Abstract
Recent developments in cognitive science have prompted the need for creative writing research to reconsider the affordances of poetic elements in poetic-narrative interplay. An entire branch of linguistics that emerged at the end of the twentieth century continues to study metaphor, on the premise that it is conceptual in nature.

Conceptual metaphor theory differs markedly from prevailing poetics discourse. The latter was shaped by the theories of aesthetics and language that arose in Western philosophy and linguistics. These theories posit metaphor as a matter of language, and poetic elements as artificial; as ornamentation (Lakoff & Turner 1989, p 214-15) that adds to a narrative. The longstanding influence of these understandings is patent in the historical preferences that have valued poetry for either its ‘artifice’ or its ‘naturalness’ and which presuppose a binary opposition between poetic and narrative elements.

This paper enlists conceptual metaphor theory\(^1\) to enable a paradigm shift in thinking about the affordances of poetic elements in poetic-narrative interplay. Conceptual metaphor theory posits metaphorical thought as fundamental; pervasive in composed poetry and in everyday natural narrative conversation alike (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 3). I demonstrate how metaphorical thinking structures the creative manoeuvres — the choice and application of poetic elements — evident in two contemporary verse novels. I argue that these manoeuvres make manifest the affordances of the poetic elements in poetic-narrative interplay— affordances which inform the extent to which each verse novel extends metaphor beyond its ubiquitous, conceptual functions.

Biographical note:
Dr Linda Weste holds an MCW and PhD in creative writing. Her research interests are narratology, creative writing pedagogy, and poetic narratives, and her creative practice includes poetry and historical verse novels. Weste recently established an online narratology network for Australia and the Asia Pacific, narrAUS, in affiliation with The University of Melbourne, and is the Reviews Editor for the Australian Association of Writing Programs journal, TEXT: Journal of Writing and Writing Courses.
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Introduction

Verse novels engage with the values and contexts of earlier poetic periods and schools, and therefore come into being shaped by historical preferences (Williams 2009) that esteem poetry for either its ‘artifice’ or its ‘naturalness’ (McHale 2012). This ‘artifice-naturalness’ dichotomy deems poetic elements ‘artificial’ and irrelevant to natural oral communication on the one hand; or values ‘naturalness’ through recession of technique, on the other. By virtue of its inherent doubleness, each verse novel accordingly must negotiate the interplay in its discourse of so-called ‘artificial’ poetic elements such as prosody, stanzaic pattern, and tropes and schemes of wordplay, with the ‘natural’ narrative representation of such elements as consciousness, speech, thought, and perception.

The focus in literary and narrative research on the specific features that differentiate poetry and prose narrative — their respective segmentation (McHale 2009); their respective generic conventions — arises in and upholds the artifice-naturalness distinction. What differentiates poetry from prose also distinguishes verse novels from prose novels. The poeticalised discourse of a verse novel, for instance, has more elements at its disposal than the rhetorical devices it shares with its prose novel counterpart. The latter is deemed ‘ornamental’ (Schmid 2012), if it is ‘overdetermined’ with poetic devices such as rhythm and sound repetition. Indeed, even the earliest oral poetic narratives are distinguished from ‘natural’, spontaneously occurring, oral narrative conversation, by virtue of their ‘artistic’, that is, ‘artificial’ production (Fludernik 1996).

Each verse novel conjoins a poetic template — an assemblage of poetic elements organised according to certain principles — with a narrative template, to achieve intended outcomes, such as rhetorical or semantic effects. Poetic elements, it follows, have particular affordances in poetic-narrative interplay. The need for research to reconsider the affordances of poetic elements in poetic-narrative interplay, without recourse to existing poetics discourse, has been apparent since the end of the twentieth century, when an entire branch of linguistics began to study metaphor, on the premise that it is conceptual, and not linguistic, in nature.

For the exponents of conceptual metaphor theory, metaphors exist in our conceptual systems; they are not just based in language; both our language and our cognition is metaphorically structured. The implication for writers and readers alike, is that metaphors then, are never mere words, abstracted and without entailments, without relation. They are related in meaning and are integral and indispensible to writers’ imaginative thinking and rational thinking alike. Conceptual metaphor theory enables a paradigm shift from the binary of ‘artifice’ and ‘naturalness’. If we accept the thesis of conceptual metaphor theory, then both poetry and narrative can be deemed to share an inherent naturalness in being structured by metaphorical thinking.

This article enlists conceptual metaphor theory to sideline the ‘artifice’-‘naturalness’ dichotomy, and instead, foreground the interactions of poetic and narrative elements. It addresses the central question: when verse novelists deploy conventional or creative metaphors in conjunction, or not, with other poetic devices, what poetic-narrative interplay does it entail, and what are the poetic and narrative ends? I argue that
although the act of creating a poeticised narrative need not necessarily involve metaphors that are poetic — that extend understanding beyond the conventional, metaphorical thinking arising from our conceptual system — the choice of poetic elements remains instrumental to achieve semantic and syntactic effects. I demonstrate, through analysis of excerpts drawn from two contemporary verse novels, how the affordances of poetic elements inform the extent to which a verse novel may extend metaphor beyond its fundamental, conceptual functions.

**Naturalness, artifice, and western philosophy in conceptual metaphor theory**

Conceptual metaphor theorists maintain that the historical tendency to favour, in consecutive, and sometimes concurrent periods, poetry’s ‘naturalness’ or ‘artifice’, corresponds with the two alternating dominant conceptions of meaning in Western philosophy and linguistics — the subjectivist and objectivist positions.

Subjectivism presupposes ‘that experience has no natural structure and that, therefore, there can be no external constraints upon meaning and truth’ (Lakoff & Johnson 2003: 224). Subjectivist positions include: that all meaning is personal, derived from one’s experience, and subject to context; and that one’s understanding can never be fully explained or communicated, or be representative of that of others' (Lakoff & Johnson: 224).

The Romantic tradition correlates with subjectivism. As the Industrial Revolution began to have a profound effect on social, economic and cultural conditions, rising living standards made the transfer of, and access to knowledge, imperative. This became a reality with the first publication of encyclopedias thanks to technological advances such as the printing press. But as science became more powerful and industrialisation placed greater emphasis on the rational, the calculated, and the objective, the Romantics reacted against this rationalism, considering it dehumanising. In *A Defence of Poetry*, for example, Shelley would argue that due to its social purpose, poetry extends beyond communication, and gives rise to self awareness; what poetry requires is a return to nature to recover lost humanity.

Yet according to Lakoff and Johnson (2003),

> ‘what subjectivism specifically misses is that our understanding, even our most imaginative understanding, is given in terms of a conceptual system that is grounded in our successful functioning in our physical and cultural environments. It also misses the fact that metaphorical understanding involves metaphorical entailment, which is an imaginative form of rationality’ (194).

The objectivist position, on the other hand, rests on the premise that there are absolute and unconditional truths about the world. Its proponents seek to explain natural phenomena by rational explanations. Lakoff and Johnson (2003: 196) provide peer reviewed objectivist assumptions about ‘language, meaning, truth, and understanding’ that include: ‘Truth is a matter of fitting words to the world; A theory of meaning for natural language is based on a theory of truth, independent of the way people understand and use language; and Meaning is objective and disembodied, independent of human understanding’.
In the objectivist view, conventions of language have an objective meaning because they are removed, disembodied from human activity, untainted by human psychology or understanding, and void of natural language; the meaning must exclude anything subjective: the objectivist poet thus aims to create an arbitrary interpretation, applicable universally, and free of limitation, where symbols are sufficient, and made to fit the world, for the meaning is there in the words themselves (Lakoff & Johnson 2003: 199). Objectivist motivations underpin the credo ‘Art for Arts Sake’ of the avant-garde, and their expressed hostility to ‘middle class life and values’, and to art as a faithful representation of contemporary everyday life. For the proponents, poetry is essentially ‘artifice’, an artificial discourse that must resist being subjected to naturalising interpretation.

Lakoff and Johnson (2003: 209) identify four consequences for metaphor in the philosophy of objectivism: If meanings are objective, ‘given’ truth, they cannot be metaphorical, and metaphor, by definition, cannot exist. Objective truth does not allow one meaning to be conceived of in terms of another. Metaphor can thus only pertain to language, and enable us to communicate objective meaning. Thus, according to the objectivist position,

’a literal metaphor is a contradiction in terms, and literal language cannot be metaphorical … it can only indicate the similarities between two things that each have an inherent meaning.’ (Lakoff and Johnson: 209)

Objectivism also misses ‘the fact that understanding, and therefore truth, is necessarily relative to our cultural conceptual systems’ which are metaphorical in nature ‘and involve an imaginative understanding of one kind of thing in terms of another’ (Lakoff and Johnson: 194).

Both philosophical positions miss, according to Lakoff and Johnson (2003: 194), the way we understand our world through experience, through interacting with it.

To sum up the dichotomy, the ‘artifice’-‘naturalness’ binary signals two ‘positions’ of philosophical thought about truth and meaning in the Western philosophical tradition. Two ‘sides’ is perhaps more apt a term, since the response of Lakoff and Turner is to dismiss subjectivism and objectivism as two sides of the one coin. For a scholar of poetry, an alternative approach to the seeming impasse of subjectivist and objectivist ideology might then be to adopt the approach taken by cognitive theorists: to consider poetry from outside both frameworks.

**Metaphor in the experiential conceptual approach**

Metaphor, as viewed by Lakoff and Turner (1989) and Lakoff and Johnson (2003) in their alternative cognitive framework, ‘experientialism’, reformulates poetry as both imaginative and rational. In the experientalist perspective, understanding emerges from recurrent experiences in interacting with one’s environment (Lakoff & Johnson: 230). Metaphor, Lakoff and Johnson maintain, ‘permits an understanding of one kind of experience in terms of another, creating coherences by virtue of imposing gestalts that are structured by natural dimensions of experience’ (2003: 235). Gestalts are concepts about the way we perceive, think, feel; the way we move, manipulate
objects, eat, and interact socially and culturally (2003: 17). As products of human interaction such concepts are primarily culturally determined (2003: 118). Gestalts make the conceptualisation of new domains of experience possible. ‘We understand experience metaphorically when we use a gestalt from one domain of experience to understand experience from another domain’ (Lakoff & Johnson 2003: 235).

A metaphor such as LOVE IS A COLLABORATIVE WORK OF ART gives rise to numerous entailments such as love is an aesthetic experience and love involves shared responsibility; of these entailments, the former is metaphorical, the latter is not. Each of these entailments can have other entailments, creating ‘a large and coherent network of entailments, which may, on the whole, either fit or not fit our experiences of love’ (Lakoff & Johnson 2003: 140). Lakoff and Johnson explain further, ‘What we experience with such a metaphor is a kind of reverberation down through the network of entailments that awakens and connects our memories of our past love experiences and serves as a possible guide for future ones’ (2003: 140). By reverberation they mean certain aspects of those entailments are ‘foreground’ while other aspects are recessed. Whether each entailment accords with a person’s experience is partly culturally determined and partly links to people’s past experience. Even within a culture people will differ in their views on love.

In the section that follows I undertake a close reading of two verse novels applying conceptual metaphor theory.

**Metaphor in the verse novel: The Sunlit Zone and Jack**

The conceptual metaphor THE MIND IS A BODY MOVING IN SPACE gives rise to numerous entailments that include MENTAL STATES ARE LOCATIONS and IDEAS AND EMOTIONS ARE LOCATIONS. These serve a global purpose in shaping the narrative structures of both The Sunlit Zone and Jack. The title of the former text pertains to the ocean’s layers. The midnight zone of the ocean, the depths, are associated with the narrator, North’s past. Through resolving loss she returns to the sunlit zone. The narrator’s journey through the physical world represents the three stages of her grief: each stage links to a geographically different location. The metaphor structures mental experience too, thus the narrator represents her mind as a journey: her escapism pertains to a period during which she lives in Queensland and experiments with drugs, whereas ‘coming home’ is associated with resolution. In Jack the narrator’s physical journey sailing the Coral Sea is made manifest in the narrative structure by geographically located chapters, for instance, ‘Eight weeks out … sou’east of Darnley Island …’ (Johnson 2007: 233); by poem titles, such as ‘At the Divers Club’ (17) or ‘Having a Squiz at the Japanese Cemetery’ (16); and by spatio-temporal locators within poems that provide ‘situational anchoring,’ seen in the following examples: ‘We’re headed for a patch near Moa’ (24) and ‘I sit on my landed lugger in the blazing sun’ (10). By its combined means, Jack thematises the conceptual metaphor THE MIND IS A JOURNEY and its entailments: although the journey itself holds a different trajectory for this narrator: a ‘lost soul’ (228), he avoids resolution; drowns in Darnley Deep.
The Sunlit Zone also utilises the conceptual metaphor PEOPLE ARE PLANTS to represent consciousness and subjectivity. In ‘I turned to wave; my parents slight./leaf-curl and grey-edged./diminished already by distance’ (Jacobson 2012: 128), an image of decomposition and decay, leaf-curving, corresponds to the end stage of the plant lifecycle, as withering leaves signal the cycle’s approaching end. ‘Grey-edged’ allows us to conceive of grey hair on a person, as the decaying edges of the plant leaf. In three further examples, ‘… still to bloom,/our lips small as the rose buds/in the vase beside us’ (22); ‘She tried to paint/just how it felt, this quiet/retreat/into herself …/… like a flower/closing with the approach of night’ (20); and ‘… the pain that flowers inside Cello/and subsides, blooms and subsides’ (79), the conceptual metaphor PEOPLE ARE PLANTS subends simile to convey subjectivity; in the first, as a representation of human potentiality; in the second and third, respectively as emotional withdrawal and emotional pain. Plant and tree metaphors link to emotional and physical pain in Jack, too: When Georgie falls on the deck, and ‘his arm twists awkwardly/under him’ … Jack hears ‘the crack/of a sizeable twig’ (Johnson 2007: 259). A hung-over Jack ‘is careful not to jiggle/(his)… sloppy-pumpkin head/on its stem’ (257).

More conventional uses of poetry to support orientational metaphor are evident in The Sunlit Zone where EMOTIONAL IS DOWN spatially depicts emotional states and the expression of emotion, as in the following: ‘And walk, heavy with gravity/up a blanket of darkening sand’ (Jacobson 2012: 64); ‘the stone weight of her thoughts’ (25); ‘Fatigue wore Flora down, and fear,/the way wind wears down stone/relessly’ (25); and lastly, ‘… her voice is far from me,/drowned out by a cargo ship of tears;/a weight I’ve harboured all these years’ (5). Arguably the latter bolsters this representation of guilt and regret with creative extension, additionally signifying thought or feeling that’s secretly kept.

Ontological metaphor makes emotion manifest in these verse novels, enables them to be given form, as if they were discrete entities. In The Sunlit Zone when minds experience difficult, distressing, intense or highly emotional experiences, or discomfiting feelings: adverse anticipation, unease, expecting the worst, the emotions are anthropomorphised, as ursine. This is evident in the examples, ‘Presentiment entered my mother then/on dark and silent paws’ (Jacobson 2012: 22); ‘melancholy/ was a familiar beast who often slunk/in unannounced’ (148); and ‘Groaning, she was,/bear-like and on all fours, as if to shake/the thing off that was hurting her’ (21). In the latter, anastrophe, a figure of speech, allows the reversal of subject and verb in the clause to grammatically ‘make strange’ through syntactic inversion the experience of labour pains.

In Jack, too, anthropomorphism animates and concretises the representation of abstract, difficult or unwanted emotion. In the poem entitled, ‘I Get Mean when I Drink Too Much’, Jack states, ‘I know it,/the boys know it./They try to stay clear/when the whale/stirs in my belly/and every look they dare/ hits me/like a blunt harpoon’ (Johnson 2006: 209). This is also evident in the example, ‘I’m not really interested./I’m still trying to get/that snake out of my mouth,/the one that crawled in there/and died’ (211). In both instances, Jack implies his emotions are so menacing
that they reach beyond the realm of human, as it were, and deems himself inaccessible for human interaction.

Spatial and perceptual experience arises from our perceptual-motor functioning and correlates with physical space (Lakoff & Johnson 2003: 58). In these verse novels, protagonists experience many things as having distinct boundaries. They also project boundaries upon things that are boundless; conceptualise them as entities. For the narrator, North, in The Sunlit Zone, the sea waves are ‘a slope of sea’ (Jacobson 2012: 93), ‘a mountain side of milk green’ (92), and a ‘coarse fabric that slapped the boat’s tin flanks’ (93). In the lines, ‘the ocean’s/sealed up tight/against the sky/and we’re trapped/inside/its putrid belly/bobbling up and down/in place’ (Johnson 2007: 227), the narrator of Jack conceptualises the ocean as a carcass, an object with an inside and outside, with the support of the ontological metaphor, THE VISUAL FIELD IS A CONTAINER.

Physiological sensations in the body are not always clearly delineated, and account for further entity or container metaphors in these verse novels. The narrator of Jack anticipates his ‘black-blue heart/will drown/in its own/hot juices’ (Johnson 2007: 26). He wonders, ‘will the wind blow/through me too/now I’ve become a wraith’ (263). A spurt of blood from his severed index finger is a train pulling away from a platform (253). In The Sunlit Zone, the line, ‘Flora sensed /inside a fish-like quickening’ (Jacobson 2012: 20) conveys a physiological sensation that Flora perceives, one that she, as yet, cannot conceptualise or articulate, hence the representation avoids use of indirect thought or speech such as ‘Flora realised she was pregnant’, or ‘Flora told Richard she was pregnant’. Omitting the nouns pregnancy and fetus, and instead, ascribing ‘fish-like’ movements—a premonition of Finn’s hybridity—simile here serves to intensify the representation of perception and subjectivity, and achieves a conceptual blending of the uterine environment with an aquatic environment.

In a further example, the fetus is deemed sentient, to experience sensations, to be conscious, to be responsive, or have sense perception. Represented perception here has the support of several interrelated spatial conceptual metaphors: UNDERSTANDING IS DOWN. Realisation sinks (in). The fetus drops down. The pregnancy exerts some control over Flora: it is a weight. BEING SUBJECT TO CONTROL OR FORCE IS DOWN.

Thus in these instances where structural, ontological and orientational types of conceptual metaphor serve global and local functions in shaping narrative, while the poetic template and its respective elements can simply present and support conceptual metaphor, it more often corroborates or extends it.

In both verse novels, poeticising the discourse enables minds to convey a range of cognitive functions with interpreting and evaluating qualities. In the section of The Sunlit Zone that presents the narrator’s thoughts as she loses her twin sister at sea, a caesural pause slows narrative progression to enable a temporal pause at a significant thinking moment: ‘So I did what I had not done for years: I prayed (Jacobson 2012: 92)’. The syntax in this passage, too, creates rhetorical effects that enliven cognitive depictions. Line breaks end with modifying adjectives and adverbs that enjamb clauses or sentences over several lines, splitting them, diverging from the line,
creating tension between line and sentence, to convey aporia in the discourse: the expression of anxiety, insecurity or uncertainty. In the final line, ‘Just the sea’s giant mane; fickle, tossing’ (Jacobson: 92), in a metaphor of the sea as equine, anthropomorphism intensifies the waves’ movement, power and agency, invigorating an instance of direct perception.

The experience of life and death are natural kinds of experience that are understood in metaphorical terms (via LIFE IS A CONTAINER; LIFE IS FLUID IN THE BODY; VITALITY IS A SUBSTANCE and DEATH IS LOSS OF FLUID metaphors). In the opening pages of The Sunlit Zone, a whale is dying; a fact revealed through narrated perception of the smell of decay. Alliterative words, ‘bit’, ‘bait’, and ‘bucket’, highlight this olfactory focus. It is an ironic usage, given the whale is, at least at this point, still living. Several conceptual metaphors also sublend this presentation of thought and perception. The simile ‘chill as long-life meat’ (Jacobson 2012: 14) utilises the attribute ‘chill’ to map the basic general conceptual metaphor DEATH IS COLD (from LIFE IS HEAT). This is extended by the attribute of the meat, ‘long-life’, which (ironically) maps onto the whale’s life expectancy, which is to be cut short. The modifier ‘ropey exhalations’ enables a comparison of diminishing breath with diminishing life; impending death is a fraying rope. When exhalations diminish, fray and thin, they peter down; this then maps the orientational metaphor (DEATH IS DOWN).

To sum up this negotiation of poetic and narrative elements: simile first delivers the conceptual metaphor in the discourse. Direct perception then elaborates several further conceptual metaphors and their entailments pertaining to life and death through the lines, ‘The whale’s eye, dark as a lake/and sorrowful.//… The eye empties/as if a plug’s been pulled’ (Jacobson 2012: 14), namely: THE EYES ARE CONTAINERS FOR THE EMOTIONS; LIFE IS FLUID IN THE BODY; and DEATH IS LOSS OF FLUID. Throughout the passage the use of light rhyme, that is, rhyming words with syllables stressed in speech, for instance, ‘chill’, ‘smell’, ‘tell’, ‘expelling’, ‘all’, ‘still’, ‘pulled’ and unstressed syllables, such as ‘sorrowful’ produce a recurrent ‘chime’ in the passage: it's death’s bell that tolls for the whale. Rhyme here supports and corroborates meaning.

A final example distinguishes the point when a poet extends conventional, conceptual metaphor to create new understanding, new ways of conceiving the world: to enable creative metaphor. Lisa Jacobson’s use in The Sunlit Zone of ‘a fog of sleep’ (2012: 104), according to Lakoff and Johnson’s (2003) logic, doesn’t extend the conventional metaphor of sleep since this fits with an ‘inability to perceive.’ However, when general knowledge of sleep is mapped onto death, in the line, ‘Let wings of sleep cover everything’ (Jacobson 2012: 95), it extends the ordinary metaphor of death as sleep to include the possible presence of an angel. In ‘Breathing was no longer necessary. /In fact I no longer felt anything/but a polar sleepiness’ (94), Jacobson extends the metaphor once again by introducing a change of state, the freezing of the fluid of life, water, and a mapping of the metaphorical understanding of death as cold. The choice of ‘polar’ overlaps the dark, the cold, the sensation (loss of feeling), the ice as frozen, immobile fluid, hence death. Jacobson’s use of metaphor reveals that while she fully understands the experiential basis of the conceptual
metaphors LIFE IS FLUID IN THE BODY and DEATH IS LOSS OF FLUID, she anticipates the affordances of poetic elements to extend metaphor beyond its ubiquitous, conceptual functions.

**Poetic and narrative ends**

Applying conceptual metaphor theory enabled a demonstration of how metaphorical thinking structures the creative manoeuvres of these particular verse novelists. Their use of poetic elements is not independent of cognition. These verse novelists deploy poetic elements that offer particular semantic or syntactic affordances in poetic-narrative interplay. It was argued in this paper, that these affordances inform the extent to which each verse novel extends metaphor beyond its conventional, conceptual basis. As analysis revealed, not all poetic elements elaborated on the conceptual metaphors that are fundamental to lived experience, but when poetry extended metaphor, to be creative, it enabled additional meaning. The innovation in these verse novelists’ manoeuvres arose by marshalling existing metaphorical concepts to form new extensions. Far from being ornamentation, poetic elements share with narrative elements an inherent naturalness in being structured by metaphorical thinking, and work compatibly with narrative elements in these verse novels, for productive outcomes.

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**Endnotes**

i Conceptual metaphor theory recognises the foundational dissertation of Michael Reddy ‘The Conduit Metaphor’

ii George Lakoff & Mark Turner (1989); George Lakoff & Mark Johnson (2003).

iii Raymond W. Gibbs Jr (1999) refers to the two philosophical positions as the objectivist commitment and the Fregean commitment (following Frege 1892 [1952]).

iv *Meaning is private*: Meaning is always a matter of what is meaningful and significant to a person. What an individual finds significant and what it means to him are matters of intuition, imagination, feeling, and individual experience. What something means to one individual can never be fully known or communicated to anyone else.

*Experience is purely holistic*: There is no natural structuring to our experience. Any structure that we or others place on our experience is completely artificial.

*Meanings have no natural structure*: Meaning to an individual is a matter for his private feelings, experiences, intuitions, and values. These are purely holistic; they have no natural structure. Thus meanings have no natural structure.

*Context is unstructured*: The context needed for understanding an utterance—the physical, cultural, personal, and interpersonal context—has no natural structure.

*Meaning cannot be naturally or adequately represented*: This is a consequence of the facts that meanings have no natural structure, that they can never be fully known or communicated to another person, and that the context needed to understand them is unstructured’ (Lakoff & Johnson 2003: 224).

v ‘Sentences are abstract objects with inherent structures’; ‘The meaning of a sentence can be obtained from the meanings of its parts and the structure of the sentence’; ‘Communication is a matter of a speaker’s transmitting a message with a mixed meaning to a hearer’; How a person understands a sentence, and what it means to him, is a function of the objective meaning of the sentence and what the
person believes about the world and about the context in which the sentence is uttered’ (Lakoff & Johnson 2003: 186).

Our bodies (perceptual and motor apparatus, mental capacities, emotional makeup, etc.) Our interactions with our physical environment (moving, manipulating objects, eating, etc.) Our interactions with other people within our culture (in terms of social, political, economic, and religious institutions’ (Lakoff & Johnson 2003: 117).

Lakoff and Johnson offer the following concepts: ‘LOVE, TIME, IDEAS, UNDERSTANDING, ARGUMENTS, LABOR, HAPPINESS, HEALTH, CONTROL, STATUS, MORALITY, etc’ (2003: 18).

Lakoff and Johnson (2003) consistently capitalise conceptual metaphors within their texts in this manner; I follow their example.

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