Metaphor and Metonymy in *Apple Daily’s* Headlines

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Abstract

The current study focuses on the similarities and differences of conceptual metaphor and metonymy between each genre in newspaper headlines. Headlines in news articles in *Apple Daily* from May 21st to May 27th were collected and analyzed. There are three basic findings. First, blocks for entertainment and sports used, in proportion, more metaphors and metonymies than any other blocks. Second, the idea of fighting was the most basic base for metaphors in *Apple Daily*. Third, TOPIC FOR SUBJECT was widely implemented to be economic in discourse. However, there may be more genres not included in *Apple Daily*. Also, the ways of categorization may not be specific enough for each block. Future studies are encouraged to further explore other genres excluded in the current study.

Key words: metaphor, metonymy, newspaper, headline

1. Introduction

Conceptual metaphor is the process of interpreting or understanding one domain which is relatively abstract by using another domain which is relatively concrete (Lakoff and Johnson, 2003). For example, TIME IS MONEY is a conceptual metaphor. The concrete domain “money” is used to understand abstract domain “time.” We can both spend money and time. Also, we can both waste money and time.

Though most people are not aware of metaphors, they are everywhere (Lakoff and Johnson, 2003). In fact, since the rising of Conceptual Metaphor Theory, many scholars have been exploring examples of metaphors in specific contexts. For instance, Hsiao and Su (2010) have explored metaphors in discourse level. Even metaphors in pictorial representations are also the issues involving metaphors (Forceville, 1996).

Metonymy is, to some extent, similar to conceptual metaphor, differing in that metonymy uses one concept in one domain to “refer to” or “stand for” another concept within the same domain (Lakoff and Johnson, 2003; Kovecses 2010). Examples of metonymy include HAND FOR PERSON. In Chinese, *shou* (‘hand’), which is part of body, is often referring to the whole person in example like *toushou* (pitch hand, ‘the person who pitches the ball’). Though the definition of conceptual metaphor is different from that of metonymy,
the two ideas are much related. In fact, metonymies serve as basis for, thus blend into, many conceptual metaphors (Kovecses, 2010).

Metaphors have been widely used in our daily lives. We can see it everywhere. In fact, abundant examples of conceptual metaphor or metonymy have been provided by Lakoff and Johnson (2003), Kovecses (2010), and Gibbs (1994). In addition to the examples provided by those scholars, a lot more evidence of conceptual metaphor and metonymy can be found in headlines in newspapers. A good news headline presents the main ideas of the text efficiently to the readers. Also, it has to be interesting to attract readers’ attention. Metaphor no doubt plays an important role in the headlines. In other words, conceptual metaphors are implemented to present main ideas efficiently and attract readers’ attention. Since metonymy is, in some degree, related to conceptual metaphor, the fact that metonymy can also be found in newspaper is not implausible.

In fact, Shie (2012) has discussed metaphors in headlines of news stories. Shie compared and analyzed the differences between headlines in *New York Times*, designed for English native speakers, and *Times Supplement*, designed for English as foreign language learners, in terms of language style, conventionality, and conceptual distance. Shie argued that metaphors in *New York Times* tend to be grand, unconventional, and long distance while those in *Times Supplement* prefer plain, conventional, and short distance (2012). Shie also discussed differences in metonymy in headlines in the two newspapers (2011). One of the main findings was that effect-for-cause metonymy was used to foreshadow the whole ideas and arouse reader’s curiosity. Moreover, metonymy was often used to be economic in discourse.

Though Shie investigated much on differences of metaphors and metonymies in headlines in two newspapers, he did not pay any attention to the differences in headlines between each genre in one single newspaper. According to Devitt (1993), genre is patterns that writers would base on to categorize different writing tasks. Therefore, articles within one genre share similar features. Then, the application of metaphor and metonymy may be similar within one genre while different between different genres. Therefore, the current study will focus on the similarities and differences of conceptual metaphor and metonymy between each block in newspaper headlines in Chinese newspaper, *Apple Daily*, which is edited mainly for Chinese native speakers in Taiwan. The main goal is to investigate a) the overall tendency of usages of metaphors and metonymy, b) whether different blocks prefer different metaphors and metonymies, and c) the most basic metaphor and metonymy.

There are five sections in this study: Abstract, Introduction, Methodology, Results, Discussions, and Conclusion. Introduction deals with research questions and organization. Methodology will explain the data collection procedure and identification of metaphor and metonymy. Results will report main discoveries based on the analyses of data. Discussions will try to interpret the results. Conclusion will summarize the findings and suggests for
future studies.

2. Methodology

A self-constructed corpus is the main source for the current study. The corpus consists of all the news articles in *Apple Daily* printed from May 21st to May 27th, 2012. Headlines were identified as metaphors when the intended meaning was inconsistent with the literal meaning, and they were in different domains. Headlines were identified as metonymy when the intended meaning was inconsistent with the literal meaning, but they were still in the same domain.

(1) *Yuan da xiao qiu ti tie ban*

    Monkey play small ball kick iron board
    ‘Lamigo Monkeys played bunts but met obstacles.’
    (Block D, May 27th, 2012)

The headline in (1) serves as an example for identification of metaphor and metonymy. The news story was about the basketball game between Uni Lions and Lamigo Monkeys. Lamigo Monkeys used bunts in order to score. However, this strategy did not work. Uni Lions still performed pretty well to prevent Lamigo Monkeys from scoring. In (1), the literal meaning of verb phrase *ti tie ban* was ‘to kick iron board.’ However, the intended meaning was ‘to meet obstacles.’ Since the literal meaning ‘to kick iron board’ and the intended meaning ‘to meet obstacles’ were different, and they belonged to two different domains, this expression was identified as an example of metaphor. Headline in (1) also included an example of metonymy. The literal meaning of *yuan* was ‘monkey.’ However, the intended meaning was the team ‘Lamigo Monkeys.’ Since the literal meaning ‘monkey’ and the intended meaning ‘Lamigo Monkeys’ were different, and they belonged to the same domain, this expression was identified as an example of metonymy.

Only non-lexicalized conceptual metaphors and metonymies, whose meanings could not be found in dictionaries, were selected into a sub-corpus. The dictionary the present author used was *Chongbian guoyu cidian xiuding ben* (Re-edited Chinese Dictionary-Revised Edition), an online dictionary edited by Ministry of Education in Taiwan. Therefore, the dictionary could be regarded as an authoritative dictionary. Therefore, only metaphors and metonymies whose meanings could not be found in *Chongbian guoyu cidian xiuding ben* were calculated and analyzed in this study.

The metaphors and metonymies were categorized based on the blocks they were in. There are six blocks in *Apple Daily*: A, B, C, D, E, and P. Block A deals with headlines, the big events happened recently. Block B deals with business and stocks. Block C deals with entertainment. Block D deals with sports. Block E deals with life. Block P deals with houses and furniture. (Note that Block P only appears on Fridays and Saturdays.)
In the following section, the basic descriptive statistics about the numbers of metaphor and metonymy discovered in each block will be presented. Second, one example of metaphor and one example of metonymy from each block will be given and analyzed.

3. Results

First, the basic descriptive statistics about the numbers of metaphor and metonymy discovered in each block were presented below.

Table 1 The number and percentage of news headlines with metaphor or metonymy in each block

|          | A    | B    | C    | D    | E    | P    |
|----------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| headlines with metaphor or metonymy | 43   | 29   | 53   | 33   | 9    | 3    |
| all headlines | 306  | 165  | 229  | 128  | 74   | 23   |
| percentage  | 14.05% | 17.58% | 23.14% | 25.78% | 12.16% | 13.04% |

Table 1 shows the number and percentage of news headlines with metaphor or metonymy in each block. As can be seen, Block C and D used more metaphors and metonymies than other blocks.

Table 2 The number of headlines with metaphor and metonymy in each block

|          | A    | B    | C    | D    | E    | P    |
|----------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Metaphor | 19   | 22   | 36   | 24   | 9    | 2    |
| Metonymy | 26   | 8    | 18   | 18   | 2    | 1    |
| total    | 43   | 29   | 53   | 33   | 9    | 3    |

Table 2 shows the number of headlines with metaphor and metonymy in each block. (Note that a headline may use both metaphor and metonymy. Therefore, the total number may be less than the sum of the numbers of metaphor and metonymy.) As can be seen, most blocks had more headlines with metaphors than those with metonymies. However, Block A had more headlines with metonymies than those with metaphors.

After the descriptive statistics, one example of metaphor and one example of metonymy from each block will be given and analyzed. (Since that the examples of metaphor and metonymy in Block E and P were not many, they are excluded in the following discussion.)

3.1 Block A:

(2) 雨衣大盜月掟百萬

Yuyi dadao yue zhi bai wan

Rain coat robber month throw million
‘The rain-coat robber spent million dollars in one month’
(Block A, May 26th, 2012)

The news story in (2) was about a robber who wore rain coat when he committed crimes. Since he had robbed for many times, and that the money he stole was very much, he often spent it casually. In (2), the metaphor TO SPEND CASUALLY IS TO THROW was used. Zhi is ‘to throw’. However, the robber did not really throw the money. Instead, it meant ‘to spent money without any worry or limitation.’ Since ‘to spend’ and ‘to throw’ were not in the same domain, they were considered as one example of metaphor.

(3) 錢都涮涮鍋漲7%
Qiandu shuanshuanguo zhang 7%
Cash City shabu shabu rise 7%
‘The price of shabu shabu in Cash City rose 7%’
(Block A, May 22nd, 2012)

The news story in (3) was about the increase of the price of shabu shabu in Cash City. In (3), the metonymy WHOLE FOR PART was used. The original meaning of this headline was that shabu shabu rose 7%. However, shabu shabu did not really rise. In fact, it was “the price” of shabu shabu that rose 7%. Therefore, the topic ‘shabu shabu’ was used to stand for the subject ‘the price.’ Based on this explanation, it could be seen as an example of metonymy WHOLE FOR PART since that the subjects related to shabu shabu could include price, ingredient, or the taste. “Price” was only one of the subjects related to the topic shabu shabu.

3.2 Block B:

(4) 新幹線代理韓廠遊戲 搶攻下半年商機
Xinganxian daili han chang youxi, qianggong xia ban nian shangji
Xingganxian agent Korea factory game, rob attack down half year business chance
‘The company Xinganxian acted as agent for Korean game company to seize the business chance for the other half year.’
(Block B, May 22nd, 2012)

The news story in (4) was about a company Xinganxian acting as agent for a Korean game “Heaven of Three Kingdoms.” Since the game was very popular, it was very competitive to be the agent. In (4), the metaphor TO SEIZE CHANCES IS TO ATTACT was used. Gong is ‘to attack’. However, the company was not really ready to attack the market. Instead, the company just ‘seized the chance’ and was ready to release the game to earn money. Since ‘to attack’ and ‘to seize chances’ belonged to different domains, they were considered as one example of metaphor.

(5) 鴻海聯手夏普 發揮1+1=5
Honghai lianshou xiapu, fahu 1+1=5
Foxconn union hand Sharp, develop +1=5
‘Foxconn worked with Sharp, hoping to have 1+1=5 effect.’
(Block B, May 22\textsuperscript{nd}, 2012)

The news story in (5) was about the company Foxconn working with another company Sharp, hoping to bring their skills to their fullest. In (5), the metonymy BEING HAND-IN-HAND FOR BEING ALLIANCE was used. \textit{Lianshou} was ‘to be hand-in-hand.’ However, Foxconn was not really hand-in-hand with Sharp. The two whole companies, instead of hands, would be together and work together. In other words, ‘hand’ stands for ‘the whole company.’ Based on this explanation, this headline can be taken as an example of the metonymy PART FOR WHOLE.

3.3 Block C:

(6) 美人撞臉陽剛 TOP
Meiren zhuanglian yanggang TOP
Beautiful woman collide face strong TOP
‘The face of the beautiful woman is almost the same with strong TOP’
(Block C, May 26\textsuperscript{th}, 2012)

The news story was about a Korean female artist Park Si Yeon, who looked like another Korean male artist TOP. In (6), the metaphor TO BE THE SAME IS TO COLLIDE was used. \textit{Zhuan} meant ‘to collide.’ However, the two faces did not really collide. They just ‘looked alike’. Since ‘to look alike’ and ‘to collide’ were in different domains, the headline could be seen as one example of metaphor.

(7) 吳辰君收 GUCCI 粉爽
Wuchenjun shou GUCCI fen shuang
Annie Wu accept GUCCI very happy
‘Annie Wu is very happy to have the GUCCI bag.’
(Block C, May 26\textsuperscript{th}, 2012)

The news story was about Annie Wu, who just received a GUCCI bag as a present from her fiancé. In (7), the metonymy WHOLE FOR PART was used. The original meaning of this headline was that Annie Wu accepted GUCCI very happily. However, GUCCI was a brand name. Annie Wu definitely did not receive the brand name. In fact, it was “the bag” of GUCCI that was sent as present to Annie Wu. Therefore, the topic ‘GUCCI’ was used to stand for the subject ‘the bag.’ Based on this explanation, it could be seen as an example of metonymy WHOLE FOR PART since that the subjects related to \textit{GUCCI} could include \textit{price}, \textit{materials}, or the \textit{places of origin}. “Bag” was only one of the subjects related to the topic \textit{GUCCI}.

3.4 Block D:

(8) 阿格西都殺不死
Agexi dou sha bu si
Andre Agassi always kill not die
‘Andre Agassi is hard to be defeated.’
(Block D, May 26th, 2012)

The news story was about Andre Agassi coming to Taiwan to have tennis competition with children. One of the girls who played with Agassi claimed that Agassi played so well that she could not find any way to defeat him. In (8), the metaphor TO DEFEAT IS TO KILL was used. Sha meant ‘to kill’. However, it did not really mean to kill Agassi in this headline. Instead, it meant ‘to defeat’ him in the tennis competition. Since ‘to defeat’ and ‘to kill’ were in different domains, it could be considered as an example of metaphor.

Jinying lian zhuo guomin
Baltimore Orioles continue peck Washington Nationals
‘Baltimore Orioles again defeat Washington Nationals.’
(Block D, May 21st, 2012)

This news story was about the basketball game between Baltimore Orioles and Washington Nationals. The literal meaning of jinying and guomin was ‘a golden oriol’ and ‘national.’ However, the intended meaning was the team ‘Baltimore Orioles’ and ‘Washington Nationals.’ Since the literal meaning ‘oriol’ and ‘national’ and the intended meaning ‘Baltimore Orioles’ and ‘Washington Nationals’ were different, and they belonged to the same domain, the two expressions were identified as examples of metonymy.

4. Discussions

The current study aimed to investigate the usages of metaphor and metonymy in news headlines. As shown above, Block C and D used more metaphors and metonymies than other blocks. It was not surprising that Block C used a number of metaphors and metonymies for the reason that Apple Daily is famous, or notorious, for articles that are full of “shan-se-xing” (陳培煌, 2008; 黃名芬, 2011). In other words, the news articles are often “sensational” in Apple Daily (Uribe and Gunter, 2007). Since Apple Daily often uses sensational articles to attract readers’ attention, the usage of metaphors and metonymies were expected. With more metaphor and metonymies, the headlines would be more attracting to the readers, fulfilling the quality of sensation even before the texts are read.

The fact that Block D used the many metaphors and metonymies was quite surprising. This may due to the fact that articles in Block D were often made into “dongxinwen,” which uses 3D animation to report the news. In fact, the third most used genre for dongxinwen is sports (黃名芬, 2011). Based on this fact, it is plausible to conclude that sports did not receive less attention. Therefore, sports may still use many metaphors and metonymies than other genres.
Though individual blocks seemed to use quite different metaphors, a general core metaphor for Block B, C, and D could still be found. In Block B, the metaphor TO SEIZE CHANCES IS TO ATTACK was used in (4). Actually, many other metaphors in Block B involved war. Those words like explode, hack, or military were common in Block B. Therefore, it could be generalized into a basic metaphor BUSINESS IS WAR. In Block C, the metaphor TO BE THE SAME IS TO COLLIDE was used in (6). Actually, many other metaphors in Block C involved fighting. Those words like rob, fight, or bite were common in Block C. Therefore, it could be generalized into a basic metaphor ENTERTAINMENT IS FIGHTING. In fact, this generalization is far from implausible. Since the news in Block C are often about the dark side of the artists, about how they compete each other, the fictitious fighting is represented by words that are related to physical fighting. Block D, with no exception, involved fighting, as well. Since sports are related to competition, the words related to fighting are expected in Block D.

From the above discussions of Block B, C, and D, it can be concluded that Apple Daily often uses metaphors related to “fighting” to attract readers. Therefore, “fighting” may be the most important usage of metaphors in Apple Daily to attract readers’ attention.

In terms of metonymy, it was often found that TOPIC FOR SUBJECT was common in the data. (3) and (7) are examples of such metonymy. This discovery may due to the fact that Chinese is a null subject language (Fuller and Gundel, 1987; Jin, 1994). In other words, subjects are often omitted in Chinese. Chinese speakers often rely on topics to communicate. Therefore, the metonymy TOPIC FOR SUBJECT is expected. The other reason may be what Shie (2011) claimed that metonymy can promote economic in discourse. With metonymy, the words in headlines can be reduced. For example, without metonymy, headlines in (7) would be 吳辰君收 GUCCI 包粉爽(Annie Wu accept GUCCI bag very happy ‘Annie Wu is very happy to have the GUCCI bag.’), which adds one more word than the original. If metonymy is used properly, the words that are reduced would be amazing.

5. Conclusion

The current study focused on the similarities and differences of conceptual metaphor and metonymy between each genre in newspaper headlines. Three general findings were concluded. First, blocks for entertainment and sports used more metaphors and metonymies than any other blocks. Second, “fighting” was the most basic metaphors in Apple Daily to attract readers’ attention. Third, TOPIC FOR SUBJECT was widely implemented for the reason that Chinese is a null subject language, and that it would be economic in discourse.

However, there may be more genres not included in Apple Daily. For example, literature, architecture, or geography are not included in Apple Daily. Also, the ways of categorization may not be specific enough for each block. For example, Block A contains politics, economics, or international news. Future studies are encouraged to further explore other
genres excluded in the current study.

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