Metaphor and symbol: SEARCHING FOR ONE'S IDENTITY IS LOOKING FOR A HOME in animation film

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1. Introduction

The journal *Metaphor and Symbol* (formerly called *Metaphor and Symbolic Activity*) has in the more than 25 years of its existence been true to one half of its name by publishing a vast number of papers with the word (or root) "metaphor" in the title. In fact, a count of titles where the word, or one of its derivations, was included at least once in the first 25 volumes (1986-2010) yielded no less than 275 instances. By contrast, "symbol" or one of its derivations occurred only 8 times in that same period.[i]

Since the very title of the journal suggests that "metaphor" and "symbol" are closely related tropes, this is a somewhat surprising finding. Perhaps one reason for this is that Cognitive Metaphor Theory (CMT), with its mission to lay bare structural "metaphors we live by" (Lakoff and Johnson 1980), for a long time focused predominantly on the "embodied" dimension of metaphors, and only later developed more interest in metaphors' cultural dimensions (e.g., Yu 1998, Gibbs and Steen 1999, Semino and Culpeper 2002, Kövecses 2005, Fludernik 2011), while symbolism is a phenomenon of culture *par excellence*. Another reason may be that whereas studies linking poetic and conceptual metaphor (Lakoff and Turner 1989, Turner 1996) pertain only to the verbal realm, the study of symbolism has a long tradition in art history scholarship, a discipline that has hitherto not engaged much with CMT, or vice versa – which is unsurprising precisely because of CMT's penchant for studying *verbal* manifestations of non-literal thinking.

But it is important to investigate in more detail how metaphor and symbol are related. In this paper I intend to contribute to this project by focusing on the concept HOME in a

variety of the metaphor PURPOSIVE ACTIVITY IS MOVEMENT TOWARD A DESTINATION in some animation films, suggesting how metaphoric and symbolic dimensions interact in the creation of meaning. The structure of this explorative paper is as follows. I will first briefly discuss the similarities and differences between "metaphor" and "symbol." Subsequently I will discuss five animation films that feature, I argue, the FINDING ONE'S IDENTITY ACTIVITY IS GOING HOME metaphor, focusing on the visual modality and, where appropriate, on the verbal modality. Finally I will draw some tentative conclusions and make suggestions for how to broaden this project.

2. Metaphor and symbol

First of all, it is useful to assess that, and how, "metaphor" and "symbol" can be distinguished. Lakoff and Johnson's "understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another" (1980: 5) remains a useful shorthand description of metaphor. That is, we comprehend target domain A as source domain B. Understanding the metaphor requires mapping salient properties (and where possible: relations between those properties) from source to target. Target and source belong to semantic domains or categories that, in the context in which the metaphor occurs, are considered as being different. By contrast, in symbolism we understand B, in a given (sub)cultural community, to *stand for* A (Beckson & Ganz 1975: 246; Wales 2001: 379): a rose stands for love, a cross for suffering, a skull for death, an hour-glass for mortality. It is to be observed that in these examples, the B stands in a metonymical relationship to A. The lover gives (red) roses to his beloved; Christ died on the cross; the skull is a part of the human body's remains after death; and the hour-glass visualizes the passing of time. I suspect that most symbols are rooted in metonymy rather than in arbitrary convention. However, the metonymic link between source and target that motivates the symbolism may not, or no longer, be apparent to many people. If this makes sense, we could say that – always: within a given cultural group – in symbolism one metonym of a concept has become so salient at the expense of other metonyms of that concept, that this privileged metonym suffices to evoke that concept on its own, even with no or minimal context. The test for this is to provide the members of a cultural group (country, club, party, gang …) with the word for the metonym ("cross," "rose") and ask them to provide some associations or connotations. If the members of the group significantly often mention specific associations, the metonym can be said to serve as a symbol for that salient association ("[Christ's] suffering," "[romantic] love").

Whether symbolism can also be based on an *arbitrary* link between source and target is difficult to assess, since what now appears arbitrary may once have been a motivated, metonymic connection that is now no longer accessible. (Has the metonymic motivation for the one-time symbolizing of gayness by wearing a single earring been lost, or was it a symbol arising out of an arbitrary convention in the first place?) But however this may be, I submit that a symbol is a special type of metonym rather than of metaphor.

3. HOUSE/HOME as symbol

HOUSE is a phenomenon with a wide network of associations. A house is a usually man-made contraption that ideally provides one or more human beings with protection against extreme temperatures and unpleasant weather conditions (Brown 2010: 89). In addition, the house protects them against hostile creatures, whether animals or unfriendly fellow human beings. A suitable house thus helps human beings to survive literally, i.e., it helps safeguard human beings against illness or even death. Inasmuch as houses are often places where human beings live together in groups, often as (extended) families, houses are typically places where people live out, or perform, a large part of what they consider their identities. Intimate relationships flourish (or derail) in houses, one entertains friends there, and people are born, copulate, and die in houses. The associations (or connotations) of a house as a place where one can be oneself, where important events take place, and where one feels safe adhere more specifically to the concept that, in English, is referred to by the word "home": "Home" = "house" + positive connotations. This transpires from expressions such as "my home is my castle," "home is where the heart is," "there's no place like home," "make yourself at home," and "East, west, home's best." In short, most human beings strive to have some sort of house-as-home. It is important that the material conditions of these homes can differ: they can be made of stone, wood, clay, ice, or cloth; it can be a hut or it can be a castle; and while homes are usually man-made, existing natural conditions (such as caves or bowers) can be made to function as homes, too.

Given the supposed desire of most human beings to have a home, and the network of positive connotations "home" evokes, I propose that the house-as-home is often used as a symbol for safety, intimacy with kin and friends, and thus for experiencing the essence of one's own identity. Unsurprisingly, then, activities that pertain to the symbolic house-as-home acquire great importance. I am here thinking of building a house-as-home, repairing it, extending it, changing it, moving it – or finding it.

In this paper I will focus on the metaphor FINDING ONE'S IDENTITY IS GOING HOME, which is a special case of the more general metaphor PURPOSIVE ACTIVITY IS MOVEMENT TOWARD A DESTINATION. The popular version of this latter metaphor is X IS A JOURNEY – where X can for instance be LIFE, A RELATIONSHIP, A CAREER. The JOURNEY metaphor is probably one of the most deep-rooted metaphors in human thinking (see Johnson 1987, Forceville 2006, 2011b, 2011c [CHECK], Forceville and Jeulink 2011, Katz and Taylor 2008, Ritchie 2008, Yu 2009; Kromhout et al. in prep.). In the remainder of this paper I will focus on the GOING HOME metaphor, whereby the HOUSE-AS-HOME is considered a symbol. In Max Black's (1977) terms, PURPOSIVE ACTIVITY IS GOING HOME would be a "strong" metaphor: it is *emphatic* in that it would be very difficult to replace the HOME part of the source domain by another concept without affecting the potential mappings from source to target. These mappings in most context do not consist of isolated features, but of structured networks of features, in which the relations between the features are co-mapped with the features themselves (discussed in terms of "structure mapping" by Dedre Gentner; see e.g., Gentner and Jeziorski 1993: 448). It is to a considerable extent these relational stuctures between the pertinent features in the source domain that make the metaphor emphatic. Thus the source domains GOING TO CHURCH/ THE OFFICE/ THE MUSEUM, for instance, while all potentially giving rise to emphatic metaphors in their own right, cannot serve as replacements to GOING HOME because the relationship of people with HOMES is very different than the one they have with these other buildings. Another way of saying this is that the symbolic connotations (if any) evoked by these other buildings do not coincide with those of HOME.

I have already paid much attention to the MOVEMENT/JOURNEY dimension of the PURPOSIVE ACTIVITY metaphor elsewhere (Forceville 2006, 2011a, 2011b, Forceville and Jeulink 2011). Here, I zoom in on a specific type of destination of the JOURNEY: the HOUSE-AS-HOME. My central claim is that the search for a/the HOME has such strong symbolical connotations, that artistic discourses focusing on it it evoke the metaphor PURPOSIVE ACTIVITY IS GOING HOME. More specifically, when metaphorically coupled with the GOING HOME domain, the PURPOSIVE ACTIVITY can be narrowed down to something that could be labelled FINDING ONE'S IDENTITY.

As in Forceville and Jeulink (2011) and Forceville (2011c), the case studies analysed are all animation films. One reason is that animation, more than most other media is very much "embodied," and this is important in light of CMT's central tenet that humans typically conceptualize the abstract in terms of the concrete – where the concrete is that which is perceptible and pertains to the body's motor functions (Forceville 2011:??). Secondly, the

visuals of animation usually are entirely *made* (rather than the result of *registering* a profilmic reality, as in most live-action films), and thus are to an unusual extent under the control of the maker. Since in terms of money and/or time, the making of animation is moreover a costly procedure, it is a medium that forces for careful planning of each detail that is to end up in the final film. Perhaps more than in live-action photography or film, in animation (like comics) we are encouraged to find each single element meaningful. A third advantage is that animation films are often short (say, about 10-15 minutes, or even shorter): any central non-literal meaning – such as the going home metaphor – appears in condensed form. Finally, particularly short animation films in many cases has no language, so that demonstrating how structural metaphors are the motor for their interpretation helps show that conceptual metaphors are indeed primarily *conceptual* rather than verbal (QUOTE LAKOFF?).

4. Case Studies

Hoppity goes to Town/Mr. Bug Goes to Town (Max and Dave Fleischer, USA 1941, 78').

Summary Hoppity the grashopper, after a long trip, returns to the small "Lowlands" world where his fellow insects live (Figure 1), commenting "There's still no place like home." However, the Lowlands world – a patch of urban garden in the middle of a metropolis – is under threat by "the human ones," who carelessly drop their empty cans, cigar butts and other garbage on the insects' houses. Due to a broken fence, the human ones moreover trample on and disturb their territory. Hoppity is shocked: "Nobody's safe in their own homes – or out of them. How long has this been going on? … There's only one thing that we can do, we're in a groove, we got to move." Together with Mr Bumble, he scouts a nice garden, where, however, Mr. Bumble is almost drowned. He is rescued by the lady of the house, who says, "There you are, Mr. Bumble, this is where you belong, right out here in the garden." Eventually Hoppity finds the insects' community new home: in the garden next to a cottage on top of a skyscraper.

Figure 1. Hoppity arrives home in the "Lowlands" after his travels. Still from *Hoppity Goes to Town*.	Figure 2. The insect community tries to find a new place to live, higher up. Still from *Hoppity Goes to Town*.

The houses of the insects are no longer safe; they run the risk of being literally killed by careless humans. In order to survive, they need to find a new home. In this mainstream animation film, therefore, the safe home is the place the bugs need to find and relocate to to avoid extermination. The variety of the central metaphor at work here, then, could be formulated as SURVIVAL IS GOING HOME. That the garden where the bug community will settle is where they "belong" was anticipated by the lady of the house's rescue of Mr. Bee. The notion of finding a safe and good house runs through the entire film. Hoppity's rival for Honey Bee, the nasty Mr. Bagley Beetle, puts pressure on Mr. Bee to let him marry his daughter by promising that the two of them can live with him in the vase-house that adorns the fence surrounding the Lowlands. Tellingly, this vase-house is located higher than the houses of the other bugs; and tellingly, the the place where the bugs eventually find their new abode is high up (Figure 2), exemplifying the metaphor GOOD IS UP.

Arrietty the Borrower (Hiromasa Yonebayashi, Japan 2010, 94').

Summary Arrietty is a miniature girl who lives with her miniature parents in the basement below a country house. Normal, big people are considered dangerous enemies – much as the "human ones" in *Hoppity Goes to Town* – intent on getting rid of small people. The family survives because the father every now and then undertakes a nightly expedition to the big people's home to "borrow" things they will not need or won't miss, such as a lump of sugar, or a lost needle. However, the family servant Haru has discovered their existence (Figure 3) and Arrietty and her parents can no longer go on living in the basement; the small people need to move house, and the adventurous miniature boy Spiller helps them to get out of the house. The film ends with a shot

in which the family is seen travelling down a stream, in a tea kettle, in search of a new home (Figure 4).

Figure 3. The family servant Haru discovers the home of the small people in the basement of the house. Still from *Arrietty the Borrower*.	Figure 4. Final scene: Arrietty's family travels down a stream in a tea kettle boat in search of a new home. Still from *Arrietty the Borrower*.

As in *Hoppity Goes to Town*, the home where the protagonists live is no longer safe – Haru has already phoned the municipality for help to exterminate the miniature people, as if they were vermin. She even manages to catch Arrietty's mother (Figure 1) and keeps her in a pot as a a rare insect – until Arrietty liberates her. Moving towards a new home, then, is again primarily a matter of SURVIVAL IS GOING HOME, but by extension, the new home is where the miniature people can be themselves and peacefully live their true identity.

The Village of Idiots (Eugene Fedorenko & Rose Newlove, Canada 1999, 13'). (Thanks to ?Marloes Jeulink for drawing attention to this film.)

Summary Shmendrick, living in the small Polish village of Chelm, has "a thirst for more knowledge" – as the voice-over tells us – and leaves his wife and children for Warsaw, "to see the big city." On the way he takes a nap and waking up, without realizing it, takes the same road *back*. He is surprised to find a village which is precisely like Chelm, with people very much resembling those he knew in Chelm and a woman and children virtually identical to the wife and kids he left behind. Only he himself is not there. After some qualms, he decides to stay, believing that his alter ego is now in the village that he left, and that in the end all villages are probably basically the same.

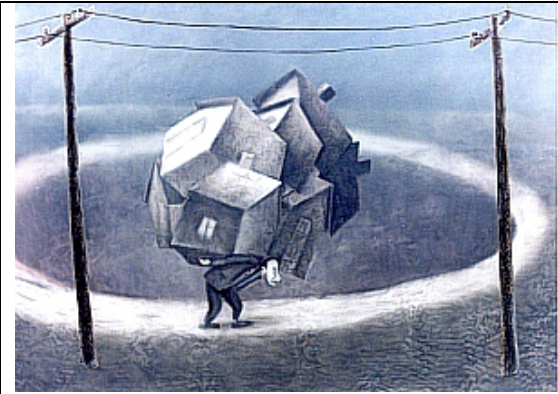|	
Figure 5. Shmendrick repairs the holes in the roof of his house with shoe soles, whose holes he covers up with corks. Still from *The Village of Idiots*.	Figure 6. Shmendrick's dream of transporting his house and the rest of the village from one place to another. Still from *The Village of Idiots*.

Although Shmendrick's ostensive goal is to gain knowledge and see the big city, the idea of "going home" as going to the place where one can live out one's true identity is strongly present. While Shmendrick is deluded as to where he is, the audience knows that he has simply returned home. The idea of making a journey toward where you are already are to find your identity is cued in an interesting manner in the opening of the film: we see Shmendrick on the roof of his house with a pile of soles with holes in them (Figure 5). He addresses one of them, and says, "an old sole (punning on "old soul") must have travelled far, having seen many places." He puts corks in the holes of the soles, and then hammers the soles over the holes in the roof. In this context, that is, the soles are metonymically tied to both shoes, and therefore to journeying, and to the house – the symbol of one's identity and the destination of the journey. Shmendrick's dream is significant, too: the journey toward his "new self" is a circular one, and shows him carrying his native village, the locus of his home and thus his identity, on his back (Figure 6).

The Lost Thing (Shaun Tan & Andrew Ruhemann, 2010, 15').
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y8MIcNeqVSk (Thanks to Galen Campbell for drawing my attention to this film).

| Figure 7. The boy encounters the Lost Thing on the Beach. Still from *The Lost Thing*. | Figure 8. The bright and happy world which will become the home of the Lost Thing. Still from *The Lost Thing*. |

Summary A boy, bottle cap collecting on the beach, runs into a large machine-like but animate creature with whom he plays (Figure 7). At the end of the day he realizes it has nowhere to go and decides to take care of it. After investigating it, his scientifically minded friend Pete says, sitting with the boy and the huge Lost Thing on the roof of his house, that he "didn't think the lost thing came from anywhere, and didn't belong anywhere either." The boy then takes it home. His parents are not very interested and he hides the Lost Thing in the shed behind the house, where it "seemed happy." As the boy says, "I mean, I couldn't just leave it wandering the streets." But this can only be a tempory solution, and the next day he takes the creature to the "Federal department of Odds and Ends." But in this depressively dark building, the Lost Thing would just be stored away and forgotten. A cleaner advises the boy to take his ward (?) to a place he can find by following a wobbly arrow sign. Eventually, they arrive at "what seemed to be the right place, in a dark little gap, off some anonymous little street." After opening a door, a brightly lit world opens up, where all kinds of oddly-shaped "lost things" play around. They are clearly happy there, as transpires from their playful behaviour, the floodlit nature of the place (Figure 8), and the upbeat relaxing music. The boy takes leave of the Lost Thing who will go on living in this haven for lost things.

While the world the Lost Thing ends up living in is not, in the strict sense, a house, it is a world in which he is obviously, and finally, "home" – a clear indication of this being that it is an alternative for the shed in which it previously found short-lived happiness. The fact that it is obviously too big to live in a normal house (as transpires from its size when it sits on the roof of Pete's house, and when it embarrassingly occupies too much space in the living room of the boy's parental house) further supports the idea that the bright world is its new, and definitive "home." And again, finding a home where the Lost Thing belongs, and thus can live out its identity requires a journey, with obstacles and problems.

La Maison en Petits Cubes/Tsumiki No Ie (Kunio Kato, Japan 2008, 12'). http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zZMkJQ-qHpI

Figure 9. All houses stand in the sea; their inhabitants live in the top storey. Still from *La Maison en Petit Cubes*.	Figure 10. The old man regularly needs to build a new storey to be safe from the water. Still from *La Maison en Petit Cubes*.

Summary In this wordless film (it won an Oscar for short film in 2008 CHECK]), an old man lives alone in house that stands in a sea, along with many other houses (Figure 9). But the water keeps rising due to rain, so with regular intervals he needs to build a new storey on top of his house (Figure 10). Each floor is separated from a lower one by a trapdoor. One time, he drops his pipe, which floats down through the open trapdoor. He dives down in a diver's suit to retrieve it, but then decides to go even further down, through more trapdoors. At each underwater floor he relives the period of his life spent there, as indicated by a warm yellow glow as opposed to the regular, greyish blue – with his wife, his daughter, as a child. At the bottom of the sea we see how he meets his future wife and together with her builds their first house. He also finds a wine glass there. When he is up again, he pours two glasses of wine, toasting presumably his now dead wife.

The home very much symbolizes the man's identity – each floor representing an episode in his life. No words are needed, because the metaphor TIME IS SPACE is visualized here (see Forceville & Jeulink 2011; Forceville 2011b). What is particularly interesting is that the TIME/SPACE is represented on a *vertical*, not a more customary *horizontal* scale. On this scale, PAST IS DOWN and FUTURE IS UP. So the man needs to literally *descend* in his past (cf. "digging into the past"). The HOMES the man is diving into are earlier versions of the HOME he is currently living in. In order to understand the film, we need to recruit both the REMEMBERING THE PAST IS GOING DOWNWARDS metaphor as a specific instantiation of the TIME IS SPACE metaphor and the HOME as symbol of IDENTITY. These two image schemas (TIME-AS-SPACE and HOME-FOR-

IDENTITY) are productive throughout the film. The higher the storey the old man builds, the older he is (the fact that, as Figure 9 shows, some other houses are under sea level suggests their owners are now dead). The rising sea level is thus also the inexorable advance of time – the moment the man no longer can summon the strength or courage to build a new storey on top of his house, he will drown in the sea of time. In the first scene we see the man fishing through the trapdoor, presumably angling for memories of the past. It is also telling that each time he has to move to a higher storey, he also needs to transport his furniture up. But as we can witness during his diving to lower storeys, he clearly left some furniture behind – a chair, the bed in which his wife was ill, and possibly died, and, lower down yet, a bench where he remembers photographing his daughter and son-in-law with their child. Moreover, his initial motivation for diving down is that he lost his pipe – and although he considers the option of buying a new pipe from a travelling salesman, he rather goes down in the hope of recovering his old one. Such circumstances reinforce the idea that the home and the objects used in it are closely related to the man's identity: the bed is tied to his identity as married man, and when his wife is dead he no longer wants the bed; but the pipe is part of an older identity he is not yet ready to relinquish – or he simply cannot face adapting to a new pipe-identity.

5. Concluding remarks

The five animation films discussed all draw on the house-as-home as the symbolical locus of literal survival and, by extension, of true identity. Inasmuch as human beings (or their anthropomorphized animal or fabled counterparts) are typically always in search of their identity, it makes sense that the structural metaphor PURPOSIVE ACTIVITY IS MOVEMENT TOWARD A DESTINATION can have as one of its more specific manifestations FINDING ONE'S IDENTITY IS GOING HOME.

While the two feature-length mainstream films discussed, *Hoppity Goes to Town* and *Arrietty* primarily emphasize the search for a new home as a strategy for literal survival, there are symbolical overtones of the home as symbol of the true self. For instance, it wouldn't feel right for Mr. Bee and Honey Bee to go and live in Mr. Bagley Beetle's house, even if they can thereby save the whole bug community [CHECK] – since the price would be Honey's forced marriage with Beetle. [expand?]. In *Arrietty*, the grandfather in the human beings' household made the doll's house for the miniature people, hoping that one time they would realize that some human beings are friendly to them, accept his present, and start living there. In the three short art animations, the home shifts from being merely a resort of protection against physical harm to being the locus of identity.

It is worth noticing that sometimes the direction of movement to "go home" is metaphorically significant. Whereas the home in *Arrietty* is conventionally somewhere down the stream, beyond the horizon, and the haven where the Lost Thing finds it belongs is some unspecified place "in a dark little gap, off some anonymous little street" – suggesting a home can be found in unexpected, unspectacular places – this is not so in the other three films. In both *Hoppity Goes to Town* and *Les Maisons de Petits Maisons* the movement takes place along a vertical dimension, the UP/DOWN orientation being important here. But it is important to realize that the source domain here is linked to different target domains. In *Hoppity* there is little doubt that GOOD IS UP (and BAD IS DOWN). By contrast, in *Les Maisons*, the target domain is the UP-DOWN dimension corresponds with a time line in which PAST IS DOWN (and FUTURE IS UP) – a healthy reminder that spatial image schemas can function as soure domains for different targets (Kövecses 2010 calls this the "scope" OR "range" of metaphors CHECK]. In *Les Maisons*, moreover, the old man goes down and then up again, and thus "returns" to the present; his journey therefore is in a sense circular. The same holds true for *The Village of Idiots*: Shmendrick, although he is unaware of it himself, Shmendrick makes a journey away from and back to Chelm. In Forceville and Jeulink (2011) we argued that circularity-with-a-twist is an often recurring feature of narratives. [EXPAND? Speculate about patterned contrasts with linear mainstream movies? No, probably not …]

The case studies show that the metaphors that govern the animation films discussed, while crucial for the stories, are no more than very basic, crude templates that enable and favour the very sophisticated refinements that can only arise out of a great and sensitized familiarity with relevant symbols, intertexts, genres, and culture in general. It is important to be aware of the continuum from deep-rooted, embodied, presumably universal image schemas and metaphors, via culturally specific knowledge, to the idiosyncrasies of individual texts. Cognitivist scholars should never forget that the convention to write conceptual metaphors in small capitals has only been introduced to be able to refer to the conceptual level of metaphor – but that this is no more than a convenient shorthand whose precise formulation does not really matter. I thus completely agree with Pettersson who, in a demonstration of how conceptual metaphor matters in poetry, warns that a healthy application of CMT requires sensitivity to stylistic elements: "In terms of cognitive literary theory, … one ignores essential thematic and formal qualities if one reduces literary works to cognitive patterns or techniques" (Petterson 2011: 108) – a point that pertains no less to the animations discussed in this paper. The big risk is that the small-capital version of conceptual metaphors is taken as a

somehow "correct" rendering of what happens in the mind, whereas if Lakoff and Johnson are right – as I think they are – that metaphors are "primarily a matter of thought and action and only derivatively a matter of language" (1980: 153), their verbal rendering, while more precise than a rendering in other modalities, still is no more than a mere approximation of our minds' activities. The continuum also needs to be borne in mind because it makes clear that whereas a discourse, particularly an artistic story, can be informed by, or even depend on certain metaphors, it can never be reduced to it. Otherwise one excellent story exemplifying the FINDING ONE'S IDENTITY IS GOING HOME would make all others redundant. Throughout history, across cultures, genres, and media, great art always addresses the same questions. Each individual work of art alerts us to these questions anew, focusing on different dimensions of it – and this makes it interestingly appealing and original to us. So in the end, analysis of conceptual metaphors in artistic discourse requires the analyst's attentive and sensitive eye and ear not only to the skeletal metaphors and symbols that structure it, but no less to the medium-specific stylistic choices made by its maker to present them afresh. It also serves as a reminder that usually more is going on in an artistic story than whatever can be captured by a structural metaphor.

Finally: I can see further work in this line of research branching out in several directions. In the first place, it will be worthwhile to test other animations featuring the GOING HOME against the claims made here. Is indeed literal or spiritual survival always the target domain, or are there other candidate target domains? A systematic investigation of the direction of movement as well as the vehicle of movement is interesting here. My hunch is that walking or other ways of progressing depending on protagonists' own muscle activity is privileged over transported in cars, planes, trains, motorboats, etc., since this reinforces the existential and physical nature of the "going home."

As indicated above, it is to be expected that the HOME will not only feature symbolically as a symbol for IDENTITY in journeys toward it, but also in building, repairing, and extending it. Are there other animation films which feature these alternative activities pertaining to house-as-home? It would also be interesting to focus on other types of buildings. I could imagine that X IS GOING TO/BUILDING/REPAIRING A CHURCH/A CASTLE/A MUSIC HALL might feature, and that, given the symbolic potential of these buidings, they might function in conceptual metaphors as well – but if they exist it would be interesting to see whether they are systematically linked to specific target domains.

Finally, there is no reason to limit such investigations to animation films. I suspect that many live-action road movies, too, feature the FINDING IDENTITY IS GOING HOME metaphor –

and the alternatives suggested in the preceding paragraph (different buildings, different activities) are no less worth pursuing.

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ⁱ The 25 volumes comprised 474 papers and book reviews. Occurrences of the two keywords were counted in the titles of the books if these were indicated in the online database at http://www.tandfonline.com/toc/hmet20/current (accessed January 2012). The word "irony" occurred in 30, and the root "figure-" in 28 titles. The root "metonym-" appeared fewer than 10 times.