Contemporary Media Stylistics Chapter Submission

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Name	Louise Nuttall and Chloe Harrison
Affiliation (if any)	University of Huddersfield and Aston University
Email	l.nuttall@hud.ac.uk, c.harrison10@aston.ac.uk;
Contact Address	Louise Nuttall School of Music, Humanities and Media University of Huddersfield Huddersfield HD1 3DH Chloe Harrison School of Languages and Social Sciences Aston University Birmingham B4 7ET
Bionote	Louise Nuttall is a Senior Lecturer in English Language and Linguistics at the University of Huddersfield, where she teaches stylistics and cognitive linguistics. She is author of *Mind Style and Cognitive Grammar* (Bloomsbury, 2018) and co-editor of *Cognitive Grammar in Literature* (Benjamins, 2014). Her first published article in *Language and Literature* won the 2015 PALA Prize. She is Secretary for the International Association of Literary Semantics and co-edits the Bloomsbury book series *Advances in Stylistics.* Chloe Harrison is a Lecturer in English Language and Literature at Aston University. Her research interests include cognitive poetics, cognitive linguistics, reader response and contemporary and postmodern fiction. She is the author of *Cognitive Grammar in Contemporary Fiction* (Benjamins, 2017) and co-editor of *Cognitive Grammar in Literature* (Benjamins, 2014). She is also co-author of the textbook, *Cognitive Grammar in Stylistics: A Practical Guide* (Bloomsbury, 2018), and Treasurer for the International Association of Literary Semantics.

Chapter Title	Wolfing down the *Twilight* series: metaphors for reading in online reviews

Abstract

The development of social media platforms devoted to the discussion of books provides a source of insights into how readers interact with texts in their daily lives and, as such, offers a growing source of data for stylistics. Popular fiction such as Stephenie Meyer's *Twilight* series (2005-2008) attracts thousands (in some cases millions) of ratings and reviews by readers, which are often highly polarised. Recent work in stylistics has used such data as a source of insights into felt, experiential aspects of reading, applying the same stylistic frameworks to the reviews as those applied to the texts themselves (e.g. Harrison, 2017; Nuttall, 2017). In this chapter, we analyse the range of metaphors used by readers to describe contrasting experiences of *Twilight* (Book One), and the embodied experiences which contribute to both its popularity and rejection among readers.

Drawing on Cognitive Metaphor Theory (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, 1999), previous research has identified three main conceptual metaphors as reflecting readers' engagement with texts: READING IS TRANSPORTATION, READING IS CONTROL and READING IS INVESTMENT (Stockwell, 2009). Here, we test and develop these observations by examining a sample of 200 reader reviews collected from the online forum, Goodreads. Comprising 100 of the most positive (5-star) and most negative (1-star) reviews of *Twilight*, these responses to the text are submitted to qualitative analysis using NVivo software, and metaphors for reading are grouped and analysed using concepts from cognitive linguistics. Applying Cognitive Grammar (Langacker, 2008), we explore the creativity with which readers extend, combine and elaborate conventional metaphors for reading in this discourse context, and identify further recurring metaphors such as READING IS EATING for this text. Comparison of our positive and negative reviews reveals differences in the mappings of these metaphors, specifically the framing of the reader, which reflects the varying quality of the embodied experiences being described. We argue that, when contextualised in relation to a particular work of fiction and a particular online discourse context, the language produced by readers can offer insights into polarised reading experiences such as immersion and resistance.

Key words

Online reader responses; Cognitive Metaphor Theory; Cognitive Grammar; construal; immersion; resistance.

1   Introduction: the language of online review forums

Founded in 2007, Goodreads has become the largest reading community in the world. At the time of writing (May 2017), the website reports 65 million members; 68 million reviews; and 2 billion books that have been added to the virtual bookshelves. The site is itself 'a social network for book reviews' (Fay, 2012), where members are given the opportunity to fill bookshelves with books they have read or are yet to read, and which they recommend, rate and review for fellow readers. For stylisticians, the book reviews found on this site reflect reading in a non-academic and non-professional context, since the website is based on 'a book-club model rather than a journalistic one' (Fay, 2012; see also Gavins, 2013, p. 8). This is a point expounded by co-founder Otis Chandler in the opening message on the site, where he identifies his motivation for developing the platform: 'when I want to know what books to read, I'd rather turn to a friend than a random person or bestseller list'.

The rise in popularity of online book reviews – and of Goodreads as a platform for reviewing books – reflects changing contemporary reading practices. With advances in digital technologies, not only do we discover, read and access texts in different ways, but the environments in which we discuss them are also changing (Allington & Pihlaja, 2016). In her online article in *The Atlantic* that advocates Goodreads as a platform for reviving and renovating the format of the book review, Fay (2012) argues that '[f]or now, Goodreads is basically Facebook with books, but if enough contributors set the bar high with creative, funny, and smart reviews it might become a force of its own'. In short, she suggests that the specific discourse environment offered by Goodreads and other book recommendation services 'will alter journalistic literary criticism' (Fay, 2012). Significantly, these changing practices also mean that different types of reading experiences are emerging, as the distinction between 'solitary' and 'social' readings (Peplow et al., 2016) becomes increasingly blurred. This pluralism can be seen, for example, in the title of another recent article about Goodreads: 'Millions of people reading alone, together' (Narula, 2014).

The nature of such reading experiences and the effects of this new online reading environment are topics for cognitive stylistics. While 'reading' has been studied from a range of perspectives in cultural studies, sociology, anthropology and book history (see Allington & Pihlaja, 2016, for a review), cognitive stylistics is specifically concerned with the felt, experiential quality of reading, or 'texture' (Stockwell, 2009). Informed by theories of embodiment in the cognitive sciences, cognitive stylistic research seeks explanations of reading phenomena such as immersion and empathy, along with the ways in which these experiences may vary, or be actively resisted by readers (e.g. Stockwell, 2005; Gavins, 2007; Whiteley, 2014; Nuttall, 2018).

A recent development in (cognitive) stylistics has seen these objectives combined with the methodologies observed in reader response research. 'Naturalistic' approaches to the study of reader responses (Swann & Allington, 2009), or analyses of the uncontrolled responses of readers in everyday

reading environments such as book clubs, classrooms or online forums, have been seen to offer a source of insights into reading experiences (Whiteley, 2011; Gregoriou, 2012; Gavins, 2013; Harrison, 2017; Nuttall, 2017). Readers' discursive choices in describing their thoughts and feelings towards a text have been said to offer a useful basis for modelling the processing which underlies them (Allington, 2011: 318; Stockwell, 2009, p.79). However, the extent to which such responses offer access to the online reading experiences of readers is mediated by the other communicative functions at work in these contexts, which may include a desire for social affirmation (or the opposite – a desire to provoke conflict) and the construction of identity within a social hierarchy (Swann & Allington, 2009; Peplow, 2011; Gregoriou, 2012). In the case of online forums such as Goodreads, the 'affinity spaces' (Gee, 2004; Curwood, 2013; Vlieghe et al., 2016) created by reviewers based on a single shared interest (a book) can be seen to form a specific context which motivates, and is influenced by, the language of its participants.

In this chapter, we explore the nature of the reading experiences observed in this context from a cognitive stylistic perspective. Combining concepts from cognitive linguistics with a naturalistic reader response method, we compare the language which characterises the reviews of one book on Goodreads in terms of metaphor. We investigate the insights offered by this data with regards to readers' varied embodied experiences of the text, as well as the different communicative, interpersonal functions which co-exist on this social media network. In doing so, we aim to uncover some of the affordances of this new media environment for cognitive stylistic understandings of immersion and resistance, and the nature of 'reading' more broadly.

2   Metaphors for reading

Cognitive stylistics studies have identified a number of metaphors on which we draw to describe our engagement with fictional worlds. Developing work by Gerrig (1993), Stockwell (2009, p. 80) states that:

> any scan of the online reading group data that is currently available reveals very evidently that there are three main organising discourse metaphors being used:
>
> • reading as transportation
> • reading as control
> • reading as investment

Stockwell notes that the first of these, the transportation metaphor, is the most popular, giving examples such as 'We follow the boy on his journey around the world' and 'There are quite a few battle scenes which I found slightly heavy going'. Notably, Stockwell's examples include both positive and negative

evaluations of a reading experience, along with those that combine the two: 'It takes a while to get into but eventually you get taken along with the action'. Further, he goes on to observe that, of the three metaphors, only 'reading as transportation' and 'reading as control' are 'bidirectional': 'in both cases, the reader is either the one controlling or the one actively doing the travelling, or alternatively is the one controlled or the one who is carried off on the journey' (2009, p. 81). These observations raise two questions: 1) in what different forms are these underlying metaphors expressed by readers? and 2) what kinds of experiences, attitudes and feelings are they used to describe?

With regards to the second question, such 'bidirectional' metaphorical expressions, and the active or passive role in which they cast the reader, might be seen to reflect reader experiences of being 'immersed' in a narrative (Gerrig, 1993; Stockwell, 2009). In cognitive stylistics, the process of immersion in a fictional world is modelled as a process of 'recentering' (Ryan, 2001), 'deictic shift' (Galbraith, 1995; Gavins, 2007) or 'psychological projection' of the self into a new spatio-temporal context (Whiteley, 2011), which is facilitated by the language of a text. An open question for such accounts concerns the extent to which the reader is an active or passive participant in this process. The active reader suggested (implicitly or explicitly) by such worlds-based models reflects Gerrig's (1993, p. 185) rejection of Coleridge's notion of a passive 'suspension of disbelief' in favour of a strategic 'willing construction of disbelief', or what he describes as an active 'performance' of the text. On the other hand, work by Stockwell (2005, 2013) describes the 'positioning' of a reader by a text in an interaction between 'readerly disposition and textual imposition' (2013, p. 263), or text-driven experiences of immersion as ones that readers can choose to engage with or resist. While seeking to test and specify Stockwell's (2009) observations in a general sense, therefore, this chapter also aims specifically to explore the ways in which experiences of immersion (both positive and negative/successful and unsuccessful) are represented by readers themselves, and the active or passive role they take in this process.

The framework that we will use to address these questions here is Cognitive Metaphor Theory (CMT). Originating in the work of Lakoff and Johnson (1980, 1999), CMT's core premise is that the metaphorical expressions we encounter in discourse reflect and shape entrenched ways of thinking about abstract concepts in terms of other more concrete, and hence readily comprehensible, concepts. In this account, the 'reading as transportation' metaphor reflects a conceptual metaphor READING IS A JOURNEY, whereby a target domain (READING) is understood through a mapping of content from a source domain (JOURNEY) containing our knowledge of this familiar aspect of bodily experience. Common source domains such as JOURNEY are understood to have an embodied basis in our shared experience as humans, which makes them suitable means through which to understand and communicate complex or subtle experiences such as reading fiction (compare Gibbs, 2005; Frank et al., 2008). In this sense, CMT offers one explanation for the pervasiveness of metaphor in interpersonal contexts like Goodreads, in which reviewers seek to share psychological, emotional and ethical responses to texts, and to do so in terms accessible to others.

However, CMT also faces a number of criticisms, many of which are particularly relevant to stylisticians. First, the very notion of a generic 'embodiment' shared by all human beings appears to be at odds with the attention to individual or culturally distinct readings which underpins (cognitive) stylistics, and the creative ability of writers to communicate extraordinary or idiosyncratic experiences through language (Senkbeil & Hoppe, 2016). Responding to the wider issue of 'embodiment' as defined in cognitive linguistics, Kövecses (2008, pp. 177-8) notes that different aspects of our universal embodiment may be focused upon by particular cultures (and by extension, perhaps, individuals) in what he terms 'differential experiential focus' (see also source domains as 'view-pointed' in Dancygier & Sweetser, 2014, p. 2). Related to this issue, Kövecses (2008, p. 180) also observes that, in addition to embodiment, metaphor use is often influenced by context-specific motivations, such as 'the setting and topic of the situation in which the metaphorical conceptualization takes place'. The selection of source domains in discourse about reading, therefore, might be seen to reflect not only the embodied experiences which underpin it, but also the topic (the specific book in question), the setting (the online forum), and the personal interests and motivations of the reviewers themselves.

Another significant criticism of CMT is its tendency to pay most attention to the underlying conceptual metaphors at the expense of their varied linguistic manifestations in discourse, and their development through interaction (Pragglejaz Group, 2007; compare Kövecses, [2002] on 'subindividual' vs 'individual' levels of analysis; see also Cameron 2003). From a stylistic perspective, neither CMT, nor the related theory of Conceptual Integration (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002), fully account for the contextualised effects of the specific language choices made by speakers/writers for conceptualisation, or 'the linguistic dimension of creativity' (Semino, 2008, p. 52; also Browse, 2014). Such variation in metaphor use is often discussed in terms of 'framing' in subsequent metaphor research, defined by Semino et al. (2016, p. 1) as the ability of metaphors to 'express, reflect, and reinforce different ways of making sense of particular aspects of our lives'. Combining cognitive and discourse-based approaches, Semino et al.'s (2016) account of framing includes the specific entities, roles and relations that are focused in the source domain, or specific 'scenario' (Musolff, 2006) mapped by a conceptual metaphor, as well as the relative 'agency, (dis)empowerment, evaluations, and emotions' (2016, p. 18) which arise from the discursive use of this metaphor in context.

The framing of metaphors can show distinctive patterns, and deviations from patterns, in how particular topics are conceptualised and linguistically expressed. Senkbeil and Hoppe (2016), for example, consider the macrometaphors present in Hornbacher's memoir *Wasted*, which is a personal account of the author's experience with anorexia and bulimia. This study discusses the conventional metaphor DEALING WITH A DISEASE IS WAR, but notes how, in this memoir, the agentive role of the writer in this war scenario is altered: individuals with anorexia/bulimia are seen to fight *for* the illness rather than *against* it. This can be seen, for example, in the sentence 'you're a friggin' unstoppable dieting army and you'll all go down together' (Senkbeil & Hoppe, 2016, p. 8).

One means of analysing such localised framings, set out more fully in Browse (2014) and Nuttall (2018), is to enrich CMT with concepts drawn from Cognitive Grammar (Langacker, 2008). Viewed in this light, metaphors can be regarded simply as instances of the wider processes of 'construal' that underpin all linguistic expressions (see Langacker, 2008, pp. 55-85). In this framework, construal describes our ability to linguistically portray – and so conceptualise – the same experience in alternate ways. Like all construals, metaphorical expressions cue a 'matrix' of domains in memory (in the case of metaphors; a source and target domain), content from which may be variably 'focused' in attention, conceived at different levels of 'specificity', and allocated different amounts of 'prominence'. Further, the specific participants (e.g. anorexia/bulimia sufferers) conceptualised within such domains can be analysed in terms of their variable role within an 'action chain' (Langacker, 2008, p. 355), or a force-dynamic interaction between an active participant (the AGENT, or 'energy source') and a passive participant (the PATIENT, or 'energy sink'). Combined with discussion of the 'mappings' between domains as part of a CMT analysis, discussion of the nature of the resulting conceptualisation in these terms allows us to explore the effects of specific language choices for the meaning of metaphors in context. In the analysis that follows, this model of 'metaphorical construal' (Nuttall, 2018) is used to explore the framings of reading and readers which characterise the metaphors in our reviews.

3 *Twilight*: readers & reception

Stephenie Meyer's *Twilight* collection (2005–2008) is a bestselling Young Adult series, which was adapted into a series of films (2008–2012) and which is identified as the source of inspiration for the hugely successful fan fiction series *Fifty Shades* (James, 2015–2018). This study examines reader reviews of the first book in the series, *Twilight* (2005). At the time of writing, this novel has received 96,914 reviews on Goodreads along with just over 4 million ratings. Of these ratings, 1441,592 are 5-stars (the highest rating possible), 479,241 are 1-star (the lowest rating), with the remaining 2,229,974 reviewers giving the novel 2, 3 or 4 stars. With an average rating of 3.58 stars, the novel's popularity on the site together with its highly polarised responses is reflective of its wider societal reception and influence. A cursory internet search reveals numerous fan-sites devoted to the series, including www.twilightlexicon.com, en.twilightpoision.com and www.edwardsmeadow.com, visited by self-proclaimed 'Twihards' or members of 'Team Edward' or 'Team Jacob'. Meanwhile, first-time author Meyer has since been named one of *Time* magazine's most influential people (Time, 2008).

Twilight (2005) is centred on protagonist Isabella ('Bella') Swan, who moves from Arizona to live with her father in Forks, Washington, where she meets and falls in love with a vampire, Edward Cullen. Much of the action of the novel takes place in the high school in which Bella and Edward meet and concerns their developing romance. Accident-prone Bella is saved from several dangerous situations by Edward, who simultaneously attempts to save her from himself and the danger he poses to her as a 100 year old member of secret clan of blood-thirsty (but 'vegetarian') vampires.

Critics and readers alike have expressed surprise at its success, voicing concerns about the troubling messages it sends to girls and women about romance and gender norms (see Silver, 2010 for a review). For many, Edward's controlling behaviour and Bella's vulnerability promote outdated ideas about male dominance and female submission to a young audience who may lack the critical resources necessary to reject its underlying ideology. However, other researchers have argued against the view of (young) readers as passive recipients of ideologies, identifying a more active, critical engagement with fiction which appropriates and negotiates it for their own purposes (Sarland, 2005). Citing evidence from fansites, Facebook and classroom discussions, Silver (2010, p. 137) describes a 'give and take in girls' readings', whereby they 'allow themselves to swoon into Meyer's fantasy of everlasting passion and devotion' while simultaneously resisting engagement with Bella and specific aspects of her behaviour. Reflected in the Goodreads reviews of *Twilight*, these critical concerns are ones that have yet to be addressed from a cognitive stylistic perspective. In the remainder of this chapter, we outline an analytical approach that aims to offer insight into this 'give and take' during reading, or the experiences of immersion and resistance which underpin this novel's success.

4   Methodology

The top 100 community reviews for both the 1-star and 5-star ratings were collected from the Goodreads website, using the site's default sorting algorithm for the 'most interesting' reviews[i]. From the 5-star reviews, 6 were discarded (either because they written in a language other than English, or due to inappropriate content[ii]), and from the 1-star reviews 4 were discarded for the same reasons. In each case, the next listed reviews on the site were collected in their place. The resulting datasets of 100 reviews were then uploaded to NVivo Pro 11 and metaphors were coded following the Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP), as outlined by the Pragglejaz Group (2007). This procedure involves reading the whole text in order to ascertain a general understanding of the discourse and then marking up those lexical units that are being used metaphorically, by comparing the 'basic' (the historical or more concrete definition of a term) against the 'contextual' meaning (how the term functions in this discourse context) of the lexical item in question (see Pragglejaz, 2007, for a more detailed breakdown of the steps involved in this approach). For the purposes of our analysis, only those metaphors for which the target was *the act of reading* (or a closely related target: *writing*, *reviewing*, or *the book itself*) were coded. The coded metaphorical expressions were grouped into 'nodes', which in this case reflected our sense of their underlying conceptual metaphor, taking into account their basic meaning and their function within the context of the review. The researchers coded the datasets for the 1-star and 5-star reviews separately, before swapping to check the other's coding. Any instances in which the metaphor coded was unclear were highlighted and accepted only if inter-coder agreement was reached. At the end of this process, a total of 637 references for the 1-star reviews and 419 references for the 5-star dataset were coded, respectively[iii].

Taking into account the complex ethical considerations involved in research using online discourse as data (Spilioti & Tagg, 2017), and the potential vulnerability of reviewers of *Twilight* in terms of age, the extracted reviews (all in the public domain) have been anonymised, with each reviewer given an identifier (R1 or R5 according to the respective negative/positive datasets, followed by a number between 1 and 100) (see also Pihlaja, 2017 for discussion of the decision to acknowledge or anonymise in social media contexts). In the analysis which follows, all quotations from reviews are reproduced with original spelling, emphasis, grammar and punctuation.

5   Analysis

Table 1 below shows the results of the initial coding, with each of the 'nodes' (or conceptual metaphors) ordered by frequency of coded instances in each dataset (1-star, 5-star) and the total 200 reviews[iv]. Only the ten most frequent metaphors are recorded here, and those with other related target domains are not included in order to restrict our focus. Where appropriate, these related metaphors (e.g. WRITING IS REGURGITATING and BOOKS ARE EXCREMENT) will be discussed at relevant points in the discussion which follows.

1-star reviews	5-star reviews	Total reviews in our sample
READING IS A JOURNEY (64)	READING IS CONTROL (63)	READING IS A JOURNEY (121)
READING IS EATING (51)	READING IS A JOURNEY (57)	READING IS CONTROL (109)
READING IS CONTROL (46)	READING IS EATING (26)	READING IS EATING (77)
READING IS INVESTMENT (30)	READING IS A (ROMANTIC) RELATIONSHIP (21)	READING IS INVESTMENT (42)
READING IS PHYSICAL CONTACT (22)	READING IS SEEING (13)	READING IS PHYSICAL CONTACT (34)
READING IS SEEING (16)	READING IS INVESTMENT (12)	READING IS A (ROMANTIC) RELATIONSHIP (31)
READING IS MENTAL ILLNESS (10)	READING IS PHYSICAL CONTACT (12)	READING IS SEEING (29)
READING IS A (ROMANTIC) RELATIONSHIP (10)	READING IS A COMPETITION (10)	READING IS A COMPETITION (13)
READING IS A RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE (7)	READING IS MENTAL ILLNESS (3)	READING IS MENTAL ILLNESS (10)
READING IS A COMPETITION (3)	READING IS A RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE (2)	READING IS A RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE (9)

Table 1. Frequency of conceptual metaphor nodes coded in 1-star and 5-star reviews of *Twilight* on Goodreads

Comparison of these rankings to Stockwell's (2009) predictions generates some interesting observations. Stockwell's estimation that 'reading as transportation' is the most popular metaphor used by readers, making up approximately half of the metaphors used to describe reading, is borne out to some extent in our data, though not consistently. Expressions coded as READING IS A JOURNEY are prevalent and include 'I loved everything about it and flew through it' (R5.5) and 'having to follow your narrator through 24-fucking-hours of a day…' (R1.3), though notably these make up only a quarter of the total metaphorical descriptions of reading coded in our data. Further, instances of READING IS CONTROL such as 'the language and writing keep the reader hooked' (R5.4); 'I'll admit I was roped in by this book at first' (R1.16); and READING IS INVESTMENT, e.g. 'It's worth the time and energy, and the tug on your emotions' (R5.14); 'you totally ripped off your readers there' (R1.2), lend support to Stockwell's discussion of these pervasive metaphors for reading. However, his estimation that these make up, in equal parts, the other half of metaphors used to describe reading in such discourse is not supported. Significantly, a number of other conceptual metaphors were frequently observed across our data. READING IS INVESTMENT, described by Stockwell (2009, p. 80) as the most 'overlooked' metaphor used by readers, appears further down our lists than another metaphor, coded as READING IS EATING, and a range of other novel metaphors are observed besides. These summative findings indicate that the range of metaphors used by readers to describe their experiences is broader and more complex than previously suggested, and that other pervasive metaphors may have been overlooked in stylistic research.

However, based on subjective judgements of metaphorical groupings, these rankings are limited in what they can tell us about the use of metaphor in the reviews. More interesting patterns can be seen when the metaphorical expressions themselves are examined. As noted previously in section 2, Stockwell (2009) described the variable 'directionality' of metaphors for reading, and their resulting representation of the reader as an active or passive participant in the events or actions conceptualised. Based on this observation, we hypothesise that the linguistic manifestations of conceptual metaphors will differ, depending on whether the review is describing a positive or negative reading experience. Comparing our 1-star and 5-star datasets, and drawing on the view of 'framing' discussed in section 3, we expect to see variation in the 'agency, (dis)empowerment, evaluations, and emotions' (Semino et al., 2016, p. 18) encoded in readers' use of these metaphors in context. In the following sections, we examine the three most pervasive conceptual metaphors in our data individually in these terms.

5.1   READING IS A JOURNEY

As suggested by Stockwell (2009), the linguistic expressions of the JOURNEY metaphor in our data vary widely in terms of their representation of the agency of the reader, the text, and its writer in the experience of reading *Twilight*. In our data, such differences of framing can be seen in the various *types* of journey, or specific scenarios that act as the source domain in different conceptualisations of the reading experience. A recurring scenario seen in our data is that of DIVING. The following examples, taken from the 5-star reviews, all describe the experience of reading the novel using this metaphor (lexical items identified as metaphorical have been underlined):

> I enjoyed this Young Adult, Paranormal Romance and glad that I finally <u>took the plunge</u> (R5.29)

> Accept the fact that you won't get any sleep until you've finished this whole, thick book. Then <u>dive in</u> and enjoy! (R5.76)

> Whatever it may be, young adult novel, vampire novel, or romance novel, each reader will <u>furrow into the depths</u> of Meyer's tight prose (R5.82)

> I had read Like Water for Chocolate by Laura Esquivel because my mom had insisted I <u>could get into it</u>. I do hand it to her I finished and loved it and chatted with her endlessly about it. (R5.27)

> I haven't stopped reading since and don't expect to<u> emerge from Twilight-land</u> till mid next week. (R5.95)

> Her story is one that any romantic girl who has loved or desires to love <u>can fall into</u> and be held to the pages as the story unfolds. (R5.32)

From a cognitive grammatical perspective (see section 2), this particular metaphorical construal focuses a specific set of participants and processes as part of the DIVING scenario it invites us to mentally represent. In the construal underpinning these expressions, the reader is the agentive participant in this action chain, focused in the role of energy source, which enters, unimpeded, into the text. This construal is represented in Figure 1. Notably, the readers' behaviour in these examples can be intentional, as in 'dive', or unintentional, as in 'fall'. Meanwhile, the text is construed as the PATIENT in this action chain – the passive recipient of the action (R5.82, 27), or the backgrounded location for the movement (R5.29, 76, 95, 32).
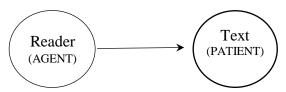

Figure 1: Metaphorical construal 1 – READING IS A JOURNEY (READER AS AGENT)

As suggested by Stockwell (2009), examples in which the agency, or 'directionality', of this metaphor is reversed can also be seen in our data. Descriptions such as those below, again from our 5-star data set, can be seen to construe this same movement 'into' the text, but this time focusing the reader as the passive participant (or PATIENT), who is affected by the actions of the text/its writer (the AGENT). This construal is represented in Figure 2. In these terms, then, Stockwell's 'bidirectionality' can be understood as a reversal in the energy transfer between participants focused in the source domain.

I was <u>pulled into this love story</u> immediately. (R5.55)

I read Twilight a couple years ago 4 times I pretty much read it every year but I never put in my reviews until now and I really like the fact pet Stephanie Myers <u>sucks you into her books</u>. (R5.67)

I was happy to suspend belief and while intellectually I know that I should be more critical of it, on an emotional level <u>I was just sucked in</u>. (R5.96)
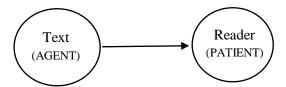

Figure 2: Metaphorical construal 2 – READING IS A JOURNEY (TEXT AS AGENT)

Notably, this DIVING scenario appears to be largely constrained to the 5-star reviews in our dataset. Instances of the first construal (which we sub-categorised in our data as READER AS AGENT) are absent entirely from the 1-star review data, while instances of the second construal (TEXT AS AGENT), are used only by reviewers here in a negated context (e.g. 'I didn't get <u>so absorbed in it</u> that I couldn't imagine reading any other book alongside it' [R1.71]) or to comment on the responses of other readers to the text (e.g. 'it's hard to imagine how so many people <u>got suckered into this book</u>' [R1.10]; 'Even those who tried desperately to ignore the hype somehow <u>got sucked into the huge marketing machine</u> that was Twilight' [R1.61]). Instead, this underlying source domain manifests here in descriptions of the text as 'shallow' (R1.68, 79, 83) or the lack of 'depth' to the text's characters and meaning (R1.8, 16).

With such distinct patterns characterising the 1-star and 5-star reviews, these different construals of this same underlying conceptual metaphor might be seen to reflect the contrasting embodied experiences of the text being described. In our data, the embodied sense of a (downwards) movement 'into' the text characterises only successful, immersive engagements with the novel, in an interesting subversion of the conventional conceptual metaphors GOOD IS UP, BAD IS DOWN (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, 1999). Within such positive descriptions, the two different metaphorical construals observed in our data could suggest a degree of variation in the extent to which this immersive experience is felt by the reader to be an active or passive engagement. Interacting with this embodied motivation, of course,

are the specific interpersonal, rhetorical functions that metaphor carries in this discourse context. As exemplified by the examples given above, use of the construction 'suck[er/ed] in' in this online forum appears to carry a negative evaluation of the text, either as self-defence for a lack of critical perspective during reading (R5.96), or a criticism of others for their acceptance of its ideology (R1.10, 61).

5.2 READING IS CONTROL

The READING IS CONTROL metaphors used by the reviewers in the *Twilight* datasets similarly display variations of framing in terms of agency. Like READING IS A JOURNEY, READING IS CONTROL is also bidirectional, which, as we have observed, reflects two alternative construals of the source domain in terms of a force-dynamic energy transfer between participants. Stockwell (2009, p. 80) argues that the most common framing of this metaphor involves 'readers being the entity controlled'. One particular manifestation of the READING IS CONTROL metaphor that positions the reader as the entity being controlled is the 'made me X' syntactic construction, which appeared in both of our datasets. The 6 instances of this construction in the 5-star reviews are listed in Table 2 below:

It's fascinating and	makes me	desperate to get the book when it finally comes out. (R5.16)
I forgot how snarky Bella was. And of course the sweet parts still	made me	grin like a loon. (R5.31)
I liked Bella's wry, self-deprecating narrative voice from the get-go; and both the two main characters and many of the secondary ones really came to life for me in a way that	made me	care about them. (R5.39)
It gutted me, but	made me	feel alive at the same time. (R5.74)
Despite what Stephen King said, I think Stephenie Meyer did an amazing job (she	made me	, and millions of other girls, fall for a fictional character. Come on!) and I like her writing style. (R5.83)
This is one of those books that	made me	fall in love with reading again. (R5.92)

Table 2. 'Made me' READING IS CONTROL constructions in the 5-star reviews

Though the CONTROL here evidently comes from the text, the exact cause varies, with the energy source or AGENT in the underlying action chain identified as the narrative voice (R5.31, 39), the book as a whole (R5.16, 75, 92), or the author specifically (R5.83). Although use of the force-dynamic expression 'made me' (see Talmy, 1988, 2000) indicates that the reader feels they have no control over the state that ensues, the resulting impact on them as PATIENT is in each case an emotional experience ('grin', 'care', 'feel', 'fall for', 'fall in love', 'desperate') that is framed positively by the reviewer.

13

This contrasts with the occurrences of the 'made me' constructions that appear in the 1-star reviews. Compared to the 5-star dataset, the 'made me' constructions in the 1-star reviews occurred more frequently (25 instances as compared to 6). As expected, the 1-star 'made me' constructions are similarly evaluative, but framed much more negatively, as the examples in Table 3 demonstrate:

but I wish that Meyer had come up with a better idea that didn't	make me	laugh uncontrollably at the thought. (R1.1)
Purple Prose- Ew... to this... seriously, all the purple prose	made me	want to throw the book across the room. (R1.1)
All the high school/teenage stuff honestly	made me	boggle. (R1.3)
If I had actually finished the book I might have had more to say, but every new page	made me	cringe. (R1.34)
But I have to talk about this book, because it	made me	very, very angry. (R1.62)
But I might be suddenly channeling Andrea Dworkin, because this book	made me	feel total and complete revulsion. (R1.62)
Bella and Edward's relationship is based entirely on physical attraction (he's beautiful, she smells good), so it	made me	gag everytime Bella/Meyer tries to forcefeed you the idea that it's the greatest, most loving romance of all time.(R1.75)
The first half of this book	made me	kind of want to spew. (R1.96)
Positively everything she did	made me	grind my teeth. (R1.85)

Table 3. 'Made me' READING IS CONTROL constructions in the 1-star reviews

The source of the control, or the agent in these action chains, can again be traced to different parts of the book or the book as a whole (R1.34; R1.62; R1.96), specific stylistic features (R1.1), or ideas within it (R1.3; R1.75). Another pattern apparent in these 1-star examples is the inducement of a physiological reaction ('laugh uncontrollably', 'feel total and complete revulsion', 'kind of want to spew', 'gag', 'cringe', 'boggle') as well as the severity of emotional feeling ('very, very angry'). Like the examples of the READING IS A JOURNEY metaphor in the previous section, in all of these descriptions the reader conceptualises themselves as the energy sink; the entity at the end of the action chain that is affected by the text. It is also notable that in these examples the readers are then positioned as EXPERIENCERS (Langacker, 2008, p. 356); being at the end of the action chain has brought about a change in their perceptual, emotional or physiological state. Unlike the 5-star examples, however, the 1-star manifestations of the metaphor frame these experiences as ones that are unwelcome and that impact upon the body negatively (see also section 5.3 for conceptualisations of the physicality of the reading experience).

Another distinctive framing of this metaphor in our data is the focusing of the specific scenario of ADDICTION. This construal appears in both 1-star and 5-star reviews but more frequently in the 5-star reviews (20 instances as compared with only 3 instances in the 1-star reviews). As an instantiation of the CONTROL metaphor, READING IS ADDICTION represents a specification of the source domain: in particular, the absence of control on the part of the PATIENT (the reader). The increase in the text's control over the reader is explicitly marked through the word 'addiction', which appears in different forms 9 times in the 5-star reviews and 3 times in the 1-star reviews. In the 3 examples in the 1-star reviews, the references to addiction described a previous reading stance which has now altered ('When I first read the book, I was addicted to it' [R1.15; R1.97]), or a compulsion to read in order to criticise it more soundly (R1.65). The book is additionally compared to 'drugs' more superordinately (R5.94), and two reviewers compared the book to 'crack' (R1.97; R5.89), in particular, whereas others talk about 'craving' (R5.1) the text, getting a 'temporary fix' between books (R5.16) and about being a 'book-junkie' (R5.32).

This ADDICTION metaphor can be seen as an 'elaboration' (Lakoff & Turner, 1989; Semino, 2008, p. 45) of the CONTROL metaphor, through specification of a particular part of this more generic metaphor: in this case, giving up further control to the text so much so that readers construe themselves as being dependent upon it. While mapping both the dangerous and pleasurable aspects of this source domain onto the reading experience, in this affinity space, readers' creative use of this conventional figurative template is a mark of enjoyment, predominantly, for this text, whether that enjoyment be ongoing (as in the 5-star reviews) or in the past (in the 1-star reviews). For some readers, then, a positive immersive reading experience of this book is one which is not only passive, but that also generates a feeling of dependency.

In all the instantiations of the CONTROL metaphor described so far, the reader is construed as the entity with less agency. This can also be seen in many other manifestations of the metaphor in the data, with reviewers describing being 'hooked' (R5.41, 69, 83), being taken in the 'grip' of the book (R5.48), the 'gripping' storyline (R5.3), being 'caught up' (R3: 13) or 'roped in' by the story (R1.16; R5.73). At the same time, however, there are a smaller number of manifestations of READING IS CONTROL in the datasets that display the control as coming from the reader (just 5 instances in 1-star reviews, and 3 instances in the 5-star reviews). For example:

But, I really regret ever buying and forcing myself to finish it (I hate not finishing books, even if I hate them) (R1.1)

And yet despite all of this I could not stop reading these books. It was like a train wreck that I could not pull myself away from. (R1.58)

After seeing mixed reviews on it and reading that many people complained about the writing and characters, I bypassed it for awhile, but I had to read it. (R5.5)

Young adult novels do not normally hold much interest for me, and even after my daughter and niece begged me to read this one, I resisted. [...] There was something very compelling about this book, partly because of the appeal of the sweet young love in the story. (R5.21)

In all these examples, the control is in fact represented as arising from multiple directions at once. The second example, for instance, construes the reader as an AGENT in that they are attempting (unsuccessfully) to perform actions ('I could not stop reading'; 'I could not pull myself away' [R1.58]). At the same time, the book maintains agency in the implied energy and activity of the 'train wreck' that competes with the agency of the reader, acting as an obstacle in this action chain, or what could be described in force-dynamic terms as an opposition between 'agonist' and 'antagonist' (Talmy, 1988, 2000). This tug-of-war for control can also be seen in the other reviews, in which an interaction between competing forces is apparent in lexical choices such as 'forcing myself', 'bypassed it' and 'resisted'. Examined at a finer level of detail, these instances of this metaphorical construal (READING IS CONTROL; READER AS AGENT) might be further differentiated in terms of whether the reader's agency manages to overcome that exerted by the text.

Considered altogether, the different manifestations of the READING IS CONTROL metaphor might tell us something about the experience of reading this text. As predicted by Stockwell (2009), both the 1-star and 5-star reviews reveal a preference for a construal of the text as controller (the AGENT), and the reader as controlled (the PATIENT), with 81 instances coded for TEXT AS AGENT in our overall sample of 200 reviews, compared to just 8 coded for READER AS AGENT. In those limited instances in which the reader was construed in an agentive role, this was often represented as competing with an opposing force presented by the text. This finding is interesting when considered in light of stylistic accounts of narrative immersion (section 2). While the process of becoming immersed in a fictional world is often modelled as an active process of 'projection' (Whiteley, 2011) or 'performance' (Gerrig, 1993) in response to textual cues on the part of a reader,, in our data, this sense of agency does not appear. Instead, across both positive and negative responses to the text, readers represent their experience of this particular narrative and resulting emotions, as driven, or controlled, by the text itself, with their own agency most apparent in the form of resistance to this control.

5.3   READING IS EATING

So far this chapter has observed the ways in which the linguistic manifestations of two prominent reading metaphors, READING IS A JOURNEY and READING IS CONTROL, vary across the 1-star and 5-star conditions, as well as the ways in which they remain consistent. Another notable pattern in the data was the appearance of metaphors that have not previously been explored in stylistic research. Some of these include examples of pairing the target READING with the source domains of A RELATIONSHIP, SEX, A RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE, MENTAL ILLNESS and SEEING, among others.

READING IS EATING is one of the most frequently used metaphors, appearing in both datasets (26 occurrences in the 5-star reviews and 51 in the 1-star reviews). This metaphor for reading has hitherto not been researched or discussed extensively (cf. Radway, 1986) despite arguably having a conventional usage in English (instantiated, for example, in the phrase 'bookworm' which can be used to describe an avid reader, or in how a person might describe their 'taste' in books). Building on Kövecses' (2008) discussion of the context-specific motivations for metaphor (see section 2) the prevalence of this metaphor in the *Twilight* reviews may also be primed by the book itself, since the cover of the 2007 paperback edition features two hands offering a red apple. In addition, the text itself features many food analogies to describe Edward's appetite for blood, and for Bella's blood in particular:

> "You know how everyone enjoys different flavors?" he began, "Some people love chocolate ice cream, others prefer strawberry?"
> I nodded.
> "Sorry about the food analogy – I couldn't think of another way to explain."
>
> (Meyer, 2005, p. 85)

The prominence of food as a theme is noted by critical literature written on the text (see, for example, Dunn, 2009), and is also acknowledged by some readers as a recurring (and to some extent 'foregrounded' [Mukařovský, 1964]) feature of the narrative. R1.32, for instance, complains that 'the motions of eating ravioli and looking at the mushrooms on the plate are painstakingly dragged out', and R1.96 observes that, 'seriously, there's a description of how Bella rearranges the fridge'. R5.20, meanwhile, has assigned this book to the Goodreads shelf category 'food-drinks'. More generally, readers in the datasets talk about 'devouring' the book (R5.4, 63), its 'cheesy' tone (R5.8; R1.8) and 'sugar-coated' themes (R5. 11), and their particular reading 'taste' (R5.4) and 'insatiable hunger' (R5.43) for the series.

In the 5-star reviews, the READING IS EATING metaphor frequently manifests in a more specific construal, with reviewers comparing reading *Twilight* with eating junk food, in particular. These reviewers liken reading the book to eating specific items, such as 'chocolate' (R5.1), 'McDonalds' (R5.4), 'carnival food' such as 'deep fried corn dogs, greasy pizza, funnel cakes, and elephant ears' and 'cotton candy' (R5.7), 'pizza' (R5.7, 42) and to drinking 'wine' (R5.69). While the READING IS EATING examples in the 1-star data also name specific junk food items (a 'marshmallow' [R1.10] and a 'Twinkie' [R1.12]), different aspects of this shared JUNK FOOD source domain are mapped across the two datasets. For the 5-star reviewers, the junk food is 'refreshing' (R5.6), 'delicious, sinful' and an 'indulgence' (R5.1), but for the 1-star reviewers the emphasis is on the 'unhealthy' (R1.62, 79) aspect: 'it's addictive to many and yet lacks any kind of substance/nutritional value besides empty calories' (R1.12).

In addition to focusing different aspects of the same domain, in some of the manifestations of this metaphor there is also evidence of 'conceptual blends' with other domains (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002). The influence of ADDICTION, for example, is still present in some of the evocations of EATING: e.g. 'it left me with that same craving for more that Harry Potter did' (R5.1); 'giving you a sweet addiction' (R5.63); 'this book was addictive, I couldn't enough of it, like pizza (can't get enough of that.... obviously if Edward thought Bellas scent was empowering, he never smelt pizza...here's me getting sidetracked with food again ☐)' (R5.19). Such creative 'combinations' of conceptual metaphors (Lakoff & Turner, 1989; Semino, 2008, p. 48) focus a matrix of domains, various aspects of which collectively enrich our understanding of the target. Cameron (2003) refers to this process as a type of 'metaphor construction', where a target becomes 're-juxtaposed' with a 'developed or contextualised' source domain in order to 'reformulate the metaphor'. In the last example given here, the pleasurable experience of eating 'pizza' is reformulated with the sense of a lack of control suggested by 'addiction'. Consequently, this blend of domains emphasises the simultaneously pleasurable and overpowering experience of reading the book for this reader.

5.3.1. READING IS CHOKING/REGURGITATING; BOOKS ARE EXCREMENT

Alongside the specific food-substances referenced in the READING IS EATING 1-star reviews, there are also some unique instantiations of this metaphor that do not appear in the 5-star dataset. A number of reviewers liken reading *Twilight* to eating something that causes choking ('gag worthy fluff' [R1.1]; 'choke it down' [R1.42]; 'the romance was gag worthy' [R1.68]; 'gag!' [R1.11]). Like the CONTROL metaphors discussed in section 5.2, this metaphorical construal reflects an act of resistance to the text's agency on the part of the reader: e.g. 'it made me gag everytime Bella/Meyer tries to forcefeed you the idea that it's the greatest, most loving romance of all time' [R1.75]). Here, the source domains EATING and CONTROL are combined, and again, the reader is conceptualised as the PATIENT in the action chain, while 'Bella/Meyer' adopt the AGENT role. This construal of such resistant EATING expresses a reading experience which is not smooth, easy or even a voluntary activity; a complete contrast to the action chains construed in the 5-star data which describe wilfully 'devouring' the book (R5.4, 63). Related to this latter particular scenario of CHOKING/GAGGING on food, another mapping of this metaphor appears in expressions that conceptualise the aftermath of the eating process, and specifically 'feeling sick' (R1.85, 1, 35, 83) or vomiting ('It was a edible [sic] I'd vomit it back up' [R1.37]; 'VOM VOM VOM' [R1.58]); or the unpleasant 'taste that lingers' (R1.32) after reading. These construals focus an additional scenario within the general source domain of EATING: REGURGITATING. In doing so, they can be said to reflect an 'extension' of this metaphor (Lakoff & Turner, 1989; Semino, 2008, p. 44), or an extension of the underlying action chain conceptualised for EATING, to include a new slot or action once the eating is complete.

Finally, BOOKS ARE EXCREMENT is one metaphor that appears only in the 1-star reviews. Other than explicit references to 'shit' and 'bullshit' (R1.21, 59, 92), reviewers who use this metaphor also make a number of comparisons between the book and 'a turd' (R1.10), 'crap' (R1.1, 27, 32, 42, 65, 75), or more tangentially-related descriptions such as '~~Toilette~~ *Twilight*' (R1.2), the 'butt-awful sequels' (R1.16), 'toilet paper' and 'piss-poor' writing (R1.84). Further, there is evidence of additional metaphor combinations: R1.2 describes the text as 'a shit storm in action', blending this source domain with that of a NATURAL FORCE.

BOOKS ARE EXCREMENT differs from the previous metaphors discussed in this analysis, however, in that it focuses a different target domain: BOOKS rather than READING. This focusing of the target domain makes the critical nature of these reviews more directed; the negative evaluation is not based on an experience to which the reader contributes, but rather is solely attributed to the book as an artefact. It could be argued that the metaphors mentioned in this section – READING IS EATING and examples that map CHOKING and REGURGITATING, specifically, and BOOKS ARE EXCREMENT – relate to the same generic-level metaphor of READING IS EATING, but that in each manifestation different aspects of this process (understood in a broader sense – its 'maximal scope' [Langacker, 2008]) are profiled. Specifically, it is a matter of which part of the EATING process is being attended to: with emphasis on the 'initial' (ingesting the food/book), the 'medial' (how that food gets digested), or the 'final' (the outcome) sections of the same action chain (Talmy, 2000, pp. 255–309). Indeed, instances in which the target domain of WRITING is described in terms of REGURGITATING (e.g. '*Twilight* reads like Meyer has read a lot of mediocre novels and <u>regurgitated</u> the same kind of language <u>onto the page</u>' [R1:1]) demonstrate a further extension of this source domain and its profiled action chain. Finally, an interesting example of readers' creative extensions of this metaphor is seen in a review that advises other readers to 'steer clear of this book other than for the humour value and the shock that American teenagers are not only <u>being shovelled this shit</u>, but are <u>lapping it up</u> in droves' (R1.88). This reviewer's creative construal profiles both the initial and final parts of this EATING action chain, so that these activities are construed as part of a cyclical process.

The clustering of lexis surrounding a specific TOILET scenario, along with those seen for JUNK FOOD and ADDICTION earlier in this analysis, highlights how readers in such online discourse environments can influence others' language and actively shape the distinctive style features of the affinity space; this is shown, in particular, through the extension of the same running joke (e.g. R1.2 acknowledges that '~~Toilette~~ *Twilight*' has been previously used by another reviewer on the site); and in using creative lexical blends for adapting the title to this joke: 'Twishite' (R1.42) and 'Twifart' (R1.16). Such recurring discourse features form part of the 'shared language' of this discourse community (Peplow, 2011; Swann & Allington, 2009) and allow readers to demonstrate their 'shared affinity' (Vlieghe et al., 2016, p. 28) within this environment. Given the dysphemistic language and the on-record taunts by reviewers towards those in the 5-star camp, the use of this metaphor can be seen as a performative tool used by 1-star reviewers to help position themselves more firmly within the group.

6   Conclusion

This chapter has investigated readers' varied and creative uses of metaphor to describe experiences of fiction in an online media context. The findings of this study offer a number of significant insights for stylistic accounts of reader experiences of narrative fiction, and for critical accounts of *Twilight* in particular. First, building on observations by Stockwell (2009), this analysis has provided support for three prominent metaphors for reading – READING IS A JOURNEY, READING IS CONTROL, and READING IS INVESTMENT – noted in previous work as underpinning readers' descriptions of their own experiences.

By analysing the range of linguistic forms that these metaphors take in discourse, and their specific 'framing' of reading in terms of 'agency, (dis)empowerment, evaluations and emotions' (Semino et al., 2016, p. 18), or metaphorical construal of this process in terms of an 'action chain' (Langacker, 2008), this chapter has revealed a number of patterns in their use in relation to this particular text. One such pattern is the tendency to describe successful, immersive experiences of reading in terms of a DIVING scenario, or a downwards movement 'into' the text. Indeed, this metaphorical understanding of textual engagement is one that underpins the stylistic term 'immersion' itself. Restricted to positive responses to this novel (in the 5-star reviews, or in a negated context in 1-star reviews) this embodied experience of immersive reading was one in which readers variably conceptualised themselves as active or passive participants. Instantiations of the READING IS CONTROL metaphor, however, across both positive and negative reviews, consistently framed the reader in a passive role – as the recipient of the text's agency, with their agency limited to an act of resistance to the text. Notable in this respect, was the recurrence of another specific scenario ADDICTION to describe the experience of being controlled, as a feeling of dependency that was simultaneously dangerous and pleasurable. Viewed in light of existing cognitive stylistic accounts of immersion and resistance, these accounts of everyday reading experiences offer a useful perspective on the acts of 'recentering' (Ryan, 2001), 'projection' (Whiteley, 2011), or 'positioning' (Stockwell, 2013) set out in such models. Specifically, they suggest a 'give and take' (Silver, 2010) in readers' engagement with this novel, or a degree of awareness in these readers of the passivity or resistance with which they accept its invitation for engagement.

In addition, our data has revealed a range of other conceptual metaphors for reading, which have not been discussed in previous stylistic accounts. The most salient of these: READING IS EATING, we have proposed, is one that is primed by, and developed within, this specific online media context. Another such metaphor in the *Twilight* data, not addressed in this chapter, is READING IS A COMPETITION. One reviewer (R1.69), for example, takes a step away from the text entirely and cites 'the fans', rather than any textual feature within the book, as the justification for their hatred: 'It's the fans that made me **hate** the book'. This acknowledgement of the 'other' group of fans forms another

distinctive feature of the *Twilight* reviews, and possibly other reviews for texts that are renowned for their polarised reception. Such an explicit reference to 'the fans' could be seen as a sign of direct provocation in this discourse environment, as well as a sign of in-group membership (Swann & Allington, 2009; Peplow, 2011): here, R1.69 is clearly positioning themselves as a 'Twihater'. Such markers of in-group and out-group membership are explicitly noted across both review sets in the lexical blends that reference the 'Twilighters' (R1.22), 'Twitards' (R1.42), 'Twihards' (R1.61; R5.8, 18, 42, 77) and 'Twihaters' or simply 'the haters' (R5.11, 63). In the case of the 5-star data, the reviewers are further sub-divided according to 'teams': you are either 'Team Edward' or 'Team Jacob' (R5.3, 8, 14, 30, 77). The scenario of a COMPETITION appears in other metaphors used by both sets of reviewers: one of the 1-star reviewers talks of giving the book 'a fighting chance' (R1.85), for example, whereas a 5-star reviewer describes the book as a 'winner' (R5.46). Again, there is evidence of taking an antagonistic stance: R5.14 states 'I <u>challenge</u> you to read the book'. In these instantiations, reading is understood as a competition which goes beyond the text itself; here, the underlying action chain is represented as being between groups of readers, and the opposing 1-star and 5-star teams, rather than a relationship that exists solely between the reader and the text.

The extent to which metaphors newly identified in this study (READING IS EATING, READING IS A COMPETITION, etc.) are conventional in discourse about reading requires further research. Future studies might consider the impact of genre on metaphor use (is it the case that specific uses of metaphor are conventional within the fantasy or Young Adult romance genres, for instance, or localised to individual series or texts?). The analysis here has identified the features of our data which suggest a context-specific motivation for the ways in which particular metaphors are creatively employed. These features include the social factors which influence this online community, the famously polarised reception of this text in the media, and foregrounded themes within the text itself. Such creative metaphor use, we propose, presents an exciting area of research for stylisticians interested in changing reading practices and the socially-oriented reading experiences that new media affords.

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[i] Goodreads' default sorting algorithm orders the reviews presented on the site on the basis of the following factors: 'length of the review, number of people who liked it, recency of the review, popularity of the reviewer (i.e. number of people who have liked reviews by that person across all books)' (Goodreads, 2018). Since this is how the website presents its reviews by default, these reviews are also those that are most likely to be read by users of the site.

[ii] Content deemed inappropriate for inclusion in our dataset comprised reviews which publically named and criticised other reviewers on the site. The fact that such reviews appeared in our data is an interesting feature of this discourse context, but one that we have decided not to focus on here given their relative scarcity.

[iii] This difference in the number of coded metaphors in our datasets reflects a difference in the length of the 1-star and 5-star reviews. The top 100 reviews for the 5-star condition yielded 32,733 words in total, while the 1-star dataset was significantly larger at 57,788 total words. See Mason (2015, p. 66) for discussion of the tendency for negative reviews to be greater in length.

[iv] Multiple, separate instantiations of the same metaphor across individual reviews were coded discretely. Hence, the frequencies given indicate the number of coded instances of that node across the dataset, as opposed to the number of reviews in which they appeared.