L2 learner brings to the process, which form one of the starting points for this thesis. Rather than assume that the goal is to somehow transport the L1 system of metaphor piece by piece to the L2 learner, this thesis will argue that L2 learners come to the language with "fully figurative minds" (Hoang, 2014:7) and that metaphor is a complex system that should be examined for both stable and unstable features (Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008), especially at lower levels of proficiency.

Many of the feature selection approaches also begin with an assumption that the features objectively exist and are selected by the speaker/hearer in order to make sense of the metaphor. Lakoff (1987) outlines the problems with this objectivist world-view, which Lakoff's collaborator, Mark Johnson (1987), notes is "rooted deeply in the Western philosophical and cultural tradition" (1987: x). Müller (2008) suggests that Lakoff's rejection of objectivism was in large part due to his investigations of metaphor, in which "metaphor seemed to be a ubiquitous and highly organized form of conceptualizing experiences" (2008: 44).

The feature selection view of metaphor, while arguably still the popular understanding of metaphor, was largely superseded by Lakoff and Johnson's proposal of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980b). This was in large part because, while feature selection approaches dealt with metaphor qua metaphor, CMT allowed the application of metaphor to a much wider variety of data, which in turn sparked interest in related topics. All of this represents part of the
'cognitive turn' in many fields in the late twentieth century. In the next section, I will review the development of CMT.

2.2 Conceptual Metaphor Theory: Setting the stage

In the previous section, I reviewed Ritchie's (2013) presentation of the common feature selection approaches to metaphor, and argued that these approaches comprised the popular understanding of metaphor. This popular understanding, needless to say, also has an impact on the perception of the teaching of metaphor to L2 learners. In assuming that there are objective features that the L1 speaker can access and the L2 speaker must 'acquire', a reliance on the teacher to identify and present these features is created, which moves away from current practice in the L2 classroom, which is increasingly based on learner-centered models of education (cf. Nunan, 1988). While there have been other theories of metaphor, Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) has as one of its foundational aspects the rejection of an objectivist view, and is the framework for the work in this thesis.

A useful starting point for the application of metaphor to data outside of metaphor began would be the Interdisciplinary Conference on Metaphor and Thought in 1977, which brought together not only philosophers, but psychologists, linguists, historians of science and other researchers to discuss metaphor. The collected papers became a volume called *Metaphor and Thought* (Ortony, 1979). One particular article in this collection, acknowledged by a number of researchers as a foundational text (Cameron, 2003; Lakoff & Johnson, 2003, *inter alia*) was Reddy's (1979) paper entitled "The Conduit Metaphor", where Reddy argued that the image of a conduit shapes the way we conceptualise language and communication. Some of the many examples he gave include:
Reddy (ibid) observed that this metaphor, when applied to communication, shapes the understanding and perception of what communication is in ways that speakers are not consciously aware of. This metaphor is not limited to a single word or phrase, but encompasses a wide range of concepts that both scaffold and constrain our understanding of communication. This metaphor of communication as a conduit motivates many constructions associated with communication. This is quite different from the attributional metaphor mentioned earlier. Rather than identifying the attributes of the two entities which are shared, relationships and ideas are taken from a much wider background than simply the lexical item 'conduit'. Furthermore, by linking these ideas and relationships to a detailed list of phrases and usages (albeit in English), Reddy clearly underlined how the main concerns of the linguist, answering the question 'what is language?', are shaped by this metaphor of a conduit. This brought home to linguists the fact that a metaphor was not simply the application of a specific word, phrase or idea to describe a dissimilar item, but actually a larger concept applied to a second concept that is separate.

Lakoff (1993) acknowledged Reddy's contribution and expanded on it in the second edition of Ortony (1993), arguing for an "enormous system of conceptual metaphor...that we use to reason and base our actions on, and that underlie a great deal of the structure of language" (1993: 204). His revised chapter in the second edition heralded the explosion of research that accompanied conceptual metaphor theory, something confirmed by Ortony's citation in his foreword to the 2nd edition to Van Noppen and Hols (1990), a classified bibliography of publications of three and a half thousand references relating to metaphor, published from 1985-1990.
This approach came at a very auspicious time for linguists, because researchers in the field were coming to the realisation that internal language structure was not sufficient to explain the surface distribution of linguistic data. This led to proposals for language structure that incorporated additional information in a way that could account for linguistic utterances by L1 speakers. Using conceptual metaphor as a source of information to account for surface distribution addresses a foundational question in linguistics, which is: How does the L1 speaker acquire all of the necessary linguistic knowledge to be a fluent speaker despite being exposed to a limited amount of data? This question was termed the 'poverty of stimulus' (POS) argument by Chomsky (1980), and while it is controversial (see Pullum & Scholz, 2002, for a skeptical take on POS), it should be recognised as driving much of the research agenda in linguistics. Chomsky's model in *Aspects of the theory of syntax* (1965) placed these constructs in what he termed 'deep structure', but it became clear that it was not tenable to argue for a language system that kept all of this information in the syntactic component. This led to several alternative proposals regarding semantic structure. An illustrative example is *lexical decomposition*, where lexical items have an underlying semantic structure, such that the lexical item of *bachelor* was argued to consist of the underlying semantic features of MALE+UNMARRIED+ADULT (Katz, 1972) which led to questions about the psychological (un)reality of such proposals (Fodor, Fodor & Garrett, 1975). Another example is Ross' (1970) introduction of Austin's performatives (Austin, 1962) (where the linguistic utterance is not simply descriptive but actually 'performs' the task it states, such as 'I approve of your transfer' or 'I order you to go') as part of the underlying structure of verbs. However, these proposals failed to fully capture collocational facts about language and have largely been abandoned.
Reddy's paper, which argued that ideas about communication were structured by our metaphor for communication, ultimately led to Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) as a way to account for some of this hidden structure. From this background of linguistic research, we can see that L1 metaphor research, as it resides in the domain of linguistics, can be described as the search for ordered information that can be linked to linguistic structure in order to explain L1 linguistic data. This greatly expanded the domain that metaphor could be applied to. Not only could metaphor be a tool to understand idiomatic language and outline connections between poetic language and everyday language, it could also play a role in understanding the meaning of individual words and phrases (Gibbs, 1999). This meant that the linguistic competence of the L1 speaker could be explored, and in the next section, I will discuss metaphor in relation to L1 speaker competence.

2.3 The development of Conceptual Metaphor Theory

As noted in the previous section, Reddy's paper on the conduit metaphor was one of the foundational texts of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), which represents the predominant thread of metaphor research. CMT is one of a number of approaches that deal with metaphors at the level of language, and a great deal of more recent work provides support, often in non-linguistic modes of expression such as images and gestures, for the assertion that metaphor is a productive phenomenon that operates at the level of mental processes. Parallel approaches include 'blending theory' by Fauconnier and Turner (2002) —where, rather than a source and a target domain, the two (or more) domains contribute to what is termed 'a blended space' that allows features from each participating domain to contribute to meaning—and Glucksberg (2003), who proposes a continuum from metaphors to idioms. However,
all these approaches share a similar perspective of conceptual metaphor.
Additionally, all of these theories focus on metaphor from the view of L1 speaker knowledge, a point made clear by Glucksberg when he juxtaposes E. D. Hirsch’s Cultural Literacy: What Every American Needs to Know (Hirsch, 1988) with Jackendoff (1995) on the requirements and limits of the lexicon.

Because CMT took metaphor to be operating on the level of thought, the theory explained and operated on a much wider range of expressions than previous metaphor studies. This had the effect of not only expanding the data that could be examined with regards to metaphor but also bringing metaphors that had previously been termed as "dead" back into consideration and inverting the relationship between novel and conventional metaphor. Or, as Lakoff (1993) notes "metaphor resides for the most part in this huge, highly structured, fixed system, a system anything but 'dead.' Because it is conventional, it is used constantly and automatically, with neither effort nor awareness. Novel metaphor uses this system, and builds on it, but only rarely occurs independently of it" (1993: 227-228).

The acknowledgement of new data sources is in large part responsible for the astonishing growth in metaphor research. CMT shares with the previously mentioned approaches a foundation based on the L1 speaker, but the realm of L1 speaker output is so much larger than the realm of novel metaphor: this has largely been overlooked when examining metaphor for the L2 speaker. This marks what I argue is the first step in the expansion of data available to metaphor researchers. Discussing how CMT can be fruitfully applied to L2 linguistics requires some examination of CMT as a linguistic theory and the structure of the data that marked this first step.

One aspect of CMT is encapsulated in a line from the Greek philosopher, Protagoras, 'Man is the measure of all things', in that it is the fundamental
relationships between human beings and their environment that shape language. After Lakoff and Johnson's (1980a) proposal of an immense variety of conceptual metaphors (cf. Lakoff, Epenson, Goldberg, et al., 1991), the initial work in CMT generally consisted of researchers either identifying a potential conceptual metaphor or drawing on one of Lakoff and Johnson's proposed conceptual metaphors in an L1 (usually in English) that portrayed a relationship which was then posited as fundamental. Other researchers were then encouraged to determine if similar sets of metaphors existed in other languages. If a similar set were identified, it would be argued that these conceptual metaphors were shared at a basic level by all humans, which would then be taken as evidence of shared cognitive patterns and would account for similarities in languages. If there were differences, researchers would attempt to identify commonalities and argue for those commonalities as a shared human inheritance, while explanations in the realm of history and culture would be sought for differences (cf. Lakoff & Kövecses, 1987; Ansah, 2014; Yu, 1998).

Given the plethora of proposed metaphors, another thread of the research was to reduce this variety by grouping metaphors. Lakoff and Johnson (1980b) divide metaphors into three types: orientational (e.g. MORE IS UP); ontological, which help speakers communicate about subjects that are abstract or not clearly delineated; and structural, on which this thesis is based on. Two conceptual metaphors, MORE IS UP and ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER, will serve as explanatory examples of the first two categories.

The orientational metaphor MORE IS UP is based on shared human experience in the world, where an increased quantity of a material results in a physically larger, and therefore taller, amount. This schema is then transferred to describe non-physical entities, so that The economy is going up or The value of the
yen is plummeting are understood to be related to this conceptual metaphor. This type of metaphor, while still being based on a common experience, is based on a mapping of aspects of our physical reality to the situation.

The second type of metaphor presented by Lakoff and Johnson (1980a) is ontological. ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER is an example of this type. English tends to describe anger in terms of heat or a fluid under pressure, and in Lakoff and Kövecses (1987), it was suggested that all languages tend to describe anger in these terms, leading them to propose that ANGER IS HEAT. In addition, because of an additional proposed conceptual metaphor, THE BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR EMOTIONS, these two conceptual metaphors combine to form ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER (ibid). In this example, the source domain would be 'heated fluid in a container' and the target domain would be anger. While the initial examples were from American English, further research found similar examples in Chinese, Japanese and Hungarian (Kövecses, 1987). Yu (1998), taking this as her starting point, then sought to explain more subtle differences in the usage of metaphorical expressions of anger between English and Chinese, arguing that Chinese expressions arose from Chinese theories of yin-yang and the five elements of Chinese medicine. Not only does this conceptual metaphor give an example of how a common sensorimotor experience can give rise to a network of collocational facts equating anger with temperature and pressure (He blew up when he got the news; He was steamed), it also serves as an example of the direction of the research, with the initial proposal stemming from American English examples from English L1 speakers, which are then followed by examples from other languages.

It has been argued that basic metaphors are acquired early in life, often as part of our cultural and linguistic heritage, and these form the basis for many of our
beliefs about the world and are then mapped onto new domains (Schnall, 2013). After it was established that metaphor was not solely a cultural aspect of one or a small group of languages (cf. Azuma, 2005), researchers then sought to identify basic metaphors (Johnson, 1990) or components of metaphors (Cienki, 1997) and separate them from more complex ones. For basic metaphors, our initial relationships with the world, particularly how we physically relate our bodies to objects and our environment, or, as Johnson terms them, the "basic structures of common human experience" (1990: 48), form a foundation for language and thought, thus providing an apparent 'universality' to language systems and thought processes across cultures. For more complex metaphors, they would then be amenable to being reduced to more basic metaphors as building blocks. Many of the metaphors presented in Lakoff and Johnson (1980b) were initially presented as basic metaphors and then were subsequently reanalysed, either by Lakoff or by other researchers, as complex metaphors, with more basic metaphors proposed as building blocks. It is argued that these basic metaphors do a better job of making a generalisation about complex metaphors, but it is difficult to imagine them being useful to EFL learners in this form. As Taylor (2003) observes, there is a 'veritable plethora of conceptual metaphors' and the relationships between metaphors 'are not always spelled out clearly' (2003: 494). The chart below is taken from Müller (2008). While this is the view of one linguist on how the forms of conceptual metaphor relate to each other and doesn't represent the precise view of other researchers, it stands, I would argue, as a representative of the basic organisation of conceptual metaphor understood by most linguists working in the tradition of CMT.
In Lakoff and Johnson (1980b), a large number of conceptual metaphors, such as IDEAS ARE FOOD, LIFE IS A GAMBLING GAME, and ARGUMENT IS WAR, are listed and described as "govern[ing] our everyday functioning down to the most mundane details...structur[ing] what we perceive, how we get around in the world, and how we relate to people...play[ing] a central role in defining our everyday realities" (1980b: 3). However, those original proposals have now, through the application of metaphor research, been shifted by many to a peripheral location from core CMT concerns and labeled as 'complex metaphors' (Müller, 2008) or 'composite
metaphors’ (Ritchie, 2013). It is these conceptual metaphors that are embedded in
the video prompts for student output in this thesis.

This simplification is not simply a quirk of Müller’s. Cienki (1997) takes the 27
image schemas proposed in Johnson (1987) and seeks to reduce them to 5 basic
groups. Schnall (2013) suggests the existence of a set of basic metaphors that can be
discerned through further empirical testing. Despite the fact that the initial stages of
CMT saw the proposal of a vast number of these complex conceptual metaphors (cf.
Lakoff, Espenson & Schwartz, 1991), and despite the fact that researchers from other
fields have cited many of these complex metaphors (Google Scholar lists Metaphors
we live by as being cited 41,092 times), 30 years on, metaphor research, especially for
L1 speakers, looks to reduce these to either a smaller group of primary metaphors
(Grady, 1997a) or primitives such as image schemas (Lakoff, 1987; Johnson, 1987) or
Talmian force dynamics (Talmy, 2000).

This simplification can be seen most clearly with Grady’s work (1997a, 1997b)
which proposed a wide range of primary metaphors that he argued were "conceptual
building blocks" which he claimed were "the foundation of much of our complex
cognition" (1997b: 288). A primary metaphor is defined by Gibbs (2011) as one which
exhibits a metaphorical mapping for which there is an independent and direct
experiential basis and independent linguistic evidence, a category which includes
exemplars such as MORE IS UP, UNDERSTANDING IS GRASPING and CAUSES
ARE PHYSICAL FORCES. Grady’s most extensive working out of primary metaphors
was with the conceptual metaphor THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS, proposed by Lakoff
and Johnson (1980b) and often cited by other researchers (Kövecses, 2002; Taylor,
2003; Ritchie: 2013). Grady observed what Chow (2010) terms the "poverty of
mappings" problem (2010: 45), in that the conceptual metaphor overdetermines the
linguistic output by sanctioning a number of potential phrases that never appear. To address this, Grady proposes primary metaphors, which are simpler and more basic than THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS. Grady’s proposed primary metaphors underlying this particular metaphor are:

- ORGANIZATION IS PHYSICAL STRUCTURE
- PERSISTING IS REMAINING ERECT

(Grady, 1997:273)

Kovecses argues that there are three primary metaphors underlying the building metaphor which he gives as:

- CREATION IS BUILDING
- ABSTRACT STRUCTURE IS PHYSICAL STRUCTURE
- ABSTRACT STABILITY IS PHYSICAL STRENGTH (OF STRUCTURE TO STAND)

(Kövecses, 2002:140)

This is just one example of the primary metaphors proposed by Grady, but it is sufficient to give a taste of what is involved. An alternative proposal comes from Clausner and Croft (1997), who argue that "metaphors should be characterized at the level of schematicity which represents their maximal productivity" (1997: 276) and that THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS is at too high a level of schematicity. They propose that recasting THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS to THE CONVINCINGNESS OF AN ARGUMENT IS THE STRUCTURAL INTEGRITY OF A BUILDING represents the correct level of schematicity. The specificity of Clausner and Croft’s formulation makes it clear that they are moving away from simplicity and basic building blocks of metaphor.

These two proposals and others like them represent attempts to make sure that metaphors that sanction the linguistic output account for no more and no less than what is found in L1 speech. However, a quick glance at these restatements suggests the difficulty in conveying these notions to L2 learners, especially at the low-
intermediate level. As Kövecses (2002) points out, the act of building structures for a variety of purposes is a basic human endeavour. Given that, it is not surprising that from this source domain, the object itself, its parts and the act of building are all utilised for mapping onto the target domain. However, for the approaches listed above, their reformulation deemphasises the observation that building structures is a basic human endeavour. Taking these reformulations as what should be presented to L2 learners reduces the potential effectiveness that conceptual metaphor can provide to these learners.

In the next section, I will introduce one of the two main conceptual metaphors (LIFE IS A JOURNEY) used in this study in order to provide a basis for discussion as well as to illustrate the amount of information that is embedded in these seemingly straightforward conceptual metaphors.

2.4 Conceptual Metaphor Theory: LIFE IS A JOURNEY

We now turn to the first of two conceptual metaphors used in the quantitative portion of this project, which was the conceptual metaphor that was used in the experimental condition. LIFE IS A JOURNEY was initially proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980b), and analysed in Lakoff and Johnson (1999). It is often considered in the literature to be related to the PATH image schema, also referred to as a FROM–TO schema in Johnson (1987) who described it as consisting of three elements, a start point, an end point and a vector tracing a path between them. Sweetser (1992), on the other hand, argues for "the universal construal of time in terms of space" (1992: 715) as the basis for this metaphor.

Lakoff and Johnson argue that the conceptual metaphor is based on four mappings between the source and target domain:
They also argue that PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS and ACTIONS ARE MOTIONS (two more conceptual metaphors presented by Lakoff and Johnson (1980b)), underlie LIFE IS A JOURNEY. They then argue that combining these conceptual metaphors yields the cultural belief that "[p]eople are supposed to have destinations in life, and are supposed to move so as to reach those destinations" (1980b: 61).

This initial presentation by Lakoff and Johnson has several weaknesses. Journeys do not require a purpose. Adjectives such as 'aimless', 'unexpected' and 'unplanned' all collocate with 'journey', making it clear that it is not a requirement that journeys be purposeful. So while LIFE IS A JOURNEY can conceivably be related to linking PURPOSE to DESTINATION, we must observe, following Quinn (1991), Cienki (2008) and MacArthur, Krennmayr and Littlemore (2013), that the actual conceptual metaphor is more complex than the standard CMT formulation of the metaphor. This is especially true for pedagogical purposes.

There are several other proposals for reducing LIFE IS A JOURNEY into constituent parts. Grady (1997a) suggests that PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS and CIRCUMSTANCES ARE SURROUNDINGS are two primary metaphors in addition to metaphors related to time. Winter (1995) suggests that the metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY is made up of three basic conceptual metaphors CONSTRAINTS ON ACTION ARE CONSTRAINTS ON MOTION and IMPEDIMENTS TO PURPOSES ARE OBSTACLES TO MOTION, in addition to PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS. He
labels these "correlative metaphors" (1995: 239). He also provides a more elaborated set of metaphorical mappings which I list below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source Domain</th>
<th>Target Domain</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>JOURNEY</td>
<td>LIFE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>traveler</td>
<td>person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>point of departure</td>
<td>birth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>initial conditions</td>
<td>personal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>endowments</td>
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<tr>
<td>baggage</td>
<td>personal problems</td>
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<tr>
<td>obstacles</td>
<td>external difficulties</td>
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<td>distance</td>
<td>duration</td>
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<tr>
<td>distance covered</td>
<td>accomplishments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>destination</td>
<td>life purpose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>termination</td>
<td>death</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 2.2 Winter's (1995:205) metaphorical mappings for LIFE IS A JOURNEY

Semino and Haywood (2005) also refer to the metaphor, but defer to Grady (1997) in noting the existence of 'primary scenes'. Cameron (2007) notes that JOURNEY metaphors frequently occur in English as highly conventionalized language. Gibbs (1994), while noting that the cultural aspects of the myth of the hero's journey reflect the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY, suggests that the SOURCE–PATH–GOAL schema is the original source, which he attributes to the development of vision tracking (1994: 444).

Yu (1998) examines all of these mappings and presents extensive examples in Chinese, arguing for its candidacy as a basic human metaphor. Kövecses (2002) also uses the conceptual metaphor as the initial example in his first chapter, entitled 'What is Metaphor?'. This is revealing, in that when confronted with the challenge of communicating to readers the content of CMT, both Yu and Kövecses turn to a metaphor that is argued in the literature to be composed of more basic pieces. If this approach is valid for an audience of L1 speakers interested in conceptual metaphor, it would seem that this example would also be appropriate to present to L2 learners as a way to encourage awareness of conceptual metaphors.
Researchers who discuss or reference JOURNEY as a source domain include Semino (2008) who points to its presence not only in literature and politics, but also in descriptions of mental illness, specifically depression. In a similar fashion, Ritchie (2008) presents examples from four different texts using the journey source domain. Charteris-Black (2004) discusses the metaphor in the context of political discourse and Koteyko and Crawford (2008) present its usage in the coverage of a predicted UK avian flu epidemic. The metaphor often is cited in regard to education, including Caballero (2006), who discusses the metaphor in the context of multimedia learning environments and Ellis (2001), who examines it in the output of both SLA researcher and second language learners while Eubanks (2000) discusses it in the context of US-Japan trade. Further examples of target domains include LOVE (Lakoff, 1990; Lakoff & Turner, 1989), NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT (Cibulskienė, 2012), SOCIAL WELFARE REFORM and RECOVERY FROM A LONG RECESSION (Woodhams, 2012), among others. Sweetser's (1992) previous argument for construal of time in terms of space naturally leads to the observation that, because both the target and source domain are structured by time, any individual experience that can be conceptualised with a start and end point can be a target domain (cf. LIFE, A COLLEGE CAREER, A YEAR IN ONE’S LIFE). Tay (2011) suggests that the process of therapy may be conceptualized as a journey and observes that the goal-oriented nature of psychotherapy makes journey-related lexical items very useful and "pedagogically motivated" (2011: 64), which helps to explain why this conceptual metaphor is a favourite for practically oriented teaching materials such as Wright (2002), Giovanelli (2015), Clandfield (n.d.), and Holme (2001, 2003) In this project,
some of these additional target and source domains were used in prompts to induce metaphoric language.

The vast majority of the research listed above derives from English texts of L1 speakers, but other research shows that the metaphor is common in Japanese as well. Maynard (2007) presents the phrase jinsei wa tabi da (人生は旅だ), for which the English equivalent is "Life is a journey", as an example of the traditional Japanese rhetorical figure mitate (見立て), where "the writer views the primary subject (life) as the secondary subject (journey). These two items are presented side by side without overtly identifying the relationship" (2007: 170). While Maynard argues for a difference in mitate and metaphor, the basic elements of target and source domain are identical.

Hiraga (2008) suggests that LEARNING IS A JOURNEY is a traditional concept of Japanese mental models of education (also Berendt, 2008). Matsumoto and Tokosum (2008) describe a computational model of utterance interpretation and use as the test input from 15 Japanese university students who were presented with the metaphor "Life is a Journey" in Japanese. They were asked to describe their associations, emotions, thoughts and interpretations of the metaphor and provided 302 propositions for the metaphor that were used as the input for the model. The students also reported that they were familiar with the metaphor from Japanese textbooks and considered it a "lesson" or a "moral" (2008: 70)

It is likely that the Japanese students encounter the metaphor in the opening passage of one of the most famous works in Japanese literature, Matsuo Bashō's 奥の細道 (Oku no hosomichi: translated alternately as The Narrow Road to the Deep North and The Narrow Road to the Interior). This poem is generally required
reading for junior high school students (Nakajima, 1995). Bashō was a Japanese poet famed for haiku, short poems of 17 morae organised in a 5-7-5 pattern and the book is a travelogue about his journey to the North (Oku), an area that is undeveloped and dangerous, hence the narrow road (hosomichi). Based on his journey on foot made with a travelling companion in the late spring of 1689, it is written in classical Japanese, and is considered one of the classics of world literature with the opening lines memorised by students.

Figure 2.3 Opening lines of Bashō's Oku no hosomichi (1689)

Figure 2.4 Donald Keene’s translation of the opening lines of Bashō’s Oku no hosomichi (1996)

Hiraga (2005) notes that Bashō uses both the conceptual metaphors TIME IS A TRAVELLER and LIFE IS A JOURNEY in order to organise both the microstructure and the overarching composition of the work. Bashō's connection of time to the conceptual metaphor of LIFE IS A JOURNEY helps to underline the importance of the dimension of time. This capacity on the part of the extended conceptual metaphor to organise and provide coherence is a point taken up by Hidalgo-Downing and Kraljevic-Mujic (2015) when they cite Toolan's (2009) assertion that "while metaphor provides lexical coherence, narrative provides
structural coherence and thus they complement each other" (2015: 381). While I do not believe that the dividing line between the extended conceptual metaphor and the narrative can be so easily drawn, the contribution of metaphor to coherence is intriguing and this thesis is an initial step in exploring that link.

The metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY has been used in a previous study for the purpose of raising metaphor awareness and investigating L2 reader responses to literature, specifically Robert Frost's "Stopping by Woods on a Snowy Evening" (Picken, 2007). However, Picken's study is focussed on the readings of metaphors in literary texts rather than production. His studies suggested that awareness may bring other effects but the primary focus was to have EFL students develop the ability to interpret literature and metaphor in literature independently rather than to improve their English output.

This section has tried to give a taste of the range of research done with the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY. The ubiquity of this conceptual metaphor makes it ideal for initially introducing conceptual metaphor to students. One particular point to observe here is that studies that research this metaphor have moved from the assertion that LIFE IS A JOURNEY is a conceptual metaphor that is somehow 'internal' to the speaker/writer to the observation that the JOURNEY source domain maps to a wide range of target domains. This can be seen as pushing metaphor researchers to posit more basic mechanisms below the level of the JOURNEY source domain. Much of this impetus can be attributed to applications and advances in CMT, particularly in discourse analysis. In the next section, I will first discuss how CMT has moved from utilising researcher-created examples to corpus data. I will then discuss how CMT has been incorporated into discourse
analysis and identify some of the conceptual metaphor constructs in discourse analysis.

2.5 Real data, Discourse Analysis and CMT

The dividing line is not clearly drawn between a strong version of CMT, which argues for a system of conceptual metaphor that both organises and constrains human thought patterns, and a weaker version which argues for the existence of conceptual metaphors, but is more equivocal concerning their impact on human cognition. Müller (2008) points out the argumentative sleight of hand in the title of Lakoff and Johnson (1980b), where "we" in *Metaphors we live by* "project(s) the linguistic system into the individual minds of speakers" (2008: 67). The previous discussion of LIFE IS A JOURNEY underlines that tension. The ubiquity of this particular conceptual metaphor across languages and cultures supports Yu's (1998) assertion that it is a basic conceptual metaphor. However, journeys, and therefore the source domain that they describe, are not solely a product of conceptual metaphors within a speaker's grammar, but are activities that arise from cultures and within speech communities.

Questions of cultures and speech communities require that more wide-ranging data from the speech communities be analysed rather than relying on the production of the researcher. While linguistic metaphors have provided the bulk of evidence for Conceptual Metaphor Theory, the initial stages of research relied primarily on researcher-generated or researcher-elicited examples. Concern with this, not only in CMT but for all areas of linguistics has led the field to move away from manufactured examples, as can be seen from the subtitle of Sandra and Rice (1995), "Mirroring whose mind—the linguist's or the language user's?". This concern, coupled with
advances in the ability to organise and search through data, has led to a general agreement that naturally-occurring data is preferable to researcher-generated or even researcher-elicited language (Sinclair, 1991). An insistence on real data is not only at the heart of calls for both Corpus Driven Linguistics (CDL) and Corpus Based Linguistics (CBL) (Tognini-Bonelli, 2001), it represents what I argue has been the second step in the expansion of data available for consideration by CMT scholars. Metaphor research is now strongly intertwined with corpus linguistics (cf. Stefanowitsch, 2006; Deignan, 2005) and this research is no exception.

A further point to make is that the emphasis on introspective data privileges L1 speaker knowledge. Lakoff and Johnson discuss "the hidden hand of our unconscious conceptual system" (2004: 14), arguing that language produced by speakers which had previously not been considered as metaphorical should be regarded as such and when such language was examined from that perspective, a clearer understanding of the role that metaphor plays in communication can be seen. While there is no statement that L2 speaker output should not be examined, the nature of the deficit view of language development (cf. Larsen-Freeman, 2014), according to which L2 learners are seen as somehow defective compared with native speakers, conspires to keep the focus on either L1 output or the L2 output of highly proficient learners.

This turn to 'real data' has been most strongly felt in the field of discourse analysis, and researchers have gone on to address the occurrence of conceptual metaphors over longer stretches of text, be it a series of conversations (Cameron 2003, 2007, 2011), political discourse (Musolff 2004, 2006), party manifestos (Charteris-Black, 2004), newspaper texts (Krennmayr, 2014), and economic news articles (Chow, 2010), to mention only a few. Work by Cameron and collaborators (Cameron, 2003; Cameron & Deignan 2006; Cameron, et al., 2009; Cameron, 2011),
all based on L1 production, is especially worthwhile when examining how discourse analysis has enriched CMT research. For example, Cameron (2003) begins from a Bakhtian/Vygotskian viewpoint and discusses how metaphor is a way to examine the ideas of intersubjectivity and alterity. Citing Vygotsky (1962), she notes that:

"[a] Vygotskian view would lead to the expectation that evidence of metaphor in effecting cognitive change might be seen intermentally in advance of its internalization and intramental use. In other words, the construction of shared understanding of, or through, metaphor in discourse may be an important step on the way to the construction and restructuring of an individual child's own understanding.

(Cameron, 2003: 35-36)

Chapter five will further discuss Vygotsky's ideas in the context of this thesis. While Cameron's discussion deals with spoken educational discourse, Cameron goes on to argue that this makes metaphor a particularly useful lens to view the "dynamics of discourse" and metaphors can potentially act as "as attractors that help crystallize interim understandings within a child's zone of proximal development" (2003: 47), a notion that is discussed in chapter five. While Cameron is examining teacher-student L1 discourse, this thesis embodies a similar idea for L2 learners specifically for the improvement of writing ability. The approach is further detailed in Cameron and Deignan (2006), where they propose a new unit of analysis, a *metaphoreme*, which is an emergent metaphor that has a stable lexico-grammatical form, as well as stabilities in affect, attitudinal value, and use. For Cameron and Deignan, metaphoremes have three aspects that are particularly of interest for this study.

- Tend to utilize fixed grammatical patterns
- ‘Fix’ themselves to larger conceptual metaphors
- Generally evaluative

Figure 2.5 Cameron and Deignan's (2006) aspects of metaphoremes

While the metaphoreme is proposed as an alternative to fixed metaphor mappings in order to capture the dynamic nature of metaphor creation in L1
speakers, these characteristics are also shared by the learners using the L2 in order to acquire the language. As an example of metaphoreme, Cameron and Deignan cite <walk away from>, using the triangular brackets to mark the metaphoreme, and argue that the two meanings of the metaphoreme which are "to be unwilling to confront an obligation" (2006: 683) and "survive with few or no injuries" (2006: 685). They write:

The metaphoreme is not a discrete entity condensed out of language that can be used as a 'building block' in a traditional linear systems view of language in use. Rather it is a bundle of relatively stable patterns of language use, with some variation, that, for the time being, describes how people are using the lexical items.

(2006: 686)

While Cameron and Deignan use the metaphoreme to discuss the discourse dynamics process by which metaphorical language is introduced into use, I feel it serves to identify something that is midway between the more stable semantic content that an L1 user might exhibit, having greater control over the language, and the necessarily less stable concept that an L2 user might have, providing a useful handle for the analysis of L2 learner language. While I do not specifically mark metaphoremes, future research might consider ways to mark these for L2 users.

Cameron, et al. (2009) propose metaphor-led discourse analysis as a way to identify and explicate people's ideas, attitudes and values through analysis of discourse, demonstrating and detailing the method with a focus group discussion on terrorism as data. While the method is aimed at "uncover[ing] people's ideas, attitudes, and values" (2009: 63), I feel that by viewing the production of low-intermediate learners as discourse as I do in the qualitative portion of this thesis, it will also be possible to develop ways to better support low-intermediate students in their acquisition of metaphor.
In Cameron (2011), the conversations between Patrick Magee, a former IRA activist responsible for the Brighton hotel bombing, and Jo Berry, the daughter of one of the victims of that bombing, are analysed. While Cameron does not use metaphoreme in her analysis, among the conclusions she draws is that *journey*, mentioned in the last section of the previous chapter, is one of the guiding metaphors in the conciliation process, occurring multiple times in a series of conversations over the course of years. Furthermore, Cameron proposes that the conceptual metaphor **CONCILIATION AS A JOURNEY** is 'emerg(ing) over time as a systematic metaphor' (2011: 28). The term 'systematic metaphor' originally appears in an earlier work by Cameron and she described them as 'emergent and evolving sets of connected metaphors' that are different from "the fixed and stable 'conceptual metaphors' of cognitive metaphor theory" (2007: 201). So while metaphors from a text by an individual author or a speech by a single speaker may be argued to represent the speaker's chosen source domain, if the source domain arises in conversation, or a series of written essays by several authors, or various products of communication that are linked even more tenuously, these metaphors can be seen as different from the fixed metaphors proposed by CMT.

In addition to Cameron's "systemic metaphor" for the main metaphor presented to students, there is also Musolff's contribution (2004, 2006), who introduced the term *scenarios* while working with public discourse data. For Musolff, a scenario is an "intermediate analytical category between the level of the conceptual domain as a whole and its individual elements" (2004: 13) and can be defined as "a minimal but coherent scene that is reminiscent of standard situations, which the users are familiar with as part of their shared cultural knowledge" (2006: 38). Musolff, working with political discourse, explores the coherence of narrative and
explanatory ability of these scenarios, using a corpus of 2,110 texts from British and German newspapers (Musolff, 2006). He also draws a link between the source meaning of scenario from theatre and film, which is a term that best reflects 'prototypical' content aspects such as participants, roles, and any particular story-line as well as any social/ethical evaluations that may be linked to elements of conceptual domains.

Musolff notes the similarity to several previous proposals, citing Fillmore's (1975) general concept of scene, Lakoff's (1987) "idealized cognitive models" (ICMs) and proposals from artificial intelligence research revolving around the term script (Schank & Abelson 1977; Taylor, 1995). Musolff's scenario differs from these proposals in that Musolff's construct was not introduced a priori, but reflects metaphor clusters found in the data. Semino and Haywood (2005) further explore the concept of scenario and suggest that the non-primary scenes of Grady (1997) can be derived from primary scenes via domain-specific elaboration in order to produce scenarios. The particular context of the data which Musolff uses is of note. Musolff uses a corpus of both British and German newspapers so that the construct of scenario is not limited to English or English writers. The conclusions embedded in the various pieces are argumentative, so there is an aspect of seeking to convince readers of the correctness of their positions. Furthermore, Musolff's data indicate, contra the suggestion of some researchers (Chilton & Lakoff, 1995), that scenario details conceptualizations that are not culturally bound, and refutes the notion there are any exclusive "entailments" in a particular national discourse.

Musolff also argues that these scenarios can be either open or closed, with open scenarios being "especially attractive for discussion partners to extend and elaborate or to modify and reject by suggesting a competing scenario" (2006: 174).
Finally, Musolff notes that "the argumentative exploitation of conceptual metaphors in political discourse is unlimited. There is no one set of argumentative presuppositions that is associated exclusively with one source concept or domain in a discourse community" (2006: 39, emph. mine). This acknowledged absence of limitations makes it especially suitable for the pedagogical purposes that are pursued in this thesis.

All of this work on metaphors 'emerging' from discourse has led to researchers who focus towards the 'strong' version of CMT to incorporate proposals for emergent properties of conceptual metaphors. Sanford (2012) proposes Emergent Metaphor Theory, arguing that metaphor is an emergent phenomenon. Kövecses (2015a) restates Sanford's criticism of CMT as "its emphasis on how linguistic metaphors are 'surface' manifestations of 'deep' conceptual metaphors" (2015a: 148). Kövecses also notes that 'standard' CMT is "based on top–down generalizations" (2015a: 148). This thesis does not attempt to link L2 production of metaphor with this growing body of research which either argues for L1 metaphor as an emergent system (cf. Wilson & Carston, 2006; Sanford, 2015) or places a greater emphasis on context (Stern, 2000; Kövecses 2015b). However, these developments indicate that efforts aimed toward the production of metaphor by L2 learners may link up this emphasis on emergent systems and the highlighting of contextual knowledge.

Regardless of whether we label these as Müller's complex metaphors, Grady's non-primary scenes, Cameron's systemic metaphors, Musolff's scenarios or some other term, there are three key points to recognise with these constructs. The first is that they all occupy a different ground from both the 'standard' conceptual metaphors of CMT and any basic or 'primary' metaphors, such as those proposed by Grady. The second is that these constructs can be determined through analysis
of patterns in texts and do not require a single author. The third, most important for this thesis, is that they offer rich semantic possibilities for L2 learners. In the next section, I will explain why this is important.

2.6 Categorising metaphors

In the previous section, I suggested that the change in viewpoint provided by discourse analysis provides space for us to consider L2 learner metaphor. Another way to view this is through the categorization of metaphors. To return to our starting point, in the Ortony collection that marked the beginning of CMT, several contributors, including Black (1979), Searle (1979), and Levin (1979), speak of 'dead' metaphors, which Black describes as "not a metaphor at all, but merely an expression that no longer has a pregnant metaphorical use" (1979: 25). On the other hand, Lakoff and other CMT researchers at the first stage of CMT argued that these 'dead' metaphors are actually part of a larger system. For Black and others, *falling in love* would be a dead metaphor because the person (an L1 speaker) using it would not have any conscious idea that they are connecting one domain to another. For Lakoff, *falling in love* would be linked to the conceptual metaphor STRONG EMOTION IS LOSS OF PHYSICAL CONTROL and the fact that this phrase patterns with other phrases is evidence for it existing as an active way of organising and motivating surface linguistic expressions regardless of whether the user was conscious of its use. To a large extent, conceptual metaphor theory was based on revivifying the metaphors previously declared dead and showing that they are organised and carry meaning. It also consigns those metaphors to 'deep' structure, so a large number of conceptual metaphors were 'revived' by CMT and assumed to be stable entities. As
Müller (2008) points out: "what has hitherto been considered dead is now considered to be the most alive" (2008: 9-10).

While CMT had shifted the focus so that what had been considered dead was now 'deep' structure, organising linguistic output, the categorisation of metaphors themselves was not re-examined, but simply shifted. Turner (2014) cites three broadly similar categorisation schemes (Goatly, 1997; Gentner & Bowdle. 2001; Deignan, 2005), and I will use Deignan (2005: 39) as an example. Deignan suggested a four-category model with the following categories: Innovative (*lollipop trees*), Conventionalised (*grasp an idea*), Dead (*deep* in the sense of color)) and Historical (*comprehend*). All of the models discussed by Turner draw on the proposals informed by historical linguistics, where language innovation leads to language change and innovations become conventionalised so that eventually, the understanding of the innovation is lost (cf. Sweetser, 1990; Hopper & Closs-Traugott, 1993).

We do not assume that L1 speakers have conscious access to information about linguistic change, and the same holds true for L2 speakers. However, all these categorisations also presume a relatively large and diverse lexicon that is stable, which is not the case for low-intermediate L2 learners. For L2 learners, as Littlemore and Low point out, these metaphors "can be very much alive if you do not know what they mean, and a translation into your L1 does not resolve the incongruity (Littlemore & Low, 2006b: 272). These categorisation schemes, of which Deignan is an example, are problematic because they are based on "fixed properties of a lexical item and not [on] its use" (Müller, 2008: 189). This led Müller to argue for a different classification, one of metaphors 'waking' and 'sleeping'. Müller argues that these lexical items can be "activated", and this activation
...simply means that the metaphoricity of a given linguistic expression or conceptual metaphor has had some empirically observable consequences, be it in speech or writing (semantic opposition) or in pictures (depiction of source domain) or... in co-speech gestures (depiction of source domain) (2008: 12, emph. mine).

Müller draws her inspiration from two unpublished dissertations by Kyritzis (2003) and Stibbe (1996) who identified various verbal strategies that Müller terms "activation indicators" (2008: 190). She also notes that Goatly (1997) suggests a similar set of markers, but only concerns himself with these as phatic markers, generally of puns. The list that Müller provides from Kyritzis is as follows:

- Adverbial modification with adverbs such as actually, really, truly, literally
- Repetition
- Change of word class
- Explicit mappings
- Composing, either by the clustering of metaphors from the same source domain or by making a metaphorical-literal juxtaposition
- Elaborating
- Accumulation

These identifiers are attended to in part because Müller's aim is to identify metaphorical language in the language of L1 speakers, a challenge that exists for discourse analysis. Müller uses these activation indicators, along with co-verbal gestures, and language that either elaborates or specifies to identify metaphors that are "waking", while other lexical items that are potentially metaphoric without activation indicators are assumed to be sleeping. In the context of this study, these activation indicators can be taken to mean that potentially metaphoric language in L2 output actually is being used metaphorically and in chapter eight will be used in this manner.

Müller's proposal of "activation indicators" mirrors Hidalgo-Downing and Kraljevic-Mujic's (2013) research into metaphorical creativity across modes and several findings about the relationship between creativity and metaphor are of note in
regards to this thesis. First, Hidalgo-Downing and Kraljevic-Mujic note that "most creative metaphors are not necessarily novel metaphors, but rather, constitute adaptations of already existing conventional metaphors" (2013: 135), an insight which is exploited in this thesis. Many early studies separated figurative language into two groups, conventional (or 'clichéd') and novel (Polio, Smith & Polio, 1990), which automatically fails to acknowledge the potential newness of the items the L2 learner is acquiring. As Littlemore and Low observe, following Cook (2000):

If foreign language learners were able to play with conventional and novel forms of figurative language, this would help improve their communicative language ability, and moreover, if we follow Cook’s argument, it would also help them to learn the language.

(2006: 130, emph. authors)

Second, Hidalgo-Downing and Kraljevic-Mujic argue that 'recontextualization' is a productive device for creating novel metaphors (i.e. metaphors that are novel in the new context), drawing on Kövecses’ observation that both "underutilized parts of the source" (2002: 82) and extensions of the target domain can be used creatively. Hidalgo-Downing and Kraljevic-Mujic go on to note that the "the interaction between context-motivated variation in metaphor and embodied universal cognitive concepts such as image schemas plays a crucial role in the emergence of creative metaphors" (2013: 201) and that this creativity can occur across modes, creating "complex patterns of interaction" (ibid) between modes. While the participants in this study are not creating multimodal texts, they are free to identify and draw on any of these aspects to produce metaphor, addressing the foundation of the research question, how to get low-intermediate level students to produce metaphor without explicitly teaching it.
2.7 Metaphors outside language: 4E and distributed cognition

This discussion has centred on metaphors as linguistic phenomena, in large part because the goal is to have low-intermediate Japanese learners of English produce more metaphoric language in their written L2 output. However, in this final section, I will discuss other research in different modalities and in different fields that lends support to CMT and points to potential pedagogical interventions. Müller's previously cited discussion enlists co-verbal gestures in support of CMT, drawing on two volumes by McNeil (1992, 2005) which aim at a unified theory of language and gesture, culminating in his 2012 work *How Language Began: Gesture and Speech in Human Evolution*. The concept of embodied metaphor, arguably initiated by Lakoff and Johnson (1999), has led to proposals of 4E (Embodied, Embedded, Enactive, Extended) cognition (cf. Menary, 2010) as well as distributed cognition (cf. Dror & Harnad, 2008), all of which have had the effect of refining CMT by supporting some aspects of the theory while questioning others. These research topics mirror important points of this thesis.

As one might imagine, 4E cognition contains a number of lines of thought that do not map neatly onto each other, but each of the terms represents "[t]he once homogenous framework of cognitivism ... being replaced by a multidimensional analysis of cognition as incorporating our brains, bodies and environments" (Menary, 2010: 462). We will discuss each term below.

*Embodied cognition* argues not only that our conceptual systems are constrained by our physical forms (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999) but that we can use our bodies to facilitate communication (McNeill, 1992, 2005) and that it is not just our
bodies, but our cultures, can act as a tool to reduce cognitive processing (Donald, 1991). In a passage that prefigures the discussion in chapter five, Donald writes:

... the actual cognitive structure of an individual mind is heavily influenced by culture. Styles of reading and writing are culture-bound... For example, in the brain of a reader of modern English, ...there must be a module that performs direct grapheme-to-phoneme translation. But in a largely ideographic writing system, such as ancient Chinese, there is no need for such a device...

(Donald, 1991: 11-12)

*Embedded cognition* posits that cognition is designed to "function only in tandem with a certain environment that lies outside the brain of the subject" (Rowlands, 2010: 3), such an environment provides mental 'scaffolding' and without such scaffolding, processes will not operate optimally or fail to operate at all.

*Enactive cognition* (Varela, Thompson & Rosch, 1991) argues that the division between the external world and the representations held in the mind is untenable and aims to replace the traditional notion of computation with a notion of *enaction*, where the agent creates its environment through its actions.

*Extended cognition* suggests that our minds are, in the words of Clark "bounded neither by skin nor skull" (1998: 69). In an oft-cited example, Clark and Chalmers (1998) ask that we consider two people, Anna and Otto. Anna retains all her mental abilities while Otto, suffering from Alzheimer's, finds himself requiring a notebook to keep information he cannot remember. They both wish to attend an event at the same museum. Anna remembers how to reach the museum while Otto, knowing that he wanted to go and knowing that his memory is damaged because of Alzheimer's, records the information in a notebook that he keeps just for that purpose. Clark and Chalmers argue that just as Anna's knowledge of the route to the museum should be considered to be part of Anna's cognitive system, Otto's book
should be considered a part of Otto's cognitive system (cf. Menary, 2010, for both a reprint of the original piece and a range of counter-arguments).

While the program for all this is still in its infancy, for the L2 teacher-practitioner, many of these theories may elicit a shock of recognition. Teaching practices like Total Physical Response (Asher, 1969) and Silent Way (Gattegno, 1963) presented teaching methodologies that mirror many of the ideas in 4E cognition, while the notion of Extended Cognition is something that L2 teachers have always recommended, from utilizing drama (Maley & Duff, 1982) to help acquire and remember the L2 to using "gestures, diagrams, visual aids, and so forth" (Terrell, 1977: 332). Many of these forms are placed under the umbrella term of scaffolding (Foley, 1994; Gibbons, 1992), a term that has its origins in Vygotsky's Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD) (van Lier, 2004).

Distributed cognition is another research thread that seems to have unstated antecedents in the work of Vygotsky, discussed in detail in chapter five. All of these approaches expand the location of cognitive tools to areas outside our minds and as metaphors are part of our cognitive apparatus, a view of them as existing not simply within our brains, but also outside of them yields particular benefits in organising an L2 metaphor pedagogy. The example of culturally enriched metaphors provides a useful example.

Metaphors are obviously enriched by the process of using more detailed, culturally significant source domains in place of generic ones. Boers, et al. (2004) point out that detail is added to the generic conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY by adding details from specific source domains such as cars, trains, and ships, so, as an example, My career is on an even keel now draws on the domain of sea travel. However, does every native English speaker know what a keel is? Is every
native English speaker familiar with the range of nautical terms in metaphor, such as *rudder, flagship, mainstay*? Brookes (2014) lists these and others, and goes on to point out that *under way* and *by and large* are both terms with nautical associations that are lost to native speakers. The presence of nautical associations earlier lead Low to wonder: "If English is full of metaphors of the sea and naval battles, do we teach a politically right-wing vision of England as a besieged island community preserving its individual national identity (2008:225)?" Kövecses (2015b) similarly argues that metaphor can be primed by not only local context, but by what he terms 'global context', which he equates with "culture 1", a term he contrasts with "culture 2". This division may make sense to the metaphor researcher, but is a minefield for the EFL teacher-practitioner.

This question of precisely what to teach is neatly avoided when we consider metaphors as distributed knowledge rather than something that all speakers must know. Wilson and Golonka note, in the context of analysing language in terms of embodied cognition, that their goal is "an initial analysis of language that replaces what words *mean* with what language lets us *do*" (2013: 11, emph. theirs). In the context of this thesis, the goal is not to have L2 learners know what metaphors mean but to see what they can do with them. If we demand that they know all aspects of a metaphor before they are permitted to use it or, even more problematically, know all aspects of most metaphors (a requirement that their instructors might not be able to meet) before trying them out, their prose will remain cramped and fettered.

The notion of *distributed cognition* is also an idea which calls to mind multimodality and multimodal metaphor, which will be discussed in chapter 6. To briefly preview this important topic, multimodality is a theory of communication which holds that multiple modes, textual, aural, linguistic, spatial and visual, are
employed to compose texts. While these modes work together to create a multimodal
text, they can be analysed independently. The work of Gunther Kress (Kress, 1997,
2000) and co-authored works with Theo van Leeuwen (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996,
2001 and 2002) are considered to be foundational texts. Kress was a member of The
New London Group and with their manifesto (The New London Group, 2000),
multimodality was tied to multiliteracies (Cope & Kalantzis, 2000), with the idea that
education needs to teach literacies in all modes rather than just the consumption and
production of text. Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) observe that "[m]eanings belong to
culture, rather than to specific semiotic modes" (1996: 2) and distributed cognition
helps explain how that can be conceptualized.

Simultaneously, several researchers have argued that if metaphor is
conceptual rather than linguistic, as CMT argues, it should be equally present in other
modes of communication, modes which have generally not been acknowledged to the
same extent as language. The work of Charles Forceville initially put this argument
forward (Forceville, 1996), applying CMT to pictorial metaphor in advertising
(Forceville, 1996; 2002), followed by comics (Forceville, 2005). Other researchers
have continued to work with advertising, as well as delving into political cartoons,
amination, co-speech gestures, music and sound, and film, with the resulting work
being entitled multimodal metaphor (Forceville & Urios-Aparisi, 2009).

This thesis employs multimodal texts in the form of music videos to prompt
metaphoric language. Multimodal analyses of music videos are not as plentiful as
multimodal analyses of advertising, possibly because the ties on multiliteracies place
an emphasis on modern consumer culture and literacy (Jewitt & Kress, 2003),
resulting in focus placed on the critical reading of advertising. In contrast, music
videos are often analysed semiotically (Peeters, 2004; Railton & Watson, 2011), in part because they inherit a tradition from film analysis and in part because there is assumed to be an authorial voice that can be deconstructed. Because of the absence of frameworks for analysing music videos and the absence of space in this thesis, the multimodal content of the four music videos is not examined to a level that we see in comparable analyses of advertising. However, I will discuss the multimodal content that appears to have had an effect on the students’ subsequent written production of metaphoric language.

Multimodal analysis has benefited from the rise of the internet and digital technologies, which permit the transmission and easy sharing of sound and images, thereby allowing modes beyond the isolated text to be transmitted, recorded and analysed. Because the notion of modes came as additions to text, the tendency has been to use linguistic frameworks, as we can see with Kress and van Leeuwen’s (1996) foundational text, subtitled *The grammar of visual design*.

Returning to Clark’s previously mentioned example of Anna and Otto, where he argues that Otto’s looking up in a notebook is on a par with Anna’s mental accessing of information, we can place this in multimodal terms and suggest that he is drawing an equivalence between two different modes, again recalling multimodality. Multimodal researchers would argue that to overvalue one mode over another leads to mistaken readings and conclusions. Clark, as a philosopher, presents his example as a thought experiment to have others reconsider what human cognitive abilities should include, but the multimodal researcher would understand that the presentation of multiple modes is, in and of itself, important. Furthermore, it helps to underline Kress’ claim that "all texts are multimodal" (2000: 184). However, because this thesis grows out of work within a more traditional curriculum where writing
literacy rather than multiliteracies is the issue, I will be looking at how the multimodal material supports the production of metaphoric language rather than attempting to develop multiliteracies with the participants in this study.

To summarize this chapter, we have seen that traditional views of metaphor placed metaphor outside the 'basic' language. CMT brought metaphor back within the fold of everyday language and made metaphor an essential part of cognition, expanding the range of data that metaphor was argued to explain. To do this, a varied range of conceptual metaphors was proposed and, as a theoretical commitment, researchers then worked to reduce this range of conceptual metaphors to more basic building blocks. A brief survey of the literature concerning one of the first proposed conceptual metaphors, LIFE IS A JOURNEY, served to display the variety and depth that is inevitably lost when reducing a complex metaphor to its component parts. A discussion on categorisations of metaphor followed. It was noted that these categorisations were based on the output of the L1 speaker/writer and I argued that this lead to assumptions that undercut the perception of metaphoric ability in the L2 speaker/writer. Recent research in 4E cognition and distributed cognition has supported the broad outlines of CMT while expanding the horizons of consideration and connections were made between 4E cognition and multimodality. This is very important in considering how to present metaphor to low-intermediate learners and how the teacher-practitioner can induce the production of metaphor in such students.

In the next chapter, we will discuss L2 metaphor research. We will see why, in following in the footsteps of L1 metaphor research, L2 pedagogical materials have tended to "focus on just semantics/lexis and to be stand-alone exercises, rather than integrated into broader instructional programmes" (Low, 2008: 226) and why that focus has weakened the impact of metaphor in the L2 classroom.
Chapter Three: Is there such a thing as L2 metaphoric competence and, if so, what is it?

3.0 Introduction

In the previous chapter, Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) was outlined as a theory of linguistics. CMT, proposed initially as an explanation of human language and conceptual processing, had the effect of expanding the view of what aspects/parts of language could be considered to be metaphoric, marking a first stage of expansion of data that could be considered under the aegis of metaphor study, with attempts to organise that data into more manageable primitives. Discourse analysis, along with advances in computer technology, marks a second stage of data expansion. While we traditionally speak of CMT as a tool used in discourse analysis, I hope that I have made it clear that this "application" had the effect of feeding back into CMT both new and revised constructs and alternative ways to view metaphor. While discourse analysis is considered to be part of "applied" linguistics, it can be said to both challenge and feed into theoretical assumptions, belying the unidirectionality that "applied" implies (Musolff & Zinken, 2009). In that context, we will contrast how native and non-native speakers relate propositional meaning.

As Cribb (2009) notes, native speakers have little problem in conveying their intended propositional meaning through utterances, but it can be a great challenge to non-native speakers. This makes it more difficult to conduct discourse analysis on the texts of non-native speakers, so it is only natural that not only has the initial thrust of discourse analysis concentrated on the discourse of L1 speakers, but that the bulk of data is that of L1 speakers.
Stubbs' (1983) book on discourse analysis carries the subtitle *The Sociolinguistic Analysis of Natural Language*, and in it he states that the object of study for discourse analysis is "details of the naturally occurring language" (1983: 8) which can be taken to imply the "language of the native speaker". So while discourse analysis brought an emphasis on naturally occurring data and larger stretches of text, the focus remained on L1 production and, when discourse analysis is applied to metaphor, on L1 metaphor. L1 speakers simultaneously learn the propositional meanings of the language and the language itself. In the case of metaphors, this means that L1 speakers can be unaware of the metaphorical content and simply attend to the propositional meaning. On the other hand, for non-native speakers, using metaphors to convey the appropriate propositional meaning is more challenging. These questions fall under the term 'metaphoric competence', and in this chapter I will explore the literature written on this concept. I will argue that there is valuable information to be gleaned when we view the written production of metaphor by L2 learners and this information supports specific instruction in metaphor by the EFL teacher.

In this chapter, I will review the literature related to L2 metaphor, concentrating on the proposed concept of metaphoric competence. The urge to measure metaphoric competence has focussed attention on the metaphoric status of individual lexical items, which fails to take into account the influence of complex metaphors and the opportunities such metaphors offer for teaching. This overemphasis on lexis when teaching metaphor in the L2 classroom inspired the research project described in this thesis, which aims at providing a foundation for a different approach to teaching metaphor in the L2 classroom. This project, which features a combination of quantitative and qualitative research, examines this
teaching approach and will add additional data to be considered in metaphor research.

In an L1-centered approach, metaphor is primarily taught in a prescriptive fashion, with the ideal L1 speaker's use of metaphor being the model. Rather than treating metaphor as something that the L2 speaker must imitate, an approach that encourages ELT teachers to draw on the linguistic resources their students bring to the classroom will be investigated. In order to establish that foundation, I will discuss the work of Braj Kachru (1992, 1997), drawing on his Circles model. The Kachru model is helpful in providing a framework to reconsider metaphor for non-native speakers. Finally, I will illustrate the differences between the teaching of metaphor pedagogy to young L1 speakers and L2 learners, which will help explain why a different approach is both useful and appropriate.

3.1 Metaphoric competence, interlanguage and the L2 speaker

It is unsurprising that trends in L2 linguistics follow trends in L1 linguistics at a distance of several years, because as theories are worked out in L1, they are then "applied" to L2. However, the wholesale adoption of L1 metaphor research in L2 metaphor research is problematic, especially as it relates to the language classroom, because the fundamental question that L1 linguistics asks is in a number of ways, at odds with the question posed by L2 linguistics. For L1 linguistics, the question is, as Chomsky frames it, the poverty of the stimulus question, or how almost all children, barring those with particular developmental deficiencies, can acquire a first language with little or no explicit instruction. Or, more simply put: How do they know what they know? While what that means for linguistics has been bitterly contested, the general goal of L1 linguistics is to try to identify and locate additional information the
L1 language learner has access to in order to explain the distribution of linguistic data a native speaker produces. A partial listing of linguistic constructs proposed to account for surface structure would include deep structure (Chomsky, 1957), semantic frames (Fillmore, 1982), traces (Chomsky, 1973), cognitive domains (Langacker, 1987), conceptual metaphors (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980b) and idealized cognitive models (ICM) (Lakoff, 1987). All these proposals, as well as many others, posit particular linguistic facts for L1 speakers. These proposals require the proposal of primitives for the language system of the L1 speaker. This is the opposite of the goal of L2 linguistics, especially as it is related to language teaching. The question here is how fluent L1 speakers have great difficulty accessing information already available for their L1 when they learn an L2. Virtually all speakers, barring severe neurological deficiencies, become fluent in an L1, but far fewer gain fluency in L2, especially when learning as an adult. One of the tasks of L2 linguistics has been to understand what is transferred from the L1 to the L2 and what is not, and then propose models to explain why this is the case. For instructed L2, this then should tell us what should be taught to L2 learners and when it should be introduced.

One of the suggestions made to understand how a learner moves from their L1 to an L2 system is interlanguage (Selinker, 1972), which has been applied to grammatical systems and their acquisition. While Ellis (2001) takes issue with the metaphor of interlanguage, it is a generally accepted construct in applied linguistics (cf. Tarone, 2013). If metaphoric competence requires accessing a system of interconnected metaphors, the notion of interlanguage is an obvious rebuttal to the idea that learners acquire metaphor through an explicitly taught transplantation of L1 building blocks of metaphor. This thesis argues that instruction in complex metaphors is a suitable and important facet of ELT instruction to low-intermediate
students precisely because it assumes that the L2 learner already has a metaphoric system to draw on.

3.1.1 Beginnings

When we discuss metaphoric competence, we must first deal with a terminology problem, in that the term has been given as 'metaphorical competence', 'metaphoric competence', 'metaphorical competency' and 'metaphoric competency'. 'Metaphorical' would suggest that the ability is not actually real, while 'metaphoric' suggests simply that it is connected to metaphor, so I will use the latter term. While competence describes general ability, competency describes the ability to perform a certain task. As we shall see, 'metaphoric competence' extends to all aspects of communication and should not be reserved for the advanced student.

Initially, just as L1 metaphor research had to overcome the prejudice that metaphor was merely "decorative", L2 metaphor pedagogy has faced a parallel challenge, which is assuming that metaphor is something reserved only for advanced learners and thought to be too difficult for those less advanced, a preconception that persists today. We can see this play out in the way metaphoric competence has been defined and discussed.

Low's (1988) research was an early attempt to come to grips with metaphoric competence for L2 learners, and focused on skills that those learners needed to cope with metaphor. However, all his suggestions are pedagogical in nature and primarily involve the understanding rather than the production of metaphor. Another early attempt was Danesi's notion of 'conceptual fluency' (1992, 1995), which he equated with 'metaphorical competence'. However, this amounted to simply asserting the existence of metaphoric competence in L1, and suggesting that L2 teaching practices
should be changed to teach that to learners (Danesi, 2003). Valeva (1996) observes that conceptual fluency, the idea that a speaker can easily relate different concepts to other concepts, and metaphoric competence are actually different. She points out that two of the three small-scale experiments in Danesi (1992) fail to reveal any difference in his metaphor production tasks between the Italian native speakers and those learning Italian. Valeva then notes that Johnson and Rossana (1993) found that though ESL students preparing for university entry did not perform as well as native speaking participants on decontextualised measures of vocabulary and verbal analogy, they performed as well as native speakers on metaphor interpretation tasks, leading them to conclude that "linguistic proficiency seems unrelated to level of complexity in metaphor complexity" (1993: 172). However, for Danesi, having knowledge of "how [the] language 'reflects' or 'encodes' concepts on the basis of metaphorical reasoning" (1995: 5) is necessary for conceptual fluency. In short, this view sees L2 metaphoric competence simply recreating the L1 speaker's ability in the target language with little or no allowances made for what the L2 speaker brings to the process. Essentially, this claims that if an L2 speaker doesn't somehow replicate how the L1 speaker's mind works, the L2 speaker cannot reach fluency.

Low (2008) suggests three possible approaches to establishing metaphoric competence: an approach based on psychological skills; an approach that incorporates metaphoric competence into accepted notions of communicative competence; and establishing metaphoric competence as a practice-based approach. As I focus on the third approach in the thesis, in the next two sections I will describe the first two approaches and explain why they are problematic for the language classroom before moving on to discuss the third approach in detail.
3.1.2 Metaphoric competence as a set of psychological skills

According to Low (2008), one approach to metaphoric competence would be to isolate a small set of psychological skills which are either held to underlie a broad range of actual metaphor performance, or which are indirectly related to performance and serve more as predictors (2008: 221). This has a strong intuitive appeal as these cognitive processes could serve as predictors of L2 metaphor ability and then could go on to predict differential L2 acquisition. This also appeals because stable individual differences have been found in the area of L1 metaphor competence (Littlemore & Low, 2006a). Littlemore (2010) lists eight cognitive processes that research on metaphor comprehension in the first language suggests are involved: activation of relevant domain knowledge (Giora, 2003), imagery (Li, 2002), episodic memory (Bottini, et al., 1994), analogical reasoning (Paivio & Walsh, 1993), categorization (Glucksberg, et al., 2001), the use of context (Gibbs, 1994), associative fluency (Johnson & Rosano, 1993), and conceptual blending (Fauconnier & Turner, 1998) (from Littlemore, 2010: 295). Iskandar & Baird (2013), in testing a new Metaphor Interpretation Test for L1 learners with language impairments (cf. Iskandar, 2014), suggest five cognitive processes: working memory, visual abstraction, verbal abstraction, processing speed, and attention switching. Following Littlemore (2001), Littlemore and Low (2006b) also cautiously suggest that the learner's cognitive style may be tied to metaphoric competence, noting that the research is divided over the stability of such styles. Some may argue that because some or all of these cognitive processes could be stable across L1 and L2, they may ultimately be able to somehow predict L2 acquisition of the language. While this may be possible, the range of cognitive processes implicated in metaphor comprehension
is quite broad and it is likely that for L1 speakers, deficiencies in one area could be covered by strengths in another area, while for production the L1 speaker can simply opt not to use a particular metaphor and draw on other resources to get the meaning across. In addition, for the L1 speaker, having been exposed to more instantiations of particular metaphors, these metaphors become lexicalised, which has the effect of delinking the testing of metaphoric competence from language ability. This possibility is underlined by the fact that for the research listed by Littlemore (2010), the vast majority deal with novel metaphor.

This also accounts for a weakness, noted by Littlemore (2001), that many of the tests for metaphoric competence have low reliabilities because the tests were based on a small number of items. As it has become understood how common figurative language and metaphor are in language, this research requires more and more ingenious tests for metaphoric competence, often based on a great deal of background knowledge. This is background knowledge that L2 learners, especially low-intermediate learners, might not possess, and this reduces the number of possible target items.

On the other hand, the indirect testing of metaphoric competence is quite seductive for both the L2 researcher and the teacher-practitioner, because it allows the experimental separation of metaphoric competence from cognitive processes, and the range of metaphors that can be tested is much greater. However, many of the tests conducted to argue for metaphoric competence in L1 speakers cannot be done with L2 speakers. For example, Galinsky and Glucksberg (2000) conducted two experiments with L1 speakers which investigated differential responses to a previously read paragraph about the perceived recklessness of a character named Donald after presenting participants with prompts based on fire (literal, "Sitting by
the fire”; figurative implying danger, "You’re playing with fire”; figurative good luck, "You’re on fire”) and prompts based on the literal and figurative use of an idiom ("break a leg"). For the L1 speakers, they argue that there had to be "inhibitory processes" (2000: 51) that prevented the processing of the irrelevant material from the metaphor. This makes it difficult to apply in the L2 classroom, because the question of what is or is not relevant is the particular challenge faced by the L2 learner and as we shall see in section 5.3.1, the route by which lexical items are acquired by L2 learners is not necessarily the same as they are acquired by native speakers. Different routes will require different material, and so, what is inhibited in an L1 speaker might be the information that the L2 speaker draws on to remember the construction.

Researching metaphoric competence as dependent on a psychological construct or constructs crucially depends on the status of those constructs and therefore requires research that can isolate such constructs effectively. While it is beyond the scope of this thesis to review the evidence for the psychological constructs that are proposed, the example of perceptual learning styles in education offers a cautionary example. Researchers in perceptual learning styles (also termed learning modalities) proposed that learners had a particular learning "style" and would learn best if they were taught in that modality. Intuitively appealing, it gained purchase in the 1970’s for education, influencing educators to both assess the learning styles of their students and adapt their teaching for student learning styles in a wide range of teaching situations. Reid (1987) then used one instrument, the Perceptual Learning Styles Preference Questionnaire, with ESL students to draw conclusions about the relationship between classroom success and these learning styles. Other research and instruments followed, most notably the Style Analysis Survey (SAS) (Oxford, 1993),
which measured other aspects of learning styles in addition to preferences for perceptual learning styles, as well as proposals for teaching to students whose preference was for different modalities soon followed. However, more than 25 years after Reid’s paper, a panel of experts (Pashler, McDaniel, Rohrer & Bjork, 2009) addressed the validity of learning styles practices in L1 contexts and found that there was no experimental evidence for them. While they did not completely dismiss the construct of learning styles, they concluded that the types of experiments that would prove the effect of learning styles would require two separate class conditions where students were randomly assigned, taught, and tested. While learning styles research in the classroom suffers from other weaknesses (cf. Isemonger, 2012), much work on metaphorical competence in this regard often exhibits the same tendencies. As he points out:

[I]t is arguable that all groups are better served by an integrated, multimodality learning experience than a singular modality experience which caters to the preference of a particular group—with all the attendant problems of coping with the groups that might be marginalized by such disadvantageous matching.  

(2012: 24)

Assuming that the underlying psychological constructs that are proposed to underpin metaphorical competence are correct, the researcher may be able to tease out individual differences in metaphorical competence under carefully controlled laboratory conditions; however, the classroom practitioner does not have that luxury. The second approach, which fits metaphorical competence into existing models of communicative competence, raises different problems that will be discussed in the next section.
3.1.3 Metaphoric competence incorporated into communicative competence

The second of Low's (2008) three approaches is the incorporation of metaphoric competence into existing models of communicative competence. This approach can be best seen in Littlemore and Low (2006b). They attach metaphoric competence to what they term the "Bachman Model" of communicative competence, arguing that aspects of metaphoric competence exist in all facets of communicative competence.

The communicative competence model originates with a proposal by Dell Hymes (1971) of communicative competence for L1 (itself a reaction to Chomsky's (1965) distinction between competence and performance), which was imported into L2 linguistics by Canale and Swain (1980) and Canale (1983). After this, it was modified for the purposes of testing by Bachman (1990); hence the name. Bachman has been one of the leading theorists on language testing (Kunnan, 2012) and this linkage to testing will be discussed below.

The Bachman Model lists five areas (sociolinguistic, illocutionary, textual, grammatical, and strategic competence); Littlemore and Low discuss each area, showing how metaphor is an essential part of these competences. Their goal was to "connect with the broader frameworks of skill and ability standardly used by language teachers, testers, and researchers" (2006b: 289, emph. mine). This inclusion of testing is not an addition by Littlemore and Low: The Bachman model carries the title Fundamental Considerations in Language Testing. 'Testers' is a key demographic because as soon as that demographic is addressed, an ideal model needs to be presented to test against. This dimension of testing can also be seen in the formal name of the CEFR, "Common European Framework of Reference for
Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment” (emph. mine). The challenges of the testing and assessment of metaphor can be seen in Littlemore, et al. (2012) who propose descriptors to be added to the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR) to not only specifically acknowledge the production of metaphor but to take into consideration the production of novel metaphor, i.e. metaphor that would not be produced by a native speaker, but is produced by L2 learners.

The previously described approach to metaphoric competence requires not only the identification of psychological constructs but a way to measure them. It is then assumed that the measurement(s) of the psychological construct(s) correlates with metaphorical competence. This can be seen as being fundamentally an indirect test, where researchers identify separate elements to test individually and compare this to tests of metaphoric competence. On the other hand, communicative competence generally requires direct and integrative testing (Genesee, 1984). This would mean developing direct testing for metaphoric competence, where proficiency is measured by learners' ability to do the task. While Bachman's model contains no requirement to test communicative competence directly or indirectly, the CEFR is explicitly designed to measure proficiency, which arguably must be measured by direct testing. This has the effect of limiting metaphor teaching at lower levels, because the learners do not have the lexical resources to draw on to sufficiently describe how and why they are using metaphors, which reduces testing to the semantics of individual lexical items and set phrases. As Littlemore, et al. (2014) observe in discussing the CEFR A2 level, "It is difficult to see a clear role for metaphor at this level, except perhaps in the form of very dead metaphors" (2014: 131).
Furthermore, Bachman and Angeles (2002), in discussing the complexities of task-based language performance assessment, assert:

Performance assessments are typically designed to assess complex abilities that cannot easily be defined in terms of a single trait, and typically present test-takers with tasks that are much more complex than traditional constructed-response items.

(2002: 471)

As the understanding of metaphor is a complex rather than a simple ability, placing metaphoric competence under the umbrella of communicative competence in order to test it is probably not an effective way to determine how to teach metaphoric competence. Furthermore, when faced with the challenge of teaching metaphor to low-intermediate students in particular, it is probably necessary to step away from defining metaphoric competence via communicative competence. If we view the challenge from the lens of production, these learners are making their initial attempts at creating and using metaphor in their L2, which makes a more focussed approach preferable. A more proactive and pedagogically useful stance would be to consider the learner as a language creator rather than a language consumer, and avoid measuring them against a native-speaker standard. While education as it is currently formulated requires testing, I will argue that in the case of metaphor, the emphasis on testing ahead of ways of successfully teaching metaphor puts the cart before the horse. That said, the testing instrument of Azuma (2005) is the most developed of such tests. A close examination of that instrument will show some of the problems that are associated with metaphoric competence when it is tested from the standpoint of communicative competence.

3.1.3.1 Azuma’s Test of Metaphoric Competence

In Azuma (2005), we find an attempt to test metaphoric competence for the same population that this study deals with: Japanese university students. She does
this by creating three tests of metaphoric competence: a receptive test, a productive test, and a test of metaphoric sensitivity/skills. A closer examination of these tests and Azuma's development process reveals some of the problems that arise in the testing of metaphoric competence. These problems are an inevitable byproduct of attaching metaphoric competence to communicative competence, which then impacts the teaching of metaphor in the language classroom. Azuma also incorporated vocabulary measures into the measurement of metaphoric competence, which was novel. However, the focus on whether students could understand such vocabulary created a focus on receptive knowledge rather than productive knowledge, which, coupled with an overly prescriptive focus, failed to, I argue, truly capture the metaphoric competence of low-intermediate learners.

As an initial step to synchronize her findings with other research into the lexicon, Azuma gauged the participants' approximate vocabulary size and depth using previously proposed tools. This was to ensure a homogenous population so that the test would be susceptible to statistical verification. In her preliminary study, for vocabulary breadth, Azuma relied on Schmitt's Vocabulary Levels Test (Schmitt, Schmitt & Clapham, 2001) and for vocabulary depth, she initially constructed an instrument to measure the strength of word associations (Word Associations Test or WAT), based on a presentation by Read (1995). Her modification of Read’s test is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The target word: sudden</th>
<th>beautiful</th>
<th>quick</th>
<th>surprising</th>
<th>thirsty</th>
<th>change</th>
<th>doctor</th>
<th>noise</th>
<th>school</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Figure 3.1 Azuma's (2005:104) modification of Read's (1995) Word Association Test (WAT)
In this case, for the target word *sudden*, the choices on the left were paradigmatic with *quick* and *surprising* being the correct answers and the choices on the right were syntagmatic with *change* and *noise* being correct.

Because the composition of the target words had to be controlled, she chose 52 candidate words (18 adjectives, 21 nouns and 13 verbs) which she first presented to a group of seven native speakers, asking them to write the first three words that came to mind when they saw the target word. They were then asked to rank them in terms of strength of association and provide a brief explanation for the word ranked with the strongest association. From these data, the total number of prompts was reduced to a group of ten words and the answers given by the native speakers were placed together with distractors. The Japanese students completed this test to provide a measure of word association and their responses were then compared to "correct" responses, i.e. the responses of the native speakers. However, Azuma did not use this test in the full study, not only because it correlated poorly with the metaphoric competence test, but also because the participants showed a great deal of anxiety taking the test; they said that it was too complicated and took more time than other tests. Thus, in its place, Azuma used a test of polysemy.

For the test of polysemy, a second group of ten target words was used. This test asked participants to read a sentence with the embedded target word as shown in the example below.

```
Interpret an underlined word (1) and describe the state, act or situation meant by the word or the sentence (2). The following example shows the first target item.

Defend:
1. They defended their goal with great skill.
   (1)
   (2)
2. The lawyer is defending his client's rights in the court.
   (1)
   (2)
```

![Figure 3.2 Azuma's (2005:111) test of polysemy](image)

66
Azuma then administered the test to the native speakers. Azuma writes:

After analysing the results of the preparatory polysemy test (*of course, there were no problems with interpretation*), the polysemy test ... was revised into [an annotated] format to make it easier for EFL students to answer and notes to low frequency words were added in Japanese... (2005: 111, emph. mine).

While it is difficult to imagine a scale of communicative competence that is not based on native speaker inuition, this norming of the test on the intuitions of native speakers and the reduction to ten items has the effect of shifting the test from a direct test of competence to an indirect one. Azuma makes an underlying assumption that if these two tests, normed on native speakers, correlate with the results of the test of metaphoric competence in the L2, student metaphoric competence is measured. This thesis challenges that assumption.

Azuma then administered three metaphoric competence tests, one for sensitivity (MC-XYT), one for receptive ability (MC-RT), and a final test for productive ability (XY-PT). The abbreviations refer to the following: MC: Metaphoric Competence, T= Test, R= Receptive, P= Productive and XY refers to the format of the metaphoric sensitivity test. The sensitivity test was based on a test of metaphoric ability administered to native English-speaking children aged 6–14 (Winner, Rosenstiel & Gardner, 1976). Azuma's version asked the participants to write a pair of phrases in the form of *An X is an adjective Y* (hence MC-XYT), using 8 adjectives chosen for their primary physical, psychological and cross-sensory meanings. While this is a variation on the traditional nominative metaphors noted in section 2.2, it seems to be an attempt to take advantage of the traditional presentation of metaphors.
The adjectives in this case were "dual-function adjectives" such as *hard* or *bright* that have a "primary, physical meaning" as well as a meaning that can be interpreted as a metaphoric extension (2005: 290). Below is the example given by Azuma (2005: 113):

Write two sentences using the target adjectives listed below. Use each adjective in a literal sense in one of the sentences (L), and figuratively in the other sentence (F). Format is: An/the X is a(n) adj. Y. Use any word(s)/phrases(s)/clause(s) for X and Y

Example: hard

L: The object on the table is a hard stone.
F: Mike Tyson's muscles are hard steel.

1. bright

(L )

(F )

---

As Azuma observed, this is a useful exercise for EFL students to understand and generate polysemy, though it is concentrated on semantics/lexis, and requires that the teacher evaluate this on the basis of native speaker collocations. The ability for the proposed tests to generate ideas for the classroom is not to be dismissed. This type of testing does, however, continue to reinforce the idea that metaphoric competence resides in knowledge of the lexis and to improve metaphoric competence simply requires more and more in-depth vocabulary learning.

It is also interesting that the adjective *grey* was the most problematic of the 10 adjectives used. Azuma notes that this adjective had the highest number of 'zero answers'. Yet the color has, in Japanese, three forms: two native Japanese forms *nezumi-iro* (ねずみ色 or "mouse-colour") and *hai-iro* (灰色 or "ash-colour") and a borrowed English form *gure* (グレー).

The receptive ability test (MC-RT) consisted of 11 idioms (ex. *to let the cat out of the bag*), with each idiom embedded in two contrasting passages. One passage used the literal meaning of the idiom and a second passage used the figurative
meaning. The participants were asked to paraphrase the content in order to
determine if they understood the usage of the idiom in that particular passage. The
results showed that the mean score for the passage with the idiom used literally was
on average higher than for the passage where the idiom was used figuratively. In
examining the two passages, it is clear that more textual support is given to the literal
meaning and less to the idiomatic meaning as can be seen by the following example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(2) The rotten apple injures its neighbours.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) Sally and Tom had a beautiful garden. At the bottom of the garden there was an apple tree. On Sunday afternoon they picked all the apples and put them in the box. However, a rotten apple had been put in by mistake and it turned all the others bad. When Sally realised this, she said “The rotten apple injures its neighbours.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) “Somerville used to be such a nice area,” said Anne. “Yes,” agreed Cheryl, “but once a few bad families started to move in the area got a really bad reputation.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“The problem is that the rotten apple injures its neighbours,” replied Anne.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the first passage, ‘apple’ appears three times and the context, of apples
being harvested, is made clear. On the other hand, the second passage, in addition to
being almost 30% shorter than the first, establishes the context through devices that
have probably never been pointed out to the students. For example, Anne’s statement
"Sommerville used to be such a nice area" and Cheryl's agreement establish that the
exchange was phatic, and Cheryl's next statement acts as an explanation of the
situation, which is then transferred to Anne's statement of the idiom. While a
different setting (where Cheryl doesn't understand Anne's evaluation and Anne
explains it) may have provided more context, the question hinges more on students
recognizing the phrase "a rotten apple injures its neighbors".

The productive test (MC-PT) consisted of 11 other idioms and participants
were asked to write a pair of short passages of easy sentences with the same target
sentence idiom embedded in it in different contexts, one placing the idiom in a literal
sense, the other in a metaphoric one. As this test of production has some resemblance
to the tasks in this thesis, Azuma's scoring criteria, which I list below, bear careful examination:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Score</th>
<th>Criteria for producing a metaphorical passage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>The meaning of the target expression is embodied and fits well in a passage; semantic relatedness or mapping between the source and the target (the vehicle and the topic) is clear; degree of metaphoricity is high.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Examples from the students' answers to Target expression: P-2 to keep one's head down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>One day, Ben went to his friend, Ken's house. He was invited to Ken's birthday party. At the end of the party, everybody start to give a present to Ken, but Ben didn't have anything. he forgot to buy it. Ben seems to keep his head down that day.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>The meaning of the target expression is embodied in a passage to some extent, but semantic relatedness or mapping between the source and the target (the vehicle and the topic) is not as clear as 3. Additional linkage(s) or sentence(s) is necessary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>John isn't good at English. But his sister is very good at English. So, Ken's sister always teachers English to Ken. Ken keep his head down.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>The meaning of the target expression is not embodied in a passage. The relationship between the source and the target (the vehicle and the topic) in metaphorical use is lacking. Anomaly. Confusion involved, but there is an effort to use an expression.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>My son is too shy to talk to a stranger, when he walks the road. He walks to keep his head down.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>An incorrect answer or no answer written.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>He was keep his head down. Because he is bright.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 3.5 Azuma's (2005:146) Criteria used in scoring of metaphorical parts of Productive Test (MC-PT)

The first point to notice is that, in this example, the assignment of points correlates with the amount that is written. Thus, the longest example gets the highest score. Furthermore, the target idiom, *keep one’s head down*, can be interpreted in two ways. The first would be "to avoid attention [because of potential punishment]" (McGraw-Hill, n.d.). The second, which is not considered by Azuma, would be "to work hard". Azuma argues that the schema employed here is one that represents disappointment or repentance. The answers for best and third best answer embody the first meaning while the second and fourth embody the second. The two meanings can be connected, as they are in this passage:

Growing up, my parents taught me not to brag. We rolled our eyes at the long-winded Christmas letters that chronicled other families' accomplishments. We bit our tongues when a neighbor compared her son to Tom Cruise. My mother would hang good report cards on the refrigerator, but stash them in a drawer when we had company. "No one likes a braggart," she would say. "**Just keep your head down** and work hard, and people will notice.

(Coster, 2010: 1, emph. mine)
While keeping one's head down is related to being modest in this passage, the act of keeping one's head down also corresponds to working hard. It is this connection that has been taken up in Asian Englishes, so the phrase has come to mean something like 'putting your nose to the grindstone'. An example of this can be found in the song by the K-pop group TVXQ, known as Tōhōshinki (東方神起) in Japan, with the title "Keep Your Head Down". The song begins with "self-empowering English opening lines" that reveal the singers' "determination to return stronger after breaking up with a former lover". A glance at the video suggests that the members of the group are not retiring wallflowers ("Keep Your Head Down (song)," n.d.).

While Azuma's research represents an admirable attempt to try and test metaphoric competence, three problems with this type of test are revealed: first, the test depends crucially on the vocabulary knowledge of the participants, so more efforts to teach lexis and vocabulary would improve the test-takers' results without addressing any questions of metaphoric competence. Because of this lack of lexical information on the part of the participants, Azuma's test reduces the context, which impacts the participant's ability to understand the metaphors. But the most serious problem is the emphasis on the primacy of the native speaker. While any test that attempts to measure metaphoric competence in an L2 must have some contact with a native speaker model, Azuma's model, normed on native speakers, fails to identify or acknowledge the assets that non-native speakers are bringing to their acquisition of their L2.

Azuma notes in the scoring for the MC-PT that

In the case of Japanese EFL students, some lexical, grammatical and syntactic errors are expected besides poor skills of manipulation of
metaphoric expressions. Therefore, as long as errors do not affect the meaning of a whole passage...most of such errors may well be discounted (Azuma, 2005: 128-129).

It is this observation that is discussed in the next section.

3.1.3.2 Metaphoric competence versus grammatical accuracy

Azuma's (2005) suggestion that we can "discount" errors when meaning is transmitted is a key insight for this thesis. Given that metaphor has been considered to be a relatively advanced topic, perhaps the question to be addressed, before any research questions are put forward, is "why metaphor?" or at least "why metaphor for L2 students before they are able to produce relatively error-free English?". Hinkle gives a list of "Micro features" of vocabulary in L2 writing that include the following points:

- They exhibit less lexical variety and sophistication;
- They contain significantly fewer idiomatic and collocational expressions;
- They have smaller lexical density and lexical specificity, and more frequent vocabulary misuses;
- There are fewer passive constructions;
- There are markedly fewer abstract and interpretive nouns, and nominalizations (e.g., rotation, cognition, analysis)

In order to explain why metaphor is appropriate for low-intermediate learners, I'd like to examine two student texts written in response to the same prompt, a request for a description of a popular music video, Jesse McCartney's Beautiful Soul. Student A wrote the following (presented without corrections):
Jesse McCartney's "Beautiful Soul" is a pop tune that is full of sweet words and it also has its music video. That makes two big factors to write about: the lyrics and the video.

Let's zoom in on the lyrics by melody sections. First, in the section A: "I don't want another pretty face, I don't want just anyone to hold, I don't want my love to go to waste, I want you and your beautiful soul." might be about the singer's inner thoughts of love for his special one.

Second, in the section B: "I know that you are something special, to you I'd be always faithful, I want to be what you always needed, then I hope you'll see the heart in me." sounds more outgoing than what is said in the previous section because the words of this section sound like they are meant to be heard by "you", the special one.

Then, the choruses are consist of the same words from the section A, that makes repetitions of his feeling of love toward the one.

Finally, in the bridge this song says: "Am I crazy for wanting you? Maybe do you think you could want me too? I don't wanna waste your time. Do you see things the way I do? I just wanna know that you feel it too. There is nothing left to hide.". In the other sections the lyrics sound like talking to his conscious or making a speech of his feelings, that are not very interactive. On the other hand, in the bridge, the singer seems to be sharing his own thoughts and behaviors with the special one by questioning to express how honest his love is.

In the video appear the four young people including Jesse McCartney himself, playing and driving around in a city. During the former half of the video they just keep enjoying themselves, while Jesse and one of the two girls' eyes meet a couple of times.

In the latter half, their car is broken and two of them are dealing with it. But Jesse and the girl leave the friends and get themselves alone. Then in the pool, the two don't look like they are friends anymore, but only look like lovers. As we watch the video, we can see the boy and the girl building up their special relationships: from friends to lovers.

---

**Student B submitted the text below:**

First, I am going to tell you about some information of Beautiful Soul before I express my opinions to this song. It is sung by Jesse McCartney who is an American singer and was released on 2004. An album, Beautiful Soul that this song was recorded was a success in many countries including U.S., Italy and Taiwan.

Next, I would like to write about the meaning of the lyrics. This song is single-minded man says words to a woman he likes. For instance, he says that he wants to be what she always needed, she's the one he wants to chase and hold in the lyrics. Not only that, he praises her highly; specifically, he says that she is prettier than any other woman, her soul is beautiful and she is something special. Unless he loves her like this, he would not utter above words.

I listened to this song for the first time and I thought it is relaxing music. When I knew the meaning of the lyrics, it made me feel better so I want to listen to his other songs. If you like songs that describe pure love, I recommend this song. I don't talk about the music video of this song here, but it's very wonderful so I would advise watching it.
In order to first examine these essays from an objective viewpoint, the following statistics on the two essays were calculated using the tools found at http://www.lextutor.ca/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Student A</th>
<th>Student B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Words in text (tokens):</td>
<td>404</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Different words (types):</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type-token ratio:</td>
<td>0.46</td>
<td>0.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tokens per type:</td>
<td>2.20</td>
<td>1.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lexical density (content words/total):</td>
<td>0.47</td>
<td>0.43</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, if we remove the quoted song lyrics from Student A's essay, we get the following totals, with Student B repeated for ease of comparison:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Student A</th>
<th>Student B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Words in text (tokens):</td>
<td>295</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Different words (types):</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type-token ratio:</td>
<td>0.50</td>
<td>0.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tokens per type:</td>
<td>2.01</td>
<td>1.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lexical density (content words/total):</td>
<td>0.50</td>
<td>0.43</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These figures suggest that these essays are roughly the same in objective terms. In fact, processing both of the essays through Lu's Lexical Complexity Analyzer (LCA) found at http://aihaiyang.com/software/lca/ (Ai and Lu, 2010; Lu, 2012) has the first essay as scoring lower than the second in all measures of variation with the exception of adjectives.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>LV</th>
<th>VV2</th>
<th>NV</th>
<th>ADJV</th>
<th>ADVV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Essay 1</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>0.21</td>
<td>0.56</td>
<td>0.13</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Essay 2</td>
<td>0.73</td>
<td>0.28</td>
<td>0.62</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td>0.11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

LV= Lexical Word Variation VV2=Verb Variation NV=Noun Variation
ADJV=Adjective Variation ADVV=Adverb Variation

However, the two essays were presented to five university-level writing instructors experienced in teaching composition, and all chose the first essay as being superior to the second. Two representative comments were "A is better in terms of
the structure... [with a] good topic sentence for the whole passage, whereas B lacks one." and "While each chunk of A is not a good paragraph, the writer's opinion is better structured."

It is notable that none of the instructors, all experienced writing teachers, commented on the use of figurative language, even though phrases such as 'sweet words' and 'let's zoom in on' suggest a more conscious consideration by the first student of the content of the song. While Student B also uses figurative language (most notably 'single-minded man'), the overall impression of the essay is of a weaker L2 writer. Yet even for experienced teacher-practitioners, L2 metaphor remains out of sight.

Obviously, these students have studied English for six to eight years, so it is impossible to clearly separate all the various factors that may contribute to the higher quality of the first student's essay (In the next chapter, I will discuss the particular context of Japanese learners of English.) However, regardless of who the target learners may be, it would not be an appropriate pedagogical intervention to simply encourage the second writer to use more figurative language to "juice up" the essay. However, the results of this research will suggest that rather than wait until students have reached a point where they are producing relatively error-free writing before encouraging the production of figurative language, in particular metaphor, an improved pedagogical result will obtain if opportunities to use metaphor are incorporated at an earlier stage of language education.

3.1.4 Metaphoric competence as a practice-based approach

These two examples of essays by Japanese English learners lead into the last of Low's (2008) approaches, which is what I term a practice-based approach that would
"start with interactions and texts and list a number of key skills that learners ...if they are to survive in an L2 environment" (2008: 220). Low goes on to say that such an approach is "compatible with recent approaches to task-based teaching, as long as teachers bear in mind that they are relevant in one form or another to just about every real-world language-use task" (2008: 220-221). Unfortunately, as Low observes, these practices "tend to focus on just semantics/lexis and to be stand-alone exercises, rather than integrated into broader instructional programmes" (2008: 226). In this section, I will conduct a brief review of the literature on these exercises and identify how the project described in this thesis differs from the exercises that have previously been described, the majority of which generally come as suggestions at the end of research-based articles, so it is unclear if many of them have actually been conducted in classroom situations.

The majority of the exercises that Low cites as CMT approaches to L2 writing instruction essentially ask the students to become cognitive linguists. As an example, Sacristan (2009) used English advertisements, asking her students to identify the conceptual metaphors within the advertisements and generate suitable Spanish translations. Sacristan's procedure also brings up a point Low (2008) makes, which is how much metalanguage should be introduced. Sacristan's suggestions have students identifying "conventional metaphorical expression, similarity-based metaphorical expression or similarity-creating metaphorical expression" (2009: 90) and organise Spanish and English lexis according to the conceptual metaphors they represent. Deignan, Gabrys and Solska (1997), dealing with advanced Polish learners of English, suggest having students discuss and compare metaphors in English and Polish to have them understand the metaphors in English. Boers, Eyckmans, and Stengers (2007), Dong (2004), and Kalyuga and Kalyuga (2008) suggest that teachers provide
diachronic explanations to help students acquire and use metaphor, which, rather than making the students cognitive linguists, asks them to be etymologists. A similar process, on a more granular level, can be seen in Boers (2000a), who has students organise lexis according to source domains, for example, classifying English expressions to describe anger in categories such as "anger as a hot fluid in a container" and "angry people as dangerous animals". Other works tackle prepositions (Boers & Demecheleer, 1998; Lindstromberg, 2005), phrasal verbs (Yasuda, 2010), phrases (Boers, 2011) and tense (Holme, 2004). While some of these proposals have students producing metaphors as part of the process of acquiring distinctions, by and large, the recommendations that are generated from these investigations are geared towards comprehension.

It is Low (2008) who suggests that "presenting language learners with [Grady's] primary metaphors has great appeal, especially if the learners are adult and at an advanced level" (2008: 219). He also observes that having students notice patterns in the L2 provides no guarantee of increasing their ability "at producing a fluent, accurate, appropriate, rich, humorous or subtle L2 utterance" (2008: 218). As Low's inclusion of "accurate" indicates, all of these suggestions share an emphasis on correctness, which is an inevitable result of privileging receptive skills over productive skills. In the next section, we will discuss the research that does deal with the production of metaphor.

### 3.1.5 Metaphoric competence in production

The works discussed in the previous section all emphasize comprehension over production. This can be seen in the hierarchy implicitly reflected in Littlemore's (2010) listing of what learners need to do in regard to metaphor. She argues that
learners need 1) to understand metaphor, 2) to understand metaphor quickly, 3) to interpret metaphor and finally, 4) to produce metaphor. Littlemore's earlier work, which gives a detailed review of metaphoric competence and cognitive styles, does not explicitly rule out production, but emphasises "the speed in finding meaning" (2001: 485) and lists several possible classroom activities that feature the production of metaphor to posit "alternative, metaphoric meanings for pieces of vocabulary" (ibid, emph. mine). Low (2008) is more straightforward, providing a list of receptive skills as "things language learners need to do", reasoning that "(it) is simply that all listeners and readers need to cope with "incoming" L2 metaphor, whereas speakers and writers can choose whether and when they use it" (2008: 222). A similar observation can be seen in Boers' conversion of metaphoric competence to "metaphoric awareness" (Boers, 2000a, 2000b). Boers envisions this as a "channelling device ... to organise the steady stream of figurative language" that learners experience (Boers 2000a: 564). It is argued in this thesis that production is a key skill, so in this section, so I will next discuss research that touches on production.

3.1.5.1 Coupling reception and production

The studies discussed in the previous section attempt to investigate the conceptual models of the participants through the elicitation of conceptual metaphors, which is arguably different from the production of metaphor to fulfill class assignments. However, a study by Littlemore (2010) cited earlier represents an attempt to bridge the gap between receptive understanding of metaphor and the production of metaphor. The study was part of her PhD research and examined upper-intermediate French-speaking university students in Belgium studying English. Littlemore first examined whether students were able to find meaning in
metaphor and the speed at which they were able to identify metaphor. These tests could be defined as comprehension tests. Students were presented with a battery of 50 metaphors (25 in English and 25 in French). From this comprehension test, the five most highly ranked candidates were chosen and students were asked to produce as many interpretations as possible. Finally, students were then asked to produce appropriate metaphorical endings for short scenarios.

Littlemore's 2010 study, along with her more detailed 2001 study, reveal several points that have a direct bearing on this thesis. The first is that across languages, participants were better able to find meaning in the L2 than in the L1, which, tying into the general research question, suggests that encouragement of metaphor production at an earlier stage is worthwhile. The second is that indicators point to metaphoric competence as a cognitive skill rather than a deeper understanding of the lexicon. While this fact pushes researchers to study advanced learners where the gap in vocabulary knowledge between the L2 subject and the L1 model might be smaller, it fails to address interventions at lower ability levels. This also encourages teacher-practitioners to treat the challenge of metaphor production in low-intermediate learners as the challenge of acquiring the lexis to sufficient depth rather than using those cognitive skills to leverage production.

Another point that Littlemore emphasises is that the ability to understand metaphors was not linked to the ability to produce multiple meanings for metaphors. This was despite the fact that for the 2010 study, the first metaphor production task had as input for the production tasks an evaluation of the output of the comprehension tasks, which severely reduced the number of possible candidates. The reason put forth by Littlemore was that if the test used the 10 top-ranked candidates, the students would not be asked to interpret a metaphor they labeled as
"uninterpretable" (2010: 300). This is logical, but one can see a reduction of the possibilities that would affect any study which seeks to combine identification and production. So despite the reduction of possibilities for production of metaphors, it is still apparent that this ability is not tied to the participants' ability to understand metaphors.

Littlemore (2001) sought to identify the originality of metaphor production, using a test (in the L1) for children that tested their ability to understand and create novel metaphors (Gardner, et al., 1974) that was repurposed by Trosborg (1985) for L2 learners. Some of Trosberg's discussion of what constitutes novel and acceptable is of interest in the context of this thesis.

Trosborg writes about the use of loud, which in the L1 of the participants (Danish) is a homonym with high and tall, stating that it was used in "seemingly nonsensical responses (loud as a hole in the ground)" and "misused" (emph. author) in "attempted idiomatic expressions, such as his voice was as loud as we could hear the grass growing, in which the conventional association is to quiet, not to loud" (1985: 541). Choices like these seem to acknowledge metaphoric thinking only if it mirrors how it is expressed by an English native speaker. Trosborg also discusses "inappropriate preferences", which, though only a small minority of the responses, were felt to be interesting by Trosborg:

For some Ss, "a bed not made in the morning" is associated with the feeling of loneliness... The ending tall as a string was chosen in accordance with Ss' conception of boys in adolescence [which] referred to [them] as being loosely built, loose-limbed and so lanky and leggy that they remind you of a piece of string. (1985: 547)
While these were ruled as being outside the boundaries of novel metaphors, they clearly indicate the "fully figurative minds" of the participants, supporting the approach taken here.

Littlemore (2001) adapts Trosborg by asking her participants to complete prompts in both their L1 and L2. This resulted in responses classified as "conventional metaphor completion" being metaphors familiar in either French or English. The example she gives is skin like a peach, which she notes is a familiar French expression (peau de pêche), but is common enough in English to garner over 66,000 hits on a Google search. Conducting this test on participants whose language may be even further culturally separated from English suggests that the range of "conventional" metaphor would be increased. For example, Japanese traditionally describe beautiful skin as mochi hada (もち肌, "skin like pounded ricecake") or as touki no you na hada, (陶器のような肌, "skin like porcelain"). If the same metric were applied, not only would participants have any metaphoric or figurative usage from the L2 that was known classified as "conventional", but also any translation of such concepts from their L1 as being conventional.

While it is impossible to avoid some use of L1 standards in judging output, one can see the L1-centric nature of such studies. In contrast, this study seeks to examine the L2 production as it is. By examining the L2 output as it is rather than comparing it to the L1 of the participants, I hope to uncover innovative ways of teaching metaphor to students at this level. In addition, the fact that these studies also found that metaphoricity is more transparent in the L2 than in the L1 supports the general research question: **Can one extended metaphor support the production of meaningful metaphoric language for another extended metaphor in low-**
intermediate Japanese learners of English? All this goes hand in hand with recent work that has a more supportive view of learner-produced metaphor, which is the topic of the next section.

3.1.5.2 Production out of the shadows (MacArthur, 2010)

MacArthur's (2010) paper marks a beginning of interest in a more welcoming view of learner-produced metaphor. She writes:

While acknowledging the need of learners to understand the metaphors used by native speakers... they also need to produce them, and will do so under communicative pressure. In this regard, looking at learners' metaphoric productions and preferences may provide important insights into how the first (L1) and second language (L2) systems interact, how the privilege of access to two linguistic and conceptual systems may favour, rather than necessarily hinder, the bilingual's metaphoric production, and to what extent the resulting metaphors are felicitous in the context of inter–cultural communication.

(2010: 156)

MacArthur then collaborated with others to examine the non-native speaker output of metaphor in face-to-face situations (MacArthur & Littlemore, 2011; Littlemore & MacArthur, 2012; MacArthur, Krennmayr & Littlemore, 2015). It is hoped that this emphasis on spoken discourse is complemented by the focus on written output in this thesis. However, the participants of the previously mentioned studies were primarily advanced students moving from B2 to C1 on the CEFR scale, which is markedly different from the project described in this thesis. These studies are valuable because they bring out the potential that non-native speakers have to use metaphor. However, the amount of data under consideration is relatively small. This reduction in the amount of data collected contrasts with the large-scale corpora comparisons discussed in the next section.
3.1.5.3 Large scale corpora comparisons (Nacey, 2013; Turner, 2014; Littlemore, et al., 2014)

Another group of studies that focuses on production are large-scale corpus studies of L2 learner written output on high-stakes test scripts. Nacey (2013) compared metaphor found in the A-level exams of British students with metaphor found in argumentative essays written by advanced Norwegian learners of English. Because Nacey’s work focussed on a comparison between native English speakers and highly proficient Norwegian learners of English, it examined learners who had already developed a great deal of metaphoric competence, as can be seen in the finding that, while there were statistically significant differences between the use of metaphor by the two groups, there was a high degree of similarity between the output of the two groups and the Norwegian group actually produced more metaphor. As the target of this study is low–intermediate Japanese learners of English, the applicability of Nacey’s research to this project is limited.

This is not the case, however, with the other two studies dealing with L2 production: Turner (2014) and Littlemore, et al. (2014). Both compared examination scripts from the Cambridge Learner Corpus. Turner examined texts written by native Japanese and French speakers while Littlemore, et al. compared German and Greek learners from the same corpus. Both papers had the aim of examining metaphor production across the range of CEFR levels, from A2 to C2. While the researchers’ intention was to get a broader picture of metaphoric development across levels, the aim of the current project is to develop pedagogical interventions for a more specific population, that of low–intermediate Japanese learners of English who are roughly on the A2–B1 level. However, the picture of what both Turner and Littlemore, et al. found for the A2–B1 CEFR level helps identify and support the research questions posed in this project.
The CEFR is an initiative by the European Union to create a clear set of descriptors for language abilities. Composed of a series of 'can–do' statements, the descriptors are separated into the 4 skills of reading, writing, listening and speaking and divided into levels that indicate increased proficiency. The lowest level is A1, followed by A2, B1, B2, C1, and C2. While the CEFR has made some inroads into Japan (Saida, 2008; Tono, 2013; Tono & Negishi, 2012), it is not yet an official method of benchmarking language ability. The can–do statements for A2 and B1 for writing ability are as follows:

**Level A2 (Writing)**

I can write short, simple notes and messages relating to matters of immediate need. I can write a very simple personal letter, for example thanking someone for something.

![Figure 3.12 CEFR Level A2 writing ability can-do statement (Council of Europe, 2011)](image)

**Level B1 (Writing)**

I can write simple connected text on topics which are familiar or of personal interest. I can write personal letters describing experiences and impressions.

![Figure 3.13 CEFR Level B1 writing ability can-do statement (Council of Europe, 2011)](image)

These levels corresponded to two Cambridge Exams, the "Key English Test" (KET), which corresponds to the A2 level and the "Preliminary English Test" (PET), which corresponds to the B1.

Both studies found that there were national differences between groups (Japanese and French for Turner (2014), Greek and German for Littlemore, et al. (2014)), supporting a hypothesis that the development of metaphoric competence proceeds differently among students from different L1 backgrounds. Both studies also found that open class metaphors (metaphors that employ nouns or verbs as opposed to prepositions) began to be used more than closed class metaphors at the B2 level. For the Japanese population, the greatest variation in metaphoric density occurred at the KET (A2) level. Turner also notes that at the KET (A2) and PET (B1) levels, the
Japanese lag behind their French counterparts. This suggests that the ideal time for pedagogical intervention for low-intermediate Japanese learners would be at these two levels.

Both Turner (2014) and Littlemore, et al. (2014) used a form of a Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP) to identify which lexical items should be marked as metaphorically used. The MIP protocol is introduced in Pragglejaz (2007) and described in detail and updated in Steen, et al. (2010) as a protocol for identifying lexical items that exhibit metaphoric content. It is a detailed procedure, and serves to provide hard statistical data on metaphor usage. As such, it can allow us to compare texts and genres. It can also allow us to compare the output of individuals and groups, both native and non-native speakers, which can provide us with detailed comparisons. These phenomena include understanding differences between particular genres and charting the metaphoric development of groups or individuals.

However, the MIP has some shortcomings. While it replaces individual judgement with an algorithm that draws on a dictionary, the ultimate source of the judgement is still the L1, with no allowances made for the speaker/writer's L2. More significantly, it operates at the level of the individual lexical items, treating them atomically, which goes against the trend to acknowledge the contribution of multi-word units. While this focus on the individual lexical items is important for a detailed view of learner metaphor as well as for understanding the progress of learners in understanding metaphor, it fails to provide the classroom teacher guidance or guidelines on how to help learners to develop metaphoric competence beyond teaching students about metaphors or encouraging students to learn more words and learn more meanings of the words they already know.
This shortcoming was identified by Krennmayr (2011), who turned to Cameron's MIV (Metaphor Identification through the Vehicle) (Cameron, 2003) which has the researcher identify "anomalous or incongruous" sections of the text. However, this fails to provide any quantitative data and threatens to have the teacher working at cross-purposes. One presumes that the teacher would seek to identify "anomalous or incongruous" stretches of the text as targets for revision. This gives rise the second part of the second research questions: **Is there a relationship between the amount of metaphor used by students in an essay and a teachers' assessment of the essay's quality?** My proposal for an alternative measure, which I term an Index of Sentential Metaphor (ISM) will be presented in section 7.1.1.

A further question is: what form should this pedagogical intervention take? In the next section, I will discuss research that Bennett (2017) classifies as Application, a category which offers one possible template for such intervention.

### 3.1.5.4 Metaphor Teaching Interventions (Bennett, 2017)

Bennett (2017) groups Chen and Lai (2013) and Lazar (2003) together in one of the nine categories of metaphor teaching interventions he gives, that of Application. The other categories are Explanation/Elicitation, Visualisation, Classification, Comparison, Investigation, Deduction, Analysis/Evaluation, and Attention to form. With the exception of Application, all of these categories involve metaphor comprehension and awareness, but the category of Application is the only group that specifically covers production. It is worthwhile to review the two studies mentioned by Bennett because these are the only studies that allow for the use of metaphor beyond the level of lexis.
Lazar's (2003) text *Meanings and metaphors: Activities to Practise Figurative Language* is a commercial resource that can be linked to her research article (Lazar, 1996) which suggests activities for increasing vocabulary. This makes the emphasis for L2 learners on acquiring the correct form of English metaphors, with no assumption that students may already have those metaphors as part of their own L1. The text is designed for teachers interested in teaching metaphor and consists of worksheets with which students learn some conceptual metaphors judged to be typical for English speakers and is designed for a wide range of learner levels. While there are tasks for students to "produce" metaphor, the aim is more to learn the forms of the conceptual metaphor presented in English.

In contrast, Chen and Lai's (2013) study is closer to the spirit of the proposals of this thesis. They asked students to write about an experience where they were angry. After writing that experience, they were given a lecture and materials about the conceptual metaphors ANGER IS FIRE and ANGER IS A FLUID UNDER PRESSURE. The participants were then asked to revise their essays and were encouraged to integrate as many idiomatic expressions as possible into their revised essays. The original and revised essays were then analysed in terms of metaphoric language. While the approach parallels what is done in this thesis, this two-stage approach, where the students write an original essay and then "spice up" the essay with idiomatic expressions serves to tell students that metaphoric language is decorative rather than part of regular expressions. The student work in this thesis is derived from setting the initial task as based on a complex metaphor rather than asking students to return to their composition to add to it.

Chen (2016), building on Chen and Lai (2013), suggests a process he calls Metaphoric Mapping Instruction (MMI) and attempts to investigate whether MMI
facilitates the retention and awareness of metaphoric and metonymic expressions rather than the production of such figures. He found that the presentation of the conceptual metaphors ANGER IS FIRE, ANGER IS THE HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER and ANGRY PEOPLE ARE DANGEROUS ANIMALS led to an improvement in both retention and awareness of more general metaphoric and metonymic expressions, as measured by 48 English sentences, 24 of which contained metaphoric-metonymic expressions, while the other 24 did not. The items that contained metaphoric-metonymic expressions could be organised on a metonymy-metaphor continuum in order to provide a measure of sensitivity to degrees of abstractness. What Chen found was that explicit instruction led to improved performance in the posttest, while the absence of instruction resulted in no significant change.

This research returns us to the notion of metaphoric comprehension, and the idea that experience with one conceptual metaphor can be linked to gains in understanding metaphor overall is an important aspect of the project in this thesis to be discussed in chapter five. Chen's research design is an attempt to contrast explicit metaphor training with the absence of such training. This raises an issue that faces any research along these lines: How does one balance the control and the experimental conditions to isolate the explicit metaphor training as the one variable? The experimental portion of this thesis takes up this challenge, trying to avoid the explicit teaching of metaphor to determine what impact the presentation of multimodal metaphor may have.

In the next section, a study by Kathpalia and Carmel (2011), which examines student written output without any explicit metaphor instruction illustrates some of
the pitfalls in both comparing L2 speaker output to native speaker metaphor and in failing to provide some instruction in metaphor.

3.2 Dealing with longer texts (Kathpalia & Carmel, 2011)

Kathpalia and Carmel’s (2011) investigation into learners’ use of metaphor has several surface similarities with this project, and a discussion of this work will help identify how the approach in this thesis is different. The participants in their study were, like the participants for this thesis, students in the first 2 years of university. However, they were Singaporean and spoke English as a lingua franca. While Kathpalia and Carmel do not give a CEFR level, the assignment that provided the data, a single essay written as part of a tutorial where students were asked to write a speech for an international audience, suggests that their level was at the CEFR B2, which is slightly higher than the students in this project. The can-do statement for the B2 is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level B2 (Writing)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I can write clear, detailed text on a wide range of subjects related to my interests. I can write an essay or report, passing on information or giving reasons in support of or against a particular point of view. I can write letters highlighting the personal significance of events and experiences.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 3.14 CEFR Level B2 writing ability can-do statement (Council of Europe, 2011)

One of the insights of Kathpalia and Carmel’s study (2011) is to examine the use of metaphor to establish textual and illocutionary competence. Because the data were taken from a student assignment to complete forms for exchange study opportunities overseas, this could be defined as a 'real-life' task for the students. Unfortunately, because of the nature of the assignment, the students were not given any guidance on which metaphors to use, which resulted in what Kathpalia and Carmel term 'patchwork' metaphors, where the metaphors of the students do not connect and their essays lack coherence. In terms of textual competence, the authors
assert that 62% of textual metaphors were used incorrectly, and 23% of the texts revealed no attempt to use metaphor as a textual coherence device. They further observe:

[w]hile the students' attempt at using metaphors to maintain textual unity in their texts is commendable, they would definitely benefit by working on a core idiom and learning strategies to 'build up' the surrounding text with related metaphors and figurative terms to enhance textual unity and coherence.

(2011: 284, emph. mine)

For illocutionary competence, Kathpelia and Carmel provide several comments on student attempts to employ metaphor for this, which I list below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 8. Illocutionary Functions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Illocutionary Competence</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Idealational Function</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manipulative Function</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heuristic Function</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imaginative Function</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 3.15 Kathpelia and Carmel’s (2011: 285) examples and comments on student’s illocutionary functions

Even if we keep in mind that these are advanced students, the comments on the examples seem overly harsh. All of these metaphors are novel and innovative. For the first, encouraging the student to consider if *fairy godmother* can be personified as a place would be a preferable intervention. The repurposing of the phrase *judge a book by its cover* seems inspired. The third example is perhaps the most intriguing, in that *to have someone's back* is actually a metaphor of more recent origin.
(Germano, 2013) that, according to the OED, comes from African-American slang. The final example not only reminds us that everyone is a critic, it also underlines that these texts were written as speeches to be delivered, raising the question of which modality is most important.

The task was supported within the larger curriculum, in that it replicated one of the open-ended questions used for student exchange programmes with overseas universities. Because of this, the assignment was not solely focussed on textual and illocutionary competence, but also addressed collocational and grammatical errors.

Kathpelia and Carmel give three examples, listed below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Interim Phase</th>
<th>Target Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Idiom</td>
<td>Prove my worthy of being an NTU ambassador</td>
<td>Prove me worthy of being an NTU ambassador</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cliché</td>
<td>A place of chances</td>
<td>A world of opportunities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A technological university</td>
<td>A technological university</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>thorough and thorough</td>
<td>through and thorough</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 3.16 Kathpelia and Carmel’s (2011: 281) examples of idioms and clichés

The second error, where the student used *a place of chances* instead of a *world of opportunities*, illustrates a missed teaching moment. Rather than simply replace 'a place of chances' with 'a world of opportunities', a preferable option would be to have the student take this moment to elaborate the more common 'a world of opportunities' by immediately following it with 'a place of chances'. This could be explained as elaboration, repetition or even "composing" (clustering metaphors from the same source domain), all cited by Müller (2008).

Despite emphasizing that they do not want to take a normative approach, Kathpalia and Carmel (ibid) observe that "The students' attempts at using idioms and clichés also result in unidiomatic phrases as they are relatively fixed and allow little or no change...Due to their fixedness and/or non-literalness, any tampering with
idioms and clichés leads to unidiomatic expressions" (2011: 281, emph. mine). Closer examination reveals that the first error is grammatical, and the third is a misspelling, so it is not clear whether these are the result of 'tampering' with idioms or simple mechanical errors.

The paper also notes that many of the non-standard forms found in the assignments were part of the *lingua franca* of ASEAN English and some of this metaphorical language "reflects their identity" and add: "Rather than a normative approach to language learning and teaching, the focus is on communicating successfully in an international context and on mutual intelligibility as opposed to native-like proficiency" (2011: 288). With this focus on the international context, I turn to Kachru (1992) and his Circles of English model.

### 3.3 Kachru and the Circles of English (Kachru, 1992)

In section 3.2.5.4, I reviewed Turner (2014) and Littlemore (2014), two studies that research some students with levels similar to the participants in this research. However, Turner and Littlemore are examining participants from A2 to C2 on the CEFR scale and, as Granger (2009) notes, "all the studies that compare learners of different proficiency levels are in fact based on an underlying L1 norm as proficiency is usually assessed with an L1 target in mind" (2009: 18-19). Kathpelia and Carmel (2011) as well, despite arguing for a non-prescriptive approach with their participants, who speak English as a *lingua franca*, rely on a similar underlying L1 norm. This L1 norm has shaped and continues to shape metaphor research. In this section, utilizing Kachru's (1992) notions of inner, outer, and expanding circles in describing World Englishes, I will discuss why it is important to understand the problems raised by constraints inherent in an approach normed on L1. While
Kachru’s formulation has been challenged and revised (cf. Park & Lee, 2009; Schmitz, 2014), when we examine metaphor from this perspective, the conclusion is unavoidable that there is an L1-centric nature to metaphor research. This emphasis on L1-forms of metaphor is tied up in questions of production and judgment, which are obviously difficult to teach but are essential for L2 learners to be able to consider their own output in English.

The vast majority of metaphor research in English has been done, for obvious reasons, in what Kachru terms ‘inner circle’ countries. These countries (the US, the UK, and other traditional bases of English) are in Kachru’s terminology ‘norm-providing’, in that they establish generally agreed-upon standards. Kathpalia and Carmel (2011), discussed in the previous section, worked with Singaporean university students and Littlemore (2003), who worked with Bangladeshi civil servants seconded to the UK, represent two of a tiny group of studies that deal with outer-circle speakers. Littlemore concentrated on the Bangladeshi students’ ability to comprehend metaphor by their native-speaking lecturers and so studied metaphor comprehension, while Kathpalia and Carmel’s study was based on a production exercise that was essentially normative.

In contrast, most other metaphor research on second language learners tends to take place in what Kachru calls the "expanding circle", where English does not play a historical or governmental role, but is studied for the purposes of international communication. However, the range of varieties of English and the number of countries and cultures using these varieties results in the application of metaphor research that mirrors older attitudes about metaphor, in that metaphor is presented to low-proficiency students as a way to unify explanations of basic usage and support efforts to move students to a more native-like production. At the same time,
advanced-proficiency students are presented with metaphor as "idiomatic English", a term which strongly suggests that metaphors fall in the realm of idioms, i.e. phrases and ideas that are opaque and can only be addressed by memorisation, rather than being reflective of the current understanding of metaphor and figurative language.

Kachru's circles of English model was preceded by his previous research about the creativity of bilinguals (Kachru, 1980, 1985) and argues that it is important to "(r)ecogniz(e) a distinction between the bilinguals' deficiency as opposed to difference. On the cline of bilingualism, what is at one stage of language use an error may, at another stage, be a conscious innovation" (1985: 25). He returns to this in both Kachru (1992) and Kachru (1997). While he is speaking of "bilingual societies", the central place of pride where he locates creativity is something that also applies in considering the metaphoric competence of L2 speakers. Current research connecting creativity to the production of metaphor (see Hidalgo-Downing, 2015) suggests that metaphor and figurative language can serve a performative dimension and have a "consequent relationship between the verbal mode and other modes of communication in the creative process" (2015: 124). This thesis attempts to exploit this relationship to benefit language learners.

These studies have led to the active research area of World Englishes, which seeks to examine varieties of English on their own terms rather than as deviations from the norms of inner-circle countries. In a reply to Quirk (1990), who rejects Kachru’s delineation of an outer and an expanded circle and calls for the recognition of an inner-circle norm, Kachru (1991) points out that

[L]inguistic control is exercised in three ways: by the use of channels of codification and the control of these channels; by the attitude toward linguistic innovations, and their diffusion by those who are not part of such speech fellowships; and by the suggestion of dichotomies which are sociolinguistically and pragmatically not meaningful.
It may seem overly dramatic to link questions of linguistic control and power with the level of language learners addressed in this study. However, for metaphor, it actually is a question of control, in the sense that the learners can 'control' the metaphor and use it in a way that transmits the meaning. Or as Cook (1998) writes,

> There is a hidden irony in the dogma that frequent native-like collocations are the best model to imitate. It is that even within the native-speaker community it is often the infrequent word or expression which is most powerful and most communicatively effective, and therefore most sought after. This is also why foreigners' speech is often expressive and striking. Both for native and non-native speakers there is an alternative goal to seeking the most usual, the most frequent or, in short, the most clichéd expression. It is the goal of rich, varied, and original language. Among native speakers it is unusual language which is valued. Should non-native speakers be treated differently? (Cook, 1998: 61)

This links World Englishes (WE), which emphasises the recognition and description of the myriad varieties of English in the world, to English as a Lingua Franca (ELF), and represents attempts to shift the balance to non-native speakers and the language varieties they speak, language varieties that are "not an 'impoverished', purely expedient and make-shift code for lack of something better, but a vibrant, powerful, versatile shared resource that enables communication across linguistic and geographic boundaries" (Seidlhofer, 2009: 242). It is worth attending to Seidlhofer's (2005) description of ELF when we consider metaphor instruction:

> Thus, the features of English which tend to be crucial for international intelligibility and therefore need to be taught for production and reception ... constitute a focus for *production teaching* ... Acting on these insights can free up valuable teaching time for more general language awareness and communication strategies; these may have more 'mileage' for learners than striving for mastery of fine nuances of native-speaker language use ... which may anyway not be teachable in advance, but only learnable by subsequent experience of the language. (Seidlhofer, 2005: 340, emph. mine)
Given that most students, especially here in Japan, have no opportunity in their first six to eight years’ study of English to develop their awareness of L2 metaphor, rather than present building blocks of metaphor such as image schemas and primary metaphors, a possibly more efficient and certainly more interesting way to present metaphor to these students would be through having students actually use metaphor as an organising device for writing, which is what this project will attempt to lay some initial groundwork towards. In the next section, I will show how an approach for teaching metaphor to L1 learners is fundamentally different from teaching it to L2 learners.

3.4 L2 metaphor pedagogy

We have reviewed a growing body of research that identifies and supports the principle that metaphor and figurative language are necessary for L2 learners; however, the more traditional view of metaphor as decorative is arguably the norm for EFL pedagogy. As Deignan observes, ”Metaphor is assigned a peripheral role in language, as an ornament or, at best, a mechanism for filling lexical gaps in the language” (2005: 2). While the insights of metaphor research have been developed over the past 40 years, this view remains a common, but mistaken, view of metaphor and its place in language use, and therefore in language learning and teaching. Because pedagogy tends to draw on more common assumptions and views rather than on more recent research, and because, as Hoang (2014) points out, it is unrealistic to expect classroom teachers to keep up with current monographs, metaphor still remains on the outskirts of the L2 composition curriculum. Even in the L1 composition classroom, metaphor generally remains ”underused and
misrepresented" (Moe, 2011), so it is unsurprising that it is rarely addressed in the L2 writing class.

One argument against the presentation of metaphors to L2 learners is that those learners are not fully experiencing the socio-cultural context in which the L1 metaphors arise, so we cannot expect them to understand and use them. This is understandable to anyone who has seen a teacher start to describe a metaphor and have the lesson turn into a discussion of culture. However, this comparison assumes that L1 metaphors are always acquired completely and fully. Contrary to that view, Steen and Gibbs (1999) observe that:

...children may acquire conceptual metaphors wholesale from their learning language without necessarily having to re-experience all the cultural and embodied events that originally gave rise to these conceptual metaphors... It is not necessary for every adult to have undergone the same set of cultural experiences motivating the bulk of conventional conceptual metaphors for these metaphors to be a significant part of people's personal conceptual and linguistic repertoires. Adults may have simply learned how to use particular words in a conventionally metaphorical fashion on suitable occasions.

(1999: 4)

In the example of the second writer in section 3.1.3.2, one can easily see the intuitive appeal of simply encouraging the second writer to 'spice up' their writing with figurative language to improve evaluation by readers. This is precisely what Deignan's (2005) identification of the older ideas of metaphor as 'decorative' points to, and any approach that seeks to present metaphor to L2 learners piecemeal will mean that the production of metaphor is de-emphasised in presentation and deprecated in practice, despite arguments that it is fundamental for structuring language output.

We can see this contrast when comparing activities for younger L1 learners to activities for EFL learners that are ostensibly based on the same content. For
example, any number of sources for teaching L1 young readers take the expression 'the apple of my eye' and cast it as a classroom exercise (cf. Naegle, 2002; Zinn-Beiting, 2002; Priori, 2004; Inskeep, 2009, *inter alia*). A good example would be Inskeep (2009: 71):

An old story says that long ago Johnny Appleseed went all over the American countryside planting apple trees. Even though the story may not be true, nutritious apples seem to be a very American fruit. People have many sayings using the word apple in different ways. A word or phrase used in a special way is called a figure of speech. Watch for colorful ways of saying the same thing. Unusual phrases can make reading and speaking more fun!

A. Read the figures of speech. Can you add to the list?
1. You’re the apple of my eye – My favorite
2. There’s always a bad apple in every barrel. – In any group of things, some will be less than good
3. That’s as American as apple pie – anything common and popular in the United States
4. She was an apple-cheeked child. – round and rosy cheeks
5. He’s an apple polisher. – Flatterer, one who shines the apple to make it look better than it is.
6. An apple a day keeps the doctor away. – Regular use of something good makes for health.

B. Write the figure of speech that best fits each sentence.
1. She is my best girl [sic]
2. Try to keep from becoming sick.
3. Everybody uses these sayings.
4. In a crowd, some strangers could be bad.

With the emphasis on L1 learners, the main point of the exercise is to provide a range of expressions about apples rather than to present any grammatical points. On the other hand, the EFL teacher, wanting to adapt this to their classroom, might reduce much of the explanation and choose to present it as a production opportunity, using an exercise like the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>You are the apple of my eye</th>
<th>is a way of expressing that someone is important or valuable to you. What would other fruits suggest? Roll a die to choose the following fruits and body parts and use them in a sentence with your partner. Example: You are the banana of my ear because ___________.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. apple</td>
<td>a. eye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. watermelon</td>
<td>b. nose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. orange</td>
<td>c. ear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. grape</td>
<td>d. throat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. banana</td>
<td>e. mouth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. strawberry</td>
<td>f. lips</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 3.18 Possible EFL worksheet for *apple of my eye*
The apple of my eye is listed as an exemplar of the proposed conceptual metaphoric relationship, THE OBJECT OF LOVE IS (APPETIZING) FOOD (Kövecses, 1987). However, the phrase has a separate etymological relationship that can be seen as early as the King James Bible (Deuteronomy 32:10, Psalms 17:8, Proverbs 7:2, *inter alia*) and Shakespeare (A Midsummer Night’s Dream, III.i.104). The appearance of the phrase in King Alfred’s Anglo-Saxon translation of Gregory's *Pastoral Care* imagines the pupil is a solid sphere similar to an apple. So the proposed metaphoric relationship is "false" based on the etymology of the phrase. Since diachronic information is obviously not known by L1 speakers, the L1 speakers who use Kövecses’ proposed connection between this idiom and the conceptual metaphor listed above are taking advantage of similarities that are not historically founded. Given this is the case, it is difficult to claim that L2 teachers and learners should be tied to the 'correct' reading of a metaphor.

The motivation behind these two exercises underlines a key difference in L1 and L2 presentations, in that L1 materials emphasise identification and understanding, while L2 materials concentrate on usage and practice. Simply put, the L1 presentation works to have the student know what the expression means, but the L2 presentation could (and often does) aim to have the student simply be able to use the expression as a synonym for a simpler phrase. The L1 speaker presumably has no problem with the structure ‘to be the X of my Y’, but for the L2 learner, the presentation of the figurative phrase is a vehicle for practising that structure. Note that it would be possible for the L1 Language Arts teacher to use the L2 version, perhaps asking students to creatively account for why someone is the 'banana of their ear', and EFL instructors could employ aspects of the L1 version. While a criticism of
this might be that the other created usages are not typically used by L1 speakers, it
can be seen, as illustrated by the cartoon below, that the L1 speaker can use the raw
material of the metaphor in order to activate it, as suggested by Müller (2008), which
underlines the ideal for the L2 teacher, which is to make the phrase 'apple of my eye'
memorable to the student.

![Cartoon](https://www.glasbergen.com/images/cartoons/3.19.png)

"You are the apple of my eye, your sister is the banana
of my ear, and your father is the peach of my nose."

For Japanese pedagogy, phrases like *The apple of one's eye* are fodder for
dictionaries such as Hatori and Kurdyla's (1984) *Eigo Hasso Image Jiten [English
Expressions based on Metaphorical Images]*, with the goal being to have students
understand the provenance of particular expressions, if not necessarily use them. *The
Kenkyusha Dictionary of English Collocations*, first published in 1935 and most
recently republished in 1995, as well as being cast in a more easily retrievable
electronic form in 1997, boasts 380,000 examples and represents a genre in Japanese
reference sources that seek to provide information about the language. The teaching
of *The apple of one's eye* is not an opportunity to provide the student with a
potentially useful lexical item, but an opportunity to 'understand' foreign culture.
All this discussion represents a single phrase that, while striking, is a discrete language point. It is difficult to see the classroom teacher covering even a fraction of the range of expressions needed for an L2 student to make significant progress. This is why proposals for presenting image schemas and primary metaphors retain their attraction, in that coverage of a larger portion of metaphoric and figurative language seems possible. However, in a very real sense, this involves teaching students what they already know, so it is difficult to imagine how simply raising awareness would make any difference.

Yet it is not the case that all students fail in acquiring some metaphoric competence but, given the fact that the teaching of metaphor and figurative language is still a tiny fraction of what is taught, despite strong agreement that it is a fundamental part of language, why does it remain a tiny fraction? I would argue that one reason is that the L1 speaker is uncritically accepted as the producer of language, and the L2 speaker is assumed to only be able to comprehend and imitate, reducing the possibility of creativity on the learner's part. This leads to the erroneous conclusion that the novel metaphor by an L1 speaker is creative, but when produced by the L2 speaker, it is a mistake. In regards to metaphor pedagogy, this view is no longer tenable. Rather than measure the learner's attempts against a native speaker standard, we should consider the L2 learner as a language creator rather than a language consumer, and if we do this, our perspective on what constitutes metaphoric competence on the part of an A2 or a B1 learner changes.

At this point, it is worthwhile to repeat the research questions in light of the previous chapters and relate them to L2 metaphor pedagogy. They are:

**Question 1:** How and to what extent does the introduction of one extended conceptual metaphor to low-intermediate Japanese learners
increase the production of metaphoric language when given a writing prompt that contains another extended conceptual metaphor?

Rather than teach students about metaphor, it is necessary to give them opportunities to produce metaphor. Yet, as we have seen, the production of metaphor is limited to presentation of smaller chunks of language that learners are then supposed to bring into their production. This research question explores an alternative for presenting metaphor to students in a way that may induce them to produce metaphoric language.

Question 2: Is there a relationship between the amount of metaphor used by students in an essay and a teachers' assessment of the essay's quality?

This thesis proposes a sentence level ratio, which I term the Index of Sentential Metaphor (ISM) to statistically quantify the amount of metaphor used by low-intermediate learners. Littlemore, et al. (2014), utilising an adapted version of the MIPVU, argue that for learners at the A2 level, their metaphor usage is restricted to "very dead metaphors" that are fixed expressions and prepositions. This thesis argues that students at this level can be induced to produce more metaphor, and together with that, investigates using the sentence level ratio (ISM) as a way to allow teacher-practitioners a time-effective way to investigate the production of metaphor. Any way of measuring metaphoric output, especially of low-intermediate students, must be simple and time-efficient for it to be applied in a classroom context.

Question 3: How and to what extent does the introduction of one extended conceptual metaphor to low-intermediate Japanese learners through multimodal texts increase the production of metaphoric language?
We will discuss multimodality in chapter six, but in the next chapter, as part of answering the preliminary research question, I will present the specific characteristics and specific context for those participants, low-intermediate Japanese learners of English, and detail the absence of long-form composition instruction in both their L1 and L2. This, I will argue, means that extended conceptual metaphors provide ideal writing prompts for these students, especially in the context of university English education.
Chapter Four: The Japanese learner

4.0 Introduction

The participants in this study are Japanese university learners of English. In most papers, this bare fact is introduced in a sentence or two. This sort of presentation makes the implicit assumption that the population only differs from other university populations in where they happen to attend university. In section 2.4, which introduced the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY, we discussed how that particular conceptual metaphor was not simply a common conceptual metaphor in English, but one that had deep roots in Japanese culture. In this chapter, I would like to identify some aspects integral to this thesis that should have us reconsider facets of student metaphorical knowledge, at least as far as Japanese learners of English is concerned. As Turner observes from her research:

There seem to be noticeable overall differences according to language background, suggesting that a learner's native language and the sociocultural and educational background in which their learning takes place are likely to impact upon their use of metaphor.

(2014: 344)

I will therefore provide more background than is usually provided in studies of this sort. The participants for both the preliminary and full study were all native Japanese EFL university students in an English Language and Literature department of a regional Japanese public university. As such, they had all received roughly equivalent training in not only English composition but also training in their L1, and it is these aspects that I will discuss.

The participants, like the majority of Japanese EFL students (cf. Miura, 1995; Hirose, 1998), had received little or no formal instruction in the composition of longer-form essays in English, with the bulk of their instruction labeled 'composition'
being limited to sentence-level translation from Japanese to English. For the groups examined, any previous or concurrent university courses were the first introduction to paragraph-level composition. Many studies end their discussion at this point, but I would like to discuss this aspect of English education in more detail.

English instruction has been a compulsory subject since the Meiji Restoration as part of Japan's modernization. English was held in such high regard that Arinori Mori, the first Minister of Education proposed in 1872 that Japanese be abolished and English be made the national language of Japan (Hall, 1973). The Second World War brought a reaction against English, but with Japan's surrender and the Allied occupation, the high socio-linguistic status of English resumed (Coulmas, 2002). With the Occupation, an American 6-3-3-4 system was adopted and English instruction was required from the first year of junior high school. While English is technically an elective in high school, it is a de facto requirement (Glasgow & Paller, 2016).

The Roman alphabet is taught in elementary school, using the so-called "Cabinet-style romanization" which is the official standard for romanisation of Japanese, but in junior high school, teaching shifts to the "Hepburn style", which better reflects English in regards to consonants. Along with the Hepburn system, students are taught basic English. The vocabulary they are required to learn by the end of junior high school is, at the writing of this thesis, about 1200 words, raised from 900 words in 2012 (Tahira, 2012). Students are expected to acquire this vocabulary after a total of 140 class-hours, the equivalent of between three and four hours a week of English classes. Mirroring a push in other East Asian countries, English has entered primary education, with Takeshita (2010) reporting that over 95% of primary schools had English activities in 2007.
required subject in the fifth and sixth grades of elementary school in 2011, with plans to move it to third and fourth grades by 2020 (MEXT, n.d.). However no changes have been made to the junior high school curriculum to adjust to this additional instruction. At the end of junior high school, students take entrance examinations to be streamed into high schools (Tahira, 2012).

After entering high school, students continue to study English through Ministry of Education (now known as MEXT) approved textbooks. While there have been, since the 80's, moves to support communicative language teaching, this has primarily been emphasized in oral communication classes, and writing pedagogy still uses an approach called *yakudoku* (grammar translation) which features line-by-line Japanese-English translation exercises, with detailed grammatical explanations of these isolated sentence translations (Gorsuch, 1998). In Nishino (2012), Japanese secondary teachers were surveyed on the possibility of employing Communicative Language Teaching in classes, and the responses indicated that only oral communication classes were considered as possible locations for such teaching.

In terms of vocabulary, by the end of high school, students are expected to know approximately 1800 words (Tahira, 2012). However, this knowledge is not connected to writing, and Gilfert, Niwa and Sugiyama (1999) note that 'English composition' is not communicative writing, but in the context of Japanese high-school English means the translation of English into Japanese. This absence of writing instruction is also seen in entrance examinations for university. While Benoit (2002) claims that an increasing number of universities are adding Free English Compositions (FEC) to their exams, only a tiny minority ask for essays of 200 to 300 words, while the majority ask for single paragraphs of less than 50 words.
After students have been streamed into universities, there is no overall high-stakes testing of English, with graduation dependent on credits and requirements unique for each university. This creates a situation quite different from other countries, where a graduation from university in degrees related to language would require some demonstration of proficiency. With increasing globalization and internationalization, this has led to a number of MEXT proposals and reforms. The most recent is the intention to have classes conducted in English beginning in lower-secondary school with the goal of having students by upper-secondary school have "...the ability to understand abstract contents for a wide range of topics and the ability to fluently communicate with English speaking persons" (MEXT, n.d.). However, despite this pressure, measures of communicative ability on the part of Japanese reveal underperformance. While the participants of this thesis are university students, planned further research aims to apply these proposals and recommendations for teaching metaphor to students at the pre-university level, given particular weaknesses in L1 writing instruction. To tie this to the research questions, we can see that Japanese learners have exposure to English through schooling, though much of this is the rote memorization of lexis and phrases rather than longer-form compositions. This emphasis on smaller pieces of language provides resources for the student to produce metaphoric language, but because longer-form composition is not taught, students have few chances to explore this. These weaknesses in longer-form composition pedagogy are mirrored by weaknesses in Japanese L1 instruction, which is the focus of the next section.
4.1 L1 writing instruction in Japan

Because this thesis suggests that student L1 metaphoric competence can be utilised as a basis to teach longer-form creative writing in the L2, an examination of the L1 writing education for Japanese students is in order. Japanese students in primary education are often asked to write journals in Japanese from primary school, and much of this writing serves the dual aims of both improving student composition abilities, and learning the basic kanji (Chinese characters). Elementary students are expected to know 1006 kanji when they finish elementary school and know the entire joyo kanji [regular-use Chinese characters] list of 2,136 characters by the end of junior high school. So learning to 'write' has a double meaning: first, the writing of Japanese ideographs and second, the writing of grammatically correct Japanese. This state of affairs translates to an effective lack of L1 writing instruction, in the Western sense, in high school. Both Gilfert, Niwa and Sugiyama (1999) and Mulvey (1999) point out that English classes at the high school level are covert opportunities to teach Japanese grammar. Mulvey (2016) reports that according to Ministry of Education surveys, only one fifth of L1 writing classes regularly assign essays, and two fifths report minimal essay writing over the course of an academic year. While there are some Japanese writing textbooks that have essay models for students, the same Ministry figures report that less than 20% use a textbook in their Japanese writing classes. Typical Japanese L1 writing instruction, which is devoted to learning difficult Chinese characters, studying classical Japanese idioms and studying and translating classical Japanese literature to modern Japanese, puts very little emphasis on what we in the West would term 'writing instruction'. This is reinforced by Hirose who writes that "[i]n regard to L1 writing instruction, Japanese students do
not generally receive *any* formal L1 expository or academic writing instruction *at any level* of Japanese education" (2003: 183, emphases mine), concluding that "some students apparently had developmental problems in argumentative writing not only in L2 but also in L1" (2003: 204, emph. mine). Kobayashi and Rinnert (2002) suggest that this view is not totally accurate, based on in-depth interviews with 21 Japanese university students about their third year tuition for university entrance, noting 76% of those students report they had additional tutoring, primarily for two public universities that required essays for admission. Both Hirose and Mulvey acknowledge this, but note that the teaching is generally done by the students' *tannin* [home room teacher], a job that is assigned on a rotational basis regardless of the teacher's speciality, and these classes have no set curriculum. The aim of such instruction is to simply give training in producing an essay that will allow them to fulfil the entrance requirements for the university of their choice. This usually is accomplished by having students review previous successful essays for the university and using them as a model, or, in Mulvey's words "the same essay with different words" (Mulvey, p.c.). This why almost all the students surveyed by Kobayashi and Rinnert had individual tutoring for these essays rather than additional classes: Rather than teaching principles of writing, what was taught was how to write an essay for the university the student hopes to enter, using models from previous tests. This has Kobayashi and Rinnert overestimate the influence such classes might have on student L1 writing ability, which in turn overestimates the impact it may have on L2 writing ability. The need for students to have individual 'cramming' for test preparation along with a general lack of L1 writing ability has led MEXT to observe that students have severe weaknesses in critical thinking and writing organisation (MEXT, 2004). The results, according to MEXT, are multiple areas of L1 weaknesses,
particularly an inability to think critically as measured by the organisation of L1 writing. This context suggests an approach to L2 composition for low-intermediate students that takes these weaknesses into account. This approach, I will argue, should include metaphor.

4.2 Identifying lacunae in writing instruction

As the previous two sections illustrate, the students in this study not only have a relatively small amount of writing instruction in L2, with Hirose (2003) noting that "Japanese students' experience [in L2 writing] is practically non-existent" (2003: 184), but also have very little writing instruction in their L1 to draw on. This absence of experience with both L1 and L2 longer-forms suggests any emphasis on contrastive rhetoric, a field beginning with Kaplan (1966), is misplaced for this group of participants. The challenge for L2 learners, especially at the low-intermediate level, is in taking the initial steps to create longer form writing. This makes the challenge for the teacher-practitioner one of developing methods of prompting, rather than organising, these longer forms. Because it is assumed that these learners have L1 metaphoric competence, this thesis argues that this is an untapped resource. While previous research has attempted to measure the metaphoric competence of Japanese L2 students, it has assumed that they are blank slates in their L2, which assumes metaphoric competence is a matter of painstakingly reconstructing metaphor networks in the L2 so that the learner's network moves towards the metaphoric network of an ideal L1 speaker. This, I argue, is not tenable.

An approach that uses extended metaphors as a basis for essays could have students produce better organised longer form writings because metaphor provides needed coherence. My own experience in asking student to produce essays based on
an extended metaphor, either covertly or overtly, supports this. The question of coherence in L2 learner writing is one that is typically taken up only at the advanced level, and researchers are divided on the possibility of teaching it. For example, Witte and Faigley argue that

...coherence conditions—conditions governed by the writer's purpose, the audience's knowledge and expectations, and the information to be conveyed—militate against prescriptive approaches to the teaching of writing (1981: 202).

Note that Witte and Faigley are speaking of teaching to L1 writers, not to L2 writers. While this thesis does not examine the coherence of the student output, one of the potential benefits of this approach is to provide a framework for coherence in longer-form compositions.

A further advantage to developing methods to bring out the metaphoric relationships that Japanese students already possess is that Japanese students are not in a situation where they need to prepare for high-stakes testing, testing that would dictate what they are taught and what they must learn. While this may limit the applicability of the research here in terms of global higher education, it also allows us to consider metaphor from a less prescriptive viewpoint and consider student creativity (Maybin & Swann, 2007; Tin, 2011) and learner autonomy (Little, 2007; Lamb & Reinders, 2002).

In this study, I am suggesting the use of complex multimodal metaphors as a basis for longer-form writing assignments. The idea of using complex metaphors or multimodal metaphors as a foundation for writing has not, to my knowledge, been put forth in the L2 writing literature, and it is this literature which is examined in the next section.
4.3 L2 writing research examined in the context of the Japanese learner of English

The Japanese L1 writing curriculum is quite different from what most Western researchers imagine a writing curriculum to be. Because Japanese students start with much less background in composition, I propose to make up some of these deficiencies through the use of extended metaphors as prompts. However, to justify that, it is necessary to place metaphor in the context of L2 writing research. This is a challenge, because it is difficult to categorise this research, which, while wide-ranging and growing at an incredible pace, has had difficulty identifying "foundational concepts" to organise writing curricula (Leki, et al., 2008: 72). This is unsurprising as there are a variety of policy contexts and populations for L2 writing and the purposes of instruction can vary dramatically. As I illustrated in the previous section, the Japanese L1 writing curriculum is far removed from the Western researcher's assumptions. A further point to consider is the minor role that writing has been assumed to play in L2 acquisition research (Polio, 2015; Williams, 2012). For generative approaches that argue for a mental representation of the language, writing, because it can be both planned in advance and modified in response to external information, is rarely taken as reflection of competence in that tradition. It should be also noted that the literature discusses two types of L2 writing instruction, one related to English as a Second Language (ESL) and a second related to English as a Foreign Language (EFL) and is tilted towards the former, which consists of heterogenous groups, often studying in inner circle countries (Byrnes, 2011). This study addresses the former type and several other differences can be noted here in Japan, including the fact that EFL students rarely have the need to write longer L2
compositions after graduation, and the bulk of their instruction is done by teachers who are fluent in Japanese, but not necessarily fluent in English.

As we have discussed in chapter 2, linguistic theories generally arise from L1 data, and L2 metaphor studies still exhibit a strong L1 bias. While the labels EFL, ESL and TESOL (Teaching of English to Speakers of Other Languages) are often applied with little rigour or care, studies of learner-produced metaphor are concentrated among those learning English in contexts where the linguistic landscapes vary dramatically, but these contexts are often grouped together as 'learner metaphor studies', despite large differences, including differences in proficiency and purpose. This thesis deals specifically with the context of EFL in Japan and learners who lack L2 proficiency. I will make recommendations specifically about that context, but for simplicity's sake, I will depend on context to situate the use of the term L2.

For functional approaches, as opposed to what Polio (2015) terms generative approaches to SLA, she observes that they are "more difficult to characterise" (2015: 321), in terms of their relationship with L2 writing pedagogy. Any discussion of metaphor should be placed within a functional approach, as there is little recognition in generative approaches of metaphor nor is there any systematic way to treat learner-produced metaphor in those approaches. Furthermore, there is, with one notable exception, no agreement on what L2 writing means for the respective constructs of language competence in functional approaches. The one exception to this is the adoption of theories of genre, which grow out of Systemic Functional Linguistics, as a foundation for L2 writing curricula. This genre-based approach (also referred to as text-based) is often termed the "Sydney school" (Johns, 2002) and, as the name suggests, is predominant in Australia, New Zealand and the UK. While a genre based approach could more easily incorporate metaphor, a content-based
model (also known as theme-based), generally found in US-based curricula (Hinkel, 2012), has been the norm for Japan. Japan has been strongly influenced by American English and models of education, so the content- or theme-based approach is far more common than a genre based approach. However, moves in Japan towards Content-Based Instruction (CBI) or Content and Learning Integrated Instruction (CLIL) are stymied by the lack of content teachers who can comfortably teach in English, so L2 language instruction, especially in L2 writing, meaning that L2 language instruction in general and L2 writing instruction in particular concentrates on teaching the language separately from content. A content-based approach could highlight common metaphors within a particular field of study (cf. Boers, 2000b; Mio, 1996; Caballero, 2003; Littlemore, 2012), but teaching English writing as a separate subject makes that difficult. While this thesis makes recommendations for the particular context of Japan, the division of L2 teaching as separate from content teaching is the general case for East Asia. This makes these recommendations applicable to areas outside of Japan.

Another useful division in L2 writing research is described by Hinkel (2011), who distinguishes between studies of morphosyntax, lexical features, and collocation of L2 text, which are typically quantitative, and L2 discourse and text structure, which is typically qualitative. In this thesis, I propose using a sentence-level analysis to better identify low-intermediate learners' awareness for the quantitative portion and then examine aspects of collocation in the qualitative portion.

Previous studies of L2 learner-produced metaphor suffer from this emphasis on lexis. Exactly what is being examined in L2 learner-produced metaphor when high-stakes test scripts are evaluated is not completely clear. This is especially true if novel figurative language is taken as aberrant by those grading such tests. Nacey
(2013), Turner (2014), and Littlemore, et al. (2014), all discussed in section 3.1.5.3, analyse and compare the written production from non-native speaker test scripts to native speaker test scripts or rubrics in situations where the time pressure presumably makes it more a reflection of competence rather than performance. These comparisons are implicit in any testing situation, as there has to be an idealized model for the rubric in order to be able to determine where a test taker's written production should be classified. This is not to argue that using test scripts such as these is wrong. However, a reliance on materials produced by testing assumes that instructional presentation of metaphor is adequate and appropriate, which I argue is not the case.

Polio (2015) suggests five 'core issues' related to the acquisition of L2 writing: models of L2 writing, longitudinal language development, writing tasks variables, the relevance of the written medium to SLA, and the role of error correction. The suggestions made in this thesis for L2 writing touch on all of these to some extent, so it would be useful to expand on these issues in order to gain a picture of what a proposal of metaphor-based writing would bring. Polio observes that there have been no proposed models of L2 writing that have made a great impact on L2 writing research, which she attributes to the difficulty in creating a comprehensive model. She does note that most models do not illustrate the linguistic knowledge involved, which is a central concern when we discuss metaphor.

For longitudinal development, Polio, citing Sasaki (2007), observes that research "show[s] a slow and non-linear progression of changes with regard to writing, at least for Japanese students at the university level," (2015:323) but significantly, study abroad was a key driver in such development. The challenges of a study that analyzes longitudinal development from the exposure to metaphor are
profound, in that it would be difficult, if not impossible to control the input related to metaphor over a long span of time. However, Sasaki, quoting Thorne, suggests that sociocultural theory (i.e. Vygotskian theory) can be a general background assumption to investigate cognition "without isolating it from social context or human agency" (Thorne, 2005: 393).

While Polio notes that there is a large and varied research in terms of task variables, the presentation of multimodal metaphors offers a further range of task variables that could be usefully investigated, so this project represents an opening of those possibilities. We have previously discussed the role of the written medium in models of learner proficiency and the use of complex metaphors as prompts provides another way to examine the written medium and suggest its place in a model of learner proficiency. The question of writing education, which has generated its own large body of research, presents a number of interesting challenges when discussing learner-created metaphor, and a brief discussion of that literature is necessary here.

Hyland (2011) provides an overview of the more traditional learning-to-write perspective, which assumes that writing can be taught as a decontextualised skill. In contrast to this approach is the newer writing-to-learn approach (Manchón, 2011), which argues that L2 learners can write in order to assist in their language development. This idea can be traced back to Emig (1977), who, drawing on Piaget and Vygotsky (whose ideas will be discussed in the next chapter), first proposed that writing has a "unique value for learning" (1977: 127). She examined the writing processes of L1 high school students (Emig, 1971), and while Emig’s work is now recognised as ground-breaking, her research met with a great deal of resistance, with the eighth of her ten Ph.D advisors telling her that "being interested in how children write is not unlike being interested in how cripples skate" (Emig, quoted in Nelms
2012). While the resistance to teaching low-intermediate students in areas of content when they still suffer from simple mechanical errors is perhaps not as forceful, it still underlies a great deal of L2 writing instruction. Contra to that viewpoint, I will argue that utilizing conceptual metaphors as prompts and encouraging their use as content will ultimately benefit the learners, because it will address lacunae in their L1 writing instruction and allow these students to move on from the correction of simple mechanical errors to questions of content and coherence.

Therefore, the ultimate goal, of which this study is a first step, is to use material that is fundamentally based on metaphoric content in order to induce the production of metaphor by students, based around the metaphors in the prompts. This use of metaphoric language will, I suggest, aid the students on improving the organisation of their longer-form writing and in developing textual competence, which is tied to their metaphoric competence. The ideal is to develop a practice-based approach that avoids the pitfalls of previous approaches to improve metaphoric competence. The procedures in this thesis represent an initial step towards that. If this is successful, further steps could include using extended metaphor to develop coherence in longer-form writing, to expand vocabulary and to, one hopes, place other varieties of English on a more equal footing with inner-circle varieties. In developing a practice-based approach, we are aided by the unique place of English in Japan, the topic of the next section.

4.4 The pedagogical impact of English in Japan

The pervasive presence of English in Japan in the form of loanwords, which will be discussed in this section, cannot help but affect the population from which this study is drawn. This component is large enough that there are numerous pedagogical
proposals to have learners use these loanwords to develop their own L2 lexicon (Barrs, 2011; Olah, 2007; Daulton, 1999; *inter alia*). Oshima (2002) observes that while Japanese borrowings of English are simply an example of normal language diffusion, the pervasiveness of such borrowings and their usage in popular media does affect English-education. McKenzie (2010), in his monograph examining Japanese attitudes towards different varieties of English speech, provides a useful background, discussing both the history of English in the Japanese education system and an overview of the English language media. McKenzie's research found that Japanese were willing to grant high status to both standard and non-standard varieties of inner-circle English while holding varieties from outer and expanding circles in lesser regard. This finding suggests that when metaphoric uses of the imported English lexicon that can be linked, even tenuously, with inner-circle examples of usage, this can provide learners with a foothold in producing metaphor in English.

However, within Japanese society, there is a strong tendency to believe that the Japanese language stands apart from these trends, despite the unavoidable pressures of internationalization and globalization. Miller (1998) cites Sotoyama's (1985) piece *Watashi no kiraina gairaigo* [Foreign words I hate] as well as Kin's piece in the same journal (1985) entitled *Kanji no yokunai kotoba* [Words that give me a bad feeling]. This attitude is not confined to Japanese, but can be found among foreigners, many of whom make up a large portion of the population teaching English. Koscielecki (2006) cites an article from a 1970 by a foreign writer that calls it "linguistic pollution", defined as "the replacement of native Japanese terms with their English equivalents" (2006: 28). However, Koscielecki astutely observes that "it is not the English language which manipulates the Japanese cultural context, but
Japanese speakers who *manipulate and accommodate* English and at the same time acculturate English-derived vocabulary" (2006: 29, emph. mine). We can see this in the example of TVXQ's *Keep your head down* discussed in the latter portion of section 3.1.3.1, a common expression in English that is recast. This recasting follows the same train of thought that native English speakers have followed, which leads to emphasizing an aspect of the metaphor that exists, but is not primary in inner-circle countries. While the expression is quite common, we see (in the previous discussion in the same section) that Azuma's (2006) prescriptive approach considers only one aspect of the metaphor as 'correct', that of being humble and not drawing attention to oneself. The other aspect, which is not listed in any references sources that I have found, can be seen as a natural reading that is also done by native speakers. However, native speakers, for various reasons, emphasize the first aspect and downplay the second. Kathpalia and Carmel's (2011) hypercorrection of Singaporean student metaphor use in this regard demonstrates that this is not confined to Japan, but a phenomenon that may be common among countries in Kachru's extended circle.

While it is possible to simply 'fix' a prescriptive approach by adding the additional reading as a possibility, the reason that this occurred is due to an emphasis on native-produced and sanctioned metaphor. This emphasis robs the learner of the opportunity to be creative with the language, which is a fundamental principle of constructivist approaches, discussed in the next chapter and a principle upon which this thesis is based.

Initial research into metaphor centred around its use in English, and one of the first points raised was whether this tendency to metaphor was a cultural characteristic of English language and culture, or more broadly Western languages and cultures, or something fundamental to human languages. While metaphor
research has found that all languages use metaphor, it is worthwhile to discuss the rich use of metaphor in Japanese. In the next chapter I will connect this rich use of metaphor to other threads of research, specifically research into Vygotskian ideas of education and research into multimodality.
Chapter Five: Metaphor in Japanese, Vygotskian theory and multimodality

5.0 Introduction

In chapter two, I provided a summary of metaphor research as it pertains to the project in this thesis and in chapter three I discussed the construct of metaphoric competence. In chapter four, I discussed some of the particulars of Japanese learners and the writing education they receive that has an impact on this research project. This chapter identifies some aspects of Japanese language and metaphor that need to be considered. Viewing these aspects through the application of Vygotskian principles and more recent research into multimodality will support an argument that larger and more-involved metaphors should be presented to low-intermediate learners. Of course, students' exposure to English in various forms in their daily lives is only one aspect of their language learning experience. However, the pervasiveness of English, coupled with the educational requirement to study English, is a factor that the teacher-practitioner must consider. Students are, to repeat Hoang's words, "equipped with a fully figurative mind" (2014: 7), and this fact offers a number of interventions in writing pedagogy that have not previously been considered.

After discussing several aspects of Japanese language, I will draw some connections with Vygotskian theory, which is one of several approaches that can be labeled constructivist, highlighting what this theory may add to our thinking about how metaphor should be taught to L2 learners. The primary assumption of constructivism is that knowledge is actively "constructed", which can be contrasted with the idea that language learning is largely an internal mental process where linguistic information is "acquired" (Long, 1997) and as such, is often placed in
opposition to objectivism, which was discussed in section 2.1. In the context of Conceptual Metaphor Theory, constructivism provides an insight into the movement from initial CMT proposals (Lakoff, 1987) to discourse analysis, a move from concepts as a part of the mind’s "toolbox" to the metaphors that are proposed to arise from discourse. In chapter six, I will then introduce research into multimodality, which further supports the use of larger metaphors for low-intermediate learners. But first, I would like to turn to the "linguistic landscape" of Japan, a term which I will explain in the next section.

5.1 The Japanese Linguistic Landscape

A concept that will be discussed in this section is that of 'linguistic landscape'. While linguistic landscape originally referred to the "visibility and salience of languages on public and commercial signs" (Landry & Bourhis, 1997:23) and is a term first used in connection to language planning, Landry and Bouris further argued that this visibility and salience correlate with "ethnolinguistic vitality", which was further investigated in Bourhis, Giles and Rosenthal, (1981). Both foreign (Backhaus, 2006, 2007; MacGregor, 2003) and indigenous researchers (Oura, 1997; Someya, 2002; and Inoue, 2000, 2001) have found the linguistic landscape of Japan to be a fruitful locus of research, with the Japanese term for Linguistic Landscape being gengo keikan (言語景観 or 'language scenery'). As Saint-Jacques (1987) points out (and will be explained in greater detail below) Japanese is the only language in the world simultaneously to have an alphabetic system, a syllabic system and an ideographic system, used side by side, so the Japanese linguistic landscape provides a rich environment for such research. One of the early findings of researchers was that there were two reasons for the increasing usage of foreign languages in signage. The
first was to address needs of foreigners, a growing population in Japan. The second, important to this thesis, is to give a positive impression of a business to the Japanese public (Haarmann, 1989; Loveday, 1996; Saint-Jacques, 1987; Takashi, 1992).

However, the term 'linguistic landscape' creates an image of something only seen as a pleasant background. The focus on the appearance of language in signs fails to identify how those signs may impact on the people who see them. Japanese signage was the inspiration for Ronald Barthes, a founder of semiology, to write *The Empire of Signs* (1982) and he previously observed that "language is never innocent: words have a second-order memory which mysteriously persists in the midst of new meanings* (Barthes, 1953: 16). I will argue here that Barthes observation about 'second-order memory' helps us understand how English can move beyond being a simple signifier of fashion and positive impression to providing materials for sign making (Bennett, 2013).

Backhaus observes in a volume devoted to Tokyo linguistic landscapes that "English has become an indispensable part of the Japanese language itself" (2007: 142). Haarmann (ibid.) presents data that indicates that Japanese companies rely on foreign linguistic elements to raise curiosity on the part of the viewers, to attract them to the products, and to give them a feeling of membership into a cosmopolitan community. In a subsequent questionnaire given to young Japanese viewers concerning foreign language use, he shows that many recognize foreign elements in TV commercials, without fully understanding them. This is a point echoed by Kachru, who quotes an advertising executive cited in an Asia Week article from 1984, who says:

> Yes, we know it sounds corny to an American, even objectionable to some. But what the foreigner thinks is immaterial. The ad is purely
domestic, a lot of market research has gone into it. It evokes the right images. It sells.  
(Kachru, 2017: 197 quoting Asia Week, Oct 5, 1984)

The reason these repurposed English phrases sound objectionable is not because they produce images that are wrong, but because the collocational knowledge of the native speaker has them conclude that the phrase is incorrect. Initial constructions of L2 metaphoric competence (cf. Azuma, 2005), have been skewed towards quantifying and measuring such metaphoric competence through individual lexical items and phrases, mediated by the Roman alphabet. In addition, teaching of metaphor has focussed on the ability for L2 learners understand the metaphorical basis in phraselogical components of the language rather than have them tackle larger, extended metaphors. This overemphasis on lexis when teaching metaphor in the L2 classroom and the general exclusion of metaphor from the low-intermediate classroom inspired the research project described in this thesis, which aims at providing a foundation for a different approach to teaching metaphor in the L2 classroom. This different approach will add additional data to be considered in metaphor research, ideally promoting a reappraisal of the notion of metaphoric competence in low-intermediate learners.

In section 4.4, I discussed impact of English loanwords in Japan and researchers’ suggestions for the use of this resource. I also noted a resistance to the idea that English lexical items could become part of the Japanese language and that Japanese speakers could use the resources of English within Japanese. This runs counter to the notion of constructivism, where the learner 'constructs' meaning. There are various nods to constructivism in the teaching of linguistic metaphor to EFL students, but they generally are cursory. Low (2008) writes, "A constructivist approach to learning would predict that learning would be increased if students could
engage critically with academic concepts by generating their own analogies” and cites several sources that show increased critical thinking and problem-solving skills when learners are given the opportunity to produce their own analogies. Niemeier (2008), discussing her proposal for Applied Cognitive Linguistics (ACL), argues that such opportunities would raise language awareness. She also notes that such an approach aimed at raising learners’ and cultural awareness of learners also aligns with "action-oriented learning and constructivism" (2008: 311). However, if the learner is dissuaded from using resources that are already being used in their own L1 in learning the L2, one should not be surprised about poor outcomes and, as we shall see, Japan has a wealth of resources linked to metaphor that are underutilized or ignored in the language classroom.

The next section details some of the resources that Japanese learners of English potentially bring to the classroom in terms of metaphoric language in order to answer the initial research question. While one cannot identify what particular individuals know or are aware of, I will first detail a previously mentioned example of the cross-linguistic influence we can see in youth culture to underline the diversity that exists. Following that, I will discuss the rich tradition of metaphor that, because of language-specific characteristics of Japanese, has been overlooked in the teaching of English.

5.2 English as part of a multi-lingual mix: An example

At the end of section 3.2.3.1, a song by the group TVXQ, entitled "Keep your head down" was cited, and a closer examination of several aspects of both the group and the song can help us see why the emphasis on the ideal L1 native speaker’s semantic network may not be the most effective model for L2 learners. In addition,
we can see that the semantic network of the L2 speaker is not as homogenous as is commonly assumed.

The group's Korean name is TVXQ, an ‘initialism’ rather than an acronym because it is pronounced as a string of individual letters, stands for Tong Vfang Xien Qi (Chinese: 東方神起). The Japanese reading of these Chinese ideograms is Tōhōshinki, while in Korea, the group is known as DBSK, an abbreviation of their Korean name Dong Bang Shin Ki (Hangul: 동방신기). The group started as a 5-member ensemble and is now a duo consisting of U-Know Yunho and Max Changmin. U-Know Yunho (also known simply as U-Know) is the stage name for a singer whose Korean name is Jung Yun-ho (Hangul: 정윤호) and is one that the singer has been using since high school. It can be assumed that his use of an English recasting of his name is, while driven by the fashion trend of using English, also something growing out of the existence of English not only as a required subject within the Korean school system, but also as part of the test regime for entering higher education. Furthermore, the song’s Korean title is 왜 (Wae) or in English Why, which can be linked to the "Japanese title" of the song, Why? (Keep Your Head Down). While the songs of TVXQ are primarily in Korean, English phrases and full choruses are quite common, as they are in not only Korean popular music (known as K-pop) (Lee, 2004; Jin & Ryoo, 2014) but also J-pop (Japan) (Moody, 2006) and Cantopop (Hong Kong/Cantonese) (Chan, 2009). Pennycook (2003) makes a similar point when he discusses the Japanese hip-hop/rap group Rip Slyme (whose name, a metathesis of the title of their first album Lips Rhyme, shows other aspects of wordplay and creativeness that go into the use of English for cultural identification). Pennycook claims that this "suggests that when we talk of global English use, we are
talking of the performance of new identities (2003: 529)." While I previously identified English as being related to education and tests, given that a wide range of research links metaphor with identity, including professional identity (Thomas & Beauchamp, 2011; Erickson & Pinnegar, 2016), brand identity (Koller, 2008, 2009), political identity (Anderson & Sheeler, 2005; L'Hôte, 2014), and national identity (Pettegree, 2011), it stands to reason that if English is available, thanks to numerous encounters with it in education and being surrounded by it in popular culture, it will be used as a metaphorical resource for identity formation by young people in countries located in expanding-circle countries. As Schmitz (2014) points out,

[T]he older view of the inner circle being a stable "English as a Native Language" (ENL), of the outer circle being exclusively ESL (English as a Second Language) and not ENL, and the expanding circle being the sole domain of EFL (English as Foreign Language) no longer hold. The circles are becoming more and more blurred. Not all people are rooted for they have international or transnational identities. (2014: 403)

One of the criticisms of Kachru's model, discussed in section 3.3, is that it overlooks the heterogeneity of situations where English is used (Jenkins, 2009) and fails to explain the acceleration of trends towards such heterogeneity, as evidenced by the example of TVXQ, a Korean pop group using English not only as part of their own identity, but also to reach fans in Japan, Taiwan, and China. A closer examination of the situation of English in Japan reveals a greater potential for the use of metaphor in writing pedagogy, a potential that may be available in other extended-circle countries, especially those in East Asia. My use of Kachru's model is as a rough classification that can draw out some similarities to other situations rather than making any claims on the precise use of English in other extended-circle countries, but the example of TVXQ suggests that the use of metaphor in writing pedagogy is not limited to Japan. In order to answer the question of what metaphoric language
resources Japanese learners of English bring to the classroom, I will briefly outline the place of English in the Japanese linguistic landscape and discuss the pedagogical implications that arise from this landscape.

### 5.3 Metaphor in Japanese

Japanese students, in addition to having more potential English lexical resources at their disposal than may previously have been assumed, draw on a cultural background of writing and literacy that has the potential to incorporate metaphor and metaphoric language to a greater extent than is found in the West. Azuma (2005) provides a historical background for metaphor in Japanese, and notes that Japanese literature used metaphoric language extensively but did not have a lexical item corresponding to the notion of metaphor until encountering the Western term in the Meiji era. McGovern (2013) suggests that the processes of adapting the Chinese script to the Japanese language, a process by which individual written characters took multiple "sound identities", had an effect "not only on writing, but on the broader Japanese semiotic" (2013: 55). To understand that broader Japanese semiotic requires some background into the written forms of the language.

Japanese has three traditional written scripts: *kanji* (Chinese ideographs), *hiragana* (syllabic characters used for native words for which there are no kanji as well as grammatical particles) and *katakana* (a second set of syllabic characters corresponding to hiragana). Chinese characters were borrowed, but because of the fundamental differences between Japanese and Chinese grammar, two additional syllabaries were developed. Even though either hiragana or katakana could more than adequately provide all the resources necessary for the phonetic transcription of Japanese, *kanji* have persisted and McGovern notes that this system of three scripts
provides "an exceptionally productive set of resources for representation and expression" (2013: 56), of which metaphor and figurative language represent only a small part.

Azuma assigns the origin for Japanese figurative language labels to Tsubochi Shoyo, a Meiji era author, translator and educator, who took the terms from a 12th-century Chinese text on rhetoric in order to provide translations for western concepts. Tsubochi chose *hiyu* (比喻) as a term that covers all figurative language, including metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche and simile. The first character (比) is the most common character for 'compare', while the second character (喩) also means 'compare'. The *on yomi*, which is the reading of the character as a Chinese borrowing, is *yu*, but the *kun yomi*, or the reading of the character as a native Japanese word, is *tato-e*, linking it to the character (例), which is 'example'. Tsubochi used the second character in *hiyu* in combination with other characters to identify separate categories of figurative language, including *chokuyu* (直喩 simile), *inyu* (隠喩 metaphor), *teiyu* (提喩 synydoche), and *inyu* (引喩 allusion) (Tsubochi, 1927/1977). Azuma notes that while the 2nd and the 4th term share the same pronunciation, different Chinese characters (隠 'conceal, hide' vs. 引 'draw, pull') are used for them. This highlights the affordance of the Japanese language system to create an additional, separate level of meaning beyond what is available to English speakers. Because the Japanese written system can encode meaning that is sequestered from the spoken system, it is possible to both link and decouple these meanings, and the literate writer can easily invoke various meanings in Japanese. As McGovern (2013) points out, after noting that researchers have taken orthography as primarily linguistic, more than an alphabetic
orthography, "written Japanese comprises acts of designing, achieved through the orchestration and interplay of the distinctive graphic resources that this writing system makes available" (2013: 61). For example, Igarashi (2009) cites the concept of yure in Japanese publications. Yure means "shaking, wavering", but it is used to describe when a Japanese writer chooses to write a word in one of the alternate scripts. Igarashi also cites Inoue's (1995) discussion, where he notes modern poet Saisei Muroo's (1889-1962) intentional presentation of two version of the word miyako 'a capital city', one in kanji and the other in hiragana. The former provides a sense of rationality while the latter represents the writer's emotional stance. In another literary example, Moumoku monogatari (The story of a blind man), by famed Japanese novelist Tanizaki Junichiro, the author uses kana to portray the blind man's movements and vision, but employs kanji when describing his encounters with objects through touch. Thus, the contrasting visual qualities of the two scripts serve to iconically describe the main character's experiences in the world. As Shelton and Okayama (2006) (from which the Tanizaki example was taken) explain, "In Japan, the boundaries between script and picture are clearly blurred, and the connections between speech, script and meaning are both looser and more complex than in the West" (2006: 172).

This ability to invoke different images via alternate modes also brings to mind another interesting feature of Japanese, which is the pervasive presence of onomatopoeia. Western definitions of onomatopoeia simply describe it as a word that represents a natural sound. Wilhem von Humboldt, in his work On Language, classified such words as 'directly imitative' (1988: 73) and, following that, most linguistic traditions generally assign onomatopoeic words to a minor classification.
However, onomatopoeia is actually a much more productive category in Japanese than in Western languages. This can be seen by the fact that in Japanese, it is roughly divided into 3 labeled categories, giseigo (擬聲語), giongo (擬音語) and gitaigo (擬態語). The first category, which has the second character as 'voice' (声), roughly corresponds to the English notion of onomatopoeia, with words like nyan 'meow', buubuu 'oink', kero (a frog's) 'croak' and hihiin (a horse's) 'neigh'. The second category, giongo, for which the second character is 'sound' (音), covers sounds generally made by inanimate objects or non-auditory senses, such as don 'bang', gokugoku 'gulp' and zaza (sound of pouring rain). These two categories roughly correspond to English onomatopoeia, but the third category, gitaigo, represents a significant expansion, being lexical items that represent psychological states or bodily feelings, some examples being harahara 'angry', yoboyobo 'wobbly' (usually from old age) and dokidoki 'excited'. The last example indicates the range of Japanese onomatopoeia, in that dokidoki can indicate a heart beating rapidly, or the state of excitement that a heart beating rapidly represents, making it arguably a metaphorical usage. The second Chinese character reflects that, being the character for 'state' or 'appearance' (態). As can be seen in these examples, the overarching category is much larger than the equivalent English category, and these words are generally represented in the katakana script. Japanese has three written scripts: kanji (Chinese ideographs), hiragana (syllabic characters used for native words for which there are no kanji as well as grammatical particles) and katakana (a second set of syllabic characters corresponding to hiragana). Onomatopoeia has been argued to be similar to notions of iconicity (Hiraga, et al., 2015), in that the signified and signifier are taken to mirror each other, a point which will be discussed in section 5.6.
Given that the Japanese language has different resources for expressing meaning, it follows that Japanese language learners learn English lexical items in ways that are not evident at first glance to the native English speaker. In the next section, I will show how that may be the case and why this should be considered in English composition pedagogy.

5.3.1 Different paths to lexical knowledge

To see how different paths that Japanese may take to learn words can impact the semantic networks they develop, we can return to Deignan's (2005) classification of metaphor discussed in section 2.7. Deignan uses two related items, *grasp an idea*, and *comprehend*, the first as an example of conventionalised metaphor (*grasp an idea*) and the second as a historical metaphor (*comprehend*). *Comprehend* derives from Latin *com-* (together) and *prehend* (to seize). While Deignan's separation of *grasp an idea*, and *comprehend* is intuitively plausible to the native speaker, acknowledging the linkage brings a range of vocabulary items and metaphorical linkages that are not seen if the two are treated as unrelated. Sweetser (1987) refers to the metaphorical linkage as "possibly the single most productive etymological source-domain for English mental-state verbs... object-manipulation: the mind is a manipulator of thoughts or ideas, which are identified with manipulable objects" (1987: 449). While it may be that the native L1 speaker has no conscious understanding of this connection, we should note that there may exist a great deal of subconscious understanding, not only given the linkage between phrases like 'grasp an idea' and the other phrases that ideas are manipulable objects ("I took an idea from that book", "the idea you gave me was great", or "hold that thought") but also through words such as apprehend or even more distant ones such as prehensile or
pry (in the sense of a prybar, an instrument to open something up). The innovative teacher may wish to emphasise this connection.

An example like this brings to mind Müller's (2008) citation of Weinrich's (1976) suggestion that Western languages have a *Bildfeldgemeinschaft* ("a community of image fields") that link to and mutually reinforce each other. While Müller reports that Weinrich does not take the thought further, she adds: "the problem is twofold: how are the assumed realms of metaphorical structures organized on a collective level, and how are the collective structures available on the individual level" (Müller, 2008:87). This potential interrelationship between metaphors resonates with Vygotsky and constructivism, which will be discussed in section 5.5.

Reviewing how *comprehend* may be understood by Japanese learners provides an example of how challenging the problem of determining with any confidence the route by which Japanese speakers understand and interrelate metaphors. While *comprehend* has a potential link to object manipulation for native English speakers, advanced Japanese English speakers I have spoken to often link their understanding of *comprehend* to *comprehensive*, a word which appears in the title of several popular dictionaries, with the meaning of assembling all possible words. *Comprehensive* would be translated as *houkatsu-teki* (包括的), with the first character *tsutsumu* meaning "envelop, wrap", which also has the sense of *comprehend* in Japanese. The more common word for understand would be *wakaru* (分かる) which is etymologically linked to *waku* (く) and means "divide, separate" in the sense of breaking things down into their component parts, so it makes sense that Japanese English speakers might have a sense of *comprehend* as "gathering
together all the assembled pieces" in addition to "breaking things down into their component parts". While it may be possible to tease out the differences through psycholinguistic experiments, the classroom teacher is more likely to be successful if he or she embraces *comprehensive* as an additional way to have students remember *comprehend*. While this connection is between English and Japanese, within the Japanese language itself, there are categories of lexical items, *gairaigo* and *wasei-eigo*, which the Japanese learner can draw on and the next section will discuss those categories.

### 5.3.2 Gairaigo and Wasei-eigo

The connection between *comprehend* and *comprehensive*, where the Japanese learner may develop a lexical connection that would not occur to the native English speaker, is one example of how structured information that is different from the lexicon of the L1 speaker can be accessible to the L2 learner, but invisible if we take the organisation of the L1 lexicon as the final model. Loanwords provide another example, and while all languages have loanwords, their presence in Japanese is notable for several reasons related to specific aspects of the language.

In Japanese, there is a separate identified category of foreign loanwords called *gairaigo* (外来語 or outside-arrival-word) that are primarily borrowed from English or from other European languages rather than from Old or Middle Chinese. *Gairaigo* is generally written in *katakana*, with a few older terms written in *kanji*; this latter is known as *ateji*. As mentioned in section 4.4, Japanese onomatopoeia is written in *katakana*, but outside of this, *katakana* is almost exclusively used for foreign borrowings, potentially making them more salient.
This salience has been found to have an impact on learners. Research by Brown (1995) showed that Japanese students could much more easily define English words that had a gairaigo equivalent as opposed to English words that had not been borrowed. Struc and Wood (2015) cite Uchida’s (2001) finding that junior high school participants, when presented with unknown L2 words, could identify about half of the L1–L2 correspondences. Daulton (2009) suggests the tendency to use gairaigo is supported by the fact that indigenous words typically have kanji, which require further memorization, increasing the load on memory. Furthermore, rather than being borrowings that may have extended usages in the language, Oshima (2003) argues that "gairaigo is an integral part of Japanese" (2003: 157). While there are those who feel that gairaigo is problematic (cf. Daulton, 2009), opinion is coalescing around a position that gairaigo can be beneficial because young people have a positive attitude towards it and because it reduces the cognitive load of memorizing new lexical items (Kawauchi, 2014). As an example of how deeply gairaigo has permeated Japanese, let us examine three examples Turner (2015) lists of "creative metaphor usage" on Japanese learners' Cambridge English test scripts.

- We should look at and judge them only on their stage.
- In my view, learning other language means to touch the culture.
- For example, a good documentary programme about the Iraq war gives lots of people, who can't go to the battle field, the information…

Figure 5.1 Turner’s (2014: 319) examples of creative metaphors by Japanese

Turner points out that the second example (touch the culture) is probably a transfer from the Japanese (文化に触れる), which literally translates as 'to touch culture', and is a common expression in Japanese to refer to new or different experiences gained from visiting a different country. However, all three words (ステージ, ターチ, and バトル) can all be considered to be gairaigo. And while this makes
much fuzzier the question of whether these students are using English or Japanese to create these metaphors, it does demonstrate that these Japanese students have potential resources beyond what has been previously assumed.

In addition to *gairaigo*, there is a second category that is distinct, but difficult for the average Japanese learner to separate, that of *wasei-eigo* (和製英語 or *Japanese-made English*). *Wasei-eigo* is also written in the *katakana* script. These terms are Japanese expressions that often derive from *gairaigo*, but because of Japanese phonological processes, either have a totally novel meaning or are no longer recognisable by native English speakers. For example, "remote control", when transcribed in Japanese, becomes *rimōto kontorōru*, but this has then been simplified to *rimokon*, making it opaque to English speakers.

When we confine our discussion to lexical items, it is relatively simple to explain to learners the process by which "remote control" becomes *rimokon* (Miller, 1998). However, with the introduction of figurative language, the connection between the idealized L1 speaker's semantic network and that of the L2 learner's developing network becomes much more complicated. In the next section, I will discuss a second example showing figurative use of *wasei eigo* and how processes of figurative language can be applied to them.

### 5.3.3 Figurative language and Japanese borrowings

As an example of *wasei eigo* carrying a figurative meaning, we can consider the example of *reberu appu* ("level up"), which means to improve in an ability or a skill, and probably derives from video games where the player status increases in 'levels'. The temptation for the classroom teacher would probably be to discourage
usage, but a Google Ngram search reveals an example of the phrase in the following passage from 1875:

When the Granger movement was started it was said by one of the leading orators, that they proposed to "level up" the farmers as a class. We should endeavor to "level up" our profession, by our efforts to keep each department to its highest grade.

(Annual Journal of the Illinois State Dental Society, 1875: 123)

In addition, the phrase exhibits the same sort of language process that the recent English phrase "man up" ("to act like a man, to behave in an appropriately masculine way") does (Zimmer, 2010).

These loanwords enter the lexicon and pose a particular problem for metaphor research in that it is difficult, if not impossible, to account for the metaphorical images that are behind these words. To illustrate this, let us again consider the example of level up/reberu appu. The application of the notion of "level" to skill would be something that clearly qualifies as an example where MORE IS UP, and in English, we have phrases such as the following:

- Because Laura is a woman, she can do things that men at her level cannot do. (Perlow, 1997)
- The first player knows he has to raise his level of play and his intensity. (Dalloway, 1997)
- In Breaking Through to the Next Level I want to encourage you to be more and do more than you ever thought possible. (Ziglar, 1998)

Clearly, in English there is a metaphorical movement from level as a location in space to level as an abstract measurement of skill or ability. It is entrenched enough that it can be posed ironically, so the Peter Principle is a description of how people "rise to the level of their incompetence", with the notion that it is often easier to promote someone who is poor at a job than to actually get rid of them (Peter & Hull, 2011). While English speakers and Japanese speakers have access to a vaguely similar notion of "level", how should the classroom teacher approach this? It may be
that the student has acquired some aspects of the English lexical item 'level', though if
the student connects it with the lexical item reberu appu, it will be on a case-by-case
basis.

In discussing the figurative aspects of the semantic networks of Japanese
students' L2 lexis, we would be asking teacher-practitioners to try and effectively
isolate and describe the metaphorical images students have acquired. This would be,
given the influx of English words into the language, incredibly challenging, and would
more or less require individually researching the background of each item as well as
the language learning experiences of each student. This is clearly not possible. As
detailed in chapter 4, the students in this study have had anywhere from 6–9 years of
English study or more, and this period of English study also has an impact on how
they may (or may not) learn L2 metaphor. Yet they find themselves in a linguistic
landscape rich in metaphors and figurative language which has, up to now, not been
connected in any meaningful way with their written production.

This is not to suggest that Japanese speakers are unique in their abilities
concerning metaphor, nor is it to suggest that Western countries have some
deficiencies with regard to metaphor. The purpose in laying out the Japanese
situation is to highlight the potential resources that exist for the teacher of English in
Japan. An awareness of these resources could help counter challenges presented by
Japanese students in the English language classroom including a hesitancy to bring
up new topics or volunteer answers (Anderson, 1993), a phenomenon investigated in
a quantitative framework in a recent monograph (King, 2013). While King is
concerned with Japanese learners' oral production, in chapter 4, I have shown how
this lack of output is a problem in the written production of those learners. King
notes:
... if we attempt to alter just one variable relating to a learner's silent behaviour, there is a distinct possibility that a meaningful and prolonged modification ... may not occur. This in turn implies that teachers aiming to encourage [this behaviour] in their classrooms would be better off adopting a multi-strategy approach which manipulates a range of learner and environmental factors simultaneously.

(2013: 165, emph. author)

I have previously mentioned Vygotsky and the mention of environmental factors recalls Vygotskian socio-cultural constructivism. This thesis has drawn on some of Vygotsky's constructs to help understand why extended conceptual metaphors are superior to the previous approach of teaching metaphors as lexical items. However, to understand Vygotsky, it is necessary to discuss constructivism as a theory of learning, in order to highlight what Vigotsky brings to an L2 metaphor pedagogy

5.4 Constructivism, Piaget and Vygotsky and EFL

Constructivism, with which both Piaget and Vygotsky are associated with as a theory of learning, has a deep connection with metaphor research. At the same time as linguists and metaphor researchers were considering the ramifications of Reddy's (1979) conduit metaphor, teachers and researchers in education were rejecting behaviourism, which assumed learner behaviour could be explained in terms of rewards, as a theory of teaching and replacing it with a theory of learning known as constructivism. Constructivism is often described as the opposite of Objectivism, and Objectivism is strongly refuted by Lakoff (cf. Lakoff 1987: Chapter 11) as a preliminary to a theory of Conceptual Metaphor. Constructivism is an umbrella term for approaches that make the claim that knowledge is 'constructed', with the learner's own ideas and engagement with the object of study argued to be a necessary component to learning and as such, can be considered a refutation of Objectivism, or
the idea that knowledge exists in the world. Among the approaches that are construed as being constructivist or having constructivist elements include pragmatism (Dewey, 1916/1997), constructionism (Harel & Pappert, 1991), experiential learning (Kolb, 1984/2014), critical pedagogy (Freire, 1970), social psychology (Lewin, 1997) and situated learning (Gee, 2004), among others. The term constructivism is associated with figures such as Jean Piaget, Kurt Lewin, Rudolf Steiner and Lev Vygotsky and the approach views learning as the construction of knowledge within a social context (Oxford, 1997).

As Lakoff points out, the Objectivist paradigm was strongly linked to the conceptual metaphor IDEAS ARE OBJECTS, and the entailment of that conceptual metaphor for education was the assumption that teachers have or control ideas as objects and that learners need to be given them. A common term for this is the 'transmission' model which assumes, as in the conduit model, that knowledge is 'transmitted'. This is contrasted with a model that has been named 'experiential', 'collaborative', and 'constructivist' (Deyrich & Stunnel, 2014). Each term carries particular meanings. 'Experiential' emphasises learner experiences as a key component. 'Collaborative' emphasises teachers working with learners and learners working with peers towards shared goals. It is the last term, 'constructivism', and its connections with L2 metaphor, that undergirds this thesis.

There are two poles to Constructivism. One has been defined as Cognitive Constructivism, which has been attributed to Piaget, and the other as Social Constructivism, which has been attributed to Vygotsky. Constructivism in general and Social Constructivism in particular have a complicated relationship with the various niches of L2 applied linguistics (cf. Lantolf (1996), Gregg’s (2000) reply, and Lantolf’s (2002) rejoinder). SLA, with its study of cognitive mechanisms, tends to
downplay constructivism, such that Zuengler and Miller (2006) suggest that the predominant paradigm of SLA is a cognitive perspective where "[n]obody would doubt that language, whether first or second, is an aspect of human cognition" (Zuengler & Miller, 2006: 437 citing DeKeyser & Juffs, 2005: 437). EFL education, on the other hand, is argued to be broadly constructivist, with Cobb (2006) writing that applied linguists (presumably those not in SLA) have "always been constructivists" (2006: 85).

Cobb's observation is borne out by the number of proposals, approaches, and innovations in applied linguistics that are based on or related to constructivism, if not explicitly, then most certainly implicitly. Candidates would include Interlanguage (Selinker, 1972), the Interaction Hypothesis (Long, 1996), Task Based Learning (Ellis, 2003) and the Notional Syllabus (Wilkins, 1977) as well as EFL innovations such as continuous and self-assessment (Frankman, 2007; Antón, 2015), scaffolding (Foley, 1994), Learner Autonomy (Holec, 1981; Little, 1991), reflective practice (Walsh&Mann, 2015), collaborative work (Oxford, 1997) and an emphasis on pair and group work. Communicative competence, discussed in chapter 2, is also an innovation that can be partly attributed to the advent of constructivism in the EFL class (Xamani, 2013). However, as Cobb (ibid) also notes, the constructivist component in applied linguistics is often elided or downplayed, in part because the constructivist revolution preceded the uptake of constructivism into education (cf. Stuff & Gale, 1995). This is complicated by a more recent tendency to refer to any research that investigates student-centered approaches as "constructivist".

In education, constructivism is usually contrasted with the traditional method of education, often referred to as the 'transmission' method, exemplified by a teacher lecturing to students (which can be related to Reddy's conduit metaphor discussed in
chapter 2). Freire characterises this as the 'banking' concept of education, where students are imagined to be empty 'accounts' that only function as places to hold 'deposits' from the teacher (Freire, 1970). However, constructivism is not a theory of teaching, but a theory of learning, and is descriptive rather than prescriptive, making claims about how people best learn and develop (Richardson, 1997).

Constructivism has much to offer L2 metaphor teaching. In the following subsections, I will draw some connections between constructivism and metaphor research and suggest some ideas in constructivism that can be seen as sustaining L2 acquisition of metaphor. While the connection I would make between metaphor and constructivism comes through Vygotsky and his socio-constructivist approach, the next section will be a brief discussion of Piaget and his theory of cognitive constructivism; his ideas are often presented to illustrate the differences between the two.

5.4.1 Piaget: Cognitive constructivism

Jean Piaget is best known for his theory of cognitive development. In that theory, he proposed that there were generic cognitive operations that children demonstrated at various ages and these cognitive operations could be placed into four developmental stages. The four stages that he proposed were as follows: the Sensorimotor Stage, the Preoperational Stage, the Concrete Operational Stage, and the Formal Operational Stage. Below is a chart indicating the stages, the proposed ages, the proposed inputs and the cognitive operations.
One key point about these stages is the argument that at these particular stages, children need particular input in order to develop those cognitive operations, which is why Piaget is labeled as a constructivist. All the input the child receives is generic: it can come from a variety of sources and no particular type of input is essential. This means that it would be difficult to completely prevent a child from accessing that type of input. This also poses a verification problem, in that it would not only be unethical to construct an experiment where such input was totally withheld from participants in order to definitely prove Piaget's proposals, it would probably be impossible to effect in the real world.

Piaget proposed that movement from each stage involves the processes of assimilation, where new events were taken into account, accommodation, where the existing structures changed to accommodate the information from those new events, and equilibration, where those existing structures adapt to new events. Piaget's model underwent significant revision, not only by Piaget, but also by other researchers. In addition, Piaget was careful to note that these stages are approximate rather than absolute and children may reach various stages earlier or later (Singer & Revenson, 1996).

In the period before and at the beginning of CMT, there were attempts to investigate the correlations with Piaget's stages to propose cognitive prerequisites for metaphoric thinking, including research by Billow (1975) and Cometa and Eson.
(1978). (For a more detailed overview, see Winner, 1997.) However, with CMT expanding the category of metaphor, making it more of a challenge to identify precisely what a metaphor was and if it was actually being used metaphorically, it became even more difficult to disentangle verbal ability from metaphorical ability. Despite this, continuing research suggests that there is some support for believing that metaphoric competence involves cognitive skills and correlates with age (Broderick, 1991; Özçaliskan, 2005; Cacciari & Padovani, 2012; Morriseau, Davies & Matthew, 2013; Rubio-Fernández & Grassman, 2016). However, one can see that the original presentation of conceptual metaphors as primitive concepts in the mind (cf. the discussion in section 2.6 and Lakoff and Johnson's "hidden hand of our unconscious conceptual system" (2004: 14)) would have to undergo adjustments to co-exist with a view that skills develop with exposure to particular kinds of input.

Piaget's theories have been challenged on several points, such as whether the stages progress smoothly or not, or whether the manifestations of maturation occur in all domains concurrently. However, these are issues internal to Piaget's theory. What is of interest here is that Piaget was primarily interested in the infant's, as opposed to the adult's, acquisition of knowledge and is often labelled a cognitive constructivist because he discounted the effects of society and language. As such, Piaget's theories are often placed in opposition to Vygotskian sociocultural constructivism. Vygotsky, on the other hand, felt that the maturation process was ongoing and placed the locus of change outside of the individual and in the sociocultural milieu. Because Vygotsky's theory addressed the adult acquisition of knowledge, it is much more compatible with the goals of this thesis, to identify what resources low-intermediate Japanese learners bring to the classroom and how to utilize extended metaphor with low-intermediate learners to best take advantage of
those resources. In the next section, I will introduce Vygotskian theory and identify aspects of his theory that are related to this study.

5.4.2 Vygotsky: Sociocultural constructivism

At this point, we turn to Vygotsky. Vygotsky is often presented in simple opposition to Piaget, but we first have to note that we inherit Vygotsky’s writings through a complicated history. His research took place in 1930’s Soviet Russia and was not easily accessible, and his works were ignored in the West because of political currents until a rediscovery in the 60’s, where they aligned with several points of Piaget (an acknowledgement of the importance of social interaction, the notion of developmental stages), but took issue with other points (the role of biology vs. socialization, development and learning taking place either in order or simultaneously). Vygotsky’s ideas, or at least the interpretations of his ideas, have found favour in a number of fields, and Vygotsky has been cited among the 100 most eminent psychologists of the 20th century (Hageboom, et al., 2002).

It is beyond the scope of this thesis to conduct a full analysis of Vygotsky’s work. It has, however, been suggested that both verbal and gestural metaphors can benefit from Vygotskian socio-constructivist analysis (Littlemore, 2012). Furthermore, a list of areas where effects can be seen as the result of sociocultural influence includes embodied cognition (Gibbs, 2006; Maiese, 2011), discourse (Gibbs & Cameron, 2008; Cameron, Maslen, Todd, et al., 2009), gesture (McNeil, 1992; Duncan, Cassell & Levy, 2007, Müller, 2008; Cienki & Müller, 2008). In the next section, we will review Vygotsky’s Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD) to help us understand Vygotsky’s notion of mediation, which in turn is a key to understanding
how Vygotskian theory can support the use of both extended metaphor prompts and multimodal video prompts for L2 writing.

5.5 The Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD), mediation and symbolic tools

One of the reasons to present extended metaphors to low-intermediate students rather than more basic primary metaphors or image schemas is to take advantage of the connections between the extended metaphors which act as symbolic tools in Vygotskian theory. Vygotsky is best known in L2 education for his Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD), which is often linked with Bruner's notion of scaffolding (cf. Bruner, 1978). Vygotsky's own writings about the ZPD are not extensive and many interpretations of the ZPD are "limited or distorted" (Chaikin, 2003). On the more general question of drawing on Vygotsky, Gillen is led to write:

I shall urge that we in education particularly should question what we think we know about Vygotsky's work. I suggest that a re-examination of sources could lead to reassessment and more importantly, fresh directions in what could rudely be termed 'application', which always of course entails (re)interpretation, however implicit or otherwise (2000: 185)

Daniels, Cole, and Wertsch (2007) point out in their introduction to The Cambridge Companion to Vygotsky, "Any claims about "Vygotsky said..." or "Vygotsky thought..." should be backed up by close reading (2007: 9)" so I avoid making any claims that what I present here faithfully represents the words or thoughts of Vygotsky. I will note here that applying Vygotskian concepts to current metaphor theory, a field that emerged more than 40 years after Vygotsky's death entails reading a great deal into his work. So it is with a certain amount of caution that I draw parallels between Vygotsky's theories and L2 metaphor acquisition. However, the notion of learning and development as mediated processes and the idea
that this mediation entails the coming together of individual and supraindividual factors offers some interesting insights into metaphor, especially for L2 learners.

While I will not rely on the ZPD in my proposal for viewing L2 metaphor use through a Vygotskian lens, a discussion of the construct of the ZPD, as it is commonly cited in L2 education, will help us understand the role of mediation for Vygotsky and why it can provide insights into L2 metaphor instruction. The ZPD is defined by Vygotsky (1978: 86) as "the distance between the actual developmental level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance, or in collaboration with more capable peers".

In trying to understand how children learn and develop, Vygotsky proposed that a key component in the process was mediation, where children can perform more difficult tasks with the help of a 'mediator' in the previously mentioned ZPD. 'Mediation', which Wertsch (2007) identified as the issue that occupied Vygotsky's entire career, occurs when either the adult guide or the more capable peer assists, providing what Rio and Álvarez (2007) describe as a functional loan. They relate this to functional anticipation (Zazzo, 1968) and performance before competence (Cazden, 1981). These two ideas highlight key points in teaching and learning metaphor for L2 learners. It is almost a certainty that mediation will take place before they are competent, and we assume the same in the acquisition of L2 metaphor. So rather than Kathpalia and Carmel's (2011) assertion that "any tampering with idioms and clichés leads to unidiomatic expressions" (2011: 281), we can understand that students have to be given opportunities to develop their use of idioms and metaphors, even though (or perhaps because) it results in what native speakers would feel are unidiomatic expressions.
Kozulin (2003) divides mediators into two types, human mediators and symbolic mediators. Because of the emphasis on ZPD for student-centered learning constructs, the notion of a human mediator is the most commonly understood and cited agent of mediation (Thompson, 2013). However, if it were only that, mediation would simply be a useful metaphor describing the role of peers and/or teachers in the learning process, providing entailments that appear as affordances. On the other hand, I argue that Kozulin's second agent of mediation, the symbolic mediator, is the role that metaphors play in communication and this explains why previous attempts to teach metaphor to L2 learners have not been as successful as we would predict, and why teaching and learning metaphor cannot be done as a piecemeal, building-block approach, but needs to be viewed systemically.

Wertsch (2007) identifies a split between two types of symbolic mediation. The first is 'self-regulation', which occurs on the level of the individual learner and has been the primary focus of attempts to use Vygotskian theory in the language classroom. The second is where the mediation occurs through concepts. Vygotsky also calls this mediation through technology, in that language creates 'artifacts' that are then employed to facilitate activities, which recalls Clark's idea of extended cognition. Wertsch links this to language learning as follows:

Children's early appropriation of language is implicit (i.e., beyond awareness) since the main function of interaction is not usually language learning but learning something else, including how to participate appropriately in social activities. Language serves as a symbolic artifact to facilitate such activities, but it is in and through these activities that language is appropriated.

(2007: 185)

While an agent of mediation could be human, Vygotsky felt that "artificial formations", which he listed as "language; various systems for counting; mnemonic techniques; algebraic symbol systems; works of art; writing; schemes, diagrams,
maps, and mechanical drawings; all sorts of conventional signs" (Wertsch, op. cit.) also functioned as mediators. Wertsch also notes that Vygotsky outlined a "meditational triangle" for "artificial (instrumental) acts" that Vygotsky describes as follows:

In natural memory, the direct (conditioned reflex) associative connection A-B is established between two stimuli A and B. In artificial, mnemotechnical memory of the same impression, instead of this direct connection A-B, two new connections, A-X and B-X, are established with the help of the psychological tool X (e.g., a knot in a handkerchief, a string on one's finger, a mnemonic scheme).

(1981: 138)

This triangle, with the 'psychological tool' at the apex and the two stimuli at the vertices will be discussed in section 5.6.

This all supports an argument that metaphor is a system rather than a group of image schemas and primary metaphors that can be treated as individual building blocks for pedagogical purposes. Vygotsky's earlier definition of ZPD argues that a learner is in that zone when the learner is unable to perform the task alone, but can perform it with the help of a mediator. If we apply the construct of ZPD to L2 metaphor pedagogy, this suggests that mediation signals a point where students are using metaphor before they have control over that metaphor. This in turn identifies the type of metaphor L2 metaphor pedagogy should concentrate on, so that rather than image schemas or primary metaphors, complex conceptual metaphors should be the symbolic mediator. Below is the previously shown chart from Müller (2008), repeated here for convenience, which lays out the types of metaphor she argues for in her scheme:
The double listing of Primary metaphors at the top and Primary metaphor within the scheme may simply be a translation error as Müller suggests that the second category could also be read as Simple metaphors. It also underlines the points made in section 2.5 concerning the metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY. These points were that this conceptual metaphor may be, as Yu (1998) suggests, a candidate for a basic human metaphor and that, as Sweetser (1992) points out, time is universally construed in terms of space, or, as she notes, "any activity performed in time will be potentially subject to metaphorical mapping onto a spatial path" (1992: 715).
However, while universal metaphors linking time to space and experience may provide some initial exercises for students, it is the category of complex metaphors, under which Müller lists culturally-mediated metaphors and compound metaphors, that are the most likely to provide rich content for learners. Furthermore, del Río and Álvarez, citing their previous work, suggest that emerging from Vygotsky's proposed sociocultural constructivism are "culturally and individually distinctive mental models or architectures", which imply "the logic of personalized functional behavior, so that a personal functional architecture can be described for each individual" (1995: 280, emph. authors). I believe that we can take this to mean that unlike the basic building blocks of metaphor, which are presumed to be uniform and relatively identical, the complex metaphors can be considered to differ from person to person, given their background, culture, and environment. Seen in this light, the idea of the teacher presenting carefully curated key aspects of a complex metaphor to a class seems at best inefficient and at worst ineffective.

This is not simply a way to validate a reduction or an elimination of teacher directives on what LIFE IS A JOURNEY or some other complex metaphor may or should mean to his or her students. It actually reflects what we know about the metaphor models. As an example of this, Littlemore and MacArthur (2012) investigated the intuitions of native and non-native speakers of English and Spanish concerning two lexical items, hilar/thread and aletear/wing. Building on previous research (Littlemore and MacArthur, 2007), where after roughly mapping out the word senses within radial categories using corpus data, they conducted individual interviews with a small sample of speakers, investigating the linguistic intuitions of the two groups. They found that not only were the intuitive data impoverished and skewed, a comparison with native speakers revealed that advanced speakers of the
language had much less knowledge of the peripheral senses and that native speakers themselves showed considerable variation based on gender and age. They concluded that this type of knowledge "builds up over a lifetime" (2012: 196) and that "these speakers' understanding of the many meanings of the words looked at will change in response to different experiences throughout their life" (2012: 329). While they note that not only linguistic experiences, but experiences in general, will be reflected in the individual speakers (2012: 202-203), these usage events resist being grouped into overarching categories. This speaks to a concern expressed by Low when he writes:

> If L2 metaphor genuinely reflects L2 culture, should salient aspects of that culture be taught before the linguistic exponents, so that the words would have a genuine meaning for the learners?

(1998: 225)

Low feels there is no clear answer, but if metaphoric knowledge is distributed, as Cole and Engstrom (1996) suggest cultural knowledge is, the requirement for the L2 learners to have a mental model of the metaphors in the language that resembles as closely as possible that of the L1 speaker is obviated. Cole and Engstrom argue that there are multiple methods of distributing knowledge that are all operating simultaneously. For example, knowledge can be distributed by social class, so one social class may 'know' which silverware to use at a formal dinner party while another social class might 'know' how to behave at a rave. We wouldn't expect each member of society to be equally familiar with the patterns of behavior. Alternatively, Cole and Engstrom give the example of a restaurant, where information is distributed through objects (we would not expect to have information about what is on the menu written on signs to the restroom or employees schedules on seating charts), rules (paying the check before leaving, leaving a tip, and knowing not to sit down at a table with strangers without permission are not from the same set of rules) and even people (the
cook, waiter, cashier, and janitor all have different sets of knowledge, that are unique to them). In a similar fashion, we don't expect every native speaker to know every aspect of every metaphor. Adopting a Vygotskian approach to metaphor acknowledges that the metaphoric knowledge of the native speaker is not a model and avoids this issue.

MacArthur (2010) relates an anecdote of one learner's intuition, where students were asked to do a cloze exercise for denominal verbs and one student was asked how he correctly chose 'shoulder'. He replied that the subject of the clause was masculine so 'shoulder' was the most appropriate choice as he felt 'shoulder' was a very masculine action. The researcher realized after consulting the BNC corpus that 'shoulder' strongly collocated with masculine subjects. MacArthur observes that the "learner's intuitive understanding of the verbal use of 'shoulder' was more insightful than his teachers" (2010: 167). Multiple authors (Aston, 2001; O'Keeffe, McCarthy & Carter, 2007; Flowerdew, 2009; McEnery & Xiao, 2010; inter alia) suggest that 'teaching moments' like this support classroom use of corpora; however, I would like to be bolder and suggest that more progress can be achieved by presenting learners with richer, more advanced metaphors that are embedded as multimodal prompts. However, the use of the corpus is as a tool to quantify intuitions and tendencies in the language to deal with collocation on an initial level. Vygotsky's concept of mediation helps us see that, while a corpus may be useful for this level, it fails to bring metaphor to the low-intermediate student. Taking Vygotsky's idea of a 'tool' and considering metaphor in that light illuminates possibilities for complex metaphor in the classroom; this is the subject of the next section.
5.6 Vygotsky, mediation and the semiotics of metaphor

In the previous section, I presented Vygotsky’s concept of mediation through the better-known construct of ZPD. However, Vygotsky also felt that mediation was not only accomplished by human agents, but through larger systems of symbols and he referred to these larger systems of symbols as ‘tools’. In the next section, I will review this and connect it to the presentation of complex multimodal metaphors. Applying Vygotsky’s theories to L2 metaphor teaching in this manner allows us to consider more complex metaphors that can create opportunities for students to provide greater and more varied output. To understand how this is possible, it is necessary to understand Vygotsky’s concept of Symbolic Mediation and deconstruct some of his terminology.

The term 'Cultural-Historical theory' emphasises the mediational role that culture can have in the cognitive development of a child, and in this regard it is useful to link it to the observation of Boers and Stengers (2008) that "culturally salient source domains can motivate why certain lexical fields are drawn from for the lexical make-up of idioms" (2008: 70). The conclusion to be drawn here, related to this project, is that rather than attempting to teach metaphor via smaller building blocks, it is better to ask students, especially those at the ‘threshold’ level (itself an interesting metaphor indicative of the potential change in ability of learners on that level) to deal with larger, extended metaphors. If this is the case, presenting learners with one extended metaphor should help to activate other metaphors and induce the production of metaphoric language. This runs counter to a current research trend that seeks to identify the metaphoricity of individual lexical items in order to get an overall index of the total metaphoricity of a text, the so-called Metaphor
Identification Procedure (MIP) mentioned in the previous chapter. As MacArthur (2015) writes, one possible outcome of such a focus is that in "[c]oncentrating on the trees/words, we risk losing sight of the forest/discourse -- and the participants involved in it..." (2015: 134).

Most psychological and classroom-based research has focussed on the role of human mediators (parents, teachers, more advanced peers) in the ZPD, but Vygotsky also argued that tools act as mediators. While a common image of a tool might be a hammer or a screwdriver, Vygotskian theory greatly expands what a tool can be. The 'Forbidden Colours' test, conducted by Vygotsky’s student Leontiev and described by van der Veer (2014) provides a simple example of such a tool.

Leontiev asked the subjects a set of questions, with some of them having colours as their answer, and the subjects were asked to quickly answer with one word. However, for each set of questions, two colors were specified as 'forbidden', i.e. the subjects were not allowed to say them. He then supplied some of the subjects with a 'tool', a set of coloured cards. The subjects could use those cards to help them. So if the forbidden colors were red and blue, the subject could avoid those words and say maroon for red and azure for blue. While one of the goals was to find performance differences between age groups, Leontiev found none of the subjects could perform perfectly without the cards, but with the cards, adults and adolescents were able to do so perfectly. The cards were, in Vygotskian terms, a tool that acted as a memory aid to tell them which colors were or were not forbidden. While a set of coloured cards may seem a distance from complex conceptual metaphors, when we give L2 learners a conceptual metaphor to base their text around, the conceptual metaphor acts as a 'tool', and by considering that relationship between the L2 learner and the task, the teacher-practitioner can adjust aspects of the conceptual metaphor to help the L2
learner accomplish more than he or she could do without it. This suggestion is in contrast to studies and recommendations where the L2 learner is asked to generate their own 'unique' metaphors and then use them to organise their output, be it their perceptions of the learning/teaching process (cf. Wan, 2011, Wan & Low, 2015), to increase their skills in problem-solving and critical thinking (BouJaoude & Tamim, 2000, cited by Low, 2008), or as an implicit part of the assignment (Kathpelia & Carmel, 2011). Vygotskian theory does not dictate that the 'tool' be unique and newly created; the point of describing it as a tool is that it continues to be available to later generations.

Egan and Gajdaniashchok (2003) discuss literacy as a cognitive tool, and say that rather than 'habit-formation', draw attention to Vygotsky's discussion in which he says:

The problem of written language as such, that is, the special system of symbols and signs the mastery of which signifies a critical turning point in the whole cultural development of the child, is not developed to any high degree in psychology.

[...]

It is clear to us that mastery of this complex system of signs cannot occur exclusively mechanically from outside by means of simple pronunciation, by means of artificial training. It is clear to us that mastery of written language is not likely to have been formed at a key moment from outside by school training, but is actually a product of a long development of higher functions of the child's behavior. Only by approaching the teaching of writing from a historical point of view, that is, only by attempting to understand this moment in the whole history of the cultural development of the child, can we approach the correct solution to the whole psychology of writing.

(Vygotsky, 1997: 131-132)

While Vygotsky is speaking of the L1 written language, which is not a single symbol, but an interlocking network of symbols, I would like to apply this to the presentation of complex metaphors for the acquisition of L2 written language.
Vygotsky’s work suggests that symbolic systems can act as mediators, and one of the major symbolic mediators is literacy. Vygotsky and his student Alexander Luria conducted research with peasants in Uzbekistan to see the effects that the introduction of literacy would have on them. Vygotsky’s prediction was that Uzbek peasants who acquired literacy would demonstrate different patterns of thinking from their non-literate counterparts. Vygotsky’s health prevented him from travelling to Uzbekistan, so his student Luria (1976) carried out the experiments designed to assess the impact of literacy on thinking, and he found that Uzbeki (both children and adults) who had not been exposed to schooling would engage in 'situational thinking', taking their experiences as the sole resource for determining the truth or falsity of syllogisms. On the other hand, Uzbeki exposed to even a small amount of schooling, as little as 2 years, understood that syllogisms allowed them to generalise about places and events with which they had no personal experience. Nells (1999) cites Gilbert’s 1986 unpublished doctoral dissertation which replicated Luria’s work in rural Kwa Zulu, in South Africa’s Natal province, with almost identical results. Nells points out that the current concern with 'universalism' has led neuropsychology to ignore these results. Likewise, there is a similar emphasis on universalism in the pedagogical use of metaphor that ends up focussing on smaller isolated components rather than larger complex metaphors.

These experiments caused Vygotsky and Luria to view symbolic systems as possible mediators and, as Lantolf and Thorne (2006) point out, while most psychological research that addresses development is 'built on the assumption that adults are fully developed human beings' (2006: 36), Vygotskian theory specifically allows for the possibility that "development can occur throughout the lifespan, provided that appropriate forms of mediation are accessible" (Lantolf & Poehler,
While this obviously carries interesting implications in regard to L2 language acquisition by adults, it is not simply the shift of focus from children to adults to which I draw attention, it is the notion of symbolic mediation.

In addition to the written language, Vygotsky suggested that mnemonic devices such as finger counting schemes or other schemes also function as symbolic mediators, and in Vygotskian theory, symbolic mediators function initially as tools and are then used as symbols. This, as Imbreda (2016) notes, is especially challenging in the context of "written speech", where there is a "tension between tool and sign" (2016: 69). Writing is a tool, in that it helps to develop ideas and it is a sign, in that it represents those ideas. Vygotsky draws attention to the developmental linkage between children's usage of tools (including gesture) and the development of speech (Vygotsky & Luria, 1930) and Vygotsky argues that the key change occurs when the tool functions as a mediator, which then gives children the ability to use preliminary organisation and planning in order to change their behaviour. For many tools, they can be discarded, like a child counting on their fingers until they have developed the capacity to count without using the tool. However, with more complex tools, such as spreadsheets, maps or even organisational systems, such as the Dewey Decimal system for libraries, Linnaean taxonomy for biological classification or musical notation, the tool can capture knowledge in a systematic form that can then be accessed. As Imbreda notes:

As one gains increasing expertise with specific uses of a tool, the inner functions change accordingly, extending their reach and applicability but also taking on a form that reflects the structure of the tool.

(2016: 70)

How this may apply to L2 learners requires some discussion of the semiotics of metaphor. To discuss this aspect of metaphor, I draw on Charles Sanders Pierce, who
was arguably the founder of semiotics, and who was the first to assign a triadic interpretation to the relationship of signs, with the sign, object, and interpretent assigned to the three vertices (Atkin, 2013).

I previously referenced Cole and Engstrom (1996) regarding distributed cultural knowledge, and they employ, with no reference to Pierce, a similar triangle with the Interpretant replaced by Subject and Sign replaced by Medium (Artifact).

Peirce subdivided the icon into three categories: image, diagram, and metaphor (Colapietro, 2011) and Hiraga (2005) observes that metaphor is a marginal topic in discussions of iconicity and Hiraga attributes this to a "notational confusion" between the image and diagram on the one hand and metaphor on the other. (2005: 220). He goes on to suggest that "metaphor entails iconicity" (2005: 221, emph. mine).

It was mentioned earlier that iconicity plays a much greater role in the Japanese language than it does in Western languages, and Stjernfelt (2015) argues that iconicity is a foundational principle in the work of Peirce and Peircian iconicity is not merely visual or perceptual similarity, but logical similarity, or what Peirce referred to as 'diagrammatic iconicity' (Peirce 1932: 157). Peircian iconicity was rediscovered by functional linguists (Haiman, 1980; Bolinger, 1985; Givon, 1990), all
of whom argue that iconicity represents a fundamental structuring principal for human languages. I would argue that the presence of iconicity in the Japanese language, not only in onomatopoeia and mimetics (Kita, 1997; Shinohara & Uno, 2013), but also in the written/visual language (Hu, 2011, Hiraga 2005: 194–218) hints that it is an untapped resource for the language learner.

For L2 learners, we assume that their figurative and conceptual network is fully formed as a result of their acquisition of fluency in the L1. However, it is necessary to connect that network to the developing network in the L2. A failure to appreciate the resources that the learner brings limits the effect that instructed L2 learning has. The traditional emphasis on comparing the output of the L2 learner to an ideal native speaker model obscures how the L2 speaker must be a language creator in order to transfer the tools of metaphor in the L2 to operate symbolically, and a failure to appreciate metaphor as a system results in a L2 metaphor pedagogy that treats each metaphor as an individual fact.

This has all been discussed previously, but in the context of Vygotskian theory, the system of metaphor functions as a symbolic mediator. Both the fully-developed metaphor system in the learner's L1 and the developing system in the learner's L2 can act in this way. Making the assumption that the learner's metaphor system is not divided into two discrete systems, one for L1 and one for L2, we can see that presenting metaphors that may be beyond the current L2 resources of the low-intermediate student could have the same mediating effect. Awareness of larger extended metaphors can induce students to produce more metaphor that may not be directly related to the extended metaphor itself. MacArthur's anecdote of a student assigning 'shoulder' to a masculine subject is an example of this.
So if we accept that complex metaphors have a role as prompts in the writing classroom, we must discuss how they should be presented. For this, I turn to the field of multimodality and in the next chapter I will give a basic introduction to multimodality and analyze the two initial video prompts and two of the later video prompts as multimodal texts.
Chapter Six: Multimodality and Complex Conceptual Metaphor

6.0 Introduction

One of the features of this study is that I employed multimodal prompts to induce the production of metaphoric language, so in the following sections I will introduce multimodality. In 6.1, I will give a brief introduction to multimodality, explaining its roots in Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT). In 6.2 I will review the conceptual metaphor RELATIONSHIPS ARE PLAYS as a preliminary for Section 6.3, an analysis of two initial video prompts of Rihanna's *Take a Bow* and Natalie Imbruglia's *Torn*. The contrast between the two videos serves to illustrate the additional information that multimodal prompts can bring as writing prompts to low-intermediate learners of English. This will be followed by analyses of two additional videos, Christine Aguilera's *Fighter* and Ariana Grande's *Break Free*.

6.1 An Introduction to Multimodality

Multimodality is the term that has been used to discuss the multiple modes by which communication is sent, with these modes combining to compose a message. While multimodality is argued to be an integral part of all communication, it has become an area of academic research only with the work of Gunther Kress (1997, 2000a, 2000b, 2003). Kress notes that each mode, be it the written text, images, or sound, has particular affordances and these modes can "change, through their affordances, the potentials for representational and communicational action by their users" (2003: 4). Bessemer and Kress (2008) further suggest that these additional affordances, because they are more accessible to readers, dictate a reexamination of pedagogical principles, of which this thesis is a part.

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The initial research into CMT was, as discussed in Chapter 2, confined to lexical data, which led to valorizing the output of the L1 speaker and deprecating that of the L2 speaker. This concentration of attention on lexical data does not sufficiently emphasise the fact that metaphor is a conceptual phenomenon that is realized not only in language, but also in visual image, music, and gesture, among others. As CMT began to be applied to other data, it became clear that there were a number of inadequacies and gaps in Conceptual Metaphor Theory, in part because data for Conceptual Metaphor Theory were drawn almost exclusively from linguistic data, often with researcher-generated examples. Expanding to non-linguistic presentations of metaphor, researchers such as Forceville (1996), Carroll (1996), and Leeuwen and Kress (2000) took the initial steps in bringing CMT to other areas. Kress (2000), addressing "TESOL professionals", writes that it is time to "unsettle this commonsense notion" that language "fully represented the meanings they wish to encode and communicate" (2000: 337). Multimodality is an attempt to create a research framework for metaphor in other communication modes.

Along with Kress, another key figure in multimodality studies is Theo van Leeuwen, who together with Kress put forward their theory in a text entitled *Reading images: The grammar of visual design* (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996), with a second edition issued in 2006. Kress began with research into literacy, and argued that traditional definitions of literacy were too constrained (Kress, 1997), calling on education to recognize a much wider range of 'modes of communication' (1997: 6), and claimed, similarly to this thesis, that children entered the education system "as competent and practised makers of signs in many semiotic modes" (1997: 9). As such, educators should both acknowledge the ability of children to act as makers of signs and seek to understand trends that make communication more multimodal. Indeed,
it is not simply acknowledging other modes, it is acknowledging the "ensemble of
modes involved in the production of texts" (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006: 41).
Studying only a single aspect of the written mode, language, means that other
semiotic resources are ignored or undervalued. While this thesis is concerned with
presenting multimodal prompts to students to ideally improve their L2 composition
skills, another aspect of this thesis is considering how to evaluate and make use of
multimodal resources in the classroom.

Initial work in multimodality drew heavily on Halliday's theories of Systemic-
Functional Linguistics (SFL), which took language as a social semiotic (Halliday,
linguistics and Hallidayan-inspired studies of literature, visual semiotics, music, and
other semiotic modes. Taking language as a social semiotic, it is, Halliday argues,
important to relate language to the social settings in which it is used and social and
power relations that it represents. For traditional linguistics, SFL represents a rather
radical reconceptualization of language as an object of study, arguing, in a fashion
similar to Vygotsky, that society both affects and is affected by language.
Multimodality further expands the range of communicative modes, beyond the
spoken and written language to modes including music, gesture, visual imagery, and
others, all of which can be analysed as long as they have an "organized, regular means
of representation and communication" (Jewitt, 2004: 184).

Multimodality also took from SFL the notion of genres. For SFL, genres are
"configurations of meanings [that] enact the social processes of a culture" (Martin &
Rose, 2008: 6) and they, along with register, serve to explain why particular instances
of language may be inappropriate or infelicitous (rather than ungrammatical) in
particular circumstances. Because multimodality has sought to identify and analyse
various modes and how they operate, one of the challenges faced by multimodality is that there are often no established frameworks for both analysing proposed modes and superimposing those analyses on each other to be able to draw conclusions.

Because of this, genre in multimodality functions in a similar fashion, allowing the analysis to be constrained, so generalizations can be drawn, such that we see multimodality studies focussing on political speeches (Poggi, D’Errico, et al., 2013), advertisements (Hidalgo-Downing & Kraljevic-Mujic, 2011), pop songs (Machin, 2010), animation (Forceville, 2013), and news bulletins (Machin & Jaworski, 2006), among others. For this thesis, music videos are the genre and in section 6.4 four music video prompts given to participants in the study will be analyzed as multimodal texts.

Significantly, earlier work by Kress (1997) has argued that multimodality should have us reexamine our concept of literacy, which would in turn have us reexamine curriculum and pedagogy. While there is not scope to discuss the ramifications of these ideas in the context of EFL writing education, this thesis makes a similar argument: Metaphor needs to be presented as larger, more complex entities rather than as smaller primitives and learners, as possessors of "fully figurative minds", need to be given opportunities to produce metaphor rather than simply imitate it.

While earlier works in multimodality did not draw on Conceptual Metaphor Theory to any great extent, Forceville (2007) argued for the logical extension of Lakoff and Johnson's argumentation. That is, if metaphor is not only ubiquitous in language, but provides the function of allowing speakers to communicate and structure their ideas and thoughts, it must be present in other forms of
communication. Thus, multimodality researchers have taken the notion of conceptual metaphor and attempted to apply it rigorously to non-verbal communication.

Royce (2002) suggests that analyzing semiotic resources and how they are interrelated can potentially energize and create pedagogical approaches as well as making a starting point into research efforts concerning learner interaction with multimodal materials in the classroom. However, his examples concentrate on students using multimodal materials to improve their acquisition of vocabulary or having students 'engage' with multimodalities, in essence learning about multimodality rather than using multimodality to provide content. The third research question asks How and to what extent does the introduction of one extended conceptual metaphor to low-intermediate Japanese learners through modal texts increase the production of metaphoric language? This approach parallels other studies of non-linguistic realization of metaphor (Cienki, 2008), and provides an opportunity to bring multimodal material into the ESL classroom.

In the next section, I will give a more traditional CMT analysis of the conceptual metaphor RELATIONSHIPS ARE PLAYS, paralleling the linguistic presentation, through the song lyrics found in the first video. This will provide a basis to show how this metaphor can be presented as a multimodal text in the second video prompt for the participants. This will be followed by two more analyses of music videos used with the students.
6.2 Conceptual metaphor: LIFE IS A STAGE/RELATIONSHIPS ARE PLAYS

In section 2.5, I reviewed the literature related to the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY, which was presented to students as an example embedded in a model essay for the experimental group. In this section, I would like to present a relatively standard CMT analysis of LIFE IS A STAGE/RELATIONSHIPS ARE A PLAY, the complex metaphor which was embedded in the initial two videos presented in the experimental portion of this project. The choice of these two videos dictated the metaphor used.

While LIFE IS A STAGE/RELATIONSHIPS ARE PLAYS appears to be a straightforward conceptual metaphor, it is not mentioned in Lakoff and Johnson's 1987 work, and the only similar conceptual metaphor would be LIFE IS A STORY (1987: 173). So, unlike the large amount of research referencing LIFE IS A JOURNEY, there is a much smaller amount of CMT research that examines LIFE IS A STAGE and no research that I can locate that discusses RELATIONSHIPS ARE PLAYS. In the following descriptions, I will suggest why this may be the case. We will first work from the more basic LIFE IS A STAGE.

Because the most obvious example in English derives from Shakespeare's As You Like It, LIFE IS A STAGE is often referred to as a Shakespearean metaphor (Fischer and Greiner, 2007; Evers, 1969, quoted in Moore & Dwyer, 1994), but the stage can be mapped to any event that occurs over time and has discrete participants. We can see this in Langacker (1991), who calls it the 'stage model' (1991: 284) and cites it as a model for human perceptual experience. This links itself to the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A STAGE, presented as a Chinese conceptual metaphor of LIFE IS A SHOW by Yu and Jia (2016). Mey goes as far as to wonder, after citing
instantiations of this metaphor in Shakespeare, Faulkner and Elvis Presley, if this is better classified as a folk metaphor (1998: 612).

While the first line of Shakespeare, 'All the world is a stage', is well known, it is often quoted without the further context. The entire soliloquy is:

![Image of Shakespeare's soliloquy]

In this passage, not only is a stage invoked, additionally, the structure of dramatic works ('exits', 'entrances', 'acts', 'scenes'), performance practices of Shakespeare's time (members of an acting troupe performing multiple roles), and the conceptual metaphor of LIFE IS A PLAY is also cited. Because plays were meant to be performed rather than simply read, the Shakespearean metaphor of LIFE IS A STAGE is, at its heart, a multimodal metaphor, something easily grasped by the
opening of Kenneth Branagh’s film version of *Henry V*, where Derek Jacobi, replacing the chorus as narrator, delivers the opening prologue from the backstage area of the film, apologizing for the limited resources of the stage for portraying the content of the play.

![Figure 6.2 Henry V (1.1.9-19)](image)

A third excerpt from Shakespeare, from *Macbeth*, has a similar, albeit darker, version of this metaphor, delivered at the death of Lady Macbeth:

![Figure 6.3 Macbeth (5.5.2381-5)](image)

In this case, the transience of an actor’s time on the stage is highlighted, but the key point of the first video is TRUE FEELINGS ARE NOT PERFORMANCES, which bases itself on the intuitive conceptual metaphor TRUTH IS GOOD.

However, counterintuitively, it has been noted by several cultural researchers that Japanese society places a different value on the true expression of feelings. Difference is suggested by the presence of the semantic pair *honne* and *tatemae* (Lebra, 1976; Befu 1980; Naito & Gielen, 1992; Doi, 2005). *Honne* represents one’s true emotions, while *tatemae* indicates the standard that one must present in public.
view. Befu (1980) suggests that the tatemae/honne opposition is necessary to understand the outliers of group-oriented theories of Japanese behavior. Regardless which approach one takes, the opposition these terms create suggests, unlike in the West, the expression of false feelings is not necessarily regarded as negative. Littlemore and Low (2006) note that this manifests itself in metaphors that tie expressions of anger to the belly or hara because it is presumed that hiding one's "most private, truthful, innermost self" (2006: 98) is socially more acceptable than to reveal one's true self. And while these interaction patterns are changing (Naito & Gielen, 1992), this still potentially reduces the usage of the metaphor by Japanese students in the initial pedagogical task. This is actually preferable to having a metaphor that is deeply embedded in both Western and Japanese culture. In that case, it would be more difficult to separate what students produce as newly-acquired and what is already there, waiting for them to access.

Another aspect of the extended metaphor may be described as ACTIONS WITHIN A PARTICULAR CONTEXT ARE CONTAINED IN A STAGE. Ritchie (2013) speaks of a 'stage' metaphor, giving examples such as 'the journalist's role in society' or someone 'hogging the spotlight', but gives no conceptual metaphor version, so one possible way of stating this as a conceptual metaphor would be ACTIONS WITHIN A PARTICULAR CONTEXT ARE CONTAINED IN A STAGE. Like TRUE FEELINGS ARE NOT PERFORMANCES, this conceptual metaphor has not been presented extensively in the literature and its presence increases the number of potential mappings.

We can also note that the conceptual metaphor RELATIONSHIPS ARE EVENTS is a variation of LIFE IS A JOURNEY. It is relatively easy to conceptualize a relationship, or indeed any similar experience that can be taken to have a start and
end point, as a metaphor, as was observed in the discussion of LIFE IS A JOURNEY. After this mapping has been made, aspects of the event can be connected to the relationship as illustrated by these examples drawn from various sources, such as a play or musical performance:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Herman Van Rompuy…said the deal was &quot;but the opening act&quot; of the relationship…</th>
<th>Charlemagne, 2014: 37</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>It’s a strange thing but, only now, at the finale of our relationship…</td>
<td>Pachmuss, 1978: 292</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 6.4 Examples of structuring through aspects of performances

Any event that structures time in some way could be utilized as the source, such as a sports contest:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Little did I realize that it was just halftime, for my most productive years yet lay ahead…</th>
<th>Creech, 2012: 61</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>We took a timeout after that, and I really did not want to go out with him anymore.</td>
<td>Beck &amp; Driscoll, 2005: 107</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 6.5 Examples of structuring through aspects of sports events

Because events arise from and through social interaction, they are sensitive to cultural interpretations of how time is divided and how an event is conducted. This interacts with the notion of a STAGE, because the performers on a stage are not portraying their true selves, but are playing a role that is part of the performance. Because both of these songs describe relationships, this provides the target domain, with the source domain being PLAYS or more generally PERFORMANCES.

The preceding discussion has addressed the conceptual metaphor as linguistic rather than multimodal. In sections 6.4.1 and 6.4.2, I will discuss how this metaphor is presented multimodally through two music videos, but that discussion requires some discussion of the genre of music videos.

6.3 Music videos as a genre

In section 4.4, there is a discussion of genre in Systemic Functional linguistics. However, for this section, I return to the non-technical definition of genre, which is "a
particular type or category of literature or art" or in this case, of video. Music videos, as a genre, are short films which combine a popular song with some imagery. One purpose for creating a video is to promote the sales of the song. While some have traced the origin of music videos to musical shorts that were presented with feature films, and others have pointed to the creating of promotional clips to support popular songs (the Beatles' *Hard Day's Night* being a famous example) the general perception of music videos begins with the US Television network MTV, which was set up to play music videos continuously, 24 hours a day. However, Marks and Tannenbaum (2011) write in their history of MTV, the network began in 1981 with "about a hundred" music videos (2011: xxxviii) and had to plead with record labels to make these videos to supply them with on-air content. Because of this, many initial music videos were simply a video of the singer or band lip-synching with the recording of the song.

However, record labels and artists were quick to realize that a powerful music video can propel sales of the song. In 1983, Michael Jackson negotiated with MTV to premiere the music video for *Thriller*, and approached John Landis, an American feature film director whose horror film *American Werewolf in London* had caught Jackson's attention. Landis agreed to direct and also co-write the screenplay for the video with Jackson. Rather than previous music videos of a band on a set lip-synching to the song, the video featured not only a narrative, but choreographed dancing zombies, incidental music composed by the Academy Award winning composer Elmer Bernstein, and a voiceover by famed horror actor Vincent Price.

While the video, listed in the Guinness World Records as "the most successful music video" and inducted into the National Film Registry of the Library of Congress as a work that is "culturally, historically or aesthetically" significant, may not
represent a typical example of a music video, this short history reveals how many different artists can participate in the making of a music video. Furthermore, because the music video is often made after the song has been written, it is not only possible but highly likely that the interpretation(s) of the video are not simply drawn from the song, but represent a range of other influences and ideas by multiple artists/creators, so while we can interpret a music video as a single multimodal text, it is the result of a potentially greater range of inputs than other multimodal texts such as films, advertisements or political speeches. This probably accounts for why music videos are amenable to semiotic analyses (cf. Tagg, 1987), but multimodal analyses, which would seek to identify and describe how each mode contributes to the whole, are not as common. Maier and Cross (2014) note that "the multilayered discourses and meanings in music videos...have rarely been addressed in research or educational texts" (2014: 111). However, what is challenging to the multimodal analyst provides benefits to the student. In the qualitative analysis in chapter nine, we will see how the multiple modes provide a wider range of ideas for the low-intermediate writer.

It should not come as a surprise that music videos are multilayered discourses, often with competing messages by different stakeholders. However, it may surprise the reader to know that the initial ingredient of a music video, the song itself, is constructed in a similar fashion. While our image of the singer-songwriter is one of a single artist crafting a song in his or her own voice, much of modern pop music is written by one group of people for other, recognizable stars to perform. As John Seabrook, writing in the New Yorker magazine (September 30, 2015) writes "Among the stranger aspects of recent pop music history is how so many of the biggest hits of the past twenty years...have been co-written by a forty-four-year-old Swede," and discusses Karl Martin Sandberg, known under his pen name Max Martin. After
introducing Max Martin and how he was able to write or co-write twenty-one No. 1 Billboard hits, he discusses some aspects of Martin's writing of Britney Spears' hit single *Hit me Baby one more time*. "[I]t was," he writes,

hard to imagine that anyone for whom English is a first language would write the phrase "Hit me, baby" without intending it as an allusion to domestic violence or S & M. That was the furthest thing from the minds of the gentle Swedes, who were only trying to use up-to-the-minute lingo.

Seabrook attributes the success of Martin and several other Scandanavian songwriters not only to the Nordic ability in English, but also assigns equal importance to "a lack of facility with the finer points of the language". In addition, a pattern of production that has "songwriters...assigned different parts of a song to work on; choruses...taken from one song and tried in another; a bridge might be swapped out, or a hook. Songs are written more like television shows, by teams of writers who willingly share credit," we can understand why, with the absence of a single artistic vision, music videos might be difficult to analyze multimodally, but are, in their multiple protean incarnations, an ideal source for writing prompts for low-intermediate learners.

One of the later multimodal prompts, Ariana Grande's *Break Free*, was co-written and co-produced by Savan Harish Kotecha, an American of Gujarati Indian descent, Zedd, a stage name for Anton Zaslavski, a Russian-born German producer and Martin. Significantly, an interview with Ariana Grande about the song (Feeney, 2014) had this:

But don't blame the songbird for lines such as "Now that I’ve become who I really are" and "I only wanna die alive" — blame über-producer Max Martin, who made her do it.

"I fought him on it the whole time," Grande tells TIME. "'I am not going to sing a grammatically incorrect lyric, help me, God!' Max
was like, 'It's funny — just do it!' I know it's funny and silly, but grammatically incorrect things make me cringe sometimes."

However, Grande relented, and in the same article said that upon reflection, she takes the ungrammatical line I don't want to die alive, to mean that:

...life is so short — there's no reason to not enjoy it and there's no reason you should be anything but yourself. Have fun, be spontaneous and let go. It's O.K. to cut off whatever you feel is holding you back.

In the next sections, I will present brief analyses of four music videos used as writing prompts. The first two were used for the quantitative portion of this thesis, while the second two provide additional data to examine qualitatively. These first two videos were chosen for the quantitative portion because for the first one discussed (Rihanna's *Take a Bow*), the extended metaphor is already present in the lyrics, and seemed to be only peripherally supported by the other multimodal content, while for the second music video (Natalie Imbruglia’s *Torn*), the extended metaphor only presents itself through the juxtaposition of the visual mode of the video on the song, creating the condition of multimodal material priming the production of metaphoric language. The final two videos, Ariana Grande’s *Break Free* and Christine Aguilera’s *Fighter*, were chosen to provide other examples of multimodal content available to the classroom teacher.

6.4 Examining multimodality in four music video prompts

The four videos discussed below are by no means the only, or even the best, music videos to demonstrate how multimodal content can support extended metaphor. The first two music videos were used as prompts in the quantitative portion of the study and were chosen because they provide two different views of the same metaphor and the differences in setting out the metaphor provide a useful way
to clearly illustrate multimodality. The second two music videos were part of a set of music videos assigned to students after the quantitative portion and were chosen for presentation here because they had similarities to the initial two videos.

In the first video, Rihanna’s *Take a Bow* (www.youtube.com/watch?v=J3UjJ4wKLkg), the extended metaphor is initially delivered through the lyrics. If one only listened to the song without the video, or even only read the lyrics, it would be possible to draw out the extended metaphor of RELATIONSHIPS ARE PLAYS, and conversely, if the video were played without the song, it would be highly unlikely that a viewer would be able to access the extended metaphor.

This contrasts with Natalie Imbruglia’s *Torn* (www.youtube.com/watch?v=VV1XWJN3nJo), where only the juxtaposition of the lyrics and the video images indicate the extended metaphor of RELATIONSHIPS ARE PLAYS. This ability to communicate through other modes makes the communication of the extended metaphor, in the case of the second video, one of multimodality. The analysis of *Torn* illustrates how the cutting of scenes in the video can convey information, in this case, the notion of a performance, with the video providing the source domain to the target domain that is supplied by the lyrics.

The next two videos were chosen from the others presented to students and share several points of similarity with the first two videos, and because they were presented after students were debriefed about the nature of the initial experiment, the teaching situation was much more natural, with the researcher able to make reference to metaphor and praise students for interesting metaphoric language.

One of the challenging tasks in multimodal research is that it is difficult, if not impossible, to draw a line around what the object of analysis is. This makes it a
challenge in a study like this where the multimodal nature of the video is posited to produce a change in the awareness of metaphoric language in L2 learners. If it does produce a change, how is it possible to create an experimental framework to determine what factor or factors is or are the main or only causative factor?

Müller (2008) persuasively argues that metaphor is multimodal and this multimodality offers a way to gain some insights into the nature of metaphor and shows how multimodality increases the amount of metaphoricity. She also posits that "metaphoricity may crosscut modalities" (2008: 35), thus yielding multimodal metaphors. Müller also discusses "incorporating the cognitive process of activating metaphoricity into a theory of metaphor" (2008: 17) and this is expanded on in Müller and Tag (2010), which argues for the dynamic dimensions of metaphor, drawing on the work of Cameron (1999) and her Dynamic Systems Approach. A similar argument is made by Kövecses (2015b) in arguing that global context primes the use of metaphor in discourse. While all of this work is based on discourse, this thesis follows in their footsteps by trying to merge a cognitive approach drawn on CMT and a socio-cultural approach, relying on Vygotskian theory. In dealing with L2 learners, the question of how one 'activates' their understanding and use of metaphor is the primary question of this study and I claim that the foregrounding of metaphor is accomplished by the presentation of multimodal texts to students, which will then activate metaphoricity that we can see in their written output. This crucially requires that the subjects not be blank slates, but operate with 'fully figurative minds' from which they can draw on as resources.

While I have spent a great deal of space detailing a linguistic understanding of the metaphor LIFE IS A STAGE/RELATIONSHIPS ARE PLAYS, we shall see that the second video, simply through the juxtaposition of the video and the song, achieves
the same metaphor. This economy of presentation can explain why a written text outlining the metaphor would not be adequate in potentially activating metaphoricity in the students, even if it were possible to construct such a written text.

After having had an opportunity to structure an initial writing assignment around the extended metaphor of LIFE IS A JOURNEY and then having an opportunity to work the metaphor that I have labeled as LIFE IS A STAGE/RELATIONSHIPS ARE PLAYS, we then ask how and to what extent do students show increased production of metaphoric language. This design is an attempt to address a challenge linguistics generally faces, and one that is particularly challenging for metaphor research, in that it is not possible to adduce the actual thought processes of the speaker/user. This challenge is further heightened when the participants are, as in this study, non-native speakers working to acquire the language. When a student uses a metaphor, it is possible that they are not processing it metaphorically, but only as a cipher for something in their own language that may or may not be metaphorical. While this study does not completely solve or avoid the problem, by using multimodal prompts to prime metaphorical production in a different way than other work that has been proposed in the literature, it aims to add new methods to conduct this research. This research hinges on the first two videos presented.

The third video, Christina Aguilera's *Fighter* (www.youtube.com/watch?v=PstrAfoMKlc), not only shares a similar visual sensibility to Rihanna's *Take a Bow*, it is a music video where the extended metaphor exists only because of the additional multimodal material. The fourth video, Ariana Grande's *Break Free*, (www.youtube.com/watch?v=L8eRz0YhLuw), is not only similar to *Torn* in that the scenes and scene changes provide significant information
in supporting the underlying metaphor, but the song and video are an example of the bricolage process that is common in the making of both the video and underlying song.

6.4.1 Rihanna's *Take a Bow*

In the two music videos that provided prompts for the students, both are organised according to the RELATIONSHIPS ARE PLAYS ON A STAGE metaphor, but they each do it using different modes. Because of this, it is not possible to use the same type of analysis schema for both songs, so in this section, the lyrics of Rihanna's *Take a Bow* will be analysed along with the contribution of the visual mode, and following that the video and its relation to the lyrics in Natalie Imbruglia's *Torn* will be discussed. One major gap in these analyses is the absence of an analysis of the contribution of the mode of sound or the various modes that make up music, including, but not limited to, pitch, rhythm, timbre, and harmony (Zbikowski, 2008, 2009). This is done for two reasons. The first is that very little student output could be unequivocally attributed to those modes, and the second is that it would make the analyses far too long to fit in this thesis. Furthermore, these analyses concentrate on aspects that appear to be related to the participants' written production, so they are by no means exhaustive.

*Take a Bow* is a song performed by Rihanna (real name: Robyn Rihanna Fenty), a singer and actress from Barbados, and was written and produced by Tor Erik Hermansen, Mikkel Eriksen, and Shaffer Smith under their stage names StarGate (Hermansen and Eriksen, a Norwegian songwriting team) and Ne-Yo (Shaffer Smith). In Rihanna's *Take a Bow*, the singer, singing to an unfaithful lover, explains why she no longer wants to be with him, using the extended metaphor that
relates the man to an actor who was being recognized for performing so well that his performance deserved an award. The comparison between the target domain (her boyfriend's behavior) and the source domain (an actor receiving an award) is primarily through the lyrics mode, with seemingly little overt reference or reinforcement in the video.

The video opens with a relatively tight focus on the singer's arms, crossed in front of her body. This invokes body posture as a mode, a mode which is often taken for granted (Bezemer & Kress, 2015). The singer's body posture of arms crossed in front of her represents a defensive posture and Wallbott (1998) connects crossed arms with both disgust and pride. While the body posture represents an unwillingness to accept her boyfriend's apology (and disgust at his behavior), that notion of pride can be construed as the singer's strength and independence.

Standing in front of a black backdrop, she has on a black tank top and is wearing jewelry, including an expensive watch. She initially makes a gesture that would probably be interpreted as checking her fingernails, which are manicured. All this points to the semiotic signaling of wealth as well as of an independent woman, with the goal of locating the viewer as a sharer of those aspects of taste portrayed in this initial 8-second opening (cf. Kress, 2010). This is reemphasized by the scene location for the first scene change, a corridor of a modern house with stone walls and expensive leather furnishings.

The overall colour is potentially indicative of mourning, a meaning often taken in European cultures (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2002). At the same time it promotes cohesion within the video, as well as providing a clear understanding of scene changes. The colour also carries the potential message identifying Riahnna as a woman of colour, which links the video both to societal and individual struggles.
Kress and van Leeuwen also note that colour is a mode that can be plausibly assigned to all three of Halliday's metafunctions (Halliday 2007), ideational, interpersonal and textual, and the colour black functions with all three of these metafunctions. Black supports a representation of the singer as a dominant and active character within the video (ideational), the possibility of mourning a lost relationship (interpersonal) and the colour also identifies scene changes (textual). The black background also functions as a device for controlling the reading path (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996) by making the singer the most salient element in the shot. The camera moves up to the singer’s face as she sings:

| Oh, How about a round of applause, Yeah |
| A standing ovation                    |
| oh, yeah                              |
| yeah, yeah yeah, yeah                 |

Figure 6.6 Take a Bow: Lines 1-4

The last part of the chorus, placed at the beginning of the song, hints at the extended metaphor, suggesting that someone needs to 'take a bow' for being such a good actor, with the viewer representing the audience. With this initial portion, the singer is apparently singing to the audience, which, coupled with the gaze (Jewitt, 2009), constitute a demand (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006), which establishes the singer’s authority, and consists of words that would normally be spoken to an audience at an awards show. This, coupled with the closeup, creates a sense of personal intimacy with the singer, and makes the viewer part of the source domain. This is also supported by the framing, which makes the singer the sole and central element of the shot.

The end of this chorus is timed to show the singer looking out the window, followed by a man coming up to the outside of the house and ringing the doorbell and
the woman going down stairs. Again, the impression of an expensive house is given with the elaborate doorbell mechanism and the wood panelling on the door. These scenes are intercut with the singer singing to the viewers against a black background:

```
You look so dumb right now
Standing outside my house
Trying to apologize
You're so ugly when you cry
Please, just cut it out
Don't tell me you're sorry 'cause you're not
Baby when I know you're only sorry you got caught
```

Figure 6.7 Take a Bow: Lines 5-11

This first stanza is sung to the boyfriend, who appears asking for forgiveness and so sets the target domain, that of a boyfriend who has cheated on the singer, who is narrating her feelings. It is supported by modality, a multimodal term again adopted from Halliday (1994) that represents a collection of markers which collaborate to deal with issues of representation (van Leeuwen 2005: 160) and which is naturalistic according to the coding orientation put forth by Kress and van Leeuwen (2006: 165-66). This naturalistic orientation has the effect of identifying and supporting the target domain. Naturalism includes the addition of other colors, the contrasting color saturation and differentiation of the two scenes, the absence of the male character breaking the fourth wall as well as the framing and focus. The differences between the scenes of the singer singing and the man at the door, however, are not so different that the viewer would label one as real and one as false, but they do serve to support the metaphor expressed in the song. This portion ends with the singer standing inside the house at the door while the man is apparently speaking.

The next section begins with a similar black background, but photographs the singer closeup from the side. She has put on make up and lipstick with the
implication that she is going out. A cut to a medium shot reveals her in her garage in an expensive car as the garage door slowly opens which is timed to coincide with the lyrics *Curtains finally closing*. There is a cut back to her previous appearance that has her singing, thereby creating continuity so that we assume that the song has been sung to the end. As the singer sings, we see the garage door opening, and then a cut to the man looking up as if he has just heard the garage door and realizes that the singer is leaving. The continuity is lost with a return to the first shot of this sequence and the singer singing, and then pulls back to a medium shot of the singer, as she sings the line *but it's over now* as she looks at her watch.

![Figure 6.8 Take a Bow: Lines 6-13 (Chorus)](image)

The chorus underlines the source domain, that of an actor pretending to play a role rather than a lover actually feeling love for the singer. The metaphor cluster includes terms such as *put on a show, curtain is closing, and take a bow*.

As the singer moves to the next stanza, we see the car pulling out of the driveway, and a return to the initial scene, with the singer making a gesture supporting the phrase *get gone*. The man has heard the car leaving and goes around to speak to the singer and a medium close up of the man holding his hands to his chest and saying 'please'.

![Figure 6.9 Take a Bow: Lines 14-16](image)
At this point in the video, the two scenes alternate, but the singer is singing in both scenes. The scene cuts are marked with the lyrics below, with **scene 1** representing the first medium shot on a black background and **scene 2** representing the outdoor shot. The effect is to have the singer seamlessly singing the song in two different locations. This is a common device in music videos, and potentially serves to highlight the continuity and therefore the importance of the song's lyrics to the video content.

![Figure 6.10 Take a Bow: Lines 17-22 (with scene cuts)]

This cutting back and forth has the effect of emphasizing particular words and phrases as well as providing metynomic links. For example, the man was seen mouthing the word 'please' before as he tries to keep up with the singer as she is slowly driving away and we see the singer singing *Please, what else is on* immediately after that.

Linguistically, this stanza primarily returns to the target domain, but a link to the source domain is highlighted with *this just looks a re-run*, implying that this 'performance' has been done before to other women. However, visually, the return to scene 1 highlights the source domain, as this is the visual we see when she delivers the 'speech' to the audience. After this, the chorus is repeated, and we return to the
singer singing to the audience, alternated with the song in the background and the singer apparently going to another house, which I have labeled scene 3.

Multimodally, each time the video cuts to scene 1, the singer provides a gesture to support the phrase in the lyrics. So when she sings *time to go*, her hand makes a gesture that might be described as a jet taking off; when she sings *finally closing*, her two arms make the gesture of curtains closing; *very entertaining* is accompanied by a head tilt, similar to acknowledging another performer on stage; and *over now* has her hand making a gesture one makes as if saying goodbye. However, rather than waving the arm from side to side, only the fingers of the hand move, making the gesture dismissive. All these gestures provide metonymic links within the overarching conceptual metaphor to help, in Müller and Tag's (2015) terminology, to 'activate' these metaphors. These gestures are subtle enough that the researcher, when initially examining the video, didn't feel they were important enough to note, but only on seeing the written output of the students, realized they create a powerful reinforcement of not only the individual phrases, but the extended metaphor as a whole.
The bridge, in musical terminology, is the portion of a popular song that is a contrasting section which prepares for the return of the verse and chorus. Its presence is to allow the final verse and or chorus to function as a climax and occurs from 2:34 to 2:56 in the song. The bridge in Take a Bow further extends the metaphor, using the phrase And the award goes to... often heard at movie and theatre award shows, and asking for the recipient of the award to give a speech, and cuts to a bedroom interior. This is reinforced by the scene cuts, where we have the singer in scene 4 sitting on the edge of her bed, again singing the song, giving the appearance that the music is diegetic. The quick cut corresponds with the building of the phrase and then cuts back to scene 1, with the singer pointing to the camera as she sings the word you in the phrase the best liar goes to you. We see a quick cut back to scene 4, showing the singer standing up and going to meet the ex-boyfriend, and a return to scene 1, where the singer makes a two-handed gesture to support the word me in the phrase for making me. This is followed by a cut back to the singer leaving the bedroom (scene 4), and then a return to scene 1, where the singer again points to the camera, but in a tighter shot, at the word you in That you could be faithful to me. We then go back to scene 4 for the singing of could be, and then to scene 1, with her singing the word faithful to the camera. Finally, we cut to scene 5,
where we see the boyfriend looking at a message on his mobile phone that says "Come to my house at 6:45! I have sumthin[sic] for you." This scene corresponds to the lyric *let's hear your speech, oh*, and at the word *speech*, we cut back to *scene 1* where the singer makes a gesture of her hand that represents a metonymic link to mouth to support the word *speech*. This segment perhaps best illustrates how the multimodal content supports and enhances linguistic metaphor in the lyrics and it is unsurprising that several students identified the line *And the award for the best liar goes to you* as a particularly memorable one. The song then returns to the chorus.

At 3:02, there is a scene cut from the singer singing to the viewers to a scene in the singer's home. After one more short cut of the singer's performance and a return to the target domain, the singer first picks up a box of matches and removes one (3:08) and then looks at her watch (3:13), confirming for the viewer that this is a very expensive watch. When the former lover comes in, the singer slowly stands up, strikes the match and then sets fire to something on the table, which could be assumed to be the lover's clothes that he has kept at the singer's house. At this point, there is a regular alternation between the target domain scenes and the scenes of the singer breaking the fourth wall. Of note, at 3:35, the singer makes the gesture of taking a bow while singing the penultimate line *Go on and take a bow*. The singer then walks out of the room as her former lover attempts to extinguish the flames.

To return to the beginning of the song, the video begins by focusing on Rihanna's watch, later revealed to be an expensive Piaget, with the position of her arm in relation to her body making it appear that she is checking the time. This suggests that the watch is metonymic (cf. Littlemore, 2015), something which is supported by later appearances of the watch in the video (at 1:20 and 3:12). Her glancing at the watch, as the communicational and representational mode of *gaze*
(Jewitt, 2009), highlights this metonymic character, serving to connect the time frame of the singer singing the song and the events that accompany her rejection of her former lover. This use of the watch as a symbol of time complements the alternation between shots of Rihanna singing to the camera (though the lyrics are addressed to the unfaithful boyfriend rather than the listener) and footage illustrating diegetic elements (the boyfriend asking for her forgiveness for his assumed infidelity), providing visual representations of the source and target domains. In this case, rather than a play, the stage is more like a TV drama.

Initially, the scenes where the singer is singing are kept distinct from the scenes that support the source domain; however, as the video goes on, this distinction is blurred, with the singer singing the song in the scenes that support the source domain at several key points in the lyrics, put on quite a show (1:00), very entertaining (1:15), go on a take a bow (1:23), please, what else is on (1:47), and the award for the best liar (2:34). This clearly illustrates how these texts are not linguistic metaphors that are supplemented by additional modal information but are truly multimodal metaphors whose information can't be neatly separated.

A further example, mentioned in the section about the bridge, is found at 2:54 in the video, where the singer makes a gesture of her hand imitating a mouth by having the palm forward and the fingers and thumb opening and closing, metonymically imitating the actions of a mouth opening and closing (Littlemore, 2015). The usual use of this gesture is to indicate that the speaker is not interested in what the other person has to say, which is true (and would be part of the source domain), but it is timed to support the phrase Let's hear your speech. This is further supported by the singer's body language and facial expressions to emphasize her reaction to her boyfriend's infidelity. These cross-modal connections between the
multiple modes of the video and the lyrics of the song illustrate potential richness of
music videos as writing prompts.

There are two further aspects on the use of the extended metaphor in this song
that are worth noting. The first is the self-reinforcing nature of the metaphor used. By
this, I mean that the more the relationship is taken to be like a play, (i.e. the stronger
the metaphorical relationship is presented) the more problematic the man's behavior
is and the more the man's behavior can been connected to acting a part, the more
powerful the singer's rejection. This allows the inclusion of the idea of rewarding his
acting ability, as can be seen in the singer's encouraging applause ("How about a
round of applause, a standing ovation") and the phrase mirroring an award ceremony
("the award for the best liar goes to you"). A second aspect is the integration of the
viewer as part of the metaphor, in that the viewer is the audience that is addressed at
the beginning of the song.

We can see how the bow, an acknowledgement of the audience's applause, is
extended to a speech delivered upon winning an award for a performance, which then
can be connected to the unfaithful lover acknowledging his 'acting'. Also, because the
singer delivers the lines that person who is giving out the award would give, she can
confront the unfaithful lover, demanding that he acknowledge that he was acting. In
initially making the viewer of the video the audience for the award show, a
connection is established that makes the switching of reference when the singer sings
'And the award for the best liar goes to you' (emphasis mine) contribute to the
impact of the phrase, which, as noted previously, is one that many students were
particularly impressed by. A diagrammatic view of the metaphor linking the source
and target domains of the metaphor presented in the video helps illustrate how the
extensions to this metaphor interact.
In addition to these linkages within the extended metaphor of a stage, it is worth briefly mentioning other conceptual metaphors present in the video along with their linguistic and visual instantiations. Below is a partial list.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conceptual Metaphor/Metonymy</th>
<th>Linguistic instantiation</th>
<th>Visual instantiation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SEVERING IS RELEASE</td>
<td>Just cut it out</td>
<td>Left hand gesture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watch=Time metonymy</td>
<td>now it’s time to go</td>
<td>But it’s over now</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CLOSING IS FINISHING</td>
<td>Curtains finally closing</td>
<td>Garage door opening</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OVER/OUT IS COMPLETION</td>
<td>But it’s over now</td>
<td>Let’s hear your speech out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOTION IS ACTION</td>
<td>Really had me going,</td>
<td>Goodbye gesture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIRE IS ANGER</td>
<td>But now it’s time to go</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Departure preparation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 6.14 Other conceptual metaphors in *Take a Bow* along with their linguistic and visual instantiations
These linguistic and visual instantiations are supported by aspects of the music, including rhythm, tonality, and tempo, but a detailed discussion of these points is beyond the scope of this thesis.

While I will present extensive examples of student production in chapter 9, I would note here that students did note the impact of some of these visual images in their writing, as the following examples illustrate:

- In the music video, she sang “But now it’s time to go, curtains finally closing…” at the same time, her garage would open. I thought it can be the start of something new to her without him.
- In the lyrics, she says ‘But now it’s time to go, curtains finally closing.’ However, at the video, the garage opens. Of course, ‘close’ and ‘open’ are completely contrasting words.
- And she gestures goodbye many times. The gesture shows her feeling that she wants to break up with him.

Other examples suggest that the visual aspect provided some basis for student production.

- In addition there are intense lyrics that “grab your clothes and get gone, you better hurry up, before the sprinklers come on”.
- From 32 to 3 [And the award for the best liar goes to you/For making me believe that you could be faithful to me./Let’s hear your speech], it is the part of the most favorite lyrics. He gets the award for the best liar. He is not faithful to her.
- “And the award for the best liar goes to you” shows that her hatred against him has reached the peak.

To positively connect the above production to the visual aspects would require more detailed data collection, possibly in the form of think aloud protocols. This would be a worthwhile endeavor but is beyond the scope of this thesis, which is to argue for the benefits that multimodal presentation of extended metaphor can bring to low-intermediate students.
While it is possible to read the alternation between the singer singing and the target domain scenes as delivering the metaphor, it is difficult to imagine a viewer confronted only by the video, with no song or lyrics, drawing that conclusion. They only can be taken as related to the source domain by the possibility that they reinforce the lyrics. This creates a very different relationship between the video and the source domain from what we see in the next music video.

### 6.4.2 Natalie Imbruglia's *Torn*

The song *Torn* was originally written by Scott Cutler, Anne Preven, and Phil Thornalley in 1993, and first recorded that year by Danish singer Lis Sørensen, and again two years later by Cutler and Preven's American alternative rock band Ednaswap. However, the song received its greatest exposure as the debut single of Australian soap opera star turned pop singer Natalie Imbruglia's first album and this is the video that is used as a writing prompt. The song has the singer telling about a previous, preferred, lover to her current lover, making it clear that the current relationship is at or near its end.

Just listening to the song or examining the lyrics without reference to the video would not support any reading of an extended metaphor of *LIFE IS A STAGE/RELATIONSHIPS ARE PLAYS*, but the music video of the song employs the same extended metaphor as Rihanna's *Torn* with the addition of the images delivered in the video and it is only with the addition of those images that the extended metaphor can be said to exist. The song lyrics referencing the singer's relationship are solely within the target domain and it is the video that creates the metaphor by adding a source domain of an interior soundstage.
This video is composed of five types of scenes. The first type of scene is of the singer singing to the camera with no others in the scene, similar to the Rihanna video. This type of scene points to a difference in music videos and dramas in that the singer is breaking the "fourth wall", which is a performance convention where an invisible, imagined wall separates performers from the audience. While the audience can see through this "wall", the convention assumes, the actors cannot. The second type would be scenes which might appear in a filmed drama, where the two actors perform in character. The third type of scene is where off-stage participants, including the director, assistants, make up artists and other persons who normally are not visible in a drama appear for issues such as stage blocking, lighting, and makeup. A fourth type of scene is where the actor (significantly only the male actor) is doing something preparatory to beginning the scene, such as clearing his throat, backing up to redo an entrance or adjusting his or his partner's position. The fifth type of scene is similar to the second type of scene, but is different because the male actor abruptly stops or is stopped from acting. Below is a table of the labels and some examples of each type of scene.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of scene</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>singer</td>
<td>Singer singing to the audience</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drama</td>
<td>Either the actor or the actor and singer together appearing as if it were a filmed drama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>backstage</td>
<td>singer and actor appearing along with backstage jobs that would normally not appear on stage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>practice</td>
<td>when the actor makes some adjustment that would require redoing the scene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drama interrupted</td>
<td>similar to the drama scene, except at the last moment, the couple are interrupted by someone in an off-stage job</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Between these labels, I mark each change of scene with the symbol [ | ].

Figure 6.17 Scene types in Natalie Imbruglia's Torn
As might be expected, the existence of *drama* and *drama interrupted* scenes creates tension, in that the viewer is not sure which one it will be until the very end. The *drama interrupted* scenes only differ from *drama* scenes by the final interruption, immediately followed by a scene change.

To first roughly lay out the video, at the beginning, the singer begins singing the song in an empty apartment (a scene I label *singer*). At the 0.15 mark, the scene of the singer is replaced by a scene (which I label *drama*) of a man entering the apartment, which appears to be a home shared by him and the singer, leading to the conclusion that the two are romantically involved. At 0:23, we cut to a *singer* scene where the singer appears in a tight closeup and at 0:25, a 2-second *drama* scene where the singer comes out as the man is coming up the stairs of the apartment reinforces the assumption that the pair are a couple. After this, a 5-second singer scene is followed by the first *drama interrupted* scene where the man and woman are interacting playfully and the man then brings out what appears to be a ring box and seems to be about to propose to the woman. However, before that can happen, at the 0:40 mark, a man who we would assume to be the director suddenly appears from off-camera and begins shifting the position of the male actor and talking to other people off camera, changing the assumption from the idea that we are watching two people in a relationship to the idea that the relationship of the singer and the man have is actually for some sort of film, and their intimacy is only a performance for the camera.

With that as background, we can see that the video licenses the lyrics to be read as representing the first extended metaphor, despite the fact that there are no clear cut lexical items or phrases to mark it as such. The timing of the lyrics with the
images of the video serves implicitly reinforce the potential connections between the visual mode and the lyrics.

After a 12 second music introduction, the singer begins singing

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{singer} & \quad I \text{ thought I saw a man brought to life} \\
\text{(intro music)}
\end{align*}
\]

Figure 6.18 Torn: Line 1 (with scene cuts)

and immediately, the scene cuts to the male actor coming up the stairs into the apartment as the singer sings:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{drama} & \quad He \text{ was warm, he came around and he was dignified} \\
\text{singer}
\end{align*}
\]

Figure 6.19 Torn: Line 2 (with scene cuts)

Because of this juxtaposition, we first assume that the actor and the man in the lyrics are the same. The video then cuts to the singer singing:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{singer} & \quad He \text{ showed me what it was to cry} \\
\text{(music)}
\end{align*}
\]

Figure 6.20 Torn: Line 3 (with scene cuts)

The pace of scene cuts increases and we see the man and the singer both coming into view, the man from up the stairs, the woman from a back room as she sings in the background, which then cuts to the singer breaking the fourth wall while singing:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{drama | singer} & \quad \text{Well you couldn't be that man I adored} \\
\text{(music)}
\end{align*}
\]

Figure 6.21 Torn: Line 4 (with scene cuts)

The viewer may still assume that the actor is the previous lover, and they are the current lover, as the scene goes back to a domestic scene where the actor appears to be about to propose to the singer.
However, in the 10th second of the 13-second scene, which is the longest scene in the video up to this point, just before it appears that the actor is about to 'pop the question' and propose, an older man suddenly appears from off-camera to adjust the position of the actor. The man appears to take charge and the viewer's understanding of the scene changes from assuming a recollection of a romantic moment to some sort of soundstage where a drama is being filmed. The scene continues as she sings:

```
drama............................................................
You don't seem to know,
............................................................
(don't) seem to care what your heart is for ..........
......................................................... interrupted
But I don't know him anymore
```

A scene change reveals the first practice scene, which shows the man walking away, as the singer and actor are doing another take while the song continues:

```
drama interrupted (cont'd) |
There's nothing where he used to lie
```

```
practice |
My conversation has run dry
```

In this cut, the full artifice of making a video is revealed and from this point, there is a constant alternation of the 4 types of scenes in rapid succession.
The pace of the scene slows as the second verse begins with the 4 types of scenes used to reinforce the lyrics.

At the repeat of the word torn, the singer moves towards the camera in an extreme closeup, filling the screen, until the beginning of the bridge, where the scene changes, showing the singer looking pensive, a scene that I label singer* (as the singer is along, but is not singing). As the bridge plays, we see the walls of the set
begin to shake as if it were an earthquake, but the singer appears oblivious to this. When the lyrics continue, we see the 'earthquake ' is workers beginning to break down the set. This creates a new type of scene, where the singer is singing, but is surrounded by stage workers who are paying no attention to her, but working on the set. I label this as **singer+backstage**, in that it juxtaposes two primary scenes. This scene lasts for a remarkable 21 seconds, making it the longest scene so far in the video.

```
singer+backstage
There's nothing where he used to lie
singer+backstage (cont'd)
My inspiration has run dry
singer+backstage (cont'd)
That's what's going on, nothing's right, I'm torn
singer+backstage (cont'd)
I'm all out of faith, this is how I feel
singer+backstage (cont'd)
I'm cold and I am shamed lying naked on the floor
```

At this point, we go back to the regular pace of scene changes.

```
drama
Illusion never changed into something real
singer+backstage (cont'd)
I'm wide awake and I can see the perfect sky is torn
drama
I'm all out of faith, this is how I feel
singer+backstage
I'm cold and I'm ashamed, bound and broken on the floor
\[ \text{drama interrupted*} | \text{singer+backstage}\]
You're a little late, I'm already torn, torn
```

There is a slight change in the final **drama interrupted* in that rather than being interrupted by backstage staff, drama is interrupted by the actor pulling away, as if he is unhappy with the performance.

At the second bridge at 3:21, which begins with the singer looking around as the set is taken apart and the lighting reduced, we clearly see that rather than a real
house, this is an interior set. The singer begins dancing as the set is almost totally broken down around her by oblivious stage workers, which is then followed by 6 more scenes. The breakdown of the scenes is as follows:

- singer dancing on the set as it is being disassembled (11 s)
- two actors sitting as lighting changes (4 s)
- singer dancing in slow motion on the old set (3 s)
- singer dancing on the set as it is being disassembled (4 s)
- singer dancing in slow motion on the old set (3 s)
- singer dancing on the set as it is being disassembled (10 s)
- two actors breaking the fourth wall as the background lighting changes (6 s)

Figure 6.29 Torn: Final scenes with timings

To provide more description, at 3:26, during the bridge, the singer begins a twirling dance while the set is completely disassembled around her. At 3:32, a scene change shows the two protagonists are sitting in one iteration of the set as the lighting changes, making it appear that time is passing, an effect which is repeated at 3:55 with the two facing the camera, which marks the first time the man has broken the fourth wall.

As has been noted, both this video and the Rihanna video share the same basic metaphor, but the source domain for this video is solely presented in the visual mode. The following table mirrors figure 6.14, tying specific visual aspects (along with time marks) to selected lines in the lyrics in the first 2:40 of the video. These connections help to create and support the extended metaphor of RELATIONSHIPS ARE PLAYS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Selected lines from lyrics</th>
<th>Visual mode [timemark]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I thought I saw a man brought to life</td>
<td>Lead actor appears [0:18]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You don’t seem to know, (don’t) seem to care what your heart is for</td>
<td>Lead actor brings out a ring box [0:37]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conversation has run dry</td>
<td>Actor walks away [0:45]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nothing’s fine</td>
<td>Set is rearranged [0:50]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illusion never changed into something real</td>
<td>Actor starts to kiss, then turns away [1:07]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You’re a little late, I’m already torn</td>
<td>Actor makes mistake, moves for retake [1:14]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Should have seen just what was there and not some holy light</td>
<td>Singer, looking pensive, turns away from actor as his hair is arranged [1:28]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illusion never changed into something real</td>
<td>Staff taking light readings [2:00]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nothing’s right</td>
<td>Set being broken down [2:40]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 6.30 Visual support of semantic information in Take a Bow
The table is not intended to be exhaustive, but rather an introduction to the linkage between the visual mode and the lyrics and the list highlights a challenge of multimodal analysis as well as an affordance of music videos as a source of content. The challenge is the granularity of analysis, in that not only the actions in the visual mode can serve to support the metaphor, but aspects such as posture and gaze, as well as facial expressions and fleeting gestures can provide the source domain. While these visual aspects would not invoke the metaphor when presented alone, when combined with the lyrics, they provide the source domain. For example, at the line *Should have seen just what was there and not some holy light*, the lead actor is having his hair adjusted and the singer’s gaze turns away from the lead actor and towards the camera to show her biting her lower lip pensively, providing a reflection of the lyric.

The affordance is that the structure of popular music songs features repeated lyrics, so the visual mode can emphasize the same lines with different visual content. For example, the word *torn* is sung 11 times in the song, and each iteration provides new visual material. While it is difficult to tease apart the contribution of each of these, it does serve to provide richer content to both the viewer watching the video and the student assigned to write about the video.

While the extended metaphor RELATIONSHIPS ARE PLAYS has been the focus of discussion, and the two videos were chosen because they centered around this metaphor, in *Torn*, the lyrics also contain a number of other metaphors and metonymies. Below is a list of the prominent conceptual metaphors and metonymies presented by the lyrics along with their linguistic and where applicable, possible visual instantiations.
In a traditional approach, students would be presented with only these linguistic metaphors and their output would be judged. Because this happens in only one modality, it is difficult to determine if these linguistic metaphors are driving student output in metaphor or are merely restatements. For example, a number of students wrote "She was torn". Are these students making a metaphorical observation or simply taking the lyrics and changing the grammatical subject? An example of the range of uses is given below:

- She felt that she was torn again. She felt the same feeling again and again.
- That is why she was such torn that she "can see the perfect sky is torn."
- Torn means that he or she can not decide about anything.
- Her heart was torn.
- She felt that she was torn by him.
- In this song, ‘Torn’ is used many times. It shows that the woman’s heart crumbled and she despairs over her life.

The examples range from what appears to be an acknowledgement of the repeated nature of the phrase to a more nuanced understanding of the metaphor. The
example of "Torn means that he or she can not decide about anything." may initially appear to represent a metaphorical understanding, but this definition is often listed in dictionaries designed for second language learners, as this example from the Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary shows: "torn: finding it difficult to choose between two possibilities".

Other examples that seem to come from the linguistic metaphors in the song often seem to be simple restructuring of the grammatical material rather than indicative of metaphorical understanding.

- it seemed that she was happy because she had never met a man who is warm
- She used to see some holy light but she should see just what was there.
- Then she completely lose faith in him.
- "My inspiration has dry" means that it is empty in her head,

While the qualitative section will deal with these more in detail, these examples underline the difficulty of identifying student produced metaphor if the prompt is only in a text modality, supporting the need to present multimodal prompts to draw out student metaphorical production. This range of metaphors found in music videos is not uncommon, and the next two videos analysed show how multimodal material can present other extended metaphors which interact within the confines of a music video.

6.4.3 Christine Aguilera's **Fighter**

The song **Fighter** was written by the singer Christina Aguilera and Scott Storch, and was produced by Storch. The award-winning video was directed by Floria Sigismondi, an Italian-Canadian director famed for her innovative but disturbing imagery. Her treatment of the video was well received by Aguilera and, according to
the director, is based on her reading of the song, which is "about transformation...the way nature deals with transformation" and that the video is "basically about coming from a very poisoned place to an empowerment, a place of strength" (Moss, 2003).

The metaphor presented is, like Torn, contained only in the multimodal video, separate from the song, and is EVOLUTION IS GROWTH. The video is divided into three distinct stages, each representing a different stage in the life cycle of a moth, the first being the larva, the second the pupa and the third, the adult. This metaphor is juxtaposed on the message of the lyrics, where the singer is thanking a former lover because his poor treatment of her made her 'stronger' and resulted in the singer becoming a "fighter", giving the song its title.

The video opens with a close-up of a moth, and the video is, according to the director, based on the mythic connection between moths and souls. It then shifts to black and white footage of ballerinas making jerky movements that seem to imitate the motions of the moth and supporting themselves on what appear to be oversized pins. The primary color of the set is black and begins a musical introduction and a voiceover by the singer, who says:

```
After all you put me through,
You think I'd despise you,
But in the end I wanna thank you,
'Cause you've made me that much stronger
```

The song then begins and the video reveals the singer with a pale complexion and long black hair wearing a black velvet kimono, trapped in a glass box as she sings the first verse while pounding on the glass walls:
At this point, she shatters the glass and leaves the glass case and slowly moves as the kimono billows around her.

As she sings the chorus, the camera pulls back to reveal the same pins the ballerinas were supporting themselves with, protruding from her back in the manner of moths displayed in an insect collection, transfixed by entomological pins.
The second verse has the singer's kimono balloning around her with the pins still protruding from her back, but as she finishes singing the verse, she removes the pins and discards them by throwing them violently forward. At this point, we return to the chorus.

At the repeat of the chorus, the singer's black kimono pulls away and dissolves, revealing the singer, whose hair has turned white, in a tattered, all white dress, marking the second stage of the singer's evolution. The singer slowly climbs the wall as moths flutter all around her.

```
How could this man I thought I knew
Turn out to be unjust so cruel
Could only see the good in you
Pretended not to see the truth
You tried to hide your lies, disguise yourself
Through living in denial
But in the end you'll see
You
Won't
Stop
Me
```

Figure 6.38 Fighter: Lines 19-29

As the bridge of the song opens, the camera angle pulls back and we see the singer transfixed high on the wall as moths flutter around her. She also has moths attached to her clothing and hair and as she sings, she slowly moves her arms as if she were imitating the movement of wings. The bridge increases in intensity and ends with the last four words sung as separate lines.

```
I am a fighter and I
I ain't gonna stop
There is no turning back
I've had enough
```

Figure 6.39 Fighter: Lines 30-33

As the singer sings the verse, we have a closeup of the singer's eyelashes, now colored an iridescent green, alternating with closeups of moths and shots of the
singer in her previous white incarnation. As the verse moves to a repeat of the chorus and reaches a climax, we see the moths bursting into flames with the pace of the cuts increasing until the camera slowly pulls back to reveal the singer with an elaborately coiffed black hairdo and a different, tailor-fitted dress that is black on the top and red on the bottom, denoting the final stage of the singer's evolution. The singer sings an alternate chorus and then moves back to the original chorus as the instrumental backing falls away and at the end of the song, the singer breaks the fourth wall, kicking the camera lens, peering into it and then walking away.

The final video takes the idea of a break up in a more relaxed manner and it is to that music video we turn to.

6.4.4 Ariana Grande's *Break Free*

As the title might suggest, the extended metaphor in Ariana Grande's *Break Free* is something similar to what Lakoff and Johnson (1989) describe as DIFFICULTIES ARE BURDENS. "Just as physical burdens keep one down physically, metaphorical burdens are seen as constraints on freedom..." (1989: 149). As in *Torn*, scene cuts help transmit the extended metaphor through multimodal content and the video provides a more tongue-in-cheek portrayal of the multimodal metaphor.

The song lyrics express a similar idea to the previous three songs, with the singer singing to a (possibly former) lover, explaining that she is stronger without him and is going to leave him. As noted in section 6.3, some of the phrases in the lyrics are clearly ungrammatical, specifically *I don't want to die alive* and *Now that I've become who I really are*.

The writers and producers of the song are discussed in section 6.3 and illustrate the process by which many recent hit songs are constructed. After the song
was written and recorded, the video, directed by Chris Marrs Piliero, was made and premiered on Youtube on 12 August 2014, two months after the single was released. The video opens with a 'credit crawl' similar to the one made famous by the movie *Star Wars* with the following ironic script, also read as a faux scientific male voiceover:

```
What you are about to witness is scientifically authentic.
It is just one step ahead of present day reality and two steps ahead of present day sexiness. Prepare yourself to attempt to conceive an inconceivable outer space adventure. Brace yourself for something so fantastically fantastical you'll soil yourself from intergalactic excitement. Get ready to ...
```

This narration ends with the appearance of the title 'Break Free' in a font reminiscent of old space opera movies, with subtitle of "Ariana Grande Feat[uring] Zedd" and a smaller subtitle which reads "Directed by Chris Marrs Piliero". This sets the stage for the main narrative of the video, which is that Grande is on a fictional planet escaping or giving up her allegiance to extraterrestrials. The whole storyline and effects are to present the video in the context of a camp science fiction movie, which relates the future to freedom.

The narrative is interspersed with 4 other scenes that are given in the table below with a brief explanation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of scene</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>narrative</td>
<td>The singer acts as the main character in a story that takes place on an alien planet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>singing closeup</td>
<td>A closeup of the singer singing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>space station</td>
<td>The singer is singing or dancing in a futuristic location that appears to be a space station corridor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zero gravity</td>
<td>The singer is suspended in zero gravity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zero gravity closeup</td>
<td>A close up of the singer in zero gravity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>space ship</td>
<td>The singer is dancing and singing with the prisoners she released</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 6.41 Scene types in Ariana Grande's *Break Free*
In a manner similar to the music video for *Torn*, the changes of scenes emphasise a number of points in the lyrics. While there is not scope to present an analysis as detailed as the one for *Torn*, I would like to present an abbreviated analysis.

**Figure 6.42 Break Free: Line 1-4 (with scenes)**

The initial portion of the lyrics is accompanied with images of the singer, dressed in what is essentially a one-piece swimsuit, leaving a futuristic base with a ray gun in hand, removing a badge with the same emblem that is on the door of the base and crushing it underfoot as we see electric emissions from the broken emblem. These are intercut with closeups of the singer singing the song.

**narrative/closeup**

If you want it, take it  
I should’ve said it before  
 Tried to hide it, fake it  
I can’t pretend anymore

**Figure 6.43 Break Free: Line 5-8 (with scenes)**

The next portion shows a group of humanoid prisoners held in cages by a pair of more alien looking guards bearing the same emblem that was seen in the beginning. They are suddenly shot down from behind. This section is intercut with the singer singing in a corridor of what appears to be a futuristic space station.

**narrative/space station**

I only wanna die alive  
Never by the hands of a broken heart  
I don’t wanna hear you lie tonight  
Now that I’ve become who I really are

**Figure 6.44 Break Free: Line 9-11 (with scenes)**

The narrative changes when the singer says they do not want the other person any longer. They are stronger than they have ever been before and this is the part when they break free.

**narrative/closeup/space station**

This is the part when I say I don’t want ya  
I’m stronger than I’ve been before  
This is the part when I break free
At this point, the chorus of the song begins and the singer releases the humanoid prisoners, interspersed with both closeups and medium lengths shots in the space station corridor, now reminiscent of Stanley Kubrick's 2001 Space Odyssey:

**narrative/closeup/space station/zero gravity**
- Cause I can’t resist it no more
- This is the part when I say I don’t want ya
- I’m stronger than I’ve been before
- This is the part when I break free
- Cause I can’t resist it no more

Figure 6.45 Break Free: Line 26-30 (with scenes)

At the repeat of the chorus, the scene changes and the singer is finds herself surrounded by three of the aliens with the emblem, all pointing futuristic ray guns at her. As two of them shoot, she ducks down and they kill each other. She then knocks down the third guard and as the chorus reaches the end, fires the ray gun to kill the final guard. This segment is also interspersed with both closeups and medium length shots in the space station corridor and another type of scene, a figure in a space suit floating in zero gravity who removes her helmet to reveal herself as the singer.

**zero gravity/narrative/closeup/space station**
- You were better, deeper
- I was under your spell, yeah
- Like a deadly fever yeah, babe
- On the highway to hell
- I only wanna die alive
- Never by the hands of a broken heart
- I don't wanna hear you lie tonight
- Now that I've become who I really are

Figure 6.46 Break Free: Line 27-34 (with scenes)

Two scenes alternate, the singer removing parts of her space suit in apparent zero gravity and the approach of a giant robot, also bearing the same emblem, flies in on jet shoes to confront the singer. The zero gravity scene was a homage to Roger Vadim's film *Barbarella*, where the credits open as the heroine performs a similar zero-g disrobing. The battle with the robot is seemingly won by the singer, when her
suit reveals a metallic brassiere that shoots two missiles at the robot, destroying it. However, as the robot is electronically shorting out, its hand jets out from its arm and captures the singer.

**narrative/zero gravity/closeup/space station**

This is the part when I say I don't want ya
I'm stronger than I've been before
This is the part when I break free
Cause I can't resist it no more
This is the part when I say I don't want ya
I'm stronger than I've been before
This is the part when I break free
Cause I can't resist it no more

Figure 6.47 Break Free: Line 35-42 (with scenes)

The repeat of the chorus has the singer chained between two pillars as another character, an obvious homage to Flash Gordon’s Ming the Merciless, gesticulates with what could be described as evil villain gestures (rubbing his hands in glee, laughing maniacally), interspersed with closeups, medium range shots and now, the singer singing in zero gravity. She breaks the chains and after taking an oddly shaped medallion from the villain, pushes the villain into a fiery pit.

**zero gravity/closeup/space station**

No more, baby, ooh
Thought on your body
I came alive
It was lethal
It was fatal
In my dreams it felt so right
But I woke up every time
Oh, baby

Figure 6.48 Break Free: Line 43-50 (with scenes)

This portion of the lyrics has the singer thinking about the lover she is rejecting and how their physical relationship was good, which, in the context of the song, is rather strange, but in the line *but I woke up every time*, it is cast as part of a dream of the singer rather than real life. At the end of this portion, a tube-shaped tool
floats, looking like a Star Wars lightsaber, and when the singer gets it, it becomes a tube of lipstick, but with a lightsaber-like light.

![narrative/closeup]

*This is the part when I say I don’t want ya*
*I’m stronger than I’ve been before*
*This is the part when I break free*
*’Cause I can’t resist it no more*

[repeat 2x]

Figure 6.49 Break Free: Line 51-54 (with scene cuts)

The singer is 'beamed up' to a spaceship where the prisoners she released are dancing and celebrating and song co-writer Zedd is piloting the ship. The tempo of the music increases and the music changes to EDM (Electronic Dance music). After the singer kisses a futuristic pet, Zedd takes the emblem that the singer took from the villain and puts it into a special slot of the exact same shape and the ship 'warps' out of the field of view.

While a more detailed analysis is possible, these basic analyses serve to underline how the music videos can potentially provide more material to prompt learners. Given the amount of information that is presented, it is difficult to imagine an alternative prompt, such as a written text describing the video, as presenting this information in a format that could be delivered efficiently and taken in by low-intermediate students.

The difference between the first two videos sets the stage for the next chapter, a presentation of preliminary study laying the groundwork to answer the first two research questions.
Chapter Seven: Establishing Experimental and Control conditions and the Index of Sentential Metaphor (ISM)

7.0 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to present the preliminary study used to establish the robustness of the various materials, procedures and methodology. The first challenge was to establish an experimental condition. The initial study was a quasi-experimental study, with two different classes providing the control and the experimental group. In this case, the experimental condition was created by having the classroom teacher specifically instruct students to structure their initial essay using the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor while instructing the control participants to structure their self introduction essays around a Intro-Body-Conclusion structure. The initial study also was a trial for the Index of Sentential Metaphor (ISM), a proposed measure to look at the writing output of low-intermediate students quantitatively. This measure is designed to quantitatively address the first two research questions, which were:

Question 1: How and to what extent does the introduction of one extended conceptual metaphor to low-intermediate Japanese learners increase the production of metaphoric language when given a writing prompt that contains another extended conceptual metaphor?

Question 2: Is there a relationship between the amount of metaphor used by students in an essay and a teachers' assessment of the essay's quality?
The whole study described in this thesis used a mixed methodology, consisting of an initial quantitative study to investigate the influence one conceptual metaphor may have in increasing awareness (as measured by production) of another conceptual metaphor, followed by qualitative investigations of the learner-produced corpora generated from both the quasi-experimental study and further pedagogical tasks.

The starting point for this thesis was to use one extended metaphor as a writing prompt to see if it would induce students to produce metaphoric language based on another extended metaphor. In order to do this, we first had to gauge the influence that presented conceptual metaphor can have on the awareness of other conceptual metaphors, as measured by metaphor production in student writing and a test using the sentence as the unit of analysis was devised, the ISM. In the next section, I will present the reasoning behind the ISM.

7.1 The Index of Sentential Metaphor (ISM)

Currently, there are two proposed measures of metaphor, Cameron's Metaphor in Vehicle or MIV (Cameron, 2003) and the Metaphor Identification Procedure or MIP (Pragglejaz Group, 2007). The latter measure provides quantitative information, but while the latter has several variants, most notably the MIPVU (Steen, et al., 2010), none of these are appropriate for either the participants in this study or for the target audience, EFL teacher-practitioners. The alternative measure of the ISM is an initial attempt to both address specific challenges in dealing with the language output of low-intermediate learners and develop an alternative to the MIP/MIPVU for busy EFL teacher-practitioners.

As the name implies, the ISM operates on the level of the sentence and a sentence level analysis is preferable to the MIP/MIPVU (Pragglejaz Group, 2007) or
an MIV (Cameron, 2003) to determine metaphoric content of low-intermediate learners for several reasons. In section 3.1.5.3 I argue that the atomic view of metaphor based on individual words has been taken in an approach such as the MIP and, as MacArthur (2015) notes, this risks losing the forest in the trees. To try and induce metaphoric language production in learners means that the variable that is examined is not the metaphoric content of individual semantic items, as the MIP does, but examining whether, at a sentence level, students produce metaphoric content. Previous research (Nacey, 2012; Turner, 2014), in the course of analysing learners ranging from low-intermediate to highly proficient found very little metaphor usage in low-intermediate learners. I will argue that this is both because of task design and a focus on lexical items.

The ISM occupies a middle ground between the MIP and the MIV. The MIP measures metaphoric density on a word level and asks the researcher to examine each word and verify their intuition with an external reference (Pragglejaz (2007) suggest the Macmillan English Dictionary for Advanced Learners). Cameron’s earlier MIV procedure puts the analysis at the phrase level, but confines the analysis to "anomalous or incongruous" sections of the text, making it problematic for both a quantitative analysis and for examining the output of low-intermediate learners of English.

The ISM, similar to the MIV, examines a larger unit (the sentence) for metaphoric content. This is preferable because low-intermediate learners can be assumed to not have full "control" of their lexis, in the sense of fully knowing the multiple meanings and implications of particular lexical items and using them appropriately. As noted in section 5.5, Littlemore and MacArthur (2012) found that for advanced L2 speakers, they did not have full knowledge of peripheral senses of
the two lexical items they investigate. In addition, they also found that native speaker knowledge was subject to considerable variation. This means two things. The first is that if native speaker knowledge for metaphorical meaning of lexical items has considerable variation, the teacher-practitioner cannot dictate exactly what the L2 learner must learn. The second and more important point is that the use of individual lexical items by low-intermediate learners may or may not reflect metaphorical usage. However, the sentence content can clarify whether the low-intermediate learner intends to use metaphor or not.

Using the sentence as the unit of analysis is particularly appropriate not only for low-intermediate learners but also for this particular population, Japanese university students. This particular population, and most students taking English at the university level, can be described by the A2/B1 bands of the CEFR scale. The written can-do statement for B1 on the CEFR scale is described as "Can produce simple connected texts on topics which are familiar or of personal interest. Can describe experiences and events, dreams, hopes and ambitions and briefly give reasons and explanations for opinions and plans" and this band is labeled as "Independent-threshold". Because of this, the choice was made to use sentences as the unit of analysis, as the unit of the sentence was relatively stable while the use of clauses was often idiosyncratic.

The ISM breaks the learner’s text down into sentences (rather than words or phrases as the MIP and MIP varients do), takes all the sentences (unlike the MIV) and gives each sentence a score of 1 if it contains obvious metaphoric language or 0 if it does not. This is especially appropriate for low-intermediate learners. In section 3.1.3.2, figure 3.6, a list of "Micro features" of vocabulary and writing by Hinkel (2011) is given. The upshot of that list is that we would expect low-intermediate L2
learners to restrict themselves to monoclausal sentences. This is especially appropriate for these participants, Japanese low-intermediate learners, in that the device that English most often uses to create multi-clause constructions, the relative pronoun, is "one of the most difficult grammar targets for Japanese learners of English to master" (Nakamori, 2002: 29).

The total number of sentences with metaphoric language was divided by the total number of sentences in the text to provide a ratio. This is the ISM of the text. While this ISM could be applied to any text, for this thesis, the goal is to induce metaphoric language, so participants who produced essays that had a higher ISM could be assumed to have noticed or been influenced by the conceptual metaphor prompt to a greater extent. Because these ISM can then be ranked, the collected ISM are amenable to quantitative analysis.

Rather than identify particular sections of text, the ISM is a rougher overall measure, suitable for teacher-practitioners. The purpose of this preliminary chapter is to establish the ISM. I will examine the ISM using non-parametric tests, which, according to Turner (2014), are particularly suited for gaining "a deeper or broader understanding of the phenomenon present in a particular learning environment (2014: 10). As this investigation takes place longitudinally, with input that cannot be reduced to discrete items, a mixed methodology with a quantitative investigation based on non-parametric statistical tests in conjunction with a qualitative analysis is preferable.

While a pretest/posttest design would provide a true experimental condition to compare the two participant groups and measure the degree of change occurring as a result of presentation of the multimodal texts, a pretest could not administered because any presentation of metaphor to the control group would presumably prime
the experimental group. While this assumed a monotonic increase in the amount of metaphor, as we shall see, the tests provided a much more interesting picture. In the next sections, we will introduce the quantitative tests utilizing the ISM and discuss them in relation to the aim of this thesis. The aim of proposing the ISM in this thesis is to make a preliminary exploration of the measure.

7.2 Preliminary study: Participants

In the preliminary study, I worked with two classes of 2\textsuperscript{nd}-year Japanese students in their second term and presented them with different inputs in the form of writing prompts. A quasi-experimental design was used and its status, while similar to a true experiment, requires interpretation and transferability in order to compensate for lack of control of variables. However, this transferability, or the ability to apply the results of research in one context to another similar context, in this case is preferable in that it invites readers and teacher-practitioners to make connections between elements of the study and their own classrooms.

The participants (n=23) were all 2\textsuperscript{nd}-year native Japanese EFL university students, consisting of two writing classes (n=12 and n=11) in an English Language and Literature department of a regional Japanese public university. All participants had at least 7 years of English study (6 years secondary school, 1 year university) and, as discussed in chapter four, had received little or no formal instruction in the composition of longer form essays or even in paragraph composition in English or Japanese. Prior to conducting the study, ethics approval from both the department where it was carried out and the University of Birmingham was received and students completed the consent form (Appendix A).
The course followed a previous required course for the introduction of academic writing, conducted in the first half of their 2nd year, concentrating on improving sentence level accuracy and paragraph construction. The course in which this procedure was done was, like all of the university courses, a 15-week course that met weekly for 90 minutes. The first class of 11 students, taught by a Japanese part time teacher, was treated as the control group, while a second class of 12 students, taught by the author, was the experimental group. After the data was gathered, essays were grouped and given a code letter indicating whether they were in the experimental or control group and a number to be able to compare their writings and ensure anonymity.

Of the 23 participants, all were native Japanese students and in the control class (n=11), 3 were male and 8 were female while in the experimental class (n=12) 3 were male and 7 were female. In addition, the students could all be considered to be between A2 and B1 on the CEFR scale (Council of Europe, 2009). This assumption is supported by the average TOEIC (Test of English for International Communication) score achieved by a subset of the students who took the test (n=7), which was 565 (listening average = 320, reading average= 246). This score corresponds to B1 for overall score and listening average, but A2 for the reading average on a scale developed by Tannenbaum and Wylie (2006). Indeed, because the TOEIC test is confined to receptive ability and has no productive component, this score may overestimate the ability of students. In the next section, I will discuss the three prompts that the participants received.
7.3 Initial Presentation of the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY

Each group was asked, as their initial assignment, to write a self-introduction in the last 30 minutes of the class. The control group was asked to write their self introduction utilizing a standard Introduction-Body-Conclusion format while the experimental group was asked to organise their essay along the lines of the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY, discussed in section 2.5.

Because extensive guidance could create a situation where the experimental group would be encouraged to a greater extent to produce metaphor, guidance was extremely limited and instruction in metaphor was avoided. For the experimental group, they were asked to reflect on and generate vocabulary for three different types of journeys, by train, by bus or car and on foot, and then use those types of journeys to organise their ideas. No explicit mention was made of notions of conceptual metaphor to the experimental group and the presentation was limited in scope, so much so that one student described the route from their home to their high school rather than conceptualizing their life as a journey and 4 of the students in the experimental group wrote an essay that did not utilize the metaphor at all. After this guidance, the participants were asked to write two consecutive essays describing the meaning of the first two music videos presented in sections 6.4.1 and 6.4.2, both incorporating a second conceptual metaphor, RELATIONSHIPS ARE PLAYS/LIFE IS A STAGE, discussed in section 6.2.

Before the next class, the self-introduction essays for both groups were corrected for low-level grammatical errors and returned. The participants were then given the prompt of the first music video (Rihanna's Take a Bow) and asked to write an essay explaining the lyrics and video. The participants in both groups were given
30 minutes of class time to begin a 1-page essay which was to be submitted before the next class. Again, no mention of metaphor was made to either group, and students were instructed to simply explain the lyrics and video.

In the following class, a second essay assignment was given, this time using a second music video (Natalie Imbruglia's *Torn*) with the same instructions. These three tasks provided the data set for the preliminary study. For the rest of the chapter, I will discuss the quantitative aspects of this preliminary study.

**7.4 Preliminary study: To what extent were the Experimental and Control Groups comparable?**

First, to establish that there were any differences attributable to the compositions of the groups, the initial essays were examined using Lu's Web-based L2 Syntactic Complexity Analyzer (Lu, 2010; Lu, 2011; Ai, Haiyang & Lu, Xiaofei, 2013; Lu, Xiaofei & Ai, Haiyang, 2015), and analysed on 23 dimensions, listed in Figure 7.1 below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. Words</th>
<th>(All measures are per text)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. Sentences</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Verb Phrases</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Clauses</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. T-Units</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Dependent Clauses</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>7. Complex T-units</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>8. Coordinate Phrases</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>9. Complex Nominals</td>
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<tr>
<td>10. Mean length of sentence</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>11. Mean length of T-units</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>12. Mean length of clauses</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Clauses per sentence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Verb phrase per T-unit</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>15. Clauses per T-unit</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>16. Dependent clauses per clause</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>17. Dependent clauses per T-unit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. T-units per sentence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Complex T-unit ratio</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Coordinate phrases per T-Unit</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>21. Coordinate phrases per Clause</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Complex Nominals per T-Unit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Complex Nominals per clause</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Figure 7.1 23 dimensions of Lu's Web-based L2 Syntactic Complexity Analyzer
For all but one of these variables, there was no significant difference between the control and experimental group, (i.e., $p>0.05$). However, there was a significant difference between the two groups in terms of the number of words per essay (control group average = 114, experimental group average = 147, $p<0.05$). This suggested one possible confounding variable, which is that the between groups design had the participants in the experimental group receive encouragement to produce longer texts. The confounding variable was a possibility that was echoed in the following tests. While the words per essay may seem like a small factor, as we shall see, the possibility of this confounding variable led to a restructuring of the main study.

7.5 Preliminary study: Basic Analysis and problems with the between-classes design

The main aim of the preliminary study was to assess the overall procedures and to trial the presentation of the experimental condition. However, in order to add a quantitative dimension to this thesis, the ISM was proposed and trialed in this preliminary study.

Because I am arguing that the participants’ network of metaphors contributes to the ability to produce metaphor in writing, explicitly teaching metaphor would make it impossible to determine what was responsible for their output. However, in examining the data, a larger problem emerged, which was that I had severely underestimated the impact of multimodal material on the production of metaphor. This led to a number of changes that reduced the amount of attention that could be directed to the ISM as well as the addition of a third research question. This also led to an emphasis on the qualitative side of the thesis in order to argue for the production of metaphor by the participants and a de-emphasis on the ISM.
7.6 Preliminary study: Trialing the Index of Sentential Metaphor (ISM)

The ISM was calculated for the essays and Mann-Whitney U tests were applied between the experimental and control groups as a first step in order to determine if a sentential ratio of metaphor could be employed as a quantitative measure. The ISM ratios were calculated after the course was completed. The Mann-Whitney U test is a non-parametric test that compares two independent sets of ranked data and determines how likely the distribution of rankings is a result of chance (the null hypothesis) or a result of a difference in conditions. The three sets of ISM (initial experimental/control conditions, essays in response to the music video Take a Bow, essays in response to the music video Torn) were assigned as described in section 7.5. This created three sets of paired ISM data which will each be discussed in turn.

7.6.1 Do participants who have been explicitly asked to use a conceptual metaphor use more linguistic metaphor related to that conceptual metaphor than those who have not?

I ran a Mann-Whitney U test to see whether there was a significant difference in the amount of metaphor produced by the two groups, one group explicitly instructed to build their self-introduction around the LIFE AS A JOURNEY metaphor and the other asked to write their self introduction without this instruction, using the ISM of the essays. The medians of Experimental and Control were 0.123 and 0.077, respectively, but there was no significant effect (p < 0.19) of the different prompts. Mean ranks of the experimental and control groups were .21 and .65, respectively; with U = 87.5 and Z = 1.3657 and the effect size was r = 0.28. This was a surprise, because despite the fact that the experimental participants were specifically asked to organise their essay around an extended metaphor, albeit not explicitly taught, there was no significant difference between the amount of metaphor produced by the two
groups. However, a qualitative examination suggested that the students in the experimental group did produce metaphor related to the extended metaphor in a way that the control group did not. This necessitated a reconsideration of how to present the experimental condition.

In considering the ISM, the findings mirror previous observations that direct classroom explanation without the explicit teaching of metaphor have little effect on the production of metaphor. This would suggest that the presentation of other metaphors would have a similar lack of effect. If this were the case, it could be overcome by having the teacher specifically teach the fundamentals of Conceptual Metaphor Theory, something that has been proposed by Danesi (2008, 2015). However, it would raise the question of 'teaching to the test', where participant production for other related extended metaphors would be the result of explicit teaching rather than any figurative ability in their L1. However, the quantitative examination of the essays produced in response to Take a Bow reveals a different picture.

7.6.2 Does the presentation of one conceptual metaphor encourage participant production of other conceptual metaphors?

The first music video prompt (Take a Bow) presented the participants with a second extended metaphor, LIFE IS A STAGE/RELATIONSHIPS ARE PLAYS, discussed in section 6.2. The derived ISM ratios of these essays were analyzed to see whether there was a significant difference in the amount of metaphor. In light of the finding for the experimental and control conditions, the results were surprising. The medians of experimental and control were 0.337 and 0.1875, respectively, and a significant difference (p < 0.022) was found between the experimental and control groups. Mean ranks of the experimental and control groups were .33 and .21,
respectively; with $U = 103$ and $Z = 2.2778$ and the effect size was $r = 0.47$. This means that the experimental group produced more metaphor than the control group, apparently in response to the different initial prompt. If, as Danesi (2008) posits, students require explicit instruction to produce metaphors, this finding is anomalous. However, if students were drawing on their own figurative resources and the initial presentation 'activated' the awareness of metaphor, this is what we would expect.

This conclusion, however, is tempered by the fact that the lyrics of the music video explicitly carry the extended metaphor and the additional multimodal material supported that extended metaphor. So, while we can argue that the previous presentation was responsible for the difference we see, that the difference might not be significant had the embedded extended metaphor not been supported by the additional multimodal material.

The tests led me to explore other possible sources for the significant difference in this set of essays, and the possibility that some points were unknowingly presented to only the experimental group because of the between-classes design was identified as a possible confounding variable. Thus, the alternate explanation would be that the between-classes design of the experiment created different conditions in the two groups, and so rather than the initial prompts being responsible for the difference, the participants in the experimental group were subtly encouraged to produce metaphor, despite the attempts to avoid any presentation of metaphor by the classroom teacher. This possibility required a significant rethinking of the between classes design for the main study.
7.6.3 Does the presentation of multimodal material lead to an increase in participant production of metaphor?

While the music video prompt used for the first essays (*Take a Bow*) contained the extended metaphor primarily in the lyrics, the extended metaphor (which was the same as the first video prompt) in the second video was created solely through the juxtaposition of the video images and the lyrics. The essays written in response to this were analysed to see whether there was a significant difference in the amount of metaphor produced by the two groups. For these essays, the non-parametric tests showed a continued trend, with the medians of experimental and control being 0.600 and 0.368, respectively and an even stronger significant difference (p < 0.000006804). This difference was strong enough to raise the possibility that the between classes design was flawed. Mean ranks of the experimental and control groups were .58 and .35, respectively; with U = 108 and Z = 3.84141 and the effect size was $r = 0.84$. Over the course of the three tests, we see an increase in effect size, going from $r = 0.28$, to $r = 0.47$ to $r = 0.84$. The presentation of the prompt was restricted to the final 30 minutes of the first two classes and while care was taken to keep the presentation of the prompts the same for both classes, the other material as well as teacher guidance could have impacted on the output of metaphoric language, points which needed to be dealt with in the final study.

A further point from the progression of these tests is that the first music video (*Take a Bow*) may also have had an effect on the production of metaphor for the essay written in response to the second video prompt, which led me to more closely examine the multimodal content of the 1st video. The realization that the multimodal content of the videos could be responsible for a much greater amount of metaphoric output was a major discovery for this thesis, leading a closer examination of the
multimodal content of the video prompts, discussed in section 6.4.1 and the addition of a third research question. My original assumption was that the written text or lyrics would be the main carrier of metaphoric content. However, if multimodal material did have a stronger than expected effect, this effect, coupled with the confounding variable created by the between classes design, could have been responsible for the patterning of the quantitative tests that we see. To address this, several changes were made in the main study, which will be discussed in chapter eight. The added third research question was:

**Question 3:** How and to what extent does the introduction of one extended conceptual metaphor to low-intermediate Japanese learners through *multimodal* texts increase the production of metaphoric language?

I treated the initial metaphor prompt as a single condition, in order to attribute the metaphoric language produced by participants to that condition. However, the presentation of multimodal metaphor to both groups raises the question of what precisely is driving student production. One of the major oversights in planning of this thesis was the assumption that the linguistic prompts were stronger or even equivalent to the multimodal material. While the preliminary study strongly suggests that the linguistic prompting of metaphor is not, in and of itself, sufficient to induce metaphoric output in these participants, the design of the full study needed to be revised to bring the data into sharper focus.

At this point, we turn to the second research question: **Is there a relationship between the amount of metaphor used by students in an essay and a teachers' assessment of the essay's quality?**
7.7 Is there a relationship between perceived essay quality and the amount of metaphor used as measured by the ISM?

To address the second research question, I compared the ISM rankings with that of a native English speaking university professor with experience in teaching writing to students at this level in terms of essay quality. Because I could not assume normal distributions, I employed Spearman's rho, a non-parametric measure of rank correlation. A perfect Spearman's of +1 means that the ranks are an exact function of the each other, while a negative value means that there is an inverse correlation, with a -1 being perfect. If the ISM had a significant correlation with the ranking by the experienced teacher, we could argue that the ISM captured some aspect of the evaluation of the quality of the essay. On the other hand, if the correlation were low, we would assume that the construct of the ISM was not reflective of the perceived quality of the essay as reflected by the ranking.

For the first video prompt, the lowest correlation between the teacher's ranking and the ISM was for the experimental group, (rho = 0.147) followed by the correlation for the control group (rho = 0.387) and the total participants (rho = 0.418). All of these values were low and none of them are statistically significant. For the second video prompt, the same pattern of correlations was found between the experimental and control groups (experimental < control). The correlation for the experimental group was negative (rho = -0.386), meaning it was an inverse correlation, with the teacher more likely to rank essays higher if they had less metaphoric content, though again not statistically significant. For the control group, the correlation was rho = 0.351, which was also not statistically significant, Additionally, for the total participants, the correlation approached 0 (rho = 0.061), which again was not statistically significant. As both groups have similar
proficiencies, and because the measures of their proficiencies were indirect, no conclusion can be drawn about the relationship between the amount of metaphor and estimated proficiency. Proficiency in writing is obviously the product of a wide range of factors. While the ability to produce more linguistic metaphors can be part of increased proficiency, the goal of this thesis is not to correlate metaphor production with proficiency, it is to find a way to have low-intermediate learners produce more metaphoric language. Whether that results in an increase in proficiency or not is a longitudinal question that is beyond the timeframe of this thesis.

The absence of any correlation between the ISM and the rankings by one experienced teacher draw attention to a point made by Littlemore, et al., (2012), that "metaphor errors contribute to the overall error rate in a disproportionately large way compared to the amount of metaphor that is actually produced. This indicates that at any stage of learning, learners are more likely to make more errors when using metaphor than when using other types of language" (2012: 12) This also explains why metaphor has been so resistant to classroom intervention: If teachers fail to specifically take metaphoric content into account, they will rank writing by those students lower than students who avoid metaphoric content. Or, as Turner (2014) observes in the context of the CEFR, there is a "bias towards the more conventional forms which penalises learners" (2014: 346) and it appears that this bias is not confined to the CEFR and high stakes testing, but arises from more basic pedagogical influences.

7.8 Preliminary study: Conclusions

One possible conclusion from the findings from the Mann-Whitney tests that the experimental group initially did not use a greater amount of metaphor, but as the
experiment progressed, they did. However, the experimental design was a between-classes design. This suggested that an alternative explanation was that the teacher of the experimental group was the cause of the increased metaphor usage, despite attempts to avoid any encouragement of such use. Because of the possibility of this confounding variable, the design of the main study was changed.

A second potential confounding variable that also was addressed in the main study is the order of the video prompts, in that participants may have picked up on the LIFE IS A STAGE/RELATIONSHIPS ARE PLAYS metaphor from the multimodal content in the first video. This would mean that the multimodal content, rather than the initial presentation, would be responsible for gains in production. However, if that were the case, the experimental group would not show a greater increase, but for the experimental group both a more statistically significant result and a greater effect size were obtained. This suggests a situation where the presentation of metaphor as prompts creates a 'Matthew effect' (originally Merton, 1968, for application in reading literacy, see Stanovich, 1986), in that presentation of metaphor could increase sensitivity to and use of metaphor, which results in a further scaffolding of awareness and that headstart was responsible for the experimental group showing greater production. This supports the suggestion that metaphor should be considered not as individual metaphors but as a larger metaphor 'field', where exposure to different metaphors reinforces other seemingly unrelated metaphors. The progression of the statistical tests points to the added influence of multimodal content, and for the full study, in order to better quantify that influence, the order of the videos was reversed.

Concerning the lack of correlation between the ISM and rankings of essay quality, these results can be seen as supporting previous research (Littlemore, et al.,
2012; Turner, 2014) expressing concern that student attempts to experiment with metaphor could be viewed as poor performance. Because the preliminary experiment was administered in a writing course, students would be more likely to avoid error.

This preliminary study identified several points for improvement in the full study. The first and most important was to remove any potential influence of the classroom teacher on the class in order to better judge the effect of both the initial prompt and the multimodal prompts. The design of testing two separate classes as experimental and control fails to sufficiently isolate the participants from the teacher's enthusiasm for the subject, which may account for the pattern we see. Furthermore, testing in a writing class, which, as was discussed in chapter four, carries many implicit assumptions, further weakens the conclusions that can be drawn from this preliminary study. So in the full study, steps were taken to correct these points.

In addition to problems with the experimental design, the presentation order of the videos made it difficult to gauge the influence of the music videos' multimodal content. Pedagogically, it is preferable to present as much background information to the students as possible, and the presentation of Take a Bow was intended to help students who might not understand the extended metaphor if presented solely through multimodal information, as it is in Torn. By providing scaffolding for the understanding of the metaphor, these students are given additional support. However, the amount of multimodal support for the extended metaphor in the music video for Take a Bow was greatly underestimated, and in reviewing the essays, it was clear that the multimodal content of Take a Bow contributed significantly to the students' production. This led to the addition of research question 3, which was:

**How and to what extent does the introduction of one extended**
conceptual metaphor to low-intermediate Japanese learners through *multimodal* texts increase the production of metaphoric language?

In order to investigate this question, in the main study, I reversed the video order, placing *Torn* (where the extended metaphor is delivered solely through the addition of the multimodal metaphor) first and *Take a Bow* second, with the aim of getting a better understanding of what may be inducing the production of metaphoric language. This creates some challenges in discussing the qualitative aspects, which draw on both the preliminary and full study, but by careful notation, I hope to keep the reader aware of the order reversal of the videos.

So, to summarize, the full study took the following steps: It drew on a larger population, replace the treatment of different classes as the experimental and control groups with a design that eliminates the variable of teacher presentation, inverted the two music video presentations to better isolate the influence of multimodal stimuli and presented the materials in the context of a non-writing class so curricular expectations would not limit participant production of metaphor. The results of that full study are presented in the next chapter.
Chapter Eight: Full Study: Quantitative Analysis

8.0 Introduction

The full study made key changes to the procedures of the preliminary study to compensate for problems identified in chapter seven. To review, the quantitative research addressed research questions 1 and 2, which were:

Question 1: How and to what extent does the introduction of one extended conceptual metaphor to low-intermediate Japanese learners increase the production of metaphoric language when given a writing prompt that contains another extended conceptual metaphor?

Question 2: Is there a relationship between the amount of metaphor used by students in an essay and a teachers' assessment of the essay's quality?

The following points were identified as potentially problematic in the preliminary study. First, because the preliminary study was conducted in a 2nd-year writing class, participants may have been operating under the assumption that the written work in the class would be evaluated for their grade, potentially affecting their written output. In addition, the preliminary study operated on only 2 of the 3 second year cohorts of writing, which reduced the amount of data that could be analyzed. Finally, the between-classes design created the possibility that the differences in presentation could be responsible for the patterning of the data.

These points were addressed in several ways. First, the full study was administered in a 1st-year non-writing class (extensive reading and listening), thus making it implicitly clear to participants that their performance in the study would not be subject to evaluation for a grade in the class. This also avoided the
presentation of any of the standard aspects of the writing curriculum, which may reduce the production of figurative and metaphoric language because of participant self-monitoring. Second, because the class was not a writing class, which is traditionally taught in smaller groups, the entire 1st year cohort was able to participate in the full study.

However, the most important issue was to eliminate the influence of the classroom teacher and the separate classes that made up the experimental and control groups. In the preliminary study, the experimental treatment was set up by in-class teacher explanations, so the teacher could have been the source of increased metaphoric output by the participants, making it imperative to eliminate that potential confounding variable. This required several changes in the protocol. The first change was drawing the experimental and control participants from the same two classes, with an equal number of participants from each course assigned to the experimental or control group. This eliminated the effect of any differences in the two classrooms. This required changes in the delivery of the initial writing prompt, so these prompts were delivered via email before the class began, in order to reduce any classroom expectations or influence created by in-class teacher explanations. The writing prompt was delivered in the form of two sample essays (Appendix B and C) that were composed to be as similar as possible in terms of vocabulary, length, and readability. This created a much better experimental model, but came at the expense of better pedagogical intervention. Because the course was not a writing course, this was acceptable to the faculty. However, this email presentation had a serious flaw, in that it was not ascertained if the participants, in both the experimental and control groups, read the model essay. The genre of self-introduction or jikou shoukai (自己紹
is so common in Japanese education that participants may not have bothered to read the model essay and simply wrote the requested introduction with no exposure to the complex metaphor. Future designs should incorporate some procedure (such as a quiz on the sample introduction) to make sure that participants read the model essay. A second problem was the inverse, which was that other participants hewed so closely to the sample essay that the output could be defined by some as plagiarism, an issue I will discuss in section 9.2.3.

Another change was in the order of the video prompts. The presentation of the video prompts in the preliminary study followed pedagogical norms, in that the goal of first presenting the *Take a Bow* video was to provide information and scaffolding for the extended metaphor LIFE IS A STAGE/RELATIONSHIPS ARE PLAYS for those students who might not understand the solely multimodal presentation of the same extended metaphor in the *Torn* video. However, the initially unnoticed multimodal material in *Take a Bow* seemed to prime production for the *Torn* video, so the order of videos was inverted so that the extended metaphor would first be presented solely through the juxtaposition of the multimodal content.

### 8.1 Full study: Participants

The participants (n=46) were all native Japanese EFL university students (n=22 for the control and n=24 for the experimental) in an English Language and Literature department of a regional Japanese public university. Initially, there were 23 participants in the control class, 7 male and 15 female while in the experimental group, 7 were male and 17 were female, but one participant dropped out of the course and so did not participate in the experiment, reducing the control group number by one. Rather than the 2nd-year students in the preliminary study, all the participants
were 1st-year students with at least 6 years of English study (6 years secondary school, 1/2 year of university) and, as discussed in chapter four, had received little or no formal instruction in English composition. Drawing the test population from 1st-year students meant that these participants would have been less likely to have received instruction in composition from foreign teachers, thus reducing the possibility of being exposed to instruction in composition that would be more appropriate in the West, also discussed in chapter 4. As with the preliminary study, participants completed the consent form (Appendix A), however, this was completed in the last class of the previous term because the control/experimental portion of the study occurred prior to the first class.

8.2 Full study: Materials and Procedure

As preparation for the class, participants were asked, by email, to write a self-introduction essay, and a model essay was sent to them as an attached file (Appendix B and C). The relevant portion of the email is as follows:

```
Dear students

[...]

Before we start class, we would like you to write an introduction essay. Please read the example carefully and use it as a guide. Your introduction essay should be about 300 words, with your name and student number in the top right corner. Please type the essay in word and mail it back to this address (囚` ayr) by 30 September as an attached file (添付ファイル) If you have any problems, please contact me and I will help you.
```

Because this took place before the first class meeting, the model essay was the only guidance that participants received. Participants with a student id ending in an even number received a standard model self-introduction of six paragraphs, constructed in a simple introduction-body-conclusion format (Appendix C). Participants whose student id numbers ended in an odd number received a different model self-introduction based on the metaphor of LIFE AS A JOURNEY (Appendix
B). The essays were both 6 paragraphs with an identical number of words. The vocabulary was controlled so that neither essay was more difficult than the other and the information in the two essays was made to be as close to identical as possible, with the only difference being the presence or absence of the complex metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY.

The participants were asked to email the essays to the researcher before the first class, with the purpose stated that the researcher wanted to get to know all the students and at the end of the experiment, the participants were told the true purpose of the essay. Unlike the preliminary study, because the class was not a writing class, the essays were not corrected immediately but corrected and returned after the two other essays had been submitted.

At the end of the previous term, participants received the consent forms (Appendix A) and brought those to the first class. As the assignment had the ostensible purpose of introducing the students to the teacher, it was part of the curriculum, but any participants who chose to opt out would be removed from the experiment, though no participant chose to do so.

The participants were told in the first class that they would receive two email assignments and were asked to complete these outside of class. For the first assignment, in the last ten minutes of class, the song was played with a video showing the lyrics so the participants would have a chance to hear the song and were told that they would get an email describing the assignment. Participants also received a print with the lyrics on half of the sheet and a space for notes on the other.

The preliminary study indicated that the multimodal material had a strongly significant effect on the production of metaphor. I assume is related to learner autonomy (Holec, 1981; Little, 1991; Little, 2007; Lamb & Reinders, 2002). By
presenting the video in class, the teacher would be 'controlling' the presentation of
the video. By presenting only the song and lyrics, student interest is generated in
encouraging the production of metaphor, the main goal of this thesis.

The following email was sent to participants asking them to watch the music
video of Natalie Imbruglia's *Torn*, a multimodal presentation of the conceptual
metaphor LIFE IS A STAGE/RELATIONSHIPS ARE A PLAY and write an essay
explaining the lyrics and video.

| Dear students, |
| Here is the video for the song we listened to in class. |
| https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VV1XWJN3nJo |
| You need to mail your essay to me as an attached file (添付ファイル) by 10 pm Wed evening, 14 Oct DO NOT BE LATE!! |
| Your essay should be at least 300 words long, but you are welcome to write more. Also, please bring back the lyrics sheet you used in class and make a note how many times you watched the video. |

The participants were not, unlike the preliminary study, given any class time
to begin the essay and were asked to email the completed essays before the next class.
Any participant who sent the essay late were excluded from that portion of the study.

At the end of the second class period, the same procedure was repeated with
the second song, Rihanna's *Take a Bow*.

Explicit instruction in metaphor or conceptual metaphor theory was avoided
and all of the material was delivered to and received from the participants via email
(with the exception of playing the song with the lyrics in class), with links to the
music video and task explanations included, thereby avoiding any differences in
treatment between the two classroom teachers.

The order of presentation of the videos was inverted from the preliminary
study in order to better judge the impact of multimodal content on written
production. As pointed out in the previous chapter, if one were simply listening to, or
reading the lyrics of Natalie Imbruglia’s *Torn*, it is highly unlikely that the extended metaphor would be activated. However, coupled with the video, the extended metaphor emerges. Additionally, because the only source of the video for the participants was the youtube url, all participants would be exposed to the multimodal material. The effect of the multimodal material was noted in the previous chapter, and this led to a third research question, which was:

**Question 3:** *How and to what extent does the introduction of one extended conceptual metaphor to low-intermediate Japanese learners through multimodal texts increase the production of metaphoric language?*

As in the preliminary study, the essays were broken down into sentences and the number of sentences that specifically referenced metaphoric content of the song lyrics were calculated, and divided by the total number of sentences to yield the ISM, a ratio that would reflect the noticing of metaphoric content. Using this measure, the control and experimental group were compared.

**8.3 Full Study: Ensuring random distribution in experimental and control groups**

The design of the full study was changed from the preliminary study to eliminate the influence of class assignment, and as in the preliminary study, Lu's Web-based L2 Syntactic Complexity Analyzer (Lu, 2010; Lu, 2011; Ai, Haiyang & Lu, Xiaofei, 2013; Lu, Xiaofei & Ai, Haiyang, 2015), was used to examine the initial essays on 23 dimensions, listed in figure 8.3, to see if the two groups were sufficiently randomized:
In the preliminary study, only the dimension of words per text showed a potential non-random distribution, with the experimental group producing more (control group average = 114, experimental group average = 147, \(p<0.05\)). However, for the full study, the Mann-Whitney U test indicated that the distribution was random, (control group average = 299, experimental group average = 328, \(p>0.19\)). The increased production can be attributed to shifting the initial essay from an in-class assignment to a pre-class introduction and specifically requesting a 300 word essay.

8.4 Full Study: Looking at metaphor production as measured by the Index of Sentential Metaphor (ISM)

After the changes in the procedures, three sets of essays were analyzed and each essay's ISM (Index of Sentential Metaphor) was determined. The Mann-Whitney U test was repeated on the two groups to determine if the ranking of the experimental group (exposed to the metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY) differed from
the control group (which was not exposed to any extended metaphor) in a way that was statistically significant.

8.4.1 **Do students who have been presented with and implicitly asked to use a conceptual metaphor use more linguistic expressions associated with that metaphor than those who have not?**

The first self-introduction essays were compared using a Mann-Whitney U test and again, there was no significant difference (p < 0.2442) in the rankings of the ISM of the essays of the two groups. This mirrors the preliminary study. A possible confounding variable is that participants may not have read the sample essay before writing their own introduction. The medians of the experimental and control groups were 0.061 and 0.106, respectively. Mean ranks of the experimental and control groups were .097 and .117, respectively; with U = 211 and Z = -1.176 and the effect size was r = 0.166. Again, this may have been because of participants not reading the sample essay, but the absence of any significant effect here sets the stage for the statistical analysis of the first video prompt. Still, it is striking that the explicit example contained in the sample essay was not sufficient to have the experimental group produce more metaphor. This mirrors other research where written prompts do not seem to encourage metaphor production.

8.4.2 **First video prompt (Torn): Does the presentation of one conceptual metaphor encourage participant production of linguistic expressions that correspond to other conceptual metaphors?**

For the first video prompt, this time *Torn*, we found a significant effect as a result of the experimental condition (p < 0.0021), though not as strong as the effect in the preliminary study when *Torn* was the second video prompt (p < 0.000006804). The medians of the experimental and control groups were 0.35 and 0.23, respectively and the mean ranks of the experimental and control groups were
.60 and .29, respectively; with U = 384.5 and Z = 3.8414. This gave us an effect size of $r = 0.54$, which is considered large. As with the preliminary study, participants from the experimental group, despite not producing a statistically significant difference of metaphor after the first writing prompt, produce more metaphorical language than the control counterparts.

8.4.3 Second video prompt (Take a Bow): Does the presentation of multimodal metaphorical material lead to an increase in student production of metaphor?

For the second video prompt, this time *Take a Bow*, in contrast to the preliminary study, we found no significant effect ($p < 0.95$) for the experimental group. The medians of the experimental and control groups were 0.32 and 0.36, respectively and the mean ranks of the experimental and control groups were .34 and .33, respectively; with U = 213 and Z = 0.07826, and the effect size was $r = 0.011$. The median and mean of the ISM for the second video prompt (median = 0.3333 mean = 0.3347) are higher than those for the first video prompt (median = 0.2727 mean = 0.3168), which indicates that all participants increased their metaphoric output as measured by the ISM. What this could mean is discussed in the next section.

8.4.4 Discussion

There are several conclusions to draw from this. The first is that despite the potential offsetting effect of participants not reading the sample experimental essay, there was still enough of an effect to have the experimental group produce more metaphor for the first video prompt as measured by the ISM. The second is that the most powerful agent of change in the study is the use of multimodality to create an extended metaphor through juxtaposition. This is illustrated by the fact that the control group, after being exposed to the multimodal metaphor in *Torn*, was able to 'catch up' with the experimental group for the second video prompt. The power of
multimodal metaphor led to the addition of the third research question: **How and to what extent does the introduction of one extended conceptual metaphor to low-intermediate Japanese learners through multimodal texts increase the production of metaphoric language?** This question will be addressed in the qualitative analysis.

**8.5 Is there a relationship between perceived essay quality and the amount of metaphor used as measured by the ISM? (Full Study)**

To see if the results of the preliminary study were anomalous, a Spearman’s rho was calculated for each group separately and for all the participants to determine if there was any correlation between the ratios and the ranking by an experienced native teacher. The preliminary study revealed no correlation between perceived essay quality and the ISM, so the larger data set of the full study was aimed at confirming this.

For the first video prompt (*Torn*), the lowest correlation value was for the total group, (rho = 0.264) followed by that for the control group (rho = 0.314) and the experimental group (rho = 0.358). None of these is statistically significant. For the second video prompt (*Take a Bow*), the correlation value for the control group was negative (rho = -0.016). Next was for the total group (rho = 0.092) and for the experimental group (rho = 0.152). None of these correlations are particularly strong, echoing the results of the preliminary study. In the next section, we will discuss all these findings.

**8.6 Full study: Summary of quantitative findings and conclusions**

The quantitative studies of the full study mirror the results of the preliminary study, indicating that potential confounding variables of between classes design and
the order of the video prompts only amplified the effect of the presentation of the first conceptual metaphor rather than being responsible for the effect. In addition, the quantitative tests offer several possible insights to the first two research questions, which were:

**Question 1:** How and to what extent does the introduction of one extended conceptual metaphor to low-intermediate Japanese learners increase the production of metaphoric language when given a writing prompt that contains another extended conceptual metaphor?

**Question 2:** Is there a relationship between the amount of metaphor used by students in an essay and a teachers' assessment of the essay's quality?

For the first question, the tests suggest that extended metaphor prompts do have an effect on student writing, but the effect is not immediately apparent. However, the presentation of the initial extended prompt may have only been taken up by a portion of the experimental group, so this research framework should be repeated in a way to ascertain that all of the experimental group are exposed to the prompt.

Given that the initial extended metaphor prompt was presented unobtrusively, with no other support, this also suggests research into ways of supporting an initial extended metaphor prompt would be a logical continuation of this research.

For the second research question, the ISM, as derived by the researcher, shows no correlation with one experienced teacher's rankings. This suggests that metaphoric use does not weigh into the ranking at all. This would line up with other research (Turner, 2014; Littlemore, et al., 2012) that identifies a lack of acknowledgement for the role of metaphor in rubrics such as the CEFR and in
classroom pedagogy. However, those researchers also discount the possibility that low-intermediate learners produce metaphor beyond fixed phrases and prepositions, based on high stakes test scripts. This may be a result of the data that has been used for these studies. Data from tests which have rubrics that do not acknowledge metaphor production in any way would prevent encouragement or scope for these learners to produce metaphor.

Given that metaphor has not been considered as something in the realm of low-intermediate students, the ISM raises an interesting question. Would training teacher-practitioners in identifying learner attempts at metaphor result in greater sensitivity and appreciation of metaphor, resulting in a virtuous circle where metaphor would be valued more highly and thus feed into more production by learners? One of the future research projects growing out of this thesis is to work with EFL teachers here in Japan to have them consider more closely what low-intermediate students produce and continued research into the ISM will be a part of that. For this, the ISM can be used both as a way to sensitize EFL professionals to the presence of metaphor and figurative language in student essays and to quantitatively examine low-intermediate student output.

Another possibility is that the mechanical errors exhibited by the participants swamped the metaphoric content. A possible avenue of research would be to silently correct mechanical errors in order to obtain a clearer picture of how the ISM does or does not contribute to a rater's impression of an essay.

Bearing in mind Turner's suggestion that non-parametric tests are a way of "gaining a deeper particular understanding of a particular learning environment" (2014: 10), we can take away two points from these statistical tests. The first is that the presentation of one extended metaphor may have had a knock-on effect in terms
of activation of metaphoricity for these low-intermediate Japanese students. While I have explained why Japanese students may represent an atypical case in terms of metaphor awareness, future research could explore whether similar results are found in other groups of EFL students. Furthermore, presenting these extended metaphors not as writing exercises, as was done in this case, but in different forms to see if they induce the production of student metaphor would serve to explore different pedagogical presentations of metaphor. However, anecdotal responses from the participants suggest that the multimodal presentation of these metaphors was a large factor in generating interest. This can be seen by the strong effect that the video prompt of Torn in both the preliminary and full studies. The extended metaphor in the video only existed because of the juxtaposition of separate multimodal material. The effect size of the Mann Whitney test for Torn was large (r = 0.84), which in Cohen’s (1969: 23) summary of effect sizes, was ’grossly perceptible’. In this case, the large effect size found in this small-scale research corresponds to the promise often held out for the introduction of technology to EFL (Carballo-Calero, 2001; Salaberry, 2001; Chappelle, 2007; Garrett, 2009, inter alia) but also provides some concrete suggestions as to the form that such materials should take. While it is impossible to imagine the classroom teacher being able to construct a multimodal text with the richness and production values that an artist working for a professional recording label can, the existence and easy access to such multimodal texts offers a compelling alternative to standard writing prompts. While a testing situation might want to reduce the richness of input in order to better evaluate test taker’s competence, that reduction could have the effect of reducing the amount of metaphoric language. However, in the classroom, no such restriction applies. In the next chapter, a
qualitative analysis of some of the written production of the preliminary study and full study groups will highlight how much this approach has to offer.

The second point to make is that there was little correlation between the experienced teacher’s rankings and the amount of metaphor as measured through a sentence level analysis of the essays. This is in line with the discussion in 3.1.3.2, where the observations by experienced teachers to two student essays were discussed and the recommendations by Littlemore, et al. (2012) to ELT professionals to reconsider how they are treating metaphor in textbooks, activities and evaluation, as well as the concerns of Turner (2014) that students are actively discouraged from exploring metaphoric language.

For the EFL teacher-practitioner, working with metaphor is challenging and the temptation is to focus on particular words and phrases rather than the overall impact of an extended metaphor on a longer form composition. Turner calls for more research on the use of metaphor and the perceived 'quality' of essay (2014: 350). However, the instrument that she employs, the MIP, is far too detailed and cumbersome for any classroom teacher to employ. MacArthur (2015) details the challenges that she, as an applied linguist and experienced metaphor researcher, had in applying the MIP to a small subset of verbs in a transcript, and it is difficult to imagine the classroom teacher applying the MIP or its successor, the MIPVU, in a way that would be timely and efficient for their students.

The ISM offers one possible approach, but analysis at the sentence level is not a panacea, and teacher-practitioners will need to be more sensitive to student attempts to use metaphor, and continue to develop awareness of the students' L1. This could be problematic in ESL situations where classes are homogenous, but in EFL situations where students generally share the same L1, knowledge of metaphor
in the L1 of the student seems to be an important key in appreciating their attempts to produce metaphor in the L2.

In the next chapter, I will employ a qualitative approach in order to present, in contrast to other studies, examples of the potential metaphoric content that can be seen in the writing of low-intermediate students. Previous researchers have found little evidence of metaphoric production in low-intermediate learners, however, in the essays of these participants, there was a rich store of metaphoric language, as the qualitative examination reveals. This difference, which can be explained by the fact that the topic of the essays was an explication of an extended metaphor rather than test prompts designed to generate language more amenable to ranking, suggests a different approach to teaching metaphor.

In the past two chapters, I have referred to the subjects of the study as participants, however, in the next section, I will refer to them as students.
Chapter Nine: Qualitative Discussion

9.0 Introduction

This chapter is primarily concerned with answering the first research question, which was investigating how a separate extended metaphor may increase the production of metaphoric language, taking as its foundation Müller's notion of "activation" discussed in section 2.6 and Vygotsky's notion of symbolic mediators discussed in section 5.6.

It may seem contradictory that, despite the fact that I have argued that L2 learner data has suffered from the absence of L2 production with the specific goal of using metaphor, the quantitative portion of the study avoided making any explicit mention of metaphor to the students. However, in order to create an experimental framework, it was necessary to remove the explicit explanation of metaphor and encouragement to produce metaphoric language in order to establish the effect of extended metaphor and multimodal metaphor on student output. Explicitly encouraging one group to produce metaphor by devoting classroom time to a discussion of metaphor and how it appears in English writing would be pedagogically sound, but would raise the question of whether metaphor is something that can be usefully induced in student output by prompts or is simply in response to the teacher's directions. Given that there was statistical significance involved in the implicit presentation of metaphor and the presentation of multimodal metaphor even among relatively low level learners, this then set the stage for the explicit presentation of metaphor through multimodal prompts and a qualitative discussion of that data.
9.1 Data sources

The data examined for this qualitative section consists two discrete sets. The first set is the initial essays for preliminary study to compare the production of the experimental group with the control group. The experimental group students were then assigned several essays. This provided the opportunity to organise and develop the assignments and materials. These assignments and materials were then used for one-third of the full study cohort enrolled in the same second year composition class that provided the experimental group for the preliminary study. While some might consider it ideal to have data that was not influenced by classroom instruction, for qualitative purposes (and the purposes of this thesis), it is important to discuss how the classroom instruction of metaphor to low-intermediate students may interact with their production.

The second set of data was the essays from the full study where the videos were reversed in order. In this group, students from both the control and experimental set formed a mixed cohort that was taught college composition in the second term of their second year.

In the previous 2 chapters, I have presented data which indicates that both simple exposure to complex metaphors and exposure to multimodal metaphor appear to have an impact on student written production. However, I do not believe that this is, in and of itself, sufficient. So a qualitative analysis of the subsequent production along with discussion of the classroom activities and presentation is necessary to identify other possible interventions. I will first discuss the initial self-introduction essays of the preliminary study group, followed by the full study group.
After that, I will discuss the production related to the two videos used in the quantitative study. As mentioned in chapter 7, the order of the videos was inverted from the preliminary study to the full study. Thus, the first video prompt in the preliminary study is the second video prompt in the full study. This means that for the preliminary study, the essays prompted by the Natalie Inbruglia video may have been primed by the Rihanna video and for the full study, the opposite is true. I will try to make that as clear as possible in the discussion, but I ask the reader to take note of this.

I will then discuss two additional assignments produced in response to a further two videos for the preliminary study group and full study. The experimental group from the preliminary study was informed about the goals of the experiment and the researcher, as teacher for the course, continued to ask them to write using multimodal prompts. These assignments were then used for a third of the full study group as they moved to their second-year composition course. By treating the data in this way, I hope to make recommendations for other teacher-practitioners.

In the next section, I will discuss the data from the initial treatment, which arose from the extended metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY.

9.2 Qualitative discussion: Student metaphor production linked to LIFE IS A JOURNEY

In the next section, I have divided the discussion into two subsections, the data from the preliminary study group and the data from the full study, because the conditions were different for each group. For the preliminary study group, not only did they receive direct teacher instruction about the assignment, they received time in class (30 minutes) to begin their essays. For the full study, the students received the prompt ahead of the first class as a preparatory assignment. Also, for the preliminary
experimental group, the researcher set out a short explanation about how there are several kinds of journeys and asked the students to consider their life up to that point as a journey. This had the effect of licensing not only words and phrases related to actual journeys, but also had a profound impact on the organisation of the essay. This clearly demonstrates the ability of the teacher to subtly shape the essay, requiring a change in the full study to avoid this influence. However, the production of the students bears examination

9.2.1 Qualitative discussion: LIFE IS A JOURNEY (Preliminary study)

For the preliminary study group, while the initial self introduction essay was part of the independent variable, the task for the experimental group of recasting a self introduction into a task to utilise metaphor was enough to induce some language that could be described as metaphor, even though these students were, because of the experimental conditions, not informed about metaphor. This underlines that it is not the teaching of metaphor that is the issue, it is the presentation of metaphors as examples for the students to use.

For example, in the preliminary study data there were 15 tokens for the word *go*, spread across 8 student essays from the experimental group for the self-introduction essay while for the control group, there were only 5 tokens among 3 student essays. Examining the sentences out of context, a la MIP approach, all examples appear as concrete instantiations of travel, such as *I go to <school name> as a student* or *I go to the gym to practice each day* (from the control group) and sentences such as *I got a train ticket to go to the showcase at dance studio* or *I began to go to lessons when I enter the preschool*. (All examples are uncorrected) However,
if we view the highlighted sentences from the experimental group in context, a
different picture emerges. In the first example:

When I was ten years old, I started my journey at dance Hiphop. I got a
train ticket to go to the showcase at dance studio. Then I took the train, and
went there. The showcase I arrived was more exciting than I thought
before, so I decided to take the train again and again.

Figure 9.1 Example 1 Experimental prelim study LIFE IS A JOURNEY

Initially, it appears the student is describing an actual event (*I got a train
ticket to go*), but the last line suggests that the idea of a train ticket is metaphorical.

The second example, in context, is:

My first station is the preschool. I began to go to lessons when I
enter the preschool. From entering my preschool to graduate my junior
high school, I took a bus. I advance my life one route, but I took many
lessons.

Figure 9.2 Example 2 Experimental prelim study LIFE IS A JOURNEY

Again, while the lexical item 'go' could be taken as non-metaphorical, the
surrounding content suggests that it was specifically chosen because it matches the
extended metaphor of LIFE IS A JOURNEY.

*Bus* was used by two students in the experimental group for a total of 8 times,
and none in the control group. While 3 instances of the word were from the student
who had mistakenly written about his route to school, the other 5 instances were
from the student above, who described her self-introduction as a bus journey,
connecting the singular route and the multiple stops as a description for her life up to
the present point. The essay concludes by noting that she is in a school dance circle,
but:

There is often some trouble, so it’s walk. In the future, I want to take
a bus and take a walk alternatively.

Figure 9.3 Example 3 Experimental prelim study LIFE IS A JOURNEY
This seems to indicate that the student understands the limitation of the metaphor and seeks to add to it. This is reminiscent of the notions of the theories of Vygotsky discussed in section 5.6 and the suggestion that metaphor provides the opportunity for a ZPD for the learner.

Of course, it is unsurprising, given the researcher's introduction, that words and phrases that indicate or imply motion, such as stop, move and journey, are found to a greater extent in the experimental group as this would be a natural outcome of the task. While, as a teacher, you hope that what you say to the class is taken onboard, it is easy to forget that students actually do this from time to time. Bennett (2017) discusses specific guided vocabulary instruction to expand the metaphorical usage of lexical items, so it is significant that these can also be induced by a larger extended conceptual metaphor.

9.2.2 Qualitative discussion: Changes in the full study

The several significant changes made from the preliminary study to the full study resulted in some qualitative changes in the data collected. The first change was shifting the test population in two dimensions, first, from second-year students to first-year students. The second was moving the procedure outside of the writing curriculum. Both of these changes were to lessen any effect of college composition instruction. These changes resulted in changes in the administration of the study, with students being exposed to the prompt before the first class (again lessening the influence on the students of curricula expectations) and being presented with a model essay that either was an experimental treatment or a control treatment. So while I will examine the full study material in a similar way to the preliminary study, I will first discuss some qualitative aspects of how these changes affected student output.
9.2.3 Qualitative discussion: Differences between the preliminary and the full study in initial essay

The preliminary study's presentation of the control and experimental input was done as a between groups, and only consisted of the experimenter explaining the conditions to the students. The full study relied to two model essays, an experimental version which contained the extended metaphor of LIFE IS A JOURNEY (Appendix B) and the control version which did not (Appendix C), delivered to students via email before the first class. The presence of a model resulted in several essays which copied much of the format and phrases of the introductory essay. Below is a comparison of a portion of the experimental sample essay and a student's output.

| My name is Joe Tomei and I’m 53 years old. I’d like to tell you about my life’s journey so you can get an idea of who I am. | My name is <family name> <first name> and I’m 18 years old. I would like you to tell about my journey so you can get an idea of who I am. |
| My journey began May 30, 1961 in Wisconsin because my parents met at the University of Wisconsin. | My journey began January 2, 1997 in Hyuga city. It located in Miyazaki prefecture, which is next to Kumamoto prefecture. |

Figure 9.4 Comparison between model essay excerpt and student essay (experimental condition)

This pattern was not limited to the experimental group. Here is a similar comparison from the control group sample essay and a student's output.

| My name is Joe Tomei and I’m 53 years old. I’d like to tell you about myself so you can get an idea of who I am. | My name is <first name> <family name> and I’m 18 years old. I’d like to tell you about my life so you can get an idea of who I am. |
| I was born on May 30, 1961 in Wisconsin. I was born there because my parents met at the University of Wisconsin. | I was born on November 10, 1996 in Kumamoto. I have one older sister and one older brother. |

Figure 9.5 Comparison between model essay excerpt and student essay (control condition)

Of the total of 46 students who submitted essays, 17, or almost one-third, closely imitated the first paragraph of the model whether it was the experimental or control version. 7 of the students in the experimental group used the phrase so you can get an idea of who I am, while one student slightly changed the phrase to a
separate sentence, *I hope you can get an idea of who I am.* For the control group, 8 of the students used the same phrase. This use of the model essay raises the question of plagiarism, which I would like to address next.

As discussed in chapter 4, Japanese writing pedagogy is often quite different than what Western researchers imagine it would or should be (Mulvey, 2016). There is an early curricular emphasis on copying *kanji*, for which there is evidence that this is the most effective method for learning *kanji* initially and it often remains for later learning, both for acquisition and maintenance (Kess & Miyamoto, 1999). This can be seen in the common practice of having students read successful essay-length answers to prior tests and use those as models for their answers, previously mentioned in section 4.1. For example, in one popular test preparation books for the *Jitsuyō Eigo Ginō Kentei* (実用英語技能検定), informally known as the *EIKEN* (英検), an English language test backed by the Japanese Ministry of Education, the following アドバイス ('advice') is given:

新聞などで情報を収集することも必要ですが、それを踏まえて「発信する」力が必要となります。改めて文法や構文を復習し、不安なく使える表現を増やすことが大切です。

While it is necessary to gather information from newspapers, etc., we need the ability to "send out" based on that information. It is important to review grammar and syntax *over and over again* to increase expressions that can be used without anxiety.


While this approach can work with a learner who is very committed to learning the language and engaged in the process and Hofstader (1997: 30) describes doing something related to this in learning Italian, it is difficult to imagine it working on a general basis.
This tendency towards imitation in East Asian learners has been taken up, beginning in the 90's, in a large body of research discussing plagiarism (cf. Deckert, 1993; Pennycook, 1994; Scollon, 1995; Currie, 1998, *inter alia*). The question of what constitutes plagiarism is one that is necessarily tied up with not only curricula expectations and requirements that have been discussed here, but also with the cultural expectations of the teachers, students and education system. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to present this research in detail. However, there are three points to note. The first is that much of this research deals with higher level students, often graduate students working on post-graduate qualifications and the issues raised and the solutions proffered may not be appropriate for low-intermediate level students. The second is that there is a theme in the more recent literature on plagiarism to view the selected copying, sometime termed 'patch-writing' (attributed to Howard, 2001 in Pecorari, 2003), in a more favourable light (cf. Angelil-Carter, 2000). Finally, and most important in regard to this thesis, plagiarism becomes an issue because the student is using material that is in the same mode, i.e. written. Many of the issues that the literature on plagiarism addresses are avoided when the writing prompts are multimodal and students are transferring information from one mode (in this case visual and aural) to another mode. Certainly, plagiarism can still occur, but I would like to emphasise two points here. The first is that presenting writing prompts as multimodal texts can help deal with plagiarism. The second is that much of the focus of plagiarism is on East Asian students (cf. Casanave, 2004), which leads to the inference that they are not as creative as their Western counterparts. I believe that a qualitative examination of these materials refutes that notion.
9.2.4 Qualitative Discussion: Preliminary and full study comparisons of student metaphor linked to LIFE IS A JOURNEY

In section 9.2.1, the metaphor induced by the initial prompt in the preliminary study was discussed. In the full study, to no great surprise, only students in the experimental condition used the noun *journey*. However, the total number was only 5 out of 24, which suggests that some students did not look at the model essay, but simply began writing their self-introduction without reference to the essay.

For other terms that indicated or implied motion, only *go* appeared in the corpus with an equal number of experimental students and control students using it (13 each). None of the other terms discussed in the preliminary study appear in any of the introduction essays from the full study, suggesting that the researcher's explanation was a significant variable in the production and use of lexical items from this domain. However, the changes made in the initial treatment make these initial data produced by the full study group less interesting. In the next section, we now turn to the essays from the two music videos.

9.3 Qualitative discussion: Two initial Music Videos

In this section, I will discuss the data arising from the first two music videos. As noted, the order of the multimodal prompts was switched from the preliminary study to the full study, so it is not possible to make a clear comparison between the production of the preliminary study group and the full study group. However, it is necessary to group the data together according to prompt rather than order. Each time, I will discuss the material from the preliminary study and then use that to identify and discuss material from the full study. This material will be discussed on the basis of the order of the full study (first *Torn*, then *Take a Bow*)
9.3.1 Qualitative discussion: Natalie Imbruglia's *Torn* (Preliminary study)

There was a range of notable expressions from the essays about *Torn*. Some examples from the experimental group:

*Figure 9.6 Example 4 Experimental prelim study Torn*

When they talked lovely, people interrupted and he was **cool down**. It expresses **their love was gradually burned out**.

*Figure 9.7 Example 5 Experimental prelim study Torn*

She said "illusion never changed into something real" in this music, and I think that this phrase shows that **their relationship has been really worn out**.

*Figure 9.8 Example 6 Experimental prelim study Torn*

He didn’t know true feelings to him, she was **absorbed in him**.

The control group also had interesting expressions.

*Figure 9.9 Example 7 Control prelim study Torn*

I think they are inset to film a video, and **she and her partner are not on the same wavelength**.

*Figure 9.10 Example 8 Control prelim study Torn*

The lyrics of the song shows **the wrecked heart** correctly.

*Figure 9.11 Example 9 Control prelim study Torn*

The room in this video was **a fake**, and the men with this video was **fake**, and the boyfriend and his lyrics was **a kind of fake guy**.

Because this essay was produced by the preliminary study students after the prompt of *Take a Bow*, it is probable that the video primed aspects of their production. I will first discuss **hearts**, followed by **strength** and **sadness**.

9.3.1.1 Hearts, broken and otherwise (Preliminary study *Torn*)

As both the songs discuss romance and lost love, we can find metaphorical clusters for terms like **heart** (13 tokens total, 7 tokens among 4 essays in the experimental group and 6 tokens among 5 essays in the control group). While **heart** is
in the song lyrics, specifically you don't seem to know, seem to care what your heart is for, only one essay quoted that lyric (in the control group) and the most common usage was broken heart, with 6 tokens in 5 essays (4 experimental, 1 control). In the previous song, despite not being in the lyric at all, there were 12 tokens of heart (12 tokens total, 6 tokens among 5 essays in the experimental group, 6 tokens among 4 essays in the control group) so a possibility is that these examples were primed by the previous song rather than any material within the song and video of Torn. These examples from Take a Bow will be discussed in section 9.4.1.

Broken heart is a common enough metaphor that it is often rendered in katakana. The passage below, taken from a Japanese website discussing the medical condition stress cardiomyopathy, a condition triggered by emotional stress, shows its usage. This indicates that it is commonly understood with the same nuance as it is in English.

The collocation broken heart accounts all but one of the tokens found in the experimental essays and appears in the control essays once. While this is a tiny amount of data, this suggests that these types of prompts somehow 'license' the use of other metaphorical phrases. While one complaint might be that this is simply the student using a highly conventional metaphor that should therefore not be adduced as proof of metaphoric competence, Turner argues that "learners can use highly conventional metaphoric language to fulfil a range of functions" and concludes that

![Figure 9.12 Japanese discussion of Broken Heart Syndrome](minnakenko.jp/burookunhaato-shoukougun-fusegu-itsutsu-kagi/)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ブローグンハート症候群を防ぐ5つのカギ</th>
<th>ブローグンハートと聞くとなんだかロマンチックなイメージをも起こさせますが、実際は全く違います。</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5 keys to preventing Broken Heart Syndrome</td>
<td>Hearing the phrase &quot;Broken Heart&quot; may call up a romantic image, but in reality it is completely different. (translation mine)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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"metaphoric competence is far more a matter of how learners use metaphors than it is the type or variety of metaphors that they are using" (2014: 342)

In the experimental essay accounting for 4 of the tokens of heart, we see this:

Figure 9.13 Example 10 Experimental prelim study 'heart' in Torn

However, the control group also used heart in innovative ways

Figure 9.14 Examples 11-13 Control prelim study 'heart' in Torn

In the first, the song title may license this metynomic usage where heart stands for the singer, but in the next two examples, these are not common usages. A Google Ngram search lists stained heart as more common than wrecked heart, but this is because the former is used both to describe a medical procedure and in terms like tear-stained heart and ink-stained heart as well as religious literature from the turn of the century describing sin-stained and passion-stained hearts. While wrecked heart and stained heart are not regular collocations, at least in current English, they do show that the students are using metaphoric language in ways that indicate they understand and are processing metaphor. Again, these essays from the preliminary study group were preceded by both the initial assignment of a self introduction and the Rihanna video, so the production of metaphoric language in the experimental group is not surprising or unexpected in light of the arguments made in this thesis, but has not previously been taken into account when discussing low-intermediate learners.
9.3.1.2 Strength and sadness (Preliminary study *Torn*)

For the preliminary study group, the fact that Rihanna was a *strong woman* was noted, but in *Torn*, not only is there no mention of strength or weakness in the lyrics, the multimodal material does not support any reading of the singer being a strong woman, so appearances of the lexical item are probably an effect due to priming. There were 6 tokens of *strong* (4 tokens among 2 essays in the experimental group, 1 token in the control group). While the control group example talked of feeling her *strong sadness and despair*, the examples from the experimental group all speak of the woman either being strong or becoming strong from this experience. This tracks closely with the narrative presented in the Rihanna video, and the Rihanna song resulted in 25 tokens for *strong* (10 tokens among 5 essays in the experimental group, 15 tokens among 7 essays in the control group). While only a tiny slice of this data, it suggests that there is a cumulative impact from these prompts, with students drawing on what they wrote in their first essay to complete the second. Given that the students in the experimental group were willing to recycle this while students in the control group were not, further research would be to investigate the interaction of multimodal prompts and the recycling of vocabulary.

On the other hand, the opposite pattern is seen with *sadness*. The word only appears in the control group essays for this song (3 tokens among 2 essays) but not in the experimental group. However, it appears 9 times in the previous condition, (3 tokens from 1 essays in the experimental group, 6 tokens among 3 essays in the control group). In the experimental essay, the student uses the phrase *get over her sadness* three times and in the same essay, she also writes

*However as the song goes on, she gets over with her boyfriend, I think.*

Figure 9.15 Example 14 Experimental prelim study ‘get over’ in *Torn*
In another context, a student using this would simply be corrected, but seeing the use of *get over her sadness*, it seems that the student is considering it as a figurative phrase.

The use of *get* raises an additional point. In the lyrics to the Rihanna song, she sings:

```
Grab your clothes and *get gone*
```

Clearly, this is not standard English, and is related to the *get* passive that is used as an adversative in informal speech (Collins, 1996: Carter and McCarthy, 1999) and was not remarked upon by any student, nor did the researcher discuss this, but the use of multimodal music video prompts allows for the presentation of such non-standard English so that it does not draw attention to itself, but could help students develop these registers in a way that is more natural and useful.

Again, because this data could have been primed by the initial treatment or the Rihanna video, it is difficult to draw firm conclusions, but it does give us some avenues to explore in the data from the full study. In the full study data, which we now turn to, if multimodal material had an impact on the students, we would expect to see the effects more clearly.

**9.3.2 Qualitative discussion: Natalie Imbruglia's Torn (Full study)**

Because Natalie Imbruglia's *Torn* was given to the students immediately after the experimental treatment in the full study, we are on stronger grounds to attribute metaphoric language production to multimodal material, especially since the multimodal material rather than the lyrics carry the extended metaphor. There were
a number of examples of students clearly grasping the conceptual metaphor, despite the fact that it was not present in the lyrics.

Figure 9.17 Example 15 Experimental full study LIFE IS A STAGE in Torn

That is why, the room was destroyed, I think. Also, I think that destroying room explain that their relationship is destroying.

Figure 9.18 Example 16 Experimental full study LIFE IS A STAGE in Torn

In the video, the staff took the indoor set apart although she was singing. Also, when she and her boyfriend were cuddling each other, someone interrupted. I gathered from the lyrics that she is not getting along with him, so I think this video implies that a couple grown apart.

Figure 9.19 Example 17 Experimental full study LIFE IS A STAGE in Torn

Some students ascribed a stronger weight to aspects of the video than could reasonably be inferred.

Figure 9.20 Example 18 Experimental full study LIFE IS A STAGE in Torn

And in this music video, the design of the room began to change. When the woman and the man had good relationship, there was the chair which is brown and white and the red sofa at the conspicuous place in the room. I thought that it means the chair was the symbol of their love. In the middle of the story, the design of the room changed dramatically. Then, the chair and the sofa were moved away from the place. I think that it means his love for her began to change and he became not to love her. Finally, even the wall has removed from the room and everything in the room were gone away. At the situation, maybe she thought that there is no hope that she could keep company with him and gave up to love him at last.

Though the words are not good, the couple seems to get along well in the video. So he has never used force and violent language to her. The how was she torn by him? The answer is hidden in the background of the video. At first sight, she sang a song in an ordinary room. But sometimes, the staff such as assistants and sceneshifter appeared. From the above fact, you seem to find that her living was controlled by someone in order to make a good living. But there is not her will, so it is too boring for her.

The control group also was able to set out the extended metaphor
Next I want to talk about meaning of video. I think a woman, Natalie who appears in the video is main character in this song. The main character had her heart broken. The man who come in her room in the middle of the video is her boyfriend. The first, they are good atmosphere. This means their relation is good. However, the man like staff disturbs them. I think it means the couple broke up. The staff tried to pull him apart her. This means they had left each other. The last, the set of her room is withdrawn by staff. This means she was hurt. Her room is broken means her heart broken. Also she is alone.

PV shows us that how unsubstantial their relationship was, I think. The scene of this PV seems like in a studio, which may imply as if their relationship was a fiction. At first, they seemed enjoying and stared each other friendly. But while he gradually didn't seem to care about her, she looked grumble about his attitude. For him, it was an only filming as his work. But for her, it was a serious and affectionate filming. It seems so for me. The kiss scene in the latter of this PV seems a recollection of her because the picture of the scene shifts frequently to the scene that like staff members was taking down the set in the studio. And when she was dancing violently, she seemed in desperation. These effects gives rise to the feeling of heartrending sorrow. In other words, this song tells us about a story of one-sided love.

PV, which stands for Promotional Video, is an example of gairaigo, a Japanese category of lexical items mentioned in section 5.3.2.

However, not all the students understood the metaphor. From the experimental group:

Also on the video, there was people who looked like setting the scene so I think this story is about something like drama or movie. So, she could meet the boy and she fell in love with that boy. She liked that boy but that boy was not good and she realized that she was wrong. But in the story, she and her boyfriend would be happily at the last of the story. So she felt torn.

And from the control group
It is difficult to establish the precise parameters and future research would be to try to more accurately measure metaphoric understanding of multimodal material based on the written output of low-intermediate learners. The full study does reinforce the finding of the preliminary study that these students come to the task equipped with fully figurative minds and these minds are an important resource to exploit for the classroom teacher. In the next section, we will examine the full study essays from the lexical domains identified in the preliminary study, that of hearts, followed by strength and sadness.

9.3.2.1 Hearts, broken and otherwise (Full study Tom)

To repeat, the preliminary study data is from the end of the quantitative study, making it difficult to draw firm conclusions, but the avenues it provides bear exploration in the data from the full study, which is only primed by the initial treatment and the multimodal content. For the lexical item heart, excluding citations of the lyrics, there were 37 tokens in the data (13 tokens among 8 essays in the experimental group, 19 tokens among 9 essays in the control group). None of the tokens collocate with strong, supporting the inference that in the preliminary study, the collocation of strong heart is a result of influence from the first video prompt.

The heart was a key concept for students to express the extended metaphor.
The infelicities in expression might raise some doubts as to the student really understanding the metaphor, but that is not the case with this example:

In the middle of the video, there was the time when the wall shook and the crew demolished the room. I thought that it probably represents her heart, that is unstable feelings.

In the next example, the student wants to suggest that the singer still is hoping to keep the relationship alive with this phrase:

However, I think that she still believes that he may love her again by the corner of her heart.

While there were a number of examples referred to the singer's heart as being torn, all but one came from the control group. Did the absence of exposure to conceptual metaphor in the treatment result in those subjects relying more on the resources of the lyrics? That is difficult to say because several of the control essays showed an understanding of the conceptual metaphor, despite relying on the lyrics:

Her heart was torn.
"Torn" is this song title and this means her heart is torn because she was hurt by her lover. She is torn her heart so she seem the world around her also is torn. Room is broken in the last of MV stands for her heart gets be torn I think.

Despite the errors in English, the student has grasped the extended metaphor that was presented by the multimodal material. Other students in the control group contributed interesting collocations, such as this example:
However, the following control group reading of the lyrics was very mechanical, as we can see from this passage.

Each phrase in the lyrics corresponds to a particular aspect of the video and the student 'checklists' those. However, also note the phrase that their delicate position shows their dry relationship. Even though a somewhat mechanical take on the meaning in the song, it still seemed to induce other phrases containing figurative language. We should also note the student's admission of watching the video many times, despite the fact that this was not a credit assignment for the class (The full study was conducted in an extensive reading class rather than a writing class.) While I did not get counts of how many times the students watched the video, watching the video 8 to 10 times was not uncommon.

9.3.2.2 Sadness and strength (Full study Torn)

Sad and sadness also figured prominently, with 56 tokens in the data (37 tokens among 17 essays in the experimental group, 20 tokens among 8 essays in the
control group). On the other hand, strong only appears once in the data, when a student from the experimental group wrote:

```
This song’s lying, PV, and rhythm is beautiful and have a strong message, so people felt sadness of love sincerely.
```

Figure 9.31 Example 29 Experimental full study ‘strong’ in Torn

This contrasts with the essays from the preliminary group, where strong was much more common. While no firm conclusions can be drawn, it does suggest that the Rihanna video, portraying a strong and proud woman, had an impact on how the preliminary study students viewed the Natalie Imbruglia video and when that was taken away students did not have that notion of a strong woman activated. In the next section, we turn to Rihanna’s Take a Bow.

### 9.3.3 Qualitative discussion: Rihanna’s Take a Bow

One of the reasons to invert the videos was that Rihanna’s video, seen by the preliminary study group immediately after the experimental or control treatment, generated such a rich trove of figurative language, that it was impossible to determine what language could have been due solely to the multimodal material in Torn and what was primed by Take a Bow. For example:

```
-There are many scene where Rihanna sings along and the man don’t often appear. I think that means that the man is disappearing in her heart.

-I think that Rihanna’s inner voice is about to blow up, and she seems to get angry halfway.

-Her feeling is so bad now, so she don’t hear her boyfriends explanation and she saying him that close your show. It mean is ‘please come apart from me and don’t meet to me forever’.
```

Figure 9.32 Example 30-32 Experimental prelim study figurative language in Take a Bow

The last example is significant because the student has attempted to identify the metaphor embedded in the song, and used quotation marks to present the
feelings of the singer, utilizing words that are not in the lyrics. This suggests that the student is focussing on aspects of the singer’s mental state that are not overtly stated in the lyrics, which in turn suggests the possibility that the simple breaking of the fourth wall by Rihanna is sufficient for some students to begin to produce the extended metaphor. However, because it is clearly stated in the lyrics, we cannot tell what is prompting the student to make this observation. This student could conceivably have produced this observation, even if given only a copy of the lyrics.

The last example also identifies another lacuna in low-intermediate writing pedagogy, which is taking into account the speaker/writer's mental state. The teaching of epistemic aspects of the language is, like metaphor, something reserved for upper-level learners, and Hyland observes that even though "epistemic devices are a significant characteristic of academic writing", texts designed for academic writing "display an ignorance of empirical usage" (1994: 239). Hansen-Strain and Strain note that "the emphasis in Japanese EFL classrooms is on planned, written styles with little personal involvement" (1989: 234). Not only for these video prompts, but for almost all the other music videos presented as prompts, the learner is required to understand the mental state of the speaker to understand why the source domain and the target domain are being linked. Thus, an earlier introduction to extended metaphor has the side benefit of making students more conscious of mental states other than their own.

Perhaps the most succinct explanation of the metaphor came from a student from the experimental group:

As you know, the title of the song is a take a bow, it means finish. She compare life with her boyfriend to a show, and say show was very entertaining but it has finished now, so you should take about to the audience.

Figure 9.33 Example 33 Experimental prelim study explanation of Take a Bow
We can contrast this explanation with this from a control group student:

\[
'and \text{ the award for the best liar goes to you for making me believe that you could be faithful to me let's hear your speech how about a round of applause? Standing ovation'} I regarded this part is irony to the boyfriend.\]

Figure 9.34 Example 34 Control prelim study explanation of Take a Bow

While the student from the experimental group breaks down the metaphor to discuss its component parts, the control group student quotes the lyrics and identifies that passage in isolation as 'irony'.

This is not to claim the control group failed to identify the metaphor content and write about it. Another control group student wrote:

\[
\text{Her romance is likened to a show and it’s the end part of show in the song.}\]

Figure 9.35 Example 35 Control prelim study explanation of Take a Bow

This sentence clearly indicates that the student understands the metaphor that is being expressed in the song. Additionally, the mere presentation of a different conceptual metaphor did not give students understanding of all conceptual metaphors, as can be seen by a student in the experimental group who wrote:

\[
\text{It was difficult to understand that she compares her boyfriend’s lie to the show of the stage. And I could not see "this just looks like a rerun".}\]

Figure 9.36 Example 36 Experimental prelim study explanation of Take a Bow

However, the experimental group more generally were able to identify and utilize the metaphor content in the way that assisted them in writing their essays.

Throughout all of the student essays were striking turns of phrases. Of the ones listed below, the first is from a control group essay and the remaining three are from the experimental group:
Many, perhaps all of these phrases can be traced to a Japanese antecedent. A *dark melody* can be glossed as *kurai kyokuchō* (暗い曲調), *her sad feelings showed* as *kanashi kimochi wo arawarareta* (悲しみ気持ちを表現された), *grab the meaning* as *imi wo tsukamu* (意味を掴む), and *know concretely* as *gutaiteki ni wakaru* (具体的に分かる). However, even though the task was not identified or explained as an assignment to explicate the metaphor in the video (the instructions were simply to describe the lyrics and the video), the task itself seemed to encourage the use of metaphorical material in the students' L1 and it is striking that these examples of figurative language arise from the prompt, especially in students at this level of English ability. In the next section, we will take up the semantic items previously discussed for *Torn*.

**9.3.3.1 Hearts, broken and otherwise (Preliminary study *Take a Bow*)**

The preliminary study yielded 11 tokens of *heart* (6 tokens from 5 essays in the experimental group, 5 tokens among 4 essays in the control group), with the overwhelming number of them collocating with (7 tokens) collocating with *broken*, supporting the presence of *broken heart* as a part of the students' L2 networks rather than something brought in from the L1.

While only one token, this usage is interesting:
This observation is an overanalysis, in that if the singer were singing while the actor was with her, it would be more difficult to sustain the premise that the shared scenes represent some sort of experience or reality, so reading a meaning into the alternation of scenes from the singer scenes, where the singer is breaking the fourth wall and the drama, backstage, practice and drama interrupted scenes where the singer and the actor are together is not warranted. However, the purpose of presenting these music videos as prompts was not to promote multimodal literacy, but to induce the production of metaphoric language.

Another interesting connection between heart and the multimodal material in the video is the following:

Sometime she and he look watch. I can’t understand intention. I suppose she looks watch the time he comes. I think she wants to meet him in her heart.

In this case, the metaphor THE HEART IS A PLACE seems to be prompted by the use of gaze discussed in section 6.4.1.1 where I argued that the singer's gaze linked the scenes where she is singing to the time frame of the events portrayed in the video. While the student did not interpret the singer's gaze as something connected with the extended metaphor, it may have prompted the use of the metaphor THE HEART IS A PLACE.

9.3.3.2 Sadness and strength (Preliminary study Take a Bow)

The preliminary study yielded 11 tokens of sad (5 tokens from 3 essays in the experimental group, 6 tokens among 5 essays in the control group). 5 of the tokens identified the song as being sad. The aspects of musical metaphor were not presented
and were not evident, either in the preliminary study or the full study. There is a rich literature in the multimodal meaning inherent not only in music (Forceville, 2009) but also in the various modes within music, such as pitch, volume, key, tempo (Zbikowski, 2008, 2009). Peltola and Saresma (2014) begin their article about the narrative of a 25-year-old woman discussing "sad music" and they note that her narrative is composed of "different figures of speech that describe music as some kind of messenger and emotion as a physical force" (2014: 293), which hints at the vast untapped resource this presents for the teacher-practitioner.

For the type strong, there were a total of 25 tokens (10 tokens from 6 essays in the experimental group, 15 tokens among 7 essays in the control group). Many of them describe the singer as strong or a strong woman, but there are also examples of her strong feeling, a strong spirit, the lyrics is strong and a strong mind. One notable example is as follows:

Figure 9.40 Example 39 Experimental prelim study 'strong' in Take a Bow

I think what a woman has a strong-minded. In Japan, we sometimes say that "a woman is fearful".

I feel that this is notable because the student is drawing on her own indigenous culture to explain and understand this piece of figurative language.

All these data give us avenues to explore in the full study's data set, which will be presented in the next section.

9.3.3.3 Hearts, broken and otherwise (Full study Take a Bow)

Unlike the data set from Torn in the full study, the data set from the full study essays for Take a Bow did not produce as rich a cache of the lexical item heart, with it appearing 7 times, 3 times in the experimental group and twice in the control group,
with one control essay accounting for three occurrences. That essay had the following:

\[ I \text{ think this song is about woman who has } \textbf{her heart broken}. \]

\[ \text{The song which I wrote essay, Torn, is also about } \textbf{broken heart}. \]
\[ \text{However, } \text{"Take a bow" and } \text{"Torn" are completely different. } \text{"Take a bow" is that the woman who had } \textbf{her heart broken} \text{ is aggressive and positive.} \]
\[ \text{whether he can get her heart again or not depend on his actress} \]

Figure 9.41 Example 40 Control full study 'heart' in Take a Bow

The other control essay had the following phrase:

\[ \text{But whether he can get her heart again or not depend on his actress} \]

Figure 9.42 Example 41 Control full study 'heart' in Take a Bow

The experimental essays had the following:

\[ \text{--Of course, this song is about } \textbf{broken heart}. \]
\[ \text{-Woman’s boyfriend was very faithful to woman so woman believed him at heart.} \]
\[ \text{-Anyway, I think she has a tough heart.} \]

Figure 9.43 Examples 42-44 Experimental full study 'heart' in Take a Bow

While the first example is a common one that we also see in the control essays, the other two are perhaps more creative metaphorical usages. As noted above, these examples seem to suggest that the prompt encouraged students to use more metaphors and figurative language. In the essay where the student used \textit{believed him at heart}, she opened the essay with

\[ I \text{ think this song means woman } \textbf{gives woman’s boyfriend the ax}. \]

Figure 9.44 Example 45 Experimental full study additional figurative language in Take a Bow

Examples of this from other students include:
So while the uses of heart were limited, its usage in the essays of the experimental students signaled greater use of figurative language.

**9.3.3.4 Sadness and strength (Full study Take a Bow)**

As with the preliminary study, the full study students produced some striking turns of phrase that clustered around the type sad. Both full study groups noted the emotion of sadness in the song, with phrases like these:

- I thought that she looks sad.
- This song is too sad song.
- The video of this song was so sad.
- I was deeply moved by her sad face.

However, from the experimental group, there were a number of interesting expressions.

- Her voice is getting sad little by little. From "And the award for the best liar goes to you..." to "Standing ovation" is the peak of this song. Her sadness shows to us.

- The last scene, she made a fire and burned his clothes. I think she also burned her mind of sad and lonely.

- The first part of this song sounds like her irony to him, but the end of this song is her sadness. Her sadness might be deep because she loved him.

In the last example, the student, from the experimental group, has taken the singer's final act of burning the ex-boyfriend's clothes as a metaphor for her removing
sadness and loneliness from her mind. This was not unique. In another essay from the experimental group, a student wrote:

According to PV, woman was really angry and sad because of cheating partner.

Figure 9.48 Example 57 Experimental full study ‘sad’ in Take a Bow

In the same paragraph, the student wrote:

The woman was very angry and sad but at the same time she was really bored to death. She wanted to stop being bored, therefore she burned clothes to achieve an emotional closure of sorts. In addition, I suppose that burning clothes has another meaning. Burning is becoming a thing of the past. Thus woman wanted to describe her and boyfriend’s relationship is over and past now. When woman went out the room, she never turned round. Perhaps woman already faces the future but the past. The music seems to be sad rhythm but lyrics doesn’t seem to be sad. Actually, lyrics is cynical and it describes that this song wants to tell not only sadness also woman’s anger.

Figure 9.49 Example 58 Experimental full study ‘sad’ in Take a Bow

While the tokens of sad are not necessarily figurative, it seems that sad licenses more figurative phrases, such as bored to death, emotional closure and face the future. Moreover, the presence of those phrases signals the potential presence of two interesting metaphors, FIRE IS CLOSURE and THE FUTURE IS FORWARD.

But the most important point for this thesis is that we can note the student recycling phrases, in this case angry and sad. The CEFR (discussed in section 3.2.5.3) is presented in terms of ‘can-do’ statements and does not specifically speak to the recycling of vocabulary; this recycling is arguably a hallmark of low-intermediate speakers, so we can clearly see that despite representing a level of A2 or perhaps B1, the student can set out a figurative language based on the multimodal prompt in a way that is both interesting and engaging.

Another essay from the experimental group presented a possibly similar take on fire when she wrote
Finally, she didn’t accept his apologies and burn his clothes with her feelings.

Figure 9.50 Example 59 Experimental full study ‘burn’ in Take a Bow

At first, one may think that she is using feelings as an instrumental which might be read she burned his clothes using her feelings, but the previous essay suggests that the student may have also been thinking of the metaphor FIRE AS CLOSURE.

Only three students in the experimental group mentioned the singer’s voice, the previous example of her Her voice is getting sad little by little and the following two examples:

- She may be angry, but she doesn’t approach him raising her voice.
- I think she want him to give up her as soon as because she does not want to see his face and to hear his voice.

Figure 9.51 Example 60-61 Experimental full study ‘voice’ in Take a Bow

While the phrase to see his face and to hear his voice might not be regarded as metaphorical, it is metonymic as aspects of meeting him are used to refer to meeting him more generally (Littlemore, 2015). Littlemore observes that metonymy is more difficult to identify than metaphor and often "encode(s) a particular perspective or evaluative slant that is so subtle that it will be taken at face value..." (2015: 196). Given that one of the challenges for L2 learners is using epistemic markers appropriately, the generation of phrases that indicate a particular epistemic stance towards the man in the video is notable, especially since there is debate on whether explicit or implicit instruction is preferable in developing L2 learners' understanding of epistemic stance (Fordyce, 2014). The potential interaction between incipient metonymy and epistemic stance is an area for future research. Intriguingly, Fordyce also reports that for some of the targeted epistemic forms he was researching, both
the implicit and explicitly instructed groups showed long-term gains for picture descriptions as opposed to textual interventions. This further supports the potential benefits of multimodal prompts.

We have noted the potential priming effect in the preliminary study, where *Take a Bow*, with its strong female protagonist, may have primed students to observe and read that quality into the singer in *Torn*. In the full study condition, where *Take a Bow* came last, we can note some similar priming effects in that the exposure to the video *Torn* seemed to prime students to discuss *Take a Bow* in terms of closure as can be seen in these examples.

Figure 9.52 Examples 62-64 Experimental full study 'voice' in *Take a Bow*

I will close this section with a final quote from a student that summarizes the metaphor in *Take a Bow* and suggests a much higher metaphoric competence than would be granted by Azuma (2004) or Turner (2014).

Figure 9.53 Example 65 Experimental full study 'voice' in *Take a Bow*
9.4 Additional class procedures

One of the main goals of this thesis is to develop new ways of using extensive metaphor in the writing class. Therefore, after both the preliminary and full studies, students were given other music video prompts as well as more traditional prompts and asked to write essays. Unlike the conditions in the preliminary and full studies, the teacher was able to acknowledge student production of metaphor and do additional exercises to encourage such production, which should be kept in mind when reading the qualitative discussion in the next two sections. In this section, I will give a brief description of the classroom procedures.

Following the experimental and control group portion of the preliminary study, the experimental group continued to receive assigned music video prompts to establish which videos and what procedure would be appropriate for the main study, writing essays for a total of 8 more videos. In addition, in order to integrate the study content with curriculum goals of the class, students were asked to write three additional essays. The requested essay length was at least 300 words or approximately one sheet of word-processed A4 paper.

The first of these additional essays was assigned immediately after the first portion of the preliminary study and students were asked to write an essay explaining the stage metaphor that was presented in the first two videos.

This was slightly altered for the students who participated in the full study. Because they had already written an essay on the first two videos, an alternate activity was given where the students were asked to translate the opening passage of Matsuo Bashō’s *Oku no hosomichi* (cf. section 2.4) and then were given several different available English translations of the passage to compare their own translation (see
Appendix D). This was accompanied by a discussion of the extended metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY. The previous two essays were discussed and the students were asked to write a similar essay on the stage metaphor, thus ensuring that the treatments for the two groups were roughly equivalent.

This was followed by an assigned essay that would describe and explain the video of Christina Aguilera's *Fighter*. The procedure followed was the same for the remaining 8 videos. A video showing only the lyrics of the song was played in class twice and students were given a handout with the lyrics to follow and were asked to write their impressions and ideas about the lyrics. They were allowed to take these handouts home to aid them in writing the essay. Before leaving the class, the students photographed them using their mobile phone and emailed an image of the handwritten manuscript to the teacher. These were transcribed by the teacher and corrected for low-level grammatical errors and returned to students by email, who were then asked to watch the video and write a 300-word essay describing the video. No corrections concerning metaphor were made.

After the first of the remaining eight video essays, another essay based on the extended metaphor MY COLLEGE LIFE IS A SPORT was assigned, with the student permitted to choose which sport they felt would best stand as a metaphor for their college career up to that point. Following this, students were then assigned a series of seven videos to describe and explain the videos in the same manner. For all of the essays following the initial three essays and as opposed to the initial two videos, students were given an opportunity to discuss and ask the teacher about interesting points in the video to the teacher. However, the teacher's role was to identify problematic lexical and grammatical choices which did not match or failed to get across the content that the student was trying to relate rather than discuss any
metaphoric content. The corrections were chosen by the teacher. The corrections were chosen to represent mistakes where other students might be called on to provide a correction or where several students made similar mistakes, though student requests for corrections and explanations were also addressed. In the course of the class, the teacher would obviously provide praise and encouragement to students, so student observations about metaphorical content in the video would also have been praised, but no attempt was made to specifically teach or identify specific metaphorical content. However, a discussion of metaphor and its use in English was presented. At the conclusion of the course, the teacher noted that all of the videos had some metaphorical content and asked the students to complete a final essay asking students to write about metaphor using the examples in the video. In the next two sections, I will present and discuss some key points from the written output of two of the music video prompts.

9.5 Qualitative discussion: Two additional music videos

The next two sections discuss the student output relating to Christina Aguilera's *Fighter* and Ariana Grande's *Break Free*, which were given very basic multimodal analyses in sections 6.4.3 and 6.4.4 respectively. The data sets consist of 23 essays for *Fighter* and 18 essays for *Break Free*. As noted in section 9.4, the initial versions of the essays were photographed, transcribed and corrected for low-level grammatical and spelling errors, which accounts for the apparent increase in grammatical accuracy. The inclusion of these discussions is to give a sense of the longer passages that emerged from the prompts.
9.5.1 Qualitative discussion: Christina Aguilera's *Fighter*

Christina Aguilera's *Fighter* was the fourth assignment given to the students, following an essay asking students to discuss the stage metaphor used in the first two videos. However, the video uses a different metaphor, that of EVOLUTION IS MATURATION. This proved no problem for many students to identify, as this example shows:

> This music video expresses us her process to be a strong woman. At the beginning of this video, a moth appears. First, she crawled in the transcript box. It shows us that she's still in egg and she hasn't hatched yet. In other words, the actual her was innocent and pure girl by keeping her nature as a strong-bad woman.

> Then she kicked transcript box and got out of it. It shows she was hatched. She crawls over as a caterpillar. Maybe, I think the actual her noticed her nature on strong-bad woman by her boyfriend, so she was suffered between her good and bad nature.

> The more music video moves to the last, the more her moving gets intense. IN 2:23 of this video, she put on white clothes. This is looked like a real chrysalis. This shoes us the actual her broke up with a man and she began to be ready for expressing her real nature to her around.

Because the assignment had no restrictions on dictionary use, we can surmise that the type *chrysalis* (5 tokens from 4 essays) is not normally in the vocabulary of students at this level and this stands as an example of Vygotskian ZPD discussed in section 5.6, where the task has the student move beyond her current abilities and provides a framework to expand those abilities. A second example shows the use of technical vocabulary.
Along with the previous mentioned chrysalis is the word imago. Reminiscent of MacArthur's (2010) anecdote related in section 5.6, I had to consult a dictionary and learned that an imago is "an insect in its final, adult, sexually mature, and typically winged state" and Wikipedia explains that "In biology, the imago is the last stage an insect attains during its metamorphosis, its process of growth and development; it also is called the imaginal stage" ("Imago," n.d., emph. mine). Imago is also a term from psychology with its meaning varying from school to school, but all sharing a notion of an idealized image, with its etymology deriving from Latin, relating it to modern English image and imagine. In this way, the student provided an opportunity for the teacher to expand his own Bildfeldgemeinschaft ("community of image fields") mentioned by Weinrich (1976) (cf. section 5.3).

Students also drew on the previous assignments to provide a framework for this assignment, as can be seen in this student, who concentrates on the singer being strong.
Figure 9.56 Example 68 Experimental full study Fighter

In this passage, the student has taken on board many of the points that students identified in the Rihanna video and used those as a framework to describe this video. One should also note that other tokens of delicate, (cf. examples in sections 9.3.1.1 and 9.3.2.1) were from different students and looking through the other output of the student, delicate was not used elsewhere.

A different take on the presentation of the conceptual metaphor DIFFICULTIES ARE BURDENS, discussed in section 6.4.4, is here.

Firstly, I impressed with her clothes. She wear a black dress and, it looked like a big moth. Then, I also noticed that there are some needle-shaped things on her bag. It seemed to spread the wings of moth, so I thought that this costume means "uncomfortable". It shows that she was deprived of her freedom like a mounted moth with some setting needles. She wanted to be herself, but she couldn't. Secondly, she is dancing with some dancers like a puppet on a string in this music video. I guessed that it means she was controlled by her boyfriend. In the other words, she was forced to be a good girl for him. It was not natural, so they split up. I thought that this music video teach the living lessons to listeners.

This student's explanation not only incorporates technical terminology from entomology with the phrase mounted moth with some setting needles, it also posits
the mental state of the singer (She wanted to be herself, but she couldn’t, cf. section 9.4.1) and uses other metaphorical images (puppet on a string). In traditional pedagogy, mixed metaphors of this type are considered to be problematic, and writers are told to avoid them but recent research (Gibbs, 2016) suggests that mixed metaphors "actually demonstrate people's cognitive flexibility" (2016: viii).

Two of the previous examples also focus on colour. Linguistic research into colour terms (Berlin & Kay, 1969; Kay & McDaniel, 1978) were part of the foundations for Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff, 1987), and colour has also been identified as a carrier of multimodal meaning (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2002, 2006). Other student essays went into detail about the mode of colour and its relation to the extended metaphor.

In this video, there are not used so much colors. Black, Green, White only used. I think each colors have its own meanings: Black means moth, strong and bad ideas. Green means insect in particular caterpillar. White means a chrysalis. Her heavy voice also has a good effect on showing her strong-bad nature.

In the music video of Fighter, the singer is wearing some dresses. During the song, she changes her dressed as the scene changes. I focused the colors of her dresses. First, she wears a green dress but she changes her red dress in the end of the song. The image of green is nature and red is fire so the alteration shows that a normal woman becomes a strong woman as she experience difficult things. The expression that she breaks the glass surrounding her shows that she escapes from mental restraints and she becomes a strong woman and she can live without others influence.

Other students, while not identifying colors, did identify the dark/light distinction:
This video was the 4th assignment and the third music video prompt. The next section will discuss the 6th music video prompt, which utilized Ariana Grande's *Break Free*.

### 9.5.2 Qualitative discussion: Ariana Grande's *Break Free*

The 6th music video prompt was much lighter fare and a welcome relief after the darker emotions of the previous videos. The extended metaphor behind this video was DIFFICULTIES ARE BURDENS. Lakoff and Johnson (1989) relate this metaphor to LIFE IS A JOURNEY via DIFFICULTIES IN LIFE ARE IMPEDIMENTS TO TRAVEL. No explicit connection was made for the students, but the majority of the students were able to discern this metaphor.

This student first gave a summary of the narrative of the video:

> At the opening of this video a moth appeared. It looked very weakly and walked very slowly. I think this moth means younger Christina. She appeared next scene putted on black and dark clothes as a moth. This her is one just troughed hard experience. She was confined in hard and narrow box but she broke it and strongly told her message. I think this scene means that she throw off the limitations. She became free and more tough and strong woman. I love the scene she born again and became white. This scene is also scary for me but the darkness in her mind seemed to be sublime. She is very strong both physically and mentally.

> I focused on her clothes. She wore the black and the white. Black suggests the strength and rich in knowledges which can get by a lot of experience to me. White means pure mind and ignorance. Therefore, at the video, white clothing meant she believed him and didn't doubt him.
First, Ariana who may be a being from outer space goes out of the concrete building. The building looks the space station, but it give something bad impression, because the color of the wall is dirty black and sooty. There is the only strange mark on the outside of the building, and I noticed that this strange mark is marked everywhere. For instance, the door of this black building has this mark, and many her enemies wear the black spacesuit with the same mark. Moreover, the big robot which attacked and caught her has the big one on his chest. In addition, the man who seem to be the leader of this evil group chained her to the big rock with this mark.

However, I found that she threw the badge is shaped this mark away at the beginning of this music video. In my opinion, this means that she decide to escape from restraints, so she titled this song "Break Free". I think this mark represents something that deprive us of our freedom, so she showed that she would not be controlled by any rules or preconceptions by trampling it, and she also try to save other captives who are tied down by the enemies with this mark.

Next, I found that the story of this music video is set in the universe. In my opinion, this means "new stage". In the end of this song, Ariana sings and dances with other strange beings from other space, and they put the new mark in the spaceship. I think that this scene shows it is wrong to try to fit who young into the same mold, because it has already been the old-fashioned idea. We need to have the new point of view, and we needn’t to hide our true feelings to be our own ideal.

These students discussed and found meaning in the scene changes:

In this video, you can find she is in two different places. First is on the planet. Second is in the room surrounded by all white walls. First place express real herself. And second place express her mental and thoughts. Ariana who is in the second place only sings although Ariana who is in the first place never sings. That’s why she’s trying to admonish herself in the second room that she gotta get out of from him.

There was the scene where she was in zero gravity. It also suggested that she was free because weightlessness was released from gravitation. At throughout the video, I thought this video appeared "free."
Related to the observation about zero gravity is this student's recycling of the title of the song, *Break Free*.

> At the beginning of the music video, she take a something like a mark off and step on it, and then she battle with aliens to rescue her friends, who are locked in gages by the aliens. This shows that she is stronger now than she has been before so she broke free from her boyfriend. We can know about it from line 10 to 12. There is an also scene, which she take her suit off in the air. It seems to be a zero G in the white room of a spaceship. Taking her suit off and zero G means to break free from things following about her. Listeners can imagine that freedom when see it.

As with the student making a similar assumption in section 9.4.2.1, this is probably an over-analysis, but we can clearly see that in terms of metaphorical competence, the student is actively creating meaning from the different conditions of the scene changes.

Students were also aware of some of the pop culture references, as this passage shows:

> When I saw this song’s video for the first time, I thought it is like STAR WARS. In this video, the protagonist fights against a lot of aliens. I think this fight is her fight to get freedom. At the end of the fight, she was caught by an alien, but she broke the chain and snatched something what an alien weared around his neck. I guess this scene expresses how strong her will to be free is. She was released from what had been tied her for a long time. After that, she moved away into space riding on a spaceship. I think it shows that she began to go her own way.

> I think this song’s theme is liberation from a spell. The protagonist makes up her mind to leave her partner and goes her own way. Now she can live true to herself.

The student's conclusion, that the theme is *liberation from a spell*, is taken from the lyrics:

> You were better, deeper
> I was under your spell, yeah
The metaphor of ALIENS ARE RESTRAINTS appeared in several essays.

There are something like aliens, and the singer attacks them. This means that something like aliens are what manacled her, and by attacking them, she becomes unbound by them. There are also those who are in cages, and she helps them. This means people in cages are bound by something, as the singer is, and they also become unbound by overcoming their past.

The aliens mean things which restrain her such as her boyfriend, rules, society. She has defeated the aliens. It means she could defeat person or things that restrained her. Then, it also means she could escape and be freedom from restriction.

Figure 9.66 Example 77 Experimental full study Break Free

We also see the recycling of the word strong (15 tokens in 9 essays), such as:

- her positive and strong minds
- a strong heart
- strong determination must be needed
- she could be strong and she has a strong will
- I would like to be man who has a strong heart like her.

Figure 9.67 Example 78 Experimental full study Fighter

The ungrammaticality of I don’t want to die alive, discussed in section 6.3, was remarked on by one student, who said:

I found a strange part in the lyrics. It is I only want to die alive in line 5. I don’t think this sentence is grammatically correct. I guess she wants to say that she is eager to live so as not to regret because you only live once. I can sense her desire to be free from this part. I also think hell in line 16 is a nice expression to show her wish. Of course this expression is a metaphor. The life without freedom is equal to hell for her.

Figure 9.68 Example 79 Experimental full study Fighter

As these were prompts, there was no requirement set on students to "correctly" identify the message that the video was transmitting, but this statement echoes the words of the singer herself given in section 6.3 and repeated for convenience here:

...life is so short — there's no reason to not enjoy it and there's no reason you should be anything but yourself. Have fun, be spontaneous and let go. It's O.K. to cut off whatever you feel is holding you back.
This correct identification of the singer's final conception of the video leads us to the next section, where I will discuss some commonalities between the four videos.

### 9.6 Themes shared between the four videos

In selecting the two additional videos for inclusion in the qualitative discussion, I was drawn by the richness of the student responses and the connections between the first two videos and these. However, it was only after assembling these that I noticed the common theme shared between them, that of a woman dealing with the aftermath of a broken relationship. Hidalgo-Downing and Kraljevic-Mujic (2015) reference Fairclough (1992b) in suggesting that advertising genres potentially illustrate a "transition of the process of democratization and informalization" with accompanying social changes. All four of these videos illustrate, in one form or another, a type of female empowerment, both within the source domains (Rihanna rejecting the former boyfriend's apologies) or within the target domains (the notion of evolution in Christine Aguilera's video or Ariana Grande as a futuristic space hero). The order of the videos was changed from the preliminary study to the full study, with the Rihanna video being placed second because the multimodal content in that video, content which had gone unnoticed, but which influenced the student output with terms like strong. This points to the possibility of organising music video writing prompts under a much larger topic that would potentially be the final essay in the class. In this case, the final essay might be a discussion of how the empowerment of women has affected society and relationships within society. In this way, scaffolding is provided for a more traditional academic presentation. While the usual classroom presentation would ask students to organise and present factual data to support their
arguments, it has been noted that students have difficulties adopting the requisite authorial stance for this type of academic writing. As Ivanič writes:

Institutions of higher education are full of complaints about student writing. The mismatch between students' writing and institutional expectations is frequently attributed to a literacy deficit on the part of the students. The most common response is to set up some sort of 'fix-it' study skills provision with the aim of remedying this irritating literacy deficit as quickly and cheaply as possible.

(1998: 343)

Ivanič writes about mature-age L1 students who find academic writing difficult and advocates for Critical Language Awareness (Fairclough, 1992a; Clark, et al., 1990; 1991). While the course under discussion in this thesis was a 15-week second-year writing course with very little articulation to other aspects of the curriculum, it may be difficult to credit this approach, using music videos to provide a context for academic writing, but many of the problems listed by researchers in developing the ability to display critical thinking in writing (Hirose, 2003; Turner, 2011; McKinley, 2013: inter alia) have proved resistant to previous attempts to remedy it and the progress of these students over the course of 15 weeks should be taken into consideration.

9.7 A brief selection of extended conceptual metaphors induced

The qualitative examination of the written output was discussed previously, but to close this chapter, the figure below lists the extended conceptual metaphors that were produced by the students with an example of each. While the list is not exhaustive, it does give an idea of the range of conceptual metaphors that were induced beyond the elicited LIFE IS A JOURNEY and LIFE IS A STAGE/RELATIONSHIPS ARE A PLAY.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conceptual Metaphor</th>
<th>Examples from student essays</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RELATIONSHIPS ARE OBJECTS</td>
<td>...the song expresses disinterest in remaking her relationship with a dishonorable and unfaithful ex-boyfriend.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADDICTION IS MAGIC</td>
<td>However I could imagine the situation of 'under a spell'. The situation is that the heroine was addicted to her boyfriend and she couldn't see any other men except her boy friend. A spell means his addictiveness.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROBLEMS ARE RESTRAINTS</td>
<td>You may sympathize the lyrics if you consider the words of 'the hands' are your restraints, like your relationship with your friends and your anxiety about future.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BROKEN RELATIONSHIPS ARE BROKEN OBJECTS</td>
<td>I thought the scene that sets are being broken one after another expressed a state relationship between her and him is breaking.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FORGETTING IS BURNING</td>
<td>I think the fire means the recollections would be forgotten from her and it is time to end.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANGER IS FIRE</td>
<td>she would burn with anger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIRE IS CLEANSING/CLOSURE</td>
<td>I think she also burned her mind of sad and lonely.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THE HEART IS A PLACE</td>
<td>I think she wants to meet him in her heart.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MEMORIES ARE OBJECTS</td>
<td>...she wants to throw away her memories</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WEIGHTLESSNESS IS FREEDOM</td>
<td>It also suggested that she was free because weightlessness was released from gravitation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PHYSICAL PAIN IS PSYCHOLOGICAL PAIN</td>
<td>...something like sticks express her psychological pain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAIN IS SOMETHING CAPTURED/RELIEF IS RELEASE</td>
<td>It express that she released her pain of being betrayed which she had had. I think.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OPEN SPACE IS FREEDOM</td>
<td>After that, she moved away into space riding on a spaceship. I think it shows that she began to go her own way.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EMOTIONS ARE LIQUIDS</td>
<td>...her heart was filled with grief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUTURE IS FORWARD</td>
<td>When woman went out the room, she never turned round. Perhaps woman already faces the future but the past</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this chapter, I have attempted to balance a discussion of tokens and individual collocations with student work with the extended metaphors assigned to the students. All of these examples raise the question whether it would be possible to induce the same production with a more mundane prompt, perhaps a text along the same lines as these videos. It is difficult to imagine a text prompt would be able to transmit the same amount of information that a multimodal text can and provide
students a reason to view the written text multiple times. While this is only a small sample, I hope that I have given the reader an idea of the progress students made and encourage others to follow up this research.
Chapter Ten: Where do we go from here?

10.0 A review

The seed of this study was a student’s observation in brainstorming a review of Baz Lurhman's *Romeo + Juliet*. The student observed that the scene where Leonardo di Caprio’s Romeo first encounters Claire Danes’ Juliet through a large salt-water aquarium represented the two different worlds of the star-crossed lovers. At that time, I did not have the presence of mind to identify it as a metaphor and was only able to praise the student for his understanding of the underlying conflict of the drama. However, that observation drew me into wondering how my students may be expressing themselves through metaphor. This led me to follow the path previously trodden by metaphor researchers, first concentrating on linguistic manifestations of metaphor generated by a native speaker (me) and slowly moving away from that teacher-centered approach to a more student-centered approach that granted autonomy to the students and their written production. It was only by chance that I noticed the underlying extended metaphor of *Take a Bow* and *Torn* were the same. This suggested the presentation to students with an initial extended metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY (which also encouraged me to research how embedded this metaphor was in Japanese culture), followed by the two videos that would present the second extended metaphor. My preliminary study highlighted my mistaken assumption that the videos would simply act as a vehicle for the metaphor rather than a further source of ideas and inspiration. The output of the students again surprised me, and the "minimal" multimodal information of *Torn* proved to be a rich source of content for the students.
This path is replicated in the organisation of chapters two to five, moving from a linguistic focus on CMT to a more holistic appreciation of the possibilities of metaphor, giving rise to the preliminary study and the following research questions:

Question 1: **How and to what extent does the introduction of one extended conceptual metaphor to low-intermediate Japanese learners increase the production of metaphorical language when given a writing prompt that contains another extended conceptual metaphor?**

Question 2: **Is there a relationship between the amount of metaphor used by students in an essay and a teachers' assessment of the essay's quality?**

The answer for research question 1 is contained in chapter nine, which attempts to give a picture of the extent of metaphor produced by the students. In addition, the proposal of the ISM provides a tool for quantitatively examining metaphor production and the Mann-Whitney U Tests indicate that based on the ISM, while the experimental condition did not result in an increase in metaphoric language, there was an increase for the first music video. However, for the second research question, there was no statistically significant difference in rankings of the ISM and that of an experienced native English teacher.

The written responses of the students to the video made it clear that it was not simply linguistic information that was inducing their production of figurative language, but that the multimodal information supported their production, providing the raw material for observations and the inverting of the music videos from the order in the preliminary to the full study also indicated that the multimodal information was powerful enough to have the control group 'catch up' with the experimental group. This led to the addition of a third research question:
Question 3: **How and to what extent does the introduction of one extended conceptual metaphor to low-intermediate Japanese learners through multimodal texts increase the production of metaphoric language?**

It is not possible to clearly separate what was produced in response to the extended metaphor itself and the accompanying multimodal material, but the examples in chapter nine strongly support the thesis that metaphors should be considered as an interwoven network whose introduction can have effects beyond the simple transmission of the individual extended metaphor. To argue for this, I have drawn on three fields of research, Conceptual Metaphor Theory, Vygotskian learning theory and Multimodality, that, along with the project conducted in this thesis, provides evidence to support the introduction of extended metaphor through selected music videos to low-intermediate learners as prompts for writing, in the belief that this would encourage more production of metaphor and figurative language. This point has been identified as a concern by several researchers (Azuma, 2005; Turner, 2014; Littlemore & Low, 2006) as well as an area that has been generally underserved by writing pedagogy. This final chapter describes these findings in light of current L2 metaphor pedagogy and concludes with suggestions for EFL teachers working with students at this level.

**10.1 Drawing conclusions**

The answer to the first and third research questions, of how much metaphoric language could be induced through prompts and supported by the introduction of other extended metaphors and multimodal metaphor, could be phrased poetically as "metaphor begets metaphor". Or put in a more mundane way, the presentation of
extended metaphors and multimodal texts can create the conditions for low-intermediate users to produce metaphoric language in abundance.

Unfortunately, the design of the study did not permit a comparison of text prompts with multimodal prompts so it is not clear if the simple presentation of an extended metaphor would have created similar conditions or if the addition of multimodal material played a role. However, I am uncertain how the same amount of information contained in a multimodal text can be reasonably contained in a written prompt that is accessible to low-intermediate learners of the language, as can been seen by the space that a partial discussion of each video took in chapter six. At any rate, the differences between the preliminary and full study suggest that multimodal metaphor certainly played a larger role than was anticipated.

The proposed ISM also represents an important contribution of this thesis. The ISM is a means to address the measurement of metaphor production by low-intermediate students in a way that the MIP or the MIV cannot. However, a great deal of verification work remains to firmly establish the ISM as a solid quantitative measurement.

While the introduction of video and other digital materials into the EFL classroom has a long pedigree (Longeran, 1984; Allan, 1985; MacWilliam, 1986, inter alia), the data collected from this thesis provide support for the introduction of multimodal materials in the EFL classroom to specifically support the production of metaphor. If we recall that these videos garnered intense engagement from the students with students watching the target videos 8 to 10 times or more, this dovetails with several other discussions that point out how learning and literacies can, with new digital technologies, cross institutional and geographic boundaries (Jewitt, 2008; Sefton-Green, 2006; Lam 2006; Ho, Anderson & Leong, 2011).
Jewitt notes, "the contemporary conditions of communication and digital technologies create the movement of images and ideas across geographical and social spaces in ways that affect how young people learn and interact" (2008: 242).

More importantly, the data from this thesis suggest that with careful presentation and curation, these types of materials could encourage learners to produce more and more varied figurative language and metaphor. With the combination of multimodal materials in the form of music videos and a procedure that has students draw on their own resources, a very different picture of low-intermediate Japanese learners is revealed as compared to the one drawn by Turner (2014). However, it does synch with Turner's finding that a statistically significant 'spike' in metaphor density occurs in Japanese student test scripts one stage later (when students are moving from B1 to B2) than the test scripts of French students (moving from A2 to B1).

Some of Turner's observations support the research presented in this thesis, research that argues that Japanese have more cultural exposure to metaphor and figurative language, as when she notes that at upper levels, "the French learners do not seem to exploit the power of metaphor as an evaluative or cohesive device in the same way as the Japanese learners, despite its frequent use" (2014: 333).

It must be recognized that Turner's data are from a very different source, test scripts from high-stakes testing, which may have caused concerns on the part of the test takers concerning accuracy, overwhelming the possibility of creative metaphor use. This point is raised by Turner herself and supported by her error analysis. She notes the possibility that:

... the learning experience is actually having a detrimental effect on the development of learners' metaphoric competence as it relates to discourse, as they are penalised for experimenting with the
creative and rhetorical power of metaphor in the examinations they take.

(2014: 352-353)

A final point to underline is that Turner’s Japanese students received no actual training or supported exposure to metaphor. In the experimental treatment for the full study of this thesis, students received a self introduction essay that was not only constructed to be at an appropriate level for the students, but also was organised around an extended metaphor that was familiar to Japanese students, that of LIFE IS A JOURNEY. While there are many suggestions for use of metaphor in the EFL classroom, they are often confined to advanced students and are not done in any systematic way, with the aim being to avoid errors or to work with metaphoric language on a more atomic level. This is to be expected if one considers the acquisition of vocabulary to be 'the greatest stumbling block in language acquisition' (Verspoor and Lowie, 2003: 547). Unfortunately, this puts metaphor in the service of learning vocabulary rather than putting the acquisition of vocabulary at the service of acquiring the ability to express metaphor. This ability to express metaphor is the ostensible goal for language education. However, the next section, which examines the current state of metaphor instruction, will discuss how that goal is often ignored.

10.2 The current state of EFL metaphor instruction

As Gibbs recounts, "A major revolution in the study of metaphor occurred 30 years ago with the introduction of "conceptual metaphor theory" (CMT)" (2011: 529). This thesis implicitly asks why, in the L2 language classroom, more progress hasn't been made in the 30 years since then. Littlemore and Low (2006), despite having been written more than a decade ago, neatly sum up the current state of metaphor education:
The reasons why metaphor, and its close cousin, metonymy, have taken so long to permeate mainstream language teaching are not entirely clear. It may be that they are often hard to treat in a clear, rule-governed way. It may simply be that although Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) seminal *Metaphors We Live By* foregrounded conceptual metaphor as something structured, analysable, and bound up with culture and everyday reasoning, it did so largely in the context of conventional language. As most of the examples were already taught on English courses either as literal language or as some form of fixed expression, applied linguists may have concluded that vocabulary could just as easily be taught without any reference to metaphor. On the other hand, it may be that metaphors are still felt by some to be largely literary and thus recondite, obscure, and difficult. According to this view, metaphor reflects an advanced use by a minority of speakers and there is little justification for exposing most learners to it.

(2006: 268-269)

The argument made here is that the lack of progress in metaphor pedagogy stems from teaching the wrong things: specifically, metaphor at the lexical level and building blocks such as image schemas rather than a top-down approach that lets learners draw these building blocks from their L1. This is a strong claim, so it is worthwhile to look at the current state of metaphor teaching to L2 learners.

Turner cites Saaty's (2014) approach, situated within the framework of Task-Based Learning. Turner notes that this may be effective in "aiding [in the] production and retention of related metaphoric phrases" (2014: 353, emph. mine). Turner additionally proposes, à la Boers (2011), the use of "metaphoric preposition diagrams" to aid in the correct usage of English prepositions. As noted previously, for Bennett (2017), most approaches to L2 metaphor are receptive rather than productive. Furthermore, there is a strand of metaphor teaching that seeks to locate explanations within cultural differences (Liu, 2002; Köveces, 2002, 2006). Liu goes on to claim there are two sources of figurative meanings, one from universally-shared experiences and another from "cultural experiences peculiar to the speakers of a particular language" (ibid: 177). One of his examples of the latter is the use of eat in
the Chinese *eating fragrance* (*chi xiang/*吃香*), which means 'be popular'. Yet English has two similar phrases, *to eat up*, as in *he's eating it up* or *to soak up*, as in *he's soaking up the applause*. Clearly, the two phrases are linked by a notion of taking in or absorbing something that is ephemeral but is nonetheless enjoyable and satisfying.

Who is to say that a Chinese student might find a way to make such a metaphor strike the ears of a native English speaker in a way that has them want to use it? A discussion of metaphor arising from these "peculiar" cultural experiences fails to tell students what they should write, it tells them what they should avoid.

Another powerful trend in language teaching is the use of corpora. (Oakley, et al. 2007; Flowerdew, 2009). However, in this too, the learner is presented with what the database identifies as common and therefore correct. None of these approaches partakes of a constructivist approach, discussed in chapter five, where the learner is creating meaning rather than acquiring it. To repeat a quotation from section 3.3, Guy Cook observes:

> There is a hidden irony in the dogma that frequent native-like collocations are the best model to imitate. It is that even within the native-speaker community it is often the infrequent word or expression which is most powerful and most communicatively effective, and therefore most sought after. This is also why foreigners' speech is often expressive and striking. Both for native and non-native speakers there is an alternative goal to seeking the most usual, the most frequent or, in short, the most clichéd expression. It is the goal of rich, varied, and original language. Among native speakers it is unusual language which is valued. Should non-native speakers be treated differently?  
> (Cook, 1998: 61)

To approach this from another viewpoint, Liu (2014) aims to present cutting-edge ideas for the description and explanation in the teaching of grammar and vocabulary to L2 learners. Acknowledging that metaphor has received inadequate attention, his conclusion is that it is necessary to "attach more importance to
metaphor in the teaching of polysemous words" (2014: 177, emph. mine). Turner poses the question as follows:

To what extent is a learner transferring a conceptual metaphor from his or her source language into the target language wrong, or is there in fact a basis for claiming that this would be either creativity in the target language, or the learner choosing to perform his/her identity as a member of the source culture?

(Turner, 2014: 351, emph. author)

The specific context of Japanese university learners of English was investigated for a number of reasons. These included a range of gaps in writing pedagogy, cultural factors that could support this type of intervention and a perceived potential for gains in this aspect of written production. A promising strand of future research will be to see if these gains could be made with other groups of East Asian students.

10.3 Towards an L2 metaphor pedagogy

The most important conclusion of this study is that introducing students to extended conceptual metaphors can bring considerable benefits in the teaching of metaphor. Previous suggestions aimed at developing L2 metaphor pedagogy have, as I have shown, primarily been lexically driven and text based. While the approach discussed in Danesi (2008) includes teaching units that had instructors presenting the material, which was presumably multimodal, this thesis extends Danesi’s work, while also demonstrating the provision of multimodal input from sources other than the classroom teacher. Given that the majority of English teachers are not native speakers, providing the additional input in a form that can be easily accessed and reviewed is an important part of any proposal for an L2 metaphor pedagogy.
Contrasting Danesi’s (2008) procedures summarized in Danesi (2015) with the ones used in this thesis helps to illustrate how this work extends Danesi’s research:

They created the reaching [sic] units using notions such as image schemas, source domain searching, and so on, in tandem with the relevant communicative functions and linguistic structures that the students were expected to learn in the course... Essentially, students in the experimental group were taught about relevant source domains (image schemata) for various topics in the common syllabus and then they were provided with materials to practice them explicitly.

(Danesi, 2015: 148, emph. mine)

While these learners were above the B1 level, we can note the prescriptive nature of this task, in that they are being told which source domains are relevant. In this project, the students drew on their own resources to understand the relevant source domains.

After this, at the end of the term, Danesi’s learners were asked to do a series of eight writing tasks, paragraphs with prompts such as Write a brief paragraph describing an event that made you angry in Italian or Write a brief paragraph describing your first experience of love. Despite the apparently prescriptive nature of the instruction, Danesi observes that metaphorical [sic] competence can be taught directly, writing that:

...the experimental group showed a remarkable ability to apply conceptual metaphors to novel writing tasks, whereas the control group did not. The study thus showed that MC [metaphorical competence] can be taught directly, even if in a casual complementary fashion, and that, when it is not, the tendency of students is either to avoid metaphorical expressions altogether or to apply C1 [Conceptual 1 or the Conceptual system of the learner] meanings to phrases.

(Danesi, 2014: 148)
However, Danesi's experimental group participants were directly instructed about metaphor. It would take a brave student to ignore metaphor after the teacher had specifically taught units about it. In contrast, the students in this study were given no instruction in metaphor, but were first asked to directly organise an initial writing assignment around an extended conceptual metaphor (LIFE IS A JOURNEY) and then were given material with multimodal metaphor without any further explanation about CMT or related cognitive linguistics constructs. This suggests that the presence of multimodal input, input which is impoverished linguistically, forces students to fill in the blanks with their own knowledge. While the presentation was geared towards Japanese low-intermediate learners of English and Japanese curricular norms, the advantage of building writing prompts around extended conceptual metaphors followed by the presentation of multimodal metaphors available online means that any student presented with this approach is using their 'fully figurative minds' immediately. With the presentation of multimodal metaphor via YouTube; they are not only engaging with "virtual realia" (Smith, 1997) but they are encouraged to develop their own learner autonomy (Watkins & Wilkins, 2011), which may yield further benefits.

A search of writing textbooks in the Japanese market aimed at low-intermediate learners revealed almost no activities related to metaphor or figurative language. Thus, in trying to create an L2 metaphor pedagogy, rather than begin with an introductory course in CMT or cognitive linguistics, a course curriculum would ask students to organise their initial essays around an extended conceptual metaphor. Students would also be encouraged to not focus on complete accuracy in their use of the lexis. As mentioned in the previous section, the apparent problem with most suggestions for activities to increase metaphorical competence is that a bottom-up,
building-block approach does not work. In place of that, the first step would be to introduce production prompts, both for writing and speaking, that use extended metaphors. While LIFE IS A JOURNEY was chosen for the fact that it is a metaphor that has deep roots in Japanese culture, I believe that there are any number of equally interesting extended metaphors that could provide worthwhile writing prompts. Some possibilities are LOVE IS MAGIC/MADNESS, BELIEFS ARE FASHION, LOVE IS A PLANT.

The suggestion that learners need to work more on larger aspects of the language is not a particularly new suggestion. Thirty years ago, Ellis observed that:

...the focus has been on how learners acquire grammatical sub-systems, such as negatives or interrogatives, or grammatical morphemes such as plural {s} or the definite or indefinite articles. Research has tended to ignore other levels of language.

(1985: 5)

However, observations like these led to a focus on the acquisition of vocabulary. This focus had the effect of driving L2 metaphor research into the acquisition of metaphorical aspects of the lexicon, a focus which occurred in parallel with the development of metaphor identification approaches that focused on individual words rather than sentences or phrases. There are very good reasons to adopt this sort of approach for L1 discourse, because those speakers presumably have full control (though not complete knowledge, cf. MacArthur & Littlemore, 2011) over their lexicon. In contrast, L2 learners, especially at the A1/B2 levels of the CEFR, do not have such control over their own L2 lexicon, meaning that these measures will systematically underestimate their metaphoric competence.

This thesis further argued that the use and presentation of these extended metaphors "activated" (cf. Müller & Tag, 2010; Kövecses, 2015b) other metaphoric
possibilities in student compositions and linked Müller's (2008) suggestion of mutually reinforcing *Bildfeldgemeinschaft* ("community of image fields") to Vygotskian learning theory. Conceptualising metaphors as part of this "community of image fields" is also argued to be a necessary part of developing an L2 metaphor pedagogy.

The process, followed for the last two music videos, of writing an initial in-class essay as 'brainstorming' that was then corrected for low-level grammatical errors and returned to the student for the full essay proved to be an excellent way of supporting student use of metaphor and figurative language while addressing potential concerns about sanctioning inaccurate English in L2 learners. With automated grammar checkers, it may be possible to reduce the amount of work required by the teacher.

The use of music videos, a resource that is free and readily available, was another aspect of this thesis that was a revelation to the researcher. It was only in examining the student compositions related to the video *Take a Bow* that it became clear that the multimodal material was not simply a decorative support for the song and lyrics, but functioned in a way that supported and encouraged production of metaphoric language. This led to the discussion of the multimodal content of the four videos chosen from the ones presented to students.

Finally, in addition to answering Turner's (2014) call for research into the connection between use of metaphoric language and the perceived quality of the writing, the quantitative technique of the ISM a sentence-level analysis of student compositions for metaphoric language presented in this thesis, could provide the classroom teacher with a way to investigate such language use among low-
intermediate learners in a much more time-efficient way. While further research is required, the ISM may be a tool to help train teachers about metaphor.

While the experimental procedure eliminated specific tuition in metaphor in order to demonstrate the contribution of the learner's figurative ability rather than assume them to be blank slates, future research should concentrate on how information on conceptual metaphor should be presented in order to best support student leverage of their own figurative capacities. In the final section, I will identify areas of future research.

10.4 Future research

The first area of future research is to conduct the same project in China and Korea, countries that have similar relationships with inner-circle English. Both China and Korea, similar to Japan, have experienced a huge influx of loanwords, primarily English, many of which have become indistinguishable from the native language. Kui writes of China:

In the daily life, loanwords can be perceived everywhere. Their wide use has facilitated the establishment of their own positions in Chinese vocabulary. Some of them even share certain similarities with Chinese native words, and people may even regard them as native ones.

(2011: 101)

A similar situation obtains in Korea, where Shim observes:

[The changes that can be observed in present day Korea go far beyond the borrowing of English words, and they are much more overt than changes in grammar: existing words are being replaced with English words, phonological changes that show clear assimilation to English phonology have become apparent, and Korean-English code-mixing and -switching have become common occurrences in both formal and informal discourse.

(1994: 226)
While Korea and China are not on a par with Japan, where, as Morrow noted 30 years ago, English loanwords were now "so entrenched in their usage that speakers would be hard-pressed to carry on a normal conversation without them" (1987: 51), it is difficult to imagine these trends reversing in East Asia. Thus, conducting comparative research in other countries could potentially clarify the exact relationship between metaphor generated by loanwords and L2 composition.

While the experimental procedure in this thesis eliminated specific tuition in metaphor in order to demonstrate the contribution of the learner's L1 figurative ability to their production of L2 figurative language, future research related to Japanese L2 teaching should concentrate on how information on conceptual metaphor should be presented in order to best support student use of their own figurative capacities. This study investigated the occurrence of metaphoric language only in the student output, and I felt that the student essays displayed a number of promising features, most notably increased cohesion and coherence. The teaching of cohesion and coherence, which has always been a challenging task in the L2 classroom (Witte & Faigley, 1981), could be supported by the teaching of metaphor. Like metaphor pedagogy, research has, following the taxonomy of Halliday and Hasan (1976), primarily been based on investigating the presence and density of lexical markers of coherence proposed by Halliday and Hasan's taxonomy, with the implicit assumption that the greater presence of these markers is correlated with greater coherence. However, Halliday and Hasan specifically identify cohesion as a semantic quality, referring to "relations of meaning that exist within the text, and that define it as a text" (1976: 4). Carrell (1984), in taking issue with Halliday and Hasan's research, argued that lexical cohesion could "be tied more specifically to the student's increased vocabulary development" (1984: 167). However, given that this focus on
lexical support has failed to make improvements, the use of extended metaphor may offer an alternative.

The other option, which could be used in tandem with an emphasis on production, would be having students create their own music videos for popular songs. With the advent of more accessible electronics, student-created materials, where a group would make a video to a popular song that would then create a multimodal metaphor as occurred in *Torn*, would be an option in the classroom. To reverse the lens, seeing how L2 students respond to multimodal input can help the multimodality researcher identify what information is noticed, creating the possibility of analyses that are more focussed.

All of this research begins with a foundation that the learner does not approach the task of understanding metaphor from a blank slate, but has their own metaphoric and figurative language resources to draw on. This means that any future research should go hand in hand with continued research into L1 metaphor and teacher-practitioners need to work to understand the resources that their students bring to the classroom. While this complicates and potentially undermines the picture of metaphor as having two components, one from universally-shared experiences and a second from the speakers own cultural experiences (Liu, 2002; Köveces, 2002, 2006), it could allow not only for a more nuanced understanding of what metaphors do, both in the L1 and in the L2, it could also allow for classroom interventions at an earlier point in time.

At the beginning of this thesis, I quoted Aristotle, who said "Learning namely with ease... is naturally agreeable to everyone [and it is] metaphor that does this in the highest degree" (Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, quoted by Cope (1883)). My own continuing journey with metaphor suggests that Aristotle was precisely correct in this and I hope
to continue to use metaphor to support my students and I hope this thesis encourages
other teachers to consider how they might teach metaphor to their students.
Appendix A: Consent Form

Dear student,

I would like to use the essays you produced in this class as part of research into teaching writing to Japanese learners of English. This research will link what you write to what was outlined in class by the teacher.

The first stage of this research will be to use your classwork as anonymized data in order to see the linkages between what was explained in the class and what you wrote. If you do not agree, there is no penalty and it will not affect your grade in any way.

If you do agree, you may be requested to do an interview about the processes and ideas that you used to create your essays. Again, you may decline and there will be no penalty and it will not affect your grade in any way.

If you do agree, please sign the form. If you change your mind before [date one month after final exam date], you only need to inform your teacher that you have changed your mind and your data will be separated from the project.

If you are asked to do an interview, you will be asked to agree to that and sign another consent form. You may decline and there will be no penalty and it will not affect your grade in any way.

If you have any questions, please speak to your teacher or ask your teacher to contact me. Thank you in advance for your consideration.

Joseph Tomei
Faculty of Foreign Languages
Kumamoto Gakuen University
I, the undersigned, give permission for the material I submitted for this class to be used in a research project on second language learner writing. I understand that I may withdraw permission any time until [date one month after final exam date] and there will be no penalty and it will not affect my grade in any way.

__________________________________________________________________________ date __________________________
Appendix B: Sample Control Model Essay

My name is Joe Tomei and I'm 53 years old. I'd like to tell you about myself so you can get an idea of who I am.

I was born on May 30, 1961 in Wisconsin. I was born there because my parents met at the University of Wisconsin. My father was studying geophysics and my mother was studying to become a nurse. However, I only lived in Wisconsin for 2 years because my father got a job in Washington D.C. as an oceanographer, working for the US Navy. So we moved to Clinton, Maryland, a small town outside of Washington D.C.

We moved there in 1963 and in 1964, my younger brother, Jon, was born. The three year difference in our ages meant that we had very different personalities. I liked reading and books, but my brother was much more athletic.

However, our lives changed when my father's office was transferred to Bay St. Louis, Mississippi. I was in junior high school and had just started playing French horn in the school band, so it was a big shock to have to move to a new place that had a very different culture.

We moved to a small town called Picayune, Mississippi. Fortunately, the school band there was very good and I made many friends in band. Because I liked music, I decided to study music at university and went to the University of Southern Mississippi, which had a very good music program.

However, after 2 and a half years, I realized that, even though I loved music, it would be very hard to find a job. However, I loved studying languages, so I changed my major to linguistics. This allowed me to teach English overseas, and helped me get the job I have now, teaching Japanese students English.
Appendix C: Sample Experimental Model Essay
My name is Joe Tomei and I'm 53 years old. I'd like to tell you about my life's journey so you can get an idea of who I am.

My journey began May 30, 1961 in Wisconsin because my parents met at the University of Wisconsin. My father studied geophysics and my mother studied nursing. However, the Wisconsin part of my journey was short, only 2 years because my father got a job in Washington D.C. as an oceanographer, working for the US Navy. So my life took a turn to Clinton, Maryland, a small town outside of Washington D.C.

This was 1963 and in 1964, my younger brother, Jon, joined me in my journey. The three year difference in our ages meant that we would take different paths, but for our school years, we were travelling on the same ship, even though I like reading and books, but my brother loved sports.

However, our journey took an unexpected turn when my father was transferred to Bay St. Louis, Mississippi. This was the junior HS part of the journey and I started French horn in the school band, so my journey would continue in a different place and culture.

My journey took me to a small town called Picayune, Mississippi, with a good school band and many friends to join me. Because I liked music, I decided to continue my journey studying music at university and the road led to a very good music program at the University of Southern Mississippi.

However, after 2 and a half years, I realized that music was not the path I should go, so I took another turn and studied linguistics. This put me on the road to teaching English overseas, and brought me to this job, teaching Japanese students English.
Appendix D

Translations of the opening passage of Matsuo Bashō's Oku no hosomichi
(taken from www.bopsecrets.org/gateway/passages/basho-oku.htm)

Days and months are travellers of eternity. So are the years that pass by. Those who steer a boat across the sea, or drive a horse over the earth till they succumb to the weight of years, spend every minute of their lives travelling. There are a great number of ancients, too, who died on the road. I myself have been tempted for a long time by the cloud-moving wind — filled with a strong desire to wander.
Translated by Nobuyuki Yuasa
(The Narrow Road to the Deep North and Other Travel Sketches, 1966)

Moon and sun are passing figures of countless generations, and years coming or going wanderers too. Drifting life away on a boat or meeting age leading a horse by the mouth, each day is a journey and the journey itself home. Amongst those of old were many that perished upon the journey. So — when was it — I, drawn like blown cloud, couldn't stop dreaming of roaming, roving the coast up and down, back at the hut last fall by the river side…
Translated by Cid Corman and Kamaike Susumu
(Back Roads to Far Towns, 1968)

The months and days are the wayfarers of the centuries and as yet another year comes round, it, too, turns traveler. Sailors whose lives float away as they labor on boats, horsemen who encounter old age as they draw the horse around once more by the bit, they also spend their days in travel and make their home in wayfaring. Over the centuries many famous men have met death on the way; and I, too, though I do not know what year it began, have long yielded to the wind like a loosened cloud and, unable to give up my wandering desires, have taken my way along the coast.
Translated by Earl Miner
(The Narrow Road Through the Provinces, in Japanese Poetic Diaries, 1969)
The passing days and months are eternal travellers in time. The years that come and go are travellers too. Life itself is a journey; and as for those who spend their days upon the waters in ships and those who grow old leading horses, their very home is the open road. And some poets of old there were who died while travelling.
Translated by Dorothy Britton
*(A Haiku Journey: Bashô's Narrow Road to a Far Province, 1980)*

The months and days are the travelers of eternity. The years that come and go are also voyagers. Those who float away their lives on ships or who grow old leading horses are forever journeying, and their homes are wherever their travels take them. Many of the men of old died on the road, and I too for years past have been stirred by the sight of a solitary cloud drifting with the wind to ceaseless thoughts of roaming.
Translated by Donald Keene
*(The Narrow Road to Oku, 1996)*

The months and days are wayfarers of a hundred generations, and the years that come and go are also travelers. Those who float all their lives on a boat or reach their old age leading a horse by the bit make travel out of each day and inhabit travel. Many in the past also died while traveling. In which year it was I do not recall, but I, too, began to be lured by the wind like a fragmentary cloud and have since been unable to resist wanderlust, roaming out to the seashores.
Translated by Hiroaki Sato
*(Bashô’s Narrow Road, 1996)*

The moon and sun are eternal travelers. Even the years wander on. A lifetime adrift in a boat, or in old age leading a tired horse into the years, every day is a journey, and the journey itself is home. From the earliest times there have always been some who perished along the road. Still I have always been drawn by wind-blown clouds into dreams of a lifetime of wandering.
Translated by Sam Hamill
*(Narrow Road to the Interior and Other Writings, a.k.a. The Essential Bashô, 1998)*
The days and months are travellers of eternity, just like the years that come and go. For those who pass their lives afloat on boats, or face old age leading horses tight by the bridle, their journeying is life, their journeying is home. And many are the men of old who met their end upon the road.

How long ago, I wonder, did I see a drift of cloud borne away upon the wind, and ceaseless dreams of wandering become aroused?

Translated by Tim Chilcott
(The Narrow Road to the Deep North, 2004)

________________________________________

The sun and the moon are eternal voyagers; the years that come and go are travelers too. For those whose lives float away on boats, for those who greet old age with hands clasping the lead ropes of horses, travel is life, travel is home. And many are the men of old who have perished as they journeyed.

I myself fell prey to wanderlust some years ago, desiring nothing better than to be a vagrant cloud scudding before the wind.

Translated by Helen Craig McCullough
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