

Oriental Metaphors in Magazine Advertisements

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Master's thesis / Diplomski rad

2019

Degree Grantor / Ustanova koja je dodijelila akademski / stručni stupanj: **University of Rijeka, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences / Sveučilište u Rijeci, Filozofski fakultet**

Permanent link / Trajna poveznica: <https://um.nsk.hr/um:nbn:hr:186:188515>

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Download date / Datum preuzimanja: **2024-12-27**



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LITERATURE

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Orientational Metaphors in Magazine Advertisements

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Rijeka, September 2019

ABSTRACT

The field of metaphor research is an important field of research, not only for cognitive linguistics but for other fields as well, such as advertising. This paper shows how orientational metaphors appear in skin care, hair care and make-up advertisements.

Before going into the research on orientational metaphors in magazine advertisements, the theory behind research on metaphor, orientational metaphors, cultural coherence, conceptualization of metaphors and metaphors in advertising is presented.

The goal of this research is to determine the verbal and visual elements that appear in the advertisements as well as the different types of orientational metaphors used in the advertisements. There is a total of 21 advertisements from the following magazines: *Elle*, *Vogue*, *Cosmopolitan*, *Marie Claire* and *Fashion Quarterly*. The advertisements are then divided into the skin care, hair care and make-up categories. Firstly, the present research and method is discussed, then an analysis of the orientational metaphors is given and lastly the results and discussion are presented. The research shows that almost all of the advertisements contain orientational metaphors that use the upward direction, e.g. GOOD IS UP, HAPPY IS UP and other. This research shows that advertisers opt for orientational metaphors and especially the MORE IS UP metaphor in magazine advertisements.

KEYWORDS: metaphor, orientational metaphor, cognitive linguistics, magazine, advertising

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1. Introduction

The groundbreaking work ‘Metaphors we live by’ started the trend of metaphor research and the trend does not cease to be omnipresent in various research fields up to the present day. The work brought the metaphor as a rhetorical figure in literature to everyday language. Lakoff and Turner pointed out that “Metaphor is a tool so ordinary that we use it unconsciously and automatically, with so little effort that we hardly notice it. It is omnipresent: metaphor suffuses our thoughts, no matter what we are thinking about.” (1989: 11). They conclude that “metaphor is an integral part of our ordinary everyday thought and language” (1989: 11).

In this paper, I will try and give an account of how metaphors, specifically orientational metaphors are used in advertising. Firstly, a theoretical background of the research on metaphor will be given and the focus will be on orientational metaphors and the notion of cultural coherence. Secondly, an overview of theories on metaphor will be given, focusing mostly on the conceptual metaphor theory or CMT. Then, since this research focuses not solely on the field of cognitive linguistics, an account of metaphors in advertising will also be given. The works mentioned give an overview from both a linguistic and advertising perspective.

Following the theoretical background, the focus in the next sections is on the present research. First, an introduction to the present research and the method is given. Then, the advertisements are shown grouped into the following categories: skincare, hair care and make-up advertisements. There are a total of 21 advertisements and there is a detailed description given based on both the verbal and visual elements, as well as a description of the product, consumer and main ideas behind the product. After a detailed analysis of the magazine advertisements, results and discussion follow. This part is also divided into the three previously mentioned categories, i.e. skincare, hair care and make-up and the main results from the advertisements and patterns that were found are discussed.

Finally, a conclusion of the overall research into orientational metaphors in magazine advertisements is given.

2. Research on Metaphor

It goes without saying that the literature on metaphors and metaphor theory is a vast field of research. In this work, most of the research will be focused on Lakoff and Johnson's 'Metaphors we live by', but there are other theories on metaphors that are also worth mentioning.

According to Lakoff and Johnson, metaphor does not only appear as a rhetorical figure in figurative language, but is something inherent to the human communication. Namely, "metaphor is pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but in thought and action. Our ordinary conceptual system, in terms, of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature" (2003: 14). Lakoff refers to the concepts of metaphor as those "that govern our everyday functioning, down to the most mundane details" (Lakoff 1980: 454). It is so pervasive that Lakoff and Johnson decided to undertake a division of the different types of metaphor based on their conceptual relations.

For example, ARGUMENT IS WAR is one kind of categorization of metaphors that Lakoff and Johnson mention. Some of the examples they list for this are:

Your claims are indefensible. He attacked every weak point in my argument. His criticisms were right on target. (2003: 14).

Based on these examples, "we can actually win or lose arguments" or "see the person we are arguing with as an opponent" (2003: 14). Hereby, it becomes obvious how deeply rooted metaphors are in everyday language.

Before diving into the theory on metaphors, it is important to mention the process of how metaphors, i.e. figurative language is to be understood. Jäkel notes that, "the mind is a workshop" and "this workshop has central furnishings, which metaphorically represent the structure of our conscious mind" (1995: 204). Basically, the metaphors are tools and objects stored in our mind. There is a large number of metaphors shaping the mind.

Gibbs proposed a variety of processes and products of understanding figurative language. He states that: „All language interpretation takes place in real time ranging from the first milliseconds of processing to long-term reflective analysis. This temporal continuum may be roughly divided into moments corresponding to linguistic comprehension, recognition, interpretation, and appreciation“ (1994: 116). The first step, comprehension “refers to the immediate, moment-by-moment process of creating meanings for utterances”, while the second step, i.e. recognition “refers to the conscious identification of the products of comprehension as types” (Gibbs 1999: 39). Basically, in the first step we comprehend the meaning of words on a phonological and syntactic level, whereas in the second step we recognize the intention of this word. In the third step of interpretation an “analysis of the early products of comprehension as tokens” takes place and finally, in the last step of appreciation “some aesthetic judgment” is “given to a product either as a type or token” (Gibbs 1999: 39-40).

An important distinction when it comes to metaphor is that between conceptual metaphors and metaphorical linguistic expressions. As Kövecses notes: “In conceptual metaphors, one domain of experience is used to understand another domain of experience. The metaphorical linguistic expressions make manifest particular conceptual metaphors. The conceptual domain that we try to understand is called the target domain, and the conceptual domain that we use for this purpose is the source domain“(2010: 14). Conceptual metaphors are further discussed in the fourth section.

Steen (1999), on the other hand, took the notion of conceptual metaphor further and came up with a procedure in which a linguist determines a conceptual metaphor in five steps. These five steps include: metaphor focus identification, metaphorical idea identification, nonliteral comparison identification, nonliteral analogy identification and nonliteral mapping identification (1999: 73). Steen also adds that „other aspects can be included, and the list may be adjusted according to context“(1999: 74).

Kövecses also proposes two lines of research when it comes to metaphors. The first one is the cognitive linguistic view based on the embodiment of metaphors, where „primary metaphors are based on correlations in bodily experience“(2015: 13). This view focuses primarily on the universality of metaphors since „nonuniversal aspects of metaphor are accounted for by the various ways in which primary metaphors are put together in

different cultures to form 'complex metaphors'" (2015: 14). The second view focuses on the variation of metaphors that can be found across cultures, with the main component of this variation depending on context. Context is a factor that is extremely important in metaphor interpretation and comprehension. Kövecses claims that „metaphor interpretation can take place only in context“(2015: 7). In addition to context, preexisting conventional conceptual metaphors can also facilitate comprehension (2015: 11). However, context seems to play a bigger role because „it can guide conceptualizers in their *choice* of metaphors“(2015: 11). Therefore, there are two main lines of research on metaphors: embodiment in terms of the universality of metaphors and context in terms of metaphor variation (2015: 14).

Conceptual metaphors offer a vast area of research; there is research on metaphors and discourse, embodiment, emotion, education, metaphors in corpus linguistics, emotion metaphors, multimodal metaphors etc. Kövecses (2010) focuses on some of these areas. Metaphor is not only researched in linguistics, but is also in psychology, philosophy, literature and other fields. In this particular research, the focus is on metaphors in advertising, or to be more precise, orientational metaphors in magazine advertising. This will be discussed more in the following sections.

3. Orientational Metaphors We Live By

The scope of this thesis and the analysis of materials were based on the theory developed by Lakoff and Johnson and their work 'Metaphors we live by'. Through their work they classified the different kinds of metaphors and, in a way, revolutionized the way we think about them. They discovered the art of metaphor in cognitive linguistics and separated it from the traditional view that metaphors only exist in literature. They deal with a number of metaphors, such as ARGUMENT IS WAR, TIME IS MONEY, and LOVE IS A JOURNEY, to mention a few.

In this paper, the focus will mainly be on the orientational metaphor and, for the most part, on the MORE IS UP metaphor. Nevertheless, if other types of metaphors, e.g. conceptual metaphors can be discerned from the research materials, they will also be mentioned and discussed. What is important to mention about the orientational metaphor is that it "it does not structure one concept in terms of another but instead organizes a whole system of concepts with respect to one another" (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003: 25). Lakoff and Johnson explain that these are called orientational metaphors because they "have to do with spatial orientation: up-down, in-out, front-back, on-off, deep-shallow, central-peripheral" (2003: 25). These polar oppositions, although physical in nature, are different from one culture to another (2003: 25). Some of the orientational metaphors are:

HAPPY IS UP; SAD IS DOWN

I'm feeling up. That boosted my spirits. My spirits rose. (2003: 25)

HEALTH AND LIFE ARE UP; SICKNESS AND DEATH ARE DOWN

He's at the peak of health. Lazarus rose from the dead. He's in top shape. (2003: 25)

HAVING CONTROL or FORCE IS UP; BEING SUBJECT TO CONTROL or FORCE IS DOWN

I have control over her. I am on top of the situation. (2003: 25)

MORE IS UP; LESS IS DOWN

The number of books printed each year keeps going up. His draft number is high. My income rose last year. (2003: 26)

FORESEEABLE FUTURE EVENTS ARE UP (and AHEAD)

All upcoming events are listed in the paper. What's coming up this week? (2003: 26)

HIGH STATUS IS UP; LOW STATUS IS DOWN

He has a lofty position. She'll rise to the top. He's at the peak of his career. (2003: 26)

GOOD IS UP; BAD IS DOWN

Things are looking up. We hit a peak last year, but it's been downhill ever since. (2003: 26)

Gibbs reflects on these metaphor interpretations as being embodied in thought and language. He explains this on the example of the metaphors HAPPY IS UP and SAD IS DOWN. Namely, “these expressions reflect the recurring bodily experiences that drooping posture typically goes along with sadness, depression and ill-health, while erect postures are associated with positive emotional states, good health and higher states of consciousness“ (Gibbs 1999: 46).

These metaphors convey a strong physical basis, either of emotional states, size, substance, vision, power or perception of a person. Lakoff and Johnson draw up the following conclusions based on orientational metaphors: spatialization as a fundamental concept, an overall external systematicity, roots in physical and cultural experience, and various possible physical and social bases for metaphor (2003: 29-30).

3.1 Cultural Coherence

The main idea behind metaphor and cultural coherence is that „the most fundamental values in a culture will be coherent with the metaphorical structure of the most fundamental concepts in the culture“(Lakoff & Johnson 2003: 33). Some examples that Lakoff & Johnson mention are:

"More is better" is coherent with more is up and good is up.

"Less is better" is not coherent with them.

"Bigger is better" is coherent with more is up and good is up.

"Smaller is better" is not coherent with them.

"The future will be better" is coherent with the future is up and good is up.

"The future will be worse" is not.

"There will be more in the future" is coherent with more is up and THE FUTURE IS UP.

"Your status should be higher in the future" is coherent with HIGH STATUS IS UP and THE FUTURE IS UP. (2003: 33).

With the term culture it is important to differentiate „the various subcultures of a mainstream culture“(2003: 33). For example, certain mainstream trends tend to promote the concept that less is more and that does tie in with what precedes it. The conclusion is that „the major orientations up-down, in-out, central-peripheral, active-passive, etc. seem to cut across all cultures, but which concepts are oriented which way and which orientations are most important vary from culture to culture“(2003: 34).

4. Conceptualization of metaphors

As the understanding of metaphor evolved in cognitive linguistics, so did the theories surrounding the conceptualization of metaphors. Lakoff and Johnson were one of the first who found that our conceptual system actually is metaphorical and identified this conceptual system (2003: 14). These findings led to a metaphor theory called conceptual metaphor theory (CMT). Some researchers also added to the further understanding of CMT and these will be briefly discussed.

For the sake of this research, CMT was chosen as the main metaphor theory as it is most applicable to the research and ties in well with the conceptual, i.e. orientational metaphors that occur in the present research. However, there is a vast pool of metaphor theories such as: the salience-imbalance theory by Ortony (1979), domains-interaction theory by Tourangeau & Sternberg (1981), structure-mapping theory by Gentner (1989), class inclusion theory by Glucksberg & Keysar (1990), speech act theory by Searle (1979), no-meaning theory by Davidson (1979), semantic-field theory by Kittay (1987), relevance theory by Sperber & Wilson (1985/86) and many more. Gibbs (1999: 44) gives a concise overview of these.

Before getting into the different theories of metaphor conceptualization, i.e., the conceptual metaphor theory, it is important to define what concepts are. According to Lakoff and Johnson's 'Philosophy in the Flesh', concepts are "neural structures that allow us to mentally characterize our categories and reason about them" and human categories are actually prototypes that allow "some sort of inferential or imaginative takes relative to a category" (1999: 36). The conceptual structure of metaphor that arises is then mostly characterized by image and motor schemas (1999: 106).

In 'The Contemporary Theory of Metaphor', Lakoff sheds light on the notion of metaphor and its understanding in cognitive linguistics. He says that "the word *metaphor* has come to mean *a cross-domain mapping in the conceptual system*. The term *metaphorical expression* refers to a linguistic expression (a word, phrase, or sentence) that is the surface realization of such a cross-domain mapping" (1993: 203). To sum up, metaphors are conceptual, but realized in language and they can go from

one domain into another. However, the nature of metaphors is experiential. Lakoff uses an example of the MORE IS UP metaphor to showcase this:

“Contemporary theory postulates that the MORE IS UP metaphor is *grounded in experience* – in the common experiences of pouring more fluid into a container and seeing the level go up, or adding more things to a pile and seeing the pile get higher. These are thoroughly pervasive experiences; we encounter them every day of our lives. They have a structure – a correspondence between the conceptual domain of quantity and the conceptual domain of verticality” (1993: 240).

Lakoff and Johnson’s theory also distinguishes metaphorical concepts and metaphorical expressions. Stefanowitsch explains this division in the following way: “conceptual metaphors are general mental mappings from a (typically concrete) source domain to a (typically abstract) target domain, while metaphorical expressions are individual linguistic items instantiating these mappings” (Stefanowitsch 2006: 63).

It is also important to briefly mention Grady’s input to the CMT. He goes so far as to compare the blending theory and CMT and argue that the two are complementary. The blending theory uses the mental space as “the basic unit of cognitive organization” (1999: 102), while CMT uses domains. Also, “CMT addresses recurring patterns in figurative language, while BT seems to focus on the particulars of individual cases” (1999: 120). By proposing that these theories are complementary, the outcome would be „both a rich theory of metaphor and a fully specified model of conceptual blending“ (Grady 1999: 122).

Kövecses, on the other hand, discusses two different kinds of organization of the conceptual system, namely the vertical organization and the horizontal organization (2014: 16).

The vertical organization presupposes that “superordinate-level concepts define large thematic groups in the system” and the horizontal organization concepts “are organized ‘horizontally’ into frames, or domains” (2014: 16-17). Furthermore, there are various constituents in the systems that are linked to one another. Kövecses mentions three types of connections:

„i) ‘is-connection’: By means of this type of connection conceptualizers identify a concept (entity) with another in different frames or mental spaces.

(ii) ‘through-connection’: By means of this type of connection conceptualizers provide access to a concept (entity) through another within the same frame.

(iii) ‘as-if-connection’: By means of this type of connection conceptualizers conceive of a frame or an element of a frame in terms of another frame or element.“ (2014: 20)

Kövecses claims the following: the is-connection identifies a concept or entity, the through-connection actually is metonymy and the as if-connection is metaphor and that this connection occurs in conventionalized mappings of correspondences (2014:20-21).

Besides Conceptual Metaphor Theory, there is also class-inclusion theory. This theory „makes a distinction between the comprehension and understanding processes and products of conventional versus novel metaphors“(Steen 2007: 75). Hence, by distinguishing these metaphors there are two different criteria that need to be taken into account, „for novel metaphor, an activated source category and an activated ad hoc superordinate category are required, in addition to some activated target category; but for conventional metaphor, an activated superordinate category is all that is needed“ (Steen 2007: 75-77).

All of the above mentioned theories on metaphor conceptualization are important for understanding the underlying concepts in different types of metaphors and provide introspection for an analysis of different types of metaphors.

5. Metaphors in Advertising

The analysis of metaphors in advertising seems to be a recurring topic in various research papers. It is a topic discussed both by linguists and advertising experts. Firstly, indirect attempts of persuasion in advertising will be discussed, then pictorial and multimodal metaphors, stages in understanding the metaphorical message and from the advertising background the main parts of advertising communication and important factors in advertising.

The interplay of metaphor and advertisements works so well because metaphors take the consumer from one domain to another. Kövecses notes that “part of the selling power of an advertisement depends on how well-chosen the conceptual metaphor is that the picture and/or the words used in the advertisement attempt to evoke in people” (2010: 59). Basically, if a metaphor is appropriately selected it may have fruitful results in the overall product sales (2010: 59). Boozer et. al. state that metaphor “appears to enhance sales messages in a variety of ways: the intangible can be made tangible; the mundane can be made novel; and the unknown can be made more familiar”(1991). All in all, each of these elements that are included in a metaphor make metaphor a powerful and persuasive tool in advertising.

McQuarrie and Phillips (2005) raise the issue of indirect attempts of persuasion in advertising via metaphors. Basically, they argue the fact that “in current advertising practice, it is rare to find magazine ads that lead off with a direct verbal claim” (2005: 7). They portray this with the example of the brand Tide. Instead of using a direct claim, that Tide gets clothes clean, it is advertised with a pictorial element of blue sky connected with freshness (2005: 7-8). Furthermore, metaphor is seen as a type of indirect claim. This is because metaphor in particular compares two objects and suggests a relationship between these two objects and their domains (2005: 8). Therefore, indirect advertisements, including metaphor, “may be more advantageous because they render the consumer more receptive to multiple, distinct, positive inferences about the advertised brand” (2005: 7). It is also important to mention that metaphor can be not only verbal, but also pictorial.

Pictorial or visual metaphor is also an occurring form of metaphor in advertising. According to Forceville, pictorial metaphors are “monomodal: their target and source are entirely rendered in visual terms, just as their verbal sisters have a target and source entirely rendered in language” (2008: 464). Although pictorial metaphors can be analysed separately, they can also be analysed together with the verbal parts of the metaphors. If there is a combination of both, then these metaphors are called multimodal metaphors.

Multimodal metaphors are those, “whose source and target are each represented exclusively or predominantly in different modes” (Forceville 2009: 24). In more modern advertisements, simplicity is key and “minimalistic advertisements, if wittily devised, are ideal candidates to trigger conceptual operations in multiple directions” (Pérez-Sobrino 2016: 13).

If, for example, a metaphor is stated indirectly and it contains visual elements, it may lead to difficulties in understanding. Morgan and Reichert found that metaphors may not always be interpreted correctly and “not be entirely effective in conveying an intended or even an obvious meaning” (1999: 8). A possible solution to this may be using a visual metaphor that is supported by a clear verbal metaphor (1999: 8).

When analyzing metaphors in advertisements, the role of the consumer also needs to be taken into account. Considering the fact that the consumer is looking at an advertisement “the ingredient of intentionality is always present, as well as the fact that a number of stages need to be covered to fully understand the message” (Martin de la Rosa 2009: 178). Martin de la Rosa also mentions the sequence of stages the consumer undergoes in the understanding of the message: the pictorial context, the linguistic message and the world knowledge. He also emphasizes the role of coherence throughout the stages (2009: 179).

Although this research mainly focuses on metaphors and the division of metaphors by Lakoff and Johnson, this does not mean that other patterns of figurative language will be excluded from the analysis. As Cook notes, metaphor, metonymy and symbol often overlap and one figure does not exclude the other (1992: 54). Lundmark (2005) conducted a research on metaphor and creativity in British magazines, where not only

metaphor was included, but also polysemous words, idiomatic expressions and novel conceptualizations. Zaltman and Coulter (1995) adopt an approach to metaphor from an advertising stance and go so far as to develop their own model, i.e. ZMET (Zaltman Metaphor Elicitation Technique). This technique gives a suggestion on how to successfully collect data and how the consumers can interpret the meaning of metaphors.

It is also important to mention the advertising background and thoughts behind the metaphors. One problem when analyzing advertisements is that one cannot solely focus only on the metaphor, but has to take other variables into account. Advertisements communicate with the consumers in different ways and send different messages and it is therefore important to know “the context of communication: who is communicating with whom and why; in what kind of society and situation; through what medium; how different types and acts of communication evolved, and their relationship to each other” (Cook 1992: 1). According to Cook, the main parts of communication in advertising include four categories: medium, product, technique and consumer (1992: 7). For example, in the present research the medium would be women’s magazines. In these magazines, there are different products that are advertised. The chosen products would then be skin care, hair care and makeup products. Regarding the different techniques there are hard sell and soft sell, reason and tickle, slow drip and sudden burst and short copy and long copy (1992: 8). Hard sell means making a direct appeal to the consumer, while soft sell entails more on the mood the product brings, or “the implication that life will be better with the product” (1992: 7). Furthermore, reason advertisements also have distinctive factors, for example: product placement with a brand name and/or company logo and the reason to buy the product (Simpson 2001: 594). The tickle technique, on the other hand, is indirect and “requires greater participation by the interlocutor and greater expenditure of processing effort” (Simpson 2001: 601). Slow drip and sudden burst refer to the frequency of the appearance of an advertisement while short copy and long copy refer to the duration of the advertisement (Cook 1992: 8). Cook also notes that the most important category of ads is the consumer category and adds the following:

“The advertising industry expends enormous effort on attempts to both categorize people effectively and then to target their categories. Fashions change as fast as ads themselves and there is endless discussion about whether the best divisions are those of lifestyle, socioeconomic class, point in the life cycle, neighbourhood, personality type, or something else altogether. (...) Certain products are more likely to be bought by men than by women, by the rich, by a certain age group and so on.” (1992: 8).

One of the formulae used is “the so-called AIDA-formula, a stimulus response according to which adverts are to arouse Attention, stimulate Interest in the positive qualities of a product, awaken Desire and finally induce the consumers to Act, i.e. buy the product” (Strobel 2014: 165).

Not only is the formula behind the advertising important, but also the making of a brand. Therefore, market and advertising specialists use human characteristics “to establish a unique identity for their brand” (Ang & Lim 2006: 39). In this overall process, metaphors come in handy because they “can thus be used not only for short-term objectives such as breaking attention threshold, but also for longer-term building of brand image and personality” (2006: 49-50).

6. Present research

The first step of the research was to extract different types of metaphors from the advertisements in female magazines such as *Elle*, *Vogue*, *Marie Claire* and *Fashion Quarterly*. These magazines contained mostly advertisements for fashion brands, perfumes, skincare products, hair products and other beauty products. Advertisements for fashion brands and perfumes were soon excluded because they did not contain enough verbal and metaphorical elements and the materials were mostly pictorial. The following step was to try and establish a pattern in advertisements containing skincare products, hair products and make-up products. Seeing that orientational metaphors were the prevalent form of metaphors in the advertisements, the next step was to categorize the products and see exactly which orientational metaphors could be recognized.

There were altogether 21 advertisements that were included in this research and they were published in the period between 2014 and 2019. The purpose was to see how these products were advertised, especially in terms of the different categories, i.e. skincare, hair care and make-up products, but also how the orientational metaphors changed from one category to another. Furthermore, an important factor was to see how the trends changed throughout the years. Lastly, when analyzing the metaphors another important factor was to see how the visual elements of the advertisements were supported by the verbal elements.

This research on metaphors was conducted to see if some metaphors were more present than others, especially regarding the categories. Similarities and differences across the categories were taken into account in the analysis. Also, it was important to emphasize the prevalence of orientational metaphors in magazine advertisements; especially the MORE IS UP metaphor.

7. Method

The research presented here is based on a collection of materials from various women's magazines such as *Elle*, *Vogue*, *Cosmopolitan*, *Marie Claire* and *Fashion Quarterly*. There are a total of 21 advertisements containing different metaphors. The magazine issues range from 2014 to 2019.

The first step was to extract metaphors, in particular orientational metaphors from women's magazines such as *Elle*, *Vogue*, *Cosmopolitan*, *Marie Claire* and *Fashion Quarterly*. These magazines are issued on a monthly basis. Their main audience is female and the focus is on overall trends in fashion and beauty. Next, the materials, i.e. advertisements were divided into the following categories: skincare, hair care products and make-up products. The advertised products are produced by different brands such as L'Oréal, Maybelline, Olay, Garnier, to name a few.

The second step was not only to categorize the advertisements by type of product, but also by the type of metaphor used. The prevalent metaphor found was MORE IS UP and this is the main metaphor in this research. The advertisements were then analyzed in detail, mainly from the linguistic perspective, but also from an advertising perspective.

The third step was to mention the main elements of the advertisement and then describe the metaphor. First, the product is described shortly and the main ideas behind its advertisement. If a product has a specific target audience then this is also mentioned, as in the example of an anti-aging moisturizer. The visual elements of an advertisement are also taken into account, especially if these add to the metaphorical message.

Following that, the verbal elements are analyzed in detail. The focal point of the research is the orientational relationship advertised in these products. As mentioned before, the prevalent metaphor is MORE IS UP, but other metaphors such as GOOD IS UP, HAPPY IS UP, HAVING CONTROL OR FORCE IS UP, HEALTH AND LIFE ARE UP are also present. On the other hand, it is also important to consider the counterparts of these metaphors, i.e. LESS IS DOWN, BAD IS DOWN, SAD IS DOWN, BEING SUBJECT TO CONTROL/ FORCE IS DOWN, SICKNESS/ DEATH

IS DOWN. Furthermore, if there were any other metaphors that were found in the advertisements they are also mentioned.

Since advertisements contain many types of indirect and figurative language, the main and visible ones are indicated. Some of the examples of figurative language include metonymy, alliteration, symbol etc.

Last but not least, a picture of the advertisement is presented before the description of the advertisement. All of the aforementioned elements make up the analysis of the selected materials.

8. Orientational metaphors in advertisements

In this chapter, advertisements that contain orientational metaphors are analyzed in detail. The main orientational metaphors found were MORE IS UP, GOOD IS UP, HAPPY IS UP, HAVING CONTROL OR FORCE IS UP, HEALTH AND LIFE ARE UP and their metaphorical counterparts, i.e. LESS IS DOWN, BAD IS DOWN, SAD IS DOWN, BEING SUBJECT TO CONTROL/ FORCE IS DOWN, SICKNESS/ DEATH IS DOWN. The advertised products fall into the following categories: skin care products, hair care products and makeup products.

8.1 Orientational metaphors in skin care advertisements

In this section orientational metaphors in skin care products advertisements will be analyzed. The advertisements are from the following brands: Aveeno, L'Oréal, Estée Lauder, Dr. Brandt, Covergirl+Olay, Lancôme, Nivea and Natura Bissé. The products mentioned are: serum, mask, moisturizer and a line of skin care products. First, the

magazine advertisement is showed and then it is described.



Figure 1: Aveeno. *Elle*, December 2018.

Aveeno is a brand that mostly sells skin and hair care products. Their products are mostly advertised as natural and their slogan is ‘Better ingredients. Better Skincare: Aveeno’. In the following advertisement, the product is a serum or booster meant for skin care. At the top of the picture there is a kiwi and it appears to be squeezed into the product bottle. A figurative message that can be taken from this picture is an emphasis on the fact that this product is made from natural ingredients. Also, the color of the product is green and this may also accentuate that the product is of natural origin.

It is also important to mention the verbal message behind ‘Positively radiant’. This is the name of their line for skin care products, containing soy as the staple ingredient. This can also be seen on the bottle, where it says ‘total soy & kiwi complex’. Already in the name for the line of products, positively radiant, a metaphorical meaning is present. Positive or positively means going up or in and upward direction, hence this part is connected to the GOOD IS UP metaphor. However, if we take a closer look at the

whole expression and take into consideration the adjective ‘radiant’, we see that its meaning is twofold. Radiant, in this context, can mean glowing or shiny, but also happy and beautiful. Hence, if the second meaning is taken into consideration, this leads to the HAPPY IS UP metaphor.

Then there is the name of the product itself, ‘Maxglow’ infusion drops. Firstly, it is important to mention that this is actually a serum or a booster, but this can only be read from the description of the product towards the bottom of the picture. With this product, one is supposed to ‘Glow to the max’. This notion of maximum represents something that is the highest or the greatest, i.e. if we take this example, this entails glowing to the highest or greatest level there is. This leads to the focal MORE IS UP metaphor and the metaphor is also culturally coherent as the notion of more is better complies with the MORE IS UP metaphor.



Figure 2: L'Oréal. *Elle*, December 2018.

This example is a mask, i.e. a skin care product from L'Oréal. L'Oréal is a multifaceted brand and it has a vast range of beauty products. This particular advertisement is one for a newer product, since clay as a key ingredient in skin care products is only beginning

to grow in popularity. Nowadays, clay is advertised as a main ingredient in shampoos, cleansers and other. This particular product from L'Oréal is a mask. The main color scheme is based on black, the color of clay, and green, which is again connected with natural ingredients. The overall advertisement does not contain a lot of text and this seems to be a trend in current advertisements, more visual and less verbal material. The mask and clay are the focal parts of the advertisement. However, there are a few orientational metaphors that are visible. The first one is **HAVING CONTROL OR FORCE IS UP** represented in '1 powerful mask'. A mask in itself does not have the property of strength, but its ingredients, mainly clay, are portrayed as powerful. The mask is so powerful that it can transform the skin, which can be seen in 'See the transformation in 3 ways'. The emphasis of natural ingredients is contained in the description of 'pure clay mask'. Therefore, clay is not only powerful, but it is of natural origin and not mixed with any other unnatural ingredients.

The next **MORE IS UP** metaphor is contained in 'skin tone is brighter, more radiant'. More is portrayed as better, in this particular example more brightness and more radiance is better. Again, there is the use of the adjective radiant, also used in the Aveeno advertisement.

The last metaphor found in this advertisement is a combination of **HEALTH AND LIFE ARE UP** and **MORE IS UP** in 'skin is healthier looking'. There is also an unconventional underlying idea that **LESS IS BETTER** in 'skin is detoxified'. Although this advertisement contains mostly orientational metaphors that show an upward direction, the notion of detox implies a downward direction. Detox and detoxification are a newer advertising concept that has arisen with new trends in beauty, where a

natural, healthy look to the skin is seen as better.



Figure 3: Estée Lauder. *Vogue*, March, 2019.

This advertisement is from the brand Estée Lauder and it is a night-time serum. Similar to L'Oréal, Estée Lauder also sells a variety of products. This product, specifically, belongs to the skin care range. It seems that the advertisers tried hard to conceal that this is primarily made for anti-aging purposes. The notion of aging is only mentioned in the sentence 'Starting tonight, let this breakthrough serum be your answer to the multiple visible aging results of modern life'. Following that, the product is also not described as anti-aging, but rather as a form of repair or recovery for the skin. The name of the product is 'Advanced Night Repair' and it is shown as a serum whose power will 'maximize every second of beauty sleep' and achieve the ultimate goal of 'skin's nightly renewal'. The symbol of night is also represented in the background of the picture, where the stars in the night sky merge with the serum and its ingredients in order to work together towards the night repair and the prevalent color is dark blue. Two metaphors emerge from the sentence 'Unleash the power to maximize every second of beauty sleep'. The first one is **HAVING CONTROL OR FORCE IS UP** in the expression unleash the power. In this example, we can equate force or power with sleep and form the **POWER IS SLEEP** metaphor. The second metaphor, **MORE IS UP**

emerges from the maximizing of sleep, whereby more beauty sleep equals more power of the serum. Another metaphor that can be found here is **ACTIVITY IS A SUBSTANCE**, beauty sleep being the activity and the night serum being the substance.



**PLUMP UP
THE VOLUME**

© 2015 results of self measurements on 30 women, concerned with loss of volume, who used the product every day for 1 week.

3-D FILLER MASK
with Adipofill'in™ complex
avec le complexe Adipofill'in™

dr. brandt
skin-changing science

Try needles no more® 3-D filler mask the self-sculpting formula with hyaluronic acid, peptides and Adipofill'in. Doctor designed to visually **revolumize, fill and reshape** the appearance of face contours. **Don't let gravity be your destiny.**

*After 1 week of treatment, 100% reported that lines & wrinkles look less visible.

dr. brandt® needles no more® 3-D filler mask exclusively at
SEPHORA

#PlumpUpTheVolume

Figure 4: Dr. Brandt. *Elle*, January 2016.

This advertisement is an example of a skin care product from Dr. Brandt. This brand specializes in skin care products and their purpose seems to be portrayed as a modern brand that develops cutting-edge products, which can also be noticed from this advertisement. The product advertised is a face mask, the same product as in the advertisement by L'Oréal, yet advertised in a different way. To begin with, it is not only advertised as a face mask, but a 3-D filler mask and it is from the range 'needles no more'. Basically, the mask fills the face contours in a way that cosmetic surgery would. It promises to 'revolumize, fill and reshape the appearance of face contours'. Similar to the Estée Lauder advertisement, the advertisers also want to brush over the idea of anti-aging and here, for example, the word 'contours' is used instead of 'wrinkles'. Also, age is not portrayed as a cause of these contours, but gravity is. Basically, gravity is what is

weighing the skin down and with the mask you will not permit gravity to ‘be your destiny’. This segment also rhymes, maybe to make it more memorable for the consumers. The visual elements also help in advertising the product. For example, the molecules in the back are in 3-D vision and they emphasize the filler properties of the mask.

At the top of the advertisement it says ‘Plump up the volume’. There is also interplay with the word plump, which means full or rounded and the phrasal verb pump up, which means to increase something and in this particular case there is a reference to the volume. Altogether, this slogan forms the underlying MORE IS UP metaphor or, more specifically MORE VOLUME IS UP. In the bottom corner there is a hashtag for the slogan, written in the following way: #PlumpUpTheVolume. The emergence of hashtags in advertisements is a newer form of brand advertising in order to get closer to the consumer, especially to the modern consumer. Apart from the hashtag ‘Pump up the volume’ is the name of a popular song, which can also be seen as a play on words. All of the above goes hand in hand with the portrayal of the brand as modern.



Figure 5: Covergirl+Olay. *Elle*, February 2016.

This advertisement is an example of an anti-aging foundation advertisement from the collaboration of the brands Covergirl and Olay. Olay is a skin care brand and Covergirl is a makeup brand. Together, they came up with this anti-aging foundation that will not ‘age you like makeup that settles in lines’. The target audience here is mature women and, in most cases the target audience can be seen from the person in the advertisement. In this particular advertisement, Ellen DeGeneres advertises the product and represents the target audience of women with mature skin.

The notion that the product is made for mature skin can also be identified in words such as ageless, wrinkle defying, float over lines etc. The important part of advertisements for anti-aging products is their focus on what will happen if someone starts using them. Sometimes these are real-life results based on surveys. For example, in the previous advertisement from Estée Lauder ‘In just 1 week, women said their skin felt hydrated, looked healthier and beautifully glowing’ and in this particular advertisement the product promises to make your future more beautiful. With this phrase, ‘Your future just got more beautiful’ two main metaphors emerge. The first one is FORESEEABLE FUTURE EVENTS ARE UP (and AHEAD), i.e. FUTURE IS BEAUTIFUL.

To sum up, the anti-aging foundation is seen as making the future more beautiful. This leads to the MORE IS UP or MORE BEAUTIFUL IS UP metaphor. The foundation is thereby not only used to nourish or minimize wrinkles, but also ‘protect for a beautiful future’.



Figure 6: Lâncome. *Vogue*, June 2017.

This example uses a similar advertising technique as the previous one. In this advertisement the product is an anti-aging moisturizer from the brand Lâncome. Lancôme, similar to Estée Lauder is a high-end brand that offers a variety of products. Just like the Olay+Covergirl anti-aging foundation, it is also advertised by a celebrity. This particular anti-aging skin care product also has a distinct advertising manner as do other previously mentioned products.

Firstly, it is not advertised as an anti-aging moisturizer, but rather as a lifting and firming moisturizer. The moisturizer represents a celebration of moments in life, represented in the picture with flowers and the texture of the moisturizer at the bottom of the picture that is similar to the flowers, i.e. roses. On the left picture there is also written ‘Celebrating 25 years of skin-lifting expertise’, which further emphasizes the element of celebration that the moisturizer represents.

Secondly, it presents the equation that uplifted skin equals uplifting moments. There is also the notion of upward motion that is distinctive in this example. Hereby, the MORE IS UP metaphor is represented, specifically MORE LIFT IS UP. The notion of lift is also twofold. A lift can be associated both with lifting the skin by using the moisturizer

and lifting as in lifting moments in life. By playing with the meaning of words, advertisers achieve the **ACTIVITY IS A SUBSTANCE** metaphor, the activity being uplifted skin or uplifting moments that essentially come from using a substance, represented by the moisturizer in this advertisement. In this example the activity is lifting and the substance is the moisturizer. The **HAPPY IS UP** metaphor is also present and the visual and verbal elements help get this message across. The celebration of specific moments in life brings happiness and creates uplifting moments that are, in turn, equated with uplifted skin. To be more specific, the metaphor would be **HAPPY IS UPLIFTED** or **UPLIFTING**.

When comparing the previous advertisement and this one, there is a similar effect used in advertising the product. In the previous advertisement, the foundation is compared to a beautiful future and in the present example the moisturizer is compared to uplifting moments in life. Both of these advertisements promote promising events that will happen if the consumer uses this particular product.



Figure 7: Nivea. *Marie Claire*, January 2019.

This example is an anti-aging moisturizer from Nivea. Nivea is a famous brand that specializes in skin care products. As in the previous example, a comparison between this product and the previous ones will be made since it also shows a moisturizer.

This advertisement also shares some similarities with the last two advertisements. The target audience is immediately addressed through the person in the advertisement; it contains mainly visual elements and a short representation and description of the product. This is only the second example where the word anti-aging is overtly stated. The main idea behind the product is that it has ‘10x more creatine’ and that it has ‘anti-wrinkle and firming power’. The name of the product is also Q10 Power. The first metaphor that comes to mind and is portrayed with the concept of power is **HAVING CONTROL OR FORCE IS UP**. In other words, the underlying force of the cream adds to the replenishment of the skin and the reduction of wrinkles. The other metaphor that arises is **MORE IS UP** and it contains the underlying idea that **TEN TIMES MORE IS UP** or that ten times more is better.



Figure 8: Natura Bissé. *Marie Claire*, January 2019.

This example is an advertisement from the brand Natura Bissé. It is a skin care brand and the products advertised are used for skin care, although from the advertisement itself it is not easy to pinpoint which products are exactly advertised. This may lead to confusion since the products could also be interpreted as hair care products if the consumer does not recognize this brand. The fact that the advertisement is mainly visual and does not contain a short description of the products also adds to the lack of clarification.

The line of skin care products is called Diamond Cocoon and it is advertised as a global pollution-protection treatment. The name Diamond Cocoon brings forth the imagery of a shiny armor for the skin that serves as a protection from pollution. In the picture, it is clear that the woman is in a big city on a roof of a skyscraper and seems to be away, i.e. protected from the dangers of the city, including pollution. Hence, the product serves as a cocoon that lets her beauty emerge. In addition, the advertised products are represented as skyscrapers in the advertisement.

In the sentence 'Let your beauty emerge', the beauty becomes apparent or prominent with the help of the product. The first metaphor that is brought up is THE OBJECT COMES OUT OF THE SUBSTANCE, where the beauty comes out, i.e. emerges from the product. With the word emerge there is also an upward motion present. The beauty is portrayed as emerging from the product and this in turn, involves the MORE IS UP metaphor, in terms that more product substance is up.

The presence of hashtags is also important to mention in this particular advertisement, as this is a modern advertising technique. In this example, there is the name of the line and #DiamondCocoon and the slogan of the advertisement, #LetYourBeautyEmerge.

8.2 Orientational metaphors in hair care advertisements

In this section, orientational metaphors in hair care products advertisements will be analyzed. The advertisements are from the following brands: Garnier, L'Oréal and Aveda. The products mentioned are hair shampoo, hair dye, hairspray or a line of products for hair.



Figure 9: Garnier. *Cosmopolitan*, December, 2014.

The first example is an advertisement from Garnier and their hair color line, Garnier Nutrisse. In comparison with the advertisements in the previous chapter this one has a similar outline like the ones for Covergirl+Olay, Lancôme and Nivea. The woman in the advertisement is Tina Fey, a famous celebrity just like in the advertisements from Covergirl+Olay and Lancôme. The desired target audience is also automatically portrayed through the celebrity. However, the overall advertisement is most similar to the Nivea advertisement. Both models represent the product in the advertisement, at the top there is a logo and/or slogan and at the bottom of the advertisement there is a picture of the product and a short description. By comparing these two, it can be seen how advertisers emphasize what they want to advertise. For example, while in the Nivea

advertisement the face of the model is the focus of the picture and the hair is in the background, in the Garnier advertisement the hair is the focal part and the face is, in a way, muted down, so as not to take away from the shiny hair.

When looking at the verbal elements, the slogan at the top of the advertisement immediately comes into view. The slogan is ‘Nourished hair means better color’, which leads to the equation that the more nourished the hair is, the better the color will be. Hence, the advertisers are not just trying to sell hair dye, but a product that will not only color your hair, but also nourish it. This slogan leads to a combination of GOOD IS UP and MORE IS UP metaphors since good, i.e. better color is connected with nourished hair and nourished and better color are up. Also, since hair is connected to nourishment this leads to a metaphor similar to IDEAS ARE FOOD, but in this example PRODUCT IS FOOD FOR HAIR.

Next, in the short description of the product, the three nourishing fruit oils are said to give ‘richer, longer-lasting color’ and ‘silky, shinier, nourished hair’. Just like PRODUCT IS FOOD FOR HAIR, the color is described as being rich and can therefore be equated with the COLOR IS MONEY metaphor. It is interesting to note that the comparative degree in adjectives is used to emphasize the benefits of using the product, ultimately achieving the MORE IS UP metaphor. What is also important to mention, is the example of alliteration used in ‘rich, radiant, ravishing color’.



Figure 10: Garnier. *Elle*, December 2018.

This advertisement is also for Garnier, but this one is a hair shampoo and this line of products is called Garnier Fructis. It follows a similar advertising path as the previous one. However, this product seems to be directed towards a younger target audience, judging by the two models in the advertisement. Again, the focus is taken away from their faces and put on their hair.

At the top of the picture it is written ‘Super fruit. Super hair.’ and the adjectives are the main way of representing the MORE IS UP metaphor in this advertisement, but also HAVING CONTROL OR FORCE IS UP. The shampoo itself is advertised as a ‘fortifying shampoo’, which constructs the SHAMPOO IS A PHYSICAL FORCE metaphor. This metaphor operates in a similar way as LOVE IS A PHYSICAL FORCE. The main adjectives are super and ultimate, as in ‘Want ultimate frizz freedom?’ or ‘Made with super fruit Moroccan Argan oil’. The ultimate result of the magnitude of the shampoo is sleek, shiny and smooth hair, achieved with the help of the Moroccan Argan Oil. Examples of alliteration can be seen here in ‘sleek & shine’ and ‘frizz freedom’.

A comparison can be drawn between the Aveeno advertisement and both Garnier advertisements. In all three advertisements, there is a prevalence of green color, but also

brown. Both of these colors are evocative of nature in order to accentuate the natural origin of the products. In the Aveeno advertisement the kiwi is shown as being squeezed into the product. In Garnier advertisements there are pictures of avocados, olives and shea and argan nuts that go together with the notion of nourished, shiny and smooth hair. Interestingly enough, the product names in Aveeno and Garnier advertisements also accentuate what the advertisers want to bring forth in a product. For example, ‘Nutrisse’ or ‘Fructis’ both seem like they are of French origin, but these words do not have a meaning in French. However, they are similar enough to the English language, so that they evoke words like nourish and fruit. Aveeno, on the other hand, is a scientific name for oat, the basic ingredient in all of their products.



Figure 11: L'Oréal. *Elle*, July 2015.

This advertisement is also a hair shampoo advertisement, this time from the brand L'Oréal and the line of products is called L'Oréal Elvive. The products advertised are a shampoo, conditioner and hair oil. In all three of the hair advertisements found there is an underlying causation or equation. In this particular advertisement the causation is ‘Luminise your hair, luminise your life’. In other words, adding light to your hair is equal to adding light to your life. The main focus seems to be on advertising the product

as a light, which adds to the HAIR IS A LIGHT SOURCE metaphor, just like ideas can be a light source. This is also seen in the visual elements of the advertisement, the hair, the background, but also the nails seem to be a source of shine or light. In turn, what is implied by the product is also the LIFE IS A LIGHT SOURCE metaphor.

The orientational MORE IS UP metaphor is also present since there is a co-occurrence of the word luminise, meaning the more luminous your hair is, the more luminous your life will be, but also because hair shine is equated to a ‘48hr show-stopping shine’. Besides metaphor, there is also the presence of metonymy, particularly the OBJECT USED FOR USER metonymy in ‘Let’s luminise! Join the shine movement with #Luminise’. In other words, you can luminise and join the shine movement by using this line of products. There is also the presence of a hashtag and the part ‘Join the shine movement’ evokes the SOCIETY IS A PERSON metaphor.

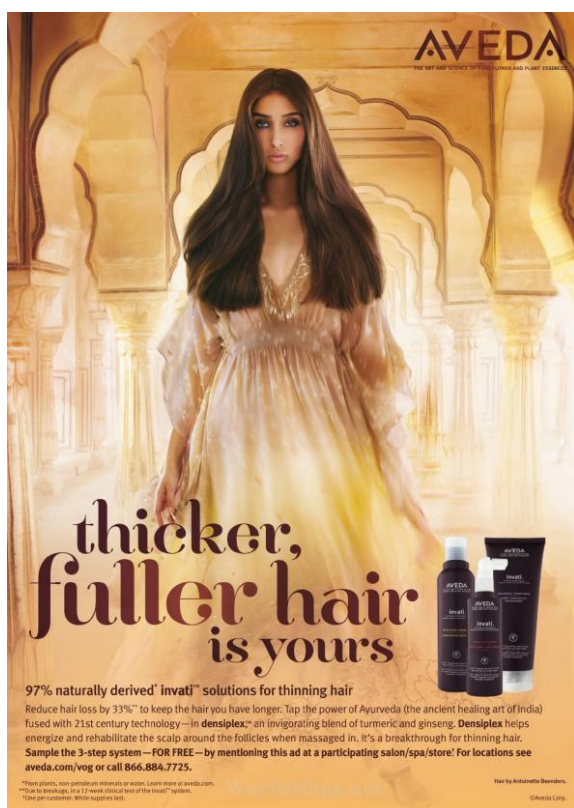


Figure 12: Aveda. *Cosmopolitan*, July 2014.

In this advertisement hair products from the brand Aveda are shown. Aveda is a brand that, besides hair care products also sells products for skin care and makeup. Most importantly, it is advertised as a brand that sells natural products. Hence their slogan

‘the art and science of pure flower and plant essence’, which is also written at the top of this advertisement. The line of products in this advertisement is called invati solutions and the whole advertisement seems to have an oriental undertone.

Firstly, in the Sanskrit language invati means to invigorate or infuse strength, so automatically the name connects the product with the oriental world. This oriental world seems to mainly be concentrated on India, as can be seen in ‘tap the power of Ayurveda (the ancient healing art of India)’ fused with 21st century technology’. The visual elements also support this theory, as the architectural design of the building and the model serve as symbols of the orient. As in all other hair care advertisements, the model has shiny hair, but also the focus is on the fact that it is full and thick. It is in this example of ‘thicker, fuller hair is yours’ that the MORE IS UP, but also LESS IS DOWN is shown. Specifically, thicker and fuller hair is up, while thinning hair is down. The product is also described as a ‘breakthrough from thinning hair’ and a solution for it. This entails a new metaphor that can be derived from the PROBLEMS ARE PUZZLES metaphor, but in this example HAIR IS A PUZZLE, as this product is seen as a solution or breakthrough for the hair.



Figure 13: L'Oréal. *Cosmopolitan*, July 2014.

In this advertisement, a hairspray from L'Oréal is shown. The advertisement is mainly black and white with a hint of light purple, just like the colors on the actual product. The name of the hairspray is 'high lift creation spray', which already implies an orientational direction, that high or up is the direction this product wants to achieve. The hair on the model is also raised unnaturally high, possibly in order to emphasize the idea behind the product even further.

This advertisement accentuates the idea that more is better more than any of the previous advertisements. Also, it is a good example of how the GOOD IS UP and MORE IS UP metaphors tend to occur together. It is advertised as a high lift creation spray and the advertisement contains a rhetorical question-'How high will you go?' making an indirect reference that the bigger the volume, the better it is. There is also a slogan that says 'Lift it, boost it, own it'. In this example, good hair means having hair that is lifted high and the more lifted it is, the better. In addition, with the words lift and boost this advertisement also achieves the HAIR IS A PHYSICAL FORCE metaphor, just like the advertisement from Garnier Fructis.

8.3 Orientational metaphors in make-up advertisements

In this section, orientational metaphors in make-up products will be analyzed. The makeup advertisements that were chosen are mostly mascara advertisements and the last two advertisements are lip gloss and nail polish advertisements. The advertisements are from the following brands: Maybelline, Revlon, Rimmel, L'Oréal and Sally Hansen.



Figure 14: Maybelline. *Elle*, December 2018.

The first example is from the brand Maybelline and it is an advertisement for mascara. The name of the mascara is 'The falsies-Push up drama' and there is a picture of a model wearing this mascara. In this example, the model is a famous person. There is a hashtag used, namely 'Show us your #PUSHUPMASCARA look'.

As noted in previous chapters, the advertisements tend to visually emphasize the advertised product, be it skin, hair or, in this example, eyes. Based on the visual elements in this advertisement, this is again supported with visual elements like the emphasis on eyes and eyelashes.

The MORE IS UP metaphor is represented in several instances of the advertisement. Firstly, there is in the description of the product: 'Lashes so lifted, so dramatic. Dare to get the push-up effect'. The orientational metaphor is conveyed through the words such as lifted, dramatic and push-up. Push-up is an adjective referred to lifting something up, commonly used in words like push-up bra or push-up jeans. However, the name push up mascara evokes an emotional effect on the consumer more than if it was called firming mascara for example. One of the metaphorical concepts that evoke this emotional effect can be seen in the following part: 'Drama? Sometimes I like to push it.' and this entails the EMOTIONAL EFFECT IS PHYSICAL CONTACT metaphor. The main effect that this advertisement aims to achieve is the push-up effect of the mascara and this is hereby achieved on both the visual and emotional level.



Figure 15: Revlon. *Vogue*, July 2014.

Next, there is another mascara advertisement. This one is from the brand Revlon and it contains a similar pattern to the one in the advertisement for Maybelline. There is again a celebrity advertising the mascara. Revlon, similar to L'Oréal and Maybelline focuses mostly on the range of beauty products. This mascara is called the 'bold lacquer mascara', which delineates an underlying message that the person using the mascara is a

daring, brave person. The advertisement is mostly black and white, probably in order to accentuate the black color of the mascara.

In terms of metaphors, the MORE IS UP metaphor seems to be prevalent. The metaphor is contained in the sentence 'For volume & length to the nth degree'. Basically, volume and length are up and in this particular example, the up is defined as an infinitesimal amount. Interestingly, there is also an instance of alliteration in 'the ultimate black bold definition' with the words black and bold emphasized.

In this advertisement, the visual and verbal elements work together to carry the underlying message of the advertisement across in a simple, minimalistic way.



Figure 16: Rimmel. *Vogue*, May 2017.

This example also shows how mascara advertisements are, in essence, very similar. There is a celebrity advertising it, with natural make-up, with the exception of the eyes and the MORE IS UP metaphor.

There are actually three types of mascara advertised, all from the line of products called 'Scandaleyes', which is an interplay of scandalous and eyes. These mascaras are advertised as having a 'scandalous volume'. The three different types of mascara are

also advertised as having different purposes. The first one is supposed to give a ‘false lash look’, the second one an ‘extreme volume’ and the third one ‘volume & curl’. The main colors in the advertisement are black and orange, and they are coordinated on the model and on the mascaras.

The mascaras are advertised as having an ‘unstoppable volume’ and there is also a play on words in the name ‘Scandaleyes’, as already mentioned. Once again, the MORE IS UP metaphor is contained in the description of the product. It is also interesting how in this advertisement scandalous is perceived as a positive characteristic, just like drama is perceived as positive in the previous advertisement for Maybelline, creating the GOOD IS UP, or SCANDALOUS IS UP metaphor. The main focus of this advertisement is on accentuating the importance of volume contained in the mascaras, which is advertised as unstoppable and extreme, which leads to the MORE VOLUME IS UP metaphor.

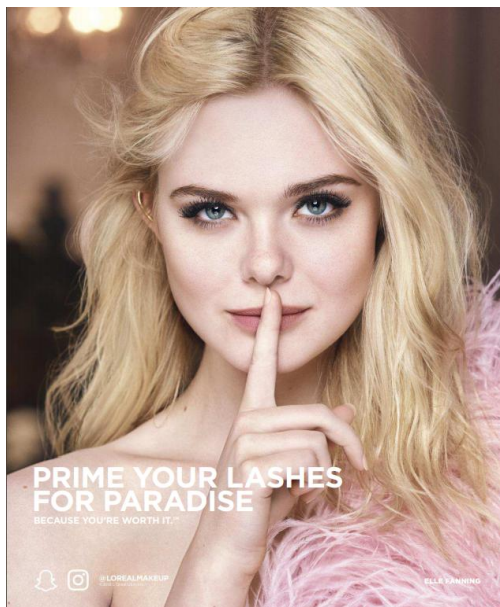


Figure 17: L'Oréal. *Elle*, December 2018.

This example shows a different brand that advertises mascara, yet in a similar way using the same MORE IS UP metaphor. The name of this mascara is Voluminous Lash Paradise. Firstly, it is represented by a celebrity and the overall make-up is subtle in order for the focus to be on the eyes, i.e. mascara. It is a mostly minimalistic advertisement, with the pictorial elements comprising most of the advertisement and a short description or slogan.

There is only one sentence and it says ‘Prime your lashes for paradise’. Here, the lashes are seen as being primed or prepared to reach for paradise. Paradise is depicted as the highest level of up there is in this advertisement. Also, the upward finger motion may be understood as a sign for keeping quiet or keeping a secret, but also, when looking at this specific example, as a sign for up. Altogether, the finger motion and the sentence tie in together to form the MORE IS UP, but also GOOD IS UP metaphors.

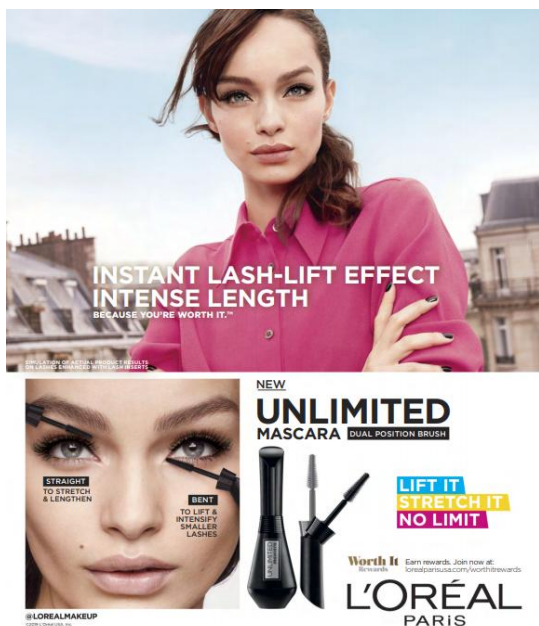


Figure 18: L'Oréal. *Vogue*, March 2019.

This example is also a mascara advertisement, this time for the same brand, L'Oréal. In this particular example it can be seen how the same brand can advertise the same range of products in a completely different way in order to send a similar, yet a different message. The model in this advertisement is not a celebrity and it is not a minimalistic advertisement.

The mascara in this advertisement is called the ‘unlimited mascara’, immediately evoking the MORE IS UP metaphor. The mascara has a dual position brush and the slogan for this advertisement is 'Lift it. Stretch it. No limit.' which connects the name of the mascara and the innovation of the dual-positioned brush. In whatever way the mascara is positioned, the MORE IS UP metaphor is promoted. It is said ‘to stretch & lengthen’ and ‘lift & intensify smaller lashes’. There are other occurrences of the

MORE IS UP metaphor. The mascara is said to have an 'instant lash-lift effect' and 'intense length'. And the slogan that says 'Lift it. Stretch it. No limit.' also contains this account for the metaphor. In this particular advertisement the mascara does not only reach to paradise, its reaching power is presented as unlimited and this advertisement particularly shows the underlying MORE IS UP metaphor.



Figure 19: L'Oréal. *Vogue*, June 2015.

This example is an older L'Oréal advertisement for mascara, but it is also constructed in a similar way. There is a celebrity in the advertisement and a representation of the product, plus a short description. The mascara is called 'miss voluminous manga rock'. Manga are comics from Japan and this may explain why the eyelashes are portrayed as if they were drawn. The lashes are described as 'lashes with an edge' and the focus is on the voluminous, overloaded mascara effect. The mascara is said to have an 'overloaded volume top to bottom'.

The MORE IS UP metaphor can be found in describing the volume as overloaded. Furthermore, the mascara is described as a 'megadose of texture' and as having 'unexpectedly bold volume'. The word bold can also be found in the advertisement for Revlon, so this seems to be a popular description for mascara products.

Overall, there are some patterns that can be found in all the analysed mascara advertisements, such as the verbal message being connected with the visual message. In terms of the visual elements, the focal parts were either the eyes or the eyelashes. Next, in almost all the advertisements the products were represented by a famous person and in some, mostly newer ones, hashtags were used for the products. The prevalent metaphor in mascaras is MORE IS UP, the advertisements focusing mostly on the length, volume and texture being up.



Figure 20: L'Oréal. *Elle*, July 2015.

This advertisement is for a lip gloss from L'Oréal. The person advertising the product is a celebrity and the focal points are now her lips and the color of the lip gloss, which is similar to her nail color. The lip gloss is called 'Mega gloss' and their line of make-up is called 'Infallible'. Therefore, the make-up line is given the feature of unfailing, incapable of being wrong, which gives human characteristics to the product, turns it into a friend that will never fail you, which leads to the concept of personification.

The MORE IS UP metaphor is predominantly present in the advertisement. There is an example of this in the sentence 'Mega shine, mega pout, all day'. Mega is the main word for describing the lip gloss in this advertisement and it occurs in other sentences. Just like max and super, which can be found in previous advertisements, mega creates a similar effect on the consumer. It also supports the GOOD IS UP metaphor, because mega is portrayed as up. The gloss is described as having the 'highest level of shine for a mega glossy look'.



Figure 21: Sally Hansen. *Elle*, April 2019.

In this advertisement from the Sally Hansen nail polish brand, a new line of nail polish under the name 'Mega strength' is advertised. In this advertisement, just like in the previous one, the word mega is also used, but in this advertisement it sends a somewhat different underlying message.

The advertisement is depicted as a comic, and the hero is a female whose superpower is having strong nails. In this advertisement the use of the word 'mega' does not only convey the MORE IS UP metaphor, but it introduces the HAVING CONTROL OR FORCE IS UP metaphor also. The MORE IS UP metaphor is mainly represented with the adjective mega and HAVING CONTROL OR FORCE are represented by strength,

strong and fortify. The portrayal of strength is not only shown in the strength of nail polish, but also in female strength, shown through both visual and verbal elements like 'Mega strong, like me.' and again the personification of a product is achieved through those elements. Besides mega, fortify also seems to be recurrent, shown in a previous advertisement where a shampoo is portrayed as fortifying and here, where nail polish is shown in a similar way.

9. Results and discussion

In this part, an overview of results and discussion for the metaphors in advertisements will be given. To make the overview clear and concise, the advertisements will be categorized into advertisements for skin care, hair care and make-up.

9.1 Orientational metaphors in skin care advertisements

The analysis of skin care advertisement contained a total of 7 advertisements from the following brands: Aveeno, L'Oréal, Estée Lauder, Dr. Brandt, Covergirl+Olay, Lancôme, Nivea and Natura Bissé. The skin care products include: serums (Aveeno and Estée Lauder), face masks (L'Oréal and Dr. Brandt), moisturizers (Covergirl+Olay, Lancôme and Nivea) and a line of skin care products by Natura Bissé.

In the analysis there were similarities and differences that could be drawn from each advertisement. Firstly, the visual elements will be mentioned and other factors connected with visual elements, e.g. the target audience. Then, important verbal elements will be discussed and lastly orientational metaphors that were used together with an overall summary of results.

When looking at the visual elements, there is a distinction between products with natural ingredients, anti-aging products and one advertisement with visual elements that may be confusing to the consumer. Aveeno and L'Oréal are seen as advertisements that promote products with natural ingredients, with green as the prevalent color. For example, in the advertisement from Aveeno, the visual element of the kiwi being squeezed into the product only accentuates the brand's intention of advertising the product as natural. With this advertisement, it is clear how the visual elements support the verbal metaphorical elements, which will be mentioned later in the discussion.

Anti-aging products also have an interesting way of communicating with the consumer. Firstly, the notion of age and mature skin is tiptoed around and instead the advertisers use expressions like aging results of modern life, repair, skin's renewal, face contours, simply ageless, wrinkle defying and lifting and firming moisturizer. The advertisements by Covergirl+Olay and Lancôme also use a famous person as an advocate for the

product in order to boost sales and for the target audience to connect with the product. Also, a famous person of a particular age connects better with the target audience. If, for example, the advertisement from Covergirl+Olay had a famous person in their teenage years, this would be rather confusing.

One particular advertisement had some confusing visual elements and a lack of verbal elements to compensate for it. When looking at the advertisement from Natura Bissé, it is unclear at first glance whether this is an advertisement for skin care or hair care products. As can be seen in the Covergirl+Olay, Lancôme and Nivea advertisements the focal point of the visual elements is always the face. In this advertisement, the hair seems to be more in focus than the model's face, which may potentially lead to confusion. Still, this is important to mention this because advertisements with an indirect visual message may lead to multiple inferences about the brand (McQuarrie 2005: 7).

In terms of verbal elements, some advertisements were more minimalistic, like the L'Oréal advertisement and some were saturated with both verbal and visual elements, like the Estée Lauder advertisement. Some advertisements were trying to show the effect the product would have, if the consumer started using it. For example, in the Covergirl+Olay the future would get more beautiful if the person were to use the moisturizer. Following that, in the Estée Lauder advertisement, one could unleash the power of the serum in order to maximize the benefits of beauty sleep. Interestingly enough, in the Lancôme advertisement the moisturizer is connected with moments of happiness. Furthermore, uplifted skin is equated with uplifting moments.

When looking at metaphors in advertisements, it is needless to say that orientational metaphors prevail. In some advertisements, the metaphors or at least some instances of figurative language can be seen already in the name of the product. One example for this are Maxglow from Aveeno and the product being described as a booster. The word maximize can also be found in the advertisement from Estée Lauder, the description of a product as firming can be found in the dr. Brandt and Nivea advertisement and the word radiant occurs in the Aveeno and L'Oréal advertisement.

Oriental metaphors that can be found are the following: GOOD IS UP, HEALTH AND LIFE ARE UP, FORESEEABLE FUTURE EVENTS ARE UP (and AHEAD), HAPPY IS UP, HAVING CONTROL OR FORCE IS UP and in all the advertisements the MORE IS UP metaphor was found. In sum, GOOD IS UP was found in one advertisement (Aveeno), HEALTH AND LIFE ARE UP was found in one advertisement (L'Oréal), FORESEEABLE FUTURE EVENTS ARE UP (and AHEAD) was found in one advertisement (Covergirl+Olay), HAPPY IS UP was found in a total of two advertisements (Aveeno, Lancôme), HAVING CONTROL OR FORCE IS UP was found in three advertisements (L'Oréal, Estée Lauder, Nivea), and MORE IS UP in a total of eight advertisements, being the most prevalent metaphor.

In addition to orientational metaphors, the following ontological metaphors were also found: ACTIVITY IS A SUBSTANCE (Lancôme, Estée Lauder) and THE OBJECT COMES OUT OF THE SUBSTANCE (Natura Bissé).

In the advertisement from L'Oréal it could be hypothesized that the concept of LESS IS BETTER can be found since detoxified skin is considered to be healthier looking skin. However, this can be also interpreted as the more that the skin is detoxified, the healthier it is, essentially going back to the MORE IS UP metaphor. Maybe in future advertisements this concept will become more and more common.

In addition to metaphors, there were also other instances of figurative language. In the Estée Lauder advertisement, the symbol of the night, represented by the night sky, dark blue color and stars was found. This element interconnected successfully with the notion that the skin is renewed during the night with the help of this product. This also works well with the HAVING CONTROL OR FORCE IS UP, MORE IS UP and ACTIVITY IS A SUBSTANCE metaphors in the advertisement.

The dr. Brandt advertisement had also a musical element in the advertisement itself. Namely, it had a reference to the song Pump up the volume. This may have been done in order to make the advertisement catchier for the consumer.

Another element found in more recent advertisements that is important to mention were hashtags. There was one in the advertisement from dr. Brandt (#PlumpUpTheVolume) and two in the advertisement from Natura Bissé (#DiamondCocoon and

#LetYourBeautyEmerge). The emergence of hashtags may be connected with the emergence of social media, especially Instagram where hashtags are used regularly.

9.2 Orientational metaphors in hair care advertisements

The analysis of hair care advertisement contained a total of 5 advertisements from the following brands: Garnier Nutrisse, Garnier Fructis, L'Oréal Elvive, Aveda and L'Oréal. Since there are two of the same brands included, the names of the product lines were added in order to avoid any kind of confusion. The hair care products include: hair dye (Garnier Nutrisse), shampoo (Garnier Fructis), hairspray (L'Oréal) and a line of hair products (L'Oréal Elvive and Aveda).

Just like in the previous section, some similarities and differences will be drawn between the products and brands and first the focus will be on the visual elements of the advertisement followed by a discussion of the verbal elements.

In the hair care category, the focus is obviously less on the face and more on the hair. Starting with these visual elements, the advertisers show what the products are for. With the hair care products, there is also a factor of distinctiveness with products that aim to be advertised as natural. The prevalence of the green and brown colors, but also pictures of the natural ingredients can be seen in the advertisements. For example, in the Garnier Nutrisse and Garnier Fructis advertisement, there are avocados, olives and shea and argan nuts shown. If there was a comparison drawn between the skin care and hair care category in terms of products that are advertised as natural, then the names for the products already reveal a lot. For example, in the skin care category Aveeno stands out because the name Aveeno itself is a scientific name for oat, the main ingredient in all of their products. Garnier, on the other hand uses words that sound like they derive from the French language, but have very literal meanings like Nutrisse (nourish) and Fructis (fruit), so as to emphasize what they want to advertise in the product. Furthermore, the advertisement from Aveda also stands out in terms of visual elements since it is trying to depict an oriental setting, reminiscent of countries such as India in order to emphasize in which way the product is to be advertised. In the L'Oréal Elvive advertisement, the focus is on light, brightness and everything luminising.

A comparison between target audiences can be drawn between the Garnier Nutrisse and Garnier Fructis advertisements in particular. Judging by the models, the Garnier Nutrisse advertisement seems to be oriented towards a more mature audience because usually mature women use hair dye. On the other hand, Garnier Fructis seems to appeal to a younger audience.

Similarly like in the skin care category, some advertisements state the benefits that the use of this product will bring to the consumer. For example, in the L'Oréal Elvive advertisement if the hair is luminised, the consumer's life will also be luminised. In the Aveda advertisement, it is stated 'thicker, fuller hair is yours', suggesting that by using this product, the consumer will also get thicker and fuller hair. Lastly, in the advertisement for the hairspray from L'Oréal the question of 'How high will you go?' is directed towards the consumer.

The hair care category seems to provide a fruitful number of metaphors, with the accent on orientational metaphors but also many more. Orientational metaphors found in the advertisements go in the following way: GOOD IS UP, LESS IS DOWN, HAVING CONTROL OR FORCE IS UP and again MORE IS UP found in all five advertisements. The GOOD IS UP metaphor was found in a total of one advertisement (Garnier Nutrisse), LESS IS DOWN was found in one advertisement (Aveda), while HAVING CONTROL OR FORCE IS UP was found in a total of two advertisements (Garnier Fructis and L'Oréal). Whereas the skin care category turns out to contain a bigger number of orientational metaphors, the hair care category contains different kinds of metaphors and one example for the use of metonymy. However, just like in the previous category the MORE IS UP metaphor was found in all examples.

In the advertisement from Aveda, both the MORE IS UP and LESS IS DOWN metaphors can be found. The advertisement brings forward the MORE IS UP metaphor with the statement 'thicker, fuller hair is yours'. Later in the advertisement it mentions how the product serves as a solution or a 'breakthrough from thinning hair', which sends the message that thicker and fuller is up while thinning is down. Therefore, in this advertisement the MORE IS UP and LESS IS DOWN metaphors can be found.

The metaphors that were found were as follows: THE PRODUCT IS FOOD FOR HAIR and COLOR IS MONEY in the Garnier Nutrisse advertisement, SHAMPOO IS A PHYSICAL FORCE in the Garnier Fructis advertisement, HAIR/ LIFE IS A LIGHT SOURCE and SOCIETY IS A PERSON in the L'Oréal Elvive advertisement. Four of these metaphors (THE PRODUCT IS FOOD FOR HAIR, COLOR IS MONEY SHAMPOO IS A PHYSICAL FORCE and HAIR/ LIFE IS A LIGHT SOURCE) belong to the category of structural metaphors and one. The SOCIETY IS A PERSON metaphor also belongs mostly to the category of orientational metaphors because, as is explained in the literature „to be virtuous is to act in accordance with the standards set by the society/person to maintain its well-being, virtue is up because virtuous actions correlate with social well-being from the society/ person's point of view“(Lakoff 2003: 27).

The one example of metonymy that was found stemmed from the L'Oréal Elvive advertisement and it was the OBJECT USED FOR USER metonymy. Namely, in this particular advertisement the word 'luminise', which is essentially the line of hair products, was used as a verb in order to accentuate the effect of the product. In other words, the object would be, for example, the shampoo and the users would hereby be the people that luminise or join the shine movement that is achieved by using the product.

Alliteration can also be found in a few advertisements and the use of the comparative degree in order to emphasize the effect of the product. The examples of alliteration were the following: 'rich, radiant, ravishing color' (Garnier Nutrisse); 'Super fruit. Super hair.', 'Want ultimate frizz freedom?' and 'sleek & shine' (Garnier Fructis). The comparative degree was found in the advertisement from Garnier Nutrisse: 'richer, longer-lasting color' and 'silky, shinier, nourished hair'. It is also important to mention that all examples of alliteration and the comparative degree were found in the advertisements from Garnier.

Lastly, only one example for the usage of hashtags was found in the hair care category. The hashtag found was in the L'Oréal Elvive advertisement and they used: #Luminise. This hashtag ties in well with the OBJECT USED FOR USER metonymy, because it states that the consumer should join the shine movement by using this hashtag.

9.3 Orientational metaphors in make-up advertisements

The analysis of make-up advertisements contained a total of 7 advertisements from the following brands: Maybelline, Revlon, Rimmel, L'Oréal Voluminous Lash Paradise, L'Oréal Unlimited, L'Oréal Voluminous Miss Manga Rock, L'Oréal Infallible and Sally Hansen. Since there are a variety of products from L'Oréal, the names of the product lines were added in order to avoid any kind of confusion. The make-up products are: mascara (Maybelline, Revlon, Rimmel, L'Oréal Voluminous Lash Paradise, L'Oréal Unlimited, L'Oréal Voluminous Miss Manga Rock), lip gloss (L'Oréal Infallible) and nail polish (Sally Hansen).

Most of the advertisements from this category are advertisements for mascara, so besides focusing on the main visual and verbal elements, the discussion will focus solely on the similarities and differences of the elements of these advertisements.

When looking at the visual elements of the advertisements, there was no confusion. In the mascara advertisements the focus was mostly on the eyes and the intensity of the mascara, in the lip gloss advertisement the focus was on the shiny lips and in the nail polish advertisement the nails were the main focus. In the Sally Hansen advertisement, the advertisers went so far to compare the nail polish to the person wearing it, with the sentence 'Mega strong, like me'. In terms of the color arrangement, most of the advertisements were color-coordinated with the packaging of the products. This can be seen in the Revlon, Rimmel and L'Oréal Infallible advertisements in particular. In the Revlon advertisement, there is a combination of mostly black and white with a hint of blue, in the Rimmel advertisement everything is based on black and orange and in the L'Oréal Infallible advertisement pink seems to be the main color. Another interesting visual element that could be found is that two advertisements were based on comics. The first one is the advertisement for the L'Oréal Voluminous Miss Manga Rock mascara, depicting a famous Japanese comic style-manga. In this advertisement, the eyelashes on the model almost seem drawn, comic-like. The second advertisement is that for Sally Hasen and this advertisement even seems like a story with a superhero in a comic. Especially in this advertisement, the visual elements are extremely interconnected to the verbal elements. The comic and the portrayal of a female

superhero are connected with the nail polish and its strength. The verbal elements of this advertisement will be discussed in more detail in the following part.

To begin with the verbal elements, it is important to mention that just like in the previous categories, this one also contains products that state the benefits that the person will have if he or she starts using this product. Moreover, the products in this category seem to describe the persons who use these products. For example, names for products such as bold, unlimited, infallible and mega strength do not necessarily describe what the product does for the consumer, but appeal more to how the consumer wants to be perceived when using the product. Mascara in itself cannot be bold, but a person can have this quality.

What is specific to mascara advertisements is that some contain descriptions that would usually not be perceived as positive, but do have this effect in the advertisements. For example, in the Maybelline advertisement, the mascara and the eyelashes are described as dramatic and in the Rimmel advertisement the volume of the mascara is described as scandalous. Drama and scandal would normally be perceived as negative, but in mascara advertisements these appear as positive descriptions.

A common word that was found in the make-up advertisements was mega. This was found in the L'Oréal Voluminous Miss Manga Rock, L'Oréal Infallible and Sally Hansen advertisements. In the advertisement from L'Oréal the mascara is described as having a 'megadose of texture', in the L'Oréal Infallible advertisement the lip gloss is described as a 'mega gloss' and as having a 'mega shine, mega pout, all day'. Lastly, in the Sally Hansen advertisement the nail polish is described as having 'mega strength'.

In terms of metaphors, in this category there was the least variety of metaphors found. These metaphors were mainly orientational metaphors. Orientational metaphors found in the advertisements are as follows: HAVING CONTROL OR FORCE IS UP, GOOD IS UP and MORE IS UP, which was present in all seven advertisements. The HAVING CONTROL OR FORCE IS UP metaphor was found in a total of one advertisement (Sally Hansen) and the GOOD IS UP metaphor was found in a total of two advertisements (L'Oréal Voluminous Lash Paradise and L'Oréal Infallible).

Apart from orientational metaphors, the EMOTIONAL EFFECT IS PHYSICAL CONTACT metaphor was found in the advertisement from Maybelline in the line 'Drama? Sometimes I like to push it.', the emotional effect being drama and the physical contact being the act of pushing.

In addition to metaphors, there was one instance of alliteration and one of personification. Alliteration was found in the advertisement from Revlon. The mascara is described as 'the ultimate black bold definition' with the words black and bold literally emboldened. The one example of personification was found in the advertisement from Sally Hansen, where the nail polish is described as 'Mega strong, like me'. In that way, the product is equated with the person using the product.

Only one example for the use of hashtags was found and this appeared in the Maybelline advertisement. The advertisers encourage the consumers to share their experience with the mascara with the following statement: 'Show us your #PUSHUPMASCARA look'.

10. Conclusion

In this paper, the focus was on orientational metaphors in magazine advertisements. Before the analysis, results and discussion of the advertisements, a theoretical background on metaphors, conceptual metaphor theory and metaphors in advertising was given. A total of 21 advertisements were analyzed. The advertisements were divided into the following categories: skin care, hair care and make-up. The advertisements were analyzed in the following way: first, the advertisement from the magazine is shown, then the main ideas and visual elements of the product or brand and after that, there is an analysis of the verbal elements in the advertisements. The focus is mainly on orientational metaphors as categorized by Lakoff and Johnson: GOOD IS UP/ BAD IS DOWN, HAPPY IS UP/ SAD IS DOWN, HAVING CONTROL OR FORCE IS UP/ BEING SUBJECT TO CONTROL or FORCE IS DOWN, HEALTH AND LIFE ARE UP/ SICKNESS AND DEATH ARE DOWN, MORE IS UP/ LESS IS DOWN, FORESEEABLE FUTURE EVENTS ARE UP (and AHEAD), HIGH STATUS IS UP/ LOW STATUS IS DOWN). Besides metaphors, other examples of figurative language are taken into account, e.g. metonymy, symbol, personification and alliteration. In the last part, the results obtained from a total of seven skin care, five hair care and seven make-up advertisements are discussed. The main conclusions from the advertisements will be divided based on visual and verbal elements.

In terms of visual elements, products with natural ingredients and anti-aging products stand out as these have a pattern for advertising. For example, in the advertisements for products with natural ingredients, there is a prevalence of green and brown color as well as representations of the natural ingredients such as kiwi in the advertisement from Aveeno or avocados, olives, shea and argan nuts in the hair care advertisements from Garnier. Also, based on the people in the advertisements, it can almost automatically be seen which audience the product targets. An example for this were the two advertisements from Garnier, i.e. Garnier Nutrisse and Garnier Fructis. A category that stands out in the analysis is the make-up category, especially the advertisements for mascara. Some visual elements that appeared in almost all of the mascara

advertisements were: focus on the eyes or eyelashes and a famous person as a model for the advertisement.

In terms of verbal elements, a pattern that was found in some advertisements was stating the effect of the product on the consumer. In the Sally Hansen advertisement, for example, the product is also compared to the person using it ('Mega strong, like me'). Hashtags also seem to be a recurrent element used in newer advertisements. Furthermore, since mascara advertisements have a similar pattern of advertising, some verbal elements that were found were: MORE IS UP as a prevalent metaphor and focus mostly on length, volume and texture seen as up or positive.

As for metaphors, orientational metaphors prevail in all three categories and the metaphor MORE IS UP is the most prevalent type of metaphor used. Almost all of the advertisements used the orientational metaphors that used the upward direction, e.g. GOOD IS UP, HAPPY IS UP and other. This shows that advertisers opt for orientational metaphors and especially the MORE IS UP metaphor in magazine advertisements. Besides metaphors, the examples of figurative language that were also found included metonymy, alliteration, symbol and personification.

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