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ABSTRACT
                The author reports on a study designed to determine
the effects of figurative language--particularly the metaphor--on
persuasive discourse, by comparing hypotheses developed from the
theories of Michael Osborn, Jean Piaget, and Charles Osgood. In
addition to a figurative language variable (metaphor versus literal),
other variables in the study were: (1) credibility (high versus low);
(2) explanation (presence versus absence of a literal paraphrase of
the metaphor); (3) trials (immediate and delayed posttests); and (4)
vehicle valence (subject evaluation of the metaphoric vehicle
relative to the evaluation of the metaphoric tenor). A single
metaphor, in the form of a simple declarative sentence, was included
in a written message of 212 words on the subject of Presidential
campaign spending reforms. The author reports that the results did
not reveal any statistically significant support for the experimental
hypotheses, but did serve partially to evaluate the validity of
several theoretical perspectives with regard to the rhetorical
metaphor. (Author/RN)

A TEST OF HYPOTHESES DERIVED FROM OSBORN, PIAGET AND OSGOOD, CONCERNING THE METAPHOR

a paper presented to the
Speech Communication Association Annual Convention
December 28, 1972; Chicago, Illinois

by

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There is evidence that figurative language can be persua-
sive (Bowers & Osborn, 1966; McCroskey & Combs, 1969;
Reinsch, 1971). A significant next question is "why?" This
study was an experimental comparison of three explanations
of metaphor's impact. Three theoretical positions were used
to generate three different sets of hypotheses concerning
the interaction of figurative language with other variables.
The perspectives were derived from the work of Michael
Osborn, Jean Piaget and Charles Osgood. Two hypotheses sug-
gested by Bowers and Osborn (1966) concerning the effects of
figurative language on source credibility were also included.

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

Osborn

Osborn (1963) surveyed major trends in treatment of rhe-
torical metaphor from classical to modern times, reconsider-
ing and extending several explanations of metaphor's effects.
Perhaps his most significant contribution was a model of psy-
chological response to metaphor. Osborn posited a three-
stage response sequence consisting of error (the auditor's
attempt to understand a metaphor literally); recoil (cogni-
tive difficulty and rejection of literal interpretation);
and resolution (insight into figurative nature and construc-
tion of lines of association between metaphoric subject and
metaphoric item). Osborn and Ehninger (1962) explained the
significance of this response chain as follows:
A . . . source of power is to be found in the nature
of the stimulus itself; and involves the degree of
surprise or "shock" that a reader-listener exper-
iences when he first confronts the relation alleged

to exist between subject and item for association.
The more unusual or unexpected this relation--i.e.,
the greater the apparent semantic distance between
subject and item--the more uncertain are the lines
of association, and the greater the strain placed
upon the associative threads necessary to hold the
divergent elements together. Consequently, in a new
or radical metaphor a state of high tension exists,
and when this tension is suddenly relieved by in-
sight into the intended meaning, the metaphor, like
a taut bow string, drives the arrow of its intended
meaning deep.
Attitude change would result then from consecutive states of
tension (error, recoil) and tension release (resolution).
For this study the error-recoil-resolution model was adopt-
ed as one theoretical perspective.

Piaget

Although Piaget has developed several concepts useful in
explaining human reactions to stimuli he has not, to my
knowledge, discussed the effects of figurative language. I
have projected some of Piaget's ideas to ~~~~~ ~ ar ex ~-
nation of figurat: ~guage ~~~ o~ his wr~ ~.

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ternal intrusion."   ~ilibrium t~ ~s conceived is ~ rela-
tively stable state continually reconstructed by the dialec-
tical interplay of assimilation and accomodation. Piaget
(1940) has defined assimilation as "thought by means of pure
incorporation . . . in which egocentricity excludes all
objectivity," and accomodation as "thought ada~~~d to others
and to reality." This means that stimuli are interpreted to
fit an individual's schemas (assimilation), and that schemas
are altered to account for stimuli (accomodation).

A metaphor is a spark which re-ignites the equilibria-
tion process. It resists normal (literal) assimilation-
accomodation, calling forth assimilation and accomodation of
a more radical nature. Radical assimilation proceeds by sum-
moning the increasingly more personal (egocentric) schemas
of the individual's psychological history. In a passage sim-
ilar to descriptions of metaphor response (Downey, 1919)
Piaget (1923) has described the egocentric logic of such
assimilation as follows:
    (1) Ego-centric logic is more intuitive . . . than
    deductive. The mind leaps from premise to conclusion

at a single bound, without stopping on the way.
(2) Little value is attached to proving . . . propo-
sitions. The vision of the whole brings about a
state of belief. (3) Personal schemas of analogy
are made use of. (4) Visual schemas . . . can even
take the place of proof. (5) Finally, judgments
of value have far more influence on ego-centric than
on communicable thought (p. 65).

Such assimilation calls forth concurrent accomodation, which
results in the alteration of definitional and attitudinal
structures to account for the metaphoric stimulus. (Contin-
ued use of a trope so alters the schemas that the metaphor
"dies.") Radical assimilation yields a crop of highly per-
sonal thoughts or images from which the accomodation process
winnows the grain of socialized thought and attitude change.
Thus, by inducing radical assimilation and accomodation, a
metaphoric stimulus alters the psychological equilibrium of
the perceiver. The assimilation-accomodation model was
adopted as a second theoretical perspective.

Osgood

Osgood, in occasional references to metaphor, has been
concerned with its psychological origin (Osgood, 1953, pp.
642-646; Osgood, Suci & Tannenbaum, 1957, pp. 20-25). He
has viewed metaphor as an example of synesthetic thinking,
defined by Karwoski, Odbert and Osgood (1942) as the "paral-
lel alignment of two gradients in such a way that the ap-
propriate extremes are related, followed in some cases by
translation in terms of equivalent parts of the two gradi-
ents thus paralleled." Within this framework it did not
seem inappropriate (see Osgood, et.al., pp. 200ff.) to sug-
gest an explanation of metaphor's affects based on congruity
theory.

Congruity theory argues that concepts may be assigned
ratings on an evaluative scale and that pairs of concepts
may be objects of associative or dissociative bonds. If con-
cepts of divergent valence are associatively bonded congru-
ity theory predicts converging changes in the valence of
both concepts, unless the concepts are so divergent that the
bond itself is denied ("incredulity factor," Osgood &
Tannenbaum, 1955).

Metaphor is an asserted associative bond between two con-
cepts. Assuming that the concepts are not excessively diver-
gent the direction and relative strength of attitude change
should be a function of evaluations of metaphoric subject
and item for association. Attitude change would result from

appropriate choices of metaphoric items for association.
The associative bond model was taken as third theoretical
perspective.

THEORETIC RATIONALE AND HYPOTHESES

This study examined five variables: language (A); source
credibility (B); explanation (C); trials (D); and evaluative
tension (E). There were two conditions of language, literal
and metaphor; and two levels of source credibility, high and
low. "Explanation" referred to literal paraphrase of a meta-
phor following the trope; there were two conditions of expla-
nation, presence and absence. There were two posttests, one
immediate and one delayed, permitting the calculation of two
change scores as the two trials. These four variables (A,B,
C,D) constituted a 2 x 2 x 2 x 2 fixed-effects, repeated-
measures factorial design. The fifth independent variable,
evaluative tension, was measured rather than manipulated and
occurred only under the metaphor condition of language.
Evaluative tension scores were a measure of discrepancy be-
tween an auditor's evaluation of the metaphoric subject and
his evaluation of the metaphoric item for association. The
following discussion of experimental hypotheses is organized
by variable rather than by theorist.

Language x Credibility Interaction (A x B)

One expects a message to produce more attitude change
when attributed to a high credibility source than when attri-
buted to a low credibility source. For this discussion it
was also assumed that metaphoric language is usually more ef-
fective at inducing desired attitude change than literal lan-
guage (although the associative bond model predicts undesir-
ed change if the metaphoric item is inappropriate).

Osborn

The error-recoil-resolution model includes as its ini-
tial stage the experience of being wrong. Assuming that an
auditor does experience the event as error and assuming that
his conception of himself is dissonant with that experience,
Festinger's (1957) theory of cognitive dissonance may be
used to predict the auditor's response. Of Festinger's
three ways to reduce dissonance two seem potentially applic-
able, the alteration of a cognitive element relating to be-
havior (denial that one made an error, for example) and the
introduction of new cognitive elements (the credibility of

the source, for example). Assuming that many subjects will--
because their action is undeniable--select the second alter-
native, the question becomes what additional elements they
will introduce. Two seem readily available: the credibility
of the source, and similarities between metaphoric subject
and item. If the receiver imputes high credibility to the
source, this may serve as adequate justification (e.g., "I
did it because he led me"). If the receiver imputes low
credibility to the source the receiver should l ely adopt
the option of zealous resolution .g., "it's ar easy mis-
take to make--a phon booth is li a confession box").
This suggests the following hypothesis:

> H_{1a}: There will be a significar language x credibility
> interaction because the introduction of metaphor into
> a speech will have a greater desired impact under low
> credibility conditions than under high credibility
> conditions.

Piaget

In the assimilation-accomodation model attitude change
represents a new attitudinal equilibrium. This equilibrium
takes its final form in the process of accomodation which,
as previously noted, involves adaptation to other people.
But which people? In the rhetorical paradigm there are sev-
eral possibilities: the message source, audience members,
and reference persons who may not be in the audience. The
success of a metaphor should increase as the source becomes
a major referential other for the accomodation process.
Measurements of source credibility should provide one indi-
cation of the source's standing. High credibility implies
that the source is a relatively important reference person;
low credibility, that the source is less important. This
analysis suggests the following hypothesis:

> H_{1b}: There will be a significant langauge x credibility
> interaction because the introduction of metaphor into
> a speech will have a greater desired impact under high
> credibility conditions than under low credibility
> conditions.

Osgood

The associative bond model contains an "incredulity fac-
tor" indicating that auditors may sometimes deny an asserted
associative bond. Any metaphoric assertion should be some-
what difficult to accept for all persons and quite difficult

* for some persons. Whether or not an auditor succeeds in
denying a bond should depend in part on the credibility
which he imputes to the source. Low credibility should per-
mit denial of a bond more frequently and more easily than
high credibility. This analysis yields the same hypothesis
(H_{1b}) as the assimilation-accomodation model.

Language x Explanation Interaction (A x C)

A literal paraphrase of a metaphor is to some degree a
prose argument (Hirschberger, 1943). The addition of such a
paraphrase to a speech should normally be expected to en-
hance desired attitude change.

Popp

The error-recoil-resolution model implies that the
amount of attitude change is related to the degree of ten-
sion experienced; greater tension, at least up to a point,
should yield greater desired attitude change. A literal
paraphrase immediately following a trope should cut short
the error-recoil stages and thus relieve the tension for
auditors to whom the trope was not immediately clear. This
should reduce the amount of attitude change in those audi-
tors. The following hypothesis is suggested:

H_{2a}: There will be a significant language x explanation
   interaction because a literal speech including a meta-
   phor paraphrase will be more effective in producing
   desired attitude change than a literal speech without
   a paraphrase, while a metaphor speech with paraphrase
   will be less effective than a metaphor speech without
   paraphrase.

Piaget

The assimilation-accomodation model suggests that meta-
phor response includes radical assimilation. This assimila-
tion is guided by an egocentric logic where "the vision of
the whole brings about belief," that is, a state of uncriti-
cal acceptance is induced. An "explanation" following a
metaphor should reinforce the effect of the metaphor while
the receiver is most vulnerable. This is stated in hypothe-
sis form as follows:

H_{2b}: There will be a significant language x explanation
   interaction because, while both a literal message and

a metaphor message with explanation will be more effec-
tive than their explanationless counterparts in produc-
ing desired attitude change, the impact of the explana-
tion will be greater in the metaphor condition than in
the literal condition.

Osgood

The associative bond model of metaphor does not consider
the verbal environment of a trope. There is no reason to
predict an interaction of explanation with language. This
constitutes a null hypothesis:

H$_{2c}$: There will not be a significant language x explana-
tion interaction.

Language x Trials Interaction (A x D)

It is assumed that whatever attitude change is produced
by a single persuasive message normally decays with time.

Osborn

Osborn argued that metaphor is memorable (1963, p. 308).
The argument was based on discussions of metaphor's novelty
(error-recoil) and the imagary it evokes. This suggests
that time should affect differently attitude change produced
by literal language and attitude change produced by meta-
phoric language; the following hypothesis is indicated:

H$_{3a}$: There will be a significant language x trials inter-
action because attitude change induced by metaphoric
language will resist decay to a greater degree than
attitude change induced by literal language.

Piaget

The assimilation-accomodation model does not extend
naturally into the area under discussion. The view that
metaphor evokes radical assimilation at a psychologically
deeper level than affected by literal language does, however,
seem consistent with the hypothesis (H$_{3a}$) derived from
Osborn's work.

Osgood

The associative bond model does not address the question of memorability. There is no reason to predict a significant interaction. The null hypothesis may be stated as follows:

H_{3b}: There will not be a significant language x trials interaction.

Evaluative Tension (E)

The concepts evoked by two different words differ in several ways, one facet of the difference being an evaluative dimension (Underwood, 1966, p. 203). When two concepts are linked in a metaphor the perceived evaluative discrepancy may be called evaluative tension.

Evaluative tension may be favorable, neutral, or unfavorable in terms of the source's purpose. The speaker who asserts that "suspicion is quicksand" intending to oppose suspicion might discover that his auditors find quicksand more attractive, equally attractive, or less attractive than suspicion. Evaluative tension will be called positive if consistent with the goals of the source and negative if counter to them. To take as an example the audience for the speech opposing suspicion, the possible audience evaluative patterns (quicksand more attractive, equally attractive, or less attractive than suspicion) would be defined as negative, neutral, and positive.

Osborn

The error-recoil-resolution model implies that greater tension (up to a point) yields greater attitude change. If incomprehensible tropes can be eliminated greater absolute amounts of tension, whether positive or negative, should be associated with greater amounts of desired attitude change, the absence of tension being associated with the smallest amounts of change. In addition, negative tension should be associated with greater amounts of desired attitude change than positive tension; negative tension should be more stressful.because of its apparent incongruity with the message as a whole. This suggests the following hypothesis:

H_{4a}: Evaluative tension will correlate significantly with attitude change; the relationship will be linear and quadratic. Negative tension will be associated with

greater amounts of desired attitude change than will
positive tension; larger amounts of tension, whether
positive or negative, will be associated with larger
amounts of desired attitude change.

Piaget

According to the assimilation-accomodation model the ef-
fects of metaphor are attributable to assimilation and ac-
comodation triggered by the trope. This process is not, how-
ever, entirely free from the affective impact of metaphoric
subject and item—the radical assimilation (which is pruned
into socialized attitude change by accomodation) is initally
guided by the auditor's concepts of subject and item. The
following hypothesis is suggested:

H_{4b}: Evaluative tension will correlate significantly with
attitude change; the relationship will be linear. Pos-
itive tension will be associated with larger amounts
of desired attitude change; negative tension, with
smaller amounts of desired attitude change.

Osgood

Viewing metaphor as an associative bond implies that
post-manipulation evaluations of subject and item should
tend to converge. This means that negative tension should
produce undesired attitude change. The following hypothesis
is indicated:

H_{4c}: Evaluative tension will correlate significantly with
attitude change; the relationship will be linear. Pos-
itive tension will be associated with desired attitude
change; negative tension, with undesired attitude
change.

Credibility as Dependent Variable

The primary dependent variable for this study was atti-
tude change. Posttests of perceived source credibility were
also administered to test hypotheses concerning credibility
in an after-only design.

Language and Credibility

Osborn argued that metaphor should enhance source credi-
bility (1963, p. 304). Research has not provided consistent

support for this notion. Bowers and Osborn (1966) found that in comparison with literal speech conclusions a "sex metaphor" significantly increased a source's perceived ingenuity, but that a "death metaphor" significantly decreased perceived ingenuity, trustworthiness, and competence. McCroskey and Combs (1969) in a study of two types of extended simile (which they called analogy) found no significant credibility effects (authoritativeness, character, dynamism) for figurative language in comparison to non-figurative language. Reinsch (1971), using combinations of four metaphors and four similes to operationalize figurative language in comparison to literal language, did not observe a significant credibility effect (authoritativeness, character, dynamism). The Bowers-Osborn results suggest the following hypothesis:

> H_5: Figurative language will differ from literal language in its effects on perceived source credibility.

Item and Credibility

Bowers and Osborn (1966) suggested three possible explanations for the complex source credibility results they achieved. One possibility was that sex as the metaphoric item for association may have been intrinsically attractive to college students, and that death as metaphoric item may have been intrinsically repulsive. This implies that the attractiveness of a metaphoric item may affect an auditor's perception of source credibility. This analysis suggested an experimental hypothesis as follows:

> H_6: Evaluations of the metaphoric item for association will correlate significantly with source credibility ratings; positive ratings being associated with higher credibility, negative evaluations with lower credibility.

METHODS AND PROCEDURES

Instruments

Two sets of seven-space, bi-polar adjective scales were prepared, a set of six evaluative scales and a set of nine credibility scales. The evaluative scales consisted of the following adjective pairs: right-wrong, useful-useless, good-bad, beneficial-harmful, positive-negative, valuable-worthless. Scores were derived by summing across the scales.

Scores had a potential range from 6 to 42; the hypothetical midpoint was 24. The credibility scales consisted of three authoritativeness and three character scales from McCroskey (1966) with three dynamism scales from Berlo, Lemert and Mertz (1966). Scores were derived for each dimension by summing across the three relevant scales. Scores had a potential range from 3 to 21; the hypothetical midpoint was 12.

Preparation of Manipulations

The experimental manipulation consisted of a credibility induction coupled with one of four experimental messages or a dummy (control) message. The experimental messages consisted of a basic literal message into which was inserted a metaphor, a literal paraphrase of a metaphor, or neither, or both. The experimental topic, metaphor, message, paraphrase, and credibility inductions were accepted after preliminary testing with subjects comparable to the experimental subjects. All manipulations and tests were administered as mimeographed booklets.

Topic

Attitudes toward 12 topics were surveyed (n = 37). Attitudes were measured with the evaluative scales. Two topics were judged acceptable on the criteria that responses were skewed so that a single message would call for attitude change from most subjects. Selection of the experimental metaphor subsequently determined that the experimental topic would be: the expenditures of candidates for President of the United States should be substantially restricted. Most subjects favored the proposal.

Metaphor

In an earlier study (Reinsch, 1971) tropes were screened for clarity and triteness respectively by asking two questions: (a) Do you understand the meaning of this metaphor?; (b) Did this metaphor impress you? Questions were answered on a seven-space, bi-polar adjective scale. Only those tropes were used which attained a mean rating in excess of 4.5 on a 7.0 scale. For this study the scale and criteria were maintained but the questions altered.

The original question used to check for clarity focused on the message recipient rather than the source. A positive rating might indicate a feeling that the rater could "make

something out of" a trope rather than a feeling that the
source's meaning was clear. The original question used to
check for triteness seemed, in retrospect, to ask for judg-.
ments of both triteness and effectiveness. After prelimi-
nary testing revised versions of the questions were adopted:
(a) Do you feel you understand what the writer meant by this
metaphor?; and (b) Has this metaphor been overused? In eval-
uating eight metaphors, correlations between ratings on the
original clarity question and ratings on the revised clarity
question ranged from .67 to .97 (n = 30). In evaluating six
metaphors, correlations between ratings on the original and
the revised triteness questions ranged from .23 to .53 (n =
20).

    A brief persuasive message was drafted for each of the
potential experimental topics. From these drafts metaphors
were generated. Metaphors were generated and screened until
three acceptable tropes had been accumulated. The potential
experimental metaphors were (n = 20): a majority vote is a
political bulldozer; New York State is a political Joe
Frazier; a Presidential campaign is a political strip tease
show. Ratings on tne original triteness question were also
collected. None of the potential experimental tropes would
have been acceptable if that question had been maintained as
a criteria.

    Evaluations of metaphoric items for association had been
collected in the screening sessions. The evaluative scales
were used. An a priori decision had been made to use the
one metaohor out of three or more acceptable ones whose
item's evaluative range was widest. This was intended to
facilitate testing hypotheses concerning evaluative tension.
On this basis it was decided that the experimental metaphor
would be: a Presidential campaign is a political strip tease
show. Evaluations of "strip tease show" were distributed
across the entire potential range (6-42).

Message and Paraphrase

    A final 212-word draft of the experimental message was
written. The message was literal and opposed restrictions
on Presidential campaign soending. A literal paraphrase of
the experimental metaphor was also prepared.

    Four speech professors screened the message and the para-
phrase to insure that the message was literal and that the
paraphrase accurately expressed the basic thrust of the meta-
phor. One evaluator felt that the negative connotation of
the metaphoric item was not mirrored in tne paraphrase.

Since the metaphor had been selected in part because its item was negatively evaluated by some persons, and since it did not seem possible to replicate the range of item eval- uations short of the item itself, this objection was not judged to require an alteration in the paraphrase. The mes- sage and paraphrase were accepted for use. A text is pre- served in Appendix A.

Credibility Inductions

After preliminary testing two final credibility induc- tions were prepared and tested (n = 20). Each consisted of a description, approximately 200 words in length, of a fic- titious source: one was designed to induce high credibility, the other low.

An a priori decision had been made to accept a high cred- ibility induction only if it attained a mean rating on each dimension in excess of 15.0; a low credibility induction, only if it attained a mean rating on each dimension of less than 9.0. The high credibility induction was acceptable on all dimensions ($\bar{A} = 18.8$; $\bar{C} = 16.1$; $\bar{D} = 18.8$). The low cred- ibility induction did not meet the criteria on dynamism ($\bar{A} = 7.1$; $\bar{C} = 6.9$; $\bar{D} = 11.1$). Two factors persuaded me, however, to accept both inductions. First the experience gained in preparing the inductions argued that it is difficult if not impossible to induce low character without implying an evil dynamism. Second, one-way, matched-pair t-tests (Spence, Underwood, Duncan & Cotton, 1968, pp. 139-140) indicated that the inductions differed significantly in their effects (authoritativeness $t = 2.36$; character $t = 2.04$; dynamism $t = .83$; df = 19; $p. < .05$). The inductions are preserved in Appendix B.

Subjects and Experimenters

Subjects were University of Kansas students drawn from ten sections of an introductory course in interpersonal com- munication, four sections of a lower division course in human relations, and two sections of a lower division course in argumentation and debate in the Spring of 1972. The pre- test was completed by 286 persons of whom 207 received the manipulation and completed the immediate posttests; 163 com- pleted the delayed posttest also. Five subjects were dis- carded for incomplete responses. The 16 sections from which subjects were drawn were taught by nine instructors. The instructors served as experimenters for their own sections.

Procedures

In the pretest booklet students were asked to respond on
evaluative scales to the experimental topic and the metaphor-
ic item for association. Responses constituted a pretest at-
titude score and a pretest item evaluation score. (Masking
materials were also included in the pretest booklet.)

The manipulation booklet was administered approximately
four weeks after the pretest. Students were asked to eval-
uate the metaphoric subject; they were exposed to a credi-
bility induction and message; and they were asked to eval-
uate the experimental topic and rate the credibility of the
source. Responses constituted a pretest metaphoric subject
evaluation score, an immediate posttest attitude score, and
a set of perceived credibility scores. Students were as-
signed to one of eight experimental cells or two control
cells by random distribution of manipulation booklets.

The delayed posttest booklet was administered approxi-
mately four weeks after the manipulation booklet. Subjects
evaluated the experimental topic; this constituted a delay-
ed attitude posttest.

Three additional scores were derived for each experimen-
tal subject. An immediate attitude change score was derived
by subtracting pretest attitude scores from immediate post-
test attitude scores. A delayed attitude change score was
calculated by subtracting immediate posttest attitude scores
from delayed posttest attitude scores. Evaluative tension
scores were calculated by subtracting metaphoric subject
evaluation scores from item evaluation scores.

Internal Validity

Credibility Inductions

Two control cells were included in the experimental de-
sign. One cell was given the high credibility induction;
the other, the low credibility induction. Both control
cells read a dummy message on the topic of pigeon raising at-
tributed to an unknown fictitious source before filling out
the standard credibility posttest. Posttest credibility
scores provided a test for the effectiveness of the induc-
tion in the experimental setting. One-tailed t-tests re-
vealed significant differences on each dimension (authorita-
tiveness $t = 25.74$; character $t = 7.58$; dynamism $t = 2.62$;

df = 44; p.<.05).

Manipu.

A harmonic-n, one-way Analysis of Variance of pretest at-
titude scores for the eight experimental cells and two con-
trol cells was performed. There were no significant between-
group differences (F = 1.169; df = 9/194). An identical
test of immediate posttest attitude scores did reveal signif-
icant between-group differences (F = 3.609; df = 9/194;
p.<.05). Inspection of the posttest attitude means showed
that the experimental cells differed from the control cells
in the predicted direction. The difference, when tested
with the F-ratio procedure described by Kirk (1968, pp. 81-
82), was significant (F = 15.56; df = 1/194; p.<.05).

Pretest Differences

Pretest scores and evaluative tension scores were exam-
ined with harmonic-n, one-way Analyses of Variance. Results
indicated that there were no significant pre-manipulation
between-group differences among the eight experimental cells
in attitude toward the topic (F<1; df = 7/150), evaluation
of the metaphoric item (F<1; df = 7/150), evaluation of the
metaphoric subject (F = 1.82; df = 7/150), or evaluative
tension (F<1; df = 7/150).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Hypotheses for this study may be divided into four cate-
gories: the effects on attitude change of language, credibil-
ity, explanation and trials; the relationship between evalua-
tive tension and observed attitude change; the effects of
language on perceived source credibility; and, the relation-
ship between evaluation of the metaphoric item and perceived
source credibility.

Language, Credibility, Explanation,
Trials, and Attitude Change

Four independent variables were manipulated: language,
credibility, explanation and trials. From each theoretical
perspective a set of predictions was generated concerning
the effects of the four variables on attitude change; each
set constituted a distinctive profile of predicted first-
order interactions. Attitude scores were tested for between-

group differences with an harmonic-n, four-way, repeated measures Analysis of Variance.(see Table 1).

Table 1
Harmonic-n, Four-Way, Repeated Measures Analysis of
Variance: Attitude Change Scores

	credi-bility	explan-ation	literal	metaphor
immediate change	low	no	-5.72*	-1.19
	high	no	-3.44	-7.94
	low	yes	-1.92	-5.75
	high	yes	-5.31	-6.47
delayed change	low	no	2.50	-2.75
	high	no	-0.75	5.65
	low	yes	1.67	3.56
	high	yes	1.85	1.73

source	SS	df	MS	F
Between	5271.42	122	43.21	
Language (A)	3.90	1	3.90	<1
Credibility (B)	24.39	1	24.39	<1
Explanation (C)	8.56	1	8.56	<1
A x B	10.14	1	10.14	<1
A x C	18.20	1	18.20	<1
B x C	39.16	1	39.16	<1
A x B x C	3.57	1	3.57	<1
Ss/Groups	5174.43	115	45.00	
Within	19537.50	123	158.84	
Trials (D)	2477.22	1	2477.22	18.18**
A x D	58.88	1	58.88	<1
B x D	137.84	1	137.84	1.01
C x D	26.70	1	26.70	<1
A x B x D	242.13	1	242.13	1.78
A x C x D	30.28	1	30.28	<1
B x C x D	48.45	1	48.45	<1
A x B x C x D	608.51	1	608.51	4.46**
Ss x D/Groups	15674.53	115	136.30	
Total	24809.92	245		

*A negative change score represents change in the advocated direction. The potential range of change scores was from +36 to -36.
**p.<.05.

Results

As indicated in Table 1 there was a significant main ef-
fect for trials, and a significant third-order language x
credibility x explanation x trials interaction. The main ef-
fect for trials was attributable to immediate attitude

change in the advocated direction ($\overline{X}$ = -4.72) which decayed
with time ($\overline{X}$ = 1.68). The third-order interaction was at-
tributable to the differential effects over time of other
treatment level combinations. Under most conditions atti-
tude scores showed immediate change which faded with time--
but there were two exceptions. Under conditions of high
credibility without explanation the literal message produced
immediate change ($\overline{X}$ = -3.44) which did not decay with time
($\overline{X}$ = -0.75). Under conditions of low credibility without ex-
planation the metaphor message had a pronounced "sleeper ef-
fect"; after relatively little initial change ($\overline{X}$ = -1.19),
delayed change was more than twice as large ($\overline{X}$ = -2.75). In-
spection suggested that this sleeper effect was the major
contributor to the interaction.

Multiple t-tests (Kirk, 1968, pp. 73-74) were used in a
posteriori comparisons for literal-metaphor differences with-
in other treatment level combinations. There were no statis-
tically significant differences.

Discussion

Results did not fit any of the prediction profiles. Al-
though methodological problems discussed later must qualify
any conclusions it would appear that a more sophisticated
theoretical formulation is required. Such a formulation
could be a refinement and extension of one of the perspec-
tives considered in this paper. Five possible directions in
which such refinement might progress are mentioned below.
These notions, while admittedly post hoc, may serve to guide
future research.

One possibility is that the rhetorical functions of meta-
phor differ depending on the stimulus field in which the
trope is embedded. Under conditions of low source credibil-
ity without explanation metaphor may serve as a mnemonic
rather than persuasive device, retaining the argument in the
mind of the receiver and enhancing its cumulative effects.

A second possibility is that metaphor functions as argu-
ment (Osborn, 1963, pp. 310-317). A metaphor may be viewed
as a belief claim supported by data (similarities between
subject and item) which may be presented explicitly as proof
in the form of extensions; the warrant being the auditor's
criteria of appropriateness. This view suggests that immedi-
ate acceptance of a metaphoric argument is dependent either
on sufficient source credibility, or upon sufficient proof
(extension). Under conditions of low credibility without ex-
planation (i.e., without extension) metaphoric argumentation
may not be accepted until the passage of time dissociates

the argument from its source.

Another possibility is that metaphor is perceiv '   _
cessively intense in some circumstances. Bowers (1963) sug-
gested that extreme intensity may produce a boomerang effect.
If, as seems reasonable, perceived intensity is in part a
function of the surrounding stimulus field a metaphor may be
perceived as much more intense under conditions of low credi-
bility without explanation than if either a paraphrase is
present or the source's credibility is high. A metaphor per-
ceived as excessively intense might gain in effectiveness as,
with the passage of time, it became dissociated from the mes-
sage source and other elements of the original stimulus
field.

A fourth possibility stems from reconsideration of the
perspective derived from Piaget. It was suggested earlier
that a crucial variable in shaping the effects of accomada-
tion may be who serves as reference person. It was further
suggested that source credibility might provide one indica-
tion of the relative importance of the message source as a
reference person. It may also be that an explanation serves
to facilitate use of the source as reference by making his
position clear. Receivers may typically accomodate their
thinking to the message source if his credibility is high
enough to move them to seek out his meaning or if his mean-
ing is made explicitly clear. Subjects exposed to a message
from a low credibility source without an explanation of the
metaphor may lack an understanding of source intent and may
not be motivated to seek one; in subsequent interaction
their classmates may serve as reference persons producing,
if the message was effective with the classmates, delayed at-
titude change.

A final possibility, and the one which I prefer, in-
volves reconsideration of the perspective derived from
Osborn. It may be that the particular combination of trope
and credibility induction produced, in the absence of clari-
fying paraphrase, a state of extremely high tension, requir-
ing additional time for resolution. The notion that higher
tension may require more cognitive work and, therefore, more
time for resolution is clearly implied in the error-recoil-
resolution model (Osborn & Ehninger, 1962, p. 231; Osborn,
1963, p. 220). It remains only to show that such tension
likely occurred in the low credibility without explanation
condition. The low credibility source was described as a
"preacher for the Church of the True Revelation." The induc-
tion suggested that the source was rigidly fundamentalist
and conservative. The experimental speech was intended to
portray a favorable image of Presidential campaigns and in-
cluded the trope "a Presidential campaign is a political

strip tease show." Given typical assumptions concerning the
attitudes of fundamentalist preachers toward strip tease
shows the use of the item "strip tease show" in a way ap-
parently intended to call forth favorable associations prob-
ably came as quite a shock. The extreme tension thus creat-
ed may have required additional time for successful resolu-
tion, delaying attitude change at least until after the im-
mediate posttest. A literal paraphrase following the meta-
phor presumably serves to relieve the tension without the
lengthy delay.

These five suggestions are not altogether mutually ex-
clusive. In common they share the assumption that the rhe-
torical metaphor is field dependent, the nature of its ef-
fects shaped by the stimulus field in which it is embedded.
They do, however, indicate differing foci for future re-
search.

Two additional things should be noted in the obtained
results. First, the absence of decay for the literal mes-
sage under conditions of high credibility without explana-
tion remains a puzzle. Unintentional reinstatement of the
source which might have accounted for such an effect seems
unlikely since subjects in this cell were randomly distrib-
uted among subjects in the other experimental cells. I can
offer no explanation for the finding. Second, a generalized
sleeper effect for the low credibility source was not ob-
served. It appears that in general the impact of the brief
experimental message was too slight to overcome normal de-
cay.

Methodological Problems

Two methodological problems did emerge which may have
had a minor impact on the observed results. First, the ex-
perimental metaphor may have been a relatively ineffective
trope. A significant effect for figurative language did not
emerge in the a posteriori t-tests under any condition. As
noted previously the metaphor used in this study would not
have been acceptable by the criteria of the Reinsch (1971)
"triteness" question which may tap both triteness and effec-
tiveness. Also, the experimental metaphor included a quali-
fying adjective, which may have functioned in the same way
as the "like" or "as" of simile, in describing the metaphor-
ic item for association: "a presidential campaign is a pol-
it 1 strip tease show." These factors suggest that the
ex imental metaphor r have been l fective than de-
si . Second, a possib e problem wa ted with regard to
tes ng the memorableness of metaphoric ngauge. Since in-
tr ion of a metaph into a message ally produces

greater immediate attitude change (i.e., more extreme
scores) there may be an artifactual proclivity for meta-
phor-induced persuasion to decay more rapidly than persua-
sion induced by literal language. This suggests that weak
mnemonic effects for metaphor may be difficult to detect.

Tension and Attitude Change

A significant correlation between evaluative tension and
attitude change was predicted from each theoretical perspec-
tive: predictions differed in type and direction of the pre-
dicted relationship.

Results

Hypotheses were tested using the procedures described by
Kirk (1968, p. 126). Subjects who had been exposed to figur-
ative language were sorted into five equal-interval groups
on the basis of their evaluative tension scores. Taking ten-
sion scores as the independent variable the groups were com-
pared with a one-way Analysis of Variance for differences in
both immediate and delayed attitude change. Trend analysis
would have permitted testing for linear, quadratic, and high-
er-order relationships. The F-ratio was insignificant both
with immediate change as dependent variable ($F < 1$; df = 4/79)
and with delayed change as dependent variable ($F < 1$; df =
4/59). Trend analysis was judged inappropriate.

A posteriori Pearson product-moment correlations were
calculated for subjects within each credibility x explana-
tion condition. Correlations of evaluative tension and im-
mediate change were as follows: low credibility without ex-
planation, r = .391, df = 21; high credibility without expla-
nation, r = .110, df = 20; low credibility with explanation,
r = -.072, df = 20; high credibility with explanation, r =
-.024, df = 15. The correlation achieved in the low credi-
bility without explanation condition was tested for signifi-
cance by converting it to a t-score (Hays, 1963, p. 529).
The resultant t-score fell short of conventional levels of
significance (t = 1.942; df = 21; p.<.10; two-tailed test).
Correlations of tension with delayed change were as follows:
low credibility without explanation, r = -.198, df = 14;
high credibility without explanation, r = .019, df = 15;
low credibility with explanation, r = -.192, df = 14; high
credibility with explanation, r = -.208, df = 13.

A posteriori tests for quadratic trends within treatment
level combinations were not conducted. The number of sub-
jects within each cell was small, and examination of scatter-

plots suggested that to conduct such tests was pointless.

Discussion

Results did not provide significant support for any of
the predictions. The findings suggest there may be no gen-
eral relationship between evaluative tension and attitude
change. The near significant effect under conditions of low
credibility without explanation did provide directional sup-
port for the linear trend predicted from the error-recoil-
resolution model (H_{4a}) and suggests that significant rela-
tionships might emerge under certain conditions. However, a
serious methodological problem discussed below renders any
conclusion highly tenuous.

Methodological Problems

In discussing evaluative tension an implicit assumption
was made--that evaluation of the metaphoric subject was re-
lated in an orderly way to attitude toward the experimental
topic. This assumption was not clearly recognized prior to
completion of the study. To test this assumption a Pearson
product-moment correlation was computed for metaphoric sub-
ject evaluations and pretest attitude scores. The correla-
tion was insignificant and surprisingly small ($r = -.101$;
$df = 156$). This suggests either that subject evaluation has
no relationship with attitude toward the topic or that the
relationship is a complex one involving intervening vari-
ables at present unidentified. Part of the difficulty may
also be accounted for by the fact that experimental subjects
probably did not respond to the attitude pretest and the
metaphoric subject pretest within the same psychological con-
text. The two tests were separated by approximately four
weeks.

Language and Credibility

On the basis of the Bowers and Osborn (1966) results it
was predicted that the two levels of language would differ-
ently affect the source credibility scores collected in an
after-only design. Each dimension (authoritativeness, char-
acter, dynamism) was analyzed with an harmonic-n, three-way
Analysis of Variance. Authoritativeness results which are
reported in Table 2 show a single significant effect attrib-
utable to the different credibility inductions. The "high"
induction yielded a mean score of 15.30; the "low", a mean
score of 8.50 (both on a 3 to 21 scale).

Table 2
Harmonic-n, Three-Way Analysis of Variance:
Authoritativeness Scores

source	SS	df	MS	F
Between				
Language (A)	1.82	1	1.82	<1
Credibility (B)	1792.04	1	1792.04	178.77*
Explanation (C)	18.08	1	18.08	1.80
A x B	26.33	1	26.33	2.63
A x C	14.16	1	14.16	1.41
B x C	.76	1	.76	<1
A x B x C	1.17	1	1.17	<1
Within	1503.61	150	10.02	
Total	3434.84	157		

*p.<.05.

Character scores, likewise, showed a single significant effect attributable to the inductions. The "high" induction produced a mean rating of 14.34 while the "low" induction produced a mean rating of 9.64. Results are reported in Table 3.

Table 3
Harmonic-n, Three-Way Analysis of Variance:
Character Scores

source	SS	df	MS	F
Between				
Language (A)	.36	1	.36	<1
Credibility (B)	858.42	1	858.42	137.47*
Explanation (C)	8.20	1	8.20	1.31
A x B	7.28	1	7.28	1.17
A x C	13.21	1	13.21	2.12
B x C	21.87	1	21.87	3.50
A x B x C	4.96	1	4.96	<1
Within	936.65	150	6.24	
Total	1911.17	157		

*p.<.05.

As can be seen from Table 4 dynamism scores showed no significant effects. The "high" induction yielded a mean score of 21.21 while the "low" induction yielded a mean score of 20.30.

Table 4
Harmonic-n, Three-Way Analysis of Variance:
Dynamism Scores

Source	SS	df	MS	F
Between				
Language (A)	.09	1	.09	<1
Credibility (B)	32.20	1	32.20	<1
Explanation (C)	6.3,	1	6.37	<1
A x B	.73	1	.73	<1
A x C	57.95	1	57.95	<1
B x C	15.94	1	15.94	<1
A x B x C	58.77	1	58.77	<1
Within	11728.51	150	78.19	
Total	11910.89	157		

These results did not support the prediction. The findings do provide further evidence of a successful credibility induction on authoritativeness and character. Dynamism inductions were apparently too weak to persist through the manipulation.

Metaphoric Item and Credibility

On the basis of an analysis suggested by Bowers and Osborn (1966) it was predicted that perceived source credibility would be correlated with evaluation of the metaphoric item for association. Pearson product-moment correlations were computed for item evaluation scores and source credibility ratings on each dimension. In each case the correlation when converted to a t-score (Hays, 1963, p. 529) approached but did not achieve conventional levels of significance: authoritativeness and item, $r = .155$, $t = 1.42$, df = 82, $p.<.10$; character and item, $r = .178$, $t = 1.63$, df = 82, $p.<.10$; dynamism and item, $r = .159$, $t = 1.45$, df = 82, $p.<.10$.

These results did not provide statistically significant support for the experimental hypothesis. They did provide directional support, indicating that additional research in this area would be advisable. It is possible that the size of these correlations would have been larger if, like the Bowers and Osborn study, the message source had extended the metaphor, that is, used the item for association repeatedly and thereby linked himself more closely to it.

CONCLUSIONS

This study was intended to compare the predictive power of three conceptualizations of the effects of the rhetorical metaphor and to test hypotheses concerning the effects of figurative language on source credibility. Predictions fell into four areas.

Predictions were generated from each of the three theoretical perspectives concerning the effects on attitude change of language, credibility, explanation and trials. Results did not support any of the prediction profiles. The results seemed to indicate a need for reconceptualization of metaphor as a field dependent variable. Five possible avenues of reconceptualization were suggested including adaptations of the perspectives derived from Piaget and Osborn. The possible use of a relatively ineffective trope was also noted.

Predictions concerning the relationship between evaluative tension and attitude change were not supported. A serious methodological deficiency, however, rendered the value of these results highly suspect. An implicit assumption that metaphoric subject evaluations and pretest attitude scores were correlated was noted--it was not supported by the data.

The prediction that language would differentially affect source credibility was not supported. Subsequent research has thus far failed to replicate the significant effects observed by Bowers and Osborn (1966).

The prediction that item evaluation would be positively correlated with perceived source credibility received directional--but not significant--support.

This study did not provide statistically significant support for experimental hypotheses. It did, however, partially achieve its goal of evaluating the validity of several theoretical perspectives with regard to the rhetorical metaphor. In retrospect all three perspectives as adapted in this paper appear deficient. The obtained significant results indicate the need for more sophisticated theoretical formulations and suggest several areas for future research.

The author wishes to acknowledge the invaluable assistance of Mary Lou McCauliff in conducting the experiment and of William L. Medley, Jr. in statistically analyzing the results. (The typist regrets omitting this note from the first page.)

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Appendix A
Experimental Message*

Candidates for President of the United States already
allot most of their time to the densely populated urban
areas of the East. They do not use much of their time or
spend much of their money campaigning in rural, southern
and midwestern states. If campaign spending is substantial-
ly restricted, candidates will further reduce their cam-
paign efforts in less densely populated areas. Large ex-
penditures are essential to an informative national cam-
paign.

Presidential campaigns let the voters get to know the
candidates. Presidential candidates may be little known to
the public at the start of a campaign. As the weeks pass,
however, the ideas, abilities and personalities of the can-
didates become better known. By the end of the campaign
the candidates are well known to the people. At the end of
a campaign the voter may feel he knows all there is to know
about the candidates. A Presidential campaign is a politi-
cal strip tease show. (In a Presidential campaign the ideas,
abilities and personalities of the candidates are made pro-
gressively more explicit until they are almost completely
known to the voter.)

Campaigns are complex events. A large campaign re-
quires the expenditure of lots of money. Even though there
is much to criticize in political campaigns, they remain es-
sential to democratic government. It is important that all
candidates be free to spend however much money is required
to inform the voters. If spending is substantially restric-
ted the able but unknown candidate will be unable to chal-
lenge the incumbent.

_____

*The experimental metaphor is underlined; the paraphrase
is in parentheses. Different versions of the message were
created by omitting one, both, or neither.

Appendix B
Credibility Indu :ions

High Credibility Induction

Herbert Armstead (Ph.D., 1963) is professor of Govern-
ment at the University of Maryland. Before accepting his
present position he directed a six-year (1963-1969) study
for the Bureau of Population. Dr. Armstead and his staff
examined the relationship between population distribution,
campaign spending, and the campaign plans of Presidential
candidates in 1964 and 1968. The study, recently published
by Appelson as Demography, Money and Politics was acclaimed
by the New York Times as "one of the year's most important
books."

Armstead has proved himself a man of integrity. In
1967 he was one of four persons who witnessed a gang-land
murder in a large midwestern city. At the trial only
Armstead was willing to testify--despite what he described
as "several threats against myself and my family."

With another Presidential campaign approaching it
promises to be a busy year for Armstead. His speaking en-
gagements take him all across the country to address grad-
uate seminars, civic clubs, and even state legislatures.

He is an energetic supporter of Boys Clubs of America
and a noted humanitarian.

We have secured the text of a speech by Dr. Armstead in
which he discusses the merits of substantially restricting
Presidential campaign spending.

Low Credibility Induction

Hogan Gore is an itinerant preacher for the Church of
the True Revelation in Williamsburg, Maryland. He and his
second wife still live in the same single-story frame
house where he was born. Gore is a high school graduate.

The "Rev." Gore is described as a short, chubby, solomn
man who usually wears gray slacks and a white sport shirt.
Gore has never travelled more than 100 miles from his home.
He identifies his source of information as "an Almanac."

In late 1969 Gore agreed to supply the K.U. Speech
Department with one sermon manuscript per month for one
full year as samples of conservative rhetoric. Gore agreed
to do so for the fee of $25.00 per manuscript, on the con-
dition that he be paid for eight months in advance. Al-
though Gore was paid the $200.00 he requested, K.U. has
thus far received only one manuscript. Gore refuses to
answer letters or accept telephone calls from us. In
February of 1972 a K.U. faculty member who was visiting
in Maryland attempted to call upon Mr. Gore--Mr. Gore was
"not at home" each time the faculty member called.

The K.U. Department of Speech Communication does not
endorse Mr. Gore or Mr. Gore's ideas.

The manuscript we have from Gore discusses the merits
of substantially restricting Presidential campaign spending.