EXTENDING WITH "*BRIDGES*" AND MAPPING "*MAPS*": A DISCOURSE BASED STUDY OF METAPHOR IN THE WRITING CENTER AND WRITING CLASSROOM

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Writing is a fuzzy sort of thing. Writers, readers, students, and instructors often have difficulties speaking clearly about writing. To help us communicate, we have developed an entire arsenal of metaphors. When a paper has problems with its organization or transitions, we say that is does not "*flow*." When an argument is not convincing, we often say it is not well "*supported*" or that it has a weak "*foundation*." While to some these may seem only useful words in a shared lexicon, metaphor scholars would suggest that we not only talk about writing this way, but we also think about writing this way. These terms, like "*flow*" and "*foundation,*" both guide and structure our ways of thinking about writing.

Since Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) groundbreaking work nearly 25 years ago, the study of metaphor has grown and expanded. During that time, linguists, philosophers, and psychologists have learned much about the ways in which we use metaphor throughout our daily lives to help us understand and talk about our world. Yet, for all we have learned about metaphor and how it is used both at the conscious and the unconscious level, we still struggle to apply that knowledge in ways that can assist us to better understand abstract information.

Despite the centrality of metaphor to the act of constructing meaning, Composition as a field has not fully plumbed the depths of our own metaphoric knowledge. In 1980, Lakoff and Johnson published the widely popular *Metaphors We Live By*. In many fields, this led to a boom in metaphor scholarship. In Composition, there are still only a handful of

articles connecting modern metaphor theories to the writing classroom. One reason for this may be the primarily cognitive focus of much metaphor research. The "social turn" in Composition led many of us away from the study of cognitive processes and towards a greater awareness of the social nature of meaning and of writing. However, recent developments in metaphor study suggest that it may be undergoing a social turn of its own, complexifying earlier approaches by focusing on metaphor's dependence on shared cultural knowledge and its role in creating shared meanings among groups or discourse communities.

No one has a more vested interest in understanding how the brain makes sense of information than instructors. For writing instructors, analyzing our students' talk about writing can prove a vital strategy in developing curriculum and making sense of student problems. Our speech about writing is FULL of metaphor. Metaphors are used constantly to help construct our knowledge of the writing process and of the text itself. Metaphors can be used to offer direct suggestions, to praise, or to critique. Metaphors create relationships between text, writer, and reader and can provide functional or structural meaning to language or assist writers in understanding their own writing process.

When students enter our classroom, they will already be familiar with many conventionalized metaphors. These metaphors are already part of our shared knowledge of what writing is and how it should take place. They may have been acquired from previous instructors, from peers, from parents, or from writing guides, but they are familiar to many students and used regularly in conversation about writing. As instructors, one of the things that we teach, whether explicitly or implicitly, in a writing class is the metaphors that we use ourselves to understand our own writing and to evaluate student writing.

This thesis is a study of actual metaphor use in the context of writing education. In the spring of 2006, two instructors, their students, and a group of writing center tutors were kind enough to let me record them for several weeks. I have attempted here to catalogue

some of their commonly shared metaphoric knowledge and to closely examine the ways familiar and unfamiliar metaphors were used, explained, and interpreted in everyday conversation. Through this investigation, I hope we can all improve our ability to make use of metaphor as an educational tool as well as gain a greater understanding of our own ideas about writing and how those ideas are constructed and communicated.

I begin with a brief overview of the history of metaphor study, outlining several approaches to study and looking at several "hot button" issues. I will then review the way metaphor has been researched in other educational settings as well as the limited scholarship on metaphor within Composition. Following a description of my methodology, I will attempt to outline the most commonly used metaphoric items I found in the data. Then, I will attempt to describe how unfamiliar metaphoric items are introduced and interpreted in this data and specific impediments to using metaphor effectively. Finally, I will connect these findings to possible changes in our classroom practice.

Chapter 2: Metaphor Theory

While most metaphor scholars agree on the importance of metaphors in describing our human experiences, there is still much debate over exactly what a metaphor is and how to best explain or describe our own use and interpretation. The following section outlines several competing approaches to studying and defining metaphor, providing a theoretical context for this study. It also looks at metaphor's theoretical treatment within the field of Composition.

Approaches to Metaphor

The history of metaphor study dates back to Aristotle and his work has had a lasting impact on the field. In his *Poetics,* Aristotle assigns metaphor quite a lofty status, asserting that "a command of metaphor" is "the greatest thing by far" (Part XXII). We can assume that most scholars of metaphor will follow I.A. Richards (1936) in concurring with Aristotle up to that point. However, the very next line of Aristotle's *Poetics* gives rise to inaccurate assumptions, which dominated our ideas about metaphor until the beginnings of the 20th century and persist among many people to this day.

Aristotle goes on to say that "This [command of metaphor] alone cannot be imparted to another: it is the mark of genius, for to make good metaphors implies an eye for resemblances" (Part XXII). Raising objections that many modern scholars have echoed decades later, I.A. Richards points out three assumptions inherent to Aristotle's statement:

1. That an eye for resemblances is a rare gift, not a universal ability.
2. That this ability cannot be taught or imparted to others.
3. That metaphor is somehow an exceptional element of language rather than a universal feature of all discourse (p. 90).

Some scholars, like Mahon (1999), have defended Aristotle in recent years, pointing out that Richards based his analysis too heavily on the *Poetics* while discounting Aristotle's discussion of metaphor in his *Rhetoric*. It is difficult to assess what Aristotle himself believed about metaphor from the brief treatment it receives in his writing. Mahon is right in asserting that his *Rhetoric* does paint a bit more prosaic and egalitarian picture of metaphor than does the *Poetics*.

However, it is undeniably true that up to the beginning of the 20th century other scholars persisted in making many of the same inaccurate assumptions about metaphor that Richards lists. Until Richard's work on metaphor in *The Philosophy of Rhetoric*, scholars tended to view metaphor largely as an ornamental element of language, simply an abbreviated simile. Paul Ricoeur (1975) suggests that this view persisted "from Quintillian onwards" (p. 25). According to Ricoeur, " . . . since the Greeks, Rhetoric diminished bit by bit into a theory of style . . . in turn the theory of style shrank to a classification of figures of speech, and this to a theory of tropes" (p. 45). Ricoeur's view is that the study of metaphor during this period was an act of "tropology," classifying different figures of speech and outlining their appropriate use. Unfortunately, and despite a flood of research in the past three decades, such limited views of metaphor still persist.

I will call this way of approaching metaphor the "traditional" approach to metaphor. Some of the hallmarks of this approach are that it focuses primarily on literary or poetic uses of metaphor while ignoring the more prosaic uses of metaphor that are unavoidable in simple daily conversation. Furthermore, those who hold a traditional view of metaphor tend to see the metaphoric item as a "substitution" for a literal replacement. This idea assumes

that there is always "literal" replacement of any metaphor that would be less aesthetically pleasing, but would convey essentially the same meaning, a claim nearly all modern scholars of metaphor would dispute. By far the largest problem with the traditional view of metaphor is that, by viewing metaphor as largely ornamental, it pays insufficient attention to the impact metaphor has on our understanding of a given concept.

This view of metaphor seeks simply to identify metaphor within student writing and within literary work so that we may appreciate its use as an ornamental device. Most encyclopedias or glossaries (even in literary or rhetorical works) focus solely on metaphor as a trope, and the school room mantra "a comparison without using like or as" still serves as the most common definition. This would suggest that our primary goal in teaching metaphor is to help students identify metaphor when they find it and distinguish it from simile, synecdoche, and other figurative language. While these distinctions may serve a literary purpose, they tend to cloud the fact that all types of figurative language employ a roughly similar mental process.

While the traditional view of writing strangely still persists in many classrooms of writing and literature, the last twenty years have seen scholars in many other fields from psychology, to history, to science, to politics begin to reassess the role of metaphor and its vital importance to the way we think and understand our world.

It would be unfair to bestow George Lakoff and Mark Johnson alone with the credit for bringing about this change. However, it was the extreme popularity of Lakoff and Johson's (1980) *Metaphors We Live By* (MWLB) and the power of several new ideas presented there that brought metaphor into the spotlight in many academic fields. Along with this new popularity came a rapid growth in scholarship and a profound change in methodology. Lakoff and Johnson argue that

> Metaphor is for most people a device of the poetic imagination and the rhetorical flourish – a matter of extraordinary rather than ordinary language. Moreover,

> metaphor is typically viewed as a characteristic of language alone, a matter of words rather than thought or action. For this reason, most people think they can get along perfectly well without metaphor. We have found, on the contrary, that 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. (p. 1)

Though the traditional view of metaphor had come under scrutiny by Richards in the 1930s and by many other scholars in the 1960s and 1970s, Lakoff and Johnson made the bold decision of moving metaphor from the page and into the mind. For Lakoff and Johnson, the metaphor itself is the "conceptual metaphor," the cognitive process that structures one thing in terms of another. Lakoff and Johnson and their followers adopt what I will call a "cognitive" approach to metaphor. They claim further that metaphors develop from our embodied experience. The human mind can and must use the concrete sensory data of daily life to structure our abstract concepts. They believe that phrases like, "I don't have time to *spend* on you" reflect an internally held conceptual metaphor, TIME IS MONEY. In this conceptual metaphor, our mind structures the abstract concept of "time" by using the more experientially grounded concept of "money."

While Lakoff and Johnson's contribution to the study of metaphor is immense, their conclusions and especially their methods are not without critics. Many scholars question our ability to access internal conceptual metaphors using only linguistic data as evidence. Others critique the methodology of their work, pointing out that rather than collect authentic data, Lakoff and Johnson create linguistic samples as evidence for each conceptual metaphor. Finally, many argue that focusing on only the cognitive processes (represented by the conceptual metaphors) ignores the vast differences between individuals, the impact of social

factors, and metaphor's important role not only as a knowledge creating tool but as a communicative device.

More than any other work, my study owes a debt to Lynne Cameron's *Metaphor in Educational Discourse* (2003). In this work, Cameron outlines what she calls "an applied linguistic approach to metaphor in discourse" (p. 25). Cameron grounds her study in authentic data, in this case the recorded transcripts of a British primary school. Rather than attempt to identify conceptual metaphors or produce theoretical explanations of cognitive processes, Cameron looks at how linguistic metaphors (the words themselves) are used by speakers. While Cameron calls her method the "applied linguistic approach," Cameron and others like Graham Low (1999) and Alice Deignan (1999a) adopt what I will call a "discourse based" approach to metaphor. A discourse based approach studies metaphor and how it functions in authentic communicative settings either in large corpora or smaller samples of naturally recorded speech.

One of the key assumptions of nearly all modern metaphor scholars is that metaphors (whether linguistic or conceptual) directly affect our decision making. Lakoff and Johnson push the idea that conceptual metaphors and their mappings are not only reflected in our communication, but also direct our actions. Rather, we structure our actual arguments in part by our understanding of war. We make decisions about relationships based on our understanding of what would be most appropriate or effective in a journey. In undertaking this study, I am making the same assumptions about writing. Our metaphors for writing and the mappings we create based on them directly affect the way we read, write, and teach.

Metaphor in Rhetoric and Composition

Throughout the centuries, rhetorical scholars have dealt with the teaching of metaphor as a trope or tool for writing, yet only a few have explored its relationship to

invention, truth, and meaning. As noted in the previous section, Paul Ricoeur and many others have pointed to the decline of metaphor from its place of prominence with Aristotle into simply another trope during the following centuries when it was relegated to the status of ornamentation. I.A. Richards (1936) and Kenneth Burke (1936) both began to discuss metaphor as more than trope, foreshadowing the ideas of later approaches to metaphor, noting metaphor's creative power and the widespread prosaic use of metaphor. More recently, Anne Berthoff (1981), Donald McQuade (1983), and James Seitz (1991) have suggested models for Composition curriculum that rely more heavily on the students using metaphor in their own writing as a tool for creating meaning. Despite excellent work by these scholars and in metaphor studies generally, a rather traditional view of metaphor still persists throughout much of our field and is still evidenced in many of our style guides and textbooks.

We mentioned earlier that two of the tenants of the substitution view of metaphor are the belief that metaphor is primarily ornamental rather than meaning making and that metaphorical language is simply a "substitution" for a literal equivalent. In spite of much argument against them, these beliefs of about metaphor are still expressed in such notable guides as Crowley and Hawhee's (2004) *Ancient Rhetoric for Modern Students* and Joseph William's (2007) *Style*. Crowley and Hawhee in fact begin their explanation, "A metaphor transfers or *substitutes* [my emphasis] one word for another" (p. 309). Additionally, they portray metaphor as primarily embellishment arguing that writers not "limit themselves to their use of ornament to a single trope [metaphor]" (p. 309). He also warns that we should not let metaphors "distort" what we want to express. This suggests that there is at root a true literal message which can be distorted with metaphor. While it is less clear what Williams thinks of the substitution view, he still portrays metaphor primarily as ornamental. In comparing examples of prose, he calls the prose containing metaphor more "startling."

Importantly, Williams includes metaphor in his section on "Elegance" while Crowley and Hawhee include theirs in "Composition and Ornament."

While I believe these works represent the prevailing view of metaphor within the field of composition there have also been noteworthy attempts by compositionists and rhetoricians to extend our understanding of metaphor. Although neither deals with metaphor as the centerpiece of any particular work, both I.A. Richards and Kenneth Burke include sections on metaphor in their work. Richards is cited by many current metaphor experts as a key figure in the history of metaphor studies. In his introduction to *Metaphor and Thought*, Andrew Ortony (1979) notes that "not only did Richards propose a set of useful terms for talking about metaphors (the 'topic' or 'tenor," the 'vehicle," and the "ground"), he also proposed the tensive view – a view that emphasized the conceptual incompatibility between the terms in a metaphor (the topic and the vehicle), calling it the 'tension'" (p. 3). Richards's contribution is undeniable and he may reasonably be called the first scholar to propose an interactive view of metaphor in which the two things (tenor and vehicle) interact to create new meaning. The coiner of the term, Max Black (1979), calls the interaction view, "a development and modification of I.A. Richard's valuable insights" (p. 27).

While Richards's first tentative steps towards creating a metaphor meta-language are widely acknowledged, much less appreciated is his equally valuable (especially for our purposes) work on how to best develop our "command" of metaphor. Richards responds to earlier prescriptive advice from other scholars on how to best use metaphor. While the prescriptions are mainly focused on metaphor in poetic works, many of his responses have helped to shape the limited advice I offer at the end of this study.

Perhaps most importantly, Richards responds to advice from Lord Kames: "This suggests another rule: That in constructing a metaphor, the writer ought to make use of such words only as are applicable literally imagined nature of his subject . . . Figurative words

ought carefully to be avoided; for such complicated figures, instead of setting the principal subject in a strong light, set it in a cloud" (qtd. In Richards 1936, p. 99). Richards rejects this advice on several grounds. First, he points to the fact that Kames's attitude towards figurative language is emblematic of 18th century belief that metaphor was simply embellishment and not central to meaning. Second, he points out that Kames himself has used more than one metaphor in his own statement, a "strong light" and a "cloud." Not only does Kames betray his own advice, but we as readers seem to have no trouble understanding it. According to Richards, "We are immeasurably more adroit in handling complicated metaphors than Kames would allow us to be" (p. 102). When considering my own advice for how to use metaphor effectively in the classroom, it may be worth keeping this in mind. The true measure of any use of metaphor is not how clear it is in theory, but how effective it is at communicating what was intended or what new meanings it creates.

Much less recognized is the early work on metaphor by Kenneth Burke (1936). Burkes conception of metaphor is by no means traditional, yet neither is it fully reconcilable with modern approaches. Burke acknowledges the creative power of metaphor: "Metaphor always has about it precisely this revealing of hitherto unsuspected connectives" (p. 119). Burke also seems to have taken a rather broad view of what metaphor is. He treats the use of deliberate poetic metaphor as nearly the same as finding analogous processes in scientific research or the grouping of similar historical periods. He does distinguish them slightly, pointing out that scientific analogies are used for their "heuristic value" while metaphors for their "surprise" and "incongruity" (p. 127). This would seem to suggest it is one process shaped by the different goals of poetry and science generally rather than two wholly different processes.

This awareness of metaphor as an everyday process for meaning making leads Burke to defend its use from critics who would limit us to only logical reasoning. Burke points out that all logical reasoning relies on abstractions which he believes are no more true or real

than metaphors. Burke cites Karen Stephens who argues that metaphor's critics erroneously assume that "in analysis we stick to the fact itself, whereas in metaphor we substitute for the fact to be described some quite different fact which is only connected with it by more or less remote analysis," however, she follows believes that "when we describe in abstract terms we are not sticking to the facts at all, we are substituting something else for them just as much as if we were using and out and out metaphor" (qtd. in 1936, p. 126).

Further evidence for this argument may be seen in Robert Connors's work on "static abstractions." Connors (2000) identifies several terms for writing like "Precision," "Unity," "Strength," and "Harmony," which he calls "static abstractions." Connors laments that these abstractions have gained such widespread popularity yet contain so little meaning: "Such terms might create a neat descriptive list, but their generality made them useless as prescription" (p. 305). Not only is the abstraction not the fact itself. It is no longer even a fact at all.

Though Connors is correct that as static abstractions these words are not at all helpful to students, he fails to address the fact that, when they were originally coined, these words were likely novel metaphoric items. I would argue that what Connors calls static abstractions are also dead metaphors. As successive generations have ignored their metaphoric nature, they have become more and more removed from the source domain information what once provided them with meaning. In this case, the use of these terms as metaphors was actually more informative and bore more relation to facts than their use as empty abstractions.

Perhaps the most modern element of Burke's work on metaphor is his attention to the "propriety" of words. Burke is aware that words are only symbols representing the world rather than "the accurate and total names for specific, unchangeable realities" (1936, p. 145). He compares the world to a piece of cheese, which man can cut with any type of slices he prefers. Since this is the case, two of our key strategies for slicing it then are establishing

incongruencies and classifications. Classification obviously involves sorting things into groups based on similar features while establishing incongruencies seems similar to establishing binary or scalar relationships between things. Burke argues that particular classifications and incongruencies are already established as "good taste" through consensus and established terminology. For Burke, metaphor occurs when one "hits upon analogical extensions, or linguistic inventions, not sanctioned by the previous usage of the group" (p. 136). What Burke is describing here is the ability of a thinker to identify the two different concepts we call domains. Without classification and incongruency, we could not recognize or establish a domain and without two clear domains, a metaphor is not possible.

Anne Berthoff (1981) was perhaps the first to refocus our attention on ways metaphor may be valuable in the writing classroom and has written more extensively on the topic than anyone else. She most clearly outlines her position on metaphor in *The Making of Meaning: Metaphors, Models and Maxims for Writing Teachers*. According to Berthoff, metaphor is created using imagination, which she calls the "active mind." She believes that imagination's power "lies in the fact that it makes possible so many fruitful analogies between writing and all other acts of mind whereby we make sense of the world" (p. 4). She views imagination as the process of meaning making and also stresses the active process of composing. Composing is not just the act of writing, but the creation of knowledge – what she calls "forming" (p. 63). Berthoff's work centers around the concept of "forming," the way by which the mind makes meaning of the world. Berthoff sees metaphor also as one kind of "forming." She strongly advocates both using metaphor to teach writing and using metaphor in our writing.

Berthoff, Richards, and Burke all three provide a view of metaphor that has moved beyond the traditional view portrayed by Lord Kames, Williams, or Crowley and Hawhee. All three recognize to some extent the prosaic nature of metaphor and its relation to other processes of analogy. All three also show a great awareness of metaphor's power as a device

for meaning making rather than as a mere embellishment likely to cause confusion when substituted for literal meaning. However, none makes an attempt to systematically explain how individuals use knowledge of one thing to create or inform knowledge of another thing. While they are all three aware of that this process takes place, describing that process is not within the scope of their work. The later sections of this chapter will discuss attempts in linguistics, cognitive science, and psychology to usefully describe that complex process.

In addition to theoretical work on metaphor, some composition scholars have advocated teaching students to use metaphor in the classroom. McQuade, Seitz, and Berthoff all suggest a reincorporation of metaphor into the classroom, primarily as a tool for creating meaning in writing. However, they largely avoid cognitive or discourse-based research, relying instead on I.A. Richards and Paul Ricouer. All three do touch briefly upon the inventive/imaginative power of subject-specific metaphors. However, McQuade and Seitz focus on the use of metaphor as a writing device, only rarely departing to discuss the metaphors underlying writing as a subject.

Donald McQuade (1983) draws heavily on the work of Paul Ricoeur, applying his theories of metaphor to the classroom. According to McQuade, "Meaphor does of course play an important role in enlivening and vivifying the surface of prose, but it can also function structurally at much deeper levels of thinking and writing. By allowing writers to form images and concepts of one thing in terms of another, metaphor helps perceive new connections that can frequently lead to unexpected insight" (p. 225). In this sense, McQuade sees metaphor as a tool for invention. McQuade suggests that students use metaphor at the early stages of prewriting to generate novel ideas. If students are able to identify a useful way of conceptualizing their topic, they can create a "controlling metaphor" by limiting their language on the topic to only that one metaphor.

James Seitz's (1991; 1999) has made the most extensive recent attempts to reintegrate modern theories of metaphor into the writing curriculum. Seitz does not limit

himself simply to the teaching of writing but to the study of English generally. Like Berthoff, Seitz sees metaphor's potential as a tool for constructing knowledge. Seitz suggests that most writing handbooks and current writing scholarship still rely on an enlightenment view of metaphor as ornamental, what I have called the Traditional view. Seitz relies on a somewhat more modern view of metaphor – most often on I.A. Richards – to suggest that metaphor is more than a simple comparison or an extended simile but is a prime means for creating meaning. While the Traditional view sees metaphor as a source of "error" or "misunderstanding," Seitz believes it is these very misunderstandings that help to create new knowledge. While Seitz does focus on metaphor primarily as a tool within a text, he also ventures into the realm of subject matter metaphor very slightly in his discussion of writer roles. He suggests that we look closely at the roles writers cast for themselves in relation to instructors, their texts, or audiences. Seitz asks instructors to consider the way the metaphors of role-play, persona, and performance can structure a course and the "ideal writer" such pedagogy would produce (1991, p. 166).

While Seitz and McQuade limit themselves to students creating metaphors in their own writing, Berthoff is among the few scholars thus far to discuss the ways that metaphors serve to shape our understanding of the writing process: "In my opinion, the best way to keep theory lively and practice responsive is to have in mind models and metaphors to remind us and our students of what is involved in learning and teaching the composing process" (1981, p. 5). In her own textbook, Berthoff helps her readers understand the active nature of paragraphing by using several specific metaphors, *funnels, gathering hands, racking pool balls.*

Seitz, McQuade, and Berthoff are all unified by their belief in the productive power of metaphor. They recognize that metaphor is more than an empty trope. However, they offer little in the way of a practical pedagogy. Seitz does offer several suggestions for the literature classroom, but very little for Composition. Berthoff stresses the value of metaphor and lists

some particular metaphors of her own but does not offer much in the way of specific suggestions for the classroom. Furthermore, both McQuade and Seitz focus on students using metaphors in their own writing. I believe that if we are to find pedagogical implications based on recent advances in metaphor study, we should begin by following Bertoff's lead and focus on the metaphors we use to talk ABOUT writing, reading, teaching, and learning. However, we must move beyond listing them and stressing their importance to begin to make sense of how they work and how they can be used most effectively.

What is a Metaphor?

As you might have noticed earlier, the three approaches to metaphor I have outlined (Traditional, Cognitive, Discourse Based) also rely on competing definitions of what a metaphor is. Traditional approaches to metaphor typically define the metaphor as a "comparison" between two things. The two things are compared and certain similarities are listed. For instance, in the metaphor "Achilles is a lion" we might notice that Achilles and the lion are both brave. Unfortunately, this description cannot sufficiently explain how we know what similarities are intended. How do we identify bravery as the shared feature rather than hair color or a tendency to violence?

Another weakness of this definition is that it seems to only work for nominal metaphors in the form A is B. Verbal metaphors like "I floated through the rest of my day" are not easily described as a comparison. Modern theories of metaphor still acknowledge that even verbal metaphors must still involve two separate ideas that somehow affect one another. To help us describe these "two things," scholars differentiate them by labeling the idea being informed as the "Target Domain" and the idea being used or drawn from as the "Source Domain" For instance, in "Achilles is a lion" we are learning about Achilles (Target Domain) using our previous knowledge of lions (Source Domain). Our ability to identify source domains becomes trickier when metaphors are not in the A is B form, but we can see

in “I floated through the rest of my day” that the source domain is “floating” while the target domain could be something like “my day” or “how I went about my day.”

Calling a metaphor simply a comparison is not only insufficient to explain what happens, but it also fails when we try to identify the metaphor itself. Is the metaphor the words on the page, the thoughts it creates, or both? If it is the words on the page, “Achilles is a lion” is much simpler to identify than the metaphor in “I floated through the rest of my day.” Is it the entire phrase? Where does the metaphor begin or end? Is it only the word from the source domain or only the terms from both source and target domains?

For cognitive metaphor scholars like Lakoff and Johnson, linguistic metaphors, what we say or write, are merely clues through which researchers can see speakers’ underlying “conceptual metaphors.” For Lakoff and Johnson the term “metaphor” really means “metaphorical concept” (p. 6). These conceptual metaphors exist in the mind, but affect our daily thought and behavior. The first example provided in MWLB is the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR. Lakoff and Johnson find evidence for the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR in our everyday talk about argument:

> ARGUMENT IS WAR
>
> Your claims are *indefensible*.
> He *attacked every weak point* in my argument.
> His criticisms were *right on target*.
> I *demolished* his argument.
> I’ve never *won* and argument with him.
> He *shot down* all of my arguments (p. 4).

These statements reflect a shared understanding of the concept of argument, which has been structured by the concept war. Conceptual metaphors like ARGUMENT IS WAR are always written in capital letters and are typically followed by a list of common linguistic examples to prove their existence. In later work by Lakoff and by others like Kövecses and

Grady, the conceptual metaphors are often followed by a set of specific correspondences between domains sometimes called “entailments” or “mappings.”

In *Metaphor: A Practical Introduction* (2002), Zoltan Kövecses provides readers a foundational understanding of what is essentially a Lakoffian approach to metaphor study, what I have called a cognitive approach. He presents the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY and its regular mappings:

Source: JOURNEY	*Target*: LOVE
the travelers	-- the lovers
the vehicle	-- the love relationship
the journey	-- events in the relationship
the distance covered	-- the progress made
the obstacles encountered	-- the difficulties experienced
decisions about which way to go	-- choices about what to do
the destination of the journey	-- the goal(s) of the relationship (p. 7).

Lakoff and Johnson’s “conceptual metaphors” are written in the form TARGET DOMAIN IS SOURCE DOMAIN. The “Target Domain” is the concept being structured (Argument) while the “Source Domain” is the concept which provides structure (War).

The simplicity of Lakoff and Johnson’s notation system, perhaps more than any other aspect of their work, may have lead to the boom in metaphor scholarship in other fields. Scholars in many other fields quickly applied this method to their own subject matters, identifying conceptual metaphors and discussing them with varying degrees of usefulness. Unfortunately, it is tantalizingly easy to think up a list of utterances as evidence for almost any conceptual metaphor. However, the identification of “conceptual metaphors” is a much more complex process than it first appears. When one brings a careful eye to

proving the existence of any particular conceptual metaphor based solely on linguistic evidence, the task is surprisingly daunting.

Cameron (1999; 2003) and others critique many aspects of the cognitive approach and return the focus of their study to linguistic metaphors. Cameron finds that "there are serious issues of reliability in using linguistic data as a basis for reconstructing conceptual content processes" (2003 p. 240). Deignan (1999b), Grady (1997; 1999), and many others seek a way to strengthen the process of connecting linguistic evidence to conceptual metaphor. However, Cameron seems to have mixed feelings about the validity of the construct in general. She identifies several important problems with constructing conceptual metaphors based on linguistic evidence:

- How many instances of linguistic metaphor are needed to infer a particular mapping?
- What do we do with linguistic metaphors that do not fit the conceptual mapping?
- How far does the analyst's expectations about the conceptual metaphor shape the interpretations of a linguistic metaphor? – <u>*deserve a medal*</u> could . . . be linked to *FIGHTING IN A WAR; COMPETING IN AN ART SHOW*, or *A DOG SHOW*.
- How do we decide the appropriate level of generality of the conceptual mapping? Is it a JOURNEY a TREK or a GUIDED TOUR or a YOUNG PEOPLE'S ADVENTURE HOLIDAY? (2003, p. 252)

I would further divide this last problem into two similar problems:

1. Identifying Domains

What is a domain? How large or small should it be? How distinct do two ideas have to be before they can be distinguished as separate domains? Should the phrase "I want your essay to *flow*" be categorized as ESSAYS ARE RIVERS or ESSAYS ARE FAUCETS or something else?

2. Level of Granularity

   If Lakoff is right that all metaphors are either primary or complex and all complex metaphors are created through combining previous metaphors, what is the appropriate level of granularity at which they should be presented or discussed? Should we simply decompose ESSAYS ARE RIVERS into its constituent primary metaphors – say for instance IDEAS ARE OBJECTS and SMOOTH IS EASY?

In addition to these critiques, I believe the conceptual metaphor model also struggles to account for several specific issues that become apparent when metaphor is examined in a realistic social context. Despite a large number of common linguistic items, no two individuals will have the exact same set of conceptual connections. Can we reasonably compile a list of sayings from a group of people and use this to argue for a single shared mental concept? What are the shared features of this concept? How can we ensure our definition of it accounts for individual differences in experience?

As we will see in the next section, the theory of conceptual metaphors has also been so far unable to sufficiently account for variation due to cultural influence on interpretation or for the possibility of using cultural models or folk theories as source domains.

Primary Metaphors or Cultural Models?

One other key concept developed by Lakoff and Johnson that has become a more central focus of their later work is "embodiment." Embodiment is a cover term for discussing the biological or "embodied" nature of the mind. Our understanding of reality is based directly in our physical experiences and all abstract concepts grow from those basic biological experiences. Their 1999 work, *Philosophy in the Flesh*, focuses more directly on this idea, but it is present even in MWLB. Lakoff and Johnson suggest that because the

human mind is embodied we *must* rely on more direct embodied experiences to structure more abstract concepts.

For instance, the extremely abstract concept of time is structured metaphorically through more experiential concepts like moving through space, a moving background of events/objects, or a substance (money). Similarly, love is an incredibly abstract and complex concept related to socio-cultural knowledge as well as to biological experiences. To create this abstract concept of Love, we rely on more concrete experiential domains such as a journeys, fires, and food. For Lakoff and most other proponents of cognitive approaches to metaphor, all abstract knowledge grows from more basic experiential knowledge.

Joseph Grady is widely credited with developing the concept of embodiment into a formal metaphor theory. Grady (1997) re-analyzes the metaphor THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS presented by Lakoff and Johnson in MWLB. Grady points out that there is no direct embodied connection between Theories and Buildings, and he claims we must, therefore, reach farther below the surface to explain the existence of this metaphor. By examining the possible motivations for the metaphor, he concludes that it is actually based on two more basic metaphors ORGANIZATION IS PHYSICAL STRUCTURE and PERSISTING IS REMAINING ERECT. Unlike THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS, these metaphors both have a reasonable motivation for occurrence. Knowledge of physical structures is among our most basic forms of knowledge and the extension of that knowledge to our understanding of abstract concepts can be seen in a multitude of instances. PERSISTING IS REMAINING ERECT connects to basic experiences with objects falling down. Houses, signs, trees, and many other objects can be said to have lost their defining characteristics once they have fallen. A house that falls does not provide shelter and is no longer really a house. A tree that falls, withers, and dies.

In later work (Grady, 1999), these more basic metaphors would become termed "primary" metaphors. These primary metaphors are the most basic connections between our

physical experiences and abstract concepts. According to Grady and Lakoff and Johnson, all other "complex" metaphors are constructed through the combining of primary metaphors. From the example given above, we can infer two main features of Grady's primary metaphors: they are more general or more inclusive than other metaphors, and they grow more directly from embodied experiences that can help explain their existence.

Lakoff and Johnson (1999) and Kövecses (2002) draw on Grady's theory to claim that all more complex metaphors arise through combinations of primary metaphors – though none has yet to suggest a complete list of primary metaphors or a systematic way for distinguishing primary metaphors from complex metaphors. Their evidence for this claim comes from neuroscience and cross-cultural studies (Kövecses, 2002). Kövecses looks at the metaphor ANGER IS HEAT across several different languages and cultures. He claims that this metaphor is present in a vast number of languages because it is motivated by the shared biological experience of increased body temperature during anger.

However, opponents argue that embodied experiences cannot account for all metaphor. Many point to the role of cultural models in influencing our metaphors. Rather than growing from embodied experiences, they suggest that shared cultural knowledge can serve as a source domain and that this knowledge regularly influences metaphor production and processing. In response to Kövecses's early claims about ANGER IS HEAT, Geeraerts and Grondelaers (1995) point to the persistent influence of the four humors model on our metaphors for emotion and health. Rather than an embodied connection between heat and anger, they suggest that the four humors model provides a folk-understanding of emotions as imbalances in humors. They claim that many of Kövecses's examples of ANGER IS HEAT could just as easily have grown from this cultural model, and they present cultural knowledge of these medical traditions as an alternative to embodied experience for source domain knowledge.

While these studies have not completely disproven the theory of primary metaphor, they do show that cultural knowledge at least influences the production of metaphor and very likely its interpretation as well. The major role that cultural models play in our use of metaphor further suggests that researchers need to extend their goals well beyond simply identifying conceptual metaphors based on linguistic evidence. This construct in and of itself is insufficient to explain how individuals use or interpret metaphor in a specific social and rhetorical context.

I believe there are many instances in which the use of specific items reflects a widely held metaphoric relationship between two source domains. For instance, Heat does seem to be a widely held source domain for discussing anger. However, I do not believe that this connection must be universal or that the conceptual relationship is necessarily formed before we encounter those linguistic items. Rather, the metaphoric relationship between anger and heat might be best seen as a *"likely"* one based on the universal features of human experience. There is a biological co-occurrence between the concepts, so the metaphoric connection is *likely* to arise in many cultures as Kövecses finds that it does. However, it is not necessarily universal nor is it static. This relationship will occur differently in different individuals and will evolve over time as we learn more about both concepts.

Most importantly, our experience with linguistic items may also influence the development of this relationship. Encountering new linguistic metaphors with these two domains reshapes our understanding of the relationship, and each item serves to create new knowledge. To this point, the role of specific linguistic items in shaping or "extending" metaphoric knowledge has been overshadowed by the goal of identifying conceptual and primary metaphors. Because this study is grounded in the contextualized production of real speakers, I examined the introduction of unfamiliar items that seem to be conceptually related to familiar or conventional items and how this might develop or "extend" previous

conceptual relationships. I will return to discuss this idea more fully in a later section of the literature review.

While I believe the theory of primary metaphor makes too great a claim about the embodied nature of metaphor, Grady's work on "complex" metaphors, which arise from two independent metaphors, is a valuable contribution that is important to my study. Subjects in my study used particular items like "flow" that I believe may develop from consistent mappings based on TWO other domains. However, Grady would describe this process as the combining of two conceptual metaphors, which I see as an oversimplification of complex sets of connections.

Methods of Metaphor Research

In addition to the general problems of inferring from linguistic data to conceptual metaphors, a larger objection (sometimes directed at much of Lakoff and Johnson's work) is the source of linguistic expressions themselves. While many scholars do supplement with data from published or informally collected sources, a large portion of the expressions used in conceptual metaphor study is self-generated. Cameron points out, "Criticism has been justly leveled at methods of data collection which in the early days amounted to little more than armchair reflection by native speakers" (2003). In this method, a researcher simply creates or remembers expressions and uses them as evidence. Self-generating linguistic expressions as evidence carries several obvious methodological problems:

1. Authenticity

   Self generated examples are not the same as real communication. While researchers try to use expressions which sound familiar, they may be substantially different than more prosaic instances. In their zeal to prove a particular conceptual metaphor, a writer may un-intentionally create more favorable expressions, which may never occur naturally.

2. Representativeness

A researcher may over-represent certain lexical items, which may lead to incorrect conclusions about the domain of many metaphors. This is especially problematic when attempting to reach conclusions about a particular domain (like writing) rather than about the way metaphor functions generally. Self-generated examples of writing metaphor would likely include phrases to support metaphors held by writing instructors and theorists while not including those of students or scholars from other fields.

3. De-Contextualization

Because it is taken out of an actual context of use, the functional nature of linguistic metaphor is lost. Whether a metaphor is used to correct, inform, or entertain could have drastic implications on its interpretation. Also, examples tend to be sentence or phrase length, while many metaphors function at a discourse level.

4. Lack of "Messiness"

Anyone who has the least bit of experience with transcribing knows that spoken language is much "messier" on the page than it seems when listening to it. Similarly, the expressions used naturally are much difficult to categorize or explain than those created to prove certain claims. Particularly, prepositions, pronouns and de-lexicalized verbs like "put" or "make" make for a less elegant picture but are an unavoidable reality of communication. Self-generated data inherently avoids these complications, yet it is often by attempting to make sense of such messes that come to new revelations.

A discourse based approach to metaphor study would avoid self-generated examples and ground our study of metaphor in more authentic sources of communication. These sources can include corpora (large compilations of published or collected material), elicited data, or naturally recorded speech. Deignan (1999b), Low (1999), and Cameron (2003)

provide an excellent overview of the value and limitations of the different approaches. While work with a corpus typically provides a researcher with more responses with less effort, there are no compiled corpora of students talk about writing. Also, corpora based studies cannot always capture a full picture of the many other discourse factors which can influence use. Therefore, I elected to use primarily recorded speech supplemented with elicited responses. As we will see in later sections, scholars in Education, Literacy, and Composition have used a variety of data sources, but only a small number of studies have used spoken data and none in the field of Composition.

Cameron also suggests that an applied linguistic approach to metaphor may be more cautious in making claims about the existence of conceptual metaphors. In her own work, she makes such assertions hesitantly and only when there is extensive evidence of systematicity in the data. While I agree with Cameron that claims about shared conceptual metaphors should only be made cautiously, the practical nature of this study requires that I sort the collected metaphors into some kind of groups and attempt to make inferences about the way these metaphors are understood and interpreted by various individuals. In my Methods section, I further clarify the specific ways I sorted the collected metaphors and qualify my inferences.

As with any attempt at describing cognitive processes, my conclusions are reliant on second hand data and can only ever represent a "best guess" at what takes place within a human mind. This guess is further troubled by all that is disagreed upon or that remains unknown about the nature of metaphor.

Conventional, Familiar, and Extended Metaphors

If we acknowledge that each individual will have his own experience with particular items, we must develop terminology to effectively describe that experience. However, terms to describe an individual's or a group's experiences with metaphor are used inconsistently in

the literature. Also, because there is often disagreement about whether research should focus on specific items or on conceptual metaphors, it is quite unclear what a researcher means when talking about "conventional metaphors." Part of this confusion arises from the more basic difference between conceptual and linguistic metaphor. Lakoff (1993) focuses on the conceptual metaphor and identifies particular *mappings* as conventional among an indefinite number of speakers while Cameron identifies particular *items* as conventional within a particular discourse.

Lakoff (1993) argues that "The mapping is conventional . . . a fixed part of our conceptual system, one of our conventional ways of conceptualizing love relationships" (p. 208). Unfortunately, Lakoff gives us no criteria by which to determine which metaphors or mappings are conventional and which are novel. Lakoff admits the existence of novel metaphors, but argues that they are "rare in comparison with conventional metaphors" and that "our every day metaphor system . . . is used maximally in interpreting novel metaphorical uses of language."

While Lakoff sees the mapping as primary, his discussion of novel metaphors tends to center around novel linguistic items. Lakoff carefully shows how a novel linguistic expression like "we're driving in the fast lane on the freeway of love" can be interpreted using the conventional conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY (p. 210). However, the characteristics of the novel mapping arising from those items are unclear. It is also unclear at what point those novel mappings may or may not become a part of a conventional metaphor. It seems to me that which items or metaphors are identified as novel or conventional will vary from individual to individual, but Lakoff's work offers little discussion of these individual differences.

Lakoff (1993) does list three ways linguistic expressions can be interpreted as novel metaphors: "generic-level metaphors," "image metaphors," and "extensions of conventional metaphors" (p. 237). However, because Lakoff's focus is traditionally on conventional

conceptual metaphors, he does not provide detailed description of how novel metaphors/expressions are interpreted as generic-level metaphors or image metaphors. We will return in a moment to novel "extensions" of conventional metaphors. Lakoff and Turner (1989) further clarify the cognitive approach to novel metaphors. Despite the cognitive view's focus on the conceptual metaphor, they point out that, "Any discussion of the uniqueness or idiosyncrasy of a metaphor must take place on two levels: the conceptual and the linguistic" (p. 50). This suggests that there must be both novel expressions of conventional conceptual metaphors as well as novel conceptual metaphors. While this is an important distinction, it still does not help us as researchers in determining whether a given metaphor or a given expression should qualify as conventional or novel.

In addition to acknowledging that the conventionality of expressions and conceptual metaphors must be considered separately, Lakoff and Turner also indicate that conventionality itself may be a continuum rather than a particular state. They state, "At the conceptual level, a metaphor is conventional to the extent that it is automatic, effortless, and generally established among members of a linguistic community" (p. 55). This statement might suggest that particular metaphors should be called "more" or "less" conventional rather than conventional or non-conventional since there is no way to establish parameters to make this determination for conceptual metaphors.

Cameron's use of the term "conventional" is clearly limited to linguistic items. However, her meaning of conventional is quite different from Grady's or Lakoff and Turner's. Rather than see conventionality as related to conceptual centrality, Cameron suggests that conventional metaphors are items that occur because it was "just the way to say it" (2003, p. 100). In addition to conventionality, Cameron also discusses "novel" and "deliberate" uses of metaphor. She discusses deliberate metaphors at some length contrasting them with conventional metaphors. However, she also discusses methods for

assessing the "novelty/conventionality" of a metaphor. This would seem to suggest that Cameron sees "novel" and "deliberate" as synonymous terms.

She stresses that conventionality is always "discourse-derived" and "discourse-relative" (p. 115). For Cameron, conventionality is a description of use of items among a specific group of speakers and within a specific stretch of discourse. Particularly, Cameron provides extensive description of how a particular item becomes conventionalized through a conversation. The instructor in Cameron's class tells a student that in her drawing the trees "look like a *lollipop*" (p. 117). Cameron classifies this as a deliberate metaphor. Later in the discourse, the phrasing changes to the more conventionalized "*lollipop* trees." Rather than the term novel, Cameron talks about "deliberate" metaphoric items. Cameron argues that "conventional" and "deliberate" items are processed very differently. Conventional items are used regularly among speakers in a given discourse community, while deliberate items are being newly introduced to reduce "alterity." For Cameron, "alterity" is the amount of real or perceived difference between the two meanings different individuals assign to a word or concept.

Cameron finds that deliberate metaphors are often introduced through the use of "tuning devices," words such as "like" or "sort of," which cue the listener that the following metaphoric connection may unfamiliar to them. In educational contexts, these deliberate metaphors are often mediated by the instructor or by peer-to-peer interaction. Students and instructors help to negate incorrect inferences or to point out particular mappings intended by the instructor.

In some cases, a third domain may be introduced to further highlight salient features. For instance, the teacher in Cameron's (2003) study attempts to explain how volcanoes form indigenous rocks. She draws on the domains of butter and treacle (syrup) to explain the processes. One student also suggests "*wax*" as a possible source domain as way of checking her understanding. Cameron suggests that this use of multiple domains to highlight salient

features or check understanding does not take seem to take place when using familiar/conventionalized metaphors. It is important to note that for Cameron any determination of novel or deliberate items applies only to a specific group of speakers in a particular stretch of discourse. In this sense, it would seem to be a description of the discourse as much as a description of the speaker's internal state.

While she grounds her definitions of conventional and novel in specific discourses making it easier to asses, Cameron still does not provide a strict methodology for how this assessment may occur. Furthermore, while she describes particular items as more conventional or novel, she fails to address whether broader conceptual systems may be deemed conventional or deliberate or only specific items. If another student in the course were to use the phrase "*sucker* trees" or "*candy* trees," this would seem to suggest that the conceptual connections between trees and lollipops were conventional as well as some of the particular lexical items.

In the case of synonyms, this seems less complex, but becomes more so when applied to broad groups of items that appear to be conceptually connected. When working with words drawn from a source domain like journeys (*goal, path, bridge, map*), establishing conventionality becomes a much more complicated process. These items may be conventional individually, but how do we account for the fact that many subjects would see these words as connected and be able to integrate unfamiliar linguistic items into a broader conceptual framework? Can the items be described as conventional as a group? Can we describe the conceptual connections themselves as conventional?

The construct of conceptual metaphors seeks to account for these conceptual connections, however, as discussed earlier, there are well documented theoretical and methodological concerns surrounding its validity. In later sections, I will discuss in detail how I account for these conceptual connections while attempting to avoid these concerns. For now, let me acknowledge that there must be some type of conventional conceptual links

between particular linguistic items. While these may vary somewhat from speaker to speaker, the consistency with which we produce and interpret items suggests they must exist in some form. If this is true, then these links must be stronger or occur in greater number for some items than for others and it would stand to reason that many (though not all) novel items would be interpreted and produced in relation to more conventional items with conventional conceptual links.

Lakoff and Turner (1989) may provide a description of how novel metaphoric expressions work in relation to more conventional conceptual links. The book, *More than Cool Reason: A Field Guide to Poetic Metaphor*, focuses on metaphor in poetry. However, because poetry is by its nature deliberate and creative, Lakoff and Turner seem to often contrast poetic metaphoric expressions with conventional conceptual metaphors. What they tell us of poetic metaphor may inform our idea of novel metaphor. Lakoff and Turner suggest three concerns when dealing with poetic metaphor rather than conventional metaphor: "First, poetic metaphor uses conscious extensions of the ordinary conventionalized metaphors . . . Second, authors may call upon our knowledge of basic conceptual systems in order to manipulate them in unusual ways . . . Third, while everyday expressions tend to limit themselves to one conceptual metaphor for a given target domain in a given passage, poetic metaphors often deliberately combine more than one" (p. 53-54).

Later in the book, they seem to refine these three considerations into four processes: "Questioning," "Combining," "Elaborating," and "Extending." Questioning and Combining seem relatively straight forward. Questioning involves a deliberate attempt to call into question the limits or the validity of a particular metaphor. Combining seeks to combine terms from two target domains in an expression about a single target domain. Elaborating seeks to take a conventional metaphor and "fill the slots" in an unconventional way. For instance Horace's expression, "external exile of the raft," elaborates the conceptual metaphor DEATH IS A DEPARTURE by using a specific and (according to Lakoff and Turner)

"unusual" vehicle (a raft). Lakoff and Turner argue that this process of elaboration provides additional "conceptual content." (p. 57).

Another way to provide this conceptual content and by far the most widely discussed of these processes is "Extension." Lakoff and Turner point out that conceptual metaphors are often "partial." Not all the features of the source domain are mapped onto the target domain. However, all features of the source domain are available for mapping. Extension occurs when a linguistic expression maps an available, but un-used, feature of the source domain onto the target domain. Joseph Grady (1999) also notices these "extensions" in several examples of THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS that are not as familiar as those offered by Lakoff and Johnson but are still interpretable:

> Something caused him to *pack up his things* and *leave* the Freud *house* (1999, p. 278).

In this example, a researcher, whose work had relied on Freudian theories, decides to abandon them for a different set of theoretical assumptions. Metaphorically, he leaves the Freud "*house"* (though it was still *standing*) and finds a new "*house."* Presumably, his "*things*" he "*packs up*" are his own theories and contributions. Grady suggests that this expression falls outside of the conventionalized use of THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS but is somehow still interpretable for most speakers.

Even though both Cameron and Lakoff and Turner define conventional and novel as discourse-specific and discourse-relative terms, neither provides sufficient discussion of how these conventional items/metaphors may vary or transmit between particular individuals. To discuss this effectively, yet another term is required to indicate a specific speaker's relationship to the items or conceptual metaphors. If we define a particular item as conventional among a group of twenty speakers, not every subject in that group will necessarily have heard or used that item. In my own research, I will call this experience with an item or group of items a subject's "familiarity."

These distinctions between novel (deliberate), conventional, and familiar metaphors and novel extensions of conventional or familiar metaphors will play a key role in my own interpretation of the data. I will return to this topic extensively in my methodology where I outline specifically how I define and assess the conventionality and familiarity of specific items and groups of conceptually interrelated items.

Metaphor Contextualized

One theme I hope to present throughout this section is what I see as a growing debate over the reliance on strictly cognitive explanations of metaphor at the expense of the influence of social factors. Strictly cognitive explanations of metaphor may be insufficient because they fail to acknowledge metaphor's role as a means of communication within social systems. Furthermore, they fail to account for vast variation from individual to individual. By studying metaphor in a de-contextualized way, we may miss vital pieces of this puzzle. I hope to show that many of these issues grow from a divide between cognitive/embodied approaches to metaphor and the reality of social influences on metaphor use and metaphor processing.

Both Cameron (2003) and Leezenberg (2001) argue that any explanation of metaphor processing must take into account its contextualized nature. According to Leezenberg, "Lakoff and Johnson's proposals create more difficulties than they claim to (dis)solve, and are still based on the folk-theoretical assumptions of clearly delimited literal meanings, and of stable de-contextualized concepts . . ." (p. 149). Leezenberg points out that an utterance like "I am Sherlock Holmes" has a different meaning if it is uttered by Holmes than if it is uttered by Watson. In this instance, both the truth value and the intention of the sentence change. If uttered by Holmes, this is a pointless but true statement; if uttered by Watson, this is either a false statement or a metaphor. An expression like "This place is a prison" is dependant on the contextualized meaning of "this place" not to mention an agreed

upon definition of what constitutes a prison (p. 171). Thus, what expressions a subject determines to be metaphors is dependent on contextual information.

Cameron (2003) attempts to study these social influences in action. She records actual classroom discourse of a British classroom with students ages 9-11. She studies their conversation and uses a think-aloud protocol to study the children's interpretations of metaphors in a text. By collecting this authentic data, Cameron has knowledge of the rhetorical and educational goals of the conversation and of the speakers' previous experiences with particular linguistic items. In her conclusions, Cameron outlines several of the ways that she used this contextual information in her study:

- To make a distinction between metaphors conventionalized within a particular socio-cultural group and metaphors used deliberately in the context.
- To explain the development of a repertoire of shared metaphors within socio-cultural groups through the gradual disembedding of language linked in previous times with situated concrete action or through the conventionalizing of initial deliberate use.
- To explain the affective impact of metaphor as teachers worked to express solidarity, to emphasize, and to evaluate across the power differential between themselves and the students.
- To identify special pedagogical uses of metaphor in which experts (teachers, researcher, peers) try to reduce alterity by offering a series of stepping stone metaphors between the known and the unknown concept, and by explicitly unpacking metaphorical meaning to explain it and then repacking it (p. 268).

Importantly, Both Cameron and Leezenberg draw heavily on Vygotskyan theories of concept formation. Both focus on Vygotsky's (1962) views on the connection between thought and language, quoting the same passage: "the relation of thought to word is not a thing but a *process*, a continual movement back and forth" (1962, p. 125). Adopting a

Vygotskyan approach to concept formation leads both to two similar points: first, both offer critiques of the construct of "conceptual metaphors." The very notion of conceptual metaphors would seem to violate this Vygotskyan approach to language by labeling an interactive and developing process as a static "thing." Second, both call for a greater awareness of the difference between "novel" and "conventionalized" metaphors. The relation between these types of linguistic metaphors is a central focus of my study, and I hope to further clarify the discussion by introducing a distinction between "conventional" and "familiar" metaphors. This renewed focus on the social aspects of metaphor comprehension closely mirrors the "social-turn" in Composition and opens new doors for researchers.

Metaphor and the Social Turn

Interestingly, recent metaphor scholars in composition like Berthoff, McQuade, and Seitz rely very little on work from Lakoff and Johnson or other cognitive approaches to metaphor studies. Berthoff wrote before Lakoff and Johnson's work became popular. Seitz largely ignores Lakoff and Johnson in favor of earlier rhetorical/philosophical sources like Richards and Ricouer. McQuade does pull a pair of examples from MWLB but does not discuss Lakoff and Johnson in the body of his essay, instead focusing heavily on Paul Ricoeur.

Perhaps because of the popularity of Lakoff and Johnson's MWLB in 1980, the next decade saw a few other articles linking the newly coined theory of Lakoffian conceptual metaphor to the subject of writing or teaching writing. These articles studied both teacher/student metaphors and subject-specific metaphors. Metaphor research in other fields like education, applied linguistics, and technical communication boomed following MWLB and remains a valid topic of inquiry. However, this type of work has been mostly absent from Composition in the 90s and 2000s, possibly due in part to what some have

termed the "social turn" in Composition theory – towards the social aspects of writing and away from theories of mind and cognition.

Perhaps due to cognitive science's early growing pains, Berthoff goes so far as to show open scorn for cognitive linguistics and cognitive science in general. She rejects their work along with the work of "brass instrument" psychologists because they have thus far failed to develop sound theories of "mind" or "meaning." She laments the increasing "incursions" into Composition by psychologists and linguists "who have no intention of conceiving language as 'the supreme organ of the mind's self-ordering growth'" (1981, p. 63).

Berthoff's distrust of cognitivist approaches to writing is echoed in criticisms leveled at the work of "cognitivist" Composition scholars like Janet Emig (1971) or Linda Flower and John Hayes (1981). These scholars sought to identify the specific cognitive processes subjects use when writing through the use of think aloud protocols and careful observation of subjects in the act of writing. One of the most outspoken critics of these cognitive approaches to Composition has been Patricia Bizzell (1982).

Bizzell's critiques in some ways resemble those of Berthoff's, although Bizzell does not seem to share Berthoff's distrust of "brass instrument" psychologists. In fact, Bizzell advocates a turn away from cognitive psychology and *towards* socio-linguistics, a suggestion I believe we were unfortunate not to have heeded more closely. Bizzell calls for an increased focus on the way texts are produced within a discourse community, specifically on the conventions of that community and how they are formed: "Composition studies should focus upon practice within interpretive communities – exactly how conventions work in the world and how they are transmitted" (1982, p. 409).

The wide-spread acceptance of these and other critiques of cognitive approaches to Composition have often been labeled the "social-turn" in Composition studies. In *Composing Research: A Contextualist Paradigm for Rhetoric and Composition*, Cindy Johanek (2000) outlines Composition's debate over methodology and epistemology. She

points to Berthoff as a prototypical opponent, not only of cognitivism, but also as the opponent of positivism and all forms of quantitative research. While I whole-heartedly agree with most of Johanek's goals in her book, I find her use of Berthoff as an examplar somewhat misleading. Some scholars (like Berthoff) do suggest a turn away from scientism generally, but many others (like Johanek and Bizzell) contend only that cognitive approaches are and always will be insufficient for fully explaining social practices like writing.

We can see then that a relative absence of metaphor research in Composition corresponded with a period in which our field was leery of cognitive approaches to writing and more interested in writing as a social practice. One cannot say for certain that this trend led to the under-valuing of metaphor in Composition research, but the emphasis on embodiment and primary metaphor in the work of many cognitive metaphor scholars makes their work particularly vulnerable to the same critiques leveled at cognitivist work in Composition. However, we have seen that metaphor scholarship has recently become increasingly interested in the role of cultural models as source domains and in the social factors influencing metaphor processing. Interestingly, Bizzell, Cameron, and Leezenberg all invoke Vygotskyan theories of meaning in their critiques of what they see as cognitive oversimplification.

The increasing awareness of social influences may create new opportunities for intersection between metaphor studies and Composition as we begin to understand metaphor, not just as a meaning-making device, but as a device that operates within a given discourse community, and in many ways, constitutes the knowledge of that community. In the next section, I will examine previous metaphor research in education and Composition in light of the importance of social factors.

Chapter 3: Metaphor Research in Composition and Education

The next several sections will discuss previous efforts to apply theories of metaphor to educational contexts and specifically to the Composition classroom. Educational metaphor scholarship has thus far taken three basic approaches. One approach is to study metaphors about our educational institutions – disciplines, programs, or classrooms. A second approach is to investigate metaphors for teachers, for students (learners), and for the act of teaching. The third approach is to study subject matter metaphors (e.g. metaphors for the atom, metaphors for writing). Below I have provided examples of a metaphor of each of the three types.

- Institutional Metaphors – A Writing Center is a Hospital
- Teacher/Learner Metaphors – A Teacher is a Gardener
- Subject Matter Metaphors – An Essay is a Building

Methodology varies widely within all three of these approaches, and their studies use many different types of data (self-generated, published in relevant scholarship, in various corpora, elicited through interview or questionnaire, and naturally recorded speech).

Institutional Metaphors

From Paulo Friere's (1993) explanation of the "banking concept" of education, to various models of the writing classroom based on spatial or territorial metaphors, we are all

familiar with using metaphor as a way to define or guide our institution**s**. In some cases, our institutions may rely on several distinct metaphors. Katherine Fischer and Muriel Harris (2001) looked closely at competing metaphors for the writing center from hospitals to workshops to waffle houses. They compare the metaphors offered by different scholars and examine the way these metaphors guide our decisions about centers. Ultimately, Fischer and Harris suggest that the attempt of writing centers to constantly re-metaphorize themselves is detrimental to their development as an academic entity: "Whereas many writing-center people saw themselves as marginalized in the early days, now there is as little reason to apply metaphors to writing centers as there is to apply them to campus libraries" (2001, p. 31). While I would agree that writing centers have outgrown their developmental stage, I would contend that there is every need to apply metaphors to writing centers, campus libraries, first year writing programs, or any other campus or community literacy program. Metaphor can help a program define or redefine its mission in response to changing contexts and paradigms, breathing new life into them and creating possibilities for innovative programming.

Teacher-Learner Metaphors

Educators in other fields, including those involved with second language writing instruction, have also used metaphor as a research tool. A 1990 issue of *Theory Into Practice* was dedicated specifically to the function of metaphor in teachers' conceptions of their roles. Though there are several interesting studies in the issue, the most relevant here is Ken Tobin's (1990)"Changing Metaphors and Beliefs: A Master Switch for Teaching?". Tobin focuses on the power of metaphor to change our classroom practice. Tobin shows that when several teachers adopted new metaphors for teaching, it led directly to changes in behavior. One subject, Peter, adopted a new metaphor, "*a gardener tending plants*" to supplement his previous metaphor, "*the captain of a ship*" (p. 123).

Tobin suggests not just that we make decisions based on the mappings of a particular metaphor, but that instructors can move deliberately between different teacher metaphors, selecting those that suit current needs. For instance, the *ship captain* metaphor was more appropriate to discussing classroom management while the *gardener* metaphor was more appropriate for facilitation learning.

There is also is an extensive body of metaphor research focusing on the English as a Second Language classroom. Rod Ellis (2001) reviews the publications of nine other second language acquisition researchers and the metaphors each uses to describe the language learner. Ellis lists seven basic conceptual metaphors found among the various publications. He also studies the metaphors students use to describe themselves, using journal entries by five ESL students as evidence. He finds that only two metaphors "LEARNER AS STRUGGLER" and "LEARNER AS PROBLEM SOLVER" are shared by both groups (p. 82). Ellis suggests that it is actually the unshared metaphors that are most useful for ESL instructors. For instance, while most instructors viewed language learning as an unconscious and automatic process, learners viewed it as "a highly conscious mental activity" (p. 83).

Other researchers take the additional step of connecting these broad conceptual metaphors to the ethnographic or contextual variables of the students, as well as to "four philosophical orientations toward language teaching: social order, cultural transmission, learner centered-growth and social reform" (Oxford et al., 1998, p. 4). This cross-comparison presents interesting possibilities for future research in Composition, comparing teaching/learning metaphors or subject metaphors to broader rhetorical theories.

Such research has taken place on a more limited scale within Composition. Lad Tobin (1989) asks students in his Composition courses to respond to the prompt "Writing Is . . .". After collecting the responses over several years, Tobin analyzes the metaphors offered by students. Their metaphors range from conventional to novel, and therefore, "writing" is seen to carry multiple meanings for students. Tobin's students define writing in numerous

ways, occasionally focusing on its affective elements or on writing as a task in an educational context. A common source domain for Tobin's class was going to the dentist or doctor. Students described writing as an unpleasant experience, but one they knew had positive consequences. Tobin focuses on many other such negative metaphors including writing as a journey without a purpose.

Tobin begins his study of metaphor by recounting an experience with a student. The student asks whether he can write a "compare-contrast" paper for his next assignment. Tobin responds with his own metaphor,

> If you are going on a trip you don't say, 'Here is the suitcase I will take on the vacation. No matter where I am headed – to my best friend's for an overnight or to Alaska for 6 months – I will take this suitcase.' Wouldn't it make more sense to figure out where you want to go first, how long you'll be staying and then choose the suitcase for the trip? (p. 5)

According to Tobin, the student seemed to grasp his message, but then asked, "But what if I only have one suitcase?" Later in the course, the student wrote one of Tobin's metaphor assignments:

> Now that I think about it, I don't agree with the whole idea of your suitcase metaphor. You are assuming that I want to go on a trip. But sometimes I just want to stay home. If I wasn't required to take this course, I wouldn't be writing a paper in the first place. Since I do have to write one, I might as well use a form I am comfortable with. (p. 7)

For Tobin, this situation is emblematic of a larger breakdown between student and teacher metaphors. Teacher metaphors are built by teachers who generally share a positive view of writing as something pleasant and optional. Students on the other hand often view writing as unpleasant and do it only as a matter of necessity. Tobin believes this may lead to problems in communication.

Investigating the role of teacher-student metaphor is an extremely valuable contribution. As Tobin points out, we as teachers believe in the inherent value of the skills and knowledge we teach, but our students may not always share this belief. We must constantly seek to bridge this gap if effective teaching/learning is to take place. Some of Tobin's students focus on affective metaphors for writing which frequently describe it as an unpleasant and required activity. Many students compared writing to *going to the dentist*. Both are unpleasant but ultimately good for you. Others used metaphors describing the writing process or the text itself (making a lasagna, tuning a drum set).

Tobin's students use metaphors to describe interactions with teachers and tutors, the grading process of a teacher, the affective aspects of writing as a task, actions carried out by a writer, and for specific parts of the text. At times it becomes difficult to distinguish the subject (writing) from the educational context in which it takes place. Perhaps this division is less real than we may wish it to be. The fact that many of Tobin's students offered metaphors for the prompt "Writing Is . ." that focused primarily on writing as part of their education or requirements to pass a course (*going to the dentist, going on a forced trip*), suggests that many of our students may see writing as largely an educational rather than a "real-world" task. In this case, their acceptance of metaphors to explain how we write would involve the metaphors they use to define their educational contexts.

It is highly likely that these educational metaphors influence students to adopt different subject matter metaphors. If they view the writing classroom simply as a hoop to be jumped through or a bar they must do the bare minimum to reach, this may in turn influence them to adopt a more fitting metaphor for writing, such as viewing editing as using an internal checklist. Students would naturally be more likely to adopt metaphors that better match their goals for the course. While the context and design of this study focused on subject metaphors, such educational and affective metaphors did occur and in many cases were closely related to use of subject-matter metaphors.

Writing Metaphors

When I first encountered formal metaphor theories, I leapt to the assumption that Composition had already made use of these theories. When I saw the extent of metaphor research being done in other fields, specifically in education and among ESL scholars, I naturally went on my own hunt for similar work being done on the first language writing classroom. I was disappointed to find only a small number of works scattered across the past 25 years. While a number of these are quite good, the small quantity of work shows a dire need for our field to more directly tackle this issue. To deepen our understanding of the issue, I have included here an investigation of metaphors for general communication as well as for writing specifically. I have also tried to distinguish between those studies that rely on published data or other scholarship and those relying on responses elicited from students or instructors.

Metaphors for Communication

The subjects of writing and communication are overlapping, with no clear barrier between the concepts. It is not even clear whether they are equivalent categories or whether one is superordinate to the other as both include metaphors outside the scope of the other.

By far the most familiar work on metaphors for communication is Reddy's (1979) investigation of the "conduit-metaphor." Many have claimed that this essay was instrumental in both developing the modern theory of metaphor as well as in advancing constructivist views on language generally. In his essay, Reddy argues that the English language biases us towards a particular way of conceptualizing the act of communication. This way of conceptualizing is what he calls the "conduit-metaphor." The conduit-metaphor can be seen in expressions like

- Try to *get* your thoughts *across* better (p. 286).
- You have to *put* each concept *into* words very carefully (p. 287).
- That remark is completely *impenetrable* (p. 289).

For Reddy, these expressions reveal an inaccurate understanding of communication. The conduit metaphor implies that meaning is somehow *packed* into language by the speaker/writer, *transported* in its original form to the hearer, and then *unpacked* to reveal the exact same meaning. However, many modern theories of meaning suggest that meaning is not *received* but *constructed* by individuals.

This idea has been extended and developed by later scholars, in particular Philip Eubanks and Darsie Bowden. Bowden (1993) focuses on only one aspect of the conduit metaphor, "*containerization*." Bowden does not reference Reddy directly, instead relying on Lakoff and Johnson's conceptual metaphor TEXTS ARE CONTAINERS. However, the fundamental idea of conceiving language or texts as something that you can *place* other objects *into* is very similar to Reddy's claims. This similarity is not surprising since Lakoff (1993) acknowledges Reddy's influence on the development of his own theories.

Bowden discusses the TEXTS ARE CONTAINERS metaphor in relation to the writing classroom. She admits that it can be useful at times to talk about texts as containers. She also points out that it is perhaps unavoidable in any case. However, she still suggests certain limitations which accompany this metaphor. She echoes Reddy in suggesting that the container metaphor promotes the idea of de-contextualized knowledge. She also worries that this metaphor may make students "apt to focus more attention on what is in that paper than on what their language does or is intended to do . . ." (1993, p. 374). Containerization may also promote greater feelings of textual ownership, which Bowden believes could make students less likely to accept suggestions for revision.

Philip Eubanks (2001) casts Reddy, Patricia Bizzell, and others as opponents of the Conduit Metaphor and himself as its defender. He believes the conduit metaphor has been

unfairly discarded as too positivist. Eubanks claims, “the conduit metaphor does not impose an erroneously reductive structure upon complex activity, but rather grows out of a complex of embodied activity, situated experience and rhetorical human relationships” (p. 110).

He first argues that the Conduit Metaphor is not as simplistic as it first appears because it functions within an interrelated metaphor system. Any linguistic use of a certain metaphor works within the context of opposing, supporting, or related conceptual metaphors. These metaphors combine in systematic ways to create new inferences. Eubanks attempts to revise our view of the conduit metaphor by showing its interconnection with the metaphor LANGUAGE IS POWER. While many see the conduit metaphor as an ethically neutral metaphor which is only intended to describe the process of communication, Eubanks (2001) argues that it combines with LANGUAGE IS POWER “as an ontological and ethical description of what makes desirable communication”(p. 108). If language is power, then transferring that power becomes a task with great ethical importance. If language lacks “clarity, directness, and accessibility” some of the power may be lost in transit or denied to certain individuals (p. 113). Eubanks believes that as a description of communication, the conduit metaphor may be technically inaccurate and lead to false inferences, but contends that as a measure of desirable communication it can serve as a useful means of assessment and goal setting. However, I question whether we can rely too heavily on these goals when they depend upon a metaphorical understanding of language which does not match with modern understanding of how language works.

Further work on the conduit metaphor and how it interacts with other metaphoric items is needed. To what extent does the conduit metaphor still form the basis for our more complex metaphors for writing or for teaching? However, we must also begin to study metaphors for writing beyond those already found in the scholarship. Only four researchers that I am aware of have begun to do this. Two of these, Cameron and Sarah McCarthey (1994), are more interested in how metaphor functions generally than specifically in writing

metaphor. Lad Tobin did receive some subject metaphors in his student prompt, but Darsie Bowden and Barbara Tomlinson are the only scholars to deliberately examine metaphors for the writing process or the act of writing.

Writing Metaphors in Published Data

Both Bowden and Tomlinson seek to identify specific writing metaphors. They also both rely on published materials as their data. Bowden reviews the use of the metaphor "voice" in scholarship on rhetoric and writing. She traces its development from its earliest use by Porter Perrin in a 1939 textbook. In contrast to her previous work on containerization, Bowden's (1995) piece on "*voice*" is more a historical review than a formal study of the metaphor. While her discussion of changes in use in relation to broader trends in the field is fascinating, Bowden does not often look at particular mappings or assumptions which seem to stem from those uses. Ultimately, Bowden seems to reject the metaphor "*voice*" on that grounds that there are too many important differences between speaking and writing. I agree that there are important differences and there are many opportunities for confusion when using this metaphor. However, I would argue that this confusion stems not from the fact that there ARE differences, which they must be for there to be a metaphor at all, but instead this confusion stems from a lack of awareness of these differences on the part of speakers. I will return to the particular topic of the "*voice*" metaphor in my findings.

Barbara Tomlison (1986; 1988) uses a clearly cognitivist approach to metaphor to identify specific conceptual metaphors used by professional writers. She chooses an interesting source of data, previously published "metaphorical narratives" in which the authors describe their own writing process through metaphors. Tomlinson is careful to note the advantages and limitations of such retrospective accounts. Using these data sources is an important break from most cognitivist research as it is grounded in authentic uses by multiple speakers. The metaphors she develops based on those narratives are informative

and intriguing. In "Cooking, Mining, Gardening, Hunting" (1986), she examines the metaphors of writers' overall process while in "Tuning, Tying, and Training Texts" (1988), she explores their metaphors for revision. For instance, WRITING IS GARDENING is evidenced by linguistic expressions like

> Given a suitable *plant*- a promising idea- one must display it on the available *trellis*: the printed page.
>
> In the evening if there is anything to *blossom*, it does *blossom*, and this is the time when you get your *mower* out, and you *mow it down*, and you *reap* it, and you *bundle* it. (1986, p. 68.).

Tomlinson also goes on to investigate the implications of each metaphor, which include what this metaphor implies are the "most important" elements in the writing process as well as the most likely source of problems. She argues the implications of WRITING IS GARDENING include

1. Failing to prepare a good environment for seeds/incipient ideas.
2. Failing to nourish plants/ideas enough as they are developing.
3. Failing to thin/train/guide the plants/ideas as they develop.
4. Allowing fruit/ideas to spoil before completing the process.
5. Having bad weather/environmental conditions reduces the yield. (p. 76)

While she does not work extensively to connect these ideas back to pedagogical implications, her method of outlining the implications for writers of each metaphor is useful in its own right.

As with most cognitivist metaphor research, one major weakness of Tomlinson's research is an over-reliance on the construct of conceptual metaphors. She seeks universals in the explanations of all the authors and pays insufficient attention to the differences each author may have in his understanding of each particular metaphor. Furthermore, Tomlinson provides little explanation of how she decided on the particular conceptual metaphors she did. She also fails to discuss how she identified linguistic metaphors or how she dealt with

linguistic items that were somewhat border-line. Instead she focuses on particularly clear examples to support her conceptual metaphor which were excerpted from the larger narrative. By de-contextualizing it this way and avoiding the messier aspects of metaphor use, Tomlinson presents an unrealistically coherent and consistent picture of the way these metaphors work linguistically and conceptually. Despite these limitations Tomlinson's work provides perhaps the most effective example to date of metaphor research on writing grounded in data from actual writers.

Writing Metaphors in Elicited or Recorded Data

In addition to using published sources, several researchers have attempted to use elicited responses as their data source. Sarah McCarthey (1994) investigates the metaphors for writing used by teachers in an elementary school. In her study of educational metaphor, Cameron also encounters several metaphors for writing and literacy, which she discusses in depth. Perhaps because McCarthey and Cameron both studied real discourse in grade school settings, they are also among the only scholars I have encountered who deal extensively with misinterpretation of metaphor or with factors that may hinder interpretation. Both point to insufficient or incorrect knowledge of either the source or target domain as a probable cause of problems.

In McCarthey's study, the teacher uses the metaphor of making bread to describe the process of writing a poem. However, not every student has direct experience with making bread. One such student commented, "Take an entry and pinch it and pull it and stretch it. I didn't. I didn't know what she mean, meant by that. Maybe, I think maybe she meant like take, take an entry and make something else out of it" (p. 601). Because this student was unfamiliar with the source domain, he could not make the conceptual mappings intended by his instructor.

Cameron explores not only on obstacles but also aids to "correct" mappings, specifically on the use of mediating strategies by teachers, such as hedging or tuning with words like "sort of," or "kind of" and using multiple metaphors to highlight salient features. Cameron only identifies one systematic metaphor connected to writing. She calls this metaphor SPEAKING IS WRITING. In her data students use verbs like "says" or "tells" to describe writing as well as speaking. Though neither appear in Cameron's study, I would contend that words like "voice" and "tone" function based on the same basic metaphor. In this study, sound was by far the most prevalent source domain for writing metaphors, which has been noticed by many other investigators.

Earlier, we saw that Lad Tobin used the prompt "Writing Is . ." with his students. Tobin collected these over a number of years and provides an informal discussion of the responses. Rather than include a list or table of all metaphors, Tobin selects a few examples for close reading and comes to his own generalizations without evidencing the data on which they were drawn. While this approach leaves me at least thirsting for a broader look at all the student metaphors, it has the advantage of being able to focus easily on Tobin's key issues, metaphor change over time and possible conflict between teacher and student metaphor.

We can see in this review that previous studies of writing metaphor have focused primarily on communication (Reddy, Eubanks, Bowden), on the specific conceptual metaphor SPEAKING IS WRITING (Bowden, Cameron), or on writing at the "process" level (Tomlinson, Tobin, McCarthey). While this work is extremely valuable, it only scratches the surface of the ways writing is discussed metaphorically. In my data, metaphor was used to discuss nearly every aspect of writing including

- Style
- Organization
- Argument/Evidence
- The goal, purpose or function of texts, sections of text, or individual words
- Relationships between writer, reader, and text

- Relationships between ideas
- The affective experience of reading or writing

Most previous research into writing metaphors has also focused on metaphors that have been in some way de-contextualized. In contrast, this study will examine our everyday discourse about writing – what we say to students and what students say about writing in the classroom and while actively working on texts with writing tutors. Instead of focusing only on metaphor identification, this study attempts to describe how metaphor works within our discourse about writing, how conventional metaphors are used and how novel metaphorical items may "extend" student knowledge.

Furthermore, many of these studies oversimplify the act of metaphor processing by relying too heavily on the construct of the conceptual metaphor. When not treated carefully, this construct can be used to reduce complex social and cognitive processes into simple A IS B statements. These simplifications often fail to account for individual differences in knowledge and mapping or for the tenuous relationship between what we know and what we say. Rather than sort these uses specifically into permanent conceptual metaphors, I have sorted linguistic items according to source domain. The construct of conceptual metaphors will then serve primarily as an explanation to help us understand instances where there is evidence of systematic use or conceptual connections between items.

Chapter 4: Methods

Sample

This study took place at Oklahoma State, a mid-western land grant university. The subjects were thirty five students and two instructors from two sections of ENGL 1213 (the second semester of the first year writing sequence) and five writing center tutors (graduate students in English who work in the OSU Writing Center on departmental assistantships). There are three sources of data: the audio recordings of four class sessions for both sections, the audio recordings of one-to-one writing tutorials between students and tutors, and written questionnaires distributed to all students.

The two instructors, Matt and Karen, were both graduate students in English serving an assistantship in the department. The subject's actual names have been changed to protect their privacy. They each had a class of around twenty students, primarily Freshmen. These students visited with tutors from the OSU writing center. The tutors were all second semester graduate students in English.

All subjects were informed that the recordings were being used to study "how we talk about writing," but not that I was specifically studying metaphor. Telling the students (and especially the instructors and consultants) that the subject was metaphor would very likely have altered their production. This study attempts to observe as closely as possible the natural use of metaphor in these contexts.

The study began at week three of the Spring semester – around the time both classes began work on their second essay of the course. Over the next four weeks, I recorded several class periods in both classes. After meeting with the instructors, I decided to skip class periods designated for individual research or student group activities. Instead, I chose to record class periods when there would be a lecture or extended interaction between the instructor and the class. One of the main goals of the study was to see how instructors used metaphor and whether their use affected their student's use. Therefore, I chose to focus on class periods when instructors would talk and interact with students.

The 1213 course is focused on research skills and writing the academic research essay. The second essay is called the "connections" essay. It is designed to help students learn to construct an argument which draws connections between three or more texts.

During the 4-week period, all students in both courses were required to attend a tutorial for their second essay. Because the students selected times to meet with the tutors throughout the period, the tutorials often took place at different stages of the writing process. Some students came to the tutorial with nearly complete drafts while others had only notes or brainstorming. Tutorials ranged from between fifteen and thirty five minutes, with most lasting around twenty five.

The final source of data is a written questionnaire distributed to students near the end of the semester. After a brief initial survey of the recordings, I developed a questionnaire that I thought would elicit more production from the students. I asked students to define several items found frequently in the data or in the relevant literature. Although all the terms they were asked to define were metaphoric items, the students were still not explicitly informed that the study was of metaphor. A copy of the questionnaire is included in Appendix A.

Excerpts from the questionnaires and the audio recordings are used throughout the study. They are presented in a different font and set off from the body text to limit confusion. When excerpts from the tutorials or from classroom speech were included in the study, I marked them with a (T).

MARY (T): Its like a *map*.

Excerpts from the questionnaires are marked with a (Q).

JAMAL (Q): I don't, know *where* to *go* with this draft.

Items that I marked as metaphoric are italicized. All instructor data is from their recorded classes. On occasion I will also include student-teacher discussion from a class period. When this is included, I have noted it in the text.

Data Collection & Data Limiting

Once the data had been collected, it became clear that transcribing all the recordings would take far more time and resources than available. Therefore, I made several decisions to limit the data sample. First, I chose to omit data from any student who did not complete the questionnaire or who did not complete an audible tutorial. This limited my sample to 18 students, nine from each class.

In addition to limiting my sample, I also carefully chose to exclude certain parts of the recording from the transcript. During a writing tutorial, a surprisingly small amount of time is spent explicitly discussing writing. Much of the tutorial involves open discussion of the topic or related topics rather than the actual writing. When students bring drafts to the tutorial, a large portion of time is spent simply reading the draft aloud. While it is important to know the overall structure of the tutorial, the exact language used during topic discussion or reading aloud is not likely to produce writing metaphors. Therefore, I chose to summarize, rather than transcribing explicitly, those portions not spent explicitly discussing writing.

The classroom data presented other difficulties. While the tutorials with poor recording quality could be discarded, the classroom speech was too important to simply discard an entire recording when sections were inaudible. Because of the size of the classroom, the location of the microphone, and differences in speaking style, the instructor speech is consistently much clearer than student speech, and the noise level of the classroom prevented any quality recording of group activity. On a rare occasion, the transcript will include a student engaging with the instructor for an extended dialogue, but the majority of the classroom transcript represents what would commonly be called "lecture," extended speech by the instructor with brief pauses for questions or feedback from the students as a group. Both Matt and Karen used this technique frequently. In Matt's classes, he opted to divide two smaller lectures with a class activity while Karen began her classes with a lecture then moved into an activity.

Defining Metaphor

Perhaps the most difficult step in conducting metaphor research is settling on an operational definition of metaphor. When working with a corpus, this difficulty is compounded with the need for a method to systematically identify metaphors in the text. Additionally, the term metaphor is often used interchangeably to mean linguistic items and conceptual metaphors. I will attempt to make this distinction clear by using the term "item" to refer to individual words in the transcript. The term "metaphor" then is a broad cover term of which there are many elements. These include individual linguistic items, groups of possibly related items, the mental processes that take place when items are encountered, and any conceptual connections we perceive between items that can sometimes be usefully explained using conceptual metaphors. While many scholars attempt to use the word metaphor to reflect only one of these elements, I find it more fitting to acknowledge that all of these are integral to what we call a metaphor.

Rather than redefine or specify the term metaphor, I try to avoid ambiguity by offering specific terms for these disparate elements. A metaphoric item is a given linguistic item from the source domain that appears in spoken or written discourse.

RICHARD (Q): phrases that adequately *bridge* the *gap* between ideas

In this sample, "*bridge*" and "*gap*" are both metaphoric items. In my study, I have also sorted items into lists of items called "Item Sets" and then sorted those sets into what I call "Item Groups." I will explain the exact nature of the sorting and these levels of organization later in this section. However it should be clear that all three are comprised of linguistic items. The items "*bridge*" and "*gap*" are two items in the Item Set I have named DIRECTIONS AND PATHS. All the items in this Item Set, plus those in several other Item Sets are part of the Item Group I have named the Journey Group. To prevent confusion, when they occur in this paper, items are placed in quotations and italics, Item Sets are written in all caps, and Item Groups are written with the first letters capitalized.

In addition to the items that seem to reference the source domain, there is also a good deal of language surrounding these items. Without this language, there is no metaphor. If the word "bridge" occurred in isolation, it would not be a metaphoric item.

In the sample above, the additional language "phrases that adequately _____ the _____ between ideas" is just as important to the entire metaphor as the metaphoric items. I have called the items associated with the source domain metaphoric items and the rest of this language, I will call this "surrounding text." It is certainly a debatable topic how large this surrounding text is or should be. Is it one sentence, one paragraph, or one conversation? I can by no means answer this question in this study. However, one way to go about this is to assume that ALL available language not related to the source domain is part of the surrounding text. As sections of this surrounding text become relevant, they can be examined in the size most useful.

As Leezenberg (2001) mentioned earlier, the social and rhetorical contexts of an utterance also affect whether or not it can be considered metaphorical. These contexts may also affect HOW an item is understood and what inferences it leads to. The information about the rhetorical purpose, the general topic of discussion, the speaker, etc., not contained within the surrounding text I will call the metaphoric "context." I use the term "metaphoric" rather than the possessive "metaphor's" context because the context itself is integral to what we call the metaphor. If all other elements remain the same, but the context is changed you still have a completely new metaphor. To make one further distinction, I use the term *metaphoric* to mean "relating to metaphor" and *metaphorical* to mean "in a figurative sense." For instance, in the example "His latest arrest was his third strike," the arrest is a *metaphorical* strike while the item "strike" and the sentence in general are *metaphoric*.

Metaphoric "interpretation" is both the mental process that takes place upon encountering these items and recognizing them as part of a metaphor. As mentioned in the literature review, much of the research in metaphor studies focuses on this process, and there are many different models for describing how it takes place. However, one agreed upon feature of "interpreting" is that it is an active process. The items do not cause inferences; instead, we actively develop inferences based on all the elements of the metaphor. Often this process results in unintended inferences, and subjects attempt to check these inferences by using additional metaphoric items, as we saw the students in Cameron's study do during the volcano discussion (2003, p. 100-110). The result of this interpretation is new knowledge in the source domain. We may then take action or make decisions based on that new knowledge.

It is difficult to explain this metaphoric interpretation because our access to the mind is always second hand. Our language for describing thoughts and thinking is still in many ways inexact. While to this point I have mainly discussed externally countable

things like items, I will move now to discussing elements of a metaphor that are clearly secondhand constructs. The first of these constructs is the "domain." Certain words when used together seem to reference what we have called a "domain." The primary function of this word is to distinguish knowledge about the metaphoric item from knowledge about the surrounding text. Although his definition is grounded more in its use in Cognitive Grammar than in metaphor theory, Cienki (2007) suggests that the term "encompasses many aspects of an experience that are associated" (p. 181). He also cites Langacker who defines domain as "a coherent area of conceptualization relative to which semantic units may be characterized" (qtd in Cienki, 2007, p. 182). If we return to Burke's (1936) discussion of the world-as-cheese-wheel, he might argue that these areas of conceptualization could perhaps be redrawn an infinite number of ways as need or "interest" demands.

In the quote from Richard included on page 55, the items "*bridge*" and "*gap*"can be said to reference one domain, while the surrounding text references another domain. Our basis for describing and identifying metaphor relies on our ability to distinguish in this way. It would seem that if we do not make that distinction, the utterance is not a metaphor for us. We can call the source domain for these two items anything we choose, but whether we call the domain a "journey," "landscape," or a "river," these labels do not change the fact that each individual constructs the domain differently and has a different experience with that domain.

Based on our knowledge of what words mean and how they function within the two domains, we form what I will call "conceptual links." For instance, we know that bridges are used to connect the two sides of a gap. That knowledge is a "conceptual link" within the target domain between "*bridges*" and "*gaps*." While these conceptual links must exist, they are different for every individual and incredibly difficult to describe because they exist only in the mind and all access to them must be second hand.

We can see evidence that these links must exist in some form because speakers can create new utterances using novel, but related, linguistic items. For instance, while Richard uses the terms "*bridge*" and "*gap,*" his instructor, Matt, used a different set of items that appear to be conceptually linked: "*stepping stones,*" "*cross,*" and "*stream*." This ability to produce seemingly novel items based on an encounter with conventional items suggests not only that these items have links with one another but that they have formed new conceptual links with items from the target domain.

When Lakoff and Johnson use the term metaphor, they mean conceptual metaphor, I have followed Cameron and others in questioning the validity of the conceptual metaphor construct because it pays insufficient attention to the immense differences between users, surrounding text, items, and contexts and because it attempts to describe an internal process, often using only self-generated linguistic items.

On the other hand, our ability to label target domains or source domains at all is suspect to many of the same critiques with respect to accounting for individual differences and finding an appropriate level of granularity. Also, despite their flaws, conceptual metaphors hold great explanatory power. The conceptual metaphors WRITING IS A JOURNEY and TRANSITIONING IS BRIDGE BUILDING would both seem to help us make sense of Matt's and Richard's utterances and serve as a useful way of accounting for the perceived similarities between those utterances.

The problem with using conceptual metaphors or sorting items into conceptual metaphors is that it is easy to be blinded by the simplicity of the format and overlook the complexity and diversity inherent to the process. However, I think we may still make use of the construct if we acknowledge that it is not a universal process, but a description of perceived similarities among the processes of many individuals. Therefore, I will only use the phrase "conceptual metaphor" and the notation "A IS B" when attempting to describe the similarities we perceive between the conceptual links created by different individuals.

While each person's internal links will be different and perhaps inaccessible, we can attempt to provide useful descriptions of similarities among those links using conceptual metaphors. However, these descriptions are at most second-hand interpretations of the data by researchers, rather than representations of the subject's inaccessible internal knowledge.

Identifying Metaphoric Items

After completing all the transcriptions, the next step in my process was to identify metaphoric items in the text. In large part, I have modeled my study on the methods set forth by Cameron (2003). While Cameron eschews the traditional understanding of metaphor as a closed category for a "family-resemblance" approach, she still retains several important necessary conditions for identifying metaphor in a text. One of these conditions is the identification of a word or phrase that is "incongruous" with the Target Domain. This requires that the researcher identify the Target Domain. In my case, the identification of the Target Domain seemed simple as I am only interested in writing metaphors, but determining what does and does not count as "writing" is actually somewhat tricky.

After several passes through the data, I eventually reached a determination of what would and would not qualify as discussion about writing. This list is not comprehensive, but only includes those instances I found to be particularly difficult to classify. Any sections of classes or tutorials that I felt were referring to the second group was not transcribed and not included in the data.

TALKING ABOUT WRITING

- Identifying the claims or evidence of sources for an essay.
- Talking about planning an essay.
- Talking about an instructor's comments, grades, or evaluations of an essay.

- Talking about instructions or rubrics.

NOT TALKING ABOUT WRITING

- Talking about actions that aid or hinder writing (sleeping, napping, being sick).
- Talking about the topic of an essay.
- Talking about the topic of sources.
- Talking about the research process.

For instance, this example would be included because it is discussing Matt's comments on Jessica's draft.

> JESSICA (T): I was told [by my instructor] that wasn't a very good map.

In this next example, even though "*hot*" is incongruous, this example was discarded because it is about the topic of the essay rather than about the writing of the essay.

> BRAD (T): So that's [food labeling] something that is a *hot* topic right now.

To identify items that are incongruous, it would seem necessary to also determine the "literal meaning" or Source Domain of a given item. However, Cameron also suggests that rather than attempt to establish preset conditions, a researcher should adopt a recursive approach to metaphor identification, returning to the list again and again and completing the sorting process in stages. While I was able to determine the limits of my Target Domain early in the process, I chose to wait and identify Source Domains through the grouping process. Rather than exclude items as I encountered them, I chose to adopt the broadest possible view of metaphor during my first several passes through the data. This included de-lexicalized verbs and prepositions. Since in many cases, words like "put" or "on" are used in a vast number of contexts, it is difficult to determine which sense the "literal" definition and which may be a metaphoric extension.

Rather than make this decision item by item, I decided to cast my net as widely as possible and include any language also used regularly to describe any other subject. Using this system, the only items that were rejected on the first pass through the data were instances that I determined were not actually talking about writing, like Brad's example above.

After collecting a large sample of metaphoric language, I began the sorting process before permanently including or excluding items. Once all of the subjects' metaphoric items had been sorted, I began to discard more items. Choosing to wait until items were sorted to make decisions to discard them also helped me make systematic decisions about excluding. I could recognize certain similarities between items or groups of items and discard them together. Since my sorting method occurred next in the process chronologically, I will first explain my sorting process, then return to discuss how and why certain items were discarded.

Sorting Metaphoric Items

As discussed earlier, one common methodological element of metaphor study is the theoretical construct of conceptual metaphors. Researchers often attempt to identify or list linguistic metaphors then sort them into groups that many believe represent underlying mental or conceptual metaphors. As discussed in the literature review, many researchers have begun to question the validity of this construct. Because each person will associate any given lexical item with their own personal experience, the internal representations of each person are fluid and difficult to access. When encountering a given metaphoric item, each person's interpretation will be unique because it is based on their own understanding of the lexical item as well as on their familiarity with its use in this new semantic domain, making generalizing from linguistic items to larger conceptual metaphors extremely tenuous. Because of these difficulties, and based on the

critiques of Deignan, Cameron, and others, I attempted to use an alternative mode of sorting.

Item Sets

Rather than attempt to identify underlying conceptual metaphors, I decided instead to create a list of items or Item Sets. Item Sets differ from conceptual metaphors in several ways. Below are several of the defining features of Item Sets:

- An Item Set represents linguistic production of speakers, not mental representation.
- An Item Set is a set of lexical items not a list of mappings.
- An Item Set is a research tool specific to single text or discourse.
- An Item Set is localized. It may represent the production of a pair of speakers within one conversation or among many speakers in a given discourse community.
- An Item Set is developed through a recursive process of sorting, and its features depend upon the needs of the study.

Any set of data will have a large number of possible Item Sets. What a given study hopes to determine will affect what items are included and how those items are justified. Because all the items in this study have the same target domain, writing, I have decided to develop my Item Sets based on perceived conceptual links in the source domain. One of the questions I am hoping to answer is, what are the most common source domains for talking about writing and what are the common uses of these domains in relation to writing? However, another researcher may be studying metaphoric adjectives. They would then develop their own Item Sets based on the needs of the study. Perhaps they create one Item Set that includes all adjectives in the data. Perhaps they would use the

source domain as a factor as I have and include adjectives which reference size in one set but adjectives that reference temperature in another.

Once these Item Sets have been created, they may be explained using several different conceptual metaphors. However, these conceptual metaphors should be considered to be useful ways to explain the data rather than preexisting conceptual knowledge. Conceptual metaphors based on this data could be proposed as needed to describe the conceptual connections between the source domain of the items and the target domain.

After I identified metaphoric items from the questionnaires and transcripts, I sorted these items into Item Sets. I began by sorting the items of the instructors, and from there, I adapted the sets as I sorted the items of the students. In retrospect, this may have been a mistake on my part. By sorting the instructor items first, their data may have unfairly biased me towards particular groupings. Future researches may wish to find some way of addressing this biasing by extracting all the samples then mixing them up before sorting them.

I sorted the student items one student at a time – creating, splitting, or combining Item Sets as necessary. In some cases, a given item that had not appeared anywhere else would appear multiple times in a student's speech. For instance, Elizabeth frequently used the phrase "*tie back,*" which I had not seen previously. Once I noticed the frequency with which Elizabeth used this item I grouped these uses together and created a temporary Item Set called I called TYING. As I noticed later subjects using this item, I included them within the same set. I eventually noticed that the item "*connect*" seemed very similar conceptually and seemed to function in a similar way within the discourse as "*tie*." I decided to include both these items in the new Item Set CONNECTING.

I proceeded in this way, sorting items into Item Sets and then combining or dividing those Item Sets as I encountered new data until all items had been sorted into an Item Set or into the category of Novel Items, meaning items that were metaphoric but that seemed to only appear once in the data.

Once all sorting was done, I returned to the Novel list to look it over for similarities and possible new Item Sets. In the Novel list, I found some items that fit into the already developed Item Sets, as well as items requiring new or adapted Item Sets. Once I had thoroughly perused the list of Novel Items, I returned to my Item Sets for a last stage of assessment. When I was satisfied with the lists as they were, I used a search tool to search the original transcripts for the items one by one, including any derivational or inflectional allomorphs of the item. "Talk" would include "talks," "talking," or even "talker." When I found examples, I examined them to ensure they were about writing and included them in the Item Set. Finally, I returned to the complete lists once again to review my Item Sets based on items found during the search.

Discarding Items

Once I had sorted all the possible metaphoric items, I decided to exclude certain items as not metaphoric. As I mentioned earlier, sorting before excluding had certain advantages. I could review all the uses of that item together and in the context of other items when deciding whether or not to exclude. After reviewing all the items in the group, I was faced with three problematic categories of items: de-lexicalized or lexically weak verbs, prepositions, and organizers.

I first decided that "*do*" was a de-lexicalized verb and did not seem to reference a clear source domain. Rather than working as a metaphoric item, I believe "do" functions literally with many different subjects. I at first considered "go" and "put" as possible non-metaphoric de-lexicalized verbs because they have such a wide range of uses. However,

"go" and "put" both seemed particularly tied to a specific domain, "*go*" to the domain of travel or motion and "put" to the domain of moving objects. Furthermore, "*put*" is widely seen as evidence of container metaphors (Bowden, 1993; Eubanks, 2001; Reddy, 1979).

On the other hand, "*make*" may be seen as somewhat de-lexicalized. Similar to "*put*" or "*go*," it has many different senses in which it is used. In many of these instances, I chose to discount it as not metaphoric. For instance, in this example "*make*" is used to mean "force."

> MARY (Q): You could organize your thoughts more clearly in order to *make* your paper have a clear and simple structure.

In its literal sense, *make* seems tied to the idea of creating and not to that of force, so I believe this use must qualify as a different sense of the word. In this instance and this sense of the word, I do not believe "make" is metaphoric. However, in other instances, "*make*" serves more as a synonym for "create" or "construct."

> BRAD (T): the point this author *makes*.

In this instance, the author is not implying force, but a metaphorical "creating," and *"make"* works in a way very similar to other items in the Item Set CREATING. Therefore, I classified this sense as a metaphoric item.

In addition to de-lexicalized verbs, prepositions were also extremely tricky. Just like de-lexicalized verbs, many prepositions have a wide range of meanings. Many stand alone prepositions like "*on*" and "*in*" were discarded as literal because they referred to the literal process of writing a word "in/on" a piece of paper or "in/on" the screen of a computer. However, in many cases a preposition seemed somewhat more metaphoric.

> BRAD: (T) When you get to your thesis you're just *putting things into* neat categories. You're saying to the reader, "Hey trust me." You're building credibility with your audience. You're saying "Hey trust me. I know the categories. We'll get to each *box* and we'll *unpack* the contents when we get to those paragraphs."

Part of the reason that *into* may seem more metaphoric in this example than in others is the effect of "clustering" (Cameron, 2003). Clustering occurs when a group of metaphorical items appear together in the text. Clustering may make metaphoric language easier to identify or make certain terms seem more metaphoric. Items "*box*" and "*unpack*" are obviously metaphoric, but is *into* a metaphoric item in its own right or simply a modification of a metaphoric sense of the nouns or verbs?

Often prepositions were paired systematically with other metaphoric items. For instance, the word "*back*" frequently occurred in a number of consistently produced phrases like "*back up*" and "*tie back*." When paired like this, prepositions are sometimes considered to be part of a phrasal verb rather than a true preposition.

While these phrases seem similar, they function very differently. In "*back up*" the phrase seems to have a meaning on its own (to support) that is not a sum of back or up. "*Tie*" is a word used regularly in the data to imply that the writer needs to write language that explicitly connects one idea to another. "*Back*" also provides new meaning to the phrase. In this case, the word "*back*" indicates that the "*tying*" that needs to be done is with a point in the "*back*" of the writer, or earlier in the paper.

Prepositions clearly play some role in metaphoric interpretation. However, I ultimately decided to exclude prepositions from my final count for several reasons.

1. The inclusion of prepositions may appear to artificially inflate the number of metaphoric items identified. Because they are suspect, but occur so frequently in the text the decision to include them in the count would drastically raise the number of items. Instead, I opted for a more conservative estimate of metaphorical items.
2. Because prepositions have such a wide range of use, they were not only borderline metaphoric but extremely difficult to sort into particular Item Groups or Item Sets. Phrases like "on the path", "on the top of the list," and

"on and on" could conceivably sort into three different item groups. Neither including each particular sense of the preposition separately in different groups or clumping them together despite clear differences seemed a viable option.

3. Many of the instances of prepositions occurred in phrasal verbs or idioms like "up to you" or "in the first place" in which the meaning of the two items was inseparable and in which there was none or at least very little directional or spatial-relational meaning implied. Accounting for these uses became particularly problematic.

Despite these challenges and despite their exclusion from the count, some prepositions do seem to have SOME metaphoric value in particular uses. Certain prepositions seem to co-occur frequently with particular items from particular Item Group/Sets. To indicate this, I included a list of prepositions that may be associated with particular Item Sets and Item Groups. These prepositions are offset from the rest of the list using brackets and are not included in the final tally for that set. They should not be considered truly a part of the set but as a separate set of often associated prepositions.

In addition to de-lexicalized verbs and prepositions, I also discarded a large number of sequential terms like "*first*," "*before*," "e*nd,*" and "*start*." While I initially kept these terms because they could be applied to fields other than writing, I eventually decided that they have the same literal meaning in a vast number of contexts rather than one true source domain and a similar metaphoric meaning everywhere else.

Finally, I discarded a number of items I had at first thought were metaphoric, but, upon examining their surrounding text, I decided were actually literal. Earlier we looked at a sample from Chuck.

CHUCK: (T) *Over here* I'm going to put the topic, treatment of prisoners

I initially marked “here” as a metaphoric item, but when I returned to take a closer look at the surrounding text, I realized that Chuck was not referring to a conceptual space for organization as I had originally thought. Instead, Chuck seems to be helping this student brainstorm and was physically writing the words “Treatment of Prisoners” on a separate sheet of paper. So, while “here” might be metaphoric in many instances, in this case it was referring to an actual physical space (the surface of a particular piece of paper).

I would like to stress before moving on that this process of identification/exclusion is imperfect. I have undoubtedly missed a few items that might have qualified as metaphoric, excluded many items that others would deem metaphoric, and included many items that seemed metaphoric but with a greater attention to surrounding text or context might have been revealed as literal. The recursive process of metaphor identification can theoretically continue indefinitely but pragmatically must eventually come to an end.

While I had initially planned to conduct a quantitative analysis of some kind on these results, the complexity of metaphor in general and the imperfect nature of all current methods of identification and sorting makes quantitative analysis of item use somewhat suspect. While I included a few descriptive statistical findings in my paper, these were primarily used to provide an overview of the results or to reinforce claims I have made based on qualitative evidence.

Item Groups

As I began to sort the items into Item Sets, I noticed that many Item Sets seemed to be connected to one another in interesting ways. I determined that I would need another level of organization to reflect these similarities. To do this I combined Item Sets into what I have called Item Groups. Item groups are groups of Item Sets that seem to all share certain similarities in the source domain or function in a systematic way within the

discourse. In particular, I noticed five groups of Item Sets that shared certain features. For instance, the Item Group of Sensory Items is made of three Item Sets (SOUND/SPEECH, VISION, and TOUCH/TEXTURE/SENSATION). These three Item Sets are unified by the fact that they all use some element of sensory input to describe writing.

In many cases, it was difficult to determine whether lists of items should be called a set or a group. For instance, three of the Item Groups (Position Items, Spatial Items, and Journey Items) all seem to function together in a systematic way. It would also make sense to list these all under the heading of one larger Item Group. Lakoff might refer to all these items as evidence of ontological conceptual metaphors. However, there were also important differences between the Groups and between the Item Sets within those groups that I felt were important to distinguish. More theoretical and practical work is needed to develop systematic levels of granularity at which items may be discussed or sorted. It is possible that three levels of organization are not enough to sufficiently describe items and their connections to one another. However, in the next chapter I take great care to explain each Item Set and Item Group in detail. This includes the particular items included in it, its common uses in the data, and the justification for sorting decisions.

Familiarity

By the time they reach the college classroom, students have been studying writing for many years. In that time, they have been exposed to a vast array of items already. Many of the items present in the text would be interpreted similarly by most writing students and instructors. However, there will undoubtedly be some small differences in understanding. Explaining the consistency in our understanding of a given item while acknowledging our differences can be a tricky problem. Similarly, describing the way an

item, Item Set, or Item Group is used by an individual is very different than describing the way it is used by a group.

One major factor in how an individual uses or interprets an item is their familiarity with that item. By familiarity, I mean a specific individual's tacit and explicit knowledge of and experiences using or hearing a given item. Items with in an Item Set seem to share specific conceptual relationships that may be familiar or unfamiliar to an individual, so it would stand to reason that an individual might also be familiar with an Item Set or an Item Group. While they may not have encountered every item in the group, a number of the items will be familiar, and the conceptual links they have developed may allow them to more readily interpret unfamiliar items. This will be discussed in much greater detail later. Now, I wish only to stress that familiarity with an item in a Set or Group may effect interpretation of other items.

While it may at times be useful to describe an individual as familiar or unfamiliar with a given item, it would be more accurate to describe them as more or less familiar since there are no necessary or sufficient conditions for being familiar. The more times an individual hears an item, the more times they use it, and the more developed the conceptual links between items, the more familiar an individual is with that item.

Conventionality

In addition to individual familiarity, a given item may be more or less conventional within a given set of speakers, a given context, or a set of data. However, defining conventionality is not an easy process. Some might argue that any definition of conventionality should reflect speaker's impression of how familiar other's are with an item. If a speaker believes their listeners are familiar with an item, they will use it in a different way than if they believe their speakers are unfamiliar with that item. While this is an important point, I distinguish this perception of familiarity on the part of the group

from the actual use of the word within a discourse. I will call that perception of familiarity "perceived conventionality" and call the items actual use its "conventionality."

It might seem reasonable to simply say that a conventional item is one with which most speakers are familiar. However, as I have defined these terms, assessing familiarity is a much more difficult process than assessing conventionality. To determine an individual's familiarity with a given item, we must devise a way to access their internal knowledge of the item. However, to assess an item's conventionality within a group or context, we only need to study its use within the data.

Grady (1999) suggests that we can use several measures, including frequency, within a relevant corpus and native speaker intuition. The second of these, native speaker intuition, is more likely to tell us about perceived conventionality than actual conventionality. However, frequency of use in a relevant corpus can be useful. While there is no ratio for determining conventionality, it would stand to reason that more frequent items could be called more conventional.

In addition to frequency, I believe Grady leaves out two important features of conventionality. Items should be used in a systematic way within the discourse and should maintain a systematic set of conceptual links to other items from the source and target domain. These three measures, frequency in a relevant corpus, discourse systematicity, and conceptual systematicity, can be used to asses the conventionality of an item, Item Set, or Item Group. However, the inferences from item to Set or Group become much more tenuous. Also, conventionality cannot be represented as a number, but these three measures may be used to bolster the claim that an item is conventional or that one item is more conventional than another. In the next sections, I will explain these measures and how they may be applied to items, Item Sets, and Item Groups.

Frequency

Frequency may include both how often an item, Item Set, or Item Group appears within the data as well as how many speakers use that item, Item Set, or Item Group. For instance, 19 of the 20 subjects used at least one item from the Sensory Item Group. That means that at some point in their discussion, they referenced some aspect of their physical senses to talk metaphorically about writing. At the Item Set level, even the least common of the three, TOUCH/TEXTURE/SENSATION, is used by most of the speakers I studied. Only the 3 subjects with the lowest total items did not use an item from TOUCH/TEXTURE/SENSATION.

At the level of the individual item, the two most frequent terms were "*smooth*" and "*rough*." Twelve subjects used the word "*rough,"* and nine used the word "*smooth."* If we accept that these two terms work as opposite ends of a spectrum, then any student who uses either term should understand the basic concept that texture can be used to metaphorically describe writing. Eighteen of the twenty subjects used one of these two terms, suggesting that texture as well as the general concept of touch and sensation is a conventional way of discussing writing.

Because there are a large number of communally shared items like this one, students and instructors tend to both use them frequently. Additionally, I found that the items most frequently used by instructors tended to be used at least once by a large number of their students. The Tables below list the most frequent items, Item Sets, and Item Groups arranged by the number of times they were used by instructors. In the right column is the number of students (out of eighteen) that used the item.

Table 1: Items Used Most Frequently

Item	Number of Uses by Instructors	Number of Students who Used
Talk	16	14
Says	9	11
Go	7	13

Point	6	11
There	5	8

Table 2: Item Sets Used Most Frequently

Item Set	Number of Uses by Instructors	Number of Students who Used
SOUND	44	16
VISION	21	12
DIRECTIONS/PATHS	15	12
DISTANCE	11	15
PLACE	11	10
SUPPORT	8	14
PLANS	7	12
ORIENTATION	7	10

Table 3: Item groups Used Most Frequently

Group	Number of Uses by Instructors	Number of Students who Used
Sensory	67	17
Object	30	16
Journey	30	15
Position	20	13
Spatial	18	17

As we can see in Tables 1-3, the number of students using an item tends to increase in relation to the uses by instructors. Table 1 and Table 2 include the items and Item Sets most used by instructors. These numbers show that the items used most frequently by instructors also tend to be those used by the greatest number of students, suggesting that these items, Item Sets, and Item Groups are conventional within this group of speakers and perhaps represent commonly shared metaphoric knowledge about writing.

Discourse Systematicity

Though he admits the process would be quite complicated, Grady (1997) suggests that we may be able to identify conventional metaphors by relying on frequency in a

representative corpus and on native speaker intuition. As we saw above, there were a great number of items, Item Sets, and Item Groups that were used often by a large number of subjects and by most of the subjects. I would add to that list that to be considered "conventional," items should not only be used frequently, but also systematically within a given discourse. To show discourse systematicity, a given item should be used consistently for a limited number of specific purposes and should mean roughly the same thing when it is used. For an Item Set or group to show discourse systematicity, there should be certain similarities and consistencies between the uses of all its constituent items.

To illustrate, the term "*clear*" is used by both instructors and by 7 of the 18 students. In total, it appears 16 times in the data. If we are to call it a conventional item, "*clear*" should have a somewhat consistent meaning throughout the data. In my data, "*clear*" is always used to describe how easy or difficult something is to understand, and things that are easy to understand are always "*clear*" while things that are difficult to understand are "*unclear*."

However, determining that an item is conventional seems to be a much simpler process than calling an Item Group or Item Set conventional. If we are to call a Set or Group conventional, its items should all be used systematically within the discourse. For instance, all of the items in the Item Set VISION, like "*clear,*" seem to be used to describe knowing or knowledge.

Another indicator of systematic use within the discourse may be that the items occur in item "clusters," several items pertaining to one source domain which occur close together in the data. "*Clear*" is frequently used in conjunction with other terms from VISION. In their questionnaires, several students explained "*clear*" by using other terms from the domain.

RICHARD (Q):	Its points are not *obscured* by strange jargon or confusing syntax.
JILL(Q):	A clear paper is precise and had a thesis statement that *reveals* what the reader will be doing.

In many tutorials, the tutor began by asking the student if they had any particular concerns they wished to focus on during the tutorial. I hypothesized that these concerns might cause both student and tutor to focus more on this particular issue during the tutorial and thus use more of the items associated with it. If a student brought up a particular item early in the tutorial, it would make sense that the item would continue to be used regularly throughout the tutorial to refer back to the same idea. Several students used the items "*tie*" and "*connect*" with tutors early in the tutorial when they wanted help with the cohesion of their essay.

SARAH (T):	I need help *tie* them together
JILL (T):	trying to figure out how to *tie* it all together.
BETH (T):	you could *tie* it back to that
JAMEL (T):	You know make sure the paragraphs all *connect*
CAROL (T):	The point of the essay is to answer the discussion question while *connecting* that to two outside sources

The students that used these items tended to continue using them throughout the tutorial. They used the specific item and other items from the CONNECTIONS Item Set more often than the average students. If we view the use of a particular Item Set as a percentage of all the uses of items from the five conventional Item Sets, we may be able to track the students' tendency to use those items. I have used a proportion of uses among the top five item sets rather than a proportion of all items to help discount the influence of discarded items or a student's propensity to use novel or less conventional items. The statistics below include only data from the tutorials and not from student questionnaires.

When compared to all the uses of items within the five conventional Items Sets, items from CONNECTIONS made up only 6.2% of the items but among the five students who used one of those items early in their tutorials, they accounted for 15.5% of the total items and every one of these students was above the class average of 6.2%. In some cases, these students used the same item repeatedly, but others used both "*tie"* and "*connect."* This

would suggest the two items are connected in some systematic way within the discourse, in this case as synonyms.

If certain items do share a conceptual link of some kind, students would be likely to not only reuse conventional items but also to use other items in the Item Set and Item Group. While the CONNECTIONS set has only a few items, the Journey Items Group has a large number of items, and the three students who expressed a concern using items from the Journey Group used a wide variety of them.

BRENDA (T):	Figuring out *where* I want to *go* with it
JAMELL (T):	I want to make sure I'm on the right *track*
JESSICA (T):	I don't know if that's really the right *way* to *go* or anything

These three students continued to use items from the Journey Group throughout their tutorial and showed a much higher percentage of Journey Items, 23.1%, than the class average, 14.3%. Again, all three students were above the class average of usage. This further suggests that these items are related systematically and that students who introduce a specific item early in a tutorial tend to use other items systematically related to it.

The items, Item Sets, and Item Groups instructors used the most frequently also tend to be those used by the most students. When a student expressed a concern early in the tutorial by using an item, they were more likely to use that item as well as other items in its Item Set and its Item Group. When attempting to explain or expound on an item like *"clear,"* students frequently draw on other items from the same Item Set or Item Group. These findings suggest that the items are related to one another in a systematic way and that certain Item Sets and Item groups may be called conventional as well.

Conceptual Systematicity

In addition to consistent meanings and systematic use within the discourse, conventional Item Sets and Item Groups should also have regular conceptual relationships

among items. To call the entire Item Set of VISION conventional, we should somehow be able to describe the systematic conceptual links among its items and between its items and the target domain. In this case, conceptual metaphors can be a useful tool for describing these conceptual links. Most items in the VISION set could be usefully explained through KNOWING IS SEEING.

Metaphorically, to "*see*" something is to understand it. From this basic idea, we make several systematic conceptual mappings from the source domain of vision to that of reading/writing. Because we rely on our vision so heavily, humans are keenly aware that changes in position or in light can affect what we see or how accurately we interpret the information given by our eyes. Reality itself has not changed, only our ability to perceive it. When we hold an object for someone to see, we know that they will be able to see it better if we hold it away from out body, in clear light, and as close to them as possible. The object itself is the same no matter how we hold it, but the WAY we hold it (close or far, in good light or bad) can drastically affect the way it is perceived by the viewer. This knowledge from the source domain is then used systematically in the target domain. We can see this through how specific items are used.

For example, writing can be "*clear*" or "*unclear.*" *Clear* writing is easy to understand (*see*), while unclear writing is difficult to understand (*see*).

ALANA (Q):	The ideas presented follow a natural, logical, *clear* path.
MARY (Q):	organize your thoughts more *clearly*

If a writer wants a reader to understand something, they should *show* or *illustrate* it.

ALANA(T):	To *show* the point of environment on different people
KAREN(T):	*illustrating* what Zimbardo talks about
CAROL (T):	it *showed* examples
JILL (Q):	A *clear* paper is precise and had a thesis statement that *reveals* what the reader will be doing.

Seeing something from a new "*angle*" or "*viewpoint*" offers a new image of it. It is the same object, but each viewer will have a unique impression of it based on their position in relation to it.

CAROL (Q):	A paper that covers all the angles/area/*view points* of the argument
JILL (Q):	I can place two *views* on my argument about child abuse.
ALLISON (T):	It was from him . like his *point of view*

In this case, we acknowledge that differences in position can lead to different ways of understanding. Differences in opinion do not occur simply because two people have access to different facts, but because different people approach ("*view*") the same topic from different "*places."* Just as the view of a razorblade from a long distance or through a microscope leads to two very different pictures, our academic training, personal beliefs, life history, and other individual traits inherently "*position"* us and effect how we understand a topic. That particular understanding, created by his or her "*position*," is what we call a person's "*viewpoint."*

The fact that all these individual items can be explained using a single conceptual metaphor suggests that there is are underlying conceptual links between these items which occur systematically for many individuals. These links will vary somewhat from individual to individual but within the data, items appear to be used in a systematic way by most individuals. When combined with its high frequency of use and its systematic use within the discourse, these systematic conceptual links suggest that the items within the VISION set are not only conventional individually, but may also be conventional as a group of systematically used and conceptually related items.

Individual Variation

While relating these items to conceptual metaphors has great explanatory power, it also carries several possible disadvantages. The first is that it may lead us to inaccurately assume that all instructors, all students, and all writing tutors understand and make use of the same item in the same way. Particular individuals may have encountered some or all of these items, but their particular mappings may all be quite different. Our students come to us from a variety of educational contexts and each has a unique life experience with the Source Domain and Target Domain of our conventional items. As a result, each student may use only certain aspects of the source domain and not others, favor certain lexical items, or use items in non-conventional ways.

Furthermore, some items within an Item Group or Item Set are more conventional than others. One item from a Group may be highly conventional among one community while it is unconventional for another. For instance, Karen used the item "*clear*" four times during her class lectures. Five of her students use it a total of eight times. On the other hand, Matt only uses it once, and only two of his students use it a total of three times. Not only does Karen use the term *"clear"* more, she also uses the Item Set more; Karen uses items from this Item Set nineteen times while Matt uses it only twice. Six of Karen's students use these items twenty four times while six of Matt's students use them a total of twelve times. Based on this evidence, we could say that the particular item, *"clear,"* as well as the VISION Item Set, are more conventional in Karen's class than in Matt's.

I have included words in Item Sets and Groups based primarily on their connections within the source domain. I have also tried to show how we may begin to determine the conventionality of these items, Sets, or Groups. However, this does not mean that all items within a Set will be familiar. In fact some items within a Set are clearly unfamiliar to most individuals. In the case of the Journey Items group, many of the items seem highly

conventional and appear to be familiar to many of the students. However other items, like *"maps"* or *"stepping stones"* are clearly conceptually related but are less conventional and clearly less familiar to many of the subjects.

In the next section, I will present the findings of this study, and I will more deeply explore the particular conventional items, Sets, and Groups as well as how unfamiliar or unconventional items may be interpreted, often in relation to more conventional or familiar items.

Chapter 5: Findings

In this section I present the findings of this study. I have begun with a broad overview of the data. I will then look closely at the five Item Groups I believe can be called conventional for this set of data. I will discuss how these groups and their sets were sorted as well as how the items are typically used in the data.

Following this discussion I will look at several particular types of items that can aid or inhibit understanding. Novel items often occur together with conventional items and seem to help clarify or check the understanding of each other. Understanding can be extended by introducing unfamiliar items that are conceptually related to more conventional items. On the other hand, ambiguity in the source domain, the target domain, or both can often lead to confusion.

In my initial sweep of the data, I isolated and sorted 1059 metaphoric items by students and instructors, 737 spoken items and 322 items in questionnaires.

Table 4: Number of Metaphorical Items Used by Each Class

	Total	**Questionnaire**	**Tutorial**
Karen's Class	464	181	283
Matt's Class	385	140	245
Karen	111	-	-
Matt	98	-	-

The two instructors both used approximately 100 items in four hours of recorded class time – Matt 98, Karen 111. As you can see in Table 4, Karen's students used slightly more metaphoric items than Matt's students. However, this was most likely because Matt's students had shorter tutorials on average and wrote less on their questionnaires.

Conventional Items, Item Sets, and Item Groups

In the following sections, I will provide a brief overview of the five Item Groups I created from the data that I believe were the most conventional as well as the Item Sets and individual items that make up that group. I have identified some of the reasons for including specific items together. As discussed earlier, these decisions rely heavily on connections between items in the source domain and on systematic relationships within the discourse. In some cases, I have proposed possible conceptual metaphors to explain how the items within this Item Group or Item Set are used. However, one should remember that these conceptual metaphors are not universal concepts that exist identically in all users, but rather useful explanations of similar processes that may be taking place in the mind of each user.

For each Item Set discussed, I compiled a list of some common functions of its items with examples of each. Where I thought it might be interesting or useful to instructors, I also tried to identify how specific items or parts of speech may work differently within a given Item Set. You may quickly notice that some of my explanations use one metaphoric item to describe the purpose of another. Where possible, I used "literal" language, but because our understanding of language is SO dependent on our metaphors, it was sometimes impossible to find a literal explanation.

Sensory Items

The most common Item Group in the data was Sensory Items. Students and instructors used a word in one of this Group's three Item Sets a total of 212 times (including

uses in the questionnaire. This group was comprised of three Item Sets: SPEECH/SOUND, VISION, and TOUCH/TEXTURE/SENSATION. This Item Group is unified by the fact that all the terms draw on a person's knowledge of their physical senses. Although the source domains are all related to sensory information, the particular information about writing that these metaphoric items are used to convey is extremely varied from Item Set to Item Set.

Item Set: SPEECH/SOUND

Items: *Talk, Say, Discuss, Mention, Tell, Debate, Address, Voice*

Common Uses:

- To preface a summary of text or section of text.

  AARON (T): I just *talked* about how the wilderness is simulated.

- To summarize the claim or thesis of a text.

  TED (T): I *said* they're better than their own.

- To indicate the meta-textual function of a certain word, phrase, or section.

  KAREN (T): a topic sentence *telling* me that it is going to be about that

- To discuss sentence level revision by discussing "tone" or "voice."

  MATT (T): They have different *voices*

SPEECH/SOUND was the most frequently used of the three Item Sets in the Sensory Item Group. Students and Instructors used SPEECH/SOUND items a total of 108 times, more than any other Item Set. One reason for the frequency of this Item Set is that it included the use of terms such as "*talk*" or "*says*" when used to refer to written communication:

AARON (T): I just *talked* about how the wilderness is simulated

Because of the vast differences between written and oral communication, I believe these terms to be a metaphoric extension of terms more commonly used for oral speech. Many items take on a variety of uses when applied to written text that are not possible with

spoken language. Furthermore, "*talk*," "*say*," and other speaking verbs are frequently used with, phrases, or sections of text as their subjects rather than writers or speakers:

> MATT (T): Then the next body paragraph . . . *talks* about the problems.

Unlike in other Item Sets, like VISION, the majority of items in SOUND/SPEECH were verbs. There were no adjectives or adverbs in this Item Set and only two nouns were used, "*voice"* and "*debate."* While "*say"* and "*talk"* were the most common words in the set, other words seemed to carry more specific meanings. *"Tell"* seemed to be used primarily to indicate meta-textual knowledge that is imparted by a given word, sentence, or passage. "*Mention"* seems to indicate that a topic is only written about briefly and perhaps subtly, while "*state"* seems to suggest a more explicit phrasing.

Although "*voice"* and "*tone"* are discussed extensively in the literature on writing metaphor and are used frequently in text books and style guides, "*voice"* was found only during one of Matt's classroom discussions and was never used by Karen or the students, and "*tone"* was not used in the data at all. Despite the fact that Matt goes to great lengths comparing "*voice"* in writing to conversing orally in different settings (with friends or to a counselor), his students do not use "*voice"* in their tutorials.

Item Set: VISION

Items: *Look, View, Clear, Show, See, Illustrate, Light, Present, Reveal, Obscure*
Common uses of VISION:

- To acknowledge understanding.

  > CALEB (T): I can definitely *see* where I need to separate these things

- To evaluate text as easy or difficult to understand

  > KURTIS (Q): Have solid *CLEAR* [sic] transitions

- To indicate a reader's or author's goal or objective within the text

  > KAREN (T): things I *look* for in thesis statements

- To discuss opposing or different ideas and authors

    KAREN (T): one author's *views* on things and how well

- To discuss the inclusion or exclusion of ideas in a text

    JILL (Q): I can *present* parent's view or discipline and lawmaker's views.

- To discuss the information conveyed by something or someone.

    JILL (Q): a thesis statement that *reveals* what the reader will be doing.

The VISION set was among the most common in the data with a total of fifty four uses. However, this result may be skewed somewhat by Karen's extremely high use of it. Although Matt only used it once and all students combined only twenty three times, Karen used twenty instances of this Item Set by herself. Nearly all of the examples found seem to function based on the commonly posited KNOWING IS SEEING conceptual metaphor discussed by Lakoff and many others. However, this basic underlying premise can give rise to a surprisingly diverse number of expressions and convey a great deal of information.

Within the KNOWING IS SEEING conceptual metaphor, as in all speech, different parts of speech can be used to express different meanings or accomplish different tasks. Verbs like "*see*" express the act of understanding, while verbs like "*show*," "*present*," and "*illustrate*" are used to express an attempt to create understanding for the reader/viewer. Like many others, these verbs can be used to indicate actions by the author or the function of a particular piece of text:

JILL (Q): A *clear* paper is precise and has a thesis statement that *reveals* what the reader will be doing.

Nouns like "*viewpoint*" are used to label a certain person's understanding. This idea is particularly difficult to express in literal language. However, postmodern theories of language and meaning tend to advance localized and immediate knowledge. The metaphor KNOWING IS SEEING seems to provide one way of discussing this idea. Once it has been

nominalized in this way, it can often function in the same way as other objects discussed in the Object Group, actions can be performed on it or by it. Rather than "*support"* an author, you can now "*support"* his particular knowledge/ideas by "*supporting"* his "*views."* Similarly, adjectives can serve to evaluate text as difficult or easy to understand by discussing how "*clear*" it is. If you can "*see"* the information (image) "*clearly,"* it is easy to understand.

As with SPEECH/SOUND, there is one item used by the instructor that does not appear in the student texts. Karen spends a section of one class discussing possible phrases to use in a paper when introducing sources. She suggests that the phrase "*in light of*" can be used when you want to show how another author's ideas have influences your own or your claims. Though this phrase did not seem to stay with her students, we can see how it fits within KNOWING IS SEEING. The other author's ideas have metaphorically increased the "*light"* available to us. This allows us to then *"see"* our own ideas better or differently – to re-think or understand them differently.

Item Set: TOUCH-TEXTURE-SENSATION

Items: *Rough, Jarring, Smooth, Choppy, Jerky, Flow, Fluid*

Common Uses:

- To evaluate a text on a scale between complete and incomplete.

  JESSICA (T): I'm like at *rough rough* draft

- To evaluate a text on a scale between "cohesive" and not "cohesive."

  RICHARD (Q): that it *flows* logically from one point to the next

- To evaluate transitions between two ideas or two paragraphs.

  JAMEL (Q): providing *smoother* transitions between paragraphs

- To describe the experience of reading a text.

  RICHARD (Q): [to] not *feel jerked around*

- To evaluate a text as easy or difficult to write**.**

KURTIS (T): It didn't *flow* together just as well as it should of

Because our senses are used mainly to transmit information, SPEECH/SOUND and VISION tend to deal with communication and understanding. However, we can see in the examples above that these items tend to be used to describe or evaluate the often subjective "*feel"* of a text. Of all the Item Sets in the main categories, this one was the most difficult to limit and establish primarily because the language from the source domain is complex to begin with. We use the same word, "*feel,"* to describe emotions, balance, and texture. We then extend it as a cover term for a variety of experiences from prayer, to art, to writing.

Because of the already confusing nature of the language, it is difficult to tell what particular source domains are being accessed in this Item Set. At the center of this problem, was the word *flow*. In many ways, *flow* can be seen as the product of the interplay between several Item groups. It suggests a sense of movement, as do many items in the Journey Group, but it also suggests aspects of balance or texture, as in the TOUCH-TEXTURE-SENSATION set.

"*Flow"* was included on the questionnaire where students were asked to explain the term and how they could change their writing to make it flow better. In both the questionnaires and in the spoken data, there is a clear connection between "*flow"* and "*smooth."* The most common answers to whether or not something "*flows"* were that it moved from point to point *"smoothly."* Of the 10 students who responded to the *flow* question, 8 of them used the word "*smooth"* to explain "*flow."* Other students opted to contrast "*flow"* and explain what it was not. Two students said you do not feel "*jerked around"* while 2 others said it was not "*choppy."* All of these terms, "*smooth*," "*jerked around*" and "*choppy,*" were already grouped together in an Item Set because they relate to the physical input of the body, either through disruptions of balance or sudden stops in movement or by examining texture with the skin. Because it occurred systematically with these other terms, "*flow"* was included in the Item Set as well.

Though texture and balance may seem physically unrelated, there are two reasons for including them together. First, and most importantly, there was no systematic way to tell which domain was being accessed with the words "*rough"* and "*smooth."* It could be that the words are metaphoric in one or the other of those domains and are extended in similar ways to two target domains. It is certainly possible that users are themselves unclear as to the exact domain. However, I saw enough sytematicity to justify placing all these terms into one Item Set.

Object Items

While the Item Sets within the Sensory Group showed great differences in use, the Object Items tended to function very similarly. Despite the fact that the name of the category is Object Group, there were very few nouns pulled from the source domain. For the most part, nouns tended to be words from the Target Domain. Most frequently the nouns were ways of identifying portions of the text, like "section," "sentence," "word," or abstract concepts related to writing like "idea," "claim," or "evidence." These nouns were the *objects,* while terms from the source domain were the *actions* carried out on or by those objects. The verbs associated with these actions are quite often verbs of movement, and as we will see later, these objects often seem to function within the overall schemas of the Spatial and Journey Items.

Conceiving of ideas or text as objects may not initially seem metaphoric; however, rather than having static thoughts that remain the same in our mind from moment to moment and person to person, it may be more accurate to say that we engage actively in the process of thinking. Similarly, it is possible that metaphor may be best described as something we DO rather than a THING. Our decision to cast ideas and text as objects instead of processes or experiences fundamentally shapes our decisions concerning them.

Another important result of casting ideas or text as objects is that it allows them to become the agents in a given sentence. Through casting ideas or text as an agent, we are able to show it effecting or changing other objects. For instance, we can cast a conclusion as an agent that can act upon the reader or the rest of the text.

KURTIS (Q): A conclusions [sic] that *brings* the paper full circle.

This provides a functional understanding of the conclusion. It is now not simply supposed to be something or contain something, instead it is supposed to DO something, to perform an action. Our evaluation of the conclusion then rests upon our assessment of whether or not it has accomplished this task rather than on it containing certain words of phrases or being grammatically correct.

Item Set: MOVING

Item: *Drop, Throw, Slide, Bring, Draw, Carry, Insert, Pull, Push, Put*
Common Uses:

- To indicate the act or manner of adding language or ideas to a text.

  MATT (T): I don't want to just *drop* quotes in there
- To indicate the act or manner of changing the order of ideas or language in a text.

  CALEB (T): You mean like *push* that [paragraph] up?
- To provide functional meaning of text. To describe its effect on understanding or on other ideas.

  MATT (T): What is that [sentence] *conveying*?

In MOVING, writers carried out actions much more frequently than did ideas or texts. It was the writer who "*moved"* the idea/text to a new place or "*dropped/slid/threw"* it in. These verbs do not typically express the place of movement (in/out, up/down) but rather the manner of movement. "*Dropping"* or "*throwing"* a quote is a negative act because it implies a sense of carelessness or disregard for specific placement. The verb most associated

with actions taken by the language was "*bring*." Ideas, text, and writers may all *bring* another idea from one state to another.

KURTIS (Q): A conclusions that *brings* the paper full circle.
MATT (T): you can still *bring* in all these things.

Item Set: GIVING

Items: *Give, Provide, Offer*
Common Uses:

- To describe the writer adding ideas or language to a text.

  JAMEL (Q): *providing* smoother transitions between paragraphs

- To describe the effect of language or ideas on the reader.

  BETH (Q): specifics that *provide* reassurance

- To describe the effect of language on other ideas/language.

  CALEB (Q): details that *give* your argument credibility

Item Set: INCORPORATING

Items: *Synthesize, Integrate, Combine, Incorporate*
Common Uses:

- To discuss adding language or ideas to text.

  BETH (T): doesn't really *incorporate* any of the other . . . aspects

- To discuss relationships between ideas or language.

  KAREN (T): *Integrating* summaries and paraphrases

Items in INCORPORATING and CONNECTING were very similar. Both were used to express a relationship between one idea and another. However, INCORPORATING seemed to carry the additional sense of adding a new idea or new language and then making several "*connections*" between it and the "*surrounding*" idea or language.

Item Set: CONNECTING

Items: *Connect, Tie, Link*

Common Uses:

- To describe relationships between ideas or language.

    CAROL (T): that could be a good another *connection*

- To express the need or goal of creating/identifying those relationships.

    JILL (T): I'm supposed to *tie* in the prison experiment

While the other Item Sets in this Group have used mainly verbs, CONNECTING used the noun *connection*, quite frequently. This may be because instructors commonly need to identify particular stretches of text that express the relationship between two ideas or to encourage students to discretizing that that relationship into specific *connections*.

Item Set: DIVIDING

Items: Break, Scatter, Dissect, Separate, Divide

Common Uses:

- To describe the process of discretizing or complexifying an idea.

    TED (Q): topic *broken* down into sub topics

- To discuss moving language within a text.

    CALEB (T): I can definitely see where I need to *seperate* these things

- To discuss the analyzing or refuting of an argument.

    MATT(T): *dissecting* another person's argument

While DIVIDING had a low number of total uses, it had a fairly large number of lexical items. It is possible that these words function in extremely different ways and should perhaps be described using different conceptual metaphors. However, the source domain of separating or dividing objects seems to apply in all cases. The word separate occurred two times in the text. Once as a verb and once as an adjective. I sorted the verbal instance seen above with the Object Item Set and the DIVIDING item set because the writer was clearly trying to signify some kind of action on his part. However, the adjective instance was sorted

among the Spatial Items because it served as a way of describing a particular idea as metaphorical space, particularly as one which had limits and was *separate* from another *space*. This further points out the inter-related nature of these items. While classification might be useful for providing us a deeper understanding of our metaphorical knowledge, in actual use these items are nearly always inter-related with items from the Object Group often performing actions on the metaphorical objects and moving them within metaphorical space in many cases these moves are made in hopes of completing the metaphorical reading/writing journey.

Item Set: CREATING

Items: Form, Build, Make

Common Uses:

- To discuss the invention or inclusion of particular ideas or language.

  MATT (T): Try to *make* some connections between Plato and Delilo.

- To discuss the *stages* of the writing process.

  MARY (Q): *Build* the base/skeleton of your paper.

Of all the Object Items, this was the hardest Item Set to develop. I first included uses of "*make"* that were used to describe changes as well as creation of new items. For instance,

STEVEN (T): How can I *make* it 5 pages though without just rambling

In this example, Steven was not creating the paper new, but changing it to be 5 pages long. This use was very consistent in the data. It also matches the use of the term "*make"* in the source domain of physical objects. You can "*make"* a statue more lifelike or a "*make"* a pile bigger. However, I finally decided to exclude this sense of the term because it did not seem to carry as much semantic value as words like "*build," "form,"* or "*make"* in the more typical sense of original creation. Rather, it seemed to function more as a synonym for "force to happen" or "cause to happen."

Position Items

The next three groups (Position, Spatial, and Journey) are heavily inter-connected and often difficult to separate. All three are related to what Lakoff and Johnson (1999) call "ontological metaphors" or "image schemas" in which knowledge of spatial arrangement is used to create abstract meanings. The source domain of "*space"* and the connected domain of "*travelling"* on "*journeys"* through that "*space"* are among the most widely discussed in all metaphor literature. When referring to these three groups together as an inter-connected system, I will adopt Lakoff's term, ontological Items.

The first group of items, Position Items, primarily function as a way of labeling ideas or text as places. These places, referred to with items like "*position*," "*place*," "*here,*" or "*where,*" can then be connected with items in either the Spatial or Journey Groups.

The Spatial and Journey Groups both reference physical space, but serve to explain different aspects of a target domain. Typically, Spatial Items focus on patterns and relationships we perceive within a target domain and our ability to manipulate that pattern: for instance the organization of an essay and our ability to move paragraphs up or down a page. On the other hand, Journey Items focus on a more direct experience of those patterns or relationships, typically in linear ways that have clear beginnings and ends: for instance the process of reading a text or the process of writing a paper.

The most common thread linking all these Ontological Items is the idea that ideas or text may occupy a particular *position* in conceptual *space*. By equating an idea with a position, we can use spatial concepts like *distance/proximity*, *barriers*, *containment*. We can also express hierarchical or sequential relationships through words like *above*, *below*, *first*, or *last*.

One complicating issue surrounding these Item Sets is the frequency and importance of prepositions. Unlike nouns or verbs, which often have fairly limited use and are commonly associated with a particular source domain, prepositions focus on expressing

relationships and often have no clear source domain. For instance, a word like *on* may be used to indicate:

- Physical relationships – The cat is *on* the television
- Metaphoric physical relationships – Jay Leno's cat is *on* television.
- Or things more difficult to define – The television is *on*.

This ambiguity of meaning and complexity of use makes prepositions inherently difficult to classify or explain. In these Item Sets, prepositions often function hand in hand with other lexical items and perhaps have a greater impact on meaning than some of the items included here. In most cases, I avoided prepositions like "in" or "on" which have a broad range of uses, but included specific prepositions like "*between*," "*under*," "*far*," "*near*," "*close*," "*back*," and "*forward*" that I felt were more clearly related to spatial concepts and which regularly occurred in relation to other items from the Journey Group. I also created a specific Item Set for the two items "*from*" and "*to*."

Throughout the three groups of Ontological Items, I tried to remove instances when a speaker was clearly referring literally to a particular page. For instance, if a speaker said to place a paragraph "*between*" two other paragraphs, that seemed to me to be a literal use of the preposition, while placing an idea "*under*" another idea that seemed to be a metaphoric extension.

Item Set: POINT

Items: Point

Common Uses:

- As a replacement for the word argument or claim.

  BETH (Q): prove a *point*/side of an argument

- As a replacement for the word purpose or goal.

  KAREN (T): the *point* of the essay is connections essay

- As part of the word *viewpoint* to express a particular opinions or way of understanding.

    CAROL (Q): covers all the angles/area/view*points* of the argument

- To express a particular stage in the writing process.

    CAROL (T): I hadn't . I guess . quite gotten to that *point* yet.

Item Set: PLACE

Items: There, Where, Here, Somewhere, Place, Position, Area

Common Uses:

- To reference the text generally.

    JAMEL (T): I have a *checklist* like yeah I got that in there.

- To reference a particular section of text.

    TED (T): i didn't know *where* to put that

- To discuss a stage in the writing process.

    AARON (T): its about alot of things, but *where* I am is reality.

- To discuss a goal or desired state for the text.

    BETH (T): I can't get it *there*.

- To discuss focus (or lack thereof).

    MATT (T): you're all over the *place*.

- To discuss the *source* of new ideas.

    ALANA (T): I just blurted it out. Then I was like . . *where* did that come from?

Spatial Items

If concepts are specific positions in space, then those positions can be described based on their dimensions and their relationships to other positions. The Spatial Item Group focuses on the *size*, *boundaries*, and *arrangement* of *space* (ideas or text). Ideas and text can be divided into "*sections*" or "*pieces.*" These *pieces* can be "*expanded*" or "*contracted.*" They

exist in relationships with other sections: They may be "*close*" or "*far*" or on different "*sides*" of a boundary. These relationships tend to work based on a shared conceptual metaphor, CLOSE IS SIMILAR. Things that are closer together are grouped together and perceived as similar. Think of a riddle – the answer is dove, and you guessed pigeon. The riddler is likely to answer, "You're *close*." This indicates metaphorically that your guess has many similarities with the correct guess.

In this Group, I decided to include certain prepositions like "*between*" and "*under*." Between and under do not seem to have the same ambiguity as "*on*" or "*in*." They tend to reference spatial concepts or to be used as clearly metaphoric.

Item Set: LIMITS OF SPACE

Items: Section, Part, Whole, Piece, Limit, Seperate, Half [In, Within, Into, Out, Inside, Outside]

Common Uses:

- To indicate a difference in quality between sections of text.

  RICHARD (T): *Half* my essay's crap

- To indicate a difference in topic or goal between sections of text.

  RICHARD (T): *Half* of it [essay] being about . how its intentional.

- To discuss stages in the writing process.

  BRENDA (T): Thats gonna be the hardest *part* I think

- To discuss the similarity or *connectedness* of ideas.

  BETH (T): they're not *seperate*, but they're not very well related

- To indicate similarity throughout an entire section.

  MARY (T): one of his *whole* paragraphs is on food labels

Item Set: ORIENTATION

Items: Side, Middle, Central [Between, Beside]

Common Uses:

- To discuss the connectedness of an idea to other ideas in a text.

    JAMEL (Q): supports a *central* thesis

    MATT (T): Try to make some connections *between* Plato and Delilo.

- To discuss the arguments of others.

    TED (Q): To explain all *sides* of an argument

- To discuss your own arguments.

    TED (Q): Makes your *side* look good

    KAREN (T): I'm still standing in the *middle* too much

Item Set: SIZE OF SPACE

Items: Room, Expand

Common Uses:

- To discuss the length or amount of text.

    KAREN (T): I'm leaving enough *room* open for me to define media

- To discuss making connections between one idea and others.

    SAM (T): It *expands* that out into cultural prisoners

Item Set: DEPTH

Items: Top, Level, Depth, Sub [Under, Over, Above, Below]

Common Uses:

- To suggest one idea is less important than another.

    BETH (Q): *Sub*-topics are relevant/ related

- To suggest one argument is dependent on another.

    BETH (Q): Many (too many) *sub*-points

- To suggest that an idea requires more or less thinking.

    CAROL (T): uh . right off the *top*

    ALANA (Q): not really explaining any thing in *depth*

    ALANA (T): we have to take it to a different *level*

Journey Items

If the Spatial Items are used to express relationships between ideas or among text, the Journey Items are used to show a person interacting with those relationships. Explaining this Item Group would seem to require three fairly distinct conceptual metaphors:

- THE WRITING PROCESS IS A JOURNEY
- WRITING A TEXT IS A JOURNEY
- READING IS A JOURNEY

Interestingly, speakers seem free to move from one to the other without signaling a change. One might assume that writers of a text would be more likely to cast themselves as the writer, They in fact seem equally comfortable casting themselves as the reader. Similarly, instructors and tutors can easily cast themselves in both roles. Other options include creating a fictional or hypothetical writer or reader or simply discussing the *landscape* in a way that assumes a traveler by discussing features like "*maps,*" "*bridges,*" or "*paths*" or discussing stages in the journey like "*beginnings,*" "*ends,*" or "*goals.*"

One interesting and important ambiguity in use is that in many cases it is unclear whether writer and reader are travelling together or separately. Often the writer is cast as a kind of guide, moving with the reader though the text. Other times the writer is more a cartographer, laying out signs or providing maps to help the reader as they travel on their own. In still other instances, writer and reader move separately through the text.

Item Set: DISTANCE

Items: Go, Move, Progress, Stay, Leave [Far, Near, Close, Back, Forward]
Common Uses:

- To discuss differences between writer and reader knowledge.

    MATT (T): You may know where your *going*, but he doesn't he has no idea.

- To discuss transitions or the cohesiveness of a text.

    RICHARD (Q): *Moving* from point to point smoothly

- To distinguish between topics or sections and mark a change in topic.

    KURTIS (T): I'll just *move* into Delilo

- To discuss the perceived goals the instructor has for the text.

    BRENDA (T): the way she wanted us to *go*

- To cast the argument as a traveler - to discuss its centrality to the paper.

    KURTIS (T): my point *goes* on from my thesis

- To show connections between ideas and the main argument.

    BETH (T): do they really you know *go back* to my thesis

- To suggest the inclusion of ideas present earlier in the paper.

    BETH (T): I think you could *go* back to this idea of observation

- To discuss the reader after reading is complete.

    JILL (Q): without *leaving* the reader confused

- To discuss different topics or themes during the writing process.

    JESSICA (T): *going* away from the violence thing

- To discuss stages in the writing process.

    ALANA (T): We're *closer* than we started
    RICHARD (T): What I've got so *far*

The DISTANCE set contains items that deal with *progress* through the metaphorical journey of writing or reading. When writers "*go"* they complete specific tasks and read or write successfully. However, not ALL writing or reading qualifies as progress. If a writer discards a section, they often must "*go back"* and "*start* over." If a reader does not understand a passage, they must "*go back"* and read it again. These items often imply the existence of goals of some kind. Travelers may be "*close"* or "*far"* from these "*goals,"* from the "*beginning"* or from the "*end."*

Again, I made the decision to include several prepositions in this set. In several instances, the context of the sentence made it clear that a word like "back" referred to going

back to earlier parts of a text or earlier stages of a draft. For instance, the phrase "tie *back* to my thesis" refers to the thesis as behind the writer/reader on their journey.

Item Set: DIRECTIONS & PATHS

Items: Lead, Follow, Guide, Road, Path, Track, Way, Goal, Direction, Lost, Stray, Ramble, Bridge, Stepping Stones, Stream, Map [Towards, Away, Across, To, From]

Common Uses:

- To discuss transitions.

  RICHARD (Q): phrases that adequately *bridge* the *gap* between ideas

- To evaluate early drafts or planning.

  JAMEL (T): See if I'm on the right *track*

- To discuss coherence.

  AARON (Q): doesn't *lose* the reader

- To discuss argument in relation to the arguments of others.

  KAREN (T): to take the middle *road*

- To provide functional meaning for the text.

  KAREN (T): It [thesis] provides *direction* for the rest of the essay

- To discuss prewriting.

  KAREN (T): *leads* me to my ultimate working thesis statement

- To discuss problems during the writing process

  BRENDA (T): I'm kinda *stuck* in the between

While the items in this Item Set are both features of the terrain as well as more abstract concepts associated with travel, they share the sense that a writer or reader may take correct and incorrect "*directions*" and that their journey may encounter obstacles,

preventing them from "*going"* on or causing them to get *lost."* On the other hand, some features of the landscape like "*stepping stones," "bridges,"* or "*maps"* can help a reader keep *"going"* and not let them "*stray"* from the right "*path."*

Once again, both the reader and writer may "*travel"* separately or together. However, often the writer's journey is a different one than the reader's. This Item Set shows a strong sense of writer as a "*guide,"* directing the reader and making her journey as easy as possible.

Use of Conventional Items

In the section above I outlined the most conventional Item Sets from the data and sorted them into Item groups. These items, Item Sets, and Item groups were used systematically throughout the data often occurring as groups of interconnected items. Often items from the same Item Set would be used to explain or enhance the meaning of another item. While I initially sorted these items based on similarities in source domain and systematic use in the discourse, they also appear to share clear conceptual links which can often be usefully explained using conceptual metaphors.

On the whole, Matt used these five groups less than Karen. The five groups combined only accounted for 57% of Matt's total use of metaphorical items while it accounted for roughly 92% of Karen's. This difference is largely because of Matt's tendency to use or coin novel items or to create items to extend conventional Item Sets or Groups. For instance, he uses terms like "*stream*," "*stepping stones*," "*DJ,*" and "*flirt*" which do not show up anywhere else in the data. Sometimes these items work as extensions of familiar items and fit within the Groups above, as in the case of "*map"* or "*stepping stones,"* which extend the more familiar Journey Items. However, some items, like comparing transitioning paragraphs to the being a "*DJ*" (Disc Jockeying), seem to be wholly original creations and were classified as Other (if used regularly) or Novel (if only used once). As we will see later,

many of the more original terms Matt uses are repeated by his own class during their tutorials but never by Karen or her class.

While Matt and Karen showed distinct differences in selection, the two groups of students had a relatively homogenous distribution of usage when compared class to class. However, there was an extremely large amount of variation from student to student. The large amount of student to student variation, coupled with the limitations of current methods of sorting and identifying metaphor made statistical generalizations very suspect.

While I expected to find differences in item use based on other factors like the stage of the writing process, the topic of the paper, or the gender of the student, I was surprised to find no consistent differences in any of these categories. I had anticipated that students with a complete draft would use fewer items than students who were working at the prewriting stage because students with a draft typically spend a good portion of their tutorial reading the draft aloud. Similarly, I expected that certain Item Groups associated with organization of a text, like Position, Spatial, and Objects, would occur more frequently among students with a draft because they could discuss the text that was present. Neither of these expectations turned out to be accurate within this data. Each student used items in a very different way and the extreme variation from student to student made it difficult to make reliable generalizations about them as a group.

So far, we have taken a very broad look at students' use of the most conventional items and how that use may have been affected by instructors, tutors, or other factors. Students and instructors both used a wide variety of conventional items. However, these conventional items are not static. Because each person will only be familiar with specific items and specific concepts, nearly every person is somewhat unfamiliar with even the most conventional items. As instructors, we are constantly trying to broaden our students' understanding of writing. In some cases, we can do this by increasing our student's familiarity with a conventional item. Other times, instructors extend conventional items by

introducing unfamiliar or unconventional items. Conventional items are sometimes insufficient or remain unclear and difficult for students to understand. Novel items can serve to help clarify a conventional item or to create completely new connections.

Other Metaphoric Items

There were a large number of frequently occurring items and Item Sets that did not fall into any of these groups. For instance, students and instructors often refer to introductions/theses with items like "*catch*," "*catchy*," "*grab,*" and "*hook*." While these items did not fit neatly into any of the groups above, they do seem to be conceptually systematic. Other examples may show us differences in student –teacher metaphors. For instance, only students relied on the metaphors of "*cleanliness*" or "*clutter*" to describe their papers. It is possible that many of these items reflect conventional Item Sets. However, they did not occur as frequently as the items in the five previous groups and unfortunately, the sheer quantity of data from this study required that I limit my focus. Further analysis of the data would be required to determine whether these items were conventional.

Of the 737 total metaphoric items that I initially marked in the spoken data, 404 fell into one of the five conventional Item Groups – approximately 55% of the total. Another 106 items could be categorized into distinct Item Sets, but those Item Sets did not fit into any recognizable groups and were sorted as Other. In future work, I hope to return to further study those items which do not fall into any one of the five Item Groups to try to determine whether they might be considered conventional.

In addition to the five clearly conventional Item Groups and the additional, *possibly conventional,* Other Item Sets there were also instances of novel or deliberate Items in the text as well as many items which were initially felt to be metaphoric, but eventually discarded. Eighty five items were sorted as metaphoric, but were only found once in the data. For instance, one student included the phrase "Don't *abuse* vocabulary" in his

questionnaire. I marked this item as metaphoric, but the item "*abuse*" and the concept of physical violence did not occur as a metaphor again in the text. Because they were found so infrequently, I determined that these items were not conventional within these two classrooms and they were sorted as Novel. The remaining items were discarded as non-metaphoric or as not containing enough information to suggest a source domain.

Figure 1 (on page 105) reflects the use of all metaphoric items within the spoken data.

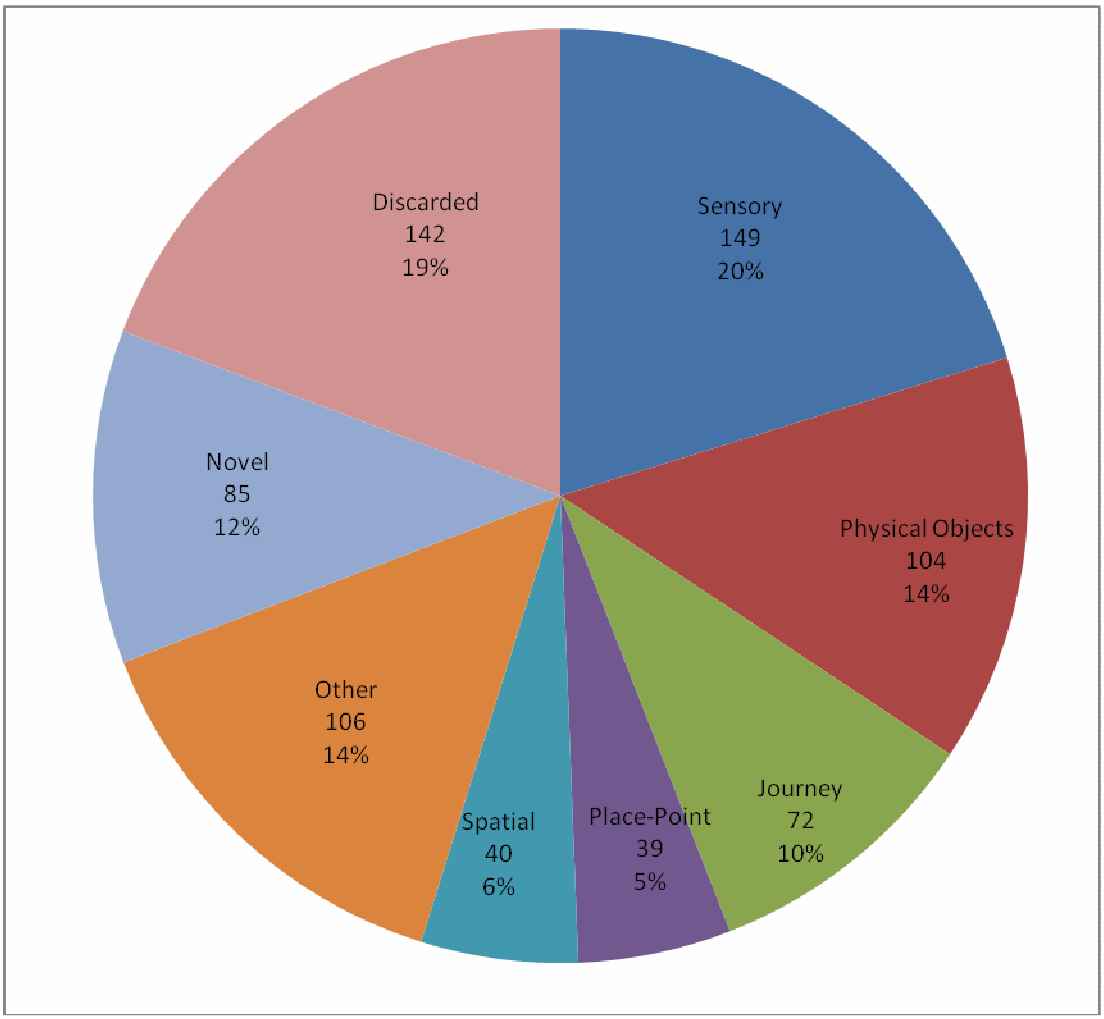

Figure 1: Conventional Item Groups in Spoken Data

Novel Items

Novel Items function in a very different way than conventional Items. We saw in the literature review that many researchers attempt to focus on one or the other. While conventional Items often have well established source and target domains for many individuals, Novel Items usually introduce a new target and source domain and require new inferences. Cameron pointed out in her work that when speakers use novel metaphors they may use multiple examples or multiple items from related source domains to help highlight salient features or check understanding. Cameron found that novel items were often accompanied by additional items that helped to highlight the salient concepts which needed mapping. For instance, when attempting to explain lava to the students, the instructor began with "*treacle*" (syrup). However, in case the students didn't know what features of syrup were important, she selected another item with those same salient features, "*runny butter*." To check these features, a student suggested "*wax*" (2003, p. 103).

Many would suggest that novel items are more difficult to process than conventional items. However, in my data I did not find this to be the case. In fact, when novel items were used, they were often intended to clarify the meaning of conventional items. In particular, I will focus on two novel items which occurred in the data.

The first is a student, Beth, describing her paper as "*schizophrenic"* during her tutorial.

BETH:	Does it all? . It just it . to me it . it's organized paragraph by paragraph, but then it's not tieing back to this map that's supposed to be my thesis and . you know?
GERALD:	You do stray from your thesis, particularly in the . in the middle. Yeah.
BETH:	Is there some way to incorporate it into a thesis.
GERALD:	Yes.
BETH:	Where I wouldn't have to I mean cause I kinda . I'm okay

with my content.

GERALD: I do too. I like your content. I really like some of the points you bring up. I think you argue .

BETH: Its kinda like *schitzophrenic*.

GERALD: Yeah but its a very *schitzophrenic* topic - I don't have a problem with it . . .

The second is Matt's use of the items of *DJs* and *music* to discuss flow and transitions:

MATT: We're talking moving from one from one point to another or paragraph consistently and smoothly and segueing back smoothly. Like a *DJ* changing up *songs*. No *dead air*. Right? *Song to song*.

Both "*DJs"* and "*schizophrenia"* also occurred in conjunction with additional items. In the case of "*DJs,"* Matt went on to use an extension of the Journey Item Group, "*bridges"* and "*streams,"* to help shed more light on his target domain (transitions). However, in her tutorial, Beth uses the novel item as a check to make sure her tutor understands the conventionalized Spatial Items she had been using to talk about the disconnected nature of her paper.

While Matt's students do not use the items associated with "*DJs,"* the items may have helped them to access and correctly map the extension items of "*bridges*" and "*streams*." Unlike many other extended items, the items "*gap,"* "*bridge,"* and "*across"* show up in several of the student's questionnaires and tutorials. It seems likely that in addition to benefiting from an extended explanation, this extension may have benefitted from Matt's use of the novel items "*DJs"* to help highlight the salient features of all three domains.

In Beth's tutorial, she instead uses "*schizophrenia"* to clarify her concern and check whether her tutor understood her previous items. Her tutor seems to understand what Beth is saying about her paper. He quickly suggests that the complex, disconnected nature of the paper stems from the fact that it is a "*schizophrenic* topic" rather than from poor organization or poor writing by Beth. While he uses the term in his response, it is unclear how Gerald conceptualizes the connection between her previous Spatial/Journey Items and her new "*schizophrenic"* item.

Perhaps this tutorial would have been even more successful if the two had explored the particular mappings a bit farther, but Beth at least seem satisfied that Gerald understands her concerns, and they move on to the next section. Gerald also returns specifically to Beth's question about how to incorporate many ideas into one thesis. They work through several possible themes to see if each is sufficient to connect to all the different ideas, eventually settling on one they both feel comfortable with. It is certainly possible that the introduction of the "*schizophrenia*" item may have spurred Gerald to take action on this question or clarified Beth's concerns enough for him to identify a solution.

Extending Conventional Items

While coining new items can be incredibly valuable, they are not the only way to create new meaning. Unconventional items may be used to "extend" student understanding related to other conventional items. Because they are often unfamiliar, these extensions can lead to confusion, but they also allow for a richer understanding of other items and for the creation of new meaning.

Each student will have his or her own particular understanding of the items and concepts associated with a given conventional item. Students may be using only a few items simply as jargon, or they may have a rich conceptual understanding of the connection between the domains that gives them the ability to develop their own items. We saw earlier

that Item Sets and Item Groups may be called conventional. However, some of the items in that Item Set may be unfamiliar to many students. When a student encounters unfamiliar items from a familiar Item Set, her understanding of that set is being "extended."

Extensions of familiar items require specific attention from instructors because it is through extending conventional items and acquiring novel items that students create new knowledge of writing. However, helping students interpret these items is a difficult and often unsuccessful process. In particular, I would like to look at how Matt uses two items, "*voice*" and "*maps*," which appear to be unfamiliar to his students, but which appear to be a part of two conventional Item Sets, SOUND/SPEAKING and PATHS AND DIRECTIONS.

Voice

Although it is widely discussed in the scholarly literature on Composition, the item "*voice"* occurs on only two occasions in the data. During one of Matt's classes, he enters into a discussion of voice in writing.

MATT: You can't write like you speak. If I wrote like I speak, I couldn't be a grad student . . .

STEVEN: But who decides that? I mean who decides that we write this way. Who says, "we're going to write in a different language."

MATT: Its a different form of *voice*. . . Some of you might be like, "hey what's up? Its cool." Is that very academic? Am I gonna write a scholarly article?

STEVEN: But who's to say it's not academic. Maybe it's academic to us. That's what I'm saying.

MATT: Ok Good. Okay, but who do you write to?

STEVEN: Our friends.

MATT: Academic writing is to your friends?

STEVEN: No, but like it's to our teacher, but our teacher talks just like me.

MATT: But isn't it a different *voice*? Are you going to plop down in your academic advisor's office and be like, "Hey buddy what's up? I'm doin alright. School pretty much sucks. I'm making good grades and shit."?

STEVEN: I might do that with my academic advisor, but I see your point.

MATT: They have different *voices*. See there's like different forms of speaking and different forms of writing. I think writing has more character. Okay, like I'll use me as an example. I like creative writing. Like creative writing and academic writing are different. But creative writing uses some of the rules of academic writing.

Matt spends extensive class time on *"voice*." He makes his students clearly aware that spoken language is the source domain and draws student's attention to the particular aspects of the source domain he sees as salient. It is difficult to assess whether Matt ever got his students to quite understand his point about the nature of academic discourse, but the rest of the data does show that his students did not acquire this item sufficiently to use it themselves. None of his students used it in their tutorials or their questionnaires, despite being introduced to it explicitly in class. In fact, the one instance when the term does come up again, it seems to simply cause the student anxiety. Early in their tutorial, Gerald brings up Beth's voice.

GERALD: You have a very interesting *voice* .

BETH: Really?

GERALD: In here. Yes. I could. I could tell. Since you said . did you say you were in Drama?

BETH: I'm in Theatre just like a humanity.

GERALD: Oh ok.

BETH: Its not

GERALD: Its not something you do on your own.

BETH: Oh no, I've only been in it a few weeks now since the semester started.

Here we can see that Gerald is grasping at a way to explain what he sees as a strange "*voice*" in Beth's writing. Interestingly, he goes first to her experiences with speaking as a source. Later, he returns to this idea.

GERALD: I think the content is pretty good. You. You have this. You have a very unique. Some of your wording is just uh . Its unique.

BETH: Is that bad?

GERALD: No I don't think its bad . and I . you just phrase things in a very unique way. I don't think its bad though cause I kept looking for a way I could .

BETH: Help it?

GERALD: And its not wrong like that . its just ah you have a unique voice in your.

BETH: Was it hard to read? Is that the main problem that your finding with it?

GERALD: Mostly no. At times it was and I pointed it out to you.

It is unclear what Gerald's goal was in making these comments, but I think it is clear that Beth was confused by his comments. She first attempts to determine whether this is a compliment or a criticism. Still unsure, she moves on to guessing at what the item means, connecting it with basic readability issues she is more familiar with. Gerald does not go on to explain this item, and Beth does not seem able to draw from what she heard in class from Matt to help her interpret it his comments, leaving her quite confused. Matt's class makes no further use of it in their tutorials, and Beth cannot interpret it when used by her tutor.

If Matt took the time to discuss it explicitly in class, why did his students not show the ability to produce or interpret this item? One probable factor is that even among members of our field (Matt and Gerald) there appear to be inconsistencies in its use. Both

make the connection between oral and written contexts. However, Matt relates "*voice*" to a contextual choice – different settings require different styles of speaking; likewise, different writing contexts require different styles of writing. On the other hand, Gerald relates voice more to personal idiolect in speaking. He believes Beth was involved in Theatre and thinks that may be affecting her writing style.

I believe both this inconsistency and the trouble students seemed to have with this extension item can be explained by closely examining the *differences* between the source and target domain - writing and speaking. The most relevant difference between writing and speaking is that what we consider *"voice"* in writing is often unconscious while what we label as "*voice"* in speaking is less clear. For instance, we produce our own idiolect without deliberate intent. Similarly, the act of oral "code switching" (moving from one dialect or language to another) is often subconscious. In writing, however, *voice* is more ambiguous. While some scholars would argue that all students have a personal voice, we can all acknowledge that certain *voices* are the product of deliberate and carefully weighed stylistic decisions. If Matt and Gerald have different views on how voice is created in writing (deliberately, personally, according to context), they may interpret the item differently – as they seem to have done.

Most scholars would agree that one's "*voice*" in writing can be changed by careful attention to sentence level choices. While we can deliberately change our speaking style, other aspects of oral speech, like dialect, intonation, and emphasis, often change without deliberate intent. By ignoring or glossing over that difference, we may lead our students to become frustrated if the new voice they are after doesn't "come naturally." It would also stand to reason that if students see "*voice*" as non-deliberate, they would see no reason to bring it up in a tutorial – it couldn't be helped anyway. Beth may feel personally criticized for having a *unique voice* she has no control over while Gerald believes he is simply noting an interesting stylistic decision.

Most importantly, neither Matt nor Gerald returns to the target domain to discuss any specific sentence level changes that could result in a new voice in writing. While students can sometimes see or feel voice when reading it, the more difficult challenge is understanding how to change, craft, or find their own "*voice*." The item itself may be useful conceptually, but it cannot truly be put to work for the students unless they can find ways to alter their written language and achieve any of these new "*voices.*"

Maps

Before moving on to discuss other kinds of item, let us look at one extension that seems somewhat more successful, "*maps.*" Building from the conceptual metaphor READING IS A JOURNEY, Matt extends by using the item "*map*" to suggest that the thesis of a paper is a type of journey for the reader. Presumably, this "*map*" will tell a reader the *goal* of the essay, "*where*" they will "*go*" along the "*way,*" and prepare them conceptually for the "*journey*" ahead, hopefully so that they do not get "*lost*" when reading.

This item is somewhat more successful that "*voice*" in the sense that it is acquired and then used conventionally by three of Matt's students, while "*voice*" is never used by students. Beth is unable to interpret "*voice*" when it is presented to her, but Matt and Kurtis have a seemingly productive discussion using the item "*map*." Although Matt's students use the item "*map*," all three still appear somewhat unsure how to interpret it, and we have no way of knowing whether they are connecting this itemto the more conventional items in the Journey Group or to the conceptual links we would describe as READING IS A JOURNEY. On the other hand, their ability to recall this item and bring it up in their tutorials is a big step over the previous extensions, which showed no recall at all.

Unfortunately, I did not record the class period when Matt went into extensive use of this item! However, it is clear that he did so for several reasons. First, Jessica tells her tutor

Jessica (T): I was told that it wasn't a very good *map.*

Presumably, she had shown Matt the draft, and he had told her the thesis did not make a very good map. Also, Matt talks with Kurtis during another class period.

Matt: Is this that thesis? Where is your claim?
Kurtis: My claim about why we watch reality tv?
Matt: Cause questions don't really .
Kurtis: Um i'd say just because humans in general are bored.
Matt: Can you state that explicitly as a thesis statement?
Kurtis: I could. I could change it around for sure.
Matt: Does this really provide a good map?

Here, Matt uses map as if it is already conventional. Notice that he does not hedge it or introduce it deliberately as Matt regularly does with novel items or other extensions.

We cannot look at Matt's original introduction of the item to see what factors there may lead to its success, but these two examples do suggest one important step in pushing our students to acquire or use a specific item – use it to evaluate their writing. In her tutorial, Jessica brings the item up because Matt told her it wasn't a "good *map*." In class, Matt critiques Kurtis's thesis and pushes Kurtis to evaluate his own map. Kurtis goes on to use the term twice in his questionnaire at the end of the semester:

Describe a paper that is well structured.

Clear thesis (*map*). Good transitions.

Describe a paper that is NOT clear.

Weak thesis. Bad *map*.

While neither student shows clearly that they have made the mappings Matt intended, they both remember the item, and Jessica at least returns to that idea with her tutor trying to get more clarification on it. By using the item to evaluate their texts, Matt has given both students a reason to investigate the item further, and hopefully, to make the appropriate mappings. It would seem then that consistency in item use between our evaluation and our instruction is one key to using metaphor effectively in the classroom.

Target Domain Ambiguity

In the examples above, both examples are made more confusing because in both cases there seems to be some confusion over what aspect of the target domain to apply it to. This ambiguity is not reserved to extended items. All items require an individual to identify specific target and source domains and interpret items accordingly. In the case of "*maps,*" it is not always entirely clear whether the "*map*" refers specifically to the thesis statement or simply to the entire introduction. Also, not all students may be able to clearly distinguish these ideas. If two individuals apply this item to different aspects of the source domain, or if an individual does not clearly distinguish between introductions and thesis statements, this could lead to problems communicating. Beginning students often have difficulty separating the concepts of thesis and introduction. While some are able to differentiate between the two, others often use both to simply mean "the beginning of the paper."

Competing Items

Matt commonly extended items from the Journey Group by calling the thesis of the paper a "*map"* for the reader's journey. However, this item must compete with other metaphoric items that describe introductions and theses. In particular, it competes with the idea that the thesis or introduction should serve to "*catch"* or "*hook"* the reader.

In her tutorial, Jessica and Chuck read the beginning of her draft.

JESSICA: I was told that wasn't a very good *map*.
CHUCK: No. No. you need a better *hook* introduction.
JESSICA: Ok.
CHUCK: But let's just deal right now with this paragraph as a separate unit.

Jessica introduces the unfamiliar item, "*map,"* to her tutor. However, Chuck already has a different way of conceptualizing introductions, "*hooking"* or "*catching"* the reader. His item for introductions "*hook*" seems to conflict with Jessica's "*map*." Rather than deal with either extensively, Chuck moves on and they do not return to discussing Jessica's introduction in the tutorial.

While these items may at times cause confusion, they are also beneficial in that they allow multiple ways of conceptualizing a given source domain. It allows speakers to reference multiple aspects of this concept. In Matt's classroom, Matt and Kurtis also stumble across these competing items, but Matt resolves this situation positively in a way which leads to more effective communication.

MATT:	Does this really provide a good *map*?
KURTIS:	This is my *catchy* intro.
MATT:	Ok, then just add more to it. I like this. That is creative. Very creative writing your intro like that. Expand on this if that's your introduction. Make it clear to your audience. Cause you've asked a question so . .
KURTiS:	Ok
MATT:	Then your agenda is to answer this question . . make a claim, instead of asking a question, make a claim. Or come back to the question . . in your conclusion.

Matt first attempts to interpret this piece of Kurtis's writing as an argumentative thesis using "*map."* Kurtis responds that it is not a "*map,"* but a "*catchy"* intro. Once Matt hears Kurtis's response, he seems to realize that Kurtis does not actually HAVE an argumentative thesis yet. Rather than continue with either item, Matt decides instead to focus directly on argument, making sure that Kurtis moves from simply reporting to making a claim or argument of some kind.

When multiple items exist that map DIFFERENT features of an abstract target domain, there are many opportunities for confusion or conflict. However, multiple items are often necessary to sufficiently express all the facets of a complex concept. Two of the most widely discussed target domains for metaphors, Love and Time, each have relied on several source domains. Rather than focus on one metaphor to the exclusion of others, instructors should welcome new items as new ways of seeing and new sources of knowledge about writing. We must be careful to remain open to the unfamiliar items our students may use or rely on while still introducing them to our own.

Source Domain Ambiguity

In addition to target domain ambiguity, source domain ambiguity may also lead to confusion. The most obvious problem is that a student may simply not be able to identify ANY source domain for an item. If this is the case, the item may simply function as another vague piece of jargon about writing like Connors' (1983) "static abstractions" discussed in Chapter 1.

A further problem with source domain ambiguity is that it makes using extended items that much more problematic. If a student is familiar with the word "*says*" and how it functions in relation to writing, he *may* still be able to communicate somewhat effectively without consciously recognizing it as a metaphoric item or identifying writing and speaking as distinct activities. However, when that basic understanding is needed to process extended items like "*voice*" students may not be able to easily identify oral language as the source domain for voice and make the needed inferences.

Combined Items

In some cases this source domain ambiguity is not caused by unfamiliarity but by the fact that a given item may seem to refer to many different source domains. The item "*flow"* is

a good example of this. What is the source domain to which "*flow*" refers? While our first impulse is probably to connect "*flow*" to some type of liquid, its use in the data does not systematically draw on other terms from this domain. There are a few instances of words relating back to water or liquid like "*choppy"* and "*fluid,"* but it is unclear what aspects of liquid (if any) "*flow*" is intended to map onto writing. "*Flow*" is among the most commonly used items in the data and seems to be one of the key terms when talking about writing, but this ambiguity in its meaning may often lead to confusion. It can be used to describe the writing process, the organization of the paper, the cohesion, or the writing style. So, what do we really mean when we say a paper "*flows"*?

I believe "*flow"* may best be described as a "combined" item. It relies on conceptual links formed from two separate source domains; the domain of traveling which items from the Journey Item Group draw upon and the domain of smoothness or roughness used by items in TOUCH/TEXTURE/SENSATION. "Flow" is a result of knowledge from both those domains being used to make inferences together which result in particular linguistic items that may work in reference to both domains.

Flow works in line with the basic schema that "*smooth"* is good and "*rough"* is bad. If a draft is incomplete or just not good yet, we call it a "*rough"* draft. The words "*rough"* and "*smooth"* can be used to describe any kind of surface from furniture to water to terrain. In most cases, the smooth surface is preferable to the rough surface. Smooth furniture is more comfortable and more aesthetically pleasing. Smooth water is less dangerous and less likely to induce nausea. Smooth land is easier to build on, to cultivate, but most importantly, easiest to travel across. Smooth roads are easy to travel on while rough roads make travel difficult.

However, "*flow*" makes use of more metaphoric knowledge than just this dichotomy. The word "*flow*" also seems to imply a sense of movement. If we apply the rough/smooth binary to items in the Journey Group, it would make sense that a smooth journey is a good

journey while a rough journey is a bad journey. The smooth journey will go faster and require us to avoid fewer obstacles. This in turn makes the journey less difficult and more enjoyable. Therefore, it is good to be able to move "*smoothly*" from point to point in an essay.

Unfortunately, the linguistic options for talking about travel as "*rough"* or "*smooth"* are rather limited. There is no single word that means "a journey over smooth terrain." However, we often see liquids moving from point to point and their movement is nearly always a smooth movement. Whether this liquid is a river, a glass of spilled water, or a lava flow, it nearly always moves in a smooth and direct way from a source to a destination. Therefore, it makes an excellent source domain to use when discussing aspects of both these aspects of an essay.

In their questionnaires, students were asked to answer several questions about flow.

What does it mean to make a paper flow?

JILL: Making a paper *flow* means to not *jump from* one topic *to* the next without *smooth* transitions.

SARAH: To make a paper *flow* means that it *runs* well. There are good transitions that allow the reader to *go from* one topic *to* the next.

ALANA: The ideas presented *follow* a natural, logical, clear *path*. Is not *choppy*.

RICHARD: Using words and phrases that adequately *bridge* the *gap* between ideas, allowing the reader to *move from point to point*.

Describe a paper that flows well.

JILL: A paper that *flows* well transitions *from* one topic *to* the next without *leaving* the reader confused.

ALANA: A paper that flows well is one that *draws* the reader in a particular *path* Also has *smooth* transitions so reader *feels* no abrupt change.

RICHARD: The paper would be easy to *move from* one point *to* the next, allowing the reader to recognize the different points, but not *feel jerked around*.

We can see from the questionnaires that "*flow*" is commonly associated with items from both the TOUCH/TEXTURE/SENSATION set (*smooth* and *rough*) and from the Journey Group (*from/to*, *move, go)*. However, it is also associated with other items that work within one or both of the source domains. For instance "*jerked around"* is not directly related to liquids, but still retains both ideas. Rather than being led smoothly, the reader is "*jerked*" roughly from point to point. Similarly, the word "*choppy*" seems to reference the surface of a lake or river, which makes travel (even on liquid) a rough and uncomfortable journey.

While Grady might call this a "complex" metaphor, I prefer the term combined item because Grady suggests that complex metaphors always arise from primary metaphors, which grow from direct experiential connections. The conceptual links associated with the TOUCH/TEXTURE/SENSATION Item Set and the Journey Group are not necessarily more directly embodied than the conceptual links for the item "*flow*;" however, "*flow*" does seem to draw on the conceptual links from both. Also Grady is discussing conceptual metaphors where I am focused on the particular item "*flow*."

Flow – A Case of Dual Ambiguity

In addition to its obvious source domain ambiguity, "flow" also struggles with target domain ambiguity. Earlier in the paper, I outlined three possible conceptual metaphors for describing items in the Journey Items.

- WRITING A TEXT IS A JOURNEY
- READING A TEXT IS A JOURNEY

- THE WRITING PROCESS IS A JOURNEY

In the questionnaire, students' responses seemed to only discuss "*flow*" in relation to reading or writing a text but not in relation to the overall writing process. It is likely that in addition to uncertainty over the particular source domain, "*flow*" is doubly ambiguous because it is in part developed from the concepts associated with Journey Items, which are in turn applied to three distinct target domains.

When applied to the writing process rather than to the experience of a text, "*flow*" may take on different and possibly conflicting meanings. In many instances, writers describe writing as "*getting out"* ideas or "*getting down"* ideas on paper. The writing process itself is often seen as a journey that begins with growing or creating ideas in the writer's mind then moving those ideas out of the mind and onto the page. If we apply "*flow"* to this motion (from mind to page) rather than to a writer/reader's journey through a text (from intro to conclusion), it may suggest to students that writing that flows well is writing that moves easily from their mind to the page. In that case, writing that "*flows"* may in fact be more "natural" writing that has not been edited but instead "*pours"* freely from the writer's mind *onto* the page.

This confusion could easily lead to ambivalent attitudes towards revision and editing. On the one hand, textual "*flow"* would favor revision: the writer should "*smooth"* the terrain for reader to cross easily. On the other hand, writing process "*flow"* may push students away from revision or other reflexive practices as they interrupt the "*flow"* of the language.

One of the tutors, Brad, has a drastically different interpretation of *"flow"*:

What does it mean to make a paper flow?

BRAD (Q): Flow is cadence, and cadence is a rhythmical series. To make your paper "*flow*," just match your cadence to the situation.

Describe a paper that flows well.

BRAD (Q): I think of Martin Luther King's "I have a dream" speech. That's hard to match in writing. The writing itself has to remind you of the speech.

How can you CHANGE your writing to flow better?

BRAD (Q): Listen to people, read what they write, and mimic them

Brad seems to associate flow with rhythm and with oral speech. It is not completely clear what source domains he is drawing on, or even if he recognizes "*flow*" as metaphoric. But it is possible that Brad is relying on similar source domains of smoothness and journeys, and applying them to issues of style, sentence level emphasis, and prosody rather than to the text's organization or conceptual structure.

If this is the case, he can use this item to make inferences about what makes good style or prosody: there should not be places in the prose that stand out rhythmically as "*bumps*" or "*obstacles*" because these divert the reader's attention and slow down the "*journey*." The overall "*feel*" of the prose should create a "*smooth*" pace by regularly repeating consistent rhythms.

"*Flow*" seems to rely on metaphoric knowledge created through several other items from different source domains. While one can use the item in a conventional and regular way, each individual interpretation of it will vary widely based on what source domains the person identifies. If a writer does determine clear source domains, "*flow*" can still result in different inferences when applied to different aspects of the target domain (writing, reading, the writing process, style/prosody, organization).

Inter-Relatedness

In this study, I have attempted to carefully distinguish between items, lists of linguistic items I call Item Sets, broad categories of those lists I call Item Groups, and the second hand explanations of the conceptual links that exist between those items, conceptual

metaphors. However, after examining metaphor in action, we can see that these conceptual links are not consistent, permanent, or isolated. Instead, the conceptual links for given items vary from person to person. The links between items and between source and target domain are fluid and ever changing as a speaker becomes more familiar with a given item or is introduced to new items that extend his understanding of the connections between the domains.

Rather than existing in isolation, metaphoric items are embedded within a discourse and within a specific context of use. Metaphoric items are interdependent. Some items form binary relationships like "*smooth* and "*rough*." Other times, specific items from different Item Sets or Item Groups will be used together within the same sentence and require the hearer to make use of several domains at once.

BETH (T): It's organized paragraph by paragraph but then its not *tying back* to this *map* that's supposed to be my thesis.

This phrase uses items from two different Item Groups and three different Item Sets. "*Tying*" falls within the Object Group and requires us to conceptualize her ideas as objects that can be physically connected through tying them together. On the other hand, "*back*" and "*map*" come from the Journey Group and require us to conceive of ideas as spaces. While these two alternate ways of conceptualizing ideas would seem to be in conflict, Beth's sentence is still understandable. A full understanding of the sentence requires the processing of all three items together. It is not enough to simply know that any point must be somehow connected to another point. The relationship between point and thesis cannot be "*one-way*." Connections must look forward from the thesis, and the thesis must be like a "*map*" and somehow foreshadow the point. The point must not exist in isolation but must make explicit connections *back* to the thesis. The word "*tying*" suggests that these ideas are objects that may be manipulated, but also that the connections themselves are tangible and require

deliberate effort on the part of the writer. They do not appear on their own; the writer must do the work of "*tying*" herself.

Review of the Findings

In the last three chapters, I have tried to provide a clear picture of how metaphor is used by students, instructors and tutors to talk about writing. The most common metaphoric items for writing fall into five basic groups, Sensory Items (based on sensory experience), Object Items (in which ideas or text are discussed as physical objects), and three types of related items - Position Items, Spatial Items and Journey Items. Based on their frequency in the data and on the systematic way items are used within the discourse and the systematic conceptual relationships these items form, I believe these five Item Groups may be called "conventional" within the context of this data set.

Though they may be called conventional within the entire data set, the two instructors used these groups very differently. Karen showed a preference for Sensory Items, particularly for the Item Set VISION. Matt used items from all five Item Groups, but also used many novel items and many items outside of the five main Item Groups.

Students showed a great deal of variation from student to student in their use of particular items, Item Sets, and Item Groups. However, they did vary in one important way. When a student expressed a concern at the beginning of a tutorial using an item from a particular Item Set or Item Group, the student was likely to continue using items that Item Set or Item Group in the rest of the tutorial. This suggests that items from a particular domain work in a systematic and inter-connected way with other items from the same source domain.

Subjects are not limited to conventional uses, but instead have several options for creating new knowledge. Conventional items can be "extended" to create new meaning

through the use of unconventional items. Novel items can be coined to clarify the meaning of conventional items, to reduce conceptual alterity, or to create completely new connections.

On the other hand, metaphor use can also lead to confusion or ambiguity. Usually this confusion is caused by ambiguity in either the source or the target domain. Subjects sometimes had trouble communicating with each other because they attempted to use competing items for the same target domain. In the case of certain conventional but ambiguous items like "*voice*" and "*flow*," subjects do not always agree on the target domain and often apply the items to different aspects of the target domain. These decisions may be influenced by the subjects' ideological or pedagogical beliefs.

Rather than exist in isolation, metaphoric items appear within in a discourse and function in relation to other items in an inter-connected way. Making sense of a given statement often requires inferences based on more than one item, Item Set, or Item Group. Furthermore, while items, Item Sets, and Item Groups may be described as conventional within a given context, metaphor interpretation always takes place on the individual level and each individual must have a slightly different interpretation of an item. This interpretation may be affected by individuals' identification of the source or target domain, by their knowledge of or ideological beliefs about the source or target domain, and by the rhetorical or discoursal context of the item.

These findings have ramifications for both our daily classroom practice as well as for the direction of metaphor research and future intersections between metaphor studies and Composition. Metaphors function within a real-world social context. Certain items, Item Sets, Item Groups, and conceptual relationships may be conventional within a given discourse community, yet may still be familiar or unfamiliar to specific individuals. Metaphor is often conventional and therefore unavoidable. It can be a valuable tool for invention and for helping students create new understanding about writing. On the other hand, if used carelessly it can and often does lead to confusion and miscommunication. In

the following section, I will offer specific suggestions for “managing” metaphor in the classroom based on the results of this study.

Chapter 6: Conclusions

Based on the findings of this study and on the relevant scholarship, I would like to offer some specific implications for our pedagogy in the writing classroom as well as a few suggestions for future research in this area. While the results of this study may have further implications for metaphor theory, I will reserve that discussion for another paper and limit myself primarily to applications to pedagogy and future research.

Metaphor Matters

More than anything else, I hope to drive home that, when talking about writing, metaphor is both integral and unavoidable. Below are several of the reasons metaphors are so vital to what we do every day.

Our understanding of writing is dependent on our understanding of our metaphors for writing.

Our talk about writing is laced with metaphors. In this study, just the students and instructors used over 737 metaphoric items in about 13 hours of recorded data. That frequency is nearly one writing metaphor every minute and many, many more if the tutors are included. Even our student's explanation and translation of metaphors is full of different metaphors. On their questionnaires, students nearly always used new metaphoric items to explain other items. Modern metaphor theory has done much to show that we form abstract

concepts based on metaphoric knowledge. When we hear or use metaphors for writing, they are not handy phrases or ornamentation but instead CREATE our understanding of writing.

Instructors regularly use implicit and explicit metaphors when teaching.

Matt and Karen used metaphor extensively in their classes. Karen tended to rely on familiar metaphors and only sometimes discussed them explicitly. Matt often coined new metaphors or extended conventional metaphors with unconventional items to create new knowledge for his students, and he often spent time explicitly explaining the new metaphor. While Karen did not alert her students to her use of metaphor, in many cases, Matt focused his students' attention on the metaphor and helped his students create correct mappings.

Writers often make textual decisions based on metaphoric knowledge.

Many studies have shown that decision making can be heavily reliant on analogic reasoning. Students often make decisions about what to do with a paper based on metaphoric knowledge. If they conceive their text as a *terrain* which the reader *travels* through, they may seek to use their thesis as a "*map"* for this journey. This understanding of what a thesis should do could easily lead students to include their main pieces of evidence in the thesis as a way of preparing the reader for the rest of the paper. Similarly, they may be more inclined to use transitions to *bridge the gap* between two ideas. While it is not clear that students changed drafts based on metaphors. Students in this study often discussed possible changes with their tutors based on comments which were reliant on metaphoric items.

Our evaluation of a text is often based on metaphoric knowledge.

As instructors or peer-readers, we also rely on metaphoric knowledge in our evaluation of a text as successful or unsuccessful. Matt used the metaphoric item "*map"* to evaluate his students' thesis/introduction. If a student makes a good "map," her text will accurately foreshadow the rest of the paper. However, Chris used the metaphor "*hook,"* and a successful thesis/introduction then is one that is interesting and encourages the reader to continue reading. Students even coined novel metaphors, like "schizophrenic" describing a paper, to do their own evaluation. Whether or not we perceive a text or section of text as successful often depends directly on the metaphors we adopt to evaluate it.

Problems when Processing Metaphor

Metaphors likely have both positive and negative effects on student learning. Though I did not find any instances in which metaphor led to poor writing decisions, students often became quite confused when using metaphor in the study. This confusion could lead to discouragement and negative attitudes towards writing and slow the process of their development as writers. We cannot simply avoid metaphor because its use is too automatic and too ingrained into our every day speech. To do so would be to discard a valuable tool for instructors. What we must do then is recognize sources of confusion and try to eliminate them. Below are several common sources of confusion when processing metaphors in any domain.

Language is not seen as metaphoric – "Dead Metaphor."

Often the most frequent items in the study, like "*say*," "*flow,*" "*smooth*," and "*go,*" showed the greatest range of uses and variety of meanings. This does suggest that they are flexible and therefore extremely valuable; however, it may also suggest that these items have

lost the clear relationships to their original source domain and thus their meaning is less distinct. Conventional metaphors like "*says*" may become SO conventional that they stop being associated with their original source domain. These so-called "dead metaphors" are reduced from meaning-creating metaphors to abstract and often semantically weak target domain jargon. Robert Connors's (2000) "static abstractions" are a good example of these. Though Connors does not view them as metaphors, words like "precision," "unity," "strength," and "harmony" were likely coined as metaphors, but through extended use over time lost the conscious connection to their original source domain until they reached a point of near useless abstractness.

Students have insufficient or incorrect knowledge of the source domain.

To successfully map from the source domain, a student must have correct knowledge of that source domain. We saw that in Sarah McCarthey's (1993) study, one student was unclear about his instructor's use of a bread-making metaphor because he had never actually made bread before. Matt uses the metaphor of a DJ changing songs to discuss using transitions. As a part time heavy-metal DJ, Matt has a strong knowledge of the source domain. However, his students may have a less clear understanding. Though we cannot know how each student reacted to this metaphor internally, each student must have different knowledge about DJs and what they do. Some may have drawn on radio DJs while others may be more familiar with "club" or "house" DJs. Students from other cultures or subcultures may not have any knowledge of the domain at all. This incorrect or insufficient knowledge may lead to unintended or inaccurate mappings and often to no mappings at all. Matt was careful to follow this novel metaphor with an extension of a more familiar metaphor "*bridges*" for making your "*journey*." When using a novel metaphor, we should carefully consider what our students may know about that particular domain. It may also be

helpful to fully describe the source domain you are drawing from and to deliberately discuss the particular features you intend to map.

Students have insufficient or incorrect knowledge of the target domain.

Students can have extensive knowledge of the Source Domain (DJing), but insufficient knowledge of the target domain (transitions). A basic writer may have no strategies for creating transitions. With no repertoire of transitional words or phrases, the basic writer may understand transitioning conceptually but still be unable to create successful writing. Similarly, if the student has yet to master the concept of paragraphing (creating one paragraph with one central idea), he may not be able to correspond songs to paragraphs and will not fully grasp the metaphor.

Without seeing writers in action, it is difficult to tell whether this is happening in the study, but we can see in many cases students simply repeating metaphors and asking "how" to do something. For instance, Beth continued to describe her desire to "tie back" or "tie together" her paper and eventually described it as "schizophrenic." It seemed that Beth knew metaphorically what was wrong with her paper but not what action to take based on that knowledge. Gerald continued to discuss the problem with her through metaphor but did not help her deliberately revise her thesis statement or her transitions in ways that might have helped her achieve this goal.

Extensions are not connected to conventionalized metaphor.

Even if a student has a solid grasp of a conventionalized metaphor and even if she is aware that a word like "*says*" functions as a metaphor and even if she recognizes the source and target domain for that metaphor, she may STILL have trouble interpreting metaphoric extensions. If she does not recognize the new item, "*voice*" for example, as a part of the

already conventionalized metaphor system, she will not be able to identify its source domain and cannot draw on the mappings they have already made. Without this recognition, "*voice*" may remain a minimally valuable abstraction.

In this study, Matt spent extensive time explaining the item "*voice*" in his class, and Gerald used it in his tutorial. Gerald's tutee, Beth, seemed confused and worried when he brought it up, and despite Matt's extensive discussion, none of his students use it in their tutorials. This does not necessarily mean they did not acquire or understand it, but it suggests that they may have felt less comfortable with it. I would argue that the reason for this confusion and lack of use is that students did not connect voice to the more common metaphoric items like "says" and "talks."

Combined metaphors lead to source domain ambiguity.

While most of the students in the text related "flow" to the ease and consistency of reading or writing, Brad (a tutor) seemed to link "flow" to the prosodic rhythm of the text. Combined metaphors like "*flow*" draw on multiple source domains. Rather than identify flow with these constituent source domains of smoothness and journeys, students may attempt to draw specifically on the domain of water. Individuals may be somewhat aware that "*flow*" draws on two different domains but will likely be unclear as to what those domains are or may draw more heavily on one or the other. This can lead, as it did in the study, to the word becoming vague and ambiguous. While this ambiguity can be a source of invention and productive discussion, it can also lead to confusion and miscommunication. As instructors and tutors, we must do our best to clarify our own meanings and mappings while allowing students to express their own.

Metaphors Compete within the Same Target Domain.

When several metaphors are used to discuss one Target Domain, students may become confused and communication can be impeded. In their tutorial, Chuck and Jessica did not communicate effectively because they attempted to use different source domains, "*maps"* (Jessica) and "*hooking/grabbing"* (Chuck), to talk about the same target domain, theses/introductions. This conflict in terms effectively shut down the discussion of that idea and both moved on for a less productive tutorial. However, Matt and Richard also used the conflicting metaphors, but because Matt was aware of the conflict, he was able to move the discussion in a productive direction, advising Richard to focus on making claims so that he had a thesis and not just an introduction. It is important that we remain aware of the competing metaphors for a given feature or for essays as a whole. Rather than chose one or the other, we should attempt to foster as many metaphors as possible and encourage our students to coin new metaphors even when others already exits. We must simply remain aware of what these metaphors are and keep our eyes and ears open to avoid confusion or conflict.

Metaphors Compete within the Same Source Domain.

Similarly, confusion may occur when one source domain is used to describe several target domains. Items from the Journey Group may be used to discuss the writer's journey through the text, the reader's journey through the text, and the writer's journey during the writing process. Each of these target domains calls for a different set of mappings from the source domain. Because all three occur frequently in conversation, it is often unclear which of the three is being discussed. Is the reader travelling alone? Is the writer guiding the journey or taking his own journey? Certain target domain features, like obstacles, take on wildly different meanings. Obstacles to the reader's journey include unclear language, poor

transitions, and weak topic sentences while obstacles to the writing process journey could include boredom, video games, and lack of sleep.

Problems when Teaching with Metaphor

In addition to the already impressive list of ways in which metaphor may lead to confusion in and of itself, when used in an educational context, there are other mitigating factors that may lead to additional confusion.

Instructors evaluate with metaphor but do not teach it.

Instructors cannot help using metaphors when they comment on drafts or to evaluate a paper. However, we may often assume those metaphors are familiar to our students when they are not. If we inform a student that his paper does not "*flow*" and then give him specific instructions for how to fix this particular text, the student may still be unable to recognize "*flow*" in future papers or to correct a different text on his own. What is lacking is the abstract knowledge of what "*flow*" is and what it means in relation to writing. Students cannot always generalize from one instance of textual change to broader conceptual goals without the metaphor to draw on. If that metaphor is unfamiliar or ambiguous for them, they may not be able to truly understand the instructor's comments.

Because the study did not include instructor comments as a data source, it is impossible to know whether Karen or Matt have done this. However, many of the tutors offered specific critiques of a text without any further explanation of the metaphor itself or how to take action based on that metaphor. For instance, Chuck noted that his student needed a "better *hook* introduction," and Gerald tells his student she has "an interesting *voice*." In both cases, the tutors evaluate but fail to follow up with any interpretation of the

items or any advice on what to do with the text. Though Gerald's student asks for clarification, no action seems to be taken on the text in response to the metaphor.

Instructors teach metaphor but do not evaluate with it.

Another problem may be that instructors present extensive metaphors in their class discussion but do not evaluate with them. Matt tended to use many novel items or items that extended familiar items in a novel way. While students did not use many novel terms like "voice," or "DJs," they did use the novel item "map" several times. Most of these uses occurred specifically because Matt used it to evaluate a text. He evaluated Richard's text face-to-face in class asking whether he "had a good *map,*" and Jessica reported in her tutorial that her teacher told her she "needed more of a map." While we cannot say for certain that Matt did not evaluate using "voice" or "DJs," we can see that his evaluation strongly encouraged his students to use and attempt to understand the metaphor. Jessica specifically asks her tutor for help with it, and Richard was the only student to use the item in his questionnaire.

Not evaluating a text with the metaphors used in class could lead to two possible problems. The first is that students are not being required in any way to master the metaphor. If I discuss "*voice*" but do not comment or evaluate with it when reading texts, my students may see it as ancillary and focus instead on the issues they are graded on. Second, lack of evaluation may also hinder students who do want to master new metaphoric knowledge. If a student hears about voice extensively during class, we can hope she will try hard to develop or alter her own "*voice*." However, the process of translating source domain knowledge into target domain knowledge and target domain knowledge into *actual writing* is extremely complicated and difficult. If students do not receive instructor feedback on their new "*voice*," they will not know what effect their attempts had. Were they successful? Did

their voice sound intelligent or obtuse? Furthermore, the student may not know where the problem lies. Were the specific mappings she made not the ones the teacher intended or was she unable to revise her writing to reflect her deeper conceptual understanding?

Students may hold institutional or teaching metaphors that conflict with subject metaphors.

Although I did not find any examples of this in my own data, Lad Tobin's study of student responses to the prompt "Writing Is . . ." reveals that, while instructors tend to see writing as a positive and empowering experience, our students often do not find it so pleasant. While we often write voluntarily and with the goal of achieving a perfect and effective text, students may feel forced to write and see their goal as avoiding error rather than achieving perfection. Tobin's students often responded that writing was like going to the dentist/doctor: it is unpleasant but good for you. Holding metaphors like this may inhibit students from acquiring other writing metaphors or influence them to adopt only those metaphors they see as consistent with the goal of error correction. Similarly, teachers and tutors can be cast metaphorically in many different ways. A student who sees his teacher as a "*critic*" rather than a "*coach*" may view his metaphors as prescriptive elitism rather than helpful techniques and thus be less open to adopting them.

Metaphors may be ideologically or philosophically motivated.

We saw earlier that Gerald, Matt, and Brad all appear to have different interpretations of the word "voice." While both seem to identify oral language as the source domain, Matt focuses on voice as a way to explain different rhetorical situations, and Gerald focuses the on personal style of the student he tutors. It is possible that these differences could be explained by ideological differences between Matt and Gerald. If Matt is influenced

by theories of social-constructivism and Gerald sees himself as more of an expressivist, it would make sense that Matt would be more likely to focus on the ways social setting effects speaking (and writing), while Gerald might be more interested in the development of the writer's personal *voice*. This metaphor can easily be used to discuss both concepts, but ideological differences can lead one to focus more on one aspect at the expense of other.

Teachers/Tutors as Translators

Though the ways are numerous in which metaphor can lead to ambiguity or confusion, nearly all of these can be mitigated by simply taking the time to fully "translate" the metaphor. Below is one example of successful translation by Matt during his class.

Matt – "Stepping Stones"

During his class, Matt discusses ways to improve the "*flow*" of a paper. He first uses the metaphor of DJs changing songs, comparing this to including transitions. However, he quickly moves from the novel metaphor to an extension of the more familiar journey metaphor.

> MATT: Think about it this way you're *jumping* across a *stream*. Right? And someone is *following* you. You're *jumping back across* the *stream*. You may know *where* you're *going*. You know what you're doing, but they don't. You may know *where* your *going*, but he doesn't. He or she has no idea. So think of transitions as *stepping stones* or something. You've got to lay something down for someone to *cross*.

Matt carefully outlines the target domain of streams and stepping stones, bringing up the important features of the domain which he wants the students to map. The stream is an

obstacle. The writer has a particular path in mind for crossing that obstacle. Somehow he must show/provide that path to the reader, so he can cross the obstacle and move to the new idea.

Matt follows the explanation of the metaphor with an exercise designed to help students put this new knowledge to work. They cut their essay into pieces and look to see how the transitions *lead* a reader to a new idea.

> MATT: Here's what I want you to do. I want you to look at how these essays use transitions. I want you to experiment with your introduction. In addition at least 3 or 4 body paragraphs. We are going to cut them up . and hand them to a partner. If your partner can't put your parts together like a puzzle you're in trouble. 3 or 4 body paragraphs. If it doesn't go together, we're gonna learn why it doesn't go together. I'll bring in some examples and show you.

In this example, we can see two successful steps for managing metaphor. First, Matt took the time to sufficiently explore the target domain in relation to the source domain. Second, he moved back to the target domain to test or re-enforce the new meanings students had acquired. While these two steps are helpful, they could have been improved drastically by explicitly linking the source domain language to the target domain language. In the next section, I will outline several other steps which may help instructors and tutors effectively manage their use of metaphor.

Steps for Managing Metaphor

The previous two sections outlined common problems encountered when using metaphor, generally and in an educational setting, based both on my own findings and relevant scholarship. I would now like to offer a bit of my own practical advice on how some

of these problems may be avoided and steps instructors may take to most use metaphor most effectively in the classrooms. While this study cannot prove the usefulness of these steps, students seemed to be less confused and to more often reuse metaphoric items when instructors and tutors followed some of these steps. In other cases, we can see how they might have helped students avoid confusion that did occur

Look for Metaphors

Our investigation of metaphor has to begin with ourselves. It may be helpful to carefully introspect and review your instructional materials to identify your own metaphors for writing. Mark or take note of language that stands out as metaphoric. Identify the source and target domains of each item. Do you tend to focus on a handful of metaphors or a wide range? Are these metaphors novel or conventional? How do they compare with the metaphors included here? Are your course materials and grading processes consistent with the metaphors you use in conversation?

An awareness of our own metaphors gives us the opportunity to discuss them explicitly with our students, to search out inconsistencies or conflicts in our own conception of good writing, to ensure that our course documents are readily interpretable, and to offer sufficient explanation along with confusing or conflicting metaphors.

Identify Metaphors

When metaphors are used in learning situations, identify them explicitly as metaphors for the learner. Even when using conventional metaphors, it may be best to make sure that students are aware that we are using a metaphor and not just a handy term. By focusing on the metaphoric nature of items in our discourse that have devolved into empty jargon, we can breathe fresh life into them so that they may once again help to create

understanding rather than confusion. This includes more academic terms like Connors's "static abstractions" as well as conventional items like "*say*" and "*clear*," which may be dead metaphors for many of our students.

Identify Domains

Try to help learners identify the source domain of a metaphor. When a metaphor comes up in class, take the time to fully explore the possible source or target domains. Remain open to alternate interpretations by your students: This is where new meanings are discovered. However, if you have specific source domains/target domains in mind, share them with the students explicitly. Take the time to discuss the domain and what you all know about it. Matt's DJ metaphor may have been more effective if he and his students had explicitly discussed what a DJ is and does before moving on to the next metaphor.

Identify Mappings

When a new metaphor is introduced, spend time discussing the connections between domains. How are speaking and writing similar? In what ways is reading a text like taking a journey? We saw during Matt's class that he took the time to make specific connections between domains for his students. This explication seemed to help the students retain and make use of the metaphor during their tutorials and in their questionnaires. If you have particular mappings in mind, make sure to point them out. Try to link specific source domain features/terms with specific target domain features/terms. The writer and reader are the travelers. The line of argument is the path. The paragraphs are the places. Transitions are bridges between places. The destination is the reader agreeing with the thesis statement.

Identify Differences

Discuss differences between the target and source domain. Where does the metaphor "break down"? A student may inaccurately assume that if writing is like speaking, she should then be friendlier and address her reader personally in this essay. If reading is like taking a journey, do you need a break in the middle to relax? Should students then aim for a lighter mood or tell a joke near the center of their paper. If writing is like speaking, should it always come naturally? Should my personal voice should jump from the page on my first draft? By alerting students to the differences in the two domains, we can often avoid misunderstanding or incorrect inferences about writing. Instructors do not have to compile a comprehensive list of differences. Simply prompting your students to tell you differences between the two domains will likely unearth many of the most problematic. However, we should perhaps keep our eyes open for common incorrect assumptions and discuss those we notice in class.

Re-Focus on Writing

Often students may feel that a metaphor is extremely apt, but be unable to translate similarities into actionable knowledge in the target domain. Spend time discussing what a given metaphor means and how it effects a writer's choices. I recently watched a cooking show in which the host asked his audience to think of meat as the "*melody"* and stuffing as the "*harmony."* At first, I felt this was an extremely apt metaphor. However, when I returned to the target domain (cooking), I realized that it gave me no actionable knowledge about cooking. I was unable to translate that sense of similarity in a way that could help me make decisions. Should I stuff it more compactly, cook it longer, or add more shallots?

Similarly, students may feel they understand a metaphor at an abstract level but still lack the ability to translate that into editorial decisions. I find it best to follow up the

introduction of a metaphor by letting the students brainstorm specific choices they can make as writers based on this new metaphor. If they struggle, we may work with a sample text and explore how their changes affect the text when interpreted with the metaphor I am introducing.

Implications for Future Research

Metaphor is a powerful, but potentially troublesome tool for writing instructors. It can provide students with deeper, more actionable knowledge of writing, but with that deeper understanding comes new possibilities for misunderstanding. Despite these dangers, metaphor is an unavoidable reality of all writing instruction. I have attempted to outline certain steps for managing the role of metaphor, but these suggestions are only preliminary advice until we can gain a deeper and more systematic knowledge of how metaphor functions and how it relates to the idea and the act of writing.

The findings of this study suggest that the interpretation of a given item does not rely simply on a systematic mapping of features based on a universal conceptual metaphor. Rather, it is a complex process dependent on context of use, interpretation of surrounding metaphoric items, and multiple individual-specific processes including identification of the item as a metaphor, of source and target domains, and of salient features. Given the complex nature of item interpretation, conceptual metaphors, in and of themselves, are insufficient for fully explaining this process.

However, we have also seen that many items do share clear conceptual links across the discourse and between different speakers. Students are capable of hearing an instructor use a given set of items to create a metaphor, internalizing the connections between source domain and target domain, and then producing a set of conceptually consistent, but unfamiliar items. While using conceptual metaphors may be an imperfect way of describing

the process that allows students to produce those items, they still retain valuable explanatory power.

Any attempt to fully explain the process of metaphor must look equally at the conceptual, linguistic, and contextual features of that process. Rather than use linguistic items as proof of conceptual metaphors, it may prove more useful to use conceptual metaphors as possible explanations of how subjects use linguistic items. Furthermore, both linguistic production and conceptual links must be analyzed in relation to the context of use.

Metaphoric items and concepts may be called conventional among a group of speakers within given discourse, yet at the same time, they may be familiar or unfamiliar to individuals. This distinction between familiarity and conventionality is important but perhaps underrepresented in metaphor research. At least four broadly defined relationships can exist between a speaker and a given item, Item Set, or Item Group:

- Familiar-Conventional
- Familiar-Unconventional
- Unfamiliar-Conventional
- Unfamiliar-Unconventional

Each of these relationships would likely lead to dramatic differences in use by speakers and listeners. Understanding how familiarity and conventionality effect item use and interpretation should be a central task for researchers and as instructors. I have argued that the construct of conceptual metaphor creates an unrealistically consistent picture of the different conceptual links formed by each individual. However, our ability to interpret unfamiliar items and to produce novel items would seem to indicate that individuals do tend to share a good deal of these conceptual links between groups of items. More research is needed to understand how these links differ from person to person and how they may be altered by exposure to new items.

Composition as a field offers many exciting opportunities for future metaphor research. Thomas Kuhn (1979) and others have suggested that new metaphors often serve to frame or create new disciplinary knowledge in any field. A logical next step might be to examine the metaphors for writing we use when teaching or conversing. How are these metaphors acquired; from reading pedagogical scholarship, from pedagogy courses, or from respected peers or professors? Are these metaphors influenced by my personal beliefs about language, about knowledge, about students, about teaching? During his class, Matt makes reference to Paulo Friere's "banking concept" of education (1993). How might the particular mappings drawn from this ideologically loaded metaphor affect his teaching practices or his use of other metaphors?

Following Darsie Bowden's (1993;1995) lead, we should also begin to examine metaphor use in our academic publications. How have our metaphors changed over time? Have these changes occurred in response to changes in our beliefs and ideologies? How have our classroom practices altered in relation to these changes in metaphor? Are the metaphors used to justify successful practices or are practices developed to match popular metaphors?

This kind of research will not only tell us more about our field, but also about metaphor itself. However, we cannot present a simple historical account of use without also fully clarifying our own theoretical positions in the context of metaphor study. Research of this kind must acknowledge the complexities of metaphor in use presented in this paper and work to discuss the specific inferences made in relation to specific linguistic items.

Cameron (2003) and Leezenberg (2001) (among others) attempt to draw our attention to the role of social factors in metaphor use and interpretation, perhaps at the expense of strictly cognitive models of metaphor processing. I believe it may be fair to suggest that metaphor studies are currently undergoing their own "social turn," and experts in Composition may benefit both as teachers and as scholars of writing by taking an active part in the next era of this often puzzling field inquiry.

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Appendix A: Questionnaires

Name:_____

Instructor:_____

What does it mean to structure a paper?

Describe a paper that is well structured.

How can you CHANGE your writing to better structured?

Name:_____

Instructor:_____

What does it mean to make a paper flow?

Describe a paper that flows well.

How can you CHANGE your writing to flow better?

Name:_____

Instructor:_____

Describe a paper that is very clear.

How can you CHANGE your writing to clearer?

Describe a paper that is NOT clear.

Name:_____

Instructor:_____

Describe a paper that has a formal tone.

How can you CHANGE your writing to make the tone more formal?

What OTHER tones do you know how to write in?

How can CHANGE your writing to write with a different voice?

What voices do you know how to write in?

Name:_____

Instructor:_____

What does it mean to support an argument?

Describe a paper that supports its argument well.

How can you CHANGE your writing to support the argument better?

Oklahoma State University Institutional Review Board

Date:	Friday, January 05, 2007
IRB Application No	AS06141
Proposal Title:	Writing Metaphor: Conceptual Metaphor Use in the Writing Center and First Year Writing Classroom
Reviewed and Processed as:	Exempt

Status Recommended by Reviewer(s): Approved Protocol Expires: 1/4/2008

Principal Investigator(s

Phillip Heasley
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Carol Moder
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The IRB application referenced above has been approved. It is the judgment of the reviewers that the rights and welfare of individuals who may be asked to participate in this study will be respected, and that the research will be conducted in a manner consistent with the IRB requirements as outlined in section 45 CFR 46.

☑ The final versions of any printed recruitment, consent and assent documents bearing the IRB approval stamp are attached to this letter. These are the versions that must be used during the study.

As Principal Investigator, it is your responsibility to do the following:

1. Conduct this study exactly as it has been approved. Any modifications to the research protocol must be submitted with the appropriate signatures for IRB approval.
2. Submit a request for continuation if the study extends beyond the approval period of one calendar year. This continuation must receive IRB review and approval before the research can continue.
3. Report any adverse events to the IRB Chair promptly. Adverse events are those which are unanticipated and impact the subjects during the course of this research; and
4. Notify the IRB office in writing when your research project is complete.

Please note that approved protocols are subject to monitoring by the IRB and that the IRB office has the authority to inspect research records associated with this protocol at any time. If you have questions about the IRB procedures or need any assistance from the Board, please contact Beth McTernan in 219 Cordell North (phone: 405-744-5700, beth.mcternan@okstate.edu).

Sincerely,

Sue C. Jacobs, Chair
Institutional Review Board

VITA

Phillip K. Heasley

Candidate for the Degree of Master of Arts

Thesis: EXTENDING WITH "*BRIDGES*" AND MAPPING "*MAPS*": A DISCOURSE BASED STUDY OF METAPHOR IN THE WRITING CENTER AND WRITING CLASSROOM

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Institution: Oklahoma State University Location: Stillwater, Oklahoma

Title of Study: EXTENDING WITH "*BRIDGES*" AND MAPPING "*MAPS*": A DISCOURSE BASED STUDY OF METAPHOR IN THE WRITING CENTER AND WRITING CLASSROOM

Pages in Study: 153 Candidate for the Degree of Master of Arts

Major Field: English

Scope and Method of Study:

This thesis studies the use of metaphor in the writing center and writing classroom. Subjects included 2 instructors, 4 writing tutors, and 18 freshman students. Subjects were recorded during classroom and tutorial discourse and asked to complete questionnaires. The data was analyzed using a discourse-based approach to metaphor.

Findings and Conclusions:

Subjects used metaphor extensively in both the classroom and the writing center. Specific metaphoric items and groups of items were found to be highly conventional. Novel items were used to create new meanings or to extend the meaning of conventional items. Several sources of confusion were identified, including source and target domain ambiguity due to combined or competing metaphoric items. Based on the findings, specific suggestions were offered for improving writing pedagogy.

ADVISER'S APPROVAL: Dr. Carol Moder