Hobbes and Heresy: Conceptual Blends and How People React to Them

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Abstract: Fiddler and Ford discuss two conceptual blends from widely different contexts: one from a comic strip and one from Old Testament scripture. Both have resulted in emergent structure that is observable by people other than those responsible for the creation of the blend. After explaining the structure and composition of the blends, Fiddler and Ford examine the responses of other people who encountered them and make preliminary hypotheses about how people process blends that have been created by others.

INTRODUCTION

In their 2002 book The Way We Think, Gilles Fauconnier and Mark Turner outline the theory of conceptual integration, which they claim underlies much of human thought. Conceptual integration, or blending, occurs when two or more mental spaces intersect and produce a new space that takes components from each of the inputs. The blended space takes on its own novel reality, often including emergent structure that cannot be derived from either of the source spaces alone. The various spaces involved and the links between them make up what is called a conceptual integration network. Blends often create fantastic and impossible new spaces, but they also can produce very real elements in culture, which are termed ‘material anchors.’

Blending often makes use of four key processes: composition, completion, elaboration, and compression. Composition refers to the specific elements or components from each input that are included in the blend. Completion is the process of bringing known and necessary background information to the blended space that is not specifically provided, but that is needed to understand the relationships and connection of the input spaces in the blend. Elaboration is the process of running the blend to produce a new element—the emergent structure—that is not found in any of the input spaces. Finally, compression refers to the tendency to condense time, distance or any other relevant span of measurement into a very small set of snapshot images of the event at specific points along that span. Compression usually occurs because a comparison of the event along that entire span of measurement is important to the blend itself, but only a small amount of points of comparison are necessary for the blend to work. In some situations, the human mind only needs the most relevant points along a span in order to comprehend the whole event or span of time.

Conceptual integration is often the source of humor in comic strips or cartoons. Bill Watterson's Calvin and Hobbes is a prime example. In their 2006 paper, Ruth Molitor and Amanda Thomas analyze Calvin's interactions with a pair of aliens in terms of three input spaces: the world of Calvin and Hobbes, an alien invasion, and a real estate transaction. They look at one specific incident to illustrate the concept of blending, as well as the importance of cultural background to understand the blend. Our work in this paper examines one of the ongoing elements of the Calvin and Hobbes strip as a whole: the blended nature of Hobbes himself, which is composed of three input spaces. Following this, we examine a blend from Old Testament scripture, namely the worship of idols, which is composed of two input spaces. After analyzing the structure of both blends, we look at the attitudes people had towards them. We discuss people’s reaction to blends and whether they find the blends acceptable or dissonant/incongruous.

THE CALVIN AND HOBBES BLEND

Hobbes, one of the two main characters of Watterson's strip, has a blended nature. At least two input spaces are involved at all times, and we see later that some strips involve three. We begin with the more simple two-input blends. In most of Hobbes' appearances, he is depicted as a cartoon animal. He is a tiger, with all the appropriate physical attributes like four limbs, a tail, fur, claws, orange and black stripes. But as a cartoon tiger, he takes on human characteristics. He is able to talk with Calvin, eat
human food (especially tuna fish), read comic books, draw pictures, make human facial expressions, etc.—things that a tiger of course could not do. The blend is elaborated in the fact that his personality—a human factor, conveyed by human elements like conversation and facial expressions—is intended to approximate the comportment of a big cat. Watterson himself comments, "I try to preserve his feline side, both in his physical demeanor and his attitude. His reserve and tact seem very catlike to me, along with his barely contained pride in not being human" (Watterson 1995). Though little proof is needed to support this claim, a strip is provided below depicting a simple example of Hobbes’ animal form and human-like speech and motor skills. Thus in most instances, Hobbes can be analyzed as a blend resulting from the combination of two input spaces: animal and human.

**September 25, 1995**

Hobbes takes on a different two-input blend elsewhere in the comic strip. In panels where people other than Calvin see Hobbes, he is portrayed as a toy stuffed tiger, thus replacing the human input space with that of a toy. The example below shows Susie finding the stuffed-animal Hobbes after a big dog knocked Calvin over and ran off with Hobbes (explained in a previous strip). Here Hobbes is a blend of toy and tiger. He derives his physical composition from the toy input, being made of fabric and stuffing. His visual appearance, however, is made to specifically resemble a tiger, with four limbs, a tail, and black and orange stripes.

**May 29, 1986**

The pair of simple two-input blends is not particularly unusual. Toy animals are not by any means a novel reality. However, in other strips, all three input spaces—human, tiger, and toy—are utilized in a three-way blend. One of the best settings where this is illustrated is that of the washing machine. Hobbes periodically gets sent through the washing machine and dryer—which is apparently the way to get stuffed animals clean. Watterson depicts this event in a number of strips, resulting in a true three-way blend between the human, tiger and toy inputs. Two examples are given below.
January 9, 1988

**MOM, THE WASHER IS DONE.**

**AREN’T YOU GOING TO PUT THE WASH IN THE DRYER?**

**OK.**

** YOU MEAN YOU’RE JUST GOING TO LET IT SIT IN THE WASHING MACHINE ??**

**CALVIN, CAN’T YOU SEE I’M BUSY RIGHT NOW ??**

**SHE SAYS SHE’S BUSY. I HOPE THE NEXT TIME SHE TAKES A BATH THERE AREN’T ANY TOWELS.**

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January 3, 1987

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**Input Space**

It is now apparent that three spaces are involved in the composition of Hobbes’ character. The tiger space is called to mind by his physical/visual portrayal in the strip. The human space is called to mind by the dialogue and upright walking posture. The toy space is called to mind by the washing machine events. Table 1 lists the various elements a reader may think of related to each space.

**Table 1: Input Spaces for the Hobbes Blend**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Human</th>
<th>Tiger</th>
<th>Toy (stuffed)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Walks upright</td>
<td>Walks on four legs</td>
<td>Moves by being carried by children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capable of speech</td>
<td>Non-speech communication: growling, etc.</td>
<td>Incapable of communication or thought: inanimate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Able to think critically</td>
<td>Thinks instinctively</td>
<td>Played with by children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lives in house</td>
<td>Lives in wild</td>
<td>Possessed by a human</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interacts with other humans</td>
<td>Interacts with other animals</td>
<td>Fashioned/formed after some real object/entity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social</td>
<td>Solitary, territorial</td>
<td>Made of fabric and stuffing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omnivore</td>
<td>Predator/carnivore</td>
<td>Gets clean in washing machine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eats cooked food</td>
<td>Eats captured prey</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human body: hands, feet, head, etc.</td>
<td>Tiger body: paws, fur, claws…</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gets clean by taking baths</td>
<td>Gets clean by licking self</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wears clothing</td>
<td>Does not wear clothing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Has distinctive personality</td>
<td>Member of cat family</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Generic Space**

The Generic Space for that applies specifically to the washing machine strips is that of getting
clean. Boys, toys and tigers are all expected to be cleaned occasionally, and this similarity provides the foundation for the humor in the washing machine blend.

**Blended Space**

In the first strip, elements of all three inputs are combined to produce the blended space. As always, Hobbes inherits his physical attributes from the tiger space. He inherits his manner of communication from the human space. And he inherits his manner of getting clean from the stuffed toy space.

In the second strip, the blend is run further, depicting the results of going through the spin cycle of a dryer. The main elements contributed by each input are the same as those in the first strip, with the addition of manner of movement (walking on two legs) and the feeling of dizziness after spinning coming from the human space. This strip does not just show the static scenario of Hobbes talking while sitting in the washing machine. It takes the blend further to show the outcome of the experience, and the emergent structure depicts a tiger trying unsuccessfully to walk straight on two feet after a trip through a clothes dryer.

**Mappings**

Table 2 shows the mappings made between elements of each of the input spaces. The direction of the arrows indicates which space is dominant for that particular element. For example, Hobbes usually walks on two feet in the strip, the human feature of the trait replacing the tiger feature. Thus the arrow points from the human space to the tiger space to show this replacement.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Human Feature</th>
<th>Tiger Feature</th>
<th>Toy Feature</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Walking upright</td>
<td>(Walks on four legs)</td>
<td>Moves by being carried</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communicates through speech</td>
<td>(Communicates by growling)</td>
<td>Cannot communicate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Physical shape and body of human)</td>
<td>Physical shape and body of tiger</td>
<td>(Takes some physical shape, but is not inherent to its toy-ness)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lives in house</td>
<td>(Lives in wild)</td>
<td>Played with by children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interacts with other humans</td>
<td>(Interacts with other animals)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Wears clothes)</td>
<td>&quot;Wears&quot; fur</td>
<td>Gets clean in washing machine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Gets clean by taking bath)</td>
<td>(Gets clean by licking self)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omnivore</td>
<td>(Carnivore)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Blending Processes**

*Composition:* The blend contains elements from all three sources. From the tiger source, it receives Hobbes’ physical appearance—fur, stripes, tail, etc. From the human source, it receives his power of speech and facial expression, as well as his ability to walk on two legs in the second strip. From the toy source, it receives the setting of the washing machine and dryer.

*Completion:* Understanding the humor of the blend requires some basic background knowledge, mostly about the toy source. In both strips, the readers must know that stuffed animals are put through the washer and dryer in order to clean them. They must also understand the script of washing clothes: first they are sent through the washing machine; afterwards they are transferred to the dryer; then finally they are removed and returned to use. In the second strip, the reader must know that the dryer involves a spin cycle that rotates the clothes around at high velocity. From the human and animal sources, the reader must know that dizziness and loss of balance occur after extended spinning.

*Elaboration:* In the first strip, the humor depends not only on the fact that Hobbes is being washed, but that he must sit in the washing machine all soaking wet until Calvin’s mother is ready to transfer him to the dryer. In the second strip, the humor is in the last step of the process: removal from the dryer after the spin cycle. The strips give new significance to the idea of a tiger, which now can be thought of as something that can go through a washing machine.

*Compression:* Both strips compress most of the laundry process. The first one compresses the
process of putting Hobbes into the washer and the half-hour or so of washing into a single image of Hobbes sitting in the machine at the end of the wash cycle. The second strip goes even further and compresses the entire laundry process into Calvin's remark about Hobbes coming out of the dryer.

THE BIBLICAL BLEND

Nearly ubiquitous in the story of the Old Testament is the practice of making and worshiping idols. This practice involved the creation of an image from wood, stone or metal, and the veneration of said image in the form of sacrifices, prayers, and other religious/cultic activities. A description of a specific instance of this practice is found in Exodus 32:3-6. As Moses is receiving the law on Mount Sinai, the Israelites down below create an idol and begin worshiping it: “So all the people broke off the golden earrings which were in their ears, and brought them to Aaron. And he received the gold from their hands, and he fashioned it with an engraving tool, and made a molded calf. Then they said, 'This is your god, O Israel, that brought you out of Egypt!' So when Aaron saw it, he built an altar before it. And Aaron made a proclamation and said, 'Tomorrow is a feast to the Lord.' Then they rose early on the next day, offered burnt offerings, and brought peace offerings; and the people sat down to eat and drink, and rose up to play.” This event can be analyzed as a blend of two input spaces: craftsmanship and religion.

**Input Space**

In the craftsmanship space, a person makes an object—perhaps a tool, such as a plow or yoke, perhaps a household object like a bowl or basket, perhaps a decoration or ornament. In the passage, this frame is called to mind by the material “gold,” the actions “fashioned” and “made,” the instrument “engraving tool,” and the adjective “molded.” Following the creation, the person then interacts in some way with the object. If the object is a useful one, the person will use it for his or her purposes—plowing a field, carrying other objects, etc. If it is a purely decorative one, the person may simply look at it from time to time and perhaps admire its beauty.

In the religion space, a person interacts with a deity. The deity is presumably spiritual and alive, having powers of consciousness and activity. It can see and hear the person who appeals to it and can act in response. The interaction is either for the purpose of eliciting a response from the deity (e.g. sending rain for crops, removing a plague, or cursing the supplicant's enemies) or for the purpose of praising/glorifying the deity. In this text, the religious frame is called to mind by the terms “god,” “altar,” “feast,” “burnt offerings,” and “peace offerings.” Table 3 shows the many features of each input space that may come to the reader’s mind when reading these trigger words.

**Table 3: Input Spaces for the Idols Blend**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Craftsmanship</strong></th>
<th><strong>Religion</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Craftsman</td>
<td>Person (supplicant)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tools</td>
<td>Deity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Materials (wood, stone, metal)</td>
<td>Actions: praying, worshiping, sacrificing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collecting or acquiring the materials</td>
<td>Purpose: eliciting favor from or praising the deity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possibly a fire or forge (for metalwork)</td>
<td>Explanation of natural forces as deity's activity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Effort required to make the object</td>
<td>Animals or objects to sacrifice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The produced object</td>
<td>Special places of worship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actions: Using the object, admiring the object</td>
<td>Other objects used as props in worship activities (incense, candles, robes, etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose: accomplishing work or enjoying beauty</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Generic Space**

The generic space for the blend is very vague. It includes a person, an external entity, and some form of interaction between the two.

**Blended Space**

The blended space is more interesting. The person can be thought of as coming from both (or either) input spaces. The blend inherits the external entity from the craftsmanship space, but it inherits the form of interaction from the religious space. Thus the emergent structure assigns new significance to the crafted image. The person interacts with it as if it were actually a deity: praying to it, bowing down to it, offering sacrifices to it, etc. It is not hard to see why the two kinds of interaction are mapped together in the blended space. The person has an agenda in putting a created plow to use, namely plowing the field;
in beseeching a deity the person also has an agenda, namely to elicit favorable treatment from the deity. Or if the interaction is simply an instance of appreciating the beauty of the created ornament, an act of veneration or worship is comparable in the religious space.

The blended space involves a metonymy of IMAGE FOR DEITY, in which the person performing religious activities towards the image thinks of it as if he is doing them towards a spiritual deity which the image is representing. Until the blended space was produced, the image and the deity belonged to separate domains, and any linking between them would have had to be metaphorical. The blended space puts them in the same domain and produces a strong metonymy. The acts of worship and supplication are physically directed to the idol, but are reckoned as acts to the deity. It is likely that the Israelites even thought of this golden calf as a physical representation of their God Yahweh, and thus their worship of the calf was thought of on some level as worship of Yahweh. The metonymic connection between the created image and the deity is strong, making the blend effective and acceptable in the mind of the participant.

Mappings
Table 4 shows the mappings between the relevant elements of each space.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Craftsman</th>
<th>Religion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>person</td>
<td>person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>product</td>
<td>deity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>using product to accomplish agenda</td>
<td>manipulating deity to elicit favorable treatment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>admiring product</td>
<td>praising the deity</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Blending Processes
Composition: The blended space inherits most of its setting from the religion space: the supplicant, the actions of prayer, worship and sacrifice. The main element drawn from the craftsman space is the idol itself, which was the product of the craftsman’s work.

Completion: The reader infers background information about the two input spaces. The passage does not describe in detail the process of fashioning the image. It assumes that the reader knows what usually happens on a feast day to a deity. It does not specify what animals or objects were offered as sacrifices.

Elaboration: New significance emerges for the image produced by the craftsman. In the craftsmanship space, the produced object was merely a tool for accomplishing household tasks or a decoration. In the blended space, it acquires much more importance as the representation of a deity.

Compression: This blend does not make much use of compression. The only significant compression is that the whole concept of the deity, its nature, and attributes, is all represented in a single object, the idol. A large amount of conceptual material is reduced to a small visual/physical image.

DISCUSSION

Both of the blends that are discussed above produce novel patterns of action that had not existed previously. The animate cartoon-tiger Hobbes is sent through the washer and dryer as a result of the input from the toy space. The carved image is worshiped and prayed to as a result of the input from the religious space. The question then arises: How do people who encounter these blends react to them?

Reaction to the Hobbes Blend

Watterson discusses the matter in the introduction to his Tenth Anniversary collection. It seems readers of the strip had various interpretations of what was going on with Hobbes. Watterson dismisses a couple possibilities: “I don’t think of Hobbes as a doll that miraculously comes to life when Calvin’s around. Neither do I think of Hobbes as the product of Calvin’s imagination” (Watterson 1995). Readers had evidently interpreted Hobbes as having two separate existences, one as a talking animate tiger (still a

2 Jamieson et. al. suggest this view in their commentary: “They meant the calf to be an image, a visible sign or symbol of Jehovah, so that their sin consisted not in a breach of the FIRST, but of the SECOND commandment” (407).
blend of human and animal elements, but not at all a stuffed animal) and the other as a toy tiger. If this were true, the two existences would be mutually exclusive and could never co-occur. Hobbes could never be both a stuffed animal and a “live” talking tiger at the same time. The washing-machine strips clearly show him with elements of both inputs, but people generally divided the two or simply denied that the other one existed in reality.

American culture is sufficiently inundated with fictitious talking animals that people have no trouble accepting a blend between animal and human spaces. This blend is by no means uniquely American; many societies around the world have folktales involving animals that assume human traits such as speech. American culture is also quite familiar with the blend of creating toys that are made to resemble specific animals, such as tigers. It is only when all three inputs are combined simultaneously that the blend is hard to accept. The incongruity leads readers to compensate somehow, either by denying the fact of co-occurrence or denying the “real” existence of one of the inputs.

Very occasionally, however, the Calvin and Hobbes strip presents a situation in which reality is undeniably presented as a blend of all three inputs. In these cases, neither of the simple two-input interpretations (human-tiger or toy-tiger) of Hobbes’ existence can account for all facts presented to us in the present reality. One of the very best illustrations of this blended reality occurs when Calvin, attempting to be the next Houdini, has Hobbes tie him up—incidentally just before dinnertime. As the parents call him to dinner, Calvin tries and fails to untie the knots. The strip below begins with Calvin's father coming up to investigate why he entirely failed to show up to dinner.

### December 5, 1987

The facts of reality as presented in the second and third frames are as follows:

A) Calvin is tied up in a way that he could not have gotten into entirely on his own. An animate being other than himself had to be responsible; this, of course, is Hobbes as an animate, talking tiger, fully capable of tying Calvin up.

B) Hobbes, in the presence of both Calvin and his father, is visually portrayed as a stuffed animal, wholly incapable of any sort of animate action, certainly not an action such as tying Calvin up. Why, he doesn’t even have the fingers necessary for tying knots!
The only plausible explanation of reality in this strip is by considering reality as a combination of the two simple interpretations of Hobbes’ existence. Calvin’s view of Hobbes as human/tiger cannot explain his stuffed animal appearance and obvious incapability of performing fine motor skills. His father’s view of Hobbes as toy/tiger cannot explain the knots that hold Calvin captive. Only by blending elements from all three spaces can the situation be fully accounted for.

Watterson himself thinks of his character in a way that comes close to hitting the blend idea, but falls just short. “The nature of Hobbes’ reality doesn’t interest me, and each story goes out of its way to avoid resolving the issue. Calvin sees Hobbes one way, and everyone else sees Hobbes another way. I show two versions of reality, and each makes complete sense to the participant who sees it.” (Watterson 1995). He seems to think of Hobbes as a single reality, but admittedly does not attempt to resolve the practical issues related to this interpretation.

Reaction to the Idols Blend

In the idol-worship blend, it is clear that the people engaging in the worship of idols did not find the blend too incongruous to participate in its blended space. Even the people of Israel, who had experienced the one true God and been commanded by him not to engage in the practice of worshiping created objects, returned to the practice repeatedly. This acceptance is akin to Watterson’s unquestioning attitude towards Hobbes’ character in the comic strip. Watterson of course is aware that there is some dissonance in the images; he just chooses to ignore it. We assume that the people who worshiped idols were not willfully ignoring its incongruity.

In the Exodus passage, the blended practice is condemned on theological grounds. God had explicitly forbidden his people to make any images—even if they were intended to represent him—lest any reduction of his greatness result from a mapping with an inanimate statue. However, in other passages, a slightly different version of the blend is addressed: Israel's worship of foreign gods via idols. In these passages, the blend is condemned as a logical absurdity.

Isaiah 44 is an ideal example. Verses 9-20 constitute an extended satirical passage in which the prophet describes in great detail the process of creating the image from a tree. The point of all this detail is to highlight the inanimate nature of the product that is subsequently worshiped. Isaiah 44:13-17 is reproduced here for perusal:

“The craftsman stretches out his rule, he marks [an image] out with chalk; he fashions it with a plane, and makes it like the figure of a man, according to the beauty of man, that it may remain in his house. He cuts down cedars for himself, and takes the cypress and the oak; he secures it for himself among the trees of the forest. He plants a pine, and the rain nourishes it. Then it shall be for a man to burn, for he will take some of it and warm himself; yes he kindles it and makes bread; indeed, he makes a god and worships it; he makes a carved image, and falls down to it. He burns half of it in the fire; with this half he eats meat; he roasts a roast and is satisfied. He even warms himself and says, ‘Ah! I am warm, I have seen the fire.’ And the rest of it he makes into a god, his carved image. He falls down before it and worships it, prays to it and says, ‘Deliver me, for you are my god!’

Notably absent in his description is any mention of a deity that can be dissociated from the image itself. In the Exodus passage, the idol is set up as “The god who brought you out of Egypt,” and the feast is dedicated “to the Lord.” These phrases appeal to a pre-existent concept of which deity the image was intended to represent; this is a big part of why the blend was successful. Isaiah, on the other hand, intentionally omits the target of the metonymy. He still uses the word “god,” but it is only in reference to the image, not to any previously known attributes or actions associated with a particular deity. His emphasis, rather, is on the craftsmanship space; the numerous words like “stretches,” “marks,” “fashions,” “compass,” “makes,” “carved,” etc. give an even fuller picture of this frame than the Exodus passage did. Without any pre-existent deity for the image to represent, the final recipient of the acts of worship can only be the inanimate image. Isaiah reinterprets the structure of the blend.

In this scenario, the blend becomes unacceptable, and Isaiah rejects it soundly. Later in the passage, he describes the acceptance of the blend as a lack of discernment: “And no one considers in his

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3 Again, this assumes any intended metonymy in the minds of the participants was targeting a deity other than the true and living God—as discussed earlier, the use of images in worshiping the true God is condemned on theological grounds. Isaiah would not deny the existence of Yahweh as the target of the metonymy.
heart, nor is there knowledge nor understanding to say, 'I have burned half of it in the fire, yes, I have baked bread on its coals; I have roasted meat and eaten it; and shall I make the rest of it an abomination? Shall I fall down before a block of wood?'” (Isaiah 44:19). The details of the fate of the first half of the tree provide a stark contrast to the worshiping of the second half. No sound reason can be given for treating the two halves of the tree in such different ways, justifying the conclusion that anyone who does so must be devoid of intelligence.

Comparison

Isaiah's attitude towards the idol-worship is not altogether unlike that of some of Watterson's readers to the Hobbes blend. As was mentioned earlier, some of them believed that even within the comic-strip world of Calvin and Hobbes, the human side of Hobbes—all his talking, walking upright, drawing, eating, etc.—was a figment of Calvin's active imagination. They denied the reality of that part of his nature and thus reduced the blend to one they could accept: a simple combination of tiger and toy. In their minds, Calvin, who participates in the blend, is relegated to the status of Isaiah's idol-worshiper: lacking a proper understanding of reality. The obvious difference is that Calvin is a six-year-old child who is not to be condemned for participating in activities that are based on imaginary reality, whereas the participants in Isaiah are adults and the activities are serious.

CONCLUSIONS/SIGNIFICANCE OF FINDINGS

Some blending patterns are sufficiently established in culture that people accept them without any notion of incongruity. Many (if not most) cultures have some concept of personifying animal characters, whether through comics or folktales. Thus we can easily accept the simple blend of Hobbes' human-like animal nature. Likewise, the idol-worship blend in the Ancient Near East was acceptable for most people at the time. Other blends, though, produce enough dissonance that people cannot accept them as they are presented. The addition of Hobbes' stuffed-toy input in American culture exemplifies this type. The three-source blend caused some readers to relegate the animate Hobbes to Calvin's imagination and others to simplify the structure in a way that would make the full three-source blend of the washing machine strips impossible. For Isaiah, the worship of idols was a blend of this type. He criticized the situation, arguing that the input from the religious source was purely imaginary and therefore the blend was absurd.

Our investigation confirms Fauconnier and Turner's principle that most of the processing done by the human mind in establishing and interpreting blends is not conscious. This also applies to the processing that takes place when people interpret blends in ways other than the way they were intended to be interpreted. When Calvin and Hobbes readers interpret the Hobbes blend by simplifying it, this is also done at the subconscious level. They are not consciously aware of perceiving the full blend and then interpreting it as simpler than it really is.

Looking at people's reactions to just these two blends suggests that the tendency at the conscious level is for people to simplify blends. This is only slightly different from Fauconnier and Turner's point that people usually do not recognize common blends as even being blends. People who see Hobbes cannot avoid the fact that there is something blended about his character, but they can interpret the blend in different ways. Readers tended to reduce a three-input blend to a two-input blend that was more easily acceptable. With the idol-worship blend, Isaiah denied the deity element in the blended space and condemned the blend as unacceptable.

Further investigation would be needed to confirm this tendency for blends in general. A thorough inquiry might reveal a typology of interpretations that would include the ones briefly examined here, namely interpreting the blend as it was constructed, simplifying it, or rejecting it. The next step would be looking at what factors given blend or in a given audience contribute to the selection of interpretations. Molitor and Thomas have pointed out that cultural background is often necessary to complete a given blend and thereby understand the intended humor, and that lack of cultural knowledge could result in misunderstanding the blend. This idea could be taken a step further to suggest that the types of blends present in a culture will affect how a person from that culture would react to blends that he or she encounters in another culture. Another factor that might affect how a person reacts to a blend is the purpose of the blend. The blends in comics are constructed for the sake of humor. In general, it would not be surprising if this value of the purpose factor tended to make people more inclined to accept a blend as presented, although as we saw with the Hobbes blend, they may still end up simplifying it. A typology of blend reactions could prove useful in understanding how people across cultures perceive the
conceptual blends in the Bible. It is important for people to interpret Biblical blends correctly, so it would be helpful to be aware of ways they might change the blends.

REFERENCES


WEBSITES


For every strip in the entire *Calvin and Hobbes* corpus, this website has an entry that includes events, dialogue, characters and date. It has a search engine that will browse the corpus and come up with a list of strips that match any search terms that you enter.
Appendix: Theoretical Model for Analyzing Conceptual Blends

**Input Spaces**: Input spaces present structured information from discrete conceptual domains. They are internally coherent, and when an element in a source/target space is projected to or inferred from a blend, the internal relationships of that element within the blend optimally match those of its counterpart space. In some cases, the input spaces may be divided up as source and target; in other cases, they are equal inputs.

**Generic Space**: Contains abstract conceptual information/structure such as image schemas, ICM's, or some skeletal grammatical structure that accounts for content common to all the spaces.

**Metonymic mapping**: links between elements in different spaces that are counterpart relations: for instance, identity, similarity, analogy, and pragmatic functions.

**Blended Space**: Schematic structure is imported from the input spaces and adapted to fit the goals of the blend’s creator through the processes of:

- **composition** uses the schemas of the input space(s) to structure the schemas in the blended space.
- **completion** uses information drawn from long-term memory to complete the schematic structure as it is depicted in the blend.
- **elaboration** adds content to the event(s) in the blend with the common result being novel conceptualization.
- **compression** merges some of the content expressed by a vehicle and a target in metonymies. Such compression may involve entities from different times and/or spaces. One of the chief characteristics of this virtual world is compression. Such compression creates rhetorical force and promotes emotional responses.

The result often is a reconstrued scenario with an emergent meaning that serves as the basis for drawing additional inferences. Such inferences are often projected to the target space.

**Analyzing the Blend:**

Analysis necessarily begins with the blended space and consists of unpacking the blend and drawing inferences that are projected to one or more input spaces, in effect converting them to target spaces.

1. First describe the source space(s) that project(s) content to the blend. One of these source spaces may be considered as primary in that it provides the organizing frame or scene for the blended space. Since a limited number of the entities in this frame are projected to the blended space, you should expect to provide more than those that are projected.

2. If the blend is metaphoric, map the links between the entities in the primary source space with the corresponding entities in the other input spaces or target space. Note that the content of the target space is often abstract.

3. For structuring the content of the virtual world in the blended space, identify the content that is projected from the input space(s) and adapted to meet the goals of the blend’s creator through the processes of composition, completion, elaboration, and compression.

4. Identify any emergent meaning(s) that serve(s) as the basis for inferences that may be projected back to one of the input spaces.

5. Extract the structure that is common to the mental spaces and suggest a cover term for it in the generic space.
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