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A (POTENTIAL) LIFESPAN OF A METAPHOR: THE CASE OF A BANK

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ABSTRACT:

The paper examines the possibility of certain metaphoric expressions starting out as interpretative use of language and becoming a descriptively used unit by means of reutilization and routinization. The aim is to illustrate this process by using one example – lexeme bank – and elaborating how a certain metaphorical mapping can become routinized within a group or a community. Theoretical framework used in this paper is Relevance Theory, a cognitive-inferential model of pragmatics. Two approaches to metaphoric expressions are taken into consideration – explicature analysis (descriptive approach) and modified explicature analysis (interpretative approach). The main idea is to illustrate the process of utterance interpretation when the lexeme bank is used metaphorically, both as a case of descriptive and interpretative language use.

Keywords: *metaphor, ad hoc concept, interpretative use of language, descriptive use of language, truth-conditional contribution*

1. INTRODUCTION

In this paper we shall briefly present the relevant-theoretic account of production and interpretation of metaphoric expressions in the light of the recent research in cognitive-pragmatic treatment of metaphor. There has been a considerable number of research attempting to compare or reconcile the cognitive-linguistic and the cognitive-pragmatic approach to metaphor (Tendahl and Gibbs 2008, Tendahl 2009, Carston 2010, Wilson 2011, Rasulić and Mišković-Luković 2021, Manojlović 2022 etc.). In this paper, however, the focus is on the cognitive-inferential approach and the hypothesis that metaphoric expressions can be examples of both descriptive and interpretative use of language, depending on the number of factors, the most important one being the routinization of a certain expression within a certain community.

Following the conclusions made by Manojlović (in print) we shall examine the validity and applicability of relevance-theoretic approach by providing a hypothetical example of one expression that can cover every phase of the proposed process – from descriptively

used non-metaphoric expression, via interpretatively used metaphoric expression to the descriptively used metaphoric expression. We shall not focus here separately on the demarcation between explicit and implicit content. However, the very fact that the implicit content remains unchanged in all the instances presented in this paper supports the claim that metaphoric expressions constitute part of the explicit content of an utterance.

2. THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The framework used in this paper is the relevance theory (Sperber and Wilson 1986/95, Carston 2002b) – the cognitive-inferential, post-Gricean approach to communication. According to this approach human cognition tends to be geared towards the maximization of relevance (the cognitive principle of relevance) and every ostensive act of communication carries the presumption of its own optimal relevance (the communicative principle of relevance). Relevance itself is not a calculable phenomenon, but it is rather a function of cognitive effect achieved and cognitive effort exerted. The greater the cognitive effect the greater the relevance and vice versa. The opposite relation holds for cognitive effort since it is inversely proportional to relevance. Following the path of least effort, the hearer tests the interpretive hypotheses in order of their accessibility and stops when the interpretation that satisfies the expectation of relevance is reached (or abandoned). Both explicitly and implicitly communicated assumptions are at play when it comes to expectation of relevance. Moreover, pragmatic intrusion is important and pervasive not only in the recovery of implicit content but explicit as well. For the sake of the analysis conducted in this paper we shall define explicature as a proposition resulting from the development (pragmatic) of the logical form (the semantic representation of a sentence) and implicature as a proposition that does not result from the said development.

When it comes to metaphoric expressions there are two main approaches within this framework – explicature analysis (henceforth EA) and modified explicature analysis (henceforth MEA). According to EA (Carston 2002a, Wilson and Carston 2006, Carston 2010, Wilson 2011) metaphor represents a part of a continuum of cases of loose use of language which includes approximation and hyperbole as well. On the said continuum metaphoric expressions depart the most from the encoded meaning of a given expression. No special mechanisms are needed for arriving at the intended interpretation of an utterance containing a metaphorically used expression since interpretation is contextually conditioned (Wilson 2011: 202). The encoded concept is narrowed (strengthened) and/or broadened (loosened) in order to yield the communicated – ad hoc – concept. The pragmatic processes of narrowing and broadening of meaning are treated in the same way – as pragmatic enrichment of the basic proposition of an utterance (Mišković-Luković 2013: 50). The resulting concept is a descriptively used constituent of the explicature.

On the other hand, MEA (Mišković-Luković 2013, 2015) proposes that metaphoric expressions represent interpretative use of language. This (in the same way as the cases of

irony) relieves it from truth-conditional constraints (Mišković-Luković 2013: 54). Unlike descriptively used expressions (e.g., metaphoric expressions within EA) interpretatively used expressions do not contribute to the truth conditions of the proposition expressed. MEA treats metaphoric expressions as attributive concepts in that the speaker is not committed to the descriptive content of the lexical concept. This attributively used concept can be modulated in the same manner as is the case within EA approach, however, it remains an interpretatively used propositional constituent and does not contribute to the truth-conditional content of the utterance (Rasulić and Mišković-Luković 2021: 29). The implicatures within EA and MEA are generated in the same way, depending on the context.

Within the next chapter we shall put to the test the hypothesis that metaphoric expressions can be treated both as descriptive and interpretative language use by exemplifying a potential process of routinization of a lexeme *bank* when used metaphorically.

3. DESCRIPTIVE VS INTERPRETATIVE USE OF METAPHORIC EXPRESSION BANK

In this chapter we shall start with non-metaphorical descriptive use of the lexeme *bank* and provide a conversational framework (hence the context) which will be used to exemplify its potential metaphorical use. Consider the following exchange:

- (1) A: Do you have the money you owe me?
B: I haven't been to the bank.

Firstly, B's response will be optimally relevant by virtue of answering the question raised (standard expectation created by the asking of a question). In order to arrive at the fully propositional form of B's utterance the following pragmatic processes take place: disambiguation (*bank*), reference assignment (*I*) and free enrichment (the present perfect tense). The explicature would then be *B has not been to the BANK*[recently/since the last time A asked for money, etc.]*¹. The first highly accessible assumption (implicated premise) which might help to answer A's question is *If a person has not been to the BANK*it is not likely that one can pay the money back*. This (together with the explicature) yields another strong implicature – implicated conclusion *B does not have the money he owes A (because B has not been to the BANK*)*.

¹The asterisk with the concept BANK signals that the communicated concept has been modulated – narrowed to refer to the bank in which the speaker has the account, and (possibly) broadened to include ATM machines as well.

Let us now presume that the lexeme *bank* could be used metaphorically by the speaker to refer to the speaker's mother. In a context where both participants share the common knowledge that the addressee does not have a bank account and is financially dependent on his/her parents, the speaker could use the said lexeme interpretatively to form a propositional constituent which does not contribute to the truth conditions of the proposition expressed. The search for relevance would trigger the pragmatic processes needed for the arriving at the intended interpretation. The explicature of B's answer would be:

(1a): 'The speaker hasn't been to „the bank”[as one would say or think]'

It is important to note here that the strong implicatures – implicated premise (1b) and implicated conclusion (1c) – remain the same:

(1b) 'If a person hasn't been to „the bank”[as one would say or think] it is not likely that one could pay the money back'

(1c) 'The speaker does not have the money he owes A (because B hasn't been to „the bank”[as one would say or think])'

Confronted for the first time with the lexeme *bank* being used metaphorically in the described manner, the hearer might need to exert additional cognitive effort to arrive at the interpretation that would satisfy the expectation of relevance created by the asking of the question. This could be linked to the findings made by deliberate metaphor theory (Steen 2008, 2011, 2015, Reijniere et al. 2019) which puts forward the communicative dimension as relevant and recognizes that not all metaphoric expressions are produced/perceived metaphorically. An interesting parallel can be drawn between the relevance/theoretic approach to metaphor and deliberate metaphor theory – deliberate metaphors can be said to be instances of interpretative language use, and due to repetitive use in a certain language, culture, or community these expressions can become routinised and cease to be attributively used (Manojlović 2022: 224-225). Frequent use of certain metaphoric expressions leads to routinization since it contributes to their cognitive entrenchment, which in turn contributes to decrease in the cognitive effort needed for their interpretation (Mišković-Luković 2014: 353). Having become instances of descriptive use of language these expressions might lose the status of deliberate metaphor. So, there is a continuum between the expressions that are distinctly metaphorical (and used with that intent) and those that are not perceived as being metaphorical (either by the speaker or by the hearer, or both).

In our example it is possible to imagine that referring to B's mother by the use of the lexeme *bank* can become common or frequent within a small community (even if it is only for A and B). This process of routinization would lead to decrease in cognitive effort

needed for interpretation and metaphorically used concept would become descriptively used. The explicature of B's answer in (1) would be:

(1d): The speaker hasn't been to the BANK**.

The communicated ad hoc concept BANK** (that still refers to the speaker's mother) has undergone pragmatic processes of narrowing and broadening so that it now shares very little with the encoded concept bank (presumably the emergent property of being the source of financial funds). This concept is a constituent of the proposition expressed and contributes to the truth conditions of the overall proposition. Again, the implicit content follows the same line of inference as was the case with descriptive non-metaphoric use of the lexeme *bank* (example (1)) and interpretative metaphoric use (in(1b) and (1c)):

(1e): If a person hasn't been to the BANK** it is not likely that one could pay the money back.

(1f): The speaker does not have the money he owes A (because the speaker hasn't been to the BANK**)

This could be taken even further, beyond our constructed context, provided that the routinization of the said metaphoric use persists. Any number of different situations could be imagined where the lexeme *bank* is used metaphorically to refer to a female parent and present a descriptive use of language (EA framework).

(2) A: Do you want to go for a walk after school?

B: I can't, the bank is making casserole.

In example (2) the communicated ad hoc concept BANK** could be used descriptively given that the expression is routinized enough within a given community, i.e., for the given language users.

The importance of routinization has been pointed out within cognitive-pragmatic framework (Mišković-Luković 2013, 2015, Rasulić and Mišković-Luković 2021). However, in what way and to what extent this frequent and prolonged use of an expression can affect its interpretation is a much more difficult question. The search for a definite delimitation between descriptive and interpretative use of language is not only (nearly?) impossible but might also be unnecessary (Manojlović in print). While the same expression can be perceived as metaphorically used and hence an attributive concept by one participant in communication, for someone else it will be an instance of descriptive use of language (or, to put it in cognitive-linguistic terminology, will not require the activation of the source domain). This very important question was raised by deliberate metaphor theory – whether all metaphoric expressions can be equally metaphorical to everyone (Steen 2011). Certain expressions are not problematic in this respect, as is the

case with prepositions that are widely considered non-metaphoric (Steen 2015: 67, Bach 1994: 148). On the other end of this spectrum we would find expressions that are strikingly metaphorical, as is the case with our example (1) taken to mean (1a). Manojlović (in print) proposes that certain expressions present potentially both descriptive and interpretative use of language, depending on the speaker's and hearer's abilities and preferences. Namely, for example, if a hearer is exposed to a novel metaphor or expression, one could assume that the said expression will be treated as an attributive concept whose interpretation will depend on the context and search for relevance (as is the case with all inference). The hearer can then continue to use the said concept without fully developing the descriptive concept. By subsequent use the conceptual address can become filled with information (linguistic, logical and encyclopedic entry) and the said concept can be used descriptively.

4. CONCLUSION

Although the cross-domain mappings between HUMAN and MACHINE or OBJECT are quite frequent, the example of metaphoric use of the lexeme *bank* in this paper was not selected to that end. Even though there is the tendency in recent research of metaphoric expressions to develop a unified and explanatorily adequate approach (since the cognitive pragmatic and the cognitive linguistic approach are considered to be compatible)¹ the aim in this paper was quite different. Examples of non-metaphoric and metaphoric use of the said lexeme here were analyzed with the goal to exemplify the adequacy and applicability of relevance-theoretic approach to metaphor – both the explicature analysis and the modified explicature analysis. Additional analysis of implicit content was conducted with the secondary goal to demonstrate the inadequacy of implicature approach to metaphor.

Examples given illustrate the potential path of any expression used metaphorically – from the first instance of usage (as a novel metaphor so to speak) where it would represent an attributive concept, to the descriptive use of the same expression where it represents a propositional constituent that contributes to the truth conditions (similar to other instances of loose use of language). Further corpus-based research would undeniably contribute to cognitive-pragmatic approach to metaphor production and interpretation.

¹ Namely, according to cognitive linguistics a conceptual metaphor is a cross-domain mapping, i.e., mapping of certain elements of the conceptual structure of the source domain (which is commonly more concrete) onto the target domain (which is commonly more abstract). These mappings are usually grounded in our bodily experience, but not necessarily. For instance, the use of lexeme *bank* to refer to a human being would be an example of a conceptual metaphor PEOPLE ARE OBJECTS/MACHINES, which is grounded in our socio-cultural experience within the metaphoric system GREAT CHAIN OF BEING (Rasulić and Mišković-Luković 2021: 32).

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