

Visualizing the Metaphorical Structure of Depression in Antidepressant Pharmaceutical
Advertisements

Olivia Vallejo
San Francisco State University

Abstract: This paper provides a qualitative analysis of the metaphorical structure of depression found in pictorial advertisements for pharmaceutical antidepressants. Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) suggests that metaphors are pervasive in our lives and appear not just in language but in thought and action. If it is the case that speakers think in metaphors, then it can be expected to see them appear in other modes of communication beyond speaking. In CMT, metaphors are used to understand an unfamiliar concept by way of a familiar one. In this paper, I use Conceptual Metaphor Theory as a framework to analyze eight pharmaceutical advertisements from the drug brands Lexapro, Prozac, Abilify, Pristiq, and Zoloft. Findings show three dominant conceptual metaphors, HAPPY IS UP; SAD IS DOWN, HAPPINESS IS LIGHT; SADNESS IS DARK, and EMOTIONS ARE WEATHER CONDITIONS. My findings support Conceptual Metaphor Theory by showcasing pictorial metaphors which underpin the idea that we think in metaphors. Additionally, my findings show the role that metaphors can play in the genre of advertising.

1. Introduction

Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), rooted in the field of Cognitive Linguistics, suggests that metaphors are more than a literary device and that they govern our language, thoughts, and actions down to the most nuanced details of our everyday lives (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). CMT allows speakers to take a complex or abstract idea and understand it in terms of something more concrete or tangible. This allows speakers to think about love in terms of a journey, ideas in terms of food, or people in terms of plants as seen below in examples 1.1-1.3.

1.1 Our marriage is on the right *path*. (LOVE IS A JOURNEY)

1.2 Let me *chew* on that thought for a minute. (IDEAS ARE FOOD)

1.3 She's *grown* into this role. (PEOPLE ARE PLANTS)

The process of mapping something concrete onto something abstract helps speakers understand unfamiliar concepts by way of familiar ones. Lakoff and Johnson claim that metaphor is not just a matter of language and mere words but that human thought processes are largely metaphorical. Speakers can produce metaphors as linguistic expressions because metaphors exist in a person's conceptual system (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). Words are only one way to convey metaphors but if the human thought process is largely metaphorical then it is to be expected that metaphor will appear in other forms of communication beyond verbal metaphors, specifically in the visual domain.

My research aims to analyze the conceptual metaphors found in advertisements for pharmaceutical antidepressants using CMT as a framework. The decision to analyze antidepressant pharmaceutical advertisements is twofold: 1) It is common to use metaphors to talk about emotions. 2) Advertisements are promoting a service or product and are a form of persuasive communication. With these two things in mind, I expected to find robust and elaborative metaphors within the advertisements. Analyzing the metaphors found in non-verbal forms of communication, like pictorial advertisements and other visual domains, can help speakers understand how the human conceptual system is metaphorical. My findings demonstrate that advertisements for pharmaceutical antidepressants can express depression metaphorically by utilizing the conceptual associations speakers have with depression such as

verticality, darkness, and bad weather. My findings also provide support for Conceptual Metaphor Theory by showing examples of non-verbal representations of metaphor which reinforces Lakoff and Johnson's claim that speakers think in metaphors. Additionally, my findings help reveal the conceptual ways in which individuals think and experience depression. Lastly, my findings provide a window into the ways that pharmaceutical advertisements can influence our understanding of illness (specifically depression) through pictorial metaphors.

Recognizing the presence of metaphor in other modes of communication shows that metaphors go beyond spoken language. Any mode of communication can be seen as an instantiation of metaphor if it's able to bring about metaphorical thought or concept since according to Lakoff and Johnson, metaphor can exist in the mind independently of language (Refaie, 2003). With this in mind, it is important to research metaphors in various modes of communication like pictures, gestures, written language, spoken language, and so on, to reinforce and provide support for Conceptual Metaphor Theory.

2. Background

Conceptual Metaphor Theory

Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) was introduced in 1980 by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson. Metaphor here is defined by Kövecses (2010) as, "understanding one conceptual domain in terms of another conceptual domain" (p. 4). CMT encompasses several types of metaphors including structural metaphors, orientational metaphors, and ontological metaphors which are described in detail below.

In structural metaphors, speakers understand one concept (target domain) in terms of another concept (source domain). There is often a clear correspondence between elements in the source domain being mapped over to elements in the target domain. Structural metaphors often take on the form *A is B* (TIME IS MONEY; LOVE IS A JOURNEY; ARGUMENT IS WAR, etc.). In this structure *A* refers to the target domain while *B* refers to the source domain. To better understand this, speakers can think about the way they conceptualize and talk about time. There are several ways to think and talk about time. One way we often think about time is in terms of money:

2.1 TIME IS MONEY

I *spent* all my time at the store.

Let's go, you're *wasting* time.

We're *running out* of time.

This will be *worth* your while.

It will *save* you time in the end.

In these examples, an abstract idea like time is being described in terms of money, which is a more concrete and tangible item. This helps in talking about something as complex as time. As Charles Forceville points out, human beings find things that we can touch, see, hear, feel, smell, and taste to be easier to understand (Forceville, 2006). Just as you can *spend*, *waste*, *run out*, and *save* money, you can metaphorically do the same with time. Because time is viewed as a valuable but limited resource it's often thought of like money. Below is a mapping of the metaphor TIME IS MONEY which helps to visualize the structural similarities between the time and money:

Source: Money		Target: Time
Amount of money	→	Duration of time
Money spent	→	Time lost
Money wasted	→	Time not used productively

In orientational metaphors, a whole system of concepts is organized in terms of another. Orientational metaphors arise from our spatial orientations like up-down, front-back, in-out, central-peripheral, on-off, deep-shallow, etc. These metaphors function based on our physical experience in the world.

2.2 HEALTH AND LIFE ARE UP; SICK AND DEATH ARE DOWN

I'm in *top* shape.

She *came down* with a cold.

At the *peak* of your health.

2.3 HAPPY IS UP; SAD IS DOWN

I'm *depressed*.

You're in *high* spirits.

The news has me feeling so *low*.

Examples 2.2-2.3 play on vertical-space positioning, a physical basis that humans are very familiar with. You might notice how tall or short someone is, how upright or slouched your posture is, if something is on the top shelf or the bottom shelf, if you're standing on the first or second story of a building (Cian, 2017). Because humans are so familiar with verticality and the ways our body interacts with it, we can use these physical orientations to help understand abstract concepts like emotions, power, life, and death. Upward orientation tends to be associated with a positive evaluation while downward orientation tends to be associated with a negative evaluation (Kövecses, 2010). In example 2.2 (HEALTH AND LIFE ARE UP; SICK AND DEATH IS DOWN), the physical basis of that metaphor stems from the idea that sickness causes you to lie down and when you are dead, you are physically down. Similarly, in example 2.3 (HAPPY IS UP; SAD IS DOWN), the physical basis of that metaphor is often seen in one's posture. A drooping posture goes along with sadness while an upright posture goes along with a more positive emotional state (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980).

Many conceptual metaphors are based on an experiential correlation between the metaphor and a person's embodied interactions with their environment (Johnson, 2017). One's understanding of verticality comes from bodily experience with it. Johnson reminds us that because humans exist and operate within the earth's gravitational field, you know that objects can rise and fall which is what develops the notion of verticality. These sensory-motor patterns are referred to as *image-schemas*. Image-schemas are recurring patterns of perceptual interactions. Lakoff defines image-schemas as "relatively simple structures that constantly recur in our everyday bodily experience: *containers, paths, links, forces, balance*, and in various orientations and relations: up-down, front-back, part-whole,

center-periphery, etc. (Lakoff, 1987: 267). These structures are repeated experiences of the nature of the body and the way it functions in its environment. The HAPPY IS UP; SADNESS IS DOWN metaphor is based on the *VERTICALITY* image-schema which is realized through the understanding of up-down orientation (Johnson, 2017).

The last type of metaphor to be discussed are ontological metaphors. Ontological metaphors build off of orientational metaphors by expanding on our physical awareness and knowledge of the world beyond up-down, front-back, on-off, etc. These types of metaphors are understood through the experience of physical objects and substances. By understanding concepts as objects and substances, you can then categorize them, group them, quantify them and reason with them. 2.4 below provides an example of an ontological metaphor along with the mapping taken from Kövecses, *Metaphor: A Practical Introduction* (2010).

2.4 ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER

She's about to *blow her stack*.

My blood is *boiling*.

You need to *simmer down* before you *explode*.

Source: fluid in a container		Target: anger
The physical container	→	The angry person's body
The top of the container	→	The rational self of the angry person
The hot fluid inside the container	→	The anger
The degree of heat	→	The intensity of anger

This type of metaphor allows a speaker to talk about their emotions in terms of a substance, in this case, anger in terms of hot fluid. By doing so, anger becomes easier to quantify, reason with, and simply talk about because it's being explained in terms of a physical object (container) and a substance (fluid).

Previous Research on CMT

Based on the assumption that metaphor is a matter of the mind and not just linguistic expression, numerous studies have been carried out on the instantiations of visual metaphors.

Metaphors in the visual domain are created by selecting certain images that represent the intended metaphor. Visual metaphors are best described in terms of their underlying metaphorical concepts (El Refaie, 2003). The difference between verbal and visual metaphors is that with verbal metaphors, it's left to the reader to interpret, in their own way, what the source and target domains are. Whereas in a visual metaphor, the source and target domain of the metaphor are explicitly shown through images that constrain the viewer to interpret the metaphor in a certain way (Ojha and Indurkha, 2020). Although visual metaphors might inherently put constraints on their potential interpretations, they are still not as straightforward as their verbal counterparts because the boundaries between literal and metaphorical are fuzzy and context-dependent (El Refaie, 2003). Because of this, visual metaphors are an interesting point of study within the context of Conceptual Metaphor Theory.

Charles Forceville has conducted extensive research on metaphor, specifically within the domain of multimodal metaphors (Forceville 2006, 2013, 2018). His most relevant work to my own research analyzed the metaphorical representation of depression in wordless animation films. In his research, Forceville examined nine short animated films from a CMT perspective and found two main metaphors for depression: DEPRESSION IS A DARK CONFINING SPACE and DEPRESSION IS A DARK MONSTER. His work showed that the medium of animation lends itself to presenting conceptual metaphors that are not available to language (Forceville, 2006, 2018). There is an important point that Forceville reminds his readers about the genre of animation which translated to my own research through the genre of advertising. It is that "animation need not accept the laws of gravity and is often hyperbolic". This is why viewers have no problem accepting the depiction of depression as a monster. This is a quality that is also seen in advertisements. The purpose of an advertisement is to evoke a positive attitude or emotion towards the promoted product which must be done quickly and efficiently which makes metaphors a great tool in advertising (Forceville, 2013). Just as in animations, advertisements need not accept the laws of gravity and are often hyperbolic in order to quickly be persuasive to their consumers. This makes metaphor an incredibly valuable tool in advertising. Kövecses points out that part of a successful advertisement is how appropriately chosen the metaphor is (Kövecses, 2010).

Alan Cienki's work on metaphorical gestures showed that gestures and other non-verbal forms of communication can serve as independent sources of evidence of conceptual metaphors.

In his research, Cienki examined pairs of college students and elicited responses regarding questions about academic practices. He found that metaphoric gestures do not always reiterate accompanying verbal expressions but that they sometimes reveal conceptual metaphors which do not always receive verbal expressions (Cienki, 1998). Providing examples of metaphorical gestures without accompanying metaphorical expressions reveals the ways that speakers think in metaphor. Cienki's work highlighted the importance of metaphor research beyond verbal metaphor, specifically in the visual and physical domain.

Research from Feng and O'Halloran took a different approach to visual metaphors and not only identified the metaphors themselves but discussed the careful ways that they are constructed by analyzing visual metaphors in car advertisements. They found that focusing on *how* the image is constructed versus *what* is in the image can provide a more in-depth analysis of visual metaphors. For instance, camera positioning, camera angles, and shot distance are all important to pay attention to when examining the visual representation of metaphor. Take for example the car advertisement below, taken from Feng and O'Halloran (2015). The main metaphor at play is IMPORTANCE IS SIZE. The car is salient because of its large size and central position and is therefore perceived as the most important object in the advertisement. In contrast, the price of the car is located on the bottom left-hand corner of the advertisement and shown in a small font. The price is strategically downplayed because it's expensive and does not help the advertisers with the selling point. Feng and O'Halloran describe this as manipulative because, for many people, the price may be the most important information (Feng and O'Halloran, 2015).



Figure 2.5 taken from Feng and O'Halloran (2015)

The use of CMT as a framework provides a rich analysis for creative work as seen in the instances above and contributes to the overall theory by showing examples of non-verbal and multimodal metaphors.

Metaphors for Depression

Conceptual metaphors are commonly used to talk about emotions. This is because emotions are complex and sometimes difficult to express or understand which makes them a familiar target domain in CMT. Examples 2.6-2.8 below show several different metaphors that are commonly used to talk about emotions.

- 2.6 I'm *overflowing* with joy. (EMOTIONS ARE SUBSTANCES)
- 2.7 That song really *moved* me. (EMOTIONS ARE PHYSICAL FORCES)
- 2.8 He is *struggling with* his emotions. (EMOTION IS AN OPPONENT)

Depression is often talked about as a deep hole that you can fall in or a force that can overcome you. This way of talking about depression is seen in expressions like, "She fell into a deep depression" and "I'm overcome with sadness". When talking about depression in this way, speakers know that depression isn't a literal hole you can fall into and it's not a natural force like a wave that can physically overcome you and cause you to drown. However, this way of talking about depression allows speakers a tangible way to describe something that is entirely complex. It is also representative of the way we conceptualize depression.

Depression here is defined by the *World Health Organization* as, "A common mental disorder characterized by persistent sadness and a lack of interest or pleasure in previously rewarding or enjoyable activities". In Andrew Solomon's book, *The Noonday Demon - An Atlas of Depression*, he goes so far as to say that depression can only be described in metaphor and allegory because it is such an unimaginable experience to anyone who has not known it. Solomon claims that depression is difficult to diagnose because it's dependent on the metaphor and the metaphors one patient uses are different from those selected by another patient (Solomon, 2001). With this in mind, it is clear to see why metaphors can be especially useful when talking about depression for not only those experiencing it but for advertisers since the goal of the advertiser is to persuade its consumers to purchase their product, in this case, the

drug, and this can be done if they can effectively communicate and relate to the consumer by showing their understanding of depression.

3. Methodology

In order to pinpoint the metaphors found in depression, I analyzed a total of eight antidepressant pharmaceutical advertisements. All of the advertisements came from Google images. The drug brands investigated include Prozac, Abilify, Pristiq, Zoloft, and Lexapro. I chose these specific drug brands because they were relatively common and well-known brand names in which I have seen advertisements prior to writing this paper. I reviewed each advertisement and drew on the most prominent ones and then grouped the advertisements by metaphor.

4. Data presentation and analysis

In my analysis of antidepressant pharmaceutical drug advertisements, I discovered three mega-metaphors that appeared in my data on multiple occasions and overlapped in some advertisements. A mega-metaphor sometimes referred to as an extended metaphor, functions as a large-scale metaphor whose purpose is to organize the smaller, more local metaphors into a coherent structure. A mega-metaphor will appear throughout a piece of work but might be instantiated using other local metaphors. You can think of a mega-metaphor as the overall theme and the other local metaphors as metaphors that contribute to the theme. In addition to the mega-metaphors, I found several other metaphors which are discussed below. Many of the examples show overlapping metaphors. The examples all provided a wealth of conceptual metaphors to be examined. I grouped the analysis below by common metaphors however this analysis is not an exhaustive list of all metaphors found in the dataset.

HAPPY IS UP; SAD IS DOWN (Figures 1-3)

Depression saddens.

Depression is a real illness with real causes. It can be triggered by stressful life events. Even happy events like the holidays, a graduation or the birth of a baby - can cause stress that leads to depression in some people. Or depression can appear suddenly, for no apparent reason.

Some people think you can just will yourself out of a depression. That's not true. When you're clinically depressed, one thing that can happen is the level of serotonin (a chemical in your body) may drop. So you may have trouble sleeping. Feel unusually sad or irritable. Find it hard to concentrate. Lose your appetite. Lack energy. Or have trouble finding pleasure. These are some of the symptoms that can point to depression - especially if they last for more than a couple of weeks and, frankly, everyday life feels like too much to handle.

To help bring serotonin levels closer to normal, the medicine doctors now prescribe the most often is Prozac®. Prozac isn't a "happy pill." It's not a tranquilizer. It won't take away your personality. Depression can do that, but Prozac can't.

Prozac has been carefully studied for nearly 10 years. Like other antidepressants, it isn't habit-forming. But some people do experience mild side effects, like upset stomach, headaches,

Prozac can help.

difficulty sleeping, drowsiness, anxiety, and nervousness. These tend to go away within a few weeks of starting treatment, and usually aren't serious enough to make most people stop taking it. However, if you are concerned about a side effect, or if you think you're not doing as well as you'd like, tell your doctor right away. And don't forget to tell your doctor about any other medicines you are taking. Some people should not take Prozac, especially people on MAO inhibitors.

As you start feeling better, your doctor can suggest therapy or other means to help you work through your depression. Remember: Prozac is a prescription medicine, and it isn't right for everyone. Only your doctor can decide if Prozac is right for you - or for someone you love. Prozac has been prescribed for more than 12 million Americans. Chances are someone you know is feeling merry again because of it.

prozac
loose tablets

Welcome back.

Please see important information on following page.
http://prozac.org/usa

Figure 1. Prozac advertisement (1)

Figure 1 shows an image that is split into two halves. On the left side, there is a bare, wilted tree that appears to be dying which is displayed on a red background. The wilted tree has few leaves and a drooping posture with the words, "Depression saddens". The right side of the image shows a healthy Christmas tree, compared to the tree on the left. The tree is bushy and standing upright. It appears that the tree on the right is shining brighter than the tree on the left since there are more lights and it has a star light at the top. The image on the right-hand side sits in front of a green background with the words, "Prozac can help."

The mega-metaphor in figure 1 is HAPPY IS UP; SAD IS DOWN. This is a multimodal metaphor that uses both pictorial and written language. The metaphor is instantiated on a physical basis because it's understood that an upright posture is associated with a positive emotional state while a hunched over or droopy posture is associated with a negative emotional state (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). With this knowledge, it can be inferred that the hunched over tree on the left side represents depression while the upright tree on the right side represents happiness. The words "Depression saddens", coincide with the pictorial metaphor, and reinforce the conceptual metaphor, HAPPY IS UP; SAD IS DOWN, as the word *depression*, in its literal sense, means to lower or press down. In contrast, the words "Prozac can help", tells the consumer that although depression makes you sad and you may feel like a small wilted tree, by

taking Prozac, you will become an upstanding Christmas tree.

According to the metaphor, PEOPLE ARE PLANTS, speakers understand people in terms of plants, which is seen in expressions like, “I’m withering away” and “She’s a late bloomer”. This advertisement is utilizing the metaphor PEOPLE ARE PLANTS in a literal sense by using the image of the trees to represent people. Since a downward posture is associated with sadness it is easy to transfer that knowledge to a tree and understand how a dropping tree might also represent sadness since the tree is filling in for the role of the human. This mapping helps viewers understand how the posture of the tree represents depression or happiness.



Figure 2. Abilify advertisement (1)

Figure 2 provides another example of the conceptual metaphor, HAPPY IS UP; SAD IS DOWN. The image shows a physician helping a woman out of a dark hole from the ground. The hole in the ground has eyes. It's a sunny day. There are no words on the advertisement, only the logo for the drug Abilify, which is a capital 'A', that has the image of a winding road coming off of it, situated in the lower right-hand corner of the image.

Speakers often conceptualize depression as dark and confining. Examples of this metaphor were found in Forceville’s work on the metaphorical representation of depression in wordless animation films. He found the metaphors, DEPRESSION IS A DARK CONFINING SPACE and DEPRESSION IS A MONSTER in his research (Forceville, 2018). This is to be expected since humans tend to associate darkness with gloominess. You see HAPPY IS UP;

Figure 3 above shows a wind-up toy doll. The doll is hunched over in a slouched position. The face of the doll appears to be sad. The image is situated behind text, conveying details on the drug and its safety information. There is a portion of the text that states, "Depression can make you feel like you have to wind yourself up to get through the day". This advertisement utilizes the physical basis of HAPPY IS UP; SAD IS DOWN. The sad doll fills in for the role of the individual suffering from depression, and the slouched posture of the doll helps us understand that she is depressed or feeling sad.

This metaphorical representation stems from an experiential basis. A similar example was seen in figure 1 where the tree was representing the individual. A lowered posture is associated with sadness and illness while an upright posture is associated with happiness and health. When you are sick, you are lying down in bed, when you are healthy, you are upright and out of bed. The text works alongside the image, reinforcing the idea that depression brings you DOWN, into a slouched position, and that to feel happy you must be wound UP.

HAPPINESS IS LIGHT; SADNESS IS DARK (Figures 4-6)

The next series of advertisements show the mega-metaphor, HAPPINESS IS LIGHT; SADNESS IS DARK. Properties of lightness and darkness also appear in weather conditions as I will describe below, however, I will go into more detail on the interpretations of weather conditions and how they are used to describe emotions in the next section in greater detail. Brighter colors are typically thought of as being happy and darker colors as being sad. This is seen in expressions like, "Her smile was so bright" or "He's in a dark mood today".



Figure 4. Prozac advertisement (2)

In this advertisement, the image is split up into two contrasting sides. On the left side, there is a gray stormy rain cloud on a black background, with no words. On the right side, there is a shining yellow sun, outlined in orange. The text says, "Welcome back." The Prozac logo also utilizes a sun as the 'O' in Prozac.

This advertisement is playing on the associations speakers carry with different colors. The mega-metaphor here is HAPPINESS IS LIGHT; SADNESS IS DARK. When the weather is cold, it's typically dark. There might be gray clouds, a dark gloomy sky, or it could be nighttime. When the weather is warm, it's typically bright. There might be a bright sun, a light blue sky, or it might be daytime. Dark colors get mapped to depression while bright colors get mapped to happiness. Often when talking about depression, individuals will describe the way they feel as being "foggy", "blurry", "in a haze", and so on. All of these descriptions are used to describe poor weather as well as depression, which explains how we get the two associated with one another. On the other hand, when individuals are describing how they have overcome depression, they often use expressions like, "I've gained clarity" or "I'm trying to look on the bright side". The process of getting over depression is often described in the same ways that we might describe a storm clearing up.

This advertisement also shows the HEALTH IS A JOURNEY metaphor with the words "welcome back." If you are going down the right path, you might consider yourself to be pretty healthy, however, if you end up on a different path, that could mean you are unhealthy or experiencing something that does not make you feel 100% like yourself. Maybe you left to the

dark side, which represents your depression and then you come back to the light side, which represents happiness. The words "welcome back" show that you are returning to your path of health and continuing on your journey.



Figure 5. Prozac advertisement (3)

This advertisement shows a similar style to the previous Prozac ads, where the image is split into two contrasting parts. The left side is made up of darker colors, dark blue, gray, and brown, and depicts an image of a window with the blinds almost fully closed. The right side is made up of brighter colors, orange, yellow, red, and pink, and depicts the image of a window with the blinds open. With the blinds open you can see three flowers on a clear sunny day. Similar to the other Prozac advertisements discussed, it reads, “Welcome back”, and the Prozac logo utilizes the sun as the ‘O’ in Prozac.

This advertisement plays color associations where HAPPINESS IS LIGHT; SADNESS IS DARK. Depression is depicted on the left side of the image where the blinds are almost fully closed. The blinds in both images represent how an individual might see the world. Someone who is experiencing depression might be in the dark and closed off to the world while a happy individual might be more open and receptive to the world.

In addition to the colors at play, the ad appears to be hinting at the idea of hope on the

horizon. In the image on the left which represents depression, the blinds are not fully closed. A part of the blinds is left open, showing some green from the grass outside. This shows that there is hope and happiness on the horizon and this particular drug will be able to help one unveil the blinds fully, to bring you into the light, which represents happiness.

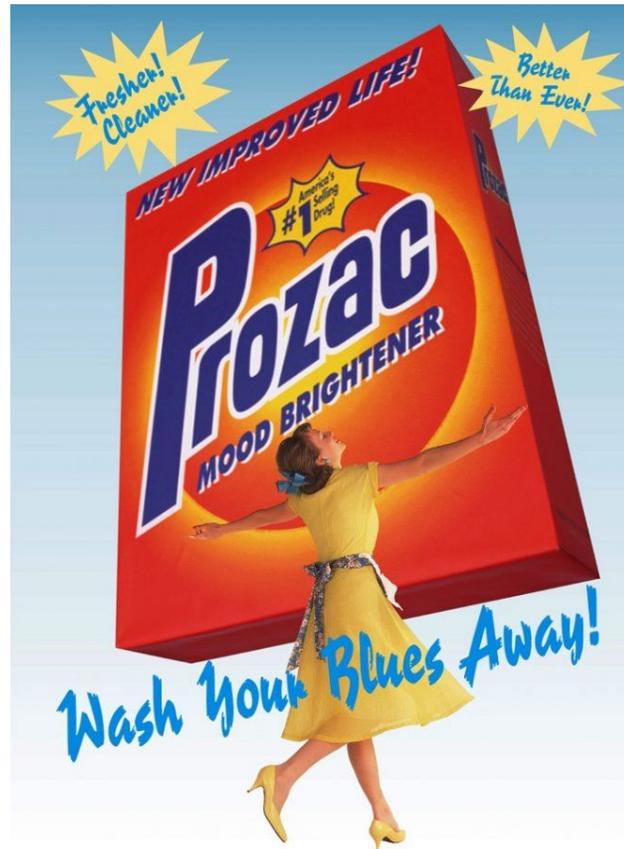


Figure 6. Prozac advertisement (4)

In this advertisement, a woman is holding up an oversized box of laundry detergent. The laundry detergent is standing in for the drug, Prozac, and has the words "mood brightener". The woman is wearing a bright yellow dress and heels. The advertisements contain several statements including, "Wash your blues away!" and "New improved life!"

There are several metaphors at play here, the main one being HAPPINESS IS LIGHT; SADNESS IS DARK. This metaphor is depicting the antidepressant drug as a laundry detergent. If the laundry detergent is the drug, then depression is the dirtiness of the clothes. By using this detergent, you will get your clothes clean which correlates to the idea that the use of

the drug will help your depression. The phrase, “Wash your blues away!” is working in conjunction with the pictorial metaphor by playing on color association. Speakers talk about being sad as having a case of the blues or feeling blue but this laundry detergent can get rid of the blues. You can think of the word “blues” as standing in for stains or odors.

EMOTIONS ARE WEATHER CONDITIONS (Figures 7-8)

The next two advertisements depict the mega-metaphor, EMOTIONS ARE WEATHER CONDITIONS. An example of EMOTIONS ARE WEATHER CONDITIONS was also seen in figure 4 above. The following two ads will go into further detail on the ways speakers use weather conditions to understand and describe how they are feeling.

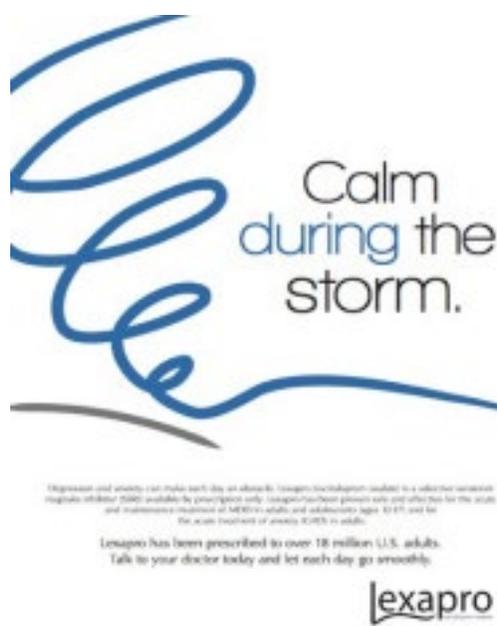


Figure 7. Lexapro advertisement (1)

In figure 7, there is an image of a tornado. There is not a lot of detail, the tornado is created by a single line. The text says, “Calm during the storm.” With the exception of the dark blue line creating the tornado, there is a lack of color.

The mega-metaphor seen here is EMOTIONS ARE WEATHER CONDITIONS. Even

more specifically, this can be interpreted as DEPRESSION IS BAD WEATHER. Bad moods are often understood in terms of bad weather while good moods are understood in terms of good weather. In this image, the depression is represented by the tornado. The words, "Calm during the storm" indicate to the consumer that the drug itself will provide calmness during your depression because if the storm is your depression then the calming of the storm is caused by the drug. Speakers are able to understand how they can use weather conditions to talk about emotions because weather conditions are out of our control and oftentimes, emotions might feel like they are out of our control. This metaphor maps the lack of control involved in weather over to the feeling of lack of control in one's emotions.

Also seen in this advertisement is the metaphor, EMOTIONS ARE FORCES. Emotions are primarily understood through conceptual metaphors because of their naturally complex nature. Speakers often use forces (gravitational, magnetic, electric, mechanical) to help understand and talk about emotions. Forces come about physically in the world through waves, wind, storms, fire, and agents pushing, pulling, driving, or sending (Kövecses, 2010). This is seen in expressions like, "He was swept off my feet" and "I was overcome by a wave of sadness". When talking about weather, there can be many forces at play. In this advertisement, the EMOTIONS ARE FORCES metaphor comes to life pictorially, where the tornado represents depression and a tornado is a force of nature that creates strong winds.

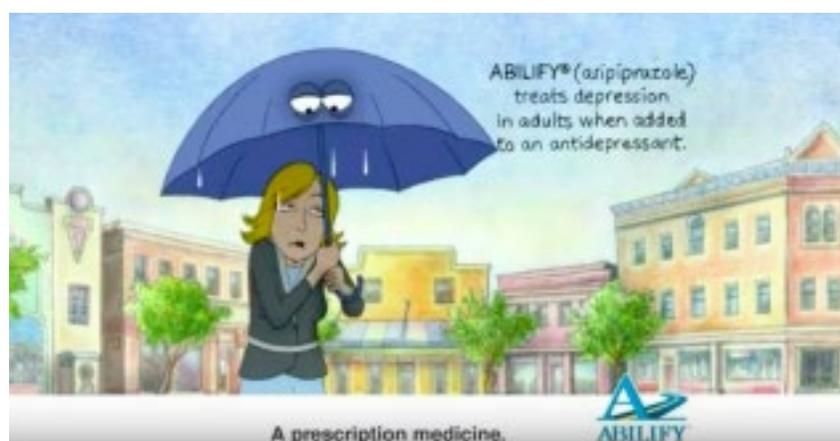


Figure 8. Abilify advertisement (2)

In figure 8 above, the image depicts a woman standing under an umbrella in a slouched

and hunched over position. The umbrella is personified by having eyes and there appears to be rain falling onto the woman. Although it is raining on the woman, it's a bright and sunny day in the background. The Abilify logo is in the corner of the image which is made up of an 'A' and a winding road stemming from behind.

This advertisement shows another example of EMOTIONS ARE WEATHER CONDITIONS. In this case, the depression is depicted by rain. The rain also seems to function as the tears coming down from the umbrella which plays on the idea that you cry when you are sad. The umbrella is personified again, as seen in the first Abilify advertisement analyzed in figure 2. The personification helps to better grasp the complex idea of depression by giving it human-like qualities, which are qualities we are most familiar with.

Another metaphor seen here is HAPPY IS UP; SAD IS DOWN, showing up on a physical basis where the woman's posture is slouched downward which is associated with sadness. This is a similar feature as seen in the Pristiq ad in figure 3.

5. Discussion

The metaphors found within the eight advertisements are organized below. This chart provides the metaphor, a linguistic example of the metaphor, and the entailments and implications involved with the specific metaphor.

Mega-metaphors	Example	Entailments and Implications
HAPPY IS UP; SAD IS DOWN	She's in <i>high</i> spirits. I'm feeling <i>down</i> in the dumps today.	Verticality - upward orientation is positive, downward orientation is negative.
HAPPINESS IS LIGHT; SADNESS IS DARK	On the <i>bright</i> side. Everyone has been <i>gloomy</i> since the funeral.	The intensity of light is an indicator of happiness.
EMOTIONS ARE WEATHER CONDITIONS	<i>Storm</i> of emotions.	Weather conditions are sometimes powerful and out of our control which is often how emotions might feel.

Other metaphors	Example	Entailment and Implications
PEOPLE ARE PLANTS	He's a late <i>bloomer</i> .	Plants are living beings that need nourishing just as humans are living beings and need nourishing.
HEALTH IS A JOURNEY	On the <i>road</i> to recovery.	Illness (depression) is a roadblock on your health journey.
EMOTIONS ARE FORCES	That poem <i>moved</i> me.	Emotions can be strong and abrupt just like a force of nature.

The use of conceptual metaphors in pictorial advertisements is crucial to Conceptual Metaphor Theory as it helps highlight the idea that metaphor is a matter of our conceptual system and not just a characteristic of language alone. CMT plays an important role in the way that we talk, think about, and experience depression. Its importance is twofold in both advertising and its contributions to the way depression is conceptualized. My findings demonstrate the ways that pharmaceutical advertisements for antidepressants can express an understanding of depression by using familiar metaphors that depict depression such as darkness, bad weather, and verticality. In advertising, using the conceptual metaphors that people already know and use in thinking and talking about depression allows the drug manufacturers to connect to the consumer by showing their knowledge and understanding of depression. If a consumer sees a relatable ad, they may be more inclined to seek that drug. For example, if a person feels like dealing with depression is being stuck in a dark hole then they might find the advertisement in figure 2 to be especially compelling.

These findings also help reveal the conceptual ways in which individuals think and experience depression. The advertisements are proof that there is not just one metaphor that is used to describe depression but there are many, and the ones found in my research are by no means the only metaphors used to talk about depression. By examining just the few metaphors shown in the research, it becomes clear that there are different ways of talking about depression which is helpful for those experiencing depression. If every individual experiences depression differently, then metaphors can help describe an individual's own experience. CMT can better allow individuals suffering from depression to describe their feelings to their therapist or

physician and in turn, the therapist can better relate to the patient. CMT proves to be a powerful tool of communication in both advertising and mental healthcare.

The specific metaphors I found are not unique to the way depression is depicted in advertising. My findings show parallels with Forceville's findings on depression in wordless animations. Both findings reveal that a conceptual metaphor perspective helps reveal patterns in how depressed persons experience their affliction (Forceville, 2018). Forceville had revealed two dominant metaphors in his work, DEPRESSION IS A DARK MONSTER and DEPRESSION IS A DARK CONFINING SPACE. These metaphors are revealed in my findings as well. In figure 2, depression is represented as a hole in the ground. The hole is dark and is personified with eyes. The hole, which is standing in for depression, is being depicted as both a dark confining space and a monster. Holes are characteristically dark and confining but by adding eyes to the hole, it's now come alive and takes on different qualities than it would if it were only a hole. Putting eyes on it has created it into a monster that can consume you just as depression can consume you. Figure 5 shows another example of DEPRESSION IS A DARK CONFINING SPACE. The left side of the image, which represents depression, is closed off to the world, it's dark and the blinds are closed. The right side of the image, which represents happiness or at the very least, the feeling of not being depressed, is represented by a bright room that feels more open because the blinds are open and you can see outside. While Forceville's work looked at films and my work looked at advertisements, two genres with different purposes, they both share commonalities in the way they represent depression.

This analysis provided examples of multimodal metaphors (pictures and words in some cases) and showed that the use of conceptual metaphors lends itself well to the genre of advertising. The advertisements work at a conceptual level in order to reach the intended audience without necessarily needing any text or linguistic input. For example, going back to the metaphor, PEOPLE ARE PLANTS, which was seen in figure 1, speakers talk about people in terms of plants. You can grow, you can wither, you can bloom, you can die, etc, and you can transfer this knowledge to the specific context of advertisements for antidepressants. Knowing that plants are standing in for people allows access to understand that if people are plants then the drug (antidepressant) might be a fertilizer or some sort of growth aid for the plant. Because these advertisements are working at a conceptual level, speakers are easily able to understand the role that the drug plays based on the specific source domains that each

metaphor evokes.

In addition to advertising, metaphors can be realized in other nonlinguistic ways that help to highlight the conceptual nature of metaphors. Some recent research outside of advertisement has highlighted the same importance of nonlinguistic metaphor in various areas of design. For example, CMT has been studied as a foundation for information visualization design. Information visualization is the process of representing data in a visual manner that helps the user understand it better (e.g. bar charts, Venn diagrams, treemaps, etc.). Designers of these types of visual representations require theories and concepts to help them design appropriate and effective visualizations. In Parsons' work on CMT in visualization design, he claims that because designing and interpreting visualization both require thinking about abstract information then CMT might be useful in understanding how both users and designers think (Parsons, 2018). Parsons provides an example of CMT in visualization communication, of a bar chart as shown below in figure 5.1, taken from Risch (2008). The only difference between the two bar charts is their vertical orientation. In the chart on the left, quantity increases from bottom to top while in the chart on the right, quantity increases from top to bottom. Risch argues that the chart on the left is leveraging the MORE IS UP metaphor. Quantity corresponding to an increase in height is natural which is why the image on the left doesn't seem "right". (Parsons, 2018).

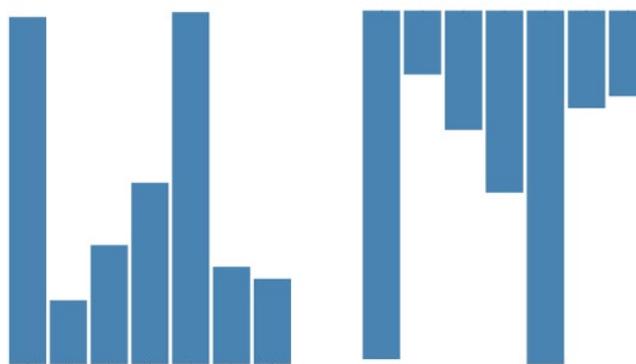


Figure 5.1. Two bar charts taken from (Risch, 2008, as cited in Parsons, 2018).

Another compelling and fruitful area for metaphor research is found in architecture. As it has been seen here, metaphor holds great power in influencing our perception and understanding of the world. Kövecses points out that the structures of buildings can often manifest certain metaphors and this is particularly the case with church buildings. Many

church buildings are created pointing upwards. This is done through pointed arches, tall domes, tall windows, and other features that create the illusion of the building pointing to the sky. This is based on the metaphor GOD IS UP. It is assumed that God lives in the sky and therefore churches metaphorically represent the connection between God and his believers through the architecture of the church (Kövecses, 2010). Similarly, Simon Unwin discusses the use of height in architecture in his book, *Metaphor: An Exploration of the Metaphorical Dimensions and Potential of Architecture*. Unwin points out that height is often used to show that someone is watching over you like a god-like figure or angel. Architecture contributes to the narrative in both film and drama but also in the real world. The below instances are taken from Unwin (2019).



Standing high on pinnacles saints look over the city of Milan from its cathedral.



The quintessential image of Batman is of him standing high on a parapet prepared to swoop down to save some victim of crime or disaster.

"The high parapets of buildings are the places from which saints, angels, superheroes, artists, spies, and detectives watch over us looking for suspicious activity" (Unwin, 2019: 162). The stances that these god-like figures take are made possible through the architecture which provides the buildings on top of which they stand. The use of height in architecture is fascinating as it shows a physical representation of various orientational metaphors like GOOD IS UP and VIRTUE IS UP since God and god-like figures are often regarded as good and moral figures.

These examples help show that there are many ways and areas that which metaphor manifests itself in nonlinguistic forms, especially in the visual domain. The genre of advertising provides support for CMT, but it's equally helpful and interesting to see the other ways metaphors come about in our everyday lives. From buildings to bar charts, advertisements to gestures, linguistic expressions to films, it's clear to see that metaphor is all around and is more than just a matter of mere words, as I along with other scholars have demonstrated that many conceptual metaphors need not be accompanied by verbal metaphors.

6. Conclusion

My research looked into the different mediums that conceptual metaphor has been studied including gestures, film, information visualization, advertisements, and architecture along with the linguistic realizations of conceptual metaphors. I analyzed eight antidepressant advertisements, showing that conceptual metaphors can show up in non-verbal modes. The mega-metaphors found in the data were HAPPY IS UP; SAD IS DOWN, HAPPINESS IS LIGHT; SADNESS IS DARK, and EMOTIONS ARE WEATHER CONDITIONS. My findings highlighted how Conceptual Metaphor Theory can be used strategically in advertising by suggesting certain claims about a product without necessarily needing words in doing so and in relating to the consumer by showing a deep understanding of depression. Arguably, the use of visual metaphors can be exploited as tools of persuasion, specifically visual metaphors in advertisements. My findings also show that CMT can help individuals better discuss the ways in which they experience depression. My data showed that there is not just one metaphor used to describe depression which means there is not just one way an individual experiences depression. The use of CMT helps employ individuals to describe their own unique experiences with depression. Most importantly, I highlighted the conceptual nature of our thought processes by showing and analyzing non-verbal instantiations of metaphor.

This paper leads to an abundance of potential future research even beyond linguistics. Conceptual Metaphor Theory can be used as a framework for many areas of study like design, media, and healthcare. Generally speaking, the use of non-verbal conceptual metaphors proves to provide a rich amount of data to be analyzed on other multimodal mediums. Seeing all the rich metaphors that come out of this specific topic sparks interest in looking at other drug categories and examining the way pharmaceutical advertising utilizes conceptual metaphors overall. A particularly interesting topic of future research might be taking the information gained from this analysis and applying it to the patient-therapist relationship. Conceptual metaphors of depression could potentially benefit individuals by helping them describe how they are experiencing depression to their therapist. Depression is a complex emotion and the more tools we have to help us talk about it, the better.

7. References

- Cian, L. (2017). Verticality and conceptual metaphors: A systematic review. *Journal of the Association for Consumer Research*, 2(4), 444-459.
- Cienki, A. J. (1998). Metaphoric gestures and some of their relations to verbal metaphoric expressions. *Discourse and cognition: Bridging the gap*, 189-204.
- Kennedy, J. M., Green, C. D., & Vervaeke, J. (1993). Metaphoric thought and devices in pictures. *Metaphor and Symbol*, 8(3), 243-255.
- Lakoff, G., & Johnson, M. (1980). *Metaphors we live by*. University of Chicago press.
- Lakoff, G. (1987). *Women, fire, and dangerous things: What categories reveal about the mind*. University of Chicago press.
- Kennedy, J. M., Green, C. D., & Vervaeke, J. (1993). Metaphoric thought and devices in pictures. *Metaphor and Symbol*, 8(3), 243-255.
- Kövecses, Z. (2010). *Metaphor: A practical introduction*. Oxford University Press.
- Feng, D., & O'Halloran, K. L. (2013). The visual representation of metaphor: A social semiotic approach. *Review of Cognitive Linguistics. Published under the auspices of the Spanish Cognitive Linguistics Association*, 11(2), 320-335.
- Forceville, C. (2006). Non-verbal and multimodal metaphor in a cognitivist framework: Agendas for research. *Multimodal metaphor*, 2, 19-35.
- Forceville, C. (2013). The strategic use of the visual mode in advertising metaphors. *Critical Multimodal Studies of Popular Culture, New York: Routledge*, 55-70.
- Forceville, C., & Paling, S. (2018). The metaphorical representation of depression in short, wordless animation films. *Visual communication*, 20(1), 100-120.
- Johnson, M. (2017). Embodied mind, meaning, and reason. In *Embodied Mind, Meaning, and Reason*. University of Chicago Press.
- Ojha, A., & Indurkha, B. (2020). On the role of perceptual similarity in producing visual metaphors. *Producing Figurative Expression: Theoretical, experimental and practical perspectives*, 10, 105.
- Parsons, P. C. (2018, January). Conceptual metaphor theory as a foundation for communicative visualization design. In *IEEE VIS Workshop on Visualization for Communication (VisComm 2018)*.

- Potsch, E., & Williams, R. F. (2012). Image schemas and conceptual metaphor in action comics. In *Linguistics and the Study of Comics* (pp. 13-36). Palgrave Macmillan, London.
- Refaie, E. E. (2003). Understanding visual metaphor: The example of newspaper cartoons. *Visual communication*, 2(1), 75-95.
- Solomon, A. (2001). *The Noonday Demon: An Atlas of Depression*.
- Unwin, S. (2019). *Metaphor: An exploration of the metaphorical dimensions and potential of architecture*. Routledge.
- World Health Organization. (n.d.). *Depression*. World Health Organization. Retrieved April 25, 2022, from https://www.who.int/health-topics/depression#tab=tab_1
- Zhang, X., & Gao, X. (2009). An analysis of conceptual metaphor in Western commercial advertisements. *Asian Social Science*, 5(12), 97-104.

8. Appendix

Abilify Umbrella. [Photograph]. Drugs Advertisements Debunk.

<https://wp.wvu.edu/hled151/2017/12/07/302/>

Abilify Depression Hole. [Photograph]. Salon.

https://www.salon.com/2016/03/14/drug_ads_2_partner/

Lexapro Tornado. [Photograph]. Behance.

<https://www.behance.net/gallery/1393149/My-Portfolio>

Pristiq. [Photograph]. Pharma Marketing Network.

<https://www.pharma-mkting.com/blog/pristiq-dtc-campaign-challenged-to/>

Prozac Christmas [Photograph]. Drugs Advertisements Debunk.

<https://wp.wvu.edu/hled151/tag/prozac/>

Prozac Mood Brightener [Photograph]. Pinterest.

<https://www.pinterest.com/pin/389350330264243247/>

Prozac Weather [Photograph] Pinterest.

<https://www.pinterest.com/pin/451697037598694145/>

Prozac Blinds [Photograph] Pinterest. <https://tr.pinterest.com/pin/109071622199783069/>