A COGNITIVE-PRAGMATIC APPROACH TO METAPHOR AND METONYMY IN BRAND NAMES: A CASE STUDY OF FILM TITLES

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ABSTRACT

This paper analyzes the cognitive and pragmatic roles of conceptual metaphors and metonomies in brand names. By investigating a corpus of 535 Oscar film titles, it argues that metaphor and metonymy are two powerful naming strategies for film branding. Abundant evidence reveals that film titles are rich in metaphor and metonymy and relevant cognitive operations are activated to generate the drawing of inferences from the semantic cues provided by metaphorical and metonymic film titles. Specifically, in metaphorical titles, the correlation operation can limit the risk of negative inference generations and the comparison operation can enhance the degree of lexical richness that helps film plot conceptualization; in metonymic titles, the domain expansion operation can highlight film plot information, and the domain reduction operation can present abundant film contents which makes film title more economical. In this way, metaphor and metonym are taken as safe and effective film branding and marketing strategies. The cognitive analysis of film title contributes to studies in brand names, verifies and supplements cognitive-pragmatic theories and also sheds light on cognitive research in advertising discourse.

Key words: metaphor, metonymy, cognitive operation, branding, film titles

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1. INTRODUCTION

Branding is essential to product advertising, as consumers’ perception is influenced by the structure and content of brand knowledge. While brand knowledge can encompass multiple elements, as Kotler (1991:442) defined: “A brand can be a name, term, sign, symbol, or design, or combination of them which is intended to identify the goods and services of one seller or group of sellers and to differentiate them from those of competitors”. Most studies related to branding are done by marketing scholars with the intention of boosting the value of products (Aaker 1996, 2009; Keller 1993; Kotler and Armstrong 2010). Up to date literature related to this topic by linguistic scholars, is scarce. This article applies approaches used in cognitive linguistics to study brand name as one particular aspect of brand knowledge, and aims to explore how a brand’s verbal nature achieves its pragmatic function. Although there have been recent, sporadic articles in cognitive linguistics exploring cognitive mechanism in international brand names (Hernández 2011) and in wine trademarks (Hernández 2013), research from a cognitive-pragmatic angle related to brand names is far from abundant or exhaustive. To enrich the currently limited literature in this area, I have carried out this case study including 535 film titles as the brand names of films with both quantitative and qualitative analysis to unveil the cognitive operations activated by metaphor and metonymy underlying film titles. I provided detailed metaphor and metonymy identification procedures, conducted diachronic studies and correlation tests between variables in the data and discussed the way in which cognitive theories work in achieving pragmatic functions. This study sheds light on how to create positive film titles for effective film branding and also helps to investigate the methodological convenience of a cognitive-pragmatic approach to metaphor and metonymy in advertising discourse.

This paper is structured as follows: Section 2 starts to discuss the basic tenets of conceptual metaphor and metonymy theory and their roles in branding and advertising discourses; Section 3 introduces the construction of the corpus and research methodology; Section 4 exemplifies the identification procedures of metaphorical and metonymic titles; Section 5 lists results drawn from quantitative analysis, including
the frequencies of different types of film titles, diachronic change patterns of different naming strategies, frequencies of metaphorical and metonymic sources and correlations between naming strategies and film genres; Section 6 carries out qualitative analysis on cognitive operations in figurative film titles to uncover the underlying pragmatic significance metaphors and metonymies have brought to film branding. Section 7 concludes the analysis by exploring the theoretical and pragmatic significance of the results. Section 8 illustrates the limitations and implication for future relevant research.

2. CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR, METONYMY AND FILM BRANDING

In cognitive linguistics, metaphor and metonymy have been defined as conceptual tools that operate within both semantic and conceptual structures (Lakoff 1987, 1993; Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Lakoff and Turner 1989; Ruiz de Mendoza 2003, 2010; Croft 1993; Kövecses and Radden 1998). In other words, they are no longer confined to language, but extended to thought as well. The issue of the relation between metaphor and metonymy is highly controversial. Some scholars have assumed that there is no clear-cut distinction between the two but is rather the degree of figurativity (Barcelona 1998; Radden 2002:415-420; Dirven 2002:21-30; Urios-Aparisi 2009:98). Others hold the view that there is close interaction between metaphor and metonymy (Taylor 2002; Goossens 1990) and that metonymy is able to motivate some types of metaphor (Croft 1993; Ungerer 2000). Following Ruiz de Mendoza & Otal (2002), this paper assumes that although metaphor and metonymy include both source domain and target domain, the operations between the two domains vary as metaphor works on the basis of conceptual similarity (Lakoff 1993:232) while metonymy works on the basis of contiguity (Dirven 1993:12, revised version 2002). Metaphor involves correspondence mapping from source domain to target domain which belong to two independent domains. However, metonymy operates a stand for (Lakoff and Johnson 1980:36; Lakoff and Turner 1989:103) or highlight relation (Barcelona 2002:226; Urios-Aparisi 2009) within one
conceptual domain and it includes two types: the Source-in-Target metonymy and the Target-in-Source metonymy. Within a pragmatic context, metaphor and metonymy are also extensively explored. Advantages of multimodal metaphor and metonymy in product branding can be seen in a series of literatures. Pictorial metonyms can motivate metaphor that is taken as creativity source (Velasco-Sacristán 2010; Hidalgo and Kraljevic 2011; Villacañas and White 2013) and the metaphtonymy (a metaphor-metonymy compound) is effective in the activation of various conceptual complexities in multimodal advertising (Pérez-Sobrino 2013, 2016). Urios-Aparisi (2009) stated that the interaction between metaphor and metonymy can take on communicative roles in multimodal TV commercials. Metaphor and metonymy produces more cognitive implications than literal texts in the context of advertising. As Ungerer (2000:337) stated, consumers are more likely to perceive the less aggressive metonymic ads which can be regarded as a transition from hard-selling to soft-selling strategies. Audiences are more receptive to positive, productive, and variable inferences generated from brands structured by metaphors (McQuarrie and Phillips 2005; McQuarrie and Mick 1999). Metonymy’s conjunction with metaphor enhances the advertised item with additional attractiveness. The novelty created by metaphors increases consumers’ motivation to consume the brands which are always memorable, comprehensive and proper (Goodstein 1993; Ward and Gaidis 1990).

Therefore, advertising metaphor and metonymy provide a rich opportunity to conduct analysis from a blend of cognitivism and pragmatic examinations. In film branding, the application of metaphor and metonymy have been mostly discussed from non-verbal aspects. Forceville (1994, 2002, 2006, 2008) and Forceville and Urios-Aparisi (2009) focused on multimodal metaphor analysis in film posters. Whittock (1990) and Cohen (2001) talked about metaphor’s function in film semiotics and Kassabian (2000) studied metaphor’s pervasiveness in film sound and music tracks. In terms of the verbal nature of film brand, film titles are one of its crucial compositions yet not enough emphasis has been given on exploring how film titles are effective for film advertising. This study explores film titles structured with metaphor
and metonymy which would make much progress in unveiling the ways in which the verbal nature of film titles exerts advertising functions and how film naming strategies contribute to film branding.

Before the analysis, based on the pervasiveness and popularity of figurative tools in brands, I first hypothesize that a high frequency of metaphorical and metonymic film titles can be found in the corpus built in this study. Second, a film title as a film’s primary brand name is likely the ideal tool for filmmakers to verbally suggest film genre information. Thus, I proposed the second hypothesis that significant correlations can be found between film naming strategies and film genres. The whole corpus spans a timeframe of 90 years (1927-2017) and calculations on diachronic use of different naming strategies in film titles were also performed for achieving more comprehensively quantitative analysis. The following research questions will be addressed:

- To what extent are film titles structured by metaphors and metonyms?
- Do the distributions of metaphor and metonymy in film titles change over time?
- Are there any associations between film naming strategies and film genres?
- What patterns can be revealed in the source domain choices of metaphors and metonyms?
- What underlying cognitive mechanisms do metaphorical and metonymic titles operate and in which ways do these operations contribute to film advertising?

3. CORPUS AND METHOD

This study draws on a corpus comprising: 1) 535 film titles of Oscar Best Picture Nominees from the 1st season in 1927 to the 89th season in 2017; and 2) 535 corresponding film introductions obtained from the International Movies Data Base (abbreviated as IMDB), an official online movie database. The corpus was set up in the following procedures:
A total number of 535 film titles in 89 seasons of Oscar Best Picture Nominees were manually collected from the official website of Oscar (http://www.oscars.org/);

535 corresponding film plot introductions were collected and read from IMDB at http://www.imdb.com/ to anchor the film plots and the contextual meanings of film titles;

Corresponding film genres of the 535 films were collected from the IMDB. For films with multiple genres, information from two other internationally recognized movie databases (The Movie Database at https://www.themoviedb.org/ and the Rotten Tomatoes at https://www.rottentomatoes.com/) were consulted and the most common genre of each film was chosen as its representative genre;

All film titles and corresponding film information were placed in excel files for the convenience of further analysis.

A combination of quantitative and qualitative analysis was applied toward the corpus, which started with the identification of metaphor and metonym in film titles. To show how metaphorical and metonymic titles were coded, I presented six examples with detailed identification procedures to illustrate the categorization processes for the all of the six types of film titles found in this study. I further analyzed and classified all the source domains applied in metaphorical and metonymic titles to see what specific source domains filmmakers have frequently selected so far. Subsequently, to test correlations between different naming strategies and film genres, I operated the Chi-square test for independence in SPSS which is a statistical test used, when there are two variables from a single population, to determine any significant associations between the two variables. For qualitative analysis, I exemplified how different cognitive operations underlying metaphorical and metonymic titles exerting pragmatic functions that are effective in film branding.

4. NAME STRATEGIES IDENTIFICATION IN FILM TITLES

Context and domain demarcation are key points in the identification of metaphor and metonymy, especially for identifying novel metaphor
and novel metonymy since conventional metaphor and metonymy are
categorized as semantic phenomena that many have been lexicalized and
covered in dictionaries (Holme 2004:3), while novel metaphor and
metonymy are characterized as utterances taking the contextual
abnormality as one of the identification criteria (Romero & Soria 2006);
both require a primary pragmatic process (Recanati 2004) for their
interpretations. For example, in the following metonymy examples
which (1) is considered to be more novel and (2) is more conventional
(Xiong 2011):

(1) The beer is at table three but the red wine is at table five.

(2) The kettle is boiling.

Example (1) involves the ORDERED ITEMS FOR ORDERS metonymy
and example (2) involves KETTLE FOR WATERS metonymy. The
metonymy in (1) is not as easily identified as the metonymy in (2). The
basic cognitive framework of the source KETTLE domain includes “water”
element, but the sources BEER and WINE are not significantly related to
the target CUSTOMERS. To make the metonymic relation happen, we
need to include the BEER and WINE domains into a matrix domain or a
context, namely, the BAR domain, so as to produce the cognitive
contiguity between the WINE and CUSTOMERS WHO ORDERED WINE and
between BEER and CUSTOMERS WHO ORDERED BEER. Here, the
construction of the context is temporary and can be adjusted according
to different readers or different pragmatic functions (Xiong 2011). Novel
metaphor and metonymy identifications are thus highly restricted by
context and the connection between concepts can be established in
diverse domains or contexts. Based on the discussion above and by
referring to the concepts of domain incongruity (Lu and Ahrens 2008)
and mapping principles for conceptual metaphor (Ahrens, Chung and
Huang 2003, 2004; Ahrens 2010), this study develops a method suitable
for metaphor and metonymy identification in brand names with more
emphasis on context construction and domain demarcation. The detailed
procedures provided in Section 4.1 mixes approaches for metaphor
identification in MIP (Pragglejaz Group 2007), MIPVU (Steen et al.
and discourse dynamic approaches (Cameron and Maslen 2010; Cameron 1999, 2003, 2008a, 2008b; Gibbs and Cameron 2008).

4.1 Metaphorical Film Titles Identification

In advertising, a product can be categorized as a tangible entity with spatial dimensions while advertised brands belong to an intangible entity without any spatial dimensions that always appear metaphorically. The understanding of advertised products claims to depend on verbal or nonverbal expressions structured by conceptual metaphors acting as “a link” (Ungerer 2000:321) between domains of products and domains of adverts. In the context of film advertising, the metaphorical lexical units in the film titles can be taken as the semantic “links” between film as a tangible product and film brand as an intangible entity. In the corpus, metaphors are found to operate across the two different domains: FILM TITLES as the source domain and FILM PLOT as the target domain.

Below are examples of two types of metaphorical film titles with detailed identification procedures:

(3) Metaphorical title with single source: *Raging Bull (2013)*

a. Read the film plot introduction to establish a general understanding of the film title;

b. Separate the title into two lexical units: Raging, Bull;

c. Find out whether the contextual meaning of each lexical unit is equal to its basic meaning;

Figure 1. Metaphor operates between FILM TITLE as the SD domain and FILM PLOT as the TD domain
Metaphor and Metonymy in Film Titles

d. Contextual meaning versus basic meaning: The contextual meaning of “Bull” (boxer) differs from its basic meaning (a kind of animal) but can be conceptualized by mapping between the two: we can understand the energetic, combative and aggressive protagonist who is a boxer in the film in terms of a raging, uncontrollable and violent bull;
e. The source (BULL) and the target (BOXER) belong to independent domains.

Metaphorically used? Yes.
Source domain found: One.

In this way, I categorized Raging Bull (2013) as a metaphorical title with a single source involving PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS metaphor.

(4) Metaphorical title with multiple sources: Black Swan (2010)
a. Read the film plot introduction to establish a general understanding of the film title;
b. Separate the title into two lexical units: Black, Swan;
c. Find out whether the contextual meaning of each lexical unit is equal to its basic meaning;
d. Contextual meaning versus basic meaning: First, the contextual meaning of “Black” (dark, evil and negative) differs from its basic meaning (a type of color) but can be conceptualized by mapping between the two: we can understand the dark and evil side of the ballet dancer who is the protagonist of the film in terms of the typically symbolic meaning of the black color, usually representing mystery, evil, darkness, bad luck and negativity in many cultures; second, the contextual meaning of “Swan” (a ballet dancer) differs from its basic meaning (a type of animal) but can be conceptualized by mapping between the two: we can understand the ballet dancer who has elegant appearance and dancing movements in terms of a swan which also has good looking and beautiful postures;
e. The sources (BLACK & SWAN) and the targets (EVIL & BALLET DANCER) belong to independent domains.

Metaphorically used? Yes.
Source domain found: Two.
In this way, I categorized *Black Swan (2010)* as a metaphorical title with multiple sources involving BLACK IS EVIL and PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS metaphors.

### 4.2 Metonymic Film Titles Identification

Metonymy is based on the concept of congruity and virtually any element of the conceptual fabric that makes up the target product can be metonymically used to name it (Hernández 2011). In the context of product advertising, instead of being prominently displayed in advert, the whole product is usually represented by a brand name or a picture (e.g. a logo) which stands for the promotional item metonymically (Ungerer 2000:321). In this study, film is taken as a product consisting of multiple parts such as plot, soundtrack, visual effect, photography and background music. Film title as one indispensable element of the whole product involves the spatial PART FOR WHOLE metonymy by taking the FILM TITLE as the source domain to stand for the whole FILM as the target domain (see Figure 2). Spatial metonymy refers to WHOLE-PART stand for relationship between the source and the target (Peirsman and Geeraerts 2006). At this level, when consumers talk about a film, the title is mentioned to represent the whole film. It is the title that offers an economical way for film producers to represent their product and for consumers to easily memorize and speak of the film.

![Figure 2. PART FOR WHOLE metonymy between FILM TITLE as the SD and the whole FILM as the TD](image)

The second type of metonymy I found in the corpus occurs between domain of film plot and domain of film title (See Figure 3). Compared to Figure 2, Figure 3 presents FILM PLOT as the target domain, differing
from domain of FILM which is the target of the first type of metonymy since FILM PLOT is only one part of FILM. In other words, the second type of metonymy operates to a more specific target domain (FILM PLOT) inside the whole FILM domain. Film plot refers to the plays or stories created by play writers and it usually contain various ingredients such as people, events, places, time, objects and motions. For instance, in the film title Arrival (2016), two types of metonyms can be identified. First, the title (source domain) as part of the film (target domain) represents the whole film. Second, the semantic meaning of “arrival” refers to a motion which is included in the film plot (target domain): A story related to the arrival of extra-terrestrial on the earth. The analysis shows that filmmakers tend to select elements from a film’s plot as the semantic compositions for that film’s title. Metonymic film titles at this level are able to highlight the elements in a film’s plot that filmmakers intend to present or emphasize for the film’s public promotion.

Below are examples of two types of metonymic titles with detailed identification procedures.

(5) Metonymic title with single source: In Old Arizona (1929)
   a. Read the film plot introduction to establish a general understanding of the film title;
   b. Separate the title into three lexical units: In, Old, Arizona;
   c. Find out whether the contextual meaning of each lexical unit is equal to its basic meaning;
d. Contextual meaning versus basic meaning: The contextual meaning of each lexical unit is equal to the basic meaning, and the lexical unit “Arizona” highlights a place name (ARIZONA) which is the place where events of the film plot take place.
  e. The source (ARIZONA) and the target (FILM EVENT) belong to one matrix domain (film plot).
    Metonymically used? Yes.
    Source domain found: One.
    In this way, I categorize *In Old Arizona* (1929) as a metonymic title with single source involving PLACE FOR EVENT metonymy.

(6) Metonymic title with multiple sources: The *Barretts of Wimpole Street* (1934)
  a. Read the film plot introduction to establish a general understanding of the film title;
  b. Separate the title into five lexical units: The, Barretts, of, Wimpole, Street;
  c. Find out whether the contextual meaning of each lexical unit is equal to its basic meaning;
  d. Contextual meaning versus basic meaning: The contextual meaning of each lexical unit is equal to the basic meaning. The lexical unit “Barretts” highlights the name of the protagonist (Barretts) in the film plot and the lexical unit “Wimpole Street” highlights a place name (Wimpole Street) where events in the film plot take place;
  e. The sources (BARRETTS & WIMPOLE STREET) and the targets (FILM EVENT & FILM EVENT) belong to one matrix domain (FILM PLOT);
    Metonymically used? Yes.
    Source domain found: Two.
    In this way, I categorize *The Barretts of Wimpole Street* (1934) as a metonymic title with multiple sources involving PEOPLE FOR EVENT and PLACE FOR EVENT metonymies.
4.3 Hybrid Film Titles Identification

(7) Hybrid title with both metaphorical source and metonymic source: *The Lion in Winter (1968)*

a. Read the film plot introduction to establish a general understanding of the film title;

b. Separate the title into four lexical units: The, Lion, in, Winter;

c. Find out whether the contextual meaning of each lexical unit is equal to its basic meaning;

d. Contextual meaning versus basic meaning: The contextual meaning of “Lion” (a brave, fearless and courageous King) is distinct with its basic meaning (a kind of animal). However, by comparison with the basic meaning, we can understand the brave King in terms of a lion that is usually considered as the King of the animal world in many cultures; the contextual meaning of the “Winter” (time) is equal to its basic meaning (time), and it highlights the element of Time which is the timeframe when the film events take place;

e. The source (LION) and target (KING) belong to independent domains; the source (WINTER) and the target (EVENT) belong to one matrix domain (FILM PLOT).

Metaphorically used? Yes.

Metonymically used? Yes.

Source domain found: Two.

In this way, I categorize *The Lion in Winter (1968)* as a hybrid title with metaphorical source and metonymic source involving PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS metaphor and TIME FOR EVENT metonymy.

4.4 Literal Film Titles Identification

(8) Literal titles: *The Curious Case of Benjamin Button (2008)*

a. Read the film plot introduction to establish a general understanding of the film title;

b. Separate the title into five lexical units: The, Curious, Case, of, Benjamin Button;

c. Find out the basic meaning and contextual meaning of each lexical unit in this film title;
d. Contextual meaning versus basic meaning: The contextual meaning of each lexical unit is equal to its basic meanings. The whole title summarizes the film plot which refers to the life story of Benjamin Button;

Metaphorically used? No.

Metonymically used? No.

In this way, I categorize *The Curious Case of Benjamin Button* (2008) as a literal title.

The identification methods were applied to the corpus by the author and one PhD student in linguistics. The two analysts both obtained pre-coding trainings before the analysis. We also consulted external resources such as the online dictionaries (Macmillan Dictionary at http://www.macmillandictionary.com/, Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English at http://www.ldoceonline.com/ and Oxford English Dictionary at http://www.oed.com/). Inter-rater’s reliability was measured by computing Cohen’s Kappa which observes the percent agreement between the analysts. The value of Kappa reports a result of 0.77, indicating a good level of agreement which shows the method proposed above is sufficiently reliable.

5. QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS: FREQUENCIES, DIACHRONIC CHANGES AND CORRELATION TESTS

5.1 Frequencies of Six Types of Film Titles

This section presents the quantitative analysis results and explores possible patterns of source domains applied in the metaphorical and metonymic titles. In total, 535 film titles have been analyzed at two levels: 1) by looking at metaphor and metonymy between the source domain of FILM TITLE and the target domain of the whole FILM. As explained in Section 4.2, PART FOR WHOLE metonymy applies to all of the 535 film titles; and 2) by looking at metaphor and metonymy between the source domain of FILM TITLE and the target domain of FILM
Table 1. Frequencies of six types of film titles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types</th>
<th>MS</th>
<th>MM</th>
<th>MTS</th>
<th>MTM</th>
<th>Hybrid</th>
<th>Literal</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Occurrence</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>401</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>535</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>4.9%</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
<td>74.9%</td>
<td>10.8%</td>
<td>3.2%</td>
<td>5.8%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We can see firstly, a total proportion of 94.2% are figurative titles, comprising of 5.3% (4.9%MS & 0.4%MM) metaphorical titles, 85.7% (74.9%MTS & 10.8%MTM) metonymic titles and 3.2% hybrid titles, while literal titles occupy a small proportion, 5.8% of the whole corpus. These numbers indicate that metaphor and metonymy are prevalently used which positively supports the high frequency hypothesis proposed in Section 2. In other words, filmmakers have been frequently applying these two figurative devices as film naming strategies. Secondly, metaphorical titles (5.3%) enjoy much lower frequencies than metonymic titles (85.7%), among which MTS type has the most frequent occurrence following with MTM as the second frequent type, occupying proportions of 74.9% and 10.8% respectively.

5.2 Frequencies of Metaphorical and Metonymic Source Domains

For the convenience of cognitive mechanisms analysis, the semantics of figurative film titles are further explored by grouping different categories of metaphor and metonymy source domains which are defined in Cameron et al. (2014) as words identified as metaphorically or metonymically used. As revealed in Table 2, the sub-corpus for this step is 45 metaphorical titles consisting of 26 MS, 2 MM and 17 Hybrid titles,
among which 48 occurrences of metaphorical source domains in total were found. Due to space limited, the occurrences and percentages of the top 6 metaphorical source domains and their percentages in the sub-corpus are listed in Table 2.

Table 2. Frequencies of the top 6 metaphorical source domains

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types</th>
<th>Occurrence</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ANIMAL</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IDIOM</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JOURNEY</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMAGE SCHEMA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(UP-DOWN)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOTION</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PEOPLE</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For metonymic film titles, the sub-corpus is 476 film titles including 401 MTS, 58 MTM and 17 Hybrid titles. 536 occurrences of metonymic source domains were identified in total. Table 3 shows the occurrences and percentages of the top 6 metonymic source domains in the sub-corpus.

Table 3. Frequencies of the top 6 metonymic source domains

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types</th>
<th>Occurrence</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PEOPLE</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>41.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBJECT</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>20.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ABSTRACT OBJECT)</td>
<td>(57)</td>
<td>(10.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(CONCRETE OBJECT)</td>
<td>(51)</td>
<td>(9.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLACE</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>18.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUB-EVENT</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>9.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TIME</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOTION</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2 and Table 3 present the regular patterns in terms of source choices filmmakers have made in the 535 film titles, among which ANIMAL, IDIOM, JOURNEY, IMAGE SCHEMA, MOTION, and PEOPLE have been taken as the main source domains for metaphorical film titles and
PEOPLE, OBJECT, PLACE, SUB-EVENT, TIME and MOTION have been taken as the main source domains for metonymic film titles. Apart from IDIOM, the other five types of metaphor source domains are all included in the list of the most common source domains summarized by (Deignan 1995) and (Kövecses 2002). These regular patterns show the consistency between source choices in film titles and the most common sources people universally use to depict the world. It also indicates that metaphor and metonymy are not arbitrarily applied but showing the pattern that specific elements have been frequently selected as metaphorical and metonymic sources in figurative titles to represent the whole film or some part of it. All of the sources act as linguistic cues accounting for the activation of relevant cognitive operations for guiding or constraining film titles’ interpretations.

5.3 Diachronic Changes of Naming Strategies in Film Titles

This section presents the diachronic change patterns on the distributions of different film naming strategies spanning a period over 90 years (1927 to 2017), divided into ten year spans. Units are measured in percentages. It can be seen from Graph 1 that figurative titles in general (MST, MTM, MS, MM & Hybrid) remained fairly static ranging approximately from 90% to 100% and literal titles were also stable between 0% to 10%.

![Graph 1. Diachronic changes of figurative and literal title](image)
More specifically, Graph 2 shows that metonymic titles (MST & MTM) and metaphorical titles (MS & MM) experienced slight fluctuations while Hybrid titles remained relatively unchanged over the whole period. The stable distributions of figurative titles illustrate that filmmakers have been consistently utilizing metaphor and metonymy as two figurative devices during the film title encoding process over the past 90 years.

![Graph 2. Diachronic changes of figurative titles](image)

Analysis on the diachronic changes of the metonymic source domains were also performed. Graph 3 shows that although gentle upward and downward trends can be seen on the distributions of PEOPLE, OBJECT and PLACE, the percentages of these three sources in film titles of 1927 maintained the same compared with the percentages in 2016. This result shows that PEOPLE, OBJECT and PLACE are not only the most frequently but also consistently applied in film titles over 90 years. On the other hand, Graph 4 illustrates that the percentages of SUB-EVENT fell dramatically from 14% to 4% while MOTION and TIME had slightly upward trends. It presents that filmmakers choose more MOTION and TIME instead of SUB-EVENT in titles with a potential reason of considering economical ways of title encoding.
Graph 3. Diachronic changes of MTS sources (PEOPLE, OBJECT, PLACE)

Graph 4. Diachronic changes of MTS sources (SUB-EVENT, MOTION, TIME)

For BODY PART and ANIMAL, Graph 5 shows that no systematic pattern can be found regarding the distributions of these two sources which to some extent means that BODY PART and ANIMAL were occasionally and randomly applied in film titles from 1927 to 2016.
5.4 Correlation between Naming Strategies and Film Genres

As the second hypothesis mentioned in Section 2, to test whether there is positive association between film naming strategies and film genres, I conducted three Chi-Square Tests of Independence to examine the correlation between film genres and naming strategies. Frequencies of different naming strategies in different film genres were calculated and compared. Due to the constraints of sample size for Chi-square operation (each cell should have at least a value of 1), I selected 6 main film genres as one variable in Test 1, 2 and 3, 4 naming strategies (MTS, MTM, MS & Literal) as one variable in Test 2 and 4 MTS source domains as one variable in Test 3 (see Table 4, 5, 6).

Test 1 presents a Chi-square result $X^2(5, N = 385) = 1.469, P = 0.917 > 0.05$ (see Table 4) which indicates that the relation between film genres and Figurative & Literal titles is not statistically significant.
Table 4. Chi-square test 1: correlation between film genres and Figurative & Literal titles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Genre</th>
<th>Figurative titles</th>
<th>Literal titles</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Drama</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comedy</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biopics</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crime</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Action-adventure</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romance</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>361</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>385</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Result: \( X^2(5, N = 385) = 1.469, P = 0.917 \)

Test 2 is to compare the frequencies between film genres and the specific 4 types of naming strategies. The result \( X^2(15, N = 373) = 14.937, P = 0.456 > 0.05 \) (see Table 5) also shows no significant association was found between film genres and the 4 naming strategies.

Table 5. Chi-square test 2: correlation between film genres and 4 naming strategies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Genre</th>
<th>MTS</th>
<th>MTM</th>
<th>MS</th>
<th>Literal</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Drama</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comedy</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biopics</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crime</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Action-adventure</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romance</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>290</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>373</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Result: \( X^2(15, N = 373) = 14.937, P = 0.456 \)

Thus, Test 1 and Test 2 answers negatively to the second hypothesis that film genre and naming strategy are two independent variables. However, to further achieve more empirical results, a third Chi-square test was performed on comparing the frequencies of different MTS source domains applied in different film genres. The test reports a
significant result $X^2(20, N = 278) = 43.093 \ P = 0.002 < 0.05$ (see Table 6) indicating that great association between the two variables can be found. In other words, film genres and MTS source domains are strongly correlated. In contrast to the results in Test 1 and Test 2, the result of Test 3 however answers positively to the second hypothesis that correlations between naming strategies and film genres exist in film titles of MTS type. It proves the assumption that filmmakers have shown preference to selecting specific metonymic source domains to name specific types of film genres. This way of naming can be considered as an effective strategy for more efficient film branding with consumers being able to perceive potential film genres by only looking at film titles and by further conceptualizing the various source domains structured in these titles.

Table 6. Chi-square test 3: correlation between film genres and MTS source domains

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Drama</th>
<th>Comedy</th>
<th>Biopics</th>
<th>Crime</th>
<th>Action-adventure</th>
<th>Romance</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PEOPLE</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBJECT</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLACE</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUB-EVENT</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOTION</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>278</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Result: $X^2(20, N = 278) = 43.093 \ P = 0.002$

6. QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

The above quantitative analysis made general observations on the linguistic patterns and the following section moves deeply into the underlying working cognitive mechanisms and their corresponding pragmatic functions.
6.1 Cognitive Operations in Metaphorical and Metonymic Film Titles

Two levels of cognitive operations were discussed in Ruiz de Mendoza and Santibáñez (2003): the high level formal operations (e.g., cueing, selection, abstraction, etc.) are taken as the pre-requisites for the workings of low level content operations (e.g., comparison, correlation, domain expansion, domain reduction, etc.). Linguistic expressions provide us with cues so as to what cognitive operations are necessary, through the formal cueing, we provide the semantic domains for conceptual tools (e.g. metaphor, metonymy, image schemas, etc.) to structure and thus make the content operations to be possible. In the context of film branding, the semantic forms of film titles, in most instances, are economically encoded by using short phrases, e.g., *Finding Neverland* (2004) and *Little Women* (1933) or even single word, e.g., *Giant* (1956) and *Up* (2009), but call for public audience’s ability to draw the underlying inferences and to some extent, their interpretations are beyond the filmmakers’ control. Therefore, when coding film titles, the primary task is always to avoid or reduce the chance of infelicitous information generation. An effective strategy employed by filmmakers is to encode film titles with the most crucial, salient or unexpected information to make the film more comprehensible and desirable which helps to successfully advertise the film.

In this study, I contend that metaphor and metonymy are two effective film naming strategies for generating felicitous inferences during the process of film titles decoding. Film titles serving as linguistic cues trigger formal operation (cueing), leading to the generation of productive, desirable and relevant cognitive associations. The generation processes can be constrained and guided to a significant extent by content operations performed by metaphor and metonymy as two conceptual tools. Four specific content operations (comparison operation, correlation operation domain expansion operation and domain reduction) are found in all the figurative film titles (MS, MM, MTS, MTM & Hybrid) and contribute to film naming strategies in their unique ways. Examples below shows that those cognitive operations strengthen the evocative and verbal power of film titles by guiding felicitous inferential
processes to conceptualize the target film plot and constrain the opportunities of generating irrelevant or negative connotations. Although other elements (e.g. colors, visual images, typographies) in film marketing are also capable of performing cueing functions, this study will exclusively focus on semantic cues in film titles.

6.2 Content Operations in Metaphorical Titles: Correlation and Comparison

6.2.1 Correlation Operation

One type of metaphor occupying a proportion of 31.3% in the sub-corpus is image schema grounded in which the metaphoric mapping establishes an association between two continually co-occurring but independent domains of bodily experience. The concept “image schema” was discussed in Lakoff (1987), Johnson (1987) and Lakoff and Turner (1989) as experientially recurrent non-propositional representations. In Lakoff (1987), it is taken as a “conceptualization process”, functioning in understanding various aspects of abstracts with gestalt-like properties and further defined as “construal operation” (Clausner and Croft 1999) and “correlation operation” (Ruiz de Mendoza and Santibáñez 2003; Hernández 2011), playing a fundamental role in various cognitive semantic processes. For instance, we always express emotions and affections with respect to proximity and distance image schema (e.g. He is a close friend; She keeps her distance with me) because when showing affections, human beings come close or go far away from each other. The spatial domains of distance are projected to the non-spatial domain of emotions and affections. Typical image schemas include UP-DOWN, CONTAINER, BALANCE, PATH, PART-WHOLE, etc. The cognitive mechanism of metaphor grounded by image schema refers to correlation operation. Due to the space limitation, the most frequent instances are listed below and exemplified to show the way image schemas act as a conceptual tool for metaphorical film titles’ interpretation.
Metaphor and Metonymy in Film Titles

a. UP-DOWN image schema grounded metaphors

(9) *Up* (2009)

(10) *Room at the Top* (1959)

(11) *Sunrise* (1928)

(12) *Sunset Blvd.* (1950)

The semantic configurations of film titles structured by UP/DOWN metaphor sources are grounded with the notion of Vertically Spatial Orientation Image Schema. This verticality image schema involves three major conceptual metaphors: quantity (MORE IS UP, LESS IS DOWN), evaluation (GOOD IS UP, BAD IS DOWN) and control (POWERFUL IS UP, POWERLESS IS DOWN) (Taylor 2002). Daily examples like: I am feeling down now vs. He was on a high last night; The stock keeps going up vs. The number of students is going down; He is in a high position vs. She has low social status. The similarly experiential basis establishes natural associations and correlations between domains of VERTICALITY and domains of QUALITY, EVALUATION and CONTROL. Film titles with verticality image schema are able to activate similar correlation operations.

In the film title *Up* (2009), the source domain “UP” functions as a linguistic cue for the activation of verticality image schema. The underlying positive experiences (e.g. happy mood, good spirit, larger quantities, etc.) related to spatially up orientation are naturally generated by audience. Referring to the plot of this film: in order to fulfill his promise to his wife, a 78-year-old man Carl sets off an adventurous trip to South America by flying up in an airship made by thousands of balloons. The up spatial experience semantically cued in the FILM TITLE (source) correlates to the positive and inspiring spirit reflected in the FILM PLOT (target). In this way, the theme of the film is easily and appropriately interpreted via human’s sensorimotor experience activated by the underlying UP/DOWN image schema. Similarly, in film titles *Room at the Top* (1959), the semantic meaning “top” here acts as a cue to
activate the UP/DOWN image schema involving POWERFUL IS UP & POWERLESS IS DOWN conceptual metaphors. The film plot is about a snobbish young accountant schemes to marry a wealthy old woman in order to climb into the upper class. The vertically top position guides a proper inferential process by mapping the top room to the upper class. An audience’s bodily, spatial experiences of “top” make them more likely to comprehend the abstract concepts of high power and high social status, which is the target domain included in the film plot. To explain further, if the first two examples are linguistically cued as “Down” and “Room at the Bottom”, the two words “Down” and “Bottom” would activate the contrastive low spatial orientation of the Verticality Image Schema which underlies “BAD IS DOWN”, “LESS IS DOWN” and “POWERLESS IS DOWN” metaphors. The correlation operation performed by these metaphorical titles would guide opposite meaning generations associated with bad, powerless and negative issues.

In *Sunrise* (1928) and *Sunset Blvd.* (1950), GOOD IS UP and BAD IS DOWN metaphors are activated in the sunrise and sunset pictures depicted by the linguistic cues in the two film titles respectively. Referring to the two film plots: *Sunrise* (1928) talks about a couple facing a serious marriage crisis, yet they never give up on their marriage, which is finally saved with a happy reunion. The film is presented with a positive and hopeful tone; however, the *Sunset Blvd.* (1950) depicts a sense of sad feeling, talking about a former silent-film star who intends to return to the Hollywood stage but ends up murdering her screenwriter. In these two titles, the “rise” and “set” motions relate to the UP-DOWN image schemas that lead people to conceptualize the good emotion via the physically up spatial experience and conceptualize the abstract bad emotion via the physically down spatial experience. The two opposite feelings are correspondingly reflected in the two film plots. In this way, the abstract film themes are felicitously and more easily advertised in metaphorical titles grounded with image schema by activating human’s sensorimotor experience. It is notable that the sun has always been a crucial object in religions and cultures for thousands of years. In these two cases, the culturally symbolic meanings of sunrise and sunset also play vital roles in suggesting the film’s theme. Sunrise brings out light and energy for a new day, symbolizing hope, warmth and new life.
Sunset however represents sadness and ending, as the light fades, the darkness is coming to the earth and the day has passed. The two motions symbolize a lifecycle in action. In *Sunrise* (1927), the motion of sunrise means the hope of the couple’s marriage and in *Sunset Blvd.* (1950), the motion of sunset symbolizes the twilight year of the protagonist as well as the negative feelings toward her murder. Since the main focus of this study is on cognitive linguistic perspective of view, future research can emphasize more on the underlying cultural symbolization or the combined factors of linguistic and cultural meanings.

Clausner and Croft (1999:15) state that image schemas are a subtype of domain that are related and co-experienced. We can group them into categories based on their similar properties, such as UP-DOWN, NEAR-FAR, FRONT-BACK, LEFT-RIGHT, CENTER-PERIPHERY and CONTACT image schemas can be grouped in SPACE domain matrix; CONTAINMENT, IN-OUT, SURFACE, FULL-EMPTY and CONTENT image schemas can be categorized in CONTAINER domain matrix. This point further supports Johnson’s (1987) conclusion about 20 image schemas sharing a same experiential basis. The image schematic domains in those domain matrices of concepts encoded by verbal languages represent the persuasive and fundamental organizing structures of cognition. This nature makes image schemas widely persuasive across languages, cultures and contexts in which their universal trait is taken as a unique and valuable strategy for diversely pragmatic use. In this study, image schema is taken as a valuable tool as it alleviates film producers’ concerns about the difficulties of interpreting film titles by audiences from diverse cultures and backgrounds especially for films’ global releasing. People can easily understand the correlations between film titles and film plot and decrease the chances of generating irrelevant and negative inferences by taking advantage of image schema’s universal traits. It is in this way that metaphorical titles grounded by image schemas can greatly contribute to film oversea branding.

### 6.2.2 Comparison Operation

Another type of metaphorical mapping, occupying a proportion of 68.7% in the sub-corpus, is comparison mapping. Comparison mapping
is based on the resemblance idea that metaphor is interpreted in terms of concept of similarity and that the resemblance mapping happens between source domain and target domain. Early study in cognitive linguistics pointed out that the meaning of the metaphor is similarities between two concepts (Ortony 1979), and metaphor interpretation is a match from the vehicle (source)’s salient part to the tenor (target)’s non-salient part (Johnson and Malgady 1979). Tourangeau and Sternberg (1981) concluded that the potential contribution of dissimilarity is to considering metaphor as more novel, creative and apt. The recent view of “correspondence mapping” (Lakoff 1993; Lakoff and Johnson 1980) together with the reference theory of implicature derivation as a form of pragmatic inferencing (Ruiz de Mendoza 2002, 2003; Ruiz de Mendoza and Pérez 2003) further referred to metaphor comparison viewpoint. They illustrated that during the process of comparison mapping, the differences and independence of the two domains play a role in enriching the conceptualizations of the target domain with compatible and relevant entities or experiences belonging to the source domain. For example, take metaphors with frequent source domains ANIMAL and PLANT in the corpus to see how these resemblance-based metaphorical film titles are interpreted by the low level comparison cognitive operations and how they are able to evoke novel and suggestive inferences for the interpretation of film titles.

b. PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS

(13) *The Little Foxes* (1941)


c. PEOPLE ARE PLANTS

(16) *Lilies of the Field* (1963)

(17) *Blossoms in the Dust* (1941)

(18) *The Tree of Life* (2011)

Film titles linguistically cued with ANIMAL and PLANT domains comprise of the generic high-level mappings operated BY HIGH-ORDER BEINGS ARE LOW-ORDER BEINGS metaphor. Metaphor of this kind is associated with the concept of Great Chain of Being, referring to “a scale of forms of being-human, animal, plant, inanimate object” (Lakoff and Turner 1989:167). This generic-level metaphor involves two specific conceptual metaphors: (i). PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS (ii). PEOPLE ARE PLANTS. The comparison operations help people to conceptualize human beings as if they were animals or plants. By this GENERIC IS SPECIFIC metaphor mapping, human beings are endowed with the same structural configurations or attributes which originally belong to the animals or plants.

In the film title *The Little Foxes* (1941), the relevant attributes of the animal (e.g. charm, cleverness, agility, crafty) as the source are compared to the characteristics of the protagonist as the target. Referring to the film plot, the protagonist is a charming yet sneaky and ruthless woman who doesn’t rescue her husband from a heart attack as he refuses to assist her with illegal business. Another film title *The Wolf of Wall Street* (2013) can also be interpreted via the comparisons between attributes in domain of the wolf (a fierce and violent animal) and attributes in domain of the protagonist (a greedy and ambitious stockbroker). For film title *The Silence of the Lambs* (1991), the helpless and pitiful CRIME VICTIM in the film plot as the target can be conceptualized in terms of the source (LAMB) in the film title. Lamb refers to a young sheep and is commonly considered as lovely and piteous creature that can call for people’s sympathy and compassion similar to the emotions people would evoke for those unprotected and poor crime victims in the film plot. In these three examples, the metaphor domains ANIMALS (FOX,
WOLF and LAMB) act as linguistic cues for the comparison operation to proceed. Audience can attribute all the relevant traits of the three animals to the three protagonists. The targets are therefore endowed with abundant entities provided by the sources.

The comparison operations involved in PEOPLE ARE PLANTS metaphor map plant attributes onto those of human entities. In the film title Lilies of the Field (1963), the source domain LILIES are known for their pure color, fragrance and beauty traits. Those typical attributes are correspondent with the purity, chastity and virtue of the merciful nun as the target domain in the film plot. In Blossoms in the Dust (1941), the linguistic cue “Blossoms” activates a comparison operation from the source domain BLOSSOMS to the target domain A BEAUTIFUL FEMALE. Dependent on this operation, related attributes of blossoms (e.g. vitality, beauty, fragrance) are projected onto the attributes of the target, a kind-hearted woman with strong willpower and beautiful appearance who fights for homeless children with the local legislature authorities in Texas. In The Tree of Life (2011), the source TREE corresponds to the target HUMAN BEING and elements related to a tree’s vitality map to elements of human being’s life. For example, trees have roots and they go through the rains to grow strong, hoping to provide shelters to others which similar to the case that human beings have family roots and they experience obstacles to grow up, hoping to be helpful to others.

The above metaphorical titles show that the two separate human and nonhuman domains can enhance the positive effect of the potential generation of novel and creative inferences from the attributes of the source domains. They allow human beings to generate the common generic-level structure through the activation of comparison operations in GENERIC IS SPECIFIC metaphor. Lakoff and Turner (1989) states that by linking the GENERIC IS SPECIFIC metaphor with Great Chain which is applied to our overall knowledge of everything, we are more likely to comprehend general human traits in terms of well-understood nonhuman attributes, in this case, referring to attributes of animals and plants. Compared to domain expansion and domain reduction operations (see Section 6.3) which involves relations within one single domain, comparison operations can evoke much newer and more plentiful elements to enhance the linguistic implications of film titles. When
Metaphor and Metonymy in Film Titles

audience perceive titles of this kind, they are more likely to familiarize the traits of the target in the film plot. The suggestiveness and novelty generation function brought by comparison operation in a way is considered as a powerful naming strategy for film titles’ decoding.

6.3 Content Operations in Metonymic Titles: Domain Expansion and Domain Reduction

6.3.1 Domain Expansion

Two types of metonymies (Source in Target type and Target in Source type) respectively correlate with domain expansion and domain reduction cognitive operations (Ruiz de Mendoza and Santibáñez 2003). In this corpus, among the total 536 metonymic sources found, 98.3% are identified as subdomains of the targets and are categorized as Source in Target type, operating domain expansion operation. Similar to metaphorical titles, the formal operation (cueing) provided by linguistic cues in the film titles is the precondition for the activation of content operations (domain expansion). Examples below provide proofs of domain expansion operation effective in the process of inference generations.

d. PLACE FOR EVENT

(19) In Old Arizona (1929)

(20) Airport (1970)

(21) Nebraska (2013)

PLACE is the third most frequently metonymic source domain as statistically showed in Table 3. Obviously, each film involves a setting or a place to let events take place in and it’s interesting to find out the reasons why filmmakers predominantly apply place names to entitle films. For instance, in film titles In Old Arizona (1929), Airport (1970) and Nebraska (2013), three place names “Arizona”, “Airport” and “Nebraska” are specially chosen for film titles’ semantic compositions.
One of the reasons related to the cognitive linguistics realm is the power of metonymy. Radden (2002) states that places are always related to activities or events that typically happen in those places. For example, kitchens are the places for cooking, beds are designed for sleeping and bus stations are the settings for waiting buses. Those spatial places are specifically created for a certain genre of activity and the associations are so tight between human-designed space and the typical event performed that just the mention of the specific place suffices to remind people of an event. PLACE thus is taken as the subdomain of the matrix domain EVENT which involves the place. So, when decoding film titles in this group, we are dealing with PLACE FOR EVENT metonymic relationship. The three place names “Arizona”, “Airport” and “Nebraska” act as the linguistic cues for the activation of domain expansion operations. This kind of cognitive operation uniquely identifies the target by highlighting the conceptually relevant parts in the sources to activate the audience’s mental access to the targets. In this way, when audience perceive the three film titles, they can conceptualize “Arizona” in the sense of “events taking place in or related to Arizona”, “Airport” in the sense of “events taking place in or related to Airport” and “Nebraska” in the sense of “events taking place in or associated with Nebraska”.

The above conceptualizations show a much easier and safer generation of the target by referring to the three corresponding film plots: In Old Arizona (1929) talks about the life story of a bandit in old Arizona, Airport (1970) is about a bomber on an airplane making chaos in the airport and Nebraska (2013) is about a father and a son setting off a trip from Montana to Nebraska to claim a million-dollar prize from a sweepstake.

e. BODY PART FOR PERSON

(22) My Left Foot (1989)

(23) Brave Heart (1995)

(24) A Beautiful Mind (2001)
In this group, typical \textsc{whole-part} subtypes of \textsc{spatial} metonymy (Seto 1999) can be found. The \textsc{part-for-whole} metonymies underlie the above examples involving three specific metonymies: \textsc{foot for person} in \textit{My Left Foot} (1989), \textsc{heart for person} in \textit{Brave Heart} (1995) and \textsc{mind for person} in \textit{A Beautiful Mind} (2001). We can see the three targets in the three titles all relates to \textsc{person}, yet filmmakers choose different parts of the human body (\textsc{foot, heart and mind}) as the sources to project onto a same domain. Croft (1993) mentioned that different body parts have associations with different human behaviors and qualities. The choices on different metonymic source domains highly depend on the needs of highlighting diverse human abilities in the target domains.

In \textit{My Left Foot} (1989), the film is about a positive man Christy Brown who was born with cerebral palsy and only capable of using his left foot for living. Here, foot is taken as the most salient element in the film plot which is chosen as the linguistic cue in the film title. The domain expansion of the source (\textsc{foot}) to the target (\textsc{person}) allows us to identify the most predominant part in an economical way while at the same time preserving the conceptual understanding of the source domain in two sides: emphasizing the left foot as the most vital part of the protagonist while highlighting the protagonist from the film plot.

Normally, the abstract human spirit is conventionally associated with or evoked by the body part of heart. When defining a person’s spirit, we tend to apply phrases such as warm-hearted, mean-hearted or cold-hearted. In \textit{Brave Heart} (1995), the story refers to a brave Scottish man William Wallace who leads Scottish warriors fighting against the invaders. The most represented part of the protagonist is his spirit. Filmmakers choose the body part (\textsc{heart}) to emphasize the salient part of the protagonist (\textsc{spirit}). In a similar way, as the mind is usually associated with the human quality of intelligence, in film title \textit{A Beautiful Mind} (2001), the need to highlight the domain of human’s intelligence can be inferred from the film plot: the life story of a brilliant mathematician, John Nash, who suffered from schizophrenia but was finally awarded the Nobel Prize in Economics. The salient element of the protagonist is his intelligence, which has been highlighted in the film title for enhanced audience understanding. Since any aspect of the
conceptual element that makes up the target product can be metonymically used as a title (Hernández 2011:378), if we change the linguistic choices of the examples into, for example: *My Left Mind* (1989), *Brave Foot* (1995) and *A Beautiful Heart* (2001), audiences would conceptualize the highlighted elements embedded in the source domains with different semantic interpretations, leading to different decoding angles of the targets. *My Left Mind* (1989) would focus on the left mind of the protagonist; *Brave Foot* (1995) would highlight the foot of the protagonist and *A Beautiful Heart* (2001) would emphasize the heart of the protagonist, all of which wouldn’t have the function of singling out the most crucial and relevant parts of the protagonists as the three original film titles have achieved.

The discussions of the above three examples explain the underlying reasons of the contrasts in the three semantic choices of *BODY PARTS FOR PROTAGONISTS*. Film titles of this type also resonate with the similar examples shown in Lakoff and Johnson (1980:36):

(25) We need a couple of strong bodies for our team.

(26) There are a lot of good heads in the university.

(27) We need some new faces around here.

In *BODY PART FOR PERSON* metonymic film titles, filmmakers are sensitive to the semantic choices. The metonymic sources they choose precisely highlight the body parts that are most relevant to the film plots rather than other ordinary or irrelevant parts. When an audience interprets metonymic film titles of this group, they can easily understand the targets since the first element being consumed in the titles is the most crucial information of the protagonists. Furthermore, this allows enhanced interpretation of the film’s themes. Metonymic titles of this type thus are effective in interpreting the film protagonists and the key parts of the film’s plot.
f. SUB-EVENT FOR WHOLE EVENT

(28) *Here Comes the Navy* (1934)

(29) *The Russians Are Coming* (1966)

(30) *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington* (1939)

In SUB-EVENT FOR WHOLE EVENT metonymies, the source domains refer to some specific sub-events that happen in the whole events of the film’s plot. Seto (1999) grouped this phenomenon into WHOLE EVENT-SUB-EVENT metonymy as a subcategory of TEMPORAL metonymy. In metonymy of this type, the sub-event is always more conceptually and perceptually salient while the whole event is abstract and complicated, lacking the perceptual salience that the counterpart has. Cognitive operation of domain expansion is effective in highlighting the salient part of the whole event as exemplified below:

In film title *Here Comes the Navy* (1934), the whole event in the film plot is about a series of romantic and lucky things keep happening to a man after he joins the navy. The sub-event in the title as the source semantically means that navies are coming. Guided by the underlying source domain expansion operation, people can immediately carry out the mental operation in order to perceive the scene of navies’ arrival. Subsequently, a series of questions relevant to things involved in the target film plot can be raised, such as who are the navies, why do the navies come, what happens after the navies arrive and whether the protagonist is one of the navies. The case is the same with another film title *The Russians Are Coming* (1966). The whole event of this film is a story about Soviet army’s invasion in America. The source refers to Russian’s arrival which is a representative event of the whole event. Many scenes in the movie show the Russians’ arrival actions which increases the perceptual salience for people to conceptualize. In the film title *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington* (1939), the whole event, as the target, relates to the many complicated and tragic circumstances that happen to Mr. Smith after he is appointed as the US senator. The highlighted action “goes to Washington” is a preliminary and crucial part of “being a
senator in US” as well as other complicated events in the movie plot. By choosing the daily common event of “a man going to somewhere” as the source to access the things related to it, filmmakers successfully mitigate the difficulty of conceptualizing the complex and abstract target events included in the entire film plot.

As discussed above, the SUB-EVENT FOR WHOLE EVENT metonymy is helpful when filmmakers intend to make the complicated film events more specific and more perceptual in the film titles where limited spaces are available for utilizing. The domain expansion operation activated by WHOLE EVENT- SUB-EVENT metonymy enables the film to be entitled in a rather economical way via its salience-highlighting function.

g. OBJECT FOR EVENT

(31) *The letter* (1940)

(32) *The Rose Tattoo* (1955)

(33) *Schindler’s List* (1993)

h. TIME FOR EVENT

(34) *Twelve O’Clock High* (1949)


(36) *Zero Dark Thirty* (2012)

In OBJECT FOR EVENT and TIME FOR EVENT metonymic film titles, I also found that filmmakers make suitable lexical choices for film titles’ linguistic creation. The underlying metonymic domain expansion focuses on the uniquely relevant elements of the target. Referring to the film plots as follows:

a. *The letter* (1940): the wife of a rubber plantation administrator shoots a man to death but claims it is self-defense. However, a letter in her own hand may prove her guilty;
b. *The Rose Tattoo* (1955): a widow named Rose whose ex-husband, current boyfriend and ex-husband’s lover all have a rose tattoo on their bodies;

c. *Schindler’s List* (1993): a Polish man called Oskar Schindler rescues a group of Jewish people from the persecution by the Nazi during World War II and the names of those Jewish people rescued are written on a specific list;

d. *Twelve O’ Clock High* (1949): an air war breaks out at twelve o’clock between America and Germany in World War II;


f. *Zero Dark Thirty* (2012): In May 2011, the American army take action to hunt for the al-Qaeda terrorist leader Osama Bin Laden at a secret time encoded as “Zero Dark Thirty”.

The highlighted objects (letter, rose tattoo, list), and time points (twelve o’ clock, midnight and zero dark thirty) in the source domains can be categorized as vital clues for the whole film events to be proceeded in. By expanding one of the crucial parts to the whole parts, domain expansion works in a more felicitous and much safer way. It’s worth noting that metonymic sources of “OBJECT” and “TIME” tend to raise a sense of vagueness and mysteriousness. One reason is the choices of selecting one object or one time point are much wider compared with choosing “PLACE”, “BODY PART” and “SUB-EVENT” as the source domains, since a film plot encompasses many objects and time points but limited place names, body parts of the protagonists and sub-events involved. Also, the information triggered by an object or a time point is rather less than information generated from a place, a body part or a sub-event. Before watching the film, audiences can enjoy a high degree of freedom to interpret the target based on the limited information from the linguistic cues in these film titles. This strategy however evokes an unexpected effect of presenting the target film plot as something mysterious and thus desirable. Audiences’ interests to know what the films are actually about can be raised which enhances their desire to watch the films. It is in this way that metonymic titles achieve the
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pragmatic function of film advertising while presenting film titles in a mostly economical way.

In brief, five types of metonymic film titles and their diverse ways of triggering domain expansion cognitive operation in the process of enlarging the source domains to the target domains have been discussed above. The source domains are semantically encoded either by the most significant and representative elements or by unexpected but crucial parts in the film plots. The risk of unrelated, inappropriate or negative inference generations can be greatly limited since elements involved in the source and target share the same conceptual domain. These underlying metonymies activated by careful linguistic cues in film titles are therefore considered to be a much safer, yet highly pervasive and productive strategy for the creation, branding and advertising of film titles.

6.3.2 Domain Reduction

Apart from domain expansion operation, a fairly small proportion of metonymic sources (1.7%) are related to the Target in Source type, performing a domain reduction operation in the process of film title decoding. The occurrences are specifically found in the source category of PLACE. As discussed in Section 6.3.1, people usually apply place names to refer to activities or events that happened in those places. However, if the domain of the source place is larger than the domain of the place where target activities or events proceed in, a domain reduction operation will be activated by narrowing down the size of the source place to single out smaller places that the targets are involved in.

In this study, criterion was set regarding the judgement on the size of the source PLACE semantically cued in film titles. First, if the size of the place is larger than (e.g. The Good Earth, 1937) or the same as (e.g. A Passage to India, 1984) a country, the related metonymy is categorized as the Target in Source type since no film setting can be identified as actually covering the whole region of a country or even wider than a country in this corpus. Second, if the place size is below a country level, such as a city (e.g. Atlantic City, 1981), a town (e.g. Our Town, 1940) or a more specific place (e.g. In the Bedroom, 2001) that most of the
regions are included in the target film plot, the metonymy is classified as the Source in Target type.

For instance, in film title America, America (1963), the PLACE FOR EVENT metonymy applies the country name of the United States as the source to access the target event in the film plot: a story about a young Turkish man who travels from his hometown in an impoverished Turkey village to America in pursuit of his American dreams. The setting of the whole plot is mostly inside Turkey and only a few places (e.g. the Statue of Liberty and the New York Harbor) in America are involved in the film plot. However, filmmakers select “America” as the metonymic source in the title which includes the several America places in the film plot. Titles of this type are able to inherit more attributes from the sources by leading audiences to understand the target domain in a broader domain. This strategy can provide more information for the conceptualization of the film plot. As a result, the concept of America not only refers to the Statue of Liberty and New York Harbor, but also the protagonist’s pursuit for America life, property and other dreams. Therefore, I contend that by applying Target in Source metonymic titles with their underlying domain reduction mechanism, filmmakers are able to present abundant information of the target event that contributes to a more comprehensive perception of the whole film plot and at the same time achieves a more economical way of film title encoding.

7. CONCLUSIONS

The above study has aimed to analyze the use of metaphor and metonymy in film titles regarding aspect of film branding. Firstly, the application of metaphor and metonymy in film titles is prevalent. High frequencies of the two cognitive tools occurring in film titles have been ascertained. Their pervasiveness and popularity in film titles support that metaphor and metonymy are pragmatically effective in the realm of film branding. Secondly, frequently applied metaphorical and metonymic source domains have been categorized with ANIMAL, IDIOM, JOURNEY, IMAGE SCHEMA and MOTION being mostly used as metaphorical source domains and PEOPLE, OBJECT, PLACE, SUB-EVENT, TIME and MOTION
being mostly used as metonymic source domains. These findings show the specific types of semantic choices filmmakers have made for the creation of film titles and also are valuable reference for the encoding of film titles in the film branding industry. Furthermore, the consistency of metaphor and metonymy application in film titles has been found in the analysis of diachronic changes on the distributions of different film naming strategies. Also, filmmakers have shown preference to choosing specific types of metonymic sources for specific types of film. This indicates that film titles can potentially be used as a tool for a more convenient way of presenting film genre information to an audience.

Four cognitive operations (comparison operation, correlation operation, domain expansion and domain reduction) activated by the two conceptual tools (metaphor and metonymy) are found and discussed. The abundant exemplifications have highlighted the specific features of the four operations and the beneficial functions each of them has during the process of film titles’ interpretation. It thus answers the question of how the cognitive associations and inferences arisen from the metaphorical and metonymical film titles can be greatly guided and constrained by the relevant cognitive operations. To be specific, correlation operation activated by metaphors grounded by image schemas produce a much easier, safer and experiential based meaning generation; comparison operation evoked by metaphors based on resemblance are effective in generating novelty and suggestiveness inferences; domain expansions of the metonymic film titles mainly highlight the significant, representative or relevant ingredients to infer the film plot in a more direct and unexpected way; and domain reduction operation can supply extra information related to the target film events so as to help consumers conceptualize film event more easily. All these functions contribute to film products’ conceptualization and are economical for film title encoding, which positively contributes to film brand’s creation and promotion. In short, by guiding felicitous inferential processes to conceptualize the target film plot, those cognitive operations activated by metaphor and metonymy not only enhance film titles’ semantic and evocative strength, but also largely limit the audience’s possibility of generating irrelevant or negative connotations. It also becomes much clearer on how the metaphorical and metonymic brands are created and
comprehended, and at the same time, theoretically contributes to studies in applying cognitive linguistic theories in pragmatic discourses.

8. LIMITATIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Due to space constraints, this study involves limitations. The analysis has been carried out within film titles of Oscar Best Pictures Nominees which are publicly acknowledged as well produced American films with predominant English language film titles. The corpus however can be enlarged to film titles of second rank films or films from a wider range of countries and with multiple languages so as to enable a more comprehensive analysis. Also, the study is limited to cognitive semantics in film advertising while future study can be potentially cognitive resonance in linguistics (film titles, brands words, words on posters), acoustics (film music, sound patterns) and visuals (poster images, colors). By these combinations, the cognitive interaction between multi-modal metaphor and metonymy can be elaborated to accommodate the construction of powerful film brands.
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Metaphor and Metonymy in Film Titles


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隱喻和轉喻在品牌名中的認知語用研究：以電影片名為例

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基於概念隱喻和概念轉喻的視角，采用定量和定性相結合的方法，本文對535部奧斯卡電影片名中的隱喻和轉喻進行辨別，提供了詳細的識別步驟，強調臨時語境構建和認知域界定在兩者識別過程中的關鍵性。研究結果顯示隱喻和轉喻是電影廣告的兩種有效命名策略，隱喻運行的相似性認知機制能賦予電影片名更多新的屬性；相關性機制能提高電影情節的理解力；轉喻的源域擴張機制能凸顯電影情節信息，源域縮小機制能呈現更豐富的電影內容。電影片名的認知分析豐富了專有名詞語類的研究，驗證和補充了認知理論，有助於認知和語用相結合的探索。

關鍵字：隱喻、轉喻、認知機制、品牌名、電影片名