

2 Audiovisual Metaphors as Embodied Narratives in Moving Images

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It has been shown that popular films and other moving images specifically address their consumers in a way that allows them to experience rich experiential flows of sensations, concepts, and feelings, similar to those experienced outside the media (Grodal 1997, 2009; Plantinga 2009, Smith 2003). However, it would be too easy to restrict the embodied aesthetics of moving images to a purely reflexive and bodily dimension. Rather, they evoke complex mental associations and embodied experiences that include both physical reactions and cognitive interpretations, which are based on cultural meanings. In film and media studies it is still a challenge to explain and systematically analyze this simultaneity of somatic and cognitive reception and of biologically and culturally based meanings. As it is documented in this volume, cognitive metaphor research can relevantly contribute to this challenge.

In this paper an approach will be presented that aims at analyzing embodied gestalts of rich narrative meanings in movies and television series in terms of *audiovisual metaphors*. A method will be provided to identify metaphors (Fahlenbrach 2007, 2010) in an audiovisual composition both on a local and a global scale. By distinguishing audiovisual key metaphors and sub-metaphors, the global network of metaphors within an artwork will be considered. This will be exemplified in a case study of audiovisual metaphors in the television series *Twin Peaks*.

1. Audiovisual Metaphors: An Outline

Following Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) (e.g., Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Kövecses 2002; Gallese and Lakoff 2005; Boroditzky and Ramscar 2002), conceptual metaphors are a cognitive mechanism that helps us to imagine abstract and complex concepts in terms of multisensory gestalts through our senses and our minds. More specifically, embodied image schemata (e.g., container or force) and gestalt-based concepts (e.g., building or storm) are activated in order to project them on a concept which is more difficult to grasp and is part of a different experiential domain (e.g., ‘society’ or ‘love’). As Kövecses states, “A conceptual metaphor consists of two conceptual domains, in which one domain is understood in terms of another.

A conceptual domain is any coherent organization of experience” (2002, 4). By projecting the meaningful gestalt structure (e.g., in-out) of an embodied source domain (e.g., ‘building’: container) onto the semantic structure of the target domain (e.g., society), a third metaphoric meaning is created (e.g., ‘society is a house’ -> ‘entering a society’).

In cognitive film theory, Grodal (1997, 2009) has argued that immersive qualities of movies and video games are strongly caused by the fact that these media initiate the holistic flow of perception, cognition, and emotion in consumers. As time-based media they confront us with a flow of changing visual, acoustic, linguistic, and movement-based information. At the same time a narrative framework guides the viewers’ cognitive understanding. Given the dense network of meanings in moving images, I argue that addressing conceptual mappings in the minds of their consumers helps to intensify this experiential flow. As intermediary structures in one’s mind (Danesi 1989; Boroditzky and Ramscar 2002), conceptual mappings blend sensorial, cognitive, and affective meanings into specific metaphorical concepts with a concrete sensory gestalt. As such they are addressed in moving images by pictures, sounds, and movements in order to trigger specific and rich conceptual meanings, related with an experiential flow of associations and feelings.

More specifically, movies, television shows, video games, or other moving images recurrently generate audiovisual metaphors in their motifs and in their audiovisual compositions (a) by manifesting conceptual metaphors already established in our minds and in (media-)culture; and (b) by creating original mappings in the metaphoric use of embodied source domains, which are elements of the very audiovisual composition and abstract or complex target domains in the genre-typical semantic framework of a piece. In both cases, *audiovisual metaphors* are understood here as artificially and intentionally created symbolic forms that are characteristic for a certain genre and its specific viewer strategies, using metaphorical mappings as an embodied mechanism to provide complex or abstract cultural and affective meanings a salient audiovisual gestalt.

As studies on metaphors in moving images have demonstrated (e.g., Whittock 1990; Carroll 1996; Forceville 2005, Forceville and Jeulink 2011, Fahlenbrach 2010, 2014; Coëgnarts and Kravanja 2012), a main task of metaphor analysis in these forms of media is to evidently identify source and target domains.¹ Actually it seems that the identification of metaphoric source domains is the easier part of analyzing metaphors in moving images: most evidently every picture, sound, and movement and the very audiovisual composition imply the manifestation of image schemata (e.g., up-down, path-schema, container, balance) and, through the depiction of specific motifs, the representation of gestalt-based concepts (e.g., buildings, machines, animals, etc.) which can act as potential source domains. The bigger challenge is to identify a salient target domain in the polysemantic structure of an audiovisual artwork and to evidently mark

its specific metaphoric relation to the image schemata and gestalt concepts inherent in the audiovisual composition.²

Identifying the target domains of audiovisual metaphors actually implies a rather canonical task of film and media analysis: diagnosing relevant topics, themes, and interests of representation in a moving image that are potential objects of a metaphoric performance in the filmmaking. As I have proposed in previous works (Fahlenbrach 2007, 2010, 2014b), the identification of target domains thus requires a considerable recognition of media- and genre-specific contexts and the communicative orientation of an audiovisual artifact.³ Even if audiovisual metaphors are characterized within their local appearance in a shot or sequence by their addressing of mental, cognitive, and affective structures in viewers' minds, they are equally marked on a global scale of the whole piece by media- and genre-typical interests of representation. Furthermore the conceptual knowledge of the addressed public is influenced by current cultural discourses, including values, public opinions, and attitudes. Because metaphors in mainstream media often reproduce a cultural common sense, this has to be taken into account and helps in identifying 'what is the target of a metaphor'. The cultural and discursive impact on metaphoric representations is reinforced by the fact that conceptually based metaphors are used in different media discourses and in everyday communication. This concerns, for instance, cultural ideas of 'good vs. bad' or 'proper vs. foreign' that are regularly objects of metaphoric representations in media discourses.

More specifically the analysis of genre- and media-typical story schemata, topics, and motifs are salient structures of an artifact that help to identify potential target domains. As Bordwell (1985), Bordwell and Thompson (1990), and Carroll (1996) have shown, film narratives are highly structured by genre-typical conventions in storytelling. And many story schemata are based on metaphorical mappings since the *Odyssey* of Homer 'life is a journey', for instance, has been considered a metaphoric archetype in storytelling.⁴ This also includes typical topics, such as the canonic depiction of victory of the 'good against the evil' in final sequences of mainstream movies, performing the 'victory of the good is light' (e.g., the hero facing a sunrise) or 'victory of the good is closure' (the reunion of the 'good' people, e.g., in family), or 'victory of the good is an open path' (e.g., the winning hero entering a way leading towards an open horizon).

These examples already demonstrate that salient and sometimes genre-typical motifs are used to symbolize a certain topic (e.g., fight between good and evil) in exposed sequences in a metaphorical way. Accordingly, such motifs help to identify specific target domains in a moving image. Generally, motifs can be considered as (a) typical situations that perform narrative meanings in a concrete dramatic constellation and (b) by what is being represented in vision and sound (Wulff 1999). The composition of

motifs, however, provides a more or less standardized form, based on specific codes of representation and their meanings, typical for a certain genre (Wulff 1999; Wendler and Engell 2003). Furthermore, leitmotifs generate quite original meanings within a single moving image (e.g., the whistling of the murderer in *M. Eine Stadt sucht einen Mörder* by F. Lang). Consequently, both stereotypical motifs of a genre and specific leitmotifs in a single film or television show imply salient cues for relevant narrative meanings that are potential targets of metaphorical performances. This is especially the case for spatial motifs, for example, spatial motifs in pictures (e.g., architectural motifs, doors, windows, or landscapes) and sound (e.g., recurrent sound atmospheres, single key-sounds of a place, or musical motifs). They combine relevant information about an action space and their narrative meanings. Accordingly, single spatial motifs are semantically related within an audiovisual artifact. Following Wulff (1999), spatial leitmotifs can be considered as a “supra segmental structure” that marks the spatial and narrative semantics on the global scale of a film, a series, or a video game. Being closely related to certain narrative topics (both via conventions and within a single moving image), key spatial leitmotifs are mostly framed by a complex network of associated places. Consequently, a network of spatial leitmotifs and sub-motifs is created that pervades throughout the whole spatial organization of a piece (cf. Fahlenbrach 2007, 2010).

If leitmotifs are understood as accentuated elements in the deictic structure of moving images, it can further be argued that they require an evident audiovisual gestalt in order to point directly to a specific narrative meaning (e.g., concerning a specific character). Hence, as significant symbolic forms, narrative leitmotifs are prominent objects of metaphoric conceptualizations. In other words, filmmakers and other creators of audiovisual narratives often make use of metaphoric mappings in order to give important motifs, and especially their leitmotifs, a significant symbolic and cross-modal gestalt that let viewers ultimately seize and experience relevant narrative meanings of a story already on an embodied level. Whereas general meanings of many motifs are, on the one hand, recognizable by conventions, metaphorical concepts help, on the other hand, to design more specific embodied gestalts and meanings of audiovisual motifs. This applies first of all to leitmotifs of key action spaces and the bodily appearance of protagonists in a story (Fahlenbrach 2010) that pervade its global structure. Accordingly, they create metaphoric networks that transfer key topics and meanings in an audiovisual narrative in consistent audiovisual gestalts and concepts. This also includes conceptualizing metaphorically opposed characters and spaces.

Within such a network, two narrative types of audiovisual metaphors can be discerned on a global scale: *audiovisual key metaphors* and *audiovisual sub-metaphors*. Key metaphors differ from sub-metaphors in three aspects: by their higher degree of structural richness of their source domains (see below), by their higher degree of redundancy, and by their more dominant

deictic status in the audiovisual narrative (Fahlenbrach 2010, 230). Both the structural richness and the potential deictic status are closely related to the different kinds of conceptual mappings, identified in CMT.

Following Kövecses (2002), different types of conceptual mappings and metaphors can be distinguished: (1) *structural* metaphors and (2) *orientational* and *ontological* metaphors. Structural metaphors use structurally rich concepts as source domains (e.g., ‘society is a machine’) provided with a distinct image schema and gestalt structure (e.g., container-schema: in-out; force-schema: strong-weak). Such source domains can be mapped both on concepts of complex systems as target, creating *system metaphors* (e.g., ‘society is a machine’) and on complex processes, resulting in *event structure metaphors* (e.g., ‘life is a journey’).

Audiovisual system metaphors are often created in mainstream media when designing recurrent action spaces and bodies of relevant protagonists. Dystopian science fiction films like *Metropolis*, for instance, often present a machine or a computer as a powerful protagonist, creating genre-typical system metaphors such as “a social system is a machine” (cf. Fahlenbrach 2014a). Furthermore, ontological emotion metaphors, such as ‘love is closeness’, are generated to provide the machines with a human and affective touch, making them even more threatening. In this case, machines also act as metaphoric agents (Bartsch 2010) that give a certain emotion the gestalt of a living machine. For instance HAL in *2001: A Space Odyssey* has been provided with a soft and tender voice and talks intimately to the astronauts.

In *audiovisual event structure metaphors*, processes and events are characterized by the use of movement patterns. Correspondingly the movements of the protagonists as characteristic elements of spatial experience are used as embodied source domains to audiovisually conceptualize their inner intentions, feelings, or higher moralities. This is, for example, the case in *Blade Runner*.⁵ For evidence of a capitalist power dominating the citizens of a future capital, the metaphor ‘intention is self-propelled motion’ is attributed in the filmmaking to machines rather than to human (or human-like) beings when showing Deckard during his flights through town metaphorically as being passively moved *by* the machines.

Further mapping types are *orientational* and *ontological* metaphors that provide less conceptually rich source domains but offer concrete gestalts and image schemata for complex target domains. In orientational metaphors, basic and distinct mental schemata of spatial experience are mapped onto cognitive and emotional target domains (‘up-down’, ‘in-out’, ‘center-periphery’, etc.), for example, in metaphorical mappings such as ‘more is up’-‘less is down’, ‘up is good’-‘down is bad’. *Ontological metaphors* more specifically provide their targets with an ontological status. This personification is especially relevant for the metaphoric representation of emotions (Kövecses 2003, e.g., ‘emotion is a physical force’-> ‘anger is hot fluid in a pressurized container’ -> ‘exploding of anger’).

Given the schematic meanings and archetypal gestalt of ontological and orientational metaphors, many of them are inherent elements of every visual and audiovisual composition. The image schemata established in the visual and acoustic composition (e.g., lines as ‘paths’, container gestalts in motifs, or up-down compositions) intuitively act as source domains in order to conceptualize more complex and abstract meanings. This is the case, for instance, for the manifestation of the orientational mappings ‘up is good’ or ‘up is power’-‘down is bad’ or ‘down is weak’ in the composition of filmic spaces.⁶

Obviously moving images build complex metaphorical networks, referring to all these types of *conceptual mappings*, integrating perceptive, cognitive, and affective meanings. As mentioned before, they thereby either refer to already existing conceptual metaphors or they generate new mappings by the use of vision, sound, and movement. Thus we are confronted in audiovisual media with metaphorical networks that are densely composed even in one single shot. The typology of different mapping types is therefore useful in order to discern on the local scale different types of audiovisual mappings in one shot or sequence; it further helps to distinguish the cognitive and the deictic role of these metaphors on the global scale and within the whole metaphoric network.

As a result *audiovisual key metaphors* can, on the one hand, be distinguished by their *structural mappings* and, on the other hand, with regard to their deictic status within the audiovisual network. In order to create relevant motifs and leitmotifs, designers of moving images often design main action places and the bodies of the protagonists by performing structural mappings between the embodied source domains manifest in images, sounds, and movements and complex concepts of specific systems or processes as target domains.⁷

Their deictic quality can be further explained by following Wuss (1999), who distinguished three cognitive dimensions of cinematic narratives: (a) elements of the *perceptual structure* that only tend to be recognized consciously by viewers when being repeated; (b) salient elements of the specific *conceptual structure* of a movie that represent its causal meanings (e.g., relevant events); and (c) even more exposed elements of the *stereotypical structure* that draw on the transmedia knowledge of viewers (e.g., genre schemata). Whereas key audiovisual metaphors are part of the *conceptual* or even *stereotypical* structure of a moving image, audiovisual sub-metaphors are rather part of its *perceptive* dimension that aims less to be recognized consciously by viewers. Thereby different types of sub-metaphors can be discerned. First, sub-metaphors that are based on structurally poor orientational or ontological mappings (e.g., up-down metaphors) are often the part of structurally rich metaphors in an audiovisual composition (e.g., ‘capitalism is a building’). Second, there are also structurally rich sub-metaphors that only have a marginal deictic status in a narrative. This concerns, for instance, the depiction of places, characters, and objects of circumstantial narrative

relevance. But whereas such sub-metaphors are equally part of the narrative and aesthetic texture of a moving image, they are always conceptually related with the more exposed metaphors of key spaces and protagonists. Furthermore, because characters and places can also achieve an increasing relevance during the unfolding of a story, structurally rich sub-metaphors can get an increasing deictic salience and, arguing with Wuss, switch from the perceptual to the conceptual dimension of a piece.⁸ The more frequently they appear and the more explicitly their deictic character is being marked, the more their audiovisual gestalt and narrative meaning is put into the attention of the viewers.

In the following case study it will be demonstrated how the analysis of the global metaphoric network can be combined with an analysis of the local appearance and the embodied gestalt of audiovisual metaphors.

2. Case Study: Audiovisual Metaphors and Metaphorical Maps in the Television Series *Twin Peaks*

In their popular and influential television series *Twin Peaks* (1990–1991), David Lynch and Mark Frost tell the story of a little town in the northern US with the fictional name of Twin Peaks where different mysterious crimes are taking place. A main part of the story focuses on the murder of the young schoolgirl Laura Palmer. The investigation of this murder is directed by an FBI agent, Special Agent Dale Cooper, who is supported by the local sheriff Harry S. Truman. Already in the pilot, film viewers are introduced to most of Twin Peaks' citizens, showing at first sight an ordinary community of people with different characters and of different social types.

Lynch and Frost added a mysterious dimension to this genre-typical story schema of crime fiction. An early narrative cue that there is more to this murder than just a human crime is given to us by Truman in the fourth episode of the first season (33:00–33:50):

“Twin Peaks is different. A long way from the world. (...) That’s exactly the way that we like it. But there’s a back end to that, that’s kind of different too. Maybe that’s the price we pay for the good things. There’s a sort of evil out there. Something very, very strange in these old woods. Call it what you want. A darkness. A presence. It takes many forms. But it’s been out there as long as anyone can remember.”

At this moment we are made aware that the stories told in this series transgress the genre-typical narratives that dominated TV crime fiction at the time. It not only tells how a social community is threatened by a criminal subject and how social order is reconstituted, but also it is insinuated that human crime is influenced by a supernatural force. Hence, on one hand, by adapting genre-typical story schemata of crime fiction the viewers are prepared to expect a story on a social community with its own rights, values,

and rules. On the other hand, a mysterious dimension is foreshadowed by single dialogues and strange actions and attitudes⁹ that make viewers expect the reigning of rather supernatural evil rules—as we know it from other genres like fantasy or horror. However, not only does evil have a supernatural dimension here but also does the human society. This is made evident for viewers by characters that experience mysterious visions and dreams that actually have an impact on causal events in reality.

Both the regular social order of this community and the supernatural power ruling behavior and crimes at Twin Peaks have to be manifested not only in the actions and events but also in the audiovisual design of the setting. Evidently both ‘society’ as a complex to depict social order and the ‘supernatural power’ are relevant objects of metaphorical representation in the set design. As target domains ‘society’ and ‘supernatural power’ are indicated to viewers by the manifest genre-typical topics and by dialogues and actions such as those mentioned before. Furthermore, viewers encounter together with Cooper a community driven both by opaque social and supernatural rules. It is by foregrounding in the filmmaking the natural settings, especially the forest, that spatial infrastructures develop during the series a symbolic and metaphoric dimension.

As I will argue in the following, the topography and settings of Twin Peaks as they are shown to the viewers are based on two related key audiovisual metaphors throughout the whole series: (a) ‘society is a natural place’, and (b) ‘a supernatural power is a natural place’ → ‘a supernatural power is a forest’. Furthermore ‘evil’ is a third relevant target domain in the narrative. Being personalized first of all by the evil ghost Bob and his transcendental manifestations in other characters (e.g., Leland Palmer), a third key metaphor that will, however, be less influential here that is ‘supernatural evil is a human being’.

To start with the first audiovisual key metaphor, spatial leitmotifs are presented from the first moment of the show by the trailer sequence. Typical for a series, it is always repeated as a starter to each episode. At first viewers cannot relate specific information to its shots; hence, it is rather an element of the perceptual structure of the narrative (Wuss 1999). With their growing knowledge of the series’ fictional world, however, and by the repetition of the trailer sequence, viewers come to reframe it cognitively, and, as I would argue, metaphorically.¹⁰ On the conceptual dimension of the narrative, viewers are invited to relate the trailer sequence’s strong focus on the natural sites of Twin Peaks to its citizens and their community.

It presents us pictures in a row of a bird, a mill and its working saws, a big trunk on a platform, a street in a wood, and finally a waterfall, and a river. It shows neither any pictures of the people living at Twin Peaks nor their homes. It is only by the city sign positioned at the side of the street that we are informed that the place we are entering here is a town: “Welcome to Twin Peaks. Population 51,201”. The contrast between the indicated population

and the complete absence of people in the pictures as well as the natural views of the place primes viewers in the trailer sequence for a place strongly ruled by nature. The woods as a specific characteristic of this place is also explicitly commented on by Agent Cooper the first time he passes the welcome shield of Twin Peaks: "I've never seen so many trees in my life" (in 1/1, 34:48).

The metaphoric concept of the depicted natural settings of Twin Peaks further evolves during the episodes' spatial representations on the global scale. Surrounded by nature, the single houses (e.g., the homes of Laura or Donna, the police station, or the diner) are either shown in isolated shots or in interior shots. Hence we never get the chance to develop a mental map of the actual urban topography of Twin Peaks, neither by long shots nor by following the protagonists with the camera along their way between different places.¹¹ Highlighting in the filmmaking of each episode the environmental involvement of the citizens by showing houses and their inhabitants isolated in a natural setting and by obscuring topographic orientation for the viewers, a key audiovisual metaphor in the series is 'society is a natural place'.¹² Regarding the crimes taking place at Twin Peaks and also the secret deviations from the social order of many of its citizens told during the episodes, 'society' is a strong target domain. The social order, however, seems to have been balanced like an ecological habitat before the murder of Laura.¹³ Indicative of the metaphorical dimension of the depicted nature is when late in the second season businessman Ben Horne seeks to save the forest of Twin Peaks—not just for personal and ecological reasons but also in order to reconstitute and stabilize social order in the community. Correspondingly, the actions taking place at Twin Peaks are characterized on the level of a global spatial representation being strongly dominated by opaque and partly supernatural forces and rules.¹⁴ By foregrounding an opaque and rural topography in the filmmaking, viewers are primed to experience and understand the invisible social order and the rules of Twin Peaks' commune in terms of a 'natural area'. It is by letting viewers experience the opaqueness of these rules in terms of blocked spatial orientation themselves that they can get an embodied idea of it.

In some spatial motifs, single orientational aspects of a topographic map are used as source domains to specify the audiovisual key metaphor 'society is a natural place'. Thereby the social hierarchies at Twin Peaks are metaphorically given a topographic gestalt. Spatial aspects like altitude differences and spatial distances are, for example, highlighted in the depiction of the Great Northern Hotel. Whereas it implies in its very name being located 'up in the north', the high altitude of its position is emphasized in a recurring sequence that shows the hotel directly below the huge waterfall—sometimes by daylight, sometimes by night. With the waterfall in the foreground, accompanied by the loud sound of falling water, we see the hotel perched atop of it. In these short sequences, the high altitude is strongly emphasized (Figure 2.1).



Figure 2.1 Great Northern Hotel: ‘social power is up’-‘social power is a natural force’.

The camera movement upwardly panning alongside the waterfall till it reaches the hotel features a classic cinematic convention of representing power, based on the orientational mapping: ‘power is up’. The image composition and even the sound favor the impression of the hotel being the source of the waterfall and, hence, a strong natural force. This gestalt-based impression is being confirmed throughout the series when we learn that the boss of the hotel, Ben Horne, is one of the most powerful citizens in Twin Peaks, combining economic power as a businessman,¹⁵ political and social power in the community, and criminal power. Furthermore, it is the place where Agent Cooper, the powerful representative of the external social order in the estate, stays during his visits. It is especially by this redundantly presented motif of the hotel atop the waterfall that we get a more concrete idea of the topography of Twin Peaks, hypothetically concluding that the town must be below the hotel in the valley. But the more we learn about the boss and his social network the more the metaphoric dimension of this shot is put into the fore with every repetition. As such it can be considered a sub-metaphor for the hierarchical social order of Twin Peaks: ‘social power is up’ (orientational metaphor)-‘social power is a natural force’ (system metaphor).

Closely related to the first one is the second key audiovisual metaphor: ‘a supernatural power is a natural place’ which is specified by dialogues and filmmaking as ‘a supernatural power is a forest’. Significantly the forest surrounding Twin Peaks is called “Ghostwood”. As cited before, Truman

describes it as a dark” and “evil presence”. Referring to well-known stereotypes in fairy tales and horror stories, Lynch and Frost use the metaphoric motif of a ‘ghostwood’ for giving the idea of a supernatural power reigning at Twin Peaks a spatial gestalt. Correspondingly the supernatural quality of the forest is being insinuated at the same time by providing it with traits of an intelligent organism or being, performing intentional actions. Hence another system metaphor is involved here: ‘a supernatural power is an intelligent being’. Lynch and Frost manifest it in recurrent sequences that present the woods both as a ‘real place’ and as an ‘imaginary place’, experienced in dreams, memories, and visions. In both cases it is shown as an area where crimes are exercised, witnessed, imagined, or dreamed about.

One of the repeated motifs is the forest as a place where Donna and James met after Laura’s death. In a first scene (in 1/1) we see them there at night burying Laura’s necklace. At the end of the episode, Laura’s mother sees their hiding place in a vision. Laying at home on her sofa she suddenly begins to cry in a shocked way as if she saw something menacing. In the following sequence a hand camera follows the point-of-view of a person in the woods by night going directly to the very stone under which Donna and James have buried the necklace. Then the invisible person takes it away. This vision marks the supernatural dimension of the forest and the people involved in its power. This idea is then confirmed in another episode (1/4, 40:35) when Donna and James get back to the hiding place and discover that indeed someone has taken the necklace away.

During this third depiction of the hiding place of the necklace in the woods, the metaphoric dimension of the forest as an ‘intelligent being’ is being generated more obviously in the filmmaking. We first see from a top-view perspective Donna and James on the ground discovering that the necklace is missing. Suddenly, they are startled by the call of a bird from above. After a short reaction shot on their faces, the camera quickly pans back from them and up to a branch, relating this top-view perspective to an owl looking at them from above. It is by foregrounding the top-view perspective at the couple and the quick movement of the camera that the owl is given the character of an intentionally observing being. Based on the orientational mapping ‘power is up’-‘weakness is down’, the owl as well as subsequent birds in the series act as audiovisual sub-metaphors of a supernatural force in the woods. As animals living in the Ghostwood, they are not only inhabitants of the forest but also a ‘supernatural power’ (hence acting as metonymies of it). The filmmaking conceptualizes their gaze as ‘knowing is seeing’ providing them with intelligence and intentionality.¹⁶

In 1/6, for instance, a raven follows the police team around Truman and Cooper in the forest during an investigation. The scene starts with the only full shot of Twin Peaks, presented from the perspective of a raven flying high above the town. After subsequent shots offering distanced bird’s-eye-view perspectives of Twin Peaks, the camera slowly approaches from above the police team walking through the woods, panning to their (human)

perspective. This is cross-cut by another single shot showing a raven landing on a branch. The walk of the police officers is then followed by several cries of a bird, indicating its permanent presence and, maybe, observance. In a subsequent scene Deputy Hawk [sic!], conducting them through the woods, even seems to follow the bird's cries. As their 'guide' the raven is again shown sitting on the branch and flying away as if indicating the right direction. When they arrive at a cabin in the woods, which they later discover is a relevant crime scene of Laura's murder, a close detail shot of the raven's right eye is presented, looking at them. Again this shot generates the event structure metaphor 'knowing is seeing'.



Figure 2.2 The birds: 'supernatural power is an intelligent being'.

The birds are already being foreshadowed in the pilot as being part of a 'supernatural power' when a giant tells Cooper in his dream, "The owls are not what they seem". However, it is only by their repetitive appearance and narrative framing that their deictic and metaphoric character is increasingly highlighted during the episodes. Being introduced as narrative elements of the perceptive structure, the birds are made more and more salient also in the conceptual structure of the stories as the sub-metaphor of 'a supernatural power is an intelligent being'.

During the global unfolding of the series' narrative, we also learn about the ambivalent traits of the people living at Twin Peaks. As mentioned

before, nearly all citizens have their secrets, involving defection and lies towards their spouses, partners, and friends, as well as minor and major criminal activities. One of the most ambivalent characters, whom viewers only get to know after her death, is Laura Palmer. Mental participation is constantly evoked in viewers by providing them in a fragmentary manner with enigmatic information not only about her murder but also about her personality. Whereas most of her friends and family describe her as a kind and morally impeccable girl, others report their memories of her as a “wild girl”, a drug addict, and as being sexually involved with many men.

Significantly for the ambivalent traits of Twin Peaks’ citizens, the ‘evil’ appears in the gestalt of human beings, such as Bob or Leland Palmer (‘supernatural evil is a human being’). Such ambivalences between human and supernatural, good and evil reigning at Twin Peaks are symbolized more specifically later in the second season by another metaphorically conceptualized spatial motif: the lodges. We learn in 2/10 from Deputy Hawk about archaic legends of a white lodge and a black lodge. As extra-dimensional spaces they are said to be ruled by supernatural forces, which are at the same time closely related to human souls and morality. More specifically, evil human and supernatural forces inhabit the black lodge whereas love and good spirits inhabit the white lodge. Correspondingly, Lynch and Frost introduce late in the second season another specific spatial sub-metaphor of the ‘supernatural power’ in order to specify its ‘evil’ traits: ‘a supernatural evil is a closed place in nature’.

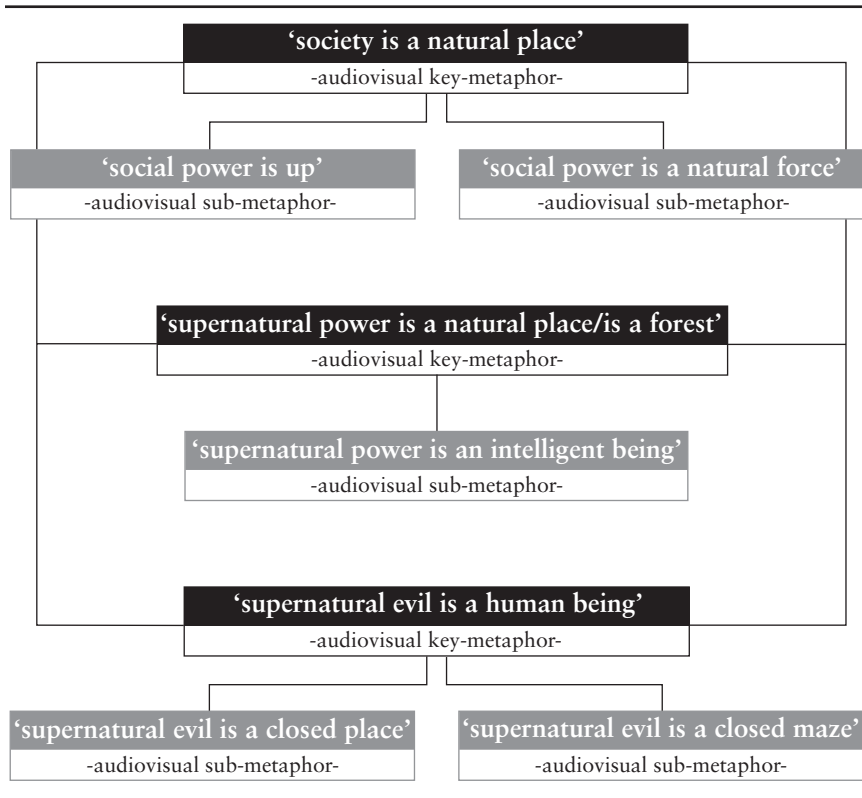
In the last episode of the series viewers witness the transformation of humans into monstrous beings at the black lodge. After the mad ex-agent and adversary of Cooper, Windom Earle, has kidnapped Cooper’s girlfriend, Annie Blackburn, he brings her to the black lodge which has its gateway in the woods—a round dell in the ground, surrounded by small trees. Once Annie has entered the circle of these trees, she begins to enter a hypnotic state, losing control over her mind and body. A red curtain appears beside the dell through which Annie, willing-less, follows Earle. Their bodies and the curtain then disappear. Shortly thereafter, Cooper enters the curtain searching for Annie. This time we follow him inside the lodge. There we witness how Cooper, the guardian of civil order and right, searching for elucidation, not only loses spatio-temporal and existential orientation, being confronted with several undead doppelgangers of former citizens of Twin Peaks, but also begins transforming into a monstrous evil being himself. In order to let the viewer bodily and affectively experience the transformation from good to evil and from a human to a supernatural being as a transformation that can potentially happen to everyone, Lynch and Frost designed the lodge as a metaphoric space, conceptualizing the supernatural power on the basis of concrete spatial and motion-based experiences.

Initially the transgression from the natural to the supernatural universe is marked by the passing of the characters through the curtain. By highlighting

the container-schema in the visual composition of the curtain, the mapping ‘confronting the supernatural is entering a passage’ is created as an audiovisual event structure metaphor that evidently shows us the protagonist leaving the terrestrial place. The interior of the lodge is then presented as a paradoxical space where mundane rules are suspended. Cooper moves in it like in a maze because its different rooms all seem equal and often suddenly change their décor after he has entered them. This spatial disorientation is paralleled by the existential uncertainty, produced by the ghost-like appearances of the doppelgangers. By following Cooper’s movements and depicting how they are increasingly guided by strange forces, the filmmaking establishes another audiovisual event structure metaphor: ‘confronting the evil is losing control over movement’. Being captured in this place, having no way to exit, further generates the audiovisual system metaphor: ‘supernatural evil is a closed place’, and, more specifically, ‘evil is a closed maze’. It is only by offering his soul to the evil ghost Bob that Cooper can leave it as a doppelganger himself.

As a result, the following metaphorical network is evolved around key spaces in the series:

Table 2.1 Network of Audiovisual Key Metaphors and Sub-Metaphors in *Twin Peaks*



3. Conclusion

As the analysis has shown, Lynch and Frost generated throughout the global structure of the series a complex network of spatial metaphors to let viewers experience cognitively, affectively, and bodily the ambivalent and mysterious dimension of the crimes happening at Twin Peaks in terms of concrete spatial gestalts in a rural environment. More specifically, the close interplay between human crimes and a transcendental, supernatural evil force is gradually made evident during the unfolding of the series by triangulating the key audiovisual metaphors ‘society is a natural place’, ‘a supernatural power is a forest’, and ‘a supernatural evil is a human being’ in the global creation of the settings. By showing the citizens of Twin Peaks as dwellers of a natural and isolated area, including a ‘ghostwood’, marks a general narrative concept of the series: the social order and the supernatural forces are interrelated by nature, which acts as a metaphoric gateway between these two areas. For the two complex and abstract domains ‘society’ and ‘supernatural power’, the rural nature and especially the forest offer significant source domains: the trees of the woods, its opaqueness, and the birds as its (intelligent) inhabitants and other natural forces like the waterfall. As has been demonstrated, all these sub-domains of nature provide many gestalt-based spatial concepts and image schemata for conceptualizing in vision, sound, and movement the intensity, the autonomous power, and dynamics both of the social and the supernatural orders reigning at Twin Peaks. As shared source domains they are being used in the filmmaking to generate a metaphorical network on the global scale around the key metaphors, including different specific sub-metaphors, which sometimes are only made salient during the unfolding of the series, changing from the perceptual to the conceptual semantic structure of the narrative (see Table 2.1). Significantly they specify the audiovisual key metaphors both by structurally rich system and event structure mappings (e.g., ‘supernatural evil is a closed place in nature’) and by simpler orientational mapping (e.g., ‘social power is up’).

To conclude, the narrative action spaces in a television series can be used by their creators to build a network of spatially based key metaphors and sub-metaphors. They enable viewers to generate an embodied understanding of complex and invisible narrative meanings. Whereas in movies the metaphoric dimension of spatial leitmotifs is often made explicit at its first presentation, often by more dense audiovisual compositions, a television series can utilize a longer time frame to generate the metaphoric meanings of recurrent motifs.

The deictic accentuation of a motif can happen through its repetition. A repeated motif can progressively generate a metaphoric meaning on a global scale. This can happen in aesthetically foreshadowing specific associations (e.g., via close shots) and in providing viewers with further information about a place. Most especially trailer sequences, which are constant elements of a series, often change their meanings for viewers because their reception is cognitively and affectively ‘enriched’ by the acquired

knowledge and experienced feelings of viewers during the previous episodes. Accordingly, as I have shown for *Twin Peaks*, also the metaphoric meaning of a trailer sequence might sometimes only be recognized when getting familiar with the topics and themes of the series. In other words, the target of a trailer sequence's metaphoric meaning often becomes evident during the episodes. It is through constant repetition and cognitive reframing that the metaphoric dimension might become obvious. However, the very composition of a trailer sequence surely has to provide image schemata and gestalt-based concepts that evidently act as metaphoric source domains in relation to the metaphoric targets progressively being recognized by viewers throughout a series.

As a result it seems that metaphor analysis in audiovisual media should not only concentrate on the local generation of audiovisual metaphors in single shots and sequences but also has to consider, especially in television series, the global metaphoric network. We can thereby recognize how moving images use globally generated mental models and maps of viewers as resources for audiovisual mappings for creating specific cognitive, affective, and bodily meanings.

Notes

1. A research overview on these positions is provided in this volume in the introduction and in the chapter by Forceville.
2. There are several scholars rather negating the possibility of a clear-cut evidence for metaphorical mappings. For example, Grodal argues in this volume that most gestalt-based concepts and image schemata act as 'qualia' whose basic meanings are reflexively seized by viewers already on the level of innate perception.
3. It goes without saying that a cognitive approach to metaphor analysis avoids an interpretation that is based on the subjective 'close reading' of a narrative in order to provide 'original' interpretations. Being focused on mainstream media, the salient and hence rather prototypical meanings stand in the focus of cognitive media analysis both established by conventions and by the aesthetic and narrative orientation at 'idealized models of reception' (Bordwell 1985) that allow commercial mainstream media to successfully address a broad public.
4. This has also been demonstrated by Forceville and Jeulink (2011) for animation films.
5. A detailed analysis is given in Fahlenbrach (2007, 2010).
6. Of course, there do exist genre-typical elaborations of orientational metaphors. Winter (2014) has demonstrated genre-specific performances of the 'down is evil' metaphor in horror movies.
7. This will be evidenced more precisely in the following case study.
8. Examples will be given in the case study.
9. An example is the early appearance (in 1/2) of the "Log Lady" who always carries a log in her arms and receives messages from it.
10. Fahlenbrach and Flückiger (2014) have discussed the affective priming of viewers for a series narrative by trailer sequences.

11. Obviously this lack of topographical information led many fans of the series to produce maps of Twin Peaks in order to get a better orientation. Cf. <http://welcometotwinpeaks.com/locations/twin-peaks-maps/> (accessed: 20.2.15).
12. With Harold Smith who doesn't leave his house that is full of orchids or the "Log Lady", single members of the community are presented being enclosed with nature in their homes.
13. In 2/13 the criminal Renault insults Cooper having unsettled this balance as someone coming from outside who does not understand the rules.
14. Significantly Cooper develops rather esoteric forensic methods that are especially successful here in taking dreams and visions as the basis for his investigations.
15. He runs not only the hotel but also a drug store and a bagnio.
16. The metaphor 'knowing is seeing' is also discussed in Coëgnarts and Kravanja in this volume.

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