

JOSIP JURAJ STROSSMAYER UNIVERSITY OF OSIJEK
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

Nevena Ćosić

***Brexit* AS A COMPLEX METONYMIC
NETWORK**

Doctoral dissertation

Osijek, 2021

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Supervisor: Tanja Gradečak, Ph.D., Associate professor

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SVEUČILIŠTE JOSIPA JURJA STROSSMAYERA U OSIJEKU

FILOZOFSKI FAKULTET U OSIJEKU

Nevena Ćosić

***Brexit* KAO SLOŽENA METONIMIJSKA MREŽA
ZNAČENJA**

Doktorska disertacija

Mentorica: dr. sc. Tanja Gradečak, izv. prof.

Osijek, 2021.

To my mother and father for everything I have put them through

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MOTTO

"In our age there is no such thing as "keeping out of politics". All issues are political issues,
and politics itself is a mass of lies, evasions, folly, hatred and schizophrenia."¹

** ** *

"Power is in tearing human minds to pieces and putting them together again in new shapes of
your own choosing."²

¹ George Orwell, *All Art Is Propaganda: Critical Essays*

² George Orwell, *1984*

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Abbreviations, Symbols and Font Styles

CIT - Conceptual Integration Theory

CTMM - Cognitive Theory of Metaphor and Metonymy

PDA - Political Discourse Analysis

ICM - Idealised Cognitive Model

EU - European Union

CL – Cognitive Linguistics

[...] signals an omitted part of a quotation or an example

SMALL CAPS – metaphors/metonymies

italic – the lexeme *Brexit* is highlighted, as well as *Brexit* collocations, the publication and the name of the newspaper

italic and bold – a possible meaning *Brexit* refers to and type of metonymy

(1), (2)... - signals examples from the dataset

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1 INTRODUCTION

Cognitive Linguistics (henceforth: CL) has become a fashionable field of study over the last few decades. The trigger for such a phenomenon was the publication of *Metaphors We Live By*, a book written by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson in 1980. The importance of the book lies in the fact that the authors claimed that everything we understand is purely metaphorical in nature, and that metaphor as such is not a figure of speech used to enrich our talk – it is a cognitive tool due to which we are able to grasp concepts around us in terms of other things/concepts. In the book Lakoff and Johnson also claim that “metonymic concepts are systematic the same way metaphoric concepts are” (1980: 39). In other words, they claim that one term is conceptualised by means of its relation to something else. Moreover, they argue that experiential grounding in case of metonymies is more obvious than in case of metaphoric concepts because it involves direct physical or causal associations. (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980: 39). Metonymies are brought in close connection with cultural and religious symbolism.

Cultural and religious symbolism are special cases of metonymy. The conceptual systems of cultures and religions are metaphorical in nature. Symbolic metonymies are critical links between everyday experience and the coherent metaphorical systems that characterize religions and cultures. Symbolic metonymies that are grounded in our physical experience provide an essential means of comprehending religious and cultural concepts (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980: 40).

Since then, many linguists (Radden and Kövecses 1999, Barcelona 2012, Brdar 2002, Littlemore 2015, etc.) have begun to show much interest for the field of metonymy as the book was at the time revolutionary because it established the foundation for the future research in the field of CL. Most of the work in the field of CL is dedicated to metaphor. However, metaphor’s ugly sister - metonymy deserves just as much, or even more of our attention. Metonymy is also less supported by many researchers and less present in the works of cognitive linguists, which is an injustice that may be amended by the research presented in this dissertation. It is therefore the aim of the dissertation to invite other scholars in the field to investigate to a greater extent the phenomenon which is highly present in our everyday life.

Basic features of metonymy are unanimously accepted by cognitive linguists:

(1) the fundamentally conceptual nature of metonymy, (2) the fact that it is experientially grounded, (3) the fact that it can be the root to some cognitive models and (4) and the fact that it involves experientially and conceptually connected, i.e., “contiguous”, elements (Barcelona, 2011: 8).

When metonymic mapping is discussed, the use of “entities” is rejected. Rather, the terms domains (or subdomains) are used for metonymic sources and targets (*ibid*).

[...] the source and the target include at least the more relevant facets of speakers’ encyclopaedic knowledge about them. As for referentiality and “stand-for”, the former notion has been shown not to be a necessary condition for metonymicity, and it has been suggested that the latter notion should be dispensed with and replaced by “mapping” (Barcelona, 2011: 49).

Barcelona (2011: 50) proposes three types of metonymies: 1) purely schematic metonymies – extremely common metonymies which satisfy only necessary conditions for metonymicity, 2) simply typical metonymies – the target is clearly distinct from the source (those are WHOLE FOR PART and PART FOR WHOLE metonymies), 3) prototypical metonymies – referential metonymies). Out of the three types of metonymies only typical metonymies will be analysed in the dissertation because we will see the ways in which *Brexit* is used to mean many possible things such as *the date of the exit, trade relations, the future with the EU and other countries, the referendum, the terms of the deal, Brexit negotiations, Brexit process*, etc. This dissertation will illustrate pragmatic effects which are a direct result of such (ab)use of metonymies as evidenced in the political discourse surrounding the situation around *Brexit* in the United Kingdom in the period from 2016 until present.

Based on the provided examples, we will see the pragmatic effects caused by the extensive use of *Brexit* alone or as a part of collocations such as *Brexit deal, Brexit negotiation, Brexit date*, etc. In such a way, one could assume that metonymy triggers political activity. In other words, the metonymies politicians use in a discourse are the source of recipients' activity, i.e. it triggers the conceptualisations that lead to the end choice as to who they would give their votes to, or whether they would give them at all.

Both metaphor and metonymy are cognitive processes, with the crucial difference being their nature as a two-domain mapping as opposed to single-domain mapping, respectively. Moreover, „metonymy does not simply substitute one entity for another entity, but interrelates them to form a new, complex meaning“ (Kövecses and Radden, 1999: 19), and those new, complex (metonymic) meanings of *Brexit* will be analysed with respect to pragmatic effects, i.e. to the way people would act upon in terms of votes. In addition, it is assumed that „metonymy performs various functions in speech acts: It is operative on the level of reference, predication, proposition, and illocution“ (Panther and Thornburg, 2003: 7) which will be

illustrated on a number of examples provided in the dissertation. The use of *Brexit* in British political discourse will be mostly representative of how metonymy is operative on the level of illocution. In other words, politicians' use and abuse of *Brexit* is indicative of how the voters would act upon, i.e. whom they would give their votes to, and such pragmatic effects triggered by metonymy are a *par excellence* example of metonymy being operative on the level of illocution. On the other hand, a certain number of examples will be illustrative of metonymy being operative on the level of reference, which consequently triggers different rhetorical functions such as the use of euphemisms, dysphemisms, blurring, etc, all of which have one purpose in common – manipulating the voters:

In cognitive terms, euphemisms are used when one wants to name things without calling up a mental picture of them. The aim of using euphemisms is to strike at a person's imagination. Euphemisms do not form complete pictures in the mind, nor do they completely define an event or object. Without a complete definition, the ability to understand the true meaning of a statement is obscured (Mihas, 2005: 129).

Politicians' use of euphemisms and dysphemisms suggests that „the speaker is glorifying or vilifying the political parties“ (Božić-Lenard and Ćosić, 2017: 78), and the phenomenon will be exemplified by numerous examples in the case of euphemisms and blurring because the metonymic use of *Brexit* did not produce dysphemisms in the analysed dataset.

The results of a conducted analysis of metonymic (referential) meanings of *Brexit* has shown that politicians use collocations with *Brexit*, such as *Brexit deal*, *Brexit negotiation*, „Brexit date“, etc. in such a way that the collocation is actually used for *Brexit* which then refers to many things: *concession*, *future relationship with Europe*, *(Brexit) negotiations*, *the date of exit*, *trade agreement after exit*, to name just a few. Due to a variety of possible meanings *Brexit* may refer to, and due to the fact that it is often very vague what politicians wanted to say when using *Brexit*, British political discourse has proved to be an adequate place to analyse the influence of metonymy on the targeted recipients, i.e. voters. The role of metonymy in political discourse with respect to euphemisms and dysphemisms is clearly expressed in the following:

Metonymy often seems to function as a kind of 'avoidance strategy.' for reasons of euphemism perhaps. Conversely, it also serves as a 'focusing strategy,' which in extreme cases results in dysphemism. The relationship between the domains involved in metonymy seems to be one of inclusion, with either a more general concept standing for a more specific one, or vice versa. There will always be a difference in scale or level of abstraction, which is not the case for metaphor (Warren, 1999: 272).

Political discourse has always been a very interesting area of linguistic study, primarily because of the language used by its protagonists, i.e. politicians. We often witness politicians' language

which is illustrative of their pseudo-desire for the greater good; in reality, we often experience something quite the opposite – power-hungry politicians who put their personal needs above the general good. So, the dissertation will try to cast some light on how rhetoric functions of the political discourse are enabled by means of metonymic mappings. Lauer (2004) also deals with rhetoric and in her book *Inventions in Rhetoric and Composition* she provides an extensive review of rhetoric through history. Precisely she gives an insight into Greek views on rhetoric, Roman views, the views on rhetoric in Medieval times, Renaissance, as well as the basic postulates of rhetoric through the 18th, 19th and the 20th century. It follows that Classical rhetoric matters a lot even nowadays, especially in politics, but also in other aspects of human activity, such as teaching.

Such rhetoric is abundant in metonymies, and the dissertation will illustrate pragmatic effects which are a direct result of such (ab)use of metonymies. More precisely, when politicians use *Brexit deal*, they may not refer to the deal *per se*, but to *Brexit* whose referential meaning may be either *referendum*, *exit*, *trade relations*, *date of the exit*, etc. Such unclear referential meaning of *Brexit* results in general confusion, which leads to giving votes to politicians based on wrong assumptions.

We already suggested that much work on political discourse was traditionally being done under the broad label of 'rhetoric'. This is of course not surprising when we realize that classical rhetoric, apart from its uses in the courtroom, was primarily developed as an "art" to persuade people in a political assembly. Thus, special arguments, special forms and figures of style were traditionally associated with political text and talk. Indeed, common sense notions of political discourse as typically verbose, hyperbolic, dishonest and immoral are sometimes simply summarized with the negative label of 'rhetoric' (Van Dijk, 1997: 34).

It can thus be inferred that political discourse, politicians, and the way things are handled in politics ascribe negative connotations to rhetoric, and it could not thus be regarded just as a virtue of speaking nicely and convincingly. Having said that, it is now clear why it is said that political discourse is one of the most interesting, yet challenging areas of linguistic study, especially when analysed from the cognitive perspective. The examples in the dissertation will be demonstrative of the rhetoric functions which are realized by means of metonymic meanings of "Brexit". Those functions include euphemisms, blurring, etc. and have no other purpose than to mislead the recipients, i.e. the voters. Why are euphemisms used in the political discourse? In a euphemism, „the positive opposite of an avoided expression is often used instead of a neutral term“ (Warren, 1999: 300).

A few words should also be said regarding the event which is often used by politicians in the UK from 2016 onwards, and which ultimately triggered the analysis of metonymies in the British political discourse with the aim of examining pragmatic effects caused by the (ab)use of those metonymies. The dissertation will analyse one significant moment which is important not only for the UK, but for the rest of the world – the moment is *Brexit*, whose repercussions are yet to be evaluated. The idea of *Brexit*, i.e. British exit from the EU, started after the resignation of the former UK's Prime Minister David Cameron in 2016 when he initiated the *Brexit* referendum, in which 52% of people voted to leave the EU. Although he was a former Conservative Party leader, he was actually opposed to *Brexit* and wanted the UK to be a part of the EU. One of Cameron's regrets³ regarding the initiation of the referendum on the UK's continuing membership of the EU was the following: "I allowed people to think there were much more fundamental changes — that we could almost have a sort of pick-and-choose aspect to which European laws we obeyed and which we didn't. And this, I think, was damaging" (<https://www.npr.org/2019/09/29/764199387/david-cameron-calls-the-brexit-referendum-his-greatest-regret?t=1615479429442>, last updated on 29th September 2019).

After the referendum vote, the UK has become a divided society, and a political drama surrounding *Brexit* has become a battlefield between the “Remainers“ and „Leavers“. Even though Cameron takes the stand that the UK is better off inside the EU, he understands why people voted as they did. That is why he claims the following:

"It's not an illegitimate choice for the sixth biggest country in the world to say to the European Union, we want to be your friends, we want to be your neighbours, we want to be your partners," he said. "But we don't want to be members, and that's the choice that we've taken. And I don't think that is an illegitimate choice or an impossible choice to deliver" (<https://www.npr.org/2019/09/29/764199387/david-cameron-calls-the-brexit-referendum-his-greatest-regret?t=1615479429442>, last updated on 29th September 2019).

To sum up, it is claimed that David Cameron called for the Brexit referendum to show that the country was in favour of remaining, like him. To his surprise, 52% of the population voted to leave the European Union making the majority of U.K. citizens in favour of Brexit. The right wing of the Conservative party and UKIP had been complaining frequently about the damage that the European Union has caused to the country so he decided to call a referendum, asking the country what their opinion was (Brexit or remain)

³ David Cameron wrote a book *For the Record* in which the whole situation regarding *Brexit* was explained.

(<https://burnetnewsclub.com/issues/politicians-and-power/the-discussion/why-did-david-cameron-call-the-brexit-referendum/>, last updated on 25th January 2020).

Although it is clear how the whole issue around *Brexit* started, the UK's political agenda through history should be explained in order to completely grasp the UK's size and powerfulness with respect to the exit from the European Union. The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland has always been one of the biggest countries in the world, especially if its imperialist conducts in the period from the 17th to 20th century are taken into account. From the 20th century it has also been known as the British Commonwealth⁴. Having in mind the impact the UK has had through history in terms of all the colonies it has worldwide, it is not surprising at all that *Brexit* sets new ground for future relations with other countries because there are many unknown issues surrounding it. So, what is *Brexit* actually? There are many allegories surrounding the whole event of the UK's exit from the EU which are usually understood in terms of comparison with marriage and divorce, or as Charteris-Black puts it: "for many British people membership of the EU had always been a 'marriage of convenience', and for many Europeans the UK was always a difficult marriage partner" (2018: 9). The issue of "*Brexit*" has become a burning issue after the "Brexit Vote" in 2016 because of the terms under which the UK wanted to leave the EU. Such an event was then humorously expressed as in the following:

„Have your cake and eat it". To pro-Europeans this implied that the UK wanted to retain all the main benefits that came from being a member of the European Union (henceforth the EU). It sought to restrict EU immigration and leave the Single Market, while ensuring that frictionless trade with the EU would continue after Brexit: but this appeared to the EU negotiators as wanting to 'have it both ways' (Charteris-Black, 2018: 3).

⁴ The British Empire, a worldwide system of dependencies—colonies, protectorates, and other territories—that over a span of some three centuries was brought under the sovereignty of the crown of Great Britain and the administration of the British government. The policy of granting or recognizing significant degrees of self-government by dependencies, which was favoured by the far-flung nature of the empire, led to the development by the 20th century of the notion of a "British Commonwealth," comprising largely self-governing dependencies that acknowledged an increasingly symbolic British sovereignty. The term was embodied in statute in 1931. Today the Commonwealth includes former elements of the British Empire in a free association of sovereign states. In the 17th and 18th centuries, the crown exercised control over its colonies chiefly in the areas of trade and shipping. In accordance with the mercantilist philosophy of the time, the colonies were regarded as a source of necessary raw materials for England and were granted monopolies for their products, such as tobacco and sugar, in the British market (<https://www.britannica.com/place/British-Empire>, updated by The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2 Dec 2020)

Charteris-Black explained it in the following way: “Wolde ye bothe eate your cake, and haue your cake?” This meant that you could no longer have your cake after you have eaten it because there would no longer be any cake left to eat“ (2018: 5).

The above-mentioned makes it clearer why it took so long for the UK to actually exit the EU. More precisely, it took four years since the Referendum which took place in 2016, and it is yet to be discovered how future relations between the UK and other European as well as non-European countries would be affected. The troublesome issues regarding the exit include trade principles (“The basic trade principles of the EU’s single market: free movement of goods, capital, services and people“, (Charteris-Black, 2018: 324)), immigration, the Irish backstop and taking back control of UK’s laws. Since the “Brexit Vote” of 2016, there have been two streams of reasoning – one which is pro-Remain (the UK should stay in the EU) and the other one is pro-Leave (the UK should leave the EU), and they are based on two scenarios – the “Invaded Nation” scenario and the “Sovereign Nation” scenario, respectively.

Many pro-Brexit supporters wanted to leave the EU because they saw the UK as symbolising freedom and democracy and the EU as symbolising authoritarianism and bureaucracy. The concept of sovereignty was especially important to mainstream supporters of Leave represented by the organisation ‘Vote Leave’ that had been designated by the Electoral Commission, in April 2016, as the official campaign. The ‘Invaded Nation’ scenario viewed the EU’s open border policies as constituting a threat. The collapse of border controls in EU countries bordering the Mediterranean increased the threat of immigration of people from non-Christian, non-white and non-European backgrounds (Charteris-Black, 2018: 106/107).

Moreover, after the 2016 Referendum vote the UK’s political parties took different viewpoints regarding the issue of *Brexit*, which made the terms under which the birth of *Brexit* took place. Key elements of the Conservatives included that the UK was no longer being bound by EU law and European Court of Justice rulings, quitting the EU single market and seeking a "comprehensive" free trade deal in its place, striking trade deals with other countries around the world [...] Key elements of their opponents, i.e. the Labour Party were: protecting all existing workers' rights, consumer rights and environmental protections, aiming for "tariff-free access" to the EU single market, while accepting "unchanged access" is impossible, leaving the option of the customs union on the table, refusing to accept a "no deal" scenario, no second referendum on the final deal - but giving MPs a decisive say on what happens next, guaranteeing the rights of EU nationals living and working in the UK to stay in the country from "day one", no target numbers for migration levels [...].

(<https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-39665835>, last updated on 1st June 2017).

In addition, Amadeo claims the following regarding the impact of *Brexit* on the EU:

Brexit is a vote against globalization. As a result, it has weakened forces in the EU that favor integration. On the other hand, the majority of EU citizens still strongly support the union. In a Pew Research Center survey across 10 European nations, almost 75% say the EU promotes peace, and 55% believe it supports prosperity. In addition, more than a third see the role of the U.K. as diminishing (2021).⁵

Obviously, *Brexit* is being seen as antiglobal conduct on the part of the UK, which ultimately affects other countries' influence on global issues. In a way, one could say that the whole event of UK's exit from the EU undermines the influence of other European countries on a global level.

[...] stronger links between countries have in the past (and in other parts of the world) been associated with faster economic growth. There is broad agreement among UK-based economists that stronger trade, investment and migratory links boost a country's economic output. These insights – coupled with a prediction that Brexit is likely, overall, to raise barriers to trade between the UK and other countries – lead most economists to believe that Brexit will hamper UK economic growth (Tetlow and Stojanovic, 2018: 4).

The post-Brexit situation is best described as follows: “After the UK’s exit the EU would retain global significance as the world’s largest trading bloc, the most significant provider of overseas development aid, a major player in international environmental diplomacy, and a key actor in Europe’s diplomacy and security“ (Whitman, 2016: 529).

Prior to the analysis one should comprehend what politics is. In an attempt to describe what politics is, a former American president Ronald Reagan once said the following: „It has been said that politics is the second oldest profession. I have learned that it bears a striking resemblance to the first“⁶. If a former president and a very significant political figure of the 20th century compares politics with prostitution, it is then not surprising that many linguistic studies are conducted with respect to political discourse. By comparing politics with prostitution, Reagan wanted to say that the same way prostitutes exchange sex for money, the politicians sell their beliefs for positions and power. Besides that, politics is also interesting from another perspective and that is the means they use to operate in politics. Take for example several professions: a mason, a surgeon, an architect, a dentist, a plumber, a teacher, etc. – they all work with tangible tools (a mason works with bricks and plaster, a surgeon with a scalpel, an architect with pencils, a dentist with a dental grinder, plumber with pipes, a teacher with

⁵ <https://www.thebalance.com/Brexit-consequences-4062999> (Updated on 6th Jan 2021)

⁶ https://www.brainyquote.com/quotes/ronald_reagan_147698?src=t_politics (Updated on 23rd Dec 2020)

chalk and board, etc.). The tool politicians use is not a tangible tool; rather, they use language. Unlike many other professions, politicians do not work with tangible tools which is what makes the political discourse interesting to study because it is so susceptible to different interpretations of the same thing. There are sciences such as psychology or mathematics where everything is clearly defined and exact. However, that is not the case with politics. Nothing is exact in politics, everything depends on many factors most of which are extralinguistic factors such as context, politicians and recipients, i.e. the voters. Politics without language is almost non-existent, which is why political discourse is one of the most interesting and thought-provoking fields of linguistic research; it puts a lot of emphasis on how various use of language affects people (the voters) into choosing the people who will eventually govern their country.

In addition, Chilton claims that political activity is almost unimaginable without the use of language, and that “language is predominantly constituted in language”. The need for language is a result of socialisation of humans which involves the formation of coalitions, the signalling of group boundaries, and all that these developments imply, including the emergence of what is called reciprocal altruism (Chilton, 2004: 6).

He sees language as an inextricable part of politics, as the wheel of reaching goals by all means. Due to the fact that it appears as a kind of a cunning game, politics has lately been a very fashionable field of research to deal with. However, politics is not something new and exotic to deal with; it has always been present in people's lives, even since the era of Aristotle who emphasises the main task of politicians:

The most important task for the politician is, in the role of lawgiver (nomothetês), to frame the appropriate constitution for the city-state. This involves enduring laws, customs, and institutions (including a system of moral education) for the citizens. Once the constitution is in place, the politician needs to take the appropriate measures to maintain it, to introduce reforms when he finds them necessary, and to prevent developments which might subvert the political system. Politics is all around us, and even though we do not want to be included in it, we most certainly are an inextricable part of it.⁷

Although we all feel the politicians should behave in such a way, somehow, we witness a different situation, or actually quite the opposite, which is why politics is an inevitable part of society in which a variety of goals are to be achieved, primarily personal goals of power-hungry politicians. Because of that, most of the linguistic research is lately conducted exactly with respect to language use in political discourse. Although there is a satisfactory number of papers

⁷ <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/aristotle-politics/#PolView> (Updated by Fred Miller, 2017)

studying language of the political discourse from a cognitive perspective, the contribution of this dissertation lies in the following: politicians' (ab)use of language by means of excessive use of metonymies (in this particular case *Brexit*-based metonymies) leads towards manipulating the voters.

In terms of the literal meaning of the word *Brexit*, one could simply say that it is the British exit from the European Union – that would be the literal meaning of the word which is a combination of *Br* (which is shortened form of British) and *exit*. Oxford English Dictionary provides the definition of the word *Brexit*⁸. The definition of *Brexit* should be taken into account, as well as the history of the term and the influence of the previous significant moments. It was modelled on Grexit, the term that had been coined for a possible (and at that time far more likely) Greek exit from both the Euro currency and the EU. The OED has recognised *Brexit* solely as a noun, though this will soon need to be revised. It may also be used as a verb (The UK will *Brexit* in 2019), or as an adjective (the *Brexit* referendum). To date has not quite established itself as an adverb – it seems that something cannot be done „Brexitly“ – though it is already a part of a set adverbial phrase: despite *Brexit*. In terms of those who support *Brexit*, there are both „Brexiter“ and „Brexiteer“ which are not synonyms. „Brexiter“ is used to describe someone who accepts *Brexit* with or without enthusiasm, while „Brexiteer“ is used for someone enthused by *Brexit*. There is also an opposite of „Brexiter“ and „Brexiteer“, and that is Remainer. The word Remoaner is used by „Brexiteers“ for a bad loser who wants to set aside the referendum result. Some collocations have also arisen since the 2016 referendum vote: hard *Brexit*, soft *Brexit*, clean *Brexit*. Apart from all of the above mentioned, there is also Bregret for regret of *Brexit*, along with dog's *Brexit*⁹.

My research will demonstrate that *Brexit* entails much more than simply an exit from the EU.

The dissertation will illustrate how *Brexit* is used in British political discourse, i.e. we will see what the metonymic (referential) meanings of *Brexit* are, and how they are received by the general public, i.e. how the voters would act upon it. In other words, we will see whether *Brexit* really stands for **British exit**, or whether it entails other referential meanings as well, and

⁸ the (proposed) withdrawal of the United Kingdom from the European Union, and the political process associated with it". It continues: "Sometimes used specifically with reference to the referendum held in the UK on 23rd June 2016, in which a majority of voters favoured withdrawal from the EU"

<https://www.open.edu/openlearn/languages/english-language/the-language-Brexit> (Updated on 5th Jan 2017)

⁹ <https://www.open.edu/openlearn/languages/english-language/the-language-Brexit> (Updated on 5th Jan 2017)

whether such metonymic network expands through time, thus causing different pragmatic effects. This means that the results of the dissertation will be illustrative of how *Brexit*, when used as a part of a collocation such as *Brexit deal*, actually has different referential meanings based upon which the public reacts in terms of giving votes. Needless to say, the dissertation analyses referential metonymies for which it is said:

For anything to qualify as a referential metonym, the following applies: (i) it should have a referent (ii) the intended referent is not explicitly mentioned¹ but its retrieval depends on inference (iii) inference is made possible because there is some connection between the mentioned referent (the trigger) and the implied referent (the target)² deemed so well known that in the context in question the former will automatically suggest the latter (Warren, 1999: 123).

Whenever cognitive linguistics is mentioned, there are two cognitive tools that instantly come to mind – metaphor and metonymy. Even though most of the research conducted in CL is based on metaphor, the dissertation will try to show that this is linguistic injustice because metonymy deserves just as much or even more research, especially when political discourse is in question. In addition, some research suggests that PART FOR WHOLE metonymy triggers the occurrence of many metaphors, which means that metonymy is superordinate to metaphor (Barcelona, 2000, etc.).

In the following chapters the dissertation provides more details on the political and social context regarding *Brexit* in order to get the whole picture. The analysis of 1.326.558 words and the total number of 12.012 of the lexeme *Brexit* from a data set collected from some of the major British newspapers and tabloids presents a solid foundation for reliable data. Special attention will be paid to the use of *Brexit* in two of the most influential slogans in the observed period: “Brexit means Brexit” used by Theresa May and “Get Brexit done” promoted by Boris Johnson. They will serve as case studies for a wide network of metonymic meanings of *Brexit* that has been woven with a frequent effect of blurring the lines of intended referential concepts.

1. 1. Rationale

A part of the motivation for investigating the role of metonymy in political discourse is the fact that it is metaphor which has been in the foreground of research in political discourse (Chilton and Ilyin (1993), Charteris Black (2006), Musolff (2004), Semino (2008), Wodak (2006), etc). The dissertation will try to illuminate the pragmatic functions of the political discourse based on the referential (metonymic) meaning of the lexeme *Brexit* in the British media. The use of metonymies in political discourse is the reason why it has lately become such an interesting field of study amongst scholars. Another reason why it has become such an interesting field of study is that “using metaphor and metonymy made language emotional” (Amanda, 2017: 47), and because of that emotional component, the language should be analysed from a different perspective. Obviously, politicians use metonymies with the aim to „play” on voters' emotions and thus gain votes to be in power, and the dissertation will try to demonstrate that on the basis of many examples.

The motivation for writing the dissertation also lies in the fact that *Brexit* has become, and probably will be, one of the world's key events for the future relations amongst countries¹⁰, and writing about linguistic aspect of such a significant moment would mean that the dissertation is just a small contribution to such legacy. In addition, there are three possible scenarios regarding the UK's exit from the EU. Oliver (2016) provides an explanation what may happen in the future, now that the UK is out of the EU. The abundance of referential (metonymic) meanings that *Brexit* has in British political discourse is suggestive of the fact that politicians are masters of manipulation who climb on the career ladder by means of lying, making the truth prettier, deceiving, using doublespeak, being unclear, etc. As Murray Gifford (2019: 2) puts it: “*Brexit* has opened a space for a politics of personalisation and private renown (Langer 2011), sets the conditions for politicians to speak on a personal rather than party basis“. Politics seems to be a place where it is not that important which political party one favours; rather, it is more important that one belongs to certain affiliation. Late nineteenth century British thinker Herbert Spencer rejected a traditional view of politics according to which it is a place of co-operation amongst participants of the system:

[...] social evolutionary advancement necessarily involves the freedom and action of individual persons acting in autonomous (as opposed to relationally interdependent) individual capacities. Spencer advocates, consistent with his social evolutionary

¹⁰ <https://review.chicagobooth.edu/economics/2021/article/how-will-brexit-affect-future-growth-uk-and-eu-economies> (updated on 27 Jan 2021)

theoretical synthesis, a scheme of individualistic conservative ethics that disdains almost all governmental interference into the lives and workings of persons (Roark, 2004: 1/2).

The aim of the dissertation is to enlighten rhetorical functions as well as pragmatic effects of overexploiting metonymy in political discourse and to examine the results of such (ab)use. Metonymy triggers the occurrence of metaphors, and since most of the research in CL so far is dedicated to metaphor, the dissertation would try to correct such injustice which will be demonstrated on the example of the metaphor A NATION IS A FAMILY, a metaphor which is metonymy-based since the whole nation (the British) is referred to as family, i.e. as one aspect of the unit we call family, and that is the fact that people leave the “family nest” when they get married. That is why in most of the texts which were subjected to analysis one could find the referents such as “divorce” or “marriage” when talking about “*Brexit*”.

Hopefully, the dissertation would „open the door“ to some new research studies in the field, so we can better understand political discourse, especially the vital part in it, i.e. metonymy, which politics is full of, and which is most frequently used as a means of reaching politicians' goals.

To sum up, metonymy plays a central role in political discourse, and in that sense *Brexit* turned out to be a fertile ground, because it has a variety of metonymic (referential) meanings which ultimately have different pragmatic effects. Given the fact that the topic of the dissertation is an important historic moment whose repercussions will probably be very powerful in years to come, and given the fact that politicians use language as their basic tool for reaching goals, a cognitive analysis of *Brexit* in political discourse will demonstrate that metonymy is an inextricable part of the political discourse.

The central aspect of my motivation for writing the dissertation is to challenge more scholars in the field to investigate the importance of metonymy in our everyday life, especially in political discourse, which is abundant in metonymies.

1. 2. The aims of dissertation and hypotheses

The aim of the dissertation is to determine the ways in which metonymy is used in the British media on the example of a historic moment for the UK – *Brexit*, and how it reflects the actual political situation in the UK. i.e. how politicians use it to achieve personal, and not the national goals. The dissertation will show that metonymic mappings used in political discourse in the UK are indicative of politicians using it NOT as a figure of speech, but as a means of

manipulation, distorting the reality, avoiding the truth, making the truth sound prettier, etc. – all with the ultimate goal: getting the votes.

[...] metaphorical and metonymic thought pervade political discourse. They are incredibly valuable tools to political elite systems because of the efficiency of their work. It only takes planned lexical choices to trigger powerful connections in the minds of listeners. A strategic target within the public discourse is that of imagined social categories. If the power structure can dictate how we categorize each other, they can mobilize large numbers of individuals to act on behalf of their ideologies (Meadows, 2005: 14).

Moreover, the dissertation will try to show whether the use of a certain metonymy is prototypical, or if its referential (metonymic) meaning has changed over time (what *Brexit* refers to when it is used by Theresa May, what it refers to when used by Boris Johnson etc). Political discourse is a *par excellence* example of language being very dependent on contexts, which, as we will see, change constantly, thus affecting metonymic meaning of *Brexit*, which is subjected to the analysis in this dissertation. In other words, the dissertation will show the pragmatic function of metonymic mappings on the example of *Brexit* in British political discourse.

The dissertation is based on the following hypotheses:

- Metonymic mappings enable the realization of different rhetorical functions of the political discourse such as euphemisms, blurring, etc.;
- *Brexit*-based metonymies are used as a strategy of manipulation;
- Metonymic mappings of the lexeme *Brexit* trigger changes in the target domain which is illustrative of the fact that political discourse is highly dependent on the external factors, i.e. the context.

1. 3. The structure of the dissertation

The dissertation is written by following the IMRaD structure. The Introduction explains what the dissertation will deal with, the rationale, the hypotheses, etc., followed by the Theoretical background which includes the following: describing and explaining the foundations of CL – primarily metaphor and metonymy, providing insight into political discourse, rhetoric, euphemisms, and general principles of pragmatics which is relevant for the pragmatic effects triggered by metonymic mappings of „*Brexit*“. The section will also include the context and its importance for creation of the different scenarios that could be found in political discourse and

which strongly affect the language used in it. The Theoretical background section is followed by Methodology which explains how the research was conducted, what phenomenon has been subjected to the analysis, what the dataset is and its size, as well as what the criteria used with respect to the dataset elaboration. The Methodology section is followed by Results which are illustrative of the conducted analysis and which are the basis for the outlined conclusions regarding the use of metonymies in political discourse. The central part of the dissertation is the Discussion section where the results will be discussed, comparing them to the similar research so far conducted in CL. Finally, the dissertation will be summarised in the Conclusion section in which the most important aspects of the dissertation will be highlighted, alongside with the possible recommendations for research in the future. At the end, the dissertation provides the list of sources the research was conducted on, as well as the list of relevant references which was of great help in writing the dissertation.

2 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

2. 1. *Brexit*: Political, Economic and Social context

Prior to the analysis of the examples, one must first be familiarized with the concept *Brexit*, that is what its geographical, social and political context is, and what the possible repercussions of such a monumental phenomenon might be in the future. The motivation behind *Brexit* could be found in *Grexit*. *Grexit* could be defined as the Greek exit from the EU, i.e. the Eurozone¹¹. The reasons for leaving the Union (Eurozone) could be ascribed to poor financial handling, i.e. monetary policy.

After the 2009 financial crisis, Greece became the epicentre of Europe's debt problems. By 2010 it was heading towards bankruptcy, setting off fears of a second financial crisis. Many now see the exit of Greece from the euro, or *Grexit* as it is also known, as the only solution for the country to end its cycle of borrowing, regain control of its monetary policy, and stabilize the economy.

(<https://ged-project.de/globalization/grexit/>, last updated on 30th March 2016)

Greece became a part of the Eurozone in 2001 and only 8 years later, the financial crisis began, such that in 2010 Greece's debt-to-GDP ratio was 146%. There are several causes of Greece's debt problems. The first follows a succession of governmental tax evasion and corruption. This is thought to have taken place over several decades and was misreported in order to keep within the Eurozone monetary guidelines. The second is that when Greece joined the Eurozone, its labour costs went up significantly, making its trade deficit increase. Third: when the financial crisis happened two of Greece's biggest industries, shipping and tourism, slowed dramatically.

(<https://ged-project.de/globalization/grexit/>, last updated on 30th March 2016)

The two events differ in the following:

Grexit refers to the likely possibility of Greece being forced out of the EU as a result of a government-debt crisis. On the other hand, *Brexit* is an ongoing voluntary disintegration process voted on by the people of the UK via the 2016 referendum. This brief outline is sufficient to indicate three fundamental differences. Firstly, one was a possible scenario of a member-state leaving the EU, the other is an ongoing process of a member-state leaving the EU. Secondly, in the case of *Grexit*, withdrawal from the Eurozone or the EU would be externally imposed, while *Brexit* is a voluntary decision of a major regional power to leave. Thirdly, with regard to the two referendums, only the British referendum posed a direct question with regard to EU membership.

¹¹ The Eurozone is a monetary union consisting of 19 countries that have each adopted the euro as their sole currency (<https://ged-project.de/globalization/grexit/>, last updated on 30th March 2016).

(<https://www.e-ir.info/2020/05/04/grexit-and-brexit-lessons-for-the-eu/>, last updated on 4th May 2020)

Although both processes, namely *Grexit* and *Brexit* are disintegration processes, as suggested above, the difference between the two lies in the motivation behind the desire to leave the EU.

The chronology of *Brexit* may be described as follows: After the resignation of the former British PM David Cameron, who started the idea of Brexit and prompted the *Brexit* referendum vote in 2016 which ended by the British voting Leave by a close margin of 51%, Theresa May came as his successor, the new PM. In March 2017 the UK notified the EU about its withdrawal by invoking the so-called Article 50 of the Treaty on the European Union¹². During a three-year long premiership, May marked the British history as the one who desperately wanted to get the UK out of the EU, and act upon the *Brexit* vote from 2016 as she promised the British. She eventually had to resign as her *Brexit* deal had been three times rejected by the House of Commons.

However, it should be stressed that the Leave and Remain campaigns had effects on the voters as well. The Leave campaign is determined by the two slogans which had filled the media discourse in the period after 2016 *Brexit* vote. The slogans in question are *Brexit means Brexit* and *Get Brexit done*, and were introduced by Theresa May and Boris Johnson, respectively. Both of the Prime Ministers were in favour of the UK to exit the EU, and both of them belong to the Conservative Party (Johnson was May's successor). In contrast, the Remain campaign, mostly favoured by the left-orientated parties such as Labour Party which is led by Jeremy Corbyn, was in favour of staying within the EU, though they wanted to protect legal and social rights of UK's people. Moreover, Goodwin et al. (2018: 13) investigated the role of the effects of 'real-world' arguments on both sides of the referendum campaign that attempted to influence the vote through an array of pro-EU or anti-EU messages.

Our main finding is that, in one of the most Eurosceptic states in the EU, proEU arguments had the potential to significantly increase support for remaining in the EU, while anti-EU arguments had less potential to impact support for either remaining or leaving. Our results suggest that in more recent years the well-rehearsed arguments about the perceived costs, risks and threats from the EU became 'priced in' to the national debate about continued EU membership.

The following conclusion is made from the research conducted by Goodwin et al. (2018: 14):

¹² A legal mechanism by which a member state may withdraw from the Union

Given that public attitudes toward EU membership were highly polarized and finely balanced before the referendum, such that the way the respective cases were framed could have made all the difference, our results suggest that it might have been a mistake for the Remain campaign to focus primarily on the potential economic costs of leaving the EU – which the Leave campaign dismissed as ‘Project Fear’ – rather than making a positive case for remaining in the EU. Therefore, a pro-EU campaign would have had to dominate the anti-EU message in order to be effective.

Moreover, it is also claimed:

Notwithstanding, the reasons why the Remain campaign failed to convince enough voters of the economic case to stay in the EU are that the public were not convinced that Britain had benefitted economically from the EU in the past or would do so in future which made it harder to persuade them that the economy would suffer if leaving is the option. Another reason is that more people liked and trusted Boris Johnson than either David Cameron or George Osborne, and those who liked Boris Johnson were more likely to believe that Brexit would not lead to an economic downturn.

(<https://whatukthinks.org/eu/media-centre/new-research-uncovers-the-reasons-why-the-remain-campaign-failed-to-convince-enough-voters-of-economic-case-to-stay-in-the-eu/>, last updated on 17 April 2016)

The candidate of the Remain campaign was Jeremy Corbyn, the leader of the Labour Party, who claimed the following:

Labour is clear that we should remain in the EU. But we too want to see reform,“ he wrote in the Financial Times. He added: "If Mr Cameron fails to deliver a good package or one that reduces the social gains we have previously won in Europe, he needs to understand that Labour will renegotiate to restore our rights and promote a socially progressive Europe.

(<https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-eu-referendum-35743994>, last updated on 14th April 2016).

In contrast to the Remain campaign, there was the Vote Leave campaign which was led by Boris Johnson. Two figures of fundamental significance in Johnson's coming to the PM position were Dominic Cummings, previously a special adviser to Michael Gove, who became VL Campaign director, and Matthew Elliott, a renowned political lobbyist, who was appointed as Chief Executive. Both figures played a key role in formulating the VL¹³ campaigning strategy (Smith et al., 2021: 27).

The critical moment was the decision taken by the official VL campaign at the end of May 2016 to change their focus and foreground exclusionary and anti-elitist discourses,

¹³ VL stands for Vote Leave

thus emulating the nationalist rhetoric of the LE/GO campaign. This populist gambit led by senior political figures within the Conservative party provides an example of what we term 'strategic populist ventriloquism' and it was later to re-surface in the Conservative party's 2019 General Election campaign, when Boris Johnson styled his campaign as a tribune of 'the people' against 'parliament'. This shift in the VL strategy transformed mainstream media reporting. The prioritisation of immigration immediately forced the topic up the national press agenda, regardless of newspapers' political stance on EU membership (Smith et al., 2021: 33).

Johnson's campaign was determined by the slogan he repeated every time he had to address the public, and that is *Get Brexit done*. This slogan was the result of Dominic Cummings' research on the emotions surrounding Brexit negotiations, which were basically those of irritation and the desire to end the process as people had become sick and tired of the whole issue and wanted to see its finalisation. Dominic Cummings had made focus groups around the UK to examine how people felt regarding *Brexit* negotiations, and the results had shown that the British were tired and annoyed by the whole *Brexit* thing and just wanted it to be over. Based on the results of Cumming's research, the Vote Leave Campaign was created under the slogan *Get Brexit done* and was led by Prime Minister Boris Johnson. Such a tautology, though annoying to the British, had its positive outcome – the desirable goal of getting the UK out of the EU which was finally achieved on 31st January 2020 when the transition period¹⁴ started, and was supposed to end on 31st December 2020. Several issues remained the same during the transition period and they include the following:

- Travelling to and from the EU (including the rules around driving licences and pet passports)
- Freedom of movement (the right to live and work in the EU and vice versa)
- UK-EU trade, which will continue without any extra charges or checks being introduced (<https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-50838994>, updated on 1st July 2020).

Moreover, the UK will continue to follow EU rules during the transition period and will contribute to the EU's budget. The stumbling point of the whole *Brexit* process is the so-called Irish backstop – the term which is related to the problem of Northern Ireland (henceforth NI) which is a part of the UK which it shares the border with, as well as with the Republic of Ireland which remained a member of the EU. The problem are trade arrangements between the Republic which is a member of the EU and NI which is a part of the UK and their wish, and

¹⁴ The EU said it will not negotiate details of new arrangements with the UK until it ceased to be an EU member. The transition period is designed to provide time for that new relationship to be agreed while ensuring that business will only need to adapt to non-EU rules once the future deal is agreed (<https://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/explainers/brexit-transition-period>, last updated on 2nd December 2020)

motivating factor for the exit is not being a part of the EU's trade regulations but have its own. The Withdrawal Agreement includes the Protocol on Ireland and Northern Ireland which is designed to prevent a hard border on the island, and the Protocol came into force on 1st January 2021. The Protocol is a complex system that allows Northern Ireland to remain in the UK customs territory and, at the same time, benefit from access to the Single Market (https://ec.europa.eu/ireland/news/key-eu-policy-areas/brexit_en, last updated on 10th March 2021).

The whole issue of the Irish backstop was resolved by the fact that NI remained a part of the EU legally, although there was a border between two islands (Great Britain and Ireland). Moreover, that means new checks on goods. Inspections taking place at Northern Ireland ports and customs documents have to be filled in - leading to criticism that a border has effectively been created in the Irish Sea (<https://www.bbc.com/news/explainers-53724381>, last updated on 9th March 2021).

At the end of transition, the UK's relationship with the EU will be determined by the new agreement it has negotiated with the EU on trade and other areas of co-operation. In a no-deal scenario, the UK would have to rely on previous international conventions for security co-operation and would trade with the EU on World Trade Organization terms. The exception in both these cases is Northern Ireland, whose trade in goods with the EU would be covered by the provisions in the Northern Ireland protocol. Even without a deal, the UK would continue to follow the EU rules transferred into UK law through the EU Withdrawal Act 2018. At the end of transition period, the UK would be able to diverge if UK courts decided to interpret existing EU law differently or if the government introduced changes into UK law (<https://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/explainers/brexit-transition-period>, last updated on 2nd December 2020).

Brexit indeed represents a historic moment because it will strongly affect many areas of life, especially with respect to the relationship between the UK and the USA as they are the biggest allies when trade is in question. The modern relationship between the United States and the United Kingdom (UK) was forged during the Second World War. It was cemented during the Cold War, as both countries worked together bilaterally and within NATO to counter the threat of the Soviet Union. The UK is the sixth-largest economy in the world and a major financial centre. The United States and the UK share an extensive and mutually beneficial trade and economic relationship, and each is the other's largest foreign investor (Mix, 2020: 1).

It could be said that from a political perspective, *Brexit* will affect many things, and one of them is that the UK will no longer be a part of the EU in its decision-making processes, which affect not only the politics of European countries, but also politics of European countries with those outside of the EU. The repercussions of such a huge political event will be far-reaching and may be the cause of a variety of future riots, and perhaps may lead to a war. However, presumptions should be left aside, as time will tell what the future holds. What can be done, though, is a harmless study of language of those in power because such a study may be the indicator of possible future events. In order to fully grasp the importance of the exit in terms of future economic stability, one must explain what the business model is in the UK, as well as what being a part of the EU meant for that stability.

The UK's business model is also characterised by openness to international capital flows, with extensive capital markets and a tax regime which is favourable to international investors. *Brexit* is likely to impact in profound ways upon this national business model. Since the 1990s, the UK's model of capitalism has been bolstered and sustained by the country's membership of the European Union (EU) and the Single Market. Membership of the trading bloc granted UK firms access to a highly integrated economic area with minimal non-tariff barriers and the so-called 'passport' for financial services (Lavery, Quaglia and Dannreuther, 2017: 5).

Membership of the EU and the development of the Single Market in finance have bolstered the UK's national business model, its large financial sector. The UK had an open and competitive financial sector that was well positioned to take advantage from the removal of financial barriers, the introduction of passporting rights and the harmonisation of financial regulation across the EU. The EU became the biggest market for UK exports of financial services, generating a trade surplus of £15 billion, a third of the UK's total trade surplus in financial services, which totalled £46 billion in 2012. The UK's financial services trade surplus with the EU more than doubled over the past decade. About 70% of the EU's foreign exchange trading and 40% of global trading in euros takes place in the UK. The UK hosts 85% of the EU's hedge-fund assets, 42% of EU private-equity funds, half of EU investment bank activity, half of EU pension assets and international insurance premiums (The City UK, 2015). Over the last decades, the City greatly benefited from the free movement of capital and labour within the EU. In turn, the success of the financial sector was a driving force for the British economy and a linchpin of the UK business model according to James and Quaglia (2017: 7). The authors conclude their analysis of the post-*Brexit* economic stability saying: Ultimately, the longer-term

impact will fundamentally depend on the ‘variety’ of *Brexit* that is enshrined in the transitional and final ‘deal’ to be agreed by the UK and the EU (ibid: 10).

All in all, it could be argued that *Brexit* will diminish the UK’s global power as well as influence in foreign policy, security and economic relations (Mix, 2020: 15).

Moreover, the whole situation surrounding *Brexit* and the first thing it entails – British exit from the EU, could be regarded as a divorce, i.e. divorce from the EU. Some authors hence claim that *Brexit* is seen as metaphor NATION IS A FAMILY, which is why the word “divorce” is often found in British press when *Brexit* is in question. It means that the UK was a part of an arranged marriage with the EU, and ever since 2016 referendum vote, the UK wants to divorce the EU. This is an example of a metaphor being superordinate to metonymy because “divorce” is a metonymic (referential) meaning of *Brexit*, and *Brexit* as such is illustrated as the metaphor NATION IS A FAMILY.

[...] our study has shown that the divorce metaphor originated in the media framing the British-EU relations (Charteris-Black 2019) and, since the marriage was framed as ‘a marriage of convenience’ from at least 1990 onwards, divorce was always a possibility. However, events such as divorce can be reframed in terms of ‘moving on’, and what *Brexit*ers are now considering is to frame the Commonwealth as an alternative ‘family’ to which Britain could return when the EU and Britain will be no more than neighbours (Milizia and Spinzi, 2020: 161).

In this section the dissertation deals with the relevant research conducted so far in CL which serves as a theoretical framework for the dissertation. The section is divided into several chapters with respect to several topics relevant for the research of the dissertation. Firstly, basic principles relevant to rhetoric will be provided in the dissertation. Rhetoric is important as it represents a foreground for what has later become the focus of interest amongst scholars in the field of CL, i.e. the study of metaphor. Moreover, the focus of interest are the phenomena in CL, especially the ones that are common in political discourse. Afterwards, the basic postulates of CL will be explained and supported by the research conducted by relevant scholars in the field. Metaphor and metonymy as two basic cognitive tools in CL are the focus of study amongst cognitive linguists and will be the focus of study in this dissertation. More precisely, the dissertation will focus on the analysis of metonymies in their function of redirecting the focus in the concept of Brexit from ‘a deal’ to ‘negotiations’, ‘date’, ‘consequences’, ‘conditions’ etc. in British political discourse. The following section includes the most important features of political discourse, and what differentiates it from other types of discourses, what the ultimate goal of its protagonists is, etc. The following section deals with the context. The importance of

context will be illustrated in light of referential (metonymic) meaning that *Brexit* has, since the context creates those meanings. The next section deals with euphemism, as a frequent means used in political discourse for not being direct and straightforward, i.e. The final section of the theoretical background includes the section dealing with pragmatics, which is relevant as metonymic mappings of *Brexit* have a variety of pragmatic effects (sometimes politicians use it to mean *referendum*, sometimes to mean *the date of exit*, sometimes it refers to *Brexit negotiations*, *concession*, etc., as it will be presented and exemplified later in the dissertation).

2. 2. Rhetoric: Definition and General Principles

According to Aristotle, the aim of rhetoric is to show the facts, “what is or is not, what has or has not happened”. What is rhetoric? One could simply say that rhetoric is a virtue of speaking nicely and convincingly, and it is very important to politicians whose main goal is to win the election, i.e. get the votes, and the way to obtain it is not that important. This dissertation aims to cast some light on the role metonymy has in media discourse by focusing on the rhetoric used by politicians. In that sense it is very important to note that metonymy was differently regarded through history. In other words, ancient rhetoric regarded metonymy as a type of metaphor, alongside with synecdoche.

Aristotle, however, classifies them all under metaphor (27.93-94).⁸⁶ Thus, Greek grammarians and rhetoricians coined the term *metonymia*, recognizing it as an important distinction for and contribution to Aristotle’s theory of metaphor.

Metonymy involves substitution of a concrete figure for an abstraction or an epithet for a proper name; therefore, metonymy can be synonymous with —symbol or —nickname. While metaphoric substitution is based on analogy (A is [like] B), metonymic substitution is based on contiguity or close, existing association (A stands-for B) (Burkett, (2011: 96).

However, that changed a lot through history, especially in the 20th century with Lakoff and Johnson’s book *Metaphors We Live By* which treats metonymy and metaphor as cognitive processes which enable our understanding of the world. From 1980’s metonymy and metaphor are no longer seen just as the tropes – figures of speech which are used to enrich the political speeches. The publication of that book meant that the Aristotelian view on metonymy had been completely abandoned and substituted with a view that it is a cognitive tool that enables understanding the world we live in. Moreover, classical and modern rhetoric could be differentiated in the following: 1) the problems of the world are seen through logic/reason in

classical rhetoric while in modern rhetoric they are seen through shared and private symbols; 2) logical proofs in classical as opposed to emotional (psychological) in modern rhetoric; 3) logical argument is the key for persuasive discourse in classical rhetoric, whereas empathy and mutual trust are the key factor in modern rhetoric; 4) unidirectional communication between the rhetor and the audience in classical rhetoric, while in the modern cooperation between the rhetor and the audience is what matters most. To sum up those distinctions, it could be said that the goal of the classical rhetoric is persuasion, while in the modern rhetoric it is communication (Ede and Lunsford, 1982: 3/4/5). Moreover, there is another view regarding the differences between the “old” and “new” rhetoric:

The key term for the old rhetoric was "persuasion" and its stress was upon deliberate design. The key term for the "new" rhetoric would be "identification," which can include a partially "unconscious" factor in appeal. "Identification" at its simplest is also a deliberate device, as when the politician seeks to identify himself with his audience (Burke, 1951: 203).

Obviously, Burke’s view is compatible with the view provide above by Ede and Lunsford. Empathy and trust as elements of the “new” rhetoric are what Burke referred to as identification, as the rhetor identifies oneself with the audience on the basis of emotions, i.e. mutual trust and empathy. Modern views on rhetoric could be found in the works of Hauser and Cushman (1973), Perelman (1971), Corbett (1963), etc. Corbett takes the stand that Classical rhetoric should not be a priori disputed and neglected. In fact, he claims that “adaptations of ancient rhetoric can help educate our teachers” (1963: 164).

The beginnings of defining rhetoric date back to the era of old Greeks, precisely to Aristotle.

[...] Aristotle establishes rhetoric as a technê, since it is precisely on the basis of this conceptualization that our tradition has inherited some of the most powerful yet problematic views about language. Suspended between the practice of oratory in the fifth-century polis and the Platonic critique of this activity, the Aristotelian effort to institutionalize rhetoric within philosophy is fraught with tensions (Zerba, 1990: 241).

Aristotle placed rhetoric within the scope of philosophy. But the view of language as representation is undermined in the text by the rhetoric of Aristotle’s argument as well as by his analyses of specific categories of rhetoric (Zerba, 1990: 242). Rhetoric can be simply defined as the art of persuasion. Rhetoric is said to be the faculty of observing the possibly persuasive, concerning anything at all. In other words, rhetoric is a faculty for discovering persuasive arguments (p. 243). For Aristotle, “persuasive” means “persuasive for someone”, and this is what the will illustrate on a number of examples taken from the British media on the

example of the lexeme *Brexit*. The dissertation will demonstrate how politicians in the UK use different persuasive strategies – metonymy being one of them, as well as the topic of the dissertation – to get to power, but not for the general (national) wellbeing, but rather to feed their power-hungry stomachs. Aristotle claims that rhetoric is a capacity for manipulating probable arguments (p. 246) and that is the phenomenon the dissertation will try to cast some light on. Zerba claims that “doing politics is less noble than legislating precisely because of its involvement in the particularities of decision-making and, hence, in rhetorical persuasion. Politics becomes dirty work the more it descends from the philosophically universal and ostensibly nonrhetorical contemplation of law-making” (1990: 250). Most of the principles regarding rhetoric could be found in Aristotle’s *Poetics* and *Rhetoric*. Poetry finds a place in Aristotle's general scheme of human activity.

He divides human activity into three areas: thought (theoría), action (práxis) and production (poíesis). Poetry and arts, he includes under the head of imitation (mimesis) which is one of the divisions of production. In Book VIII of the *Politics*, Aristotle speaks of the educative value of visual, musical and verbal arts. Both the *Rhetoric* and the *Poetics* can be considered to be expansions of this view. Poetry may have its own internal laws, but "for Aristotle as much as for Plato, it is an art to be praised or blamed, only in its relation to the whole human being of whom it is both the instrument and the reflection." We might say that Aristotle sets literature free from Plato's radical moralism and didacticism, while he still expects it to be conformable to a moral understanding of the world (Landa, 1971: 2/3).

In his *Poetics*, Aristotle makes a comparison between poetry and history saying that poetry tends to express the universal, and history the particular. He thus concludes that poetry is higher than history (1971: 35). Poetry is mentioned here in the light of tropes – metaphor and metonymy – which have always been considered tropes, whereas ever since the birth of CL (around 1980) we know they are not used just to flourish someone's talk; it is rather the way we grasp of the world around us. In addition, it is claimed that “metaphor and metonymy are a part of ordinary rather than extraordinary language, or as they are seen as rhetorical flourish” (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980: 3). Aristotle says that metaphor is the application of an alien name by transference either from genus to species, or by analogy, that is proportion (1971: 77/ 79). What best describes metaphor in his point of view is: [...] to make good metaphors implies an eye for resemblances (p. 87). He looks at metaphor in a vertical, rather than horizontal way. In other words, metaphor expresses relationship between words and things, and not the difference between literal and figurative senses of individual words.

Moreover, a special place within rhetoric belongs to metaphor and metonymy, though the emphasis would be on metonymy since the topic of the dissertation is the analysis of

metonymies. According to non-traditional rhetorical views, metonymy has a role of extending certain category, i.e. metonymy enables broader understanding of a certain concept.

The pork chop left without paying. Reference to a customer through the name of the dish which the customer ordered is possible because of certain features of the restaurant situation, in particular the fact that waiters interact with customers principally for the purpose of taking and delivering the customers' orders. These examples suggest that the essence of metonymy resides in the possibility of establishing connections between entities which co-occur within a given conceptual structure. This characterization suggests a rather broader understanding of metonymy than that given by traditional rhetoric (Taylor, 2003: 123/124).

Generally speaking “critics evaluate rhetoric by reading the context and the text in a way that illuminates the operation and effects of rhetoric” (Gill and Whedbee, 1997: 183). The authors warn rhetoric critics that “they should remain alert to the possibility that syntax is not just the vehicle for correct usage or for ornamentation, but also may convey a message, or at least, reinforce the message, to the audience” (Gill and Whedbee, 1997: 175). The influence grammar may have on the audience will be demonstrated on the examples of *Brexit* which is at times used with an article *a*, and at times, with the definite article *the* – both uses enable various pragmatic effects.

The following chapters provide an overview in the field of CL which is the theoretical framework for the dissertation.

2. 3. Cognitive Linguistics – Basic Postulates

Formal approaches to linguistics include theories that are based, as their name suggests, on the form. Structuralism is one of the formal linguistic studies which produced another linguistic branch, i.e. Transformational Generative Grammar, the study introduced by Noam Chomsky.

Generative grammar is simply a system of rules that in some explicit and well defined way assigns structural descriptions to sentences. Obviously, every speaker of a language has mastered and internalized a generative grammar that expresses his knowledge of his language. This is not to say that he is aware of the rules of the grammar or even that he can become aware of them, or that his statements about his intuitive knowledge of the language are necessarily accurate (Chomsky, 1965: 8).

Generative grammar is considered to be the formal linguistic approach due to its dependence on rules. Furthermore, Chomsky (1965: 12) elaborates traditional approaches to linguistics in the following way:

Within traditional linguistic theory, furthermore, it was clearly understood that one of the qualities that all languages have in common is their "creative" aspect. Thus an essential property of language is that it provides the means for expressing indefinitely many thoughts and for reacting appropriately in an indefinite range of new situations.

The underlying premise of Generative Grammar could be summarized in the following:

A speaker of a natural language has the ability to understand indefinitely many sentences of her language that she has never previously encountered; indeed, her ability to understand any sentence of her language does not depend on her having a prior acquaintance with it (Schiffer, 2014: 62).

Cognitive Linguistics emerged as a reaction to formal linguistic approaches of the time, primarily European structuralism which occurred around the 1930s, and it started from the premise that language can be described based on the familiar facts. The creator of the structuralist theory, Ferdinand de Saussure, claimed that language is a system, and that the facts should not be taken in isolation, but as a part of a system. The theory also saw language as a social phenomenon which is used for communication. The theory's most important heritage is the fact that linguistic sign is arbitrary – because of that arbitrariness of a linguistic sign, the theory was disputed as it does not explain how those signs are motivated.

Apart from the fact that such formal approaches pay attention to form and their view of a language as a system, there is another reason for disputing the structuralist view of language, and it is its focus on the language (*langue*) and not the speech (*parole*). In contrast to those formal linguistic approaches which exclude the importance of extralinguistic factors on the language itself, there are approaches which dispute those principles of European Structuralism and/or Generative Grammar, as well as approaches that oppose the postulates of the theory. Cognitive Linguistics arises then as a result of a disagreement with the linguistic principles of the time. CL is, as Evans, Bergen and Zinken (2007: 263) put it, “a modern school of linguistic thought and practice”. In other words, it is a linguistic approach based on the fact that the way people conceptualize and categorize the phenomena in their reality is vital for understanding and interpreting linguistic phenomena. Basically, human experience is what matters in language. Their contribution to the theory of language is the inclusion of the extralinguistic

experience in language study. It actually means that, for cognitive linguists, context is an inextricable part of language. Moreover, most of the cognitive linguists claim that meaning does not exist independently from the people that create and use them (Barcelona, 1997: 9).

Cognitive Linguistics as a linguistic approach was the reaction on the linguistic legacy provided by the European structuralists. Basically, the two approaches differed mostly on the question of meaning. Cognitive Linguistics emerged as a reaction to formal linguistic approaches of the time, primarily European structuralism which occurred around 1930s, and it went from the premise that language can be described based on the familiar facts. Creator of the structuralist theory, Ferdinand de Saussure, claimed that language is a system, and that the facts should not be taken in isolation, but as a part of a system. The theory also saw language as a social phenomenon which is used for communication. The theory's most important heritage is the fact that linguistic sign is arbitrary – because of that arbitrariness of a linguistic sign, the theory was disputed as it does not explain how those signs are motivated.

It is claimed that meaning is grounded in our embodied experience, and that is how reality surrounding us is conceptualized and understood. Moreover, cognitive linguists prefer to understand linguistic facts in depth, i.e. both in their phenomenological and cognitive complexity, and only then face the secondary problem of formal representation (Barcelona, 1997: 14).

The majority of linguistic theories are based on a difference of opinion regarding meaning. Barcelona (1997: 9) claims that meanings are really not inherent in linguistic forms, but they are conventionally *paired*, more or less directly, to linguistic forms, which then become 'cues' for the activation of these meanings.

In contrast, meaning can be explored with respect to embodied (experiential) realism, a term first introduced by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). Suchostawska (2008:137) claims that Cognitive Semantics and embodied realism benefit from each other and could not be viewed separately and independently of each other. Moreover, she elaborates on her statement:

By investigating language, we do not discover linguistic facts only, but these linguistic results can also give us insight into human cognitive mechanisms, and into the way humans conceptualize, understand and reason about their experience in various areas of life. What Cognitive Semantics demonstrates is that the way we experience, think, and talk about the world is not objective, universal, transcendent, and disembodied, and that we unavoidably understand reality through our embodied experience and conceptual metaphors (*ibid*, 138).

Among the most prominent advocates of embodied (experiential realism) are Lakoff and Johnson, the authors of the *Metaphors We Live By* – the book which is considered the cornerstone of CL. They emphasised the importance of embodied realism in meaning construction.

An attempt to gain knowledge of something is conceptualized as looking or searching for it, and gaining knowledge is conceptualized as discovering or finding. Someone who is ignorant is in the dark, while someone who is incapable of knowing is blind. To enable people to know something is to shed light on the matter. Something that enables you to know something is enlightening, it is something that enables you to see. New facts that have come to light are facts that have become known (to those who are looking) (Lakoff and Johnson, 2003: 255).

Geeraerts (2016: 2) suggests that meaning phenomena in natural languages cannot be studied in isolation from the encyclopaedic knowledge individuals possess. In addition, he concludes the following: “Cognitive approaches to meaning can be said to be based on the Saussurean view that the meanings associated with words are concepts in the minds of speakers rather than objects in the external world. Cognitive Semantics, however, adds order to this view by showing that the linguistic signs are organised into conceptual areas” (*ibid*, 91). It is also supported by Lakoff and Johnson (2003: 249) which describe how meaning is constructed: „Embodied realism is not a philosophical doctrine tacked onto our theory of conceptual metaphor. It is the best account of the grounding of meaning that makes sense of the broadest range of converging empirical evidence that is available from the cognitive sciences“. Rakova (2002: 238) however, is one of the biggest critics of Lakoff and Johnson's work with respect to embodied realism. She claims (*ibid*) that „the greatest disadvantages of this position are the extreme empiricism it entails and its inconsistent treatment of the reductionism–relativism dilemma“.

It could be concluded that CL is all about what motivates linguistic phenomena.

All in all, CL can be said to encapsulate many sciences to completely grasp of cognitive processes connected with language. In addition to the above-mentioned points, the subject of CL can be summarised in the following: Cognitive linguistics (CL) is a discipline of the cognitive sciences that deals with description and explaining of mental structures and processes connected with language knowledge. “Cognitive linguistics is more like a kind of flexible framework of various language theories rather than one widely accepted theory (Bednářiková, 2013: 14). The reason why CL has become such an interesting field of study in the last few decades lies in the fact that it does not observe language in isolation; rather, it combines principles of many sciences on how language operates, i.e. what and how something is said,

with what meanings, and with a variety of effects on the listener. Those are the things that matter in language study, and that is especially present in political discourse, which will, hopefully, be illustrated successfully in the dissertation. CL is a place where almost all sciences meet, at least marginally, and that is what makes language study such a dynamic area of linguistic investigation. “Moreover, CL is best described as a ‘movement’ or an ‘enterprise’, precisely because it does not constitute a single closely-articulated theory. Instead, it is an approach that has adopted a common set of core commitments and guiding principles, which have led to a diverse range of complementary, overlapping (and sometimes competing) theories” (Evans, Bergen, Zinken, 2007: 264).

Within research of cognitive linguistics, the name Eleanor Rosch comes to mind as one of the pioneers who dealt with categorization and family resemblance between concepts, the theory which ultimately led to in-depth analyses of meaning.

[...] the members of categories which are considered most prototypical are those with most in common with other members of the category and least attributes in common with other categories. In probabilistic terms, the hypothesis is that prototypicality is a function of the total cue validity of the attributes of items (Rosch and Mervis, 1975: 573).

In other words, when it is said that something is prototypical of a category, it means that it has more salient features of a category (prototype) than something else. She brought in connection the notions of prototypicality and family resemblance¹⁵ in the following way:

[...] members of a category come to be viewed as prototypical of the category as a whole in proportion to the extent to which they bear a family resemblance to (have attributes which overlap those of) other members of the category. Conversely, items viewed as most prototypical of one category will be those with least family resemblance to or membership in other categories (Rosch and Mervis, 1975: 575).

Family resemblance is important as „it is a structural basis for prototype formation“ (Rosch and Mervis, 1975: 599). Prototypicality could be said to be a reaction to meaning studies based on componential analysis, and as such, the theory refuses to see the language as an isolated phenomenon.

[...] prototype theory is reluctant to accept the idea that there is an autonomous semantic structure in natural languages which can be studied in its own right, in isolation from the other cognitive capacities of man. In particular, meaning phenomena in natural

¹⁵ A term which was introduced by Wittgenstein in his book *The Blue and Brown Books* which was published in 1958.

languages cannot be studied in isolation from the encyclopaedic knowledge individuals possess (Geeraerts, 2006: 142).

In addition to what was said regarding categorization and prototypicality, there is Lakoff's view of radial category which is exemplified in the following way:

As we saw in the case of mother, radial structure within a category is another source of prototype effects. Within radial categories in general, less central subcategories are understood as variants of more central categories. Thus, birth mother and foster mother are not understood purely on their own terms; they are comprehended via their relationship to the central model of mother (1987: 91).

It means that the concept closer to the central meaning of a mother is more prototypical than the concept which is farther from the central meaning.

Apart from prototypicality and radial categories, there is a view according to which metonymy plays a significant role in terms of category extension (Taylor, 2003: 124).

Taylor (2003: 139) also suggests that all metaphorical associations are grounded in metonymy which means that metonymy is more basic in meaning extension than metaphor. Categorization can also be viewed as a means of comparison between two pieces of experience:

The act of categorization – applying a word, a morpheme or construction to a particular experience to be communicated – involves comparison of the experience in question to prior experiences and judging it to belong to the class of prior experiences to which the linguistic expression has been applied (Croft and Cruse, 2004: 54).

Mental Spaces Theory also belongs to Cognitive Semantics. It is a theory introduced by Gilles Fauconnier.

The fundamental insight this theory provides is that mental spaces partition meaning into distinct conceptual regions or 'packets', when we think and talk. The theory has contributed to Cognitive Semantics inasmuch as "it provides an elegant account of how viewpoint shifts during discourse, which in turn facilitates an intuitive solution to some of the referential problems formal accounts of semantics have wrestled with (Evans, Birken, Zingen, 2007: 280/281).

Another important theory within Cognitive Semantics is the Conceptual Blending Theory which is a continuation of the Mental Spaces Theory, and whose pioneers are Gilles Fauconnier and Mark Turner. The authors explain the Blending theory in the following way:

Conceptual blending is described and studied scientifically in terms of integration networks. In its most basic form, a conceptual integration network consists of four connected mental spaces: two partially matched input spaces, a generic space constituted by structure common to the inputs, and the blended space. The blended space is constructed through selective projection from the inputs, pattern completion, and dynamic elaboration. The blend has emergent dynamics (Fauconnier and Turner, 2003: 60).

When talking about CL, except for Cognitive Semantics, an important area of study most definitely belongs to Cognitive Grammar.

In a broad sense, grammar designates the language system as a whole in datasetting sound, meaning and morphosyntax. The grammar of a language consists of an inventory of units that are form-meaning pairings: morphemes, words and grammatical constructions. Langacker calls these units *symbolic assemblies* because they unite properties of sound, meaning and grammar within a single representation (Faber, 2012: 60).

Langacker emphasizes the importance of grammar in a sense that it contributes to meaning.

I will argue instead that grammar is meaningful. This is so in two respects. For one thing, the elements of grammar – like vocabulary items – have meanings in their own right. Additionally, grammar allows us to construct and symbolize the more elaborate meanings of complex expressions (like phrases, clauses, and sentences). It is thus an essential aspect of the conceptual apparatus through which we apprehend and engage the world. And instead of being a distinct and self-contained cognitive system, grammar is not only an integral part of cognition but also a key to understanding it (Langacker, 2008: 4).

What Langacker actually says is that grammar is a direct link between lexical units and their meanings, and it is a means through which we can grasp complex linguistic units such as phrases. In other words, grammar of certain language is the vital part of communication because if there were no grammar language would be completely pointless. Imagine a society in which people use the words but without following grammatical rules – would communication be possible in such a society? Probably not. As we can see, grammar is what triggers the meaning of words and thus enables communication. In addition, Langacker even connects this with discourse saying:

Cognitive Grammar makes contact with discourse through the basic claim that all linguistic units are abstracted from usage events, i.e., actual instances of language use.

Each such event consists of a comprehensive conceptualization, comprising an expression's full contextual understanding, paired with an elaborate vocalization, in all its phonetic detail” (Langacker, 2001: 144).

Obviously, Langacker takes the stand that the meaning of a linguistic unit is derived from the context it is used in. Such a context-dependent meaning of a word would be some sort of a frame of this dissertation in a sense that the metonymic (referential) meaning of a lexeme *Brexit* would be analysed with respect to the context it is used in, thus causing different pragmatic effects, to be discussed later in the dissertation.

2. 3. 1. Domains

Generally speaking, domains are cognitive entities that operate as a frame to sets of interrelated concepts (Blasco, 2015: 73). This chapter briefly explains why domains are important within the study of CL, and what the difference between domains involved in metaphoric and metonymic mappings is.

Domains are complex mental projections or mappings of our knowledge of one domain of experience to structure our knowledge of different domain of experience, and they are normally carried out unconsciously and effortlessly. In metaphor we project (part of) one conceptual domain onto another separate domain, e.g. the *source domain* of temperature onto the *target domain* of emotion as in *He tried to act cool*. In metonymy the projection takes place within the same domain; an example is constituted by *pars pro toto* mappings, as in *He won three golds*, where the concept “gold” stands for “gold medal” (example borrowed from Radden Kövecses 1996) (Barcelona, 1997: 12).

He therefore talks of *basic vs. abstract domains*, the latter thus being existent due to the first one.

Langacker’s famous example of the [KNUCKLE] which can hardly be explained without the concept of [FINGER]. “[FINGER] provides the necessary context – or domain – for the characterization of [KNUCKLE] and hence constitutes one of its primary conceptual components” (Langacker, 1987: 148).

When a second criterion is involved, i.e. dimensionality, Langacker (1987: 152) says that domains can be either bounded or unbounded with respect to a given dimension. We are capable of perceiving only a specific range of pitches, hues, and temperatures, for instance, whereas

time and space are essentially unbounded. The latter criterion is important inasmuch as locational domains are exemplified by temperature and colour. He also summarizes the difference between those two types of domains in the following:

The sensations of each of these domains are localized to particular regions of the body, so we can distinguish, for instance, between a pain in the elbow and a comparable pain in the knee. Coordination with the cognitive representation of bodily locations gives these domains the extensionality to make them configurational to a certain degree (Langacker, 1987: 154).

In addition to all of the above, Littlemore explains the concept of a domain by saying “they are similar to ICMs in that they constitute the coherent and relatively stable knowledge structure that we have about any particular entity. The difference is that domains are in some ways less idealised and abstract” (2015: 14). One can simply say that “ICMs are knowledge networks that we have in our heads for particular concepts or events” (Littlemore and Tagg, 2018: 486).

It follows that meaning construction is nothing else than conceptualization.

The latter notwithstanding, there is a view that some domains are image schematic, and that some image schemas are a type of a domain (Clausner and Croft, 1999: 25). The argument is further elaborated in the following way:

Domains and domain matrices are required for representing the meaning of words, i.e., concepts. We believe that the class of concepts that are encoded by words in human languages is not an accidental collection of concepts but represents a cognitively significant subset thereof whose structure is significant to human beings (Clausner and Croft, 1999: 26).

2. 3. 2. Encyclopaedic Knowledge

Langacker differentiates between two types of knowledge – definitional and encyclopaedic. Definitional knowledge is knowledge of the essential properties of words, and encyclopaedic knowledge is the knowledge of the contingent properties of words (Langacker, 1987: 172). Basically, the difference could be summarized as follows:

Our definitional knowledge of words corresponds to the essential properties of the entities and categories that the words designate. - Our encyclopaedic knowledge of words corresponds to the contingent properties of the entities and properties that the words designate (*ibid*).

One of the pioneers in the field of studying encyclopaedic knowledge is John Haiman who described the relationship between encyclopedias and dictionaries for which he claimed they are „systematic (i.e. alphabetized) compilations of words, with information about each of them, and that the criterion which distinguishes them is their treatment of proper names“ (1980: 331).

Haiman claims that encyclopedia (in the sense of both Bloomfield and Kripke) does not exist.

There are no hard facts, and all science is ethnoscience. Our culture is somewhat unusual in that we recognize a distinction between ethnoscience (or folklore), on the one hand, and hard science on the other. In our figures of speech, we express the first, but we know it to be inaccurate: thus we talk about the sun rising and setting, about the four corners of the earth, and so on, as if the earth were flat, and the sun went around it, although we know better. (1980: 337).

Moreover, encyclopaedic knowledge is important for Frame Semantics insofar as it is structured as a background for the description of meanings in natural language (Geeraerts, 2006: 15). The relationship between ICMs and metonymies lies in the fact that metonymies are produced with respect to the ICMs which heavily rely on encyclopaedic knowledge (Littlemore, 2015: 69/70).

The journalist offended the pyramid. According to usage-based approaches to language, readers of this sentence would generalise from their previous exposure to the construction and from their encyclopaedic knowledge of the word ‘offended’ to expect a human object in the final position (Littlemore, 2015: 150).

The role of encyclopaedic knowledge for metonymy could be summarized as following:

Organization of encyclopaedic knowledge also underlies a further non-literal type of language use, i.e. metonymy: the referential relationship between an expression and a target concept that it is conceptually closely related to but not congruent with. In example (1), for instance, the place name Brussels stands for the governing institution of the ‘European Union’, on account of the Union’s Commission headquarters being based in the Belgian capital (Musolff, 2016: 8).

Many examples of such metonymies are often found in political discourse, such as *the White House* for *the USA’s government*, *10 Downing Street* - the address of the British government for *the British government*, *Buckingham Palace* for the representatives of *the Royal family*, etc.

2. 3. 3. Image-schemas

When it comes to mapping between domains, it should be *a priori* stressed that without image schemas, that mapping cannot happen. It basically means that cognitive tools that we use on a daily basis – namely, metaphor and metonymy – cannot come to life if there are no image schemas which actually presuppose their creation. Idealized Cognitive Model (ICM) is something which includes the image-schematic basis for mapping to take place between two domains, and within a single domain in case of metaphor and metonymy, respectively. Moreover, ICM (simply understood as a meaning) is closely related to what Fillmore calls “framing” – the term best explained as something which is understood only by means of something it is proximally related to.

An example of such phenomenon could be seen in explaining the word “mother”. The word presupposes the existence of a “child” in order for someone to be called a “mother”. In other words, “child” is the frame for understanding the concept of “mother”.

The idea of a presupposed structure of relationships (*the fundamentum relations*) against which words like *son* and *father* are understood, is very much like the notion of the semantic frame: we can know the meanings of the individual words only by first understanding the factual basis for the relationship which they identify (Fillmore, 1985: 224).

Lakoff (1987: 271) suggests that experience is structured independently of concepts, though, concepts can enable further structuring.

One of Mark Johnson's basic insights is that experience is structured in a significant way prior to, and independent of, any concepts. Existing concepts may impose further structuring on what we experience, but basic experiential structures are present regardless of any such imposition of concepts. The CONTAINER schema defines the most basic distinction between IN and OUT. We understand our own bodies as containers- perhaps the most basic things we do are ingest and excrete, take air into our lungs and breathe it out.

Image schemas are one of the most basic building blocks of cognition and constitute another type of ICM – they are the first and most fundamental mental representations of knowledge that we develop as children. They arise from our first encounters with objects and the ways in which our bodies interact with those objects and are thus ‘embodied’. They include, for example, the fact that objects can be contained (the container schema), objects can form part of other objects (the part–whole schema) and things can be central or peripheral (the centre– periphery schema) [...] (Littlemore, 2015: 13).

2. 3. 4. Usage-based Model

Cognitive Linguistics is defined as a usage-based model of a language (Geeraerts, 2006: 17).

The experience of language is an experience of actual language use, not of words like you would find them in a dictionary or sentence patterns like you would find them in a grammar. That is why we say that Cognitive Linguistics is a usage-based model of grammar: if we take the experiential nature of grammar seriously, we will have to take the actual experience of language seriously, and that is experience of actual language use (Geeraerts, 2006: 6).

The Usage-based Model assumes the relationship between linguistic skills of a person and experience they gain over the course of time.

The linguistic skills that a person possesses at any given moment in time – in the form of a “structured inventory of symbolic units” – result from her accumulated experience with language across the totality of usage events in her life. This accumulated linguistic experience undergoes processes of entrenchment, due to repeated uses of particular expressions across usage events, and abstraction, due to type variation in constituents of particular expressions across usage events (Tomasello, 2000: 61).

In reality, examples of usage-based model are demonstrated in the following:

For example, usage-based theories explicitly recognize that human beings learn and use many relatively fixed, item-based linguistic expressions such as How-ya-doin? Could you please ..., I’m simply amazed, and You keep out of this – which, even when they are potentially decomposable into elements, are stored and produced as single units (*ibid*)

The basis for the usage-based model of grammar is usage data and the natural form that non-elicited usage data take is that of a corpus (Geeraerts, 2006: 468). The Usage-based model affects most aspects of language which is why it is said that CL is defined by it.

Common features of all usage-based models of a language proposed by Kemmer and Barlow (2000: p. 2 – 14) are the following:

- The intimate relation between linguistic structures and instances of use of language (A usage-based model is one in which the speaker’s linguistic system is fundamentally grounded in ‘usage events’: instances of a speaker’s producing and understanding language.)

- The importance of frequency (Higher frequency of a unit or pattern results in a greater degree of what Langacker terms entrenchment, i.e. cognitive routinization, which affects the processing of the unit.)
- Comprehension and production as integral, rather than peripheral, to the linguistic system (The speaker's linguistic ability, in fact, is constituted by regularities in the mental processing of language. On this view, it does not make sense to draw a sharp distinction between what is traditionally called 'competence' and 'performance,' since performance is itself part of a speaker's competence).
- Focus on the role of learning and experience in language acquisition (Since in a usage-based model instances of producing and understanding language are of central importance to the structuring of the linguistic system, they must be especially significant in the acquisition of language, when the system is in the process of taking form).
- Linguistic representations as emergent, rather than stored as fixed entities. (During linguistic processing, linguistic units are part and parcel of the system's processing activity: they exist as activation patterns.)
- Importance of usage data in theory construction and description (Because the linguistic system is so closely tied to usage, it follows that theories of language should be grounded in an observation of data from actual uses of language)
- The intimate relation between usage, synchronic variation, and diachronic change (Different speakers will not have precisely the same experience and will thus differ somewhat in the frequency of variants they exhibit. But speakers who interact with each other more are predicted to have more similar patterns of variation.)
- The interconnectedness of the linguistic system with non-linguistic cognitive systems. (It is plausible, indeed a null-hypothesis, to assume that the process of abstracting what is similar in recurrent experiences (schema abstraction in Langacker's terms) is not intrinsically different in language from what happens for other types of experience)
- The crucial role of context in the operation of the linguistic system (All aspects of language, from phonetics to semantics, are open to influence from both linguistic and nonlinguistic context.)

2. 3. 5. Concepts

Evans (2007: 31) provides the following definition of a concept:

concept (also representation). The fundamental unit of knowledge central to categorisation and conceptualisation. Concepts in here in the conceptual system, and from early in infancy are redescribed from perceptual experience through a process termed perceptual meaning analysis. This process gives rise to the most rudimentary of concepts known as an image schema. Concepts can be encoded in a language-specific format known as the lexical concept. While concepts are relatively stable cognitive entities they are modified by ongoing episodic and recurrent experiences.

Cognitive linguistics embraces an encyclopaedic view on meaning in the sense that the concepts constituting expressions' meanings are often drawn from our general ('encyclopaedic') world

knowledge – or at least, it rejects a strict dichotomy between linguistic and encyclopaedic knowledge (Lemmens, 2015: 94). Moreover, it is claimed that language makes use of concepts. Concepts are what words, morphemes, and grammatical constructions express. Indeed, the expression of concepts is primarily what language is about (Gallese and Lakoff, 1995: 473). It is also suggested that concepts, including linguistic concepts, are grounded in experience (bodily/physical experience, or social/cultural experience) (Barcelona, 1997: 9).

According to Lakoff (1990: 106) there are several features typical for concepts:

- They do not mirror nature (they are not internal representations of the external reality)
- They are not defined by necessary and sufficient conditions
- Biological natural kind concepts do not refer to sets of biological entities in the world that share common properties
- They are not disembodied
- They cannot be represented by arbitrary symbols used in formal grammars
- There are no concepts that exist on their own
- They are not all literal, many of them are structured metaphorically
- They are not all universal, nor culture or language-specific.

The relation between concept – domain – encyclopaedic knowledge could be summarised in the following: “concept can function either as a profile or as a base for another concept profile, whereas domains are structural units of our encyclopaedic knowledge“ (Krišković, Tominac, 2009: 53).

2. 4. Cognitive Theory of Metaphor and Metonymy

Conceptualization is what CL is based on, or as Blasco claims, “it is one of our basic cognitive abilities and is totally necessary for us, since it allows us to organize the information we perceive from the external world” (2015: 71). As mentioned above, CL can be divided in two big areas of study, namely Cognitive Semantics and Cognitive Grammar. The most important area of research within Cognitive Semantics is aimed at answering what meaning is and how it is motivated, and the Cognitive Theory of Metaphor and Metonymy represents an insight in the pursuit for meaning. The theory established itself as a backbone of all the research studies in the field of CL. Both cognitive tools are very important and “pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but in thought and action“, as Lakoff and Johnson put it (1980: 3). They are not, as previously thought figures of speech which flourish the talk, but some sort of a device which helps us to better understand the world around us. The basic difference between the two could

be summarized in the number of domains in which the mappings take place. A mapping is equivalent to conceptual projection (Barcelona, 2012: 255). The mappings in metaphor occur on a two-domain level, whereas in metonymy mappings take place on a single-domain level, which means that metonymy has a referential role in conceptualizing reality, while metaphor serves for better understanding of abstract concepts in terms of those that are concrete. Brdar indicates that metaphor and metonymy are approached as conceptual processes of extension, i.e. they are not so much relationships between the words as relationships between the concepts. “One conceptual entity, the vehicle, provides mental access to another conceptual entity, the target” (2002/2003: 38). Both cognitive tools are based on embodied experience and that is why it is said that they are not merely a figure of speech; rather, they are constantly present in our language and we all use it without being aware that we are using them. That is why CTMM is a theory mostly studied in the field of CL, as it is the case with this dissertation in which only metonymy would be studied, especially the one used by politicians in media discourse on the example of *Brexit*.

Ruiz de Mendoza provides three differentiating characteristics between metaphor and metonymy:

- (1) In metaphor there are two conceptual domains involved, one being understood in terms of the other, while metonymy only involves one conceptual domain, i.e. the mapping occurs within a single domain and not across domains.
- (2) In metaphor, the source domain is mapped onto the target domain, and thus it is mainly used for understanding, e.g. I have control over him (CONTROL IS UP). In contrast, metonymy is mainly used for reference, since we can refer to an entity in a domain by referring to another entity within the same domain, e.g. Wall Street is in crisis (the street stands for the institution).
- (3) The relationship between the source and target domains in metaphor is of the “is a” kind; in metonymy there is a “stands for” relationship, since one entity in a domain is taken as standing for another entity in the same domain or for the domain as a whole (2005: 98).

Basically, it can be said that the world we conceptualize is grounded on image schemas for which Velasco says they are “an organised cognitive structure which serves to represent a reality from a certain perspective” (2001: 47).

The difference between metaphor and metonymy is that in metaphor we deal with two domains (one helps us understand the other), whereas in metonymy we deal with one domain (one refers to the other, or its part). It can hence be concluded that metaphors and metonymies have different roles in language. They are used for understanding and referring, respectively.

Furthermore, there is another striking difference between metaphor and metonymy: “Another important point is that metonymic mappings are asymmetric, unlike metaphorical mappings, which symmetrically project the structure of the source onto that of the target” (Barcelona, 2012: 255).

In addition, there is Jakobson’s view (1975: 258) according to which metaphor is understood based on the similarity which connects the metaphorical term with the term for which it is substituted.

Consequently, when constructing a metalanguage to interpret tropes, the researcher possesses more homogeneous means to handle metaphor, whereas metonymy, based on a different principle, easily defies interpretation. Therefore nothing comparable to the rich literature on metaphor can be cited for the theory of metonymy. For the same reason, it is generally realized that romanticism is closely linked with metaphor, whereas the equally intimate ties of realism with metonymy usually remain unnoticed (Jakobson, 1975: 258).

Obviously, Jakobson takes the view that metonymy is more difficult to interpret than metaphor, especially because the former is based on contiguity, the latter on similarity.

2. 4. 1. Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT)

The definition of metaphor is provided by Lakoff (1992: 1) who suggested it is a novel or poetic linguistic expression where one or more words for a concept are used outside of its normal conventional meaning to express a similar concept.

[...] the locus of metaphor is not in language at all, but in the way we conceptualize one mental domain in terms of another. The general theory of metaphor is given by characterizing such crossdomain mappings. And in the process, everyday abstract concepts like time, states, change, causation, and purpose also turn out to be metaphorical. The result is that metaphor (that is, cross-domain mapping) is absolutely central to ordinary natural language semantics, and that the study of literary metaphor is an extension of the study of everyday metaphor (*ibid*).

Metaphor came to focus of interest amongst cognitive scholars since the book *Metaphors We Live By* was published in 1980 by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson. The book is considered to be the cradle of Cognitive Linguistics, and many scholars began to show a lot of interest for the research area: Taylor (2002, 2003), Croft and Cruise (2004), Langacker (1987, 1999), Kövecses

(2010), Brdar (2019), etc. It is suggested by the book that our conceptual system is not something we are normally aware of. Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 3) further elaborate it by saying: “In most of the little things we do every day, we simply think and act more or less automatically along certain lines”. Metaphor is a helpful cognitive tool used to clarify some more abstract ideas, or as Taylor (2003: 132) puts it: “Rather, the cognitive paradigm sees metaphor as a means whereby ever more abstract and intangible areas of experience can be conceptualized in terms of familiar and concrete. Metaphor is thus motivated by a search for understanding”.

What matters most when explaining metaphor is the number of domains involved in it, as well as how mapping takes place. In other words, metaphor is used to explain some more abstract concepts in terms of those more concrete, and it is done by means of two domains, namely SOURCE DOMAIN and TARGET DOMAIN. The first domain is considered as a vehicle, something that triggers the meaning, i.e. the content of the target domain.

Kövecses (2010: 217) elaborates on metaphor in the following way:

First, some conceptual metaphors appear to be near-universal or potentially universal (though not universal in an absolute sense).

Second, such universal metaphors seem to result from certain commonalities in human experience. These commonalities constitute universal embodiment on which many conceptual metaphors are based.

Third, it is important, however, not to think of embodiment as a mechanical and automatic force shaping conceptual metaphors (and conceptual systems in general) but as a complex set of factors to which speakers can apply differential experiential foci.

Fourth, in the course of metaphorical conceptualization in addition to the pressure of embodiment, human beings also observe the pressure of context. The effort to be coherent with the local context may be an important tool in understanding the use of metaphors in natural discourse.

Fifth, metaphors vary not only cross-culturally but also within cultures. This variation can occur along a number of dimensions including the social, regional, ethnic, style, subcultural, diachronic, and individual dimensions.

Sixth, there is some agreement among scholars that a major function of the metaphors we find in discourse is to provide coherence. This issue can be related to the notion of intertextuality.

The basic postulates of how metaphor operates are summarised in the following:

The standard definition of conceptual metaphors can be given as follows: A conceptual metaphor is a systematic set of correspondences, or mappings, between two domains of

experience (see Kövecses 2017). The definition is a more technical way of saying what the well-known definition by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) states, according to which a conceptual metaphor is "understanding one domain in terms of another". In a conceptual metaphor, certain elements and the relations in a domain are mapped onto another domain. The domain, from which they are mapped is called the "source domain" and the domain onto which they are mapped is called the "target domain". We can illustrate how the correspondences, or mappings, work with the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS FIRE. But first, let us see some linguistic metaphors that realize this conceptual metaphor in English:

Those were inflammatory remarks.

Smoke was coming out of his ears.

She was burning with anger.

Given such examples, the following set of correspondences, or mappings, can be proposed: the cause of fire

◇ the cause of anger causing the fire

◇ causing the anger the thing on fire

◇ the angry person the fire

◇ the anger the intensity of fire

◇ the intensity of anger (Kövecses, 2018: 125/126).

Moreover, it is claimed that CMT has played a significant part in the rise of cognitive linguistics with its efforts to offer a new way of thinking about linguistic structure and behaviour. It has significantly enhanced understanding of the dynamic links between bodily experience, pervasive patterns of thought, culture, and linguistic structure and behaviour (Gibbs, 2014: 15/16).

When explaining metaphor, an inextricable part of the explanation belongs to image schemas, especially the UP-DOWN schema which serves as the basis for differentiating three types of conceptual metaphors: 1) quantity (MORE IS UP, LESS IS DOWN), 2) evaluation (GOOD IS UP, BAD IS DOWN), and 3) control (POWER IS UP, POWERLESSNESS IS DOWN) (Taylor, 2003: 136).

There is a view in CL held by some scholars that metaphors are universal by its nature. Kövecses (2009: 283), for example, argues that commonality in human experience is not the only force that plays a role in the process of establishing and using metaphors. There are also countervailing forces that work against universality in metaphor production. Obviously, there

are some factors which lead to metaphor variation, one of them being culture, which means that we then speak of two types of dimensions causing metaphor variation: 1) cross-cultural and 2) within-culture dimension. In a case of cross-cultural dimension of metaphor variation we deal with a situation in which culture uses a set of different source domains for a particular target domain, or conversely, where a culture uses a particular source domain for conceptualizing a set of different target domains (Kövecses, 2009: 283). When he talks about within-culture dimension, Kövecses (2009: 286) argues that such variation occurs along a number of dimensions including the social, regional, ethnic, style, subcultural, diachronic, and individual dimensions. Some of the examples provided by Kövecses are: WOMEN ARE (SMALL) FURRY ANIMALS (bunny, kitten), WOMEN ARE BIRDS (hen-party, bird, chick), WOMEN ARE SWEET FOOD (cookie, dish, sweetie pie). He also argues that reasons for such metaphor variation are „differential experience and differential cognitive preferences, or styles (2009: 287). It is thus suggested that, although universal embodiment is very important for conceptual metaphor, metaphor variation should by no means be neglected when metaphor is in question.

Reddy (1993: 311) proposed a somewhat different look at human language by describing it as a conduit enabling the transfer of repertoire members from one individual to another. He coined the term „conduit metaphor“ and he also provided several underpinning criteria for such a term:

(1) language functions like a conduit, transferring thoughts bodily from one person to another; (2) in writing and speaking, people insert their thoughts or feelings in the words; (3) words accomplish the transfer by containing the thoughts or feelings and conveying them to others; and (4) in listening or reading, people extract the thoughts and feelings once again from the words. The fact that it is quite foreign to common sense to think of words as having "insides" makes it quite easy for us to abstract from the strict, "major" version of the metaphor, in which thoughts and emotions are always contained in something. That is, the major framework sees ideas as existing either within human heads or, at least, within words uttered by humans. The "minor" framework overlooks words as containers and allows ideas and feelings to flow, unfettered and completely disembodied, into a kind of ambient space between human heads (Reddy, 1993: 290/291).

An interesting insight into metaphor study is the one provided by Grady (1997) who expanded categorisation of metaphors into *primary metaphors* and *complex metaphors*. *Primary metaphors* are those that help in construction of the complex metaphors, or as Grady (1997:

264) puts it: primary metaphors are important elements of the semantic and conceptual machinery which makes linguistic metaphor possible. He also says that they are „the basis for so many figurative conceptualizations, many of which we hardly notice are not literal. These are conceptual associations which create the illusion of similarity – it is easy to lose sight of the fact that coldness and lack of emotion, for example, are fundamentally different and incommensurable, just as height and quantity are (Grady, 2005: 1612/1613). *Primary source* concepts are aspects of our perception of our bodies and our environment, in all possible modalities. They include our (schematic) cognitive representations of the shapes and sizes of objects around us, their positions, their smells and flavours, our own motion through space, temperatures, brightness, basic actions like holding and cutting and examining, bodily sensations like hunger, itching, and strain, and so forth (Grady, 1997: 265). The best way to explain those concepts is by means of an example.

Suppose that what has been called THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS has something like a derived, secondary status— i.e. it is a metaphor composed of distinct and independently motivated metaphorical correspondences, which could also occur outside of this particular combination. A possible analysis along these lines would include the following:

I. ORGANIZATION IS PHYSICAL STRUCTURE

II. VIABILITY IS ERECTNESS

Grady provides an example of the *complex metaphor* which consists of the above-mentioned *primary metaphors*:

- Our marriage is in *tatters*.

The example is explained in the following way:

It can be demonstrated that ORGANIZATION IS PHYSICAL STRUCTURE and VIABILITY IS ERECTNESS exist independently of one another. [...] we have evidence of the possibility of conceptualizing abstract structures in terms of physical structure independent of erectness (Grady, 2005: 45 – 47).

At the end, it can be summed up that CMT provided a way to think about how abstract concepts are established and how they influence different domains of human thought, as well as ordinary language use and understanding (Gibbs: 2009: 16).

Some authors in the field of CL go from the premise that framing is of great importance for metaphor to take place. A ‘frame’ tends to be defined as a portion of background knowledge

that (i) concerns a particular aspect of the world, (ii) generates expectations and inferences in communication and action, and (iii) tends to be associated with particular lexical and grammatical choices in language (Semino, Demjén, Demmen, 2018: 627).

Lately, there has been a new insight into the metaphor theory which is called Deliberate Metaphor Theory (DMT) and it is proposed by Steen (2009). Simply said, deliberate metaphor use is the intentional use of a metaphor as a metaphor (Steen, 2015: 1).

Deliberate metaphor use must be differentiated from all other metaphor use, which is non-deliberate: those metaphors are not presented as metaphors to the addressee, but are simply (but intentionally) used as the available language means to talk about a wide range of topics (*ibid*).

A wonderful and well-known deliberate metaphor is found in the first twelve lines of Shakespeare's Sonnet 18, reproduced here from (Booth 1977):

Shall I compare thee to a summer's day?
Thou art more lovely and more temperate:
Rough winds do shake the darling buds of May,
And summer's lease hath all too short a date;
Sometime too hot the eye of heaven shines,
And often is his gold complexion dimmed;
And every fair from fair sometime declines,
By chance or nature's changing course untrimmed:
But thy eternal summer shall not fade,
Nor lose possession of that fair thou ow'st,
Nor shall death brag thou wandrest in his shade,
When in eternal lines to time thou grow'st.
So long as men can breathe or eyes can see,
So long lives this, and this gives life to thee.

Deliberate metaphor is metaphorical because it maps correspondences from one conceptual domain to another. It is deliberate because it involves people using metaphor as metaphor: it makes intentional use of something to think about something else. In Sonnet 18, this is made linguistically explicit in the subtly playful first line, 'shall I compare thee to a summer's day?' Seemingly, the poet intentionally presents a metaphorical taunt to himself, then rises to the challenge by producing a brilliant exercise in figurative thinking. Deliberate metaphor involves paying attention to a source domain during online production or reception, in order to engage in cross domain mapping – whether this comparison targets external resemblance or proportional

analogy, includes irony or overstatement, is new or conventional, etc. (Steen, 2009: 181).

2.4.1.1. *Types of Metaphors*

This chapter gives insight into the taxonomy of metaphors provided by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson in their book *Metaphors We Live By* which was published in 1980.

According to Lakoff and Johnson metaphors can be classified into three groups:

- 1) *structural metaphors*
- 2) *orientational metaphors*
- 3) *ontological metaphors*.

Structural metaphors are the ones in which one concept is metaphorically structured in terms of another (1980: 14). Following metaphors belong to the class of *structural metaphors*:

- ARGUMENT IS WAR
- TIME IS MONEY

Subcategories of the TIME IS MONEY metaphor are TIME IS A LIMITED RESOURCE, and TIME IS A VALUABLE COMMODITY.

Some of the examples we use on a daily basis without actually regarding it as metaphor are the following ones:

- a) I've never *won* an argument with him.
- b) You disagree? Ok, *shoot*!
- c) He *attacked every weak point* in my argument. (1980: 4)

The examples pertaining to the category TIME IS MONEY metaphor are the following ones:

- a) You're *wasting* my time.
- b) You're *running out* of time.
- c) Do you *have* much time *left*? (1980:7/8).

Structural domains operate on the basis of the source domain which may trigger several domains simultaneously. Structural metaphors are those in which one concept is expressed in terms of a different structured, sharply defined concept, as is the case with the “ARGUMENT IS WAR” mapping (Ibáñez and Hernández, 2011: 164).

[...] the structure and logic of the source is used to reason about the target wherever a correspondence is plausible. For example, within the “ARGUMENT IS WAR” system, a sentence like “I thought I was going to be defeated” suggests that the speaker had difficulties to win a debate. Possible extensions of this expression that make use of the same metaphor show that the rest of the correspondences in the system are at work: “But I wouldn’t surrender so I kept fighting and finally I could bring down all their arguments.” (Ibáñez and Hernández, 2011: 171).

However, there are constraints to structural metaphors, and one of these is the Invariance Principle. The Invariance Principle would seem to constrain the mapping in such a way that the possession element from the transfer schema has to be discarded since there is no corresponding element in the target (Ibáñez and Hernández, 2011: 181). In other words, the TIME IS MONEY metaphor is present in human language, whereas MONEY IS TIME metaphor is non-existent. In addition, as Lakoff (1992: 10) puts it:

One should instead think of the Invariance Principle in terms of constraints on fixed correspondences: If one looks at the existing correspondences, one will see that the Invariance Principle holds: source domain interiors correspond to target domain interiors; source domain exteriors correspond to target domain exteriors; etc. As a consequence it will turn out that the image-schematic structure of the target domain cannot be violated: One cannot find cases where a source domain interior is mapped onto a target domain exterior, or where a source domain exterior is mapped onto a target domain path. This simply does not happen.

A classic example of a structural metaphor is LOVE IS A JOURNEY.

In this metaphor, we use the notion of motion along a path towards a destination in order to reason and talk about some aspects of love relationships, as revealed by many common linguistic expressions like those in (1):

- a. “Our marriage is off to a good start”
- b. “We are going nowhere”
- c. “It’s been a long, bumpy road”
- d. “We are back on track again”.

These and other similar expressions reveal the existence of an underlying system of conceptual correspondences between love and journeys in which lovers developing a love relationship are seen as travelers on a journey. In the mapping, the love relationship is a vehicle, lovers' common goals are the destination, difficulties in the relationship are impediments to motion, and so on (Ibáñez and Hernández, 2011: 162).

The second type of metaphors are *orientational metaphors* which are based on spatial orientation, as their name suggests. Basically, human experience is based on UP – DOWN orientation and it affects the language as well. The following examples are illustrative of *orientational metaphors* we use all the time:

- a) HAPPY IS UP, SAD IS DOWN
My spirits *rose*.
- b) CONSCIOUS IS UP, UNCONSCIOUS IS DOWN
He *fell* asleep.
- c) HEALTH AND LIFE ARE UP, SICKNESS AND DEATH ARE DOWN
He came *down* with the flu.
- d) HAVING CONTROL OR FORCE IS UP, BEING SUBJECT TO CONTROL OR FORCE IS DOWN
I'm *on top of* the situation.
- e) MORE IS UP, LESS IS DOWN
He is *underage*.
- f) FORSEEABLE FUTURE EVENTS ARE UP (and AHEAD)
I'm afraid of what's *up ahead* of us.
- g) HIGH STATUS IS UP, LOW STATUS IS DOWN
He's at the *peak* of his career.
- h) GOOD IS UP, BAD IS DOWN
Things are looking *up*.
- i) VIRTUE IS UP, DEPRAVITY IS DOWN
She has *high* standards.
- j) RATIONAL IS UP, EMOTIONAL IS DOWN
He couldn't *rise above* his *emotions*. (1980: 15/16/17).

All of those types of metaphors are used on an everyday basis which indeed is the proof that our conceptualization of the world is grounded in human experience. The way we conceptualize the reality around us is what enters the language, and that is especially present on all the metaphors and metonymies we use all the time without even being aware of it.

The third type of metaphors belong to the class of *ontological metaphors* which are the ways of viewing events, activities, emotions, ideas, etc., as entities and substances (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980: 25). They can be used for various purposes, and Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 26 – 27) propose the following:

- *Referring* (My *fear of insects* is driving my wife crazy.)
- *Quantifying* (It will take *a lot of patience* to finish this book.)
- *Identifying Aspects* (The *brutality of war* dehumanizes us all.)
- *Identifying Causes* (He did it out of *anger*.)
- *Setting Goals and Motivating Actions* (He went to New York to *seek fame and fortune*.)

THE MIND IS A MACHINE metaphor is could be found in our culture in the following ways:

We're still trying *to grind out* the solution to this equation.

My mind just isn't *operating* today.

Boy, the *wheels are turning* now!

I'm *a little rusty* today.

We've been working on this problem all day and now we're *running out of steam*.

2. 4. 2. Conceptual Theory of Metonymy

Apart from metaphor, metonymy is another cognitive tool just as important for the way we grasp the reality around us. As previously mentioned, the underlying difference between the two is the role they have in language. In other words, a metaphor is used for understanding, whereas a metonymy is used for referring. Another basic difference is the number of domains in which mapping takes place. A metaphoric mapping involves two domains – SOURCE and TARGET DOMAIN – and the mapping is used to help us understand some more abstract concepts in terms of basic ones. In contrast, metonymic mapping involves mapping within a single domain. Panther and Thornburg (2017: 279/280) provide features of metonymy:

- i. It is an associative or, from a semiotic perspective, indexical relation between meaning components within one conceptual frame (in contrast to metaphor, which is an iconic relation between two conceptual frames).

- ii. Metonymy is not specific to language but exists in other semiotic modes, such as e.g. the visual arts (see Panther 2005).
- iii. Metonymy involves a linguistic vehicle that denotes a semantic component in a conceptual frame, the source meaning, which, in turn, serves as a conceptual vehicle to access a target meaning (see Kövecses and Radden 1998; Radden and Kövecses 1999). The source meaning is conceptually integrated into the target meaning as a result of the metonymic operation.
- iv. The relation between source and target is conceptually tight (cf. Panther and Thornburg 1998; see also Fauconnier and Turner's 2002 notion of conceptual compression).
- v. The relation between source and target is typically contingent, i.e. conceptually non-necessary.
- vi. Languages may differ as to the conceptual relations they metonymically exploit.

When metonymy is in question, we are dealing with a single domain mapping, i.e. the mapping takes place within one domain in which one part of the concept is used to refer to the whole category of the concept, or *vice versa*, where the whole category of the concept is taken for the part of the concept. We are thus dealing with two main types of metonymies, *viz.* WHOLE FOR PART metonymies and PART FOR PART metonymies.

It is claimed that a fundamental property of metonymy is „the fact that the source maps onto and activates the target by virtue of the experiential (hence pragmatic) link between the roles each of them performs in the same “functional domain” (Barcelona, 2014: 15). In addition, one of the ways to describe what metonymy is and how it operates could be explained in the following: “a key idea for cognitive linguists is that metonymy draws on the relationship that exists between the two items within a particular knowledge network“ (Littlemore, 2015: 9). She (2015: 10) also claims that metonymy could not be understood without idealised cognitive models which encompass the cultural knowledge that people have and are not restricted to the ‘real world’. It is assumed that „metonymy may occur wherever we have idealized cognitive models. We have ICMs of everything that is conceptualized, which includes the conceptualization of things and events, word forms and their meanings, and things and events in the real world“ (Kövecses and Radden, 1999: 21).

When it comes to the analysis of metonymies, it should be stressed that there are certain types of metonymies. Warren distinguishes two types of metonymies – propositional and referential.

[...] referential metonymy tends to violate truth conditions. Propositional metonymy, on the other hand, tends to be literally true since the validity of the consequent (implicitly conveyed notion) depends on the validity of the antecedent (explicit expression). In the case of propositional metonymy, it is natural to relate the implicit and

explicit notions by means of if-then relations, whereas this is less natural in the case of referential metonymy and a different kind of paraphrasing suggests itself: *I will put you on the governor's report*. [your behaviour] (Pauwels 1999:269) you = "that which you did" (Warren, 2006: 8/9).

The result of metonymic mappings are metonyms which are, according to Brdar (2007: 12), expressions that are used instead of some other expressions such that the latter expressions are associated with or suggested by the former.

(4) a. He was testifying on the Hill earlier in the week.

b. He emigrated to America in 1969.

In (4) a. the Hill, short for Capitol Hill, is not used to denote this particular location in Washington, i.e. the hill where the Capitol building stands, or not even so much this particular building as the institution of the US Congress which meets in this building.

In (4) b., America is not used in its most *proper sense*, to denote the whole continent, but rather just the United States of America.

The difference between metaphor and metonymy based on the number of the domains involved in mappings could be simply illustrated as in **Figure 1.**:

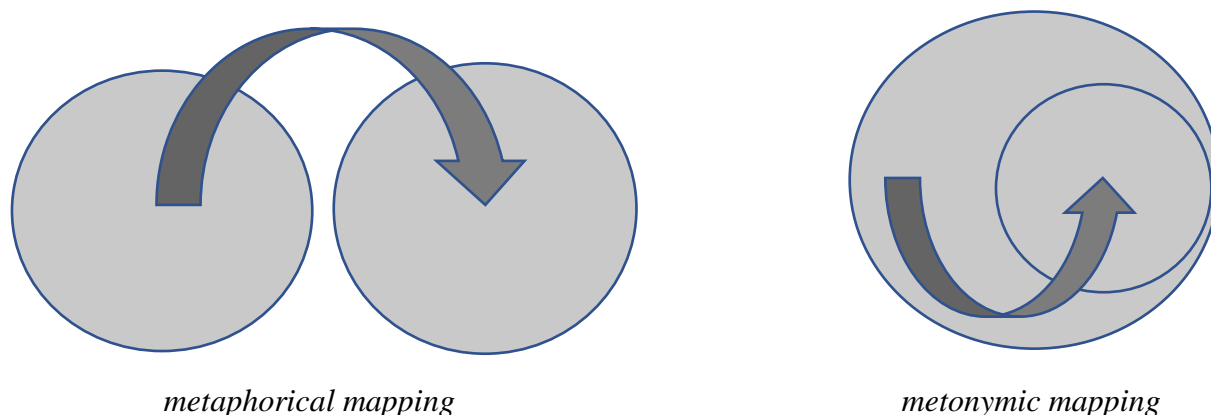


Figure 1. Metaphor and metonymy distinguished on the basis of the number of conceptual domains involved (Brdar, 2007: 14)

Although both cognitive tools are recognized as basic cognitive processes in CL, they have been seen as playing different roles in the organization of the grammatical component as well (Brdar, 2002/2003: 41). Metonymy is so pervasive in language, not only on the level of lexicon but also on the level of grammar (cf.) where the lexeme *Brexit* which was sometimes found with the indefinite article *a*, and sometimes with the definite article *the*, and that is how metonymy is used in grammar – it is the cause of grammatical recategorization, so in that respect, it also affects the pragmatic role *Brexit* has in British political discourse which will be illustrated on the number of the examples found in British media. The dissertation will present examples of *a Brexit* use in the media as opposed to *the Brexit* use, as well as its role in discourse. Regarding domains involved in metonymy, Benczes (2011: 198) says that a referential context is nothing else than the domain. Basically, when a metonymic mapping occurs, i.e. when one concept is mapped onto the part of the concept it pertains to, then the latter concept is actually the context of the SOURCE domain, and this again proves that metonymy has a primarily referential role in the language. Metonymic mappings can simply be explained in the following way: metonymy provides mental access to a less salient domain or entity through a more salient one (Benczes, 2011: 200). In the metonymic mapping, the source domain activates the target domain, but the conceptual content of the source domain remains present and contributes to the full interpretation of an utterance (Krišković, Tominac, 2009).

It can be thus argued that in both cases – in case of metaphor and metonymy – encyclopaedic knowledge is what is organized, in a way to help understand and/or to refer to something, respectively. Moreover, (Musolff 2016: 8), whose primary focus of interest are metaphors, especially political ones, suggests that the organization of encyclopaedic knowledge in domains also underlies a further non-literal type of language use, that is, metonymy. In the example *Britain has moved a step closer to leaving the European Union after David Cameron declared 'war' on Brussels*, the place name Brussels stands for the governing institution of the 'European Union', on account of the Union's Commission headquarters being based in the Belgian capital. The metonymy can thus be classified as a PLACE FOR INSTITUTION mapping (Brussels stands for seat of the EU Commission). PLACE FOR INSTITUTION metonymy is found in significant number in the British press where 'No 10' or '10 Downing Street' have been used to refer to the British government. Recent research on metonymy provides different insights into how metonymy really operates in political discourse. Brdar claims that conceptual metonymic chains are series of metonymic sources unified by common metonymic targets (2015: 88). In other words, Brdar goes from the premise that metonymy PLACE FOR INSTITUTION in political

discourse comes in different shapes, but always with the same target, i.e. the government. This is also the case in British political discourse. No 10 is shortened address of the place where the UK's government is; its full address is 10 Downing Street, but it is often used either as just No 10, or Downing Street, both types being used in this excerpt. There are many metonymic chains in political discourse whose function may be to add flourish to the text or perhaps be informative for the reader. It means that if someone is not familiar with these things, such as the government's address, who the Prime Minister is, etc., they will probably learn all these things from articles written in such a way.

Over the last thirty years, the traditional view regarding metaphor and metonymy has been abandoned. Metaphor and metonymy were seen as figures of speech, i.e. the tropes. Because of all the research conducted in the field of CL, it has lately become an inextricable part of our everyday communication. Littlemore argues that one of the reasons why we need metonymy is that it is impossible to encapsulate all aspects of our intended meaning in the language that we use. Related to this is the fact that we think 'metonymically' because it is physically impossible to consciously activate all the knowledge that we have of a particular concept at once, so we tend to focus on a salient aspect of that concept and use this as point of access to the whole concept (2015: 4).

There are three assumptions important for a complete understanding of metonymy, and they are proposed by Radden and Kövecses:

- (i) Metonymy is a conceptual phenomenon;
- (ii) Metonymy is a cognitive process;
- (iii) Metonymy operates within an idealized cognitive model (2007: 1).

Metonymy as well as metaphor, is a conceptual phenomenon in the sense that it organizes encyclopaedic knowledge in a way that a part of certain concept is mapped onto the whole concept or *vice versa*. It helps us to refer to things, people, events, etc. without actually invoking literally those concepts. It could be thus said that metonymy is a helpful means of grasping the reality around us. It is also a representative piece of evidence that mind and language work together all the time – that is why metonymy is thought of as a cognitive process. An assumption that metonymy works within the same idealized cognitive model is pretty much clear *per se* as metonymy is a device used for referring – one concept is referred to the part or the whole category of the concept within whose ICM the mapping takes place.

The universality of metonymy has also been recognized, but there have been many specific usages and restrictions across different languages:

Metonymy is a universally attested cognitive phenomenon that fundamentally shapes conceptual structures and linguistic expressions in all human languages, in one way or another. It does not follow from this sort of universality, however, that all human languages must avail themselves of metonymy in exactly the same way“(Brdar- Szabò and Brdar, 2004: 44).

The use of metonymy may be motivated by a speaker’s expressive needs or a given social situation. A speaker may use metonymy in order to achieve a rhetorical or social effect. Since these principles are overridden deliberately, the resulting non-default metonymy is usually felt to be figurative (Radden and Kövecses, 2007: 24). The authors also claimed that metonymy is commonly used to produce rhetorical effects as in humour, jargon, literature, persuasion, slang, poetry and the like. The rhetorical effects tend to derive from violations of default cognitive and communicative principles (*ibid*).

2. 4. 3. Recategorization

Metonymy is used in everyday life on an everyday basis as it is the way how the reality around us is conceptualized (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). It also has underlying role in with respect to grammar, precisely grammatical recategorization. Pestejovsky and Boguraev (1993) argued against the view that words have fixed meanings. They claim the following:

[...] the lexicon can be seen as a generative system, where word senses are related by logical operations defined by the well-formedness rules of the semantics. In this view, much of the lexical ambiguity of highly ambiguous lexical items is explained because the semantic load is spread more evenly throughout the lexicon to the other lexical categories; furthermore, the lexical knowledge we propose as necessary for ambiguity resolution is seen as factored out at different levels of lexical representation (1993: 220).

Imamović and Ibrišimović (2015: 36) investigated body part metonymies in English and Bosnian with respect to grammatical behaviour, and the results showed that the two languages have a lot of similarities in conceptual mappings.

The biggest difference found in the contrastive analysis is the possibility of noun-to-verb conversion in English using the metonymy OBJECT (BODY PART) USED IN THE ACTION FOR THE ACTION, while Bosnian grammatical system does not allow for noun-to-verb conversion (Imamović and Ibrišimović, 2015: 36).

One of the most productive types of metonymy in English, and in many other languages, involving place names, is CONTRY/STATE FOR GOVERNMENT/(-LEGAL) INSTITUTION metonymy, as illustrated in (17):

- 17) a) France expects Iraq to quickly translate its commitments into action.
b) Russia has denied it illegally annexed the Baltic republics of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia in 1940.
c) Texas implemented a supplement rebate program in January 2004 (Brdar, 2007: 87).

In addition, Brdar (2007: 67) claims that the role of metonymy in grammar, just like its pragmatic aspects in discourse, is virtually a virgin territory. The bulk of studies on metonymy that are not primarily concerned with defining the phenomenon and/or contrasting it with metaphor, or with the interaction between the two, have generally focused on lexical aspects of metonymy, particularly on the issue of metonymy-induced lexical polysemy.

Barcelona (2003: 39) also investigated the role of metonymy on grammatical behaviour and has come to a conclusion that the grammatical behaviour of proper names is constantly governed by our rich knowledge network about their referents. Furthermore, he claims (*ibid*) the following:

As a general rule, in English and other languages, single proper nouns may not occur in the plural, with determiners, or restrictive modifiers. Consider the data in (9):

- (9) a. Paris *the Paris *a Paris? I like the beautiful Paris, but not the ugly one.

Such „play“ with articles on the example of *Brexit* will be demonstrated (cf. 5. 4., p. 180) and analysed with respect to the meanings they generate, and the effect they cause.

2. 4. 4. Classification of Metonymies

Different scholars provide different classification of metonymies. The classification of metonymy is one of the crucial concerns of research in both traditional rhetoric and cognitive linguistics, as it contributes to understanding the exact nature of metonymy (Guan, 2009: 180).

Four of the most widely discussed types of metonymies, as proposed by Thornburg and Panther (1998) are ‘referential’ metonymy, ‘propositional’ metonymy, ‘illocutionary’ metonymy and ‘situational’ metonymy (Littlemore and Tagg, 2018: 485). Among all four types of those,

referential metonymies are the most common ones – most of the times when we say that something is metonymy, it is meant that something is used to refer to something else, i.e. referential type of a metonymy is used. For example, when we say Hollywood, we mean mainstream American movies. Hollywood is used to refer to the industry it is most famous for, i.e. movie industry. The other type is propositional metonymy (Panther and Thornburg, 1998; 2007; 2009) which involves a relationship between two propositions. So one might talk about ‘raising an eyebrow’ to trigger the proposition that one is surprised (Littlemore and Tagg, 2018: 485). Illocutionary metonymy (Panther and Thornburg, 1998) involves pragmatic inferencing. For example, the question ‘have you got a fiver’ is linked through an illocutionary metonymy to the question: ‘please can you lend or give me five pounds?’ Finally, situational metonymy (Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez and Otal Campo, 2002) involves the evocation of a situation within which one can infer a relationship between one event and another. So, I might for example ask a friend if he or she has ‘called the restaurant’ in order to ask if he or she has booked a table (Littlemore and Tagg, 2018: 485/486).

There is also a taxonomy provided by Panther and Thornburg (1999: 335) who say that metonymies can be

a) propositional metonymies:

(1) referential and

(2) predication;

b) illocutionary metonymies.

Illocutionary metonymies are non-referential metonymies “wherein one illocutionary act stands for another illocutionary act, e.g. as in the statement or assertion

a. *I don’t know where the bath soap is* which may metonymically stand for the question or inquiry

b. *Where is the bath soap?*”

Given that our knowledge about the world is organized by structured ICMs which we perceive as wholes with part we suggest that the types of metonymy-producing relationships may be subsumed under two general conceptual configurations: (i) Whole ICM and its part(s) (ii) Parts of an ICM Configuration (i) may lead to metonymies in which we access a part of an ICM via its whole or a whole ICM via one of its parts; configuration (ii) may lead to metonymies in

which we access a part via another part of an ICM. This, of course, implies that the whole ICM is still present in the background (Radden and Kövecses, 1999: 30).

A great deal of metonymy research is based on Radden and Kövecses' (1999) taxonomy. This is unsurprising given its comprehensibility and originality (Littlemore and Tagg, 2018: 486), and the taxonomy will be used in the dissertation for the analysis of metonymies based on the example of *Brexit*.

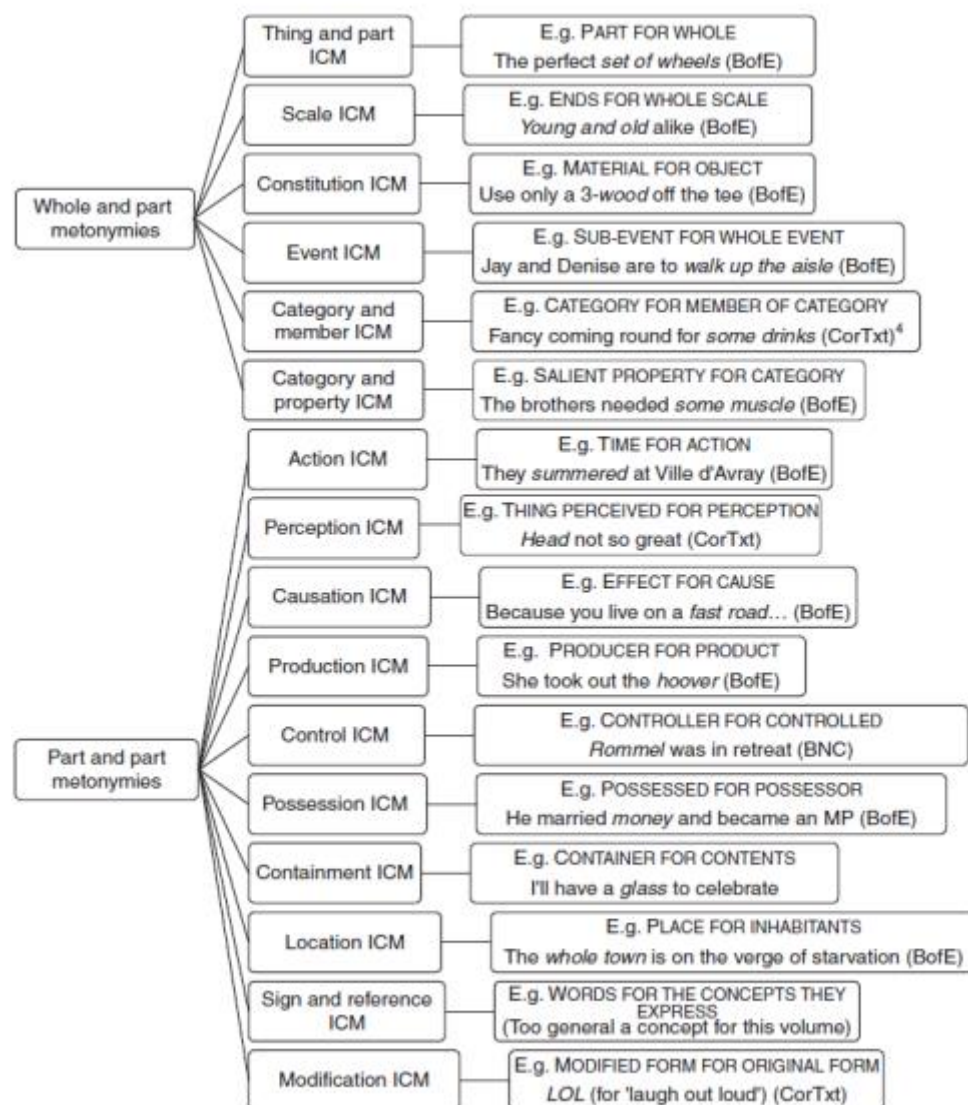


Figure 2. Classification of Metonymies according to Radden and Kövecses (1999) in Babić (2018: 41)

It could be said that from all types of metonymies provided by Radden and Kövecses, several types stand out with respect to the relevance for the analysis conducted in the dissertation – one type belongs to WHOLE FOR PART metonymies, whereas others belong to PART FOR PART metonymies. Those metonymies are:

- EVENT ICM (SUB-EVENT FOR THE WHOLE EVENT) – especially when the UK's exit from the EU is referred to all the things such an exit entails (fishing policy, immigration, trade relations, the question of the Northern Ireland, etc.).
- CONTROL ICM (CONTROLLER FOR CONTROLLED) – it was often found in the British political discourse whenever Theresa May's handling of the *Brexit* was in question, i.e. when her *Brexit deal* had been three times rejected by MPs. It was suggestive of the fact that she lost control of the whole *Brexit* issue.
- CONTAINMENT ICM (EVENT IS A CONTAINER) – the whole event of the UK's exit (*Brexit*) is regarded as a container which means that the UK's leaving the EU means leaving a container.
- LOCATION ICM (PLACE FOR GOVERNMENT) – addresses such as 10 Downing Street or No 10 were frequently found in the British press to refer to the UK's government since it is the place where the UK's government resides and makes decisions.
- MODIFICATION ICM (MODIFIED FORM FOR ORIGINAL FORM) – the examples of those could be found in a number of *Brexit*-based neologisms such as *Brexitteer*, *Brexitter*, *Bremoaner*, *Bregret*, etc. which are all modified ways of saying the one who is enthusiastic for *Brexit*, the one who is for the exit, but not so enthusiastic, the one who is unhappy with the exit, or the one who regrets leaving the EU.

Obviously, all of those metonymies are often used in everyday communication and none of us actually realizes that we are using metonymies. That is because metonymy (as well as metaphor) have always been considered as trope, or figure of speech used to provide some charm to the content that is being expressed. The research in CL in the last forty years has proved that those cognitive tools are not just figures of speech, and that they have multifunctional role in our lives. More precisely, metonymies used in political discourse have manipulative purposes with respect to the listeners, i.e. the voters which are actually means thanks to whom power-hungry politicians become people-in-charge of the decision-making process certain country, in this particular case, of the UK.

Radden and Kövecses (1999: 31) argue that the PART FOR PART metonymies can go under the name of synecdoche. Synecdoches are less ubiquitous than WHOLE FOR PART metonymies and, hence, more likely to be noticed. This applies to deliberate metonymic usages such as *There are cool wheels you have there* as well as to the widespread use of body parts such as *hand, face, head or leg* for a person (ibid).

That is one of the possible criteria for classifying metonymies. The second classification is presented by Ruiz de Mendoza and Diez Velasco (2003: 496- 497) and is based on the criterion of relationship between metonymic expression and its referent. They distinguish two types of metonymies: “target-in-source”, which would correspond to PART FOR WHOLE metonymy, and a “source-in-target”, which corresponds to WHOLE FOR PART metonymy. Unlike Radden and Kövecses (1999), they do not include PART FOR PART metonymy, explaining that for them this type of metonymy is just an instance of metonymic domain inclusion where the target is a subdomain of source.

2. 5. Metaphor and Metonymy in Contact

Since the publication of the book *Metaphors We Live By*, when scientists from the field of CL began to show more interest in the topic of metaphor and metonymy, one question often came to mind: In what way exactly are metaphor and metonymy in contact? One way of looking at the issue is the one proposed by Barcelona who says that metonymy is the motivation for metaphor, i.e. he argues that metonymy is superordinate to metaphor. In other words, metonymy triggers metaphor. The metonymies motivating metaphors are also normally “invisible” in the sense that they are not directly expressed by means of a metaphorical linguistic expression, but they conceptually motivate the corresponding conceptual metaphor. Barcelona (2012: 256) claims that there are two major types of metonymic motivation of metaphor.

The first motivation can be called correlation-abstraction. Both the metaphoric target and the metaphoric source are conceptualized metonymically from the same “subdomain”, as in the conceptual metaphor DEVIANT COLORS ARE DEVIANT SOUNDS (manifested by such expressions as *That’s a loud colour*). In other words, in both cases an EFFECT stands for a CAUSE within the same frame (PERCEPTION). The second motivation can be referred to as generalization or decontextualization of a metonymy. A conceptual metaphor like MORE IS UP is based on the metonymic activation of QUANTITY (MORE) by HEIGHT (UP), due to their frequent experiential association in POURING or HEAPING frames / experiences / scenarios. The metonymy is directly expressed in the second utterance in this exchange: ‘More coffee?’ ‘No thanks, my cup

is still full'. When HEIGHT is mapped onto QUANTITY in a context where HEIGHT is no longer really involved, the mapping is metaphorical, as in the high cost of living / skyrocketing prices.

Geeraerts (2002: 451) argues that there are three basic cases of interaction between metaphor and metonymy to be distinguished: cases in which metaphor and metonymy occur consecutively, cases in which they occur in parallel, and cases in which they occur interchangeably. He claims that there is always some paradigmatic link at the bottom of the prism between the literal readings of the constituent items and their figurative interpretation: at the very least, the literal reading would motivate the figurative reading because the latter is consistent with the word class of the former (Geeraerts, 2002: 465).

Moreover, among scholars who explored the phenomenon of interaction between metaphor and metonymy the name of Louis Goossens is to be stressed as he introduced the term *metaphtonymy* – the term which is a result of interaction between metaphor and metonymy. Metaphtonyms are the result of such process, i.e. interaction.

We have metaphor-from-metonymy, if the mapping from one domain onto another is derivable from usages where the two domains can be taken to be fused into one complex domain within which the mapping takes place. Such a metaphor-from-metonymy was identified as one of the two major 'metaphtonymy' types discussed in Goossens (1990). The illustration there came from linguistic action verbal(s), as in instance (29).

(29) *'Oh dear', she giggled, 'I'd quite forgotten'* One interpretation is that she said this while giggling: in that case there is a synecdochic relationship; we express part for the whole, we have a pure metonymy. Another way to interpret it, is that she said it as if giggling; hence there is crossing of domain boundaries, we have a metaphor. The point is, however, that in this metaphorical interpretation, the conceptual link with the metonymic reading is still present. (Goossens, 1998: 131).

Denroche (2018) also investigated the phenomenon of interaction between metaphor and metonymy, though on a textual level. He came to the following conclusions:

The different types of text metaphtonymy discussed above involve only three of the metaphor and metonymy in discourse phenomena, namely 'extended metaphor', 'metonymy clusters' and 'metonymy chains'. I suggest that many more metonymy-metaphor combinations are possible, though certain combinations offer greater opportunities for text metaphtonymy. (ibid: 21)

Barcelona (1997: 29) suggests two types of interaction between metaphor and metonymy and they include the following:

- Interaction at the purely conceptual level
- Purely textual co-instantiation of a metaphor and metonymy in the same linguistic expression.

Within the first type of interaction, he differs

- The metonymic conceptual motivation of metaphor (e.g. *I had reached the boiling point.*) – metaphor ANGER IS THE HEAT OF A FLUID
- The metaphoric conceptual motivation of metonymy (e.g. *She won his ears.*) – EAR FOR ATTENTION metonymy.

2. 6. Conceptual Integration Theory (CIT)

The core notion of conceptual integration theory (sometimes referred to as “CIT”) is that many types of human thought consist of the integration or blending of mental spaces, and that the ability to perform certain types of conceptual blends is what distinguishes humans from other animals, and modern human cognition from earlier forms of hominine cognition (Gill, 2010: 25).

The theory emerged as a result of the research so far conducted in CL. The theory is often regarded as “blending” which leads to conceptual frames which are important for conceptualization and thus understanding.

Mental spaces serve to combine elements that belong to different conceptual domains, tying them into homogenous and elastic, yet stable, conceptual frames. We understand the notion of elastic stability in terms of a stable basic conceptual structure which is subject to various elaborations under the impact of individual knowledge, experience and imagery which are imaginatively activated at a given moment of conceptualization (Belaj, 2005: 121).

Moreover, Coulson (2013: 107/108) provides four concepts relevant to the Conceptual Integration Theory (henceforth CIT), and these are *mental spaces, frames, cultural models* and *mappings*. A mental space contains a partial representation of the entities and relations of a particular scenario as construed by a speaker. Spaces are structured by elements that represent each of the discourse entities and simple frames to represent the relationships that exist between them. Frames are hierarchically structured attribute/value pairs that can either be integrated with

perceptual information or be used to activate generic knowledge about people and objects assumed by default. Socially shared frames are called cultural models. Finally, mappings are abstract correspondences between elements and relations in different spaces.

The pioneers of the theory are Gilles Fauconnier and Mark Turner who say that CIT is very significant for grammar. “Blending turns out to be a central feature of grammar. Far from being an independently specified set of forms, grammar is an aspect of conceptual structure and its evolution” (Fauconnier and Turner, 2003: 86). In addition, Fauconnier and Turner (2002: 101) provide six key elements of CIT:

- 1) Mental Spaces - small conceptual packets constructed as we think and talk, structured by frames and cognitive models;
- 2) Input Spaces or Inputs – mental spaces used as inputs to a conceptual blend;
- 3) Generic Space - this space contains what the input spaces have in common;
- 4) The Blend - also a mental space, but it is the one created by projections from the input space;
- 5) Emergent Structure - structure that is generated through composition (the putting together of elements that are not in the input spaces), completion (the bringing of additional structure to the blend, e.g. in completing a pattern), or elaboration (the “running” of the blend, i.e. treating a blend as a simulation and running it imaginatively);
- 6) Vital Relations: conceptual relations that show up again and again in compression under blending. They are relationships between elements in the input spaces that are compressed inside the blend. The vital relations commonly seen are: Change, Identity, Time, Space, Cause-Effect, Part-Whole, Representation, Role, Analogy, Disanalogy, Property, Similarity, Category, Intentionality, and Uniqueness.

Conceptual blends are all around us, occurring all of the time. A computer desktop interface is an example of a very common blend since we have inputs from both the world of computers and from the traditional notion of a desk. The computer screen is understood as desk, since we have the ability to move items that are “on” it, drop “files” into “folders,” and move items to the “recycle bin.” We don’t think of this as anything extraordinary; in fact, much blending occurs subconsciously and seems unremarkable to us (Gill, 2010: 26).

The four-space model of blending proposed by Fauconnier and Turner (2003) is demonstrated in Figure 3.

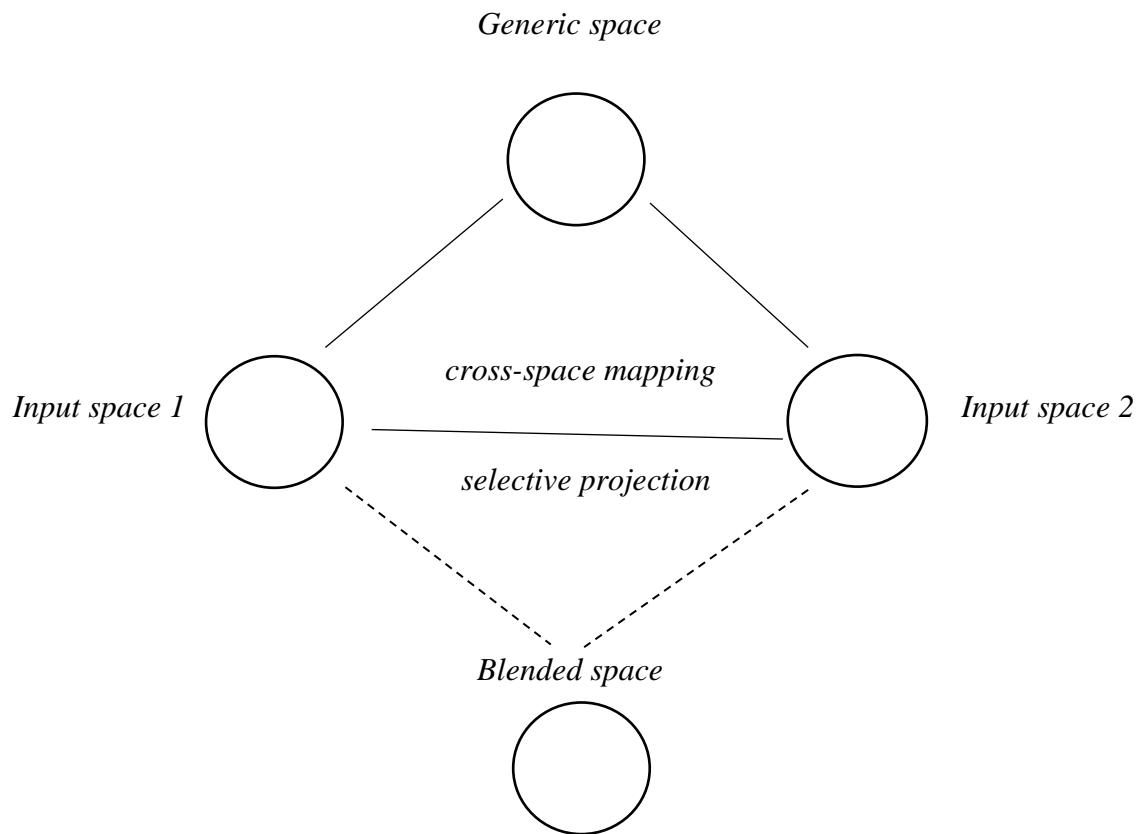


Figure 3. The four-space model (Fauconnier and Turner, 2003: 59)

Belaj (2005: 142) investigated the role and nature of mental spaces in on-line communication and divided them into (i) defocused (generic space and pre-input spaces), (ii) highlighted (input spaces) and (iii) focal space (blend). For the first type of mental spaces Belaj (2005: 124) claims that the generic space together with its elements represents a defocused space because its conscious activation in on-line utterance interpretation takes extra cognitive effort. For the second type, the example is provided and explained:

Do the English and German national soccer or basketball teams come to mind, since these subdomains can rightfully claim status of active zones in examples like *England beat Germany in the last World Soccer Championship*. The answer, of course, is no. At the moment of interpreting sentence (2) what is activated in our consciousness are only government members of the two countries. Thus they have the status of highlighted elements which are tightened as the process of conceptual integration unfolds. In other words, this means that this would be the only subdomain that is thought of at that moment, the only subdomain that is conceptually present in the target domain, while other subdomains of England and Germany (i.e. their national sports teams, portions of their geography, their economic resources, etc.) are pushed back in the background (Belaj, 2005: 135).

With respect to the third type of mental spaces included in blending, Belaj proposes analysis of the example in the following way:

England will find it hard to beat German arguments in favor of Croatia's accession to the European Union. We can use this example to vividly and metaphorically show how, on the one hand, elements to be projected into the blend are profiled, and on the other, the remaining ones, i.e. those that stay in the inputs, are pushed into conceptual background. Following the interpretation of double metonymy, to which we shall return later, (PLACE FOR INSTITUTION > INSTITUTION FOR PEOPLE), the blend accommodates only a few members of special delegations of the ministries of foreign affairs of the two countries, who thus gain the status of focal elements. With the activation of the blend, these members enter into a dynamic discussion. The focal elements of the blend hence become conceptually clear or sharp (conceptually known), other members of the ministries, who do not participate in the discussion, remain somewhat in the shadow (are conceptually less known), while members of the two governments who belong to other ministries (ministry of education, health department etc.) are completely outshadowed (conceptually unknown) and stand in the background (Belaj, 2005: 127).

Conceptual Integration Theory, or blending has been examined with respect to word formation processes in a way that blending is, according to Brdar and Brdar-Szabó (2008: 190), a marginal word formation phenomenon, in certain languages even more marginal than in others. When Croatian and English are compared, the authors claim that Croatian exhibits very little compounding and only peculiar types of clipping and has very few blends, while English seems to be on the other pole of the productivity continuum on all three counts. They suggest that the less open and flexible¹⁶ the language is, the more marginal the blends that are found (if any) tend to be (*ibid*).

Considering the effects and results of CIT, i.e. blending, it is not surprising at all that political discourse is interesting to study from the perspective of cognitive linguistics since it is abundant in blends. This will be illustrated on a number of examples later in the dissertation. Blending thus, becomes nothing else but a helpful device when cognitive tools such as metaphor and metonymy are in question.

The product of complex cognitive operations in conceptual blending is creative figurative language which Berberović (2013: 315). claims can be used to achieve different discourse goals and promote a certain rhetorical agenda. The author (*ibid*: 318) also claims that it is believed that

¹⁶ Flexibility means the speed with which foreign lexemes are adapted and become near-native elements of the lexical stock (Brdar and Brdar-Szabó, 2008: 191).

creative figurative language in political discourse produces great rhetorical and ideological impacts.

2. 7. Political Discourse - Definition

Like in all sorts of possible discourses, language is the focal point in political discourse. Language is used as a means of communicating things, i.e. getting the message across. It should be kept in mind that there are three orders of discourses governing our lives: the science discourse, art discourse and political discourse. Each separate domain resists synthesis with the others and represents a major disjunct in how we see the world: 'Science speaks the language of truth, art the language of beauty, and politics the language of good' (Hyland, 2004: 159). It is claimed (*ibid*) that political discourse should be the language of good. However, we often witness quite the opposite situation – political discourse is a place where language is used for the personal good, and not the general good, and it seems to be the most important thing.

This is why political discourse has become such an interesting field of study within CL. “Inherent to the political action, communication is characterized by a permanent reconfiguration at the level of contents, strategies, effects, from the perspective of the mutations registered by the generating contexts and the semiotic stakes in the social plan“ (Mocanu, 2015: 18). Chilton (2003:3) adds:

On the one hand, politics is viewed as a struggle for power, between those who seek to assert and maintain their power and those who seek to resist it. Some states are conspicuously based on struggles for power; whether democracies are essentially so constituted is disputable. On the other hand, politics is viewed as cooperation, as the practices and institutions that a society has for resolving clashes of interest over money, influence, liberty, and the like. Again, whether democracies are intrinsically so constituted is disputed.

One could agree with Chilton's stand on what politics actually is, or what it entails. With respect to *Brexit*, one could agree with the first part of his claim, namely that it is the struggle for power between the Conservative party (led by both Theresa May and Johnson) and its biggest rival – the Labour party (led by Jeremy Corbyn). The second part of his claim could also be applied to the topic of *Brexit* in political discourse inasmuch as both biggest parties work together to reach what the British voted for in 2016, i.e. the exit from the EU. How it would be obtained, i.e. on what terms if the government is led by the Conservatives or the Labour is a whole other thing.

What exactly is political discourse? Chilton cynically says that politics varies according to one's situation and purposes – a political answer in itself (2004: 3). Another definition says that it can be identified by its actors or authors, *viz.* politicians (Van Dijk, 1998: 12).

Except for the participants which are the most relevant factor in defining what political discourse is, Van Dijk claims that the whole context is decisive for the categorization of discourse as 'political' or not (1998: 14). Integration of political texts and contexts in political encounters leads to accomplishing specific political aims and goals, such as making or influencing political decisions, that is decisions that pertain to joint action, the distribution of social resources, the establishment or change of official norms, regulations and laws, and so on (1998: 14). Other scholars in the field go from the premise that every political idea, action is born, prepared, realized and controlled with the help of language. The analysis of political discourse (or political rhetoric) should treat discourse as an instrument of doing politics, either in a strategic or constitutive sense (Kirvalidze and Samnidze, 2016: 162). There are two stands that should be taken into account if one wishes to define politics:

On the one hand, politics is viewed as a struggle for power, between those who seek to assert and maintain their power and those who seek to resist it. Some states are conspicuously based on struggles for power; whether democracies are essentially so constituted is disputable. On the other hand, politics is viewed as cooperation, as the practices and institutions that a society has for resolving clashes of interest over money, influence, liberty, and the like (Chilton, 2004: 3).

Even when those viewpoints are taken into account, it is still very difficult to define politics, and perhaps that aspect is the most challenging impetus for many scholars to study political discourse.

There is an interesting view regarding the relationship between speech and writing which may as well be relevant to the political discourse. Through history writing has always had primacy over speech, even though it was a rather unfair treatment on the part of speech. Perhaps writing seems to be more important than speech because it is a language that is documented, i.e. there is a piece of evidence that someone said something, whereas speech is undocumented and it belongs merely to the “now” moment or as Elbow (1985: 283) puts it: Speech is nothing but wind, waves of temporarily squashed air, waves that begin at once to disperse, that is, to lose their sound. Writing, on the other hand, stays there-“down in black and white.” It is suggested that writing systems, then, do represent speech. But not quite in the way that we have

conventionally held. Writing systems create the categories in terms of which we become conscious of speech (Olson, 1996: 100).

“Although either speech or writing can be used for almost any communicative need, we do not in fact use the two forms interchangeably” (Biber, 1988: 8). “The general view is that written language is structurally elaborated, complex, formal, and abstract, while spoken language is concrete, context-dependent, and structurally simple. Some studies, though, have found almost no linguistic differences between speech and writing, while others actually claim that speech is more elaborated and complex than writing” (Biber, 1988: 5). That is why political discourse, where spoken language has the primacy over written language, is such an interesting and dynamic field of research, a type of research which is very dependent on the protagonists of such discourse, i.e. politicians, as well as the context which is the key factor in creation of variety of meanings, both ambiguous and literal. This is why the focus of study in the dissertation will be political discourse but studied on the basis of the language used in it. In particular, the dissertation will illustrate the effects the lexeme *Brexit* has, i.e. what its referential (metonymic) meanings are when used by different politicians and in different contexts. In other words, the dissertation will illustrate the pragmatic functions those metonymies have on the public, i.e. depict purposes of those metonymies in the discourse.

Van Dijk claims that power is what matters most when it comes to politics. He, therefore, talks about social power for which he says it is social relation between groups or institutions, involving the control by a (more) powerful group or institution (and its members) of the actions and the minds of (the members) a less powerful group. Such power generally presupposes privileged access to socially valued resources, such as force, wealth, income, knowledge, or status (1995: 10).

One subtype of the social power is the media power, and the dissertation will try to illustrate whether British newspapers are biased and as such, what their influence is on the public and in what ways. Media power is generally symbolic and persuasive, in the sense that the media primarily have the potential to control to some extent the minds of readers or viewers, but not directly their actions (Van Dijk, 1995: 10).

Political discourse is often correlated with populism. In other words, politicians as active participants of politics in their public addressing often resort to the use of popular expression.

2. 7. 1. Populism

A significant part of every media discourse is a communication strategy often used by the participants of such discourse, and that is populism. Conboy (2006: 152) claims that the language of populism assists in maintaining a more generalized attack on the personalities of the politicians and their motives, highlighting, wherever possible, corruption and self-serving motivation.

There is a view, however, that the media strongly affects populism, and that the media act as a mirror of a society (Mazzoleni, 2008: 64).

To answer the earlier question of whether the media are accomplices in the creation of populist climates and the rise of populist movements, there is some convincing evidence that there are close ties between media-centred processes and the political phenomenon of populism. All phases in the lifecycle of a populist movement are affected by some sort of media-driven influences, and populist leaders cannot disregard the seductive power of the media. If they do, they risk marginalization (Mazzoleni, 2008: 62).

Populism is regarded as a global communication phenomenon which varies across cultures with respect to the form, visibility, and the success of populism. Many contextual factors determine the amount of populist communication adopted by political actors, media actors, and citizens (de Vreese et al., 2018: 9). The reason why populism in political discourse is so present is the recognition that populist ideas must be communicated discursively to achieve the communicator's goals and the intended effects on the audience (de Vreese et al., 2018: 3).

It is argued, however, that both centre-right parties as well as centre-left parties are too similar, i.e. took a step back from their historical ideologies and converged on a number of policies that “created a fertile breeding ground for populism” (Ahmed, 2017:96).

The working class and more conservative voters that tended to opt for the centre-left and centre-right parties, respectively, found that the parties were too similar and had lost the ideology that they had once identified with. Moreover, deeper EU integration saw some aspects of power removed from national governments and placed in the hands of unelected commissioners, which some saw as a major threat to sovereignty (ibid).

That is how, for instance, right-wing politicians often use the concepts such as country, religion, homeland, national pride, etc. In contrast, left-wing politicians use a somewhat different rhetoric – the concepts they often use are rights of people, rights of workers, social protection,

immigrants, etc. Both types of politicians use the concepts which are in accordance with the political view of the party they pertain to. Politicians' addressing the public often includes confronting the opposition. Moreover, Block and Negrine (2017: 190) claim the following:

Populist leaders use abrasive, belligerent, direct, and simple language to connect with disenchanted publics and to present themselves as those with a solution to existing and continuing problems. Indeed, they accuse others of exacerbating the problems. Other political actors (the center-ground elite), by and large, work with a pluralist conversation, seeking consensus rather than confrontation and keeping distant and protected by walls of political correctness.

2. 7. 2. Social Media and Online Activism

Apart from populism which is a communication strategy often used by politicians in order to reach their own goals (i.e. be in power), online activism has lately become another important impetus of the political discourse.

Does online activism matter? It has undoubtedly induced changes in the behavior of the state by undermining information control and creating social pressure for more government transparency. As a new source of public opinion and citizen mobilization, it has often led to policy changes. Perhaps more important, online activism is directly linked to changes in citizens' attitudes and behavior toward power (Yang, 2009: 36).

Ghobadi and Clegg (2015: 54) claim that over the last decade, online activism has become increasingly prevalent for sharing information and organizing people to express resistance to dominant organizational elites. They (2015: 53) claim that social activists increasingly wield the power of the Internet technology to penetrate organizational boundaries and enable social and political change.

Online activism is often brought in connection to politics, and the influence of online activism on how things are done in politics could be summarized in the following:

Online activism and social media offer a very fruitful area of research for contentious politics. With the online presence of such a vast amount of information and the ability to track and observe the audiences' response to that information, incorporating social media into collective action research has the potential to better inform our own understanding of social protest and dissident behaviour in general (McClain Brown, 2017: 19).

The Internet has lately become a vital part of our lives because it serves many purposes. One can find and learn many things online, do business online, and many other positive things but the Internet can also have some downsides as well (paedophilia, data theft, etc.). The relation between the Internet and social media can be twofold. On the one hand, the Internet comes in handy when one needs to reach the people in a way as to support them in fighting for their rights. On the other hand, however, it can be the cause of street riots, wars, online riots, etc. if maliciously used.

Internet serves to mobilize street protest. More often, protest takes place online. The most common forms include online petitions, the hosting of campaign websites, and large-scale verbal protests. The most radical is perhaps the hacking of websites. These forms of contention may be found in blogs, Internet bulletin boards, online communities, and podcast and YouTube-type web sites (Yang, 2009: 33).

The key concept that is most relevant in the political discourse is the *influence* the media have on the minds of public, and that is what the dissertation will hopefully demonstrate. Van Dijk speaks of two types of power that exist on relation *media – public*, suggesting that the media form the minds of the public, and hence has influence, or power on them, but also, there is the power of the public with respect to the media, only in the shape of criticism, etc. Special access to the minds of the public does not imply control. Not only does the public have some freedom in participating in the use of media messages, it may also not change its mind along the lines desired by the more powerful. Rejection, disbelief, criticism, or other forms of resistance or challenge may be involved and thus signal modes of counterpower. “In other words, influence defined as a form of mind control is hardly unproblematic, as is the power of the media and of the elite groups that try to access the public through the media” (Van Dijk, 1995: 13).

Social media have undoubtedly contributed to new and revitalised forms of civic engagement. However, the technological development of the media and communication also tends to nourish an uncritical celebration of new participatory possibilities and notions of increased political deliberation and engagement (Ekman, 2014: 79). The relationship between humans as individuals, and collectives could be summarised in the following:

All media are social, in the sense that they establish and maintain relations between and among humans as individuals and collectives, increasingly across space and time. No medium is more social than any other medium. But each medium is social in distinctive ways. So-called social media are distinguished by their potential for many-to-many communication, drawing on and feeding into networks of one-to-one and one-to-many communication, as well (Jensen, 2015: 1).

Jensen further claims that social media can be understood as a special vehicle of civil society, manifesting a third force in society, beyond state and market (Jensen, 2015: 2).

As suggested above, social media are a very important factor in civil endeavours to make the world a better place, although, at times, they are also a factor of civil destruction in a way. Social media plays a role in political discourse as well. In other words, social media provides a wider context for the interpretation of the referential (metonymic) meanings of *Brexit*, and its pragmatic effects.

2. 7. 3. Collective Newspapers vs. Social Networks

The central part in news reception is the way we get acquainted with the latest news, i.e. whether we receive it by means of reading collective dissertations or by means of social networks.

The concept of social network had long been used in the social sciences to represent the connection, relationships and links that exists people and others very close to them; particularly family and friends [3]. With the birth of new media and for that matter the internet, a new platform seems to have been formed with which the agenda of social networking is constantly delivered and that is the internet. It is for this reason that social media networking has been explained as the use of an internet platform to connecting a person to his social networks [3]. Today, there are several websites specially dedicated for the purpose of social networking and these websites continue to increase in number of users. The central question that needs to be answered however has to do with whether social media networking is all positive with no consequences (Alalawi and Al-Jenaibi, 2016: 2).

This chapter provides the differences between the two as well as how each of them affects the public opinion. What is a social network? “It is a popular way to model individual interaction within an organised group or community” (Pupazan, 2011: 63). People used to read the newspapers in a traditional way (every morning a delivery boy/girl throws newspapers on someone’s porch and then the newspapers are read during breakfast). Nowadays, however, it seems that such traditional newspaper consumption has been slowly replaced by social networks. Today, almost every online publication has its profile on social networks such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, etc. The difference between the two is the fact that when an article is read on social networks, below the article, there is a possibility for you to leave your comments, i.e. your opinion regarding the topic, which is not the case when you read

newspapers in a traditional way. In the latter case, once the newspaper is read, you have the opinion, but you can share it only with people you get in such talks with. With social networks that is not the case because once the comment is left below the article, it is accessible to everyone reading the article, and only a small amount of censorship is present in such cases. Of course, there are admins on such networks who are allowed to remove inappropriate comments and block their authors. However, it seems that today such an inappropriate content is available all the time on those networks, and that ultimately leads to other issues such as bullying, development of hatred, spreading paranoia, etc. Society has, indeed, become a global village due to those social networks as everyone can see you, what you do, what your opinions are regarding many things, etc. Notwithstanding, that does not mean that it is a better way to live our lives. *Au contraire*, such an open access to both our personal and professional aspects of life only make a contribution regarding what the society lately struggles with, i.e. the violence, rise of criminal activity, general dissatisfaction in society, etc. There is another issue with respect to social networks – the problem of authorship. In collective newspapers, there is always an author of the article, whereas on social networks, there are barely any limit as to what is being published and by whom. The problem of lacking the authorship in publishing via social networks becomes worse as some people create their false accounts without a picture so their identity is hidden. With those false accounts, those people still publish different things, leave comments, share their opinion, and in that way, contribute to generating public opinion. So, the problem of authorship strikes as the central issue between those two ways of delivering news.

Social networking can influence not only the political, cultural, and social phenomena, but also the businesses. Social networking provides clear advancements in communication and self-expression. Businesses use social networking to promote products, concepts and services. But if not understood and managed properly, social networking could cost the reputation of business and individuals (Pupazan, 2011: 63).

Since it can destroy one's business, it can nonetheless destroy the public opinion regarding variety of things, especially political issues such as *Brexit*.

Due to the fact that *Brexit* is the topic very present in the British media, it was not a shock to see people marching against Theresa May and her *Brexit* deal – the march took place several days prior to the date the UK was supposed to leave the EU, i.e. on the 29th March 2019. The protest in that sense is a *primary metaphor*, the term which was introduced by Grady (cf. 2. 4. 1., p. 44). The fact that people stand against May and her *Brexit* deal is an example of the

primary metaphor ACTION IS BODILY MOTION because it relates the domain of physical movement to the domain of action (Grady, 1997: 103).

Apart from the physical activism presented by means of a protest, there is also online activism and it creates public opinion, as well as public activity. The march however, did not result in the British having to say again what they think about whether the UK should leave or stay in the EU. Those who participated in the march were not so-called *Brexiteers*, rather, they were Remainers who wanted their voice to be heard once more.¹⁷

The importance of social networking is something we witness on a daily basis, as well as the public activity which is a direct result of activities conducted on social networks such as publishing controversial videos or statuses, leaving comments on the published status or shared link to a specific article, or just being a passive contributor of the public opinion (such that though, he or she publishes nothing, nor leaves comments, they are still influenced by what others write about something). Social media also afford a two-way interaction with an audience, beyond any specific recipient. This form of communication falls under the term many-to-many, in which messages are broadcast to a wider audience that can then engage in an exchange (Spier, 2011: 4). Social media is thus the bridge between the content of the news and acts undertaken by the collective. It can have a variety of advantages on one hand, but given the quite negative realia we witness daily, it has many disadvantages on the other hand. Anyone who thinks that social media has no influence on collective conduct is quite deceived.

2. 8. Political Discourse Analysis (PDA)

It is assumed that Political Discourse Analysis is a theory that explains the relationship between politics and language as its basic operating tool. The advocates of such theory include V. Dijk (1997), Berglund (2012), DeSouza (2018), Utku & Köroğlu (2020), Elmiger (2020), etc. Its rationale is best illustrated by what Schaffner (1996: 201) claims:

When we think of politics, we think of it mainly in terms of the struggle for power in order to secure specific ideas and interests and put them into practice. This process of manifesting a political will and transforming it into concrete social action is realised first of all between political parties. In this process, language plays an important role. In fact, any political action is prepared, accompanied, controlled and influenced by language.

¹⁷ *Brexit* referendum vote was held on 23 June 2016, and the majority of people voted for exit. 51,9% voted to leave the EU, and 48,1% voted to remain in the EU. (https://www.bbc.com/news/politics/eu_referendum/results)

One of the key strategies politicians often use is the exploitation of the *us* vs. *them* strategy.

“In the domain of political discourse, *us* is often used strategically to display involvement or the lack of it, to equivocate, i.e. intentionally imprecise language. In natural social interaction, *us* plays a key role in establishing group membership, i.e. its use by speakers expresses distance or solidarity with others [...]” (Biernacka, 2013: 211). “All these pronouns play a role in the discourse activity of negotiating positions and establishing identity” (Biernacka, 2013: 229).

One of the key strategies, apart from the *us* vs. *them* strategy, is the strategy of persuasion and manipulation, as well as abuse of power. More of the strategy in chapter 5. 8. (p. 199).

Within a more critical perspective, many analyses of social power, including those of media power, usually imply references to power abuse—that is, to various forms of the illegitimate or otherwise unacceptable exercise of power, given specific standards, norms, or values. For instance, manipulation as a form of media power enactment is usually evaluated in negative terms, because mediated information is biased or concealed in such a way that the knowledge and beliefs of the audience are changed in a direction that is not necessarily in its best interest. To distinguish legitimate or acceptable power from power abuse, I use the term dominance to refer to the latter. Dominance usually involves processes of reproduction that involve strategies aimed at the continued preferential access to social resources and the legitimation of such inequality (Van Dijk, 1995: 11).

Political discourse could not be objectively observed unless the audience is included in the analysis.

In the approaches I address here, the audience is conceived of as part of the discourse mechanism. This is in contrast with more conventional assumptions about mass communication which rely on the active sender–passive receiver “conduit” model, which is now contested. The position of the audience may be one of the more salient differentiating features of the various research paradigms (Cotter, 2001: 421).

The audience is also an important factor for the analysis conducted in the dissertation, as people vote for those politicians they like, or a party’s agenda. Political discourse is basically a two-way street, i.e. politicians doing politics cannot work without the audience that will eventually act upon what they are promised, and/ or what/whom they prefer.

2. 8. 1. The British Press

Newspapers should be neutral and objective in order to be a good newspaper. (Fowler (1991: 1) argues the following:

The journalist takes a different view. He or she collects facts, reports them objectively, and the newspaper presents them fairly and without bias, in language which is designed to be unambiguous, undistorting and agreeable to readers. This professional ethos is common to all the news media, Press, radio and television, and it is certainly what the journalist claims in any general statement on the matter.

Unfortunately, the language of many newspapers is not like that, i.e. it is often biased which means that in such way, the public's opinion is influenced a great deal.

Tabloid newspapers are merely the latest and most marketable permutation of the language of the people in periodical form. For many years however, regular periodical print publication was restricted to the wealthier classes and the poor had to make do with more ephemeral literature. Popular newspapers, of a particular sort, commercial and orientated as much towards advertisers as readers, became an established part of print culture in Britain only from the middle of the nineteenth century (Conboy, 2006: 1).

Three British tabloid newspapers will serve as a source of examples for the conducted analysis in the dissertation, viz. the *Sun*, *Daily Mail* and *Daily Mirror*. Prior to the analysis, the dissertation will first provide a historic overview of the tabloid newspapers in the UK.

The birthplace of tabloid newspapers was considered to be the U.S.A., although the pioneer in format and regularities was Britain. The *Daily Mirror* from 1903 was the first attempt to produce a regular popular newspaper in this format, targeting a female readership with a heavy emphasis on illustration. "In broader terms of connecting in its language to a popular reader and aiming at the lower end of the social spectrum, this was not however a precursor of the tabloid in anything other than size; neither was it a commercial success" (Conboy, 2006: 7). The *Sun*'s rapid rise saw it power past the *Daily Mirror* reaching a daily sale of over 1.5 million within four months of its relaunch. By 1978 it boasted a daily sale of over four million.

It appealed in a complex way to women (Holland, 1983) and presented itself as a fun product in tune with the liberated sexual mores of the period and the growing affluence of its consumerist orientated readers. Even when the *Sun* became increasingly associated with a right wing populism, particularly with Kelvin Mackenzie as editor, it maintained this populist momentum, following the hegemonic shifts of the Thatcher and then the Major years in its claims to represent the views and interests of the British working people (Conboy, 2006: 8).

When discussing the press, it is very important to underlie the relation between the press and politics for that matter. One cannot operate without the other.

“Moreover, as argued at the outset, politics and the media have always, to some degree, been interdependent: boundaries are blurred between entertainment and information, between private and public domains, between politicians and celebrities, between traditional media and new media and so forth” (Wodak, 2009a, c, 2010).

Like never before, people are networked together, communicating opinions and consuming information on a global basis, and at unprecedented speeds. In this way politics has become increasingly innovative, and a strategic understanding of the media and its effects is now an essential aspect of being a successful politician. This kind of political participation is, of course, dependent on affordable and easy access to the Internet and on computer literacy. Paradoxically, therefore, this form of ‘e-democracy’ is a mechanism both for increasing democratic participation and for reproducing forms of social inequality and exclusion (Wodak, 2012: 531).

Wodak speaks of interdependence of several factors in the process of public information, and they are politicians, people (voters), Internet access, democratic participation, computer literacy, social inequality, and public opinion. Examples of the phenomenon will be displayed later in the dissertation.

2. 8. 2. News: What Matters?

An important part of political discourse is the abundance of news that is relevant to a certain country. News is what the public opinion is based on, and that is why political discourse is so interesting to study – a large display of news, the way it is presented, by whom, whom they are addressed to, etc.

News is a representation of the world in language; because language is a semiotic code, it imposes a structure of values, social and economic in origin, on whatever is represented; and so inevitably news, like every discourse, constructively patterns that of which it speaks. News is a representation in this sense of construction; it is not a value-free reflection of 'facts' (Fowler, 1991: 4).

This chapter deals with basic features of news, and the criteria that need to be fulfilled for the news to achieve its desired goals. The news media select events for reporting according to a complex set of criteria of newsworthiness; so news is not simply that which happens, but that

which can be regarded and presented as newsworthiness (Fowler, 1991: 13). Van Dijk says that a lack of education may seriously limit news understanding. [...] powerlessness may involve limited (passive) access to mass-mediated discourse due to a failure to (fully) understand news texts themselves or the events such texts are about (1995: 13/14). He also speaks of so-called models which are for him, mental representations of an experience.

Thus, understanding a news report means that readers are able to construct a model in their minds of the events the news report is about. Such a model may also include their opinions about the event. Although such models represent readers subjective understanding of events, they embody particular instances of socially shared knowledge and opinions, about such things as riots, inner cities, poverty, blacks, or racism. Thus, the knowledge and attitudes of the social group of the reader will determine the models of what he or she reads in the newspaper.

The structure of those model can be changed by means of how information is displayed in the media. That will be obvious in the dissertation as metonymic meanings of the lexeme *Brexit* is how the structure of the model is changed, i.e. how the public is being manipulated.

2. 8. 3. Newspapers vs. Digital News

Lately, newspapers have been slowly replaced by click journalism, i.e. online newspapers or portals. Since we live in the 21st century and technology has (over)taken our life in almost every segment of it, it is not surprising that it affected the habit of reading as well. The habit remained the same, but the way people get informed drastically changed its course – people nowadays read everything on the Internet. The nice habit of throwing newspaper on people's porches before morning cup of coffee completely disappeared and it is now exclusively replaced by personal computers, tablets, cell phones, etc. What happened? How come has digital news become almost the only way of getting informed?

Online newspapers are a critical case of how actors situated within established media appropriate novel technical capabilities. Daily newspapers are a lucrative yet steadily declining business. At the end of the twentieth century, they exhibited profit margins higher than most industrial sectors and the largest share of advertising expenditures of all media. However, the indicators of progressive economic decline (among them losses in penetration of the print product and share of the advertising pie, and difficulties in attracting and retaining younger readers) have not gone unnoticed by decision makers. (Boczkowski, 2004: 3).

The author claims that online newspapers are actually a “newspaper of social and material novelties and technical innovations but put in broader contexts” (2004: 3).

There are few most important advantages from the readers’ perspective: “online newspapers are still mostly free of charge, often updated throughout the day, easily accessible for everyone with an Internet connection; and they can be visited while working at one’s PC” (Schoenbach et al., 2005: 246). The authors support the idea that “reading print newspapers contributes to awareness of more public events and issues than using online newspapers does” (2005: 253). Perhaps that is what the moguls of the online newspapers want to achieve ultimately – to cause readers’ smaller awareness on public events. The underlying motivation for such conduct is the desire to hide the truth, to make the truth prettier, deceive the reader in any possible way – the whole thing thus resulting in obvious manipulation.

Printed newspapers serve an important function for the public agenda: they widen the horizon of those whose range of interests is rather small. Newspaper effects research has often confirmed the aptitude of print newspapers to integrate marginal groups into a community (see earlier). In our study, online newspapers serve an information elite instead. Certainly, that may change once online newspapers become more widespread in society. So far, it appears that online and print newspapers shape the agenda of their audiences in different ways and are effective for different groups (Schoenbach, Waal and Lauf, 2005: 254).

The underlying difference between regular journalism and click journalism, i.e. between printed newspapers and online newspapers is the targeted audience they are aimed at. In other words, it seems that printed newspapers are aimed at the majority of people whereas online newspapers are aimed at kind of privileged ones as there are those who do not have the computer, let alone the Internet and cannot access online newspapers. As suggested above, it seems that the reason for the development of online newspapers is the drive to include the marginal group (the privileged ones) into the community, so their voice can be heard. That is why every published article in online newspapers has a possibility for people to make comments about the topic, i.e. to give their opinion. “While many people choose to ignore the comments, we believe there is much to learn from them about ourselves and the ways that people seek to exploit the value of our social selves” (Fielder and Catalano, 2017: 210). There is an interesting aspect of leaving comments after the article is being read, and that is the troll.¹⁸ Though trolls have a rather

¹⁸ “The word ‘troll’ does not originate from the mythical fairy tale creature but rather from the domain of fishing. It refers to “a type of angling in which a lure is dragged through the water to provoke a feeding frenzy amongst the fish” (Binns, 2012: 547). Hardacker (2010: 237) defines a troll as “someone who constructs the identity of sincerely wishing to be part of the group, while really aiming to cause disruption for their own amusement. This

negative connotation, it is a fact that they are most certainly a part of making public opinion. There are readers who read the comments, yet do not leave their own because they wish their identity to be hidden, or they are too lazy to create a false profile in order to participate in the discussion. Comments are a significant part of creating public opinion, as well as representation of people's minds to some extent.

2. 8. 4. Context as the Creator of Meaning

Linguistic context can be best explained in the words of Michael A. K. Halliday, the founder of Functional Linguistics, who claims:

But a language is not a system of linguistic acts; it is a system of meanings that defines (among other things) the potential for linguistic acts. The choice of a linguistic act — the speaker's adoption, assignment, and acceptance (or rejection) of speech roles — is constrained by the context, and the meaning of the choice is determined by the context (1975: 79).

In the analysis of metonymies found in British political discourse, the inextricable part of such analysis belongs to context which is the factor which undoubtedly modifies the meanings of words. More specifically, the meanings of the lexeme *Brexit* are changed in the light of who uses it, to whom it is addressed to and how it is received, i.e. in terms of the pragmatic effects metonymy can have. In this chapter the dissertation deals with how context is defined, what criteria are relevant and why it plays such a significant role in generating meanings of words. This is especially evident in political discourse which represents an abundance of hidden meanings, lies, making the truth prettier, etc. “To sum up, it can be claimed that context is the environment (circumstances or factors by some scholars) in which discourse occurs” (Song, 2010, 876). Context can be classified as follows:

- 1) *Linguistic context* expresses the relationship between the words, phrases, sentences and even paragraphs. Linguistic context can be explored from three aspects: deictic, co-text, and collocation. In a language event, the participants must know where they are in space and time, and these features relate directly to the deictic context, by which we refer to the deictic expressions like the time expressions now, then, etc., the spatial expressions here, there, etc., and the person expressions I, you, etc... The interpretations of the words which occur in discourse are constrained by, following Halliday, their co-text. Collocation is not simply a matter of association of ideas.
- 2) *Situational context* refers to the environment, time and place, etc. in which the discourse occurs, and also the relationship between the participants

definition can be broadened to also include people who seek to influence the forum negatively” (Fielder and Catalano, 2017: 211).

- 3) *Cultural context* refers to the culture, customs and background of epoch in language communities in which the speakers participate. Language is a social phenomenon, and it is closely tied up with the social structure and value system of society.

A discourse and its context are in close relationship: the discourse elaborates its context and the context helps interpret the meaning of utterances in the discourse. The knowledge of context is a premise of the analysis of a discourse (Song, 2010: 876 – 878).

Obviously, one cannot coexist without the other, i.e. one generates the other. It is now obvious why context is so important when it comes to any type of linguistic analysis, especially linguistic analysis of the main protagonists of the political discourse – politicians. The same author provides three roles a context may have:

- 1) *Eliminate ambiguity*

Song distinguishes between lexical and structural ambiguity. Lexical ambiguity is the ambiguity caused by words or phrases, whereas structural ambiguity is the one caused by grammatical interpretation of the sentence.

- 2) *Indicate referent*

To avoid repetition, we usually use such words like I, you, he, this, that, etc. to replace some noun phrases, or words like do, can, should, etc. to replace verb phrases, or then, there, etc. to replace adverbial phrase of time and place. Therefore, context is of great importance in understanding the referents of such words.

- 3) *Detect Conversational Implicature*

The term conversational implicature is used by Grice to account for what a speaker can imply, suggest, or mean, as distinct from what the speaker literally says and it is deduced on the basis of the conversational meaning of words together with the context, under the guidance of the Cooperative Principle and its four maxims, i.e., Quantity, Quality, Relation and Manner (2010: 877/878).

As previously said, a context is *conditio sine qua non* when it comes to any linguistic inquiry, i.e. any linguistic phenomenon requires knowing the context to be fully understood. Those phenomena can be analysed only when they include either linguistic or situational context. This is particularly apparent in political discourse which is the topic of the dissertation, where different political situations cause different contexts – all of that thus causing a variety of pragmatic effects on the public. The dissertation will illustrate how metonymic mappings of the lexeme *Brexit* used in different contexts cause different pragmatic effects: sometimes, the lexeme is used to mean *referendum*, sometimes *May's political incompetence*, sometimes *Johnson's political incompetence*, sometimes *the date of the exit from the EU*, sometimes is very vague and unclear what, etc., which will be demonstrated in the dissertation.

2. 9. Metonymic Mappings in Relation to Pragmatic Effects

Cognitive tools such as metaphor and metonymy have always been in the focus of interest of many linguists. Since a lot of research work has been done on the part of metaphor, and how it is used in political discourse and with what purposes, the topic of the dissertation is metonymy, i.e. metonymic mappings of the lexeme *Brexit*.

Metonymy serves as a tool for referring to something which means that, since metonymy is used for referring, it can be considered as a generator of meaning. This is especially vivid in political discourse as politicians use metonymies often and extensively for many reasons, but primarily because they want to achieve certain (personal) goals. To put it differently, politicians want to manipulate with their voters, and such extensive (ab)use of metonymy is an excellent way to do it. Moreover, Brdar (2007: 66) argues the following:

[...] metonymy can be used to construe perspective, both discourse perspective (its pragmatic effects) and grammatical perspective (grammatical effects). Let me provide some brief examples of what is meant by metonymically construing the pragmatic perspective. First of all, it has hardly ever been pointed out that one of the most important textual functions of metonymy is to enhance the cohesion and coherence of the utterance. This comes out as such an obvious fact when metonymic chains occurring in natural data in their context are carefully studied that it may even appear banal to state them.

It is claimed (*ibid*) that its referential function, providing a means of more or less indirect reference, is the springboard for its use in fine-tuning of background assumptions, effectively attenuating or attributing responsibility for some states of affairs, which often remains quite inconspicuous.

Barcelona (2012: 254) conducted a research on the functioning of metonymy in conceptualization, phonology, grammar and discourse-pragmatic inferencing. His survey provides evidence that metonymy is a conceptual mechanism (an inferential schema) operating under the lexicon (in phonological categorization and in the meaning and grammatical behaviour of certain morphemes), in the lexicon, and above the lexicon (motivating other grammatical phenomena, especially grammatical recategorization, and partially guiding discourse-pragmatic inferencing, especially indirect speech acts and implicatures). The reason for its multi-level operation is that metonymy is a fundamentally cognitive phenomenon.

It is claimed that there are two roles of metonymy in discourse and they include indirect speech acts and implicatures.

A BEFORE component for the whole scenario: The metonymy SPEAKER'S WISH THAT HEARER PERFORM AN ACTION FOR THE WHOLE DIRECTIVE SPEECH ACT motivates an indirect request: *I need your help. I would like you to send a message to my mom telling her I'll be away for two weeks.* An AFTER component for the whole scenario. The metonymy A FUTURE ACTION PERFORMED BY THE HEARER FOR THE WHOLE DIRECTIVE SPEECH ACT motivates an indirect request: *Oh, Rachel, don't you see, I can ask you to marry me now,* he said huskily. *You do care for me, dearest? You will say yes?*

The second example of metonymy in discourse is its guiding of implicatures. An example involving a parliamentary anecdote from the 1930's in Spain: - An opposition member of parliament (addressing the Prime Minister): *But what can we expect, after all, of a man who wears silk underpants?* - The prime Minister (rising calmly): *Oh, I would have never thought the Right's Honorable's wife could be so indiscreet!* (Barcelona, 2012: 264).

Some scholars bring metonymy in close relation to pragmatic effects certain language use can have on the speaker.

Every process of language change necessarily begins with an ad hoc innovation. Strictly speaking, however, the change is accomplished only when the innovation has been habitualised, i.e. adopted by other speakers and diffused in a given speech community. These conditions hold also for lexical change, including semantic change induced by an ad hoc trope (Koch, 2004: 15).

Barcelona (1997: 46) claims that the figurative reading in part depends on how much we want to "read into" the example.

Benczes (2005: 173) also investigated how meaning is affected by metaphor- and metonymy-based noun-noun compounds which are activated by means of metaphor and metonymy. She talks about endocentric and exocentric compounds, the example for the former being *apple tree*, whereas the example for the latter being *blue-stockings*¹⁹. In endocentric constructions, the compound is the hyponym of the head element, i.e. *apple tree* is a kind of tree. Exocentric compounds are "headless" constructions in which metaphor or metonymy are at work in the meaning of a compound (*ibid*, 174). The analysis of nominal constructions is an issue of degree which means that there are transparent expressions such as *apple tree*, and opaque cases such as *red tape* (*ibid* 195). There are plenty of examples of both endocentric and exocentric

¹⁹ The meaning of the construction is well-educated woman (Benczes, 2005: 174).

constructions in English, both of which are understood with the help of cognitive tools such as metaphor and metonymy. Needless to say, such constructions have different pragmatic effects on the hearer. The phenomenon of compounds will be exemplified and analysed in the dissertation on *Brexit*-based constructions (e.g. *Brexit deal*, *Brexit negotiation*, *Brexit date*, etc. being endocentric compounds and *Bregret*, *Bremoan*, etc. being exocentric compounds). The examples will be illustrative of the pragmatic effects such use of compounds has on the recipients of politicians' promises. In other words, it will be examined whether the meaning of *Brexit* is extended, and if so, to what extent and with what kind of pragmatic inferencing.

So, what distinguishes metonymy from other tropes is first and foremost the total reliance on the conceptual relation of contiguity. . The dissertation will demonstrate how metonymy serves to interpret politicians' utterances regarding *Brexit*.

2. 9. 1. Euphemism and Dysphemism in Political Discourse

Political discourse is a place where an abundance of linguistic phenomena can be found and many things can be analysed from various perspectives. One can analyse political speeches on a phonological, morphological, syntactical, semantic, pragmatic level and many others. Psychology, for instance, can study the body language of the politicians, i.e. non-verbal communication of the politicians and compare it to what is being actually verbalized. However, one must agree that the common denominator of all of the phenomena found in political discourse is the fact that politicians' only task is to manipulate the public in such a way that their personal power-hungry stomachs are fed, i.e. their ultimate desire is to be in power, be in charge of all decision-making processes and be adequately paid for it. Political discourse is a place where a lot of deception takes place – that is how metonymy comes in the (spot)light. Politicians use it to refer to different things, to hide the truth, to distort it, to make it prettier, etc. All of these things mean that politicians use a lot of euphemisms and dysphemisms to manipulate the voters. Obviously, metonymies serve different purposes, one of them is creation of euphemisms and dysphemisms, whose first and foremost purpose is to manipulate the voters. In this chapter we will see in what way euphemism creates the space for manipulation. Dysphemisms as a result of metonymy being operative on the example of *Brexit* were not found in the analysed dataset. The definition of euphemism is as follows: “The majority of definitions appeal to their main attribute – ability to substitute rude or foul lexis, which can cause negative emotions, such as fear, shame and disgust” (Harkova and Shigapova, 2014: 105).

Euphemisms are sweet-sounding, or at least inoffensive, alternatives for expressions that speakers or writers prefer not to use in executing a particular communicative intention on a given occasion". There are several roles euphemisms have:

- 1) "to shield and avoid offense
- 2) to mystify and to misrepresent
- 3) to talk up and to inflate
- 4) to reveal and to inspire
- 5) to show solidarity and to help define the group
- 6) to have fun and to entertain" (Burridge, 2012: 66 – 71).

As suggested above, an euphemism is actually verbal elopement we use when we do not want to confront certain situation, or whenever we are in a tricky position.

The aim of the dissertation is to illustrate metonymic (referential) meanings of the lexeme *Brexit*, as well as metonymy – based euphemisms on the example of the lexeme *Brexit*.

Political euphemism is defined as follows:

Political euphemism is created in political life and serves political purposes. Generally speaking, it is a tool for political participants to hide scandals, disguise the truth, guide public thoughts when discussing social issues or events. In spite of some common features political euphemism share with others, it has three typical features: greater degree of deviation from its signified, more vague meanings and strong characteristic of times. Its production reflects political leaders' motivation to hide the truth and shift public attention off it. By using such expression, they attempt to control people's learning about the world as well as information transmission. Therefore, when reading political discourse, we should be alert to some potential political purposes hidden in euphemism (Zhao and Dong, 2010: 118 – 120).

In the same way there is an euphemism, which serves as a verbal elopement from tricky or unpleasant situations, there is also its counterpart – a dysphemism which has the opposite function. Gradečak-Erdeljić and Milić (2011: 148) studied pragmatic effects of euphemisms and from what they discovered, it is obvious why they are so often used in the political discourse; they are used as a strategy to create confusion, vagueness, ambiguity, uncertainty, to manipulate the voters in one way or the other, etc.

The common traits of euphemisms and dysphemisms are their obvious reliance on a cognitively and pragmatically conditioned network of functioning roles, and their obvious directionality in pointing at certain features in the target domain via the source domain. This is done with the clear intention of creating the following pragmatic effects: the hiding of less favourable elements in the target concepts in euphemisms and clear exposition of these in dysphemisms. The nature of the euphemistic and dysphemistic taxonomic organization of concepts they designate is inevitably heterogenous, that is

heavily dependent on the social structure and cultural influences from different sources, and along historical lines.

It is claimed that metonymy is at a crossroads in terms of function and the effect it causes (Gradečak-Erdeljić and Milić, 2011: 162). The role of metonymy in formation of the euphemism and the effect it has, could be summarised in the following: Implicitness is a characteristic feature of euphemistic metonymy, which leads to complexity of renewal of associative connections between a taboo denotatum and a euphemism (Harkova and Shigapova, 2014: 111). Implicitness seems to be the crucial part of euphemisms in political discourse, and therefore one of the ways for misleading the voters. The examples later in the dissertation will support that claim.

The role of metonymy with respect to pragmatic effects, such as euphemisms can be exemplified in the following:

*There are no words to express the tremendous gratitude that I carry as the result of my donor's **selfless gift**.*

The gift metaphor is occasionally reinforced by a metonymy of the PART FOR WHOLE type in which an activity is singled out as indicating the patient's quality of life after the transplantation.

***A heart transplant is a miracle.** It took almost two years for the **miracle** to happen.*

Closer to the middle part of our continuum, when donors and/or transplantees talk about their experience in Internet forums, we find a range of conceptual metaphors, from TRANSPLANTED ORGAN IS A LIVING ORGANISM to TRANSPLANTATION IS A MIRACLE, to the standard TRANSPLANTED ORGAN IS A GIFT [...] (Brdar and Brdar-Szabó 2020: 321 – 322).

Brdar and Brdar-Szabó investigated the role metonymy plays on the pragmatic effects. They demonstrated that metonymies do in fact produce euphemisms in the medical discourse and in that way minimize the negative connotations the diseases can have on the patients.

Littlemore (2015: 22 - 24) investigated the same phenomenon, focusing on the PHYSICAL WHOLE FOR PART metonymy. Corpus-based examples of this type of metonymy include the following:

- a) *The university will change its mind next week. (BofE)*
- b) *The police turned up at about 5.30. (BofE)*

In these examples, the whole university is used as shorthand for members of the University Council or Governing Committee, and ‘the police’ refers to some members of the police force. These cases of metonymy are so subtle that some readers may question their status as metonymy, and see them simply as a literal use of language. However, their status as metonymies is supported by the fact that expressions such as these are not possible in all languages.

In contrast, PHYSICAL PART FOR WHOLE metonymy is rather rare and often involve bodily parts as in the examples:

a) *The hired hands are here.* (BofE)

b) *A simple count of heads in and out of Britain.* (BofE)

It is also suggested that it is a pragmatic feature of PART FOR WHOLE metonymies that when they are used to talk about people, they tend to have a strong depersonalising effect as they reduce the person to their most relevant attribute. The *hired hands* example above refers to the workers’ fitness for work and the *count of heads* example simply refers to whether or not they are here. Part for whole metonymies are prevalent in sexism and other forms of prejudice, as we can see in this woman’s testimony: *I couldn’t bear the way men regarded me as just a pair of legs.* (BofE).

Moritz (2018: 58) has also dealt with the phenomenon of metonymy and its pragmatic effects, namely euphemisms, especially WAR-related metonymies in the speeches of George W. Bush and Barack Obama.

America will help the Iraqis so they can protect their families and secure their free nation. (G.W. Bush) (CAUSE FOR EFFECT– PROTECTION FOR WAR).

(4) *We also know the service does not end with the person wearing the uniform.* (Barack Obama) (PART FOR WHOLE– UNIFORM FOR SOLDIERS).

Example (3) is an instance of mental contiguity within the metonymic process, since the vehicle (PROTECTION) and the target (WAR) do not exist nearby each other in physical reality. An example of physical contiguity is illustrated in (4), since uniform and soldier do coexist in physical reality.

Moritz (2018: 75) concludes that conceptual metonymy makes a perfect cognitive mechanism for the formation of euphemistic expressions.

The metonymic processes in this corpus divert attention from the relevant concepts such as WAR, ARMY and SOLDIERS and DEATH and DYING and highlight, push forward, elaborate on,

expand, or change perspective to their contextually, situationally or personally more appropriate aspects: LIBERTY, SECURITY, PROTECTION, WORK, FORCE, UNIFORM, SACRIFICE.

3 DATASET AND METHODOLOGY

As it was said in the introduction, the aim of the dissertation is to see what happens with the metonymic network of *Brexit* in the media discourse through time, as suggested by Littlemore (2015: 9): “...a key idea for cognitive linguists is that metonymy draws on the relationship that exists between the two items within a particular knowledge network“. The analysis in the dissertation was done based on the results retrieved from three British online newspapers (*The Guardian*, *BBC*, *Sky News*) and three British online tabloids (*Daily Mail*, *Daily Mirror*, *The Sun*). The dataset was collected and qualitatively as well as quantitatively analysed in the *Sketch Engine*²⁰ program. The time period covered in the analysis falls within a stretch of time from approximately the time when the UK was supposed to leave the EU (in March 2019) until around the period of time when the UK actually left the EU (January 2020).

The dissertation will examine whether the meaning of the lexeme *Brexit* changes over time and with respect to several external (extralinguistic) factors such as a changed situational context (the transition at the position of the PM, first Theresa May, then Boris Johnson), different political skills of both candidates, the fact that the public is getting tired of the whole situation, etc. The total number of words in the analysed dataset is **1.326.558** and is distributed as illustrated in **Table 1**.

PUBLICATION	TOTAL COUNT OF WORDS
<i>Daily Mirror</i>	216 322
<i>Daily Mail</i>	301 904
<i>The Guardian</i>	212 999
<i>Sky News</i>	133 533
<i>The Sun</i>	240 884

²⁰ The access to *Sketch Engine* is funded by the EU through the ELEXIS²⁰ infrastructure project between 2018 and 2022. The access is provided at no cost to the institutions and applies to non-commercial use only. Start date for using the program was on 1 April 2018 and end date is on 1 April 2022.

BBC	220 916
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Table 1. Distribution of words across dataset

The total number of the lexeme *Brexit* in the dataset was **12 012 times**, and it will be analysed with respect to the provided theoretical framework, primarily with respect to the taxonomy of metonymies provided by Radden and Kövecses (1999) and with possible pragmatic effects that those metonymic mappings may have which is in line with the suggestions provided in Gradečak-Erdeljić and Milić (2011), Brdar (2007), Benczes (2005), etc.

The results are normalised according to Hyland's methodology (2004) so that the total number of the lemma *Brexit* was calculated by means of dividing the total number of *Brexit* by the total number of words found in the dataset and multiplied by 1000.

$$12\,012 / 1\,326\,558 = 0,009055 \times 1000 = \underline{\underline{9,055}}$$

This means that the lemma *Brexit* accounted for every ninth word in the dataset, which is, one must agree, quite a big number.

The analysis relevant for the dissertation was done in the following few steps. Firstly, all the articles where *Brexit* is mentioned within the provided timeframe (that is their URL addresses) were copied into the *Sketch Engine*. Subsets for individual newspapers were created by copying all the articles from each individual online newspaper. For example, if the lemma *Brexit* was typed in the search box of *The Sun* subset, the following sets of hits were provided with several examples for each set:

- modifiers of “Brexit” (*a no deal Brexit, hard Brexit, a proper Brexit*, etc.)
- nouns modified by “Brexit” (*Brexit deal, the Brexit Party, Brexit talks, Brexit vote*, etc.)
- verbs with “Brexit” as object (*to deliver Brexit, to get Brexit done, to cancel Brexit*, etc.)
- verbs with “Brexit” as subject (*Brexit means Brexit, Brexit gives, Brexit has*, etc.)
- “Brexit” and/or (*deal or no Brexit, a soft Brexit and a second referendum*, etc.)
- Prepositional phrases (*of Brexit, for Brexit, on Brexit, after Brexit, Brexit with*, etc.)

Secondly, each subset was analysed by inserting the lemma *Brexit* in the search box of the *Sketch Engine* and only two sets of results were analysed, namely *nouns modified by „Brexit* „and „Brexit“and/or. It should be stressed, however, that some of the examples provided in the

dissertation contain not only politicians' talking, but also journalists', commentators' and other commentaries.²¹

Relying on the referential nature of metonymy indicated by nouns, metonymic meanings of *Brexit* were studied in different contexts in KWIC lines, as used by different actors. Thirdly, the head noun collocate in the collocation containing *Brexit* was to show whether there are changes with respect to the metonymic network based on the lexeme *Brexit*. For example, *Brexit deal* is the collocation that contains *Brexit* and its head noun part is *deal* which was subjected to the analysis to illustrate whether there are changes with respect to referential meaning of *Brexit* as a premodifier, that is, whether the meaning expands or shifts from that of 'deal' to some other head noun in a specific time frame and the situational context of its written contexts (co-texts) and pragmatic effects are studied and elaborated on. In such collocations *Brexit* premodifies nouns, and thus affects their meaning. Moreover, visualisations of the relationship the lemma *Brexit* has with other collocates taken from the *Sketch Engine* where the analysis was conducted will be illustrative of the network of collocates with *Brexit*. After this type of analysis, there are two case studies of the slogans used by two PMs in the British media which were analysed to reveal another perspective on what *Brexit* may stand for. The slogans in question are: *Brexit means Brexit* and *Get Brexit done*, used by Theresa May and Boris Johnson respectively.

The last part of the analysis includes a description of the phenomenon related to grammar – that is grammatical recategorization of parts of speech which also may be a result of metonymic mapping. The dissertation will illustrate how the recategorization takes place, and how it affects the voters as the end-users of such discourse.

Pragmatic effects of metonymy will be qualitatively explained with respect to euphemistic use of *Brexit* use, i.e. *Brexit* collocates.

4 RESULTS

²¹ This is also political discourse, according to van Dyke (1997: 13) who claims the following:

[...] politicians are not the only participants in the domain of politics. From the interactional point of view of discourse analysis, we therefore should also include the various recipients in political communicative events, such as the public, the people, citizens, the 'masses', and other groups or categories. That is, once we locate politics and its discourses in the public sphere, many more participants in political communication appear on the stage.

This chapter provides an insight into the results of the conducted research which will be demonstrated in table format(s). Prior to the table with results, there will be a section regarding political partiality of each of the analysed newspapers which is a necessary piece of information when analysing the possible meanings *Brexit* may have. Then the table will present an occurrence number of the lemma *Brexit* (expressed in percentages) and most frequently found nouns that collocate with it, i.e. *Brexit* collocations. Needless to say, the most important part of the chapter belongs to the table which illustrates what the metonymic (referential) meaning of the noun part of the *Brexit* collocation is. The data will also be presented for each of the analysed newspapers.

4. 1. Political Bias of British Newspapers and Tabloids

„Newspapers are now activists in the culture wars.” (Robert Peston)²²

It is a well-known fact that journalism should be the service that provides pieces of information regarding the actual situation of a certain country, or a world in an objective (impartial) way. Unfortunately, that is not often the case, and in every society, there are always newspapers that try not to hide their attachment to a certain political branch as opposed to the other. The reason may be the fact that newspapers are not independent as they should be. Rather, their owners are sometimes people who, like we all do, have their political worldview which is then reflected in the way articles are written, i.e. on the way the information is being packed and offered to the readers. In such a way, readers are somehow manipulated, as their opinion is influenced by the newspaper they read every day. Obviously, politicians are not the only ones who manipulate the voters by excessive use of metonymies, it is also up to the newspaper one reads every day. Those two factors combined are an effective way of generating public opinion. The situation in the UK is no different. Some newspapers lean slightly more to right wing, some to left wing, some lean to centre, whereas there are those who are thought to be neutral.

Here in the UK, most newspapers can be classed as left-wing or right-wing, which means that they will either back generally parties like Labour and the Liberal Democrats or the Conservatives. Left leaning newspapers such as *The Guardian* or *The Daily Mirror* are likely to report stories differently from right wing newspapers such as *The Telegraph* or *The Sun*.

²² <https://www.fightingfake.org.uk/media-bias> (Robert James Kenneth Peston is the UK's journalist.)

Some major newspapers are more guilty of political bias than others – it's been that way for decades and decades.²³

The *BBC* has a generally outstanding reputation around the world, but not so long ago their radio bosses got in trouble when they gave too much airtime to people who denied climate change was happening. The programme was actually trying to avoid looking like it was biased towards climate change campaigners, but they ended up going too far, and looking like they thought climate change was still a debate. This is often referred to as 'false bias' amongst journalists.²⁴

The Guardian is for instance, left-of-centre, progressive, generally pro-European, pro-welfare state, pro-civil rights, anti-monarchy, whereas *The Sun* is described by the following words: entertainment, "sensational headlines", some soft porn, sometimes right-wing, light on news and politics, some say xenophobic and sexist. The *Daily Mirror* is described using the following: "left-wing, down-market. [...] It remains the only national newspaper to support Labour consistently". The *Daily Mail* is best described in the following: Staunchly right-wing. Populist, rabidly conservative, anti-Europe, anti-immigration, anti-taxation, anti-abortion, anti-permissive, concocted moral outrages. British author, journalist, broadcaster and mental health campaigner Alastair Campbell said: "It's very hard to see how we can be happy as a nation when every day two million people buy the *Daily Mail*"²⁵.

When it comes to *Sky News*, a general conclusion cannot be made for sure.

Founded in 1989 by Rupert Murdoch, *Sky News* is a British news organization, which operates a TV network of the same name, a radio news service, and distributes news through online channels. Sky News has sister outlets around the world such as Australia, Arabia, and Ireland. Sky News has won numerous awards including in 2018, being named Royal Television Society News Channel of the Year, the eleventh time the channel had won the award. In general, news reporting is balanced and low biased, with op-ed's having a slight lean left. Under Rupert Murdoch, *Sky News* was frequently accused of having a right-wing bias, however, the left-leaning *New Statesman* does not agree, and concludes that *Sky News* is impartial.²⁶

²³ <https://schools.firstnews.co.uk/blog/fake-news/bias-in-the-press/> (Updated on 31st Oct 2019)

²⁴ <https://schools.firstnews.co.uk/blog/fake-news/bias-in-the-press/> (Updated on 31st Oct 2019).

²⁵ http://www.humantruth.info/uk_newspapers_comparison.html (Updated by Vexen Crabtree 2019).

²⁶ <https://mediabiasfactcheck.com/sky-news/> (Updated by D. Van Zandt on 2/05/2020)

The Guardian is the newspaper most associated with liberal middle-class Britain: the world of quinoa, sustainability and concerns about gentrification. It's best enjoyed with a flat white over brunch. Mockery aside, their investigative journalism is some of the best in the business, and the newspaper won with Pulitzer Prize for public-service reporting in 2014. Their popular style guide is written with a sense of humour.

Describing the *Daily Mail* is hard – it is the trusted newspaper of one-and-a-half million people, but it also publishes such predictably sensationalist headlines that someone created a tool to generate them automatically. It is concerned about things that cause cancer, house prices and immigration – and if there is a story that combines all three, so much the better. Its website, Mail Online, is the most visited English-language newspaper website in the world. Its 'Sidebar of Shame' – a section of the website that focuses mostly on the failings of celebrities – is one of the key draws for its 11 million daily visitors.

Britain's most-read newspaper, owned by the same group as the *Times*, the *Sun* is the newspaper to keep an eye on if you want to know the mainstream of British public opinion. The newspaper claims that its record of endorsing election winners is because of its influence (take its famous 1992 headline on the surprise election of John Major – "It's the Sun Wot Won It") but it's perhaps more likely down to a good instinct for the mood of the country on the part of its editors.²⁷

When it comes to the *BBC*, the opinion is based on age:

„People over the age of 50 believe BBC is dominated by liberals, while students think it is part of a right-wing establishment, the corporation's chairman has said “²⁸.

BBC is by far the most widely used source of news in the UK both online and offline, and it is one of the most highly trusted sources of news. It is also more widely used as a source of news than many of its peers among other public service media. According to BBC itself, it also reaches more than 400 million people globally with news every week. BBC is very widely used across the political spectrum. It is the most popular source of news among both Conservative and Labour voters, and among both Leave and Remain voters. Though BBC is slightly less trusted by people who identify with the political

²⁷ <https://www.oxford-royale.com/articles/a-guide-to-british-newspapers/#aId=7b82f5f5-cbbb-458a-8cf9-c917cc896d9c> (Updated 28 March 2016)

²⁸ <https://www.theweek.co.uk/100501/is-the-bbc-biased> (Updated 21 Oct 2020)

right than by people in the centre and on the left, it is still as trusted on the right as major conservative newspapers.²⁹

Left leaning newspapers such as *The Guardian* or *The Daily Mirror* are likely to report stories differently from right wing newspapers such as *The Telegraph* or *The Sun*.³⁰

The political bias of UK's newspapers are summarized in Figure 4.:

Left	Centre-Left	Centre	Centre-Right	Right
mirror.co.uk	theguardian.com	bbc.co.uk	telegraph.co.uk	dailymail.co.uk
newstatesman.com	buzzfeed.com	independent.co.uk	thetimes.co.uk	express.co.uk
thecanary.co	huffingtonpost.com	itv.com		thesun.co.uk
		ft.com		breitbart.com
		standard.co.uk		blogs.spectator.co.uk
		bloomberg.com		infowars.com
		metro.co.uk		
		economist.com		




Figure 4. Political bias of the British newspapers³¹ (<https://www.fightingfake.org.uk/media-bias>)

Sky News is not in the table, but it was said above that it belongs neither to left, nor to right wing; rather, it is considered to be impartial.

After the political stance of each newspaper relevant for the dissertation has been explained, the results of the conducted analysis are presented in the following tables.

<i>Brexit</i> noun	+	<i>Daily</i> <i>Mail</i>	<i>Daily</i> <i>Mirror</i>	<i>The Sun</i>	<i>The</i> <i>Guardian</i>	<i>BBC</i>	<i>Sky News</i>
<i>Brexit</i> deal		6,65 %	9,04 %	7,9 %	4,51 %	8,19 %	10,4 %

²⁹ <https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/risj-review/bbc-under-scrutiny-heres-what-research-tells-about-its-role-uk> (Updated by Prof. Rasmus Kleis Nielsen, Dr Anne Schulz, Dr Richard Fletcher on Friday 28 February 2020)

³⁰ <https://schools.firstnews.co.uk/blog/fake-news/bias-in-the-press/> (Updated on 31st Oct 2020)

³¹ *Note:* In the UK the left is represented by red, the right by blue.

<i>Brexit</i> negotiation	2,69 %	0,51 %	0,45 %	0,53 %	1,63 %	1,29 %
<i>Brexit</i> process	1,14 %	0,51 %	0,58 %	0,83 %	2,42 %	1,37 %
<i>Brexit</i> plan	2,04 %	2,07 %	0,40 %	0,53 %	1,03 %	1,06 %
<i>Brexit</i> agreement	0,46 %	0,14 %	0,13 %	0,47 %	1,03 %	0,76 %
<i>Brexit</i> delay	0,40 %	0,80 %	1,31 %	0,23 %	0,42 %	1,29 %
<i>Brexit</i> date	0,24 %	0,23 %	0,13 %	0,41 %	0,91 %	0,38 %
<i>Brexit</i> talk	1,86 %	0,51 %	0,99 %	0,77 %	0,84 %	0,61 %

Table 2. Distribution of most frequent *Brexit* + noun collocations across analysed British newspapers

Table 2 demonstrates that the distribution of the *Brexit* collocates is rather equal, with slight exceptions which may be ascribed to the word count of the particular subset and/or other factors. No deflection worth emphasizing is noted, A he political bias of the newspaper could, therefore, not be deduced from the results presented in Table 2.

Unclear occurrence of *Brexit* is pretty high which is suggestive that political discourse is very misleading, and that the public interest is always behind politicians' power-hungry appetites. The biggest number of unclear *Brexit* use is in the *Sky News* which is over 34%, whereas in all other newspapers the number is still over 10% which goes hand in hand with the above said - media discourse tends to be very manipulative. In general, it can be concluded that the numbers are more or less the same across all the newspapers, especially given the fact that some newspapers are more prone to the right wing, some to centre, some to left wing, and some are politically impartial, i.e. neutral. When the numbers regarding metonymic mappings are combined across all newspapers, it could be said that the research is objective to a great extent as there are two right-wing newspapers, two centre to left-wing newspapers as well as two politically neutral newspapers, and for example, in case of *Brexit deal* in all newspapers the number is around or slightly less than 10%. Regarding the collocation *Brexit delay* it should be pointed out that in some newspapers the collocation is used not as a means of delay *per se*, but Johnson's handling of *Brexit*, i.e. his political skills. The *Daily Mail*, although a right-wing newspaper, seems not to be that prone to Johnson regarding the delay - it is illustrative of his

political skills. In the *Daily Mirror*, however, the collocation is used to show Johnson as the one who broke his "do or die" pledge to leave the EU on 31st October 2020 - he is negatively presented which is not very shocking having in mind that the newspaper's political stand is centre to left. May's *Brexit deal* used in right inclined *The Sun* is illustrative of conservative dissatisfaction with May's handling of *Brexit*. In *The Sun*, the collocation used in context of Johnson means *The Sun* takes a neutral stand towards Johnson's premiership. May's and Johnson's *Brexit deal* is used in a rather neutral tone in *Sky News* - there are no preferences over either of the two politicians. However, a rather negative stand on both PMs is obvious in *The Guardian* regarding the delay - both politicians are presented as incompetent, May slightly more. In BBC however, Johnson's *Brexit delay* is used to illustrate him as arrogant, boastful politician.

In the following chapters there is a table with the results found in all the newspapers conducted in the analysis. The results are presented quantitatively and qualitatively, in that a number of most frequently used *Brexit* + noun collocations are enlisted in the first column of the table and the referential (metonymic) meanings of *Brexit* within those collocations are enlisted in the second column, respectively. Also, the total number of words per each newspaper is given, as well as the total number of the lexeme *Brexit* to illustrate how often it is used. Moreover, in those tables, there will be several *Brexit* uses where it is completely unclear from the context what *Brexit* refers to. Such vagueness of meaning leads to manipulation and creation of the public opinion.

Additionally, the results were presented in *Sketch Engine* visualisations, i.e. in the form of word clouds. The image is taken from the *Sketch Engine* software and it illustrates the network of collocates with *Brexit*. The section Discussion and Analysis presents the behaviour of the metonymic network of *Brexit* through time, that is, whether *Brexit* always entails the same referential concepts, or if it expands its network of meanings over time depending on a variety of situational contexts such as different Prime Ministers, the fact that people of the UK are tired of the whole *Brexit* thing, etc. Moreover, the language of the press has its purpose, it is some kind of a strategy.

The use of a range of language specific to a particular newspaper is an editorial strategy, among many others, which enables a readership to be targeted. The language of the popular tabloid press in Britain is as accurate a prediction of the assumed social class and income of its readership as the advertisements and news content (Conboy, 2006: 14).

Conboy (2006: 15) investigated the phenomenon of the tabloid papers and what differentiates them from other types of papers and concluded that an essential part of tabloid news values is the exaggerated foregrounding of sensation and 'human interest'. This concentration on sensation and human interest means that the tabloids tend to feature people at the extremes of human experience and behaviour. Regarding the bias of certain papers, Conboy (2006: 48) concludes that this bias is even more pronounced in the tabloids as they exaggerate the nationally specific, while in the main ignoring international news.

<i>Brexit</i> + noun	<i>Daily Mail</i>
<i>Brexit deal</i>	economic turmoil; disunity; retaining trade independence; Johnson's political ambition; May's political portrayal; ultimatum (for May); the question of the Irish backstop; political blackmailing; new customs arrangement (Johnson vs. May); mess; uncertainty for citizens and economy;
<i>Brexit negotiation</i>	desire for new approach; fear from <i>Brexit</i> ; delay of investment; increased inflation; tighter financial conditions; trading relations between the UK and the EU; lack of confidence (in May); difficulties; handling of the overseas territory; (May's and Johnson's) political skills; rights of people; financial divorce settlement; soft border with Ireland; date (29 March 2019); political turmoil; free movement across 310 mile frontier between NI and Ireland; citizens' anxiety; (under May) Tory unity;
<i>Brexit process</i>	new referendum; unclarity; Conservative leadership contest; acceptance or rejection of a deal; extension to Article 50 Withdrawal Agreement; extending transition period; outcome, i.e. exit from the EU; retaining the US investors; wooing the voters (manipulation - playing on the unity card);
<i>Brexit plan</i>	unknown; long-term uncertainty; the fight between May and MPs; May's ruin; May's manipulation by means of MPs accepting May's deal to win the election; mocking Johnson for his do or die <i>Brexit</i> deal; cause of resignations (David Davis and Johnson); May's defeat; new leadership contest; free trade deals with the UK after <i>Brexit</i> ; avoiding hard border; May's credibility; capitulation to the EU; dissatisfaction of the British (with May); May's loss of ministers; a mess; May's historic defeat; bribery;
<i>Brexit agreement</i>	fear from second referendum; the end of T. May; May's stubbornness; the date 29 March 2019; May's portrayal as a politician; May's resignation and Johnson becoming a PM; leaving the single market and staying in the EEA (Norway style);
<i>Brexit delay</i>	political mess amongst opposition; European Parliament election 23 May 2019; May's poor political skills; lack of Parliament majority for Johnson; increase of uncertainty;
<i>Brexit date</i>	29 March 2019; 31 October 2019; playing games to deceive the public;

<i>Brexit talk</i>	possibility for a united Ireland; the fall of house prices; unclear political situation; EU's mockery on the UK handling <i>Brexit</i> ; 4 fundamental freedoms (goods, service, capital, people) which are not negotiable; political plotting against May; Britain's refusal to be "isolationist" after <i>Brexit</i> ; May's plea for a delay; resolution of the border issue; second vote on the <i>Brexit</i> ; the rise of the Right; reopening of the Withdrawal Agreement; May under pressure to deliver <i>Brexit</i> ;
POLITICAL BIAS	right-wing

Table 3. Metonymic meaning of the nominal head of the collocation with *Brexit* in *The Daily Mail*

<i>Brexit + noun</i>	<i>Daily Mirror</i>
<i>Brexit deal</i>	May's continuous defeat; Johnson's portrayal as a good politician (he delivered <i>Brexit</i>); Labour's unclear vision of whether the UK should stay in the EU; blackmailing and battling with the opposition; confusing and misleading the voters; keeping the transition period until 31 December 2020; 39-billion-pound divorce bill; May's determination; avoiding death threats by supporting Johnson's deal;
<i>Brexit negotiation</i>	unfair economic treatment for the UK; portrayal of May's incompetence due to many resignations in her government; Conservative Party's alleged opinion on <i>Brexit</i> ; Johnson's try to divert attention on MPs as a means of hiding the truth about <i>Brexit</i> ; change and renewal (Johnson's words);
<i>Brexit process</i>	influence on holidays in the UK; difference of opinion amongst opposite parties regarding <i>Brexit</i> ; political fight for power; worry about the future of the UK; portrayal of May as incompetent; division of the country;
<i>Brexit plan</i>	political calculations; May's ignorance regarding post- <i>Brexit</i> situation; May's battered authority; Johnson's confidence in himself; two borders in NI; softer trading terms with the EU and stronger civil protection rights (by Labours); different competences of May and Johnson; expensive cost for the country (4.4. billion pounds); unhappiness amongst Tories under May because of the Irish backstop; May's defeat; damaging and dangerous consequences;
<i>Brexit agreement</i>	Johnson's success (as he managed to deliver <i>Brexit</i>)
<i>Brexit delay</i>	humiliation for Johnson; a possibility of a no-deal <i>Brexit</i> on 31 Oct 2019 (Halloween date); something scary, unknown; putting the deal into the law; political battle between the opposite parties; portrayal of Johnson's (in)competence; triggering the Benn Act, i.e. request for an extension to <i>Brexit</i> until 31 Jan 2020;
<i>Brexit date</i>	31 Oct 2019; political accusations amongst Tories and the Labour; portrayal of May's incompetence;

<i>Brexit talk</i>	uncertainty and country's division; Johnson's broken promises; playing filthy political games; deal which needs to be reached until 31 Oct 2019 (under Johnson);
POLITICAL BIAS	centre to left-wing

Table 4. Metonymic meaning of the nominal head of the collocation with *Brexit* in *The Daily Mirror*

<i>Brexit</i> + noun	<i>The Sun</i>
<i>Brexit deal</i>	persuasion; May's resignation as PM; uncertainty; political chaos; the fight between the Leavers and Remainers; economic turmoil; unresolved question of the Irish backstop; tensions amongst Conservative Party; ultimatum (for May); Johnson's political ambition; May's defeat; increase of the risk; Party's (Conservative) disunity; retaining trade independence; political blackmailing; new customs arrangement (Johnson vs. May); mess;
<i>Brexit negotiation</i>	torture; second referendum, election; loss of trust in May; May's political skills;
<i>Brexit process</i>	playing political games; May's loss of control regarding <i>Brexit</i> ; different viewpoints amongst <i>Brexiters</i> ; something endless; bad indices for leading politicians; political (opposite parties) war;
<i>Brexit plan</i>	something vague; May's poor political management; Conservative Party is a mess; May's plan refers to May's political death; playing political games by accusing each other;
<i>Brexit agreement</i>	blackmailing the public; playing filthy games; Johnson's political skills;
<i>Brexit delay</i>	date (22 May, 30 June, 31 October); May's personal and political character; means of hiding political war between opposite parties; May's incompetence; future relationship between the UK and the EU; ultimatum for Johnson and May;
<i>Brexit date</i>	29 March 2019; 31 Jan 2020;
<i>Brexit talk</i>	accusations; fear of spreading the coronavirus; difficulties for May; future relationship between the UK and the EU; 2 options: staying or leaving the customs union; means of hiding the real inner-party problems; disagreement between Tories and Labour;
POLITICAL BIAS	right-wing

Table 5. Metonymic meaning of the nominal head of the collocation with *Brexit* in *The Sun*

<i>Brexit</i> + noun	<i>The Guardian</i>
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<i>Brexit deal</i>	May's resignation because Commons approved May's deal; May's loss of control; May's defeat; split amongst Tories; May under pressure to ask for a delay until 30 June; resignation of ministers due to May's leadership incompetence; international concern about stability in the UK; political battle between May and possible successors; 2 borders for 4 years (under Johnson); restriction of immigration (under May); May being homophobic politician; the status of the Irish border after <i>Brexit</i> ; expression of patriotism and unity (under Johnson); betrayal of the NI (when the trade barrier was put along the Irish Sea); bad business conditions (under Johnson); uncertainty for investments (under Johnson); political battle between the opposite parties;
<i>Brexit negotiation</i>	chaos and disarray (under May); May's acknowledgment of defeat (illustrative of her integrity); May's humiliation; political accusations to divert attention; beginning and not the end of an era (under Johnson); the issue of Gibraltar; unclear situation;
<i>Brexit process</i>	political accusations; May's loss of control; May's shaky position as a PM; a promise almost impossible to achieve; something controversial; trade and free movements between the UK and the EU; difficulties; effects on trade, prosperity, etc.;
<i>Brexit plan</i>	May's defeat; May's confidence in receiving the support; disagreement within Tories and resignations (under May);
<i>Brexit agreement</i>	looser economic relations with the EU (under Johnson); uncertainty; 3 things intact (money, Irish border and citizens' rights) in case of leaving transition period without a deal;
<i>Brexit delay</i>	deception of public by means of political accusations; May's political calculations with the aim not to break the promise given to British people; May's humiliation;
<i>Brexit date</i>	May's failure and EU's control of the exit date; May's encountered difficulties for seeking extension; 29 March 2019, 12 April 2019; 22 May 2019; 31 Oct 2019, 31 Jan 2020; economic aspect of premiership (Johnson's divorce bill is cheaper than May's); uncertainty regarding 31 Jan 2020 exit;
<i>Brexit talk</i>	humiliations to domestic policy; putting personal interest in front of public interests; trade and economic relations with the EU after <i>Brexit</i> ; Irish border, citizens' rights and divorce bill (under Johnson); chaos;
POLITICAL BIAS	centre to left-wing

Table 6. Metonymic meaning of the nominal head of the collocation with *Brexit* in *The Guardian*

<i>Brexit + noun</i>	BBC
<i>Brexit deal</i>	future relationship with Europe; disagreement between opposite parties; public's tiredness; May's loss; blackmailing and battling with the opposition; confusing and misleading the voters; keeping the transition period until 31 December 2020;

Brexit negotiation	risk of disorderly <i>Brexit</i> (under May); lack of confidence in May's abilities; second referendum; renegotiating another deal; general election; cancelling <i>Brexit</i> ; May's political defeat; brighter future for the UK (after May's deal's accepted); May's self-portrayal as a UK's saviour; something unclear for everyone; the future after exit; Irish backstop as a means of avoiding hard border; reflection of May's character (persistent, goal-oriented); difference in approaches to <i>Brexit</i> (Johnson wanted to deliver <i>Brexit</i> at any cost; May had principles); bad conditions for Scotland (under Johnson); disruption and chaos amongst Conservatives;
Brexit process	government's leadership; resignation of ministers (under May); extension until 30 June 2019; May's political future; uncertainty; playing games by means of accusing each other to deceive the public; affecting housing market;
Brexit plan	another referendum; leaving without a deal; pursuing a closer economic arrangement; a plot against May (from Conservatives); inner-party dissatisfaction with May's leadership; unclarity regarding businesses in NI; disagreement between opposition;
Brexit agreement	May's resignation if her deal accepted; May's defeat; rows between Tory <i>Brexiters</i> ; trade relations between NI and Ireland and other countries;
Brexit delay	date 12 April 2019; political blackmailing (if there was a delay, May would receive a support from Commons); different political styles of EU countries regarding <i>Brexit</i> ; date 30 June 2019; Johnson's determination and strong leadership;
Brexit date	date of exit 29 March 2019; 30 June 2019; 12 April 2019; political conditioning of May; May's resignation (if her deal passed through Commons); affecting peoples' permanent residency;
Brexit talk	May's political skills; avoiding uncertainty; diverting attention with irrelevant things; Johnson's political skills; confusion and vagueness; May's political stand on <i>Brexit</i> ;
POLITICAL BIAS	neutral

Table 7. Metonymic meaning of the nominal head of the collocation with *Brexit* in the *BBC*

Brexit + noun	Sky News
Brexit deal	future relationship with Europe; disagreement between opposite parties; public's tiredness; May's loss; Johnson's hypocrisy regarding <i>Brexit</i> ; expression of patriotism; date 31 Jan 2020; Johnson's excellent political skills (he delivered <i>Brexit</i>); uncertainty (under May); delay until 12 April 2019; May's political defeat; disagreement amongst Tories; delay until 22 May 2019; fear of staying in customs union; unstable and insecure jobs, economy and people's livelihoods; the agreement is a part of the UK law; disagreement with NI regarding Irish backstop; Johnson's bragging as he delivered <i>Brexit</i> ;

<i>Brexit</i> negotiation	May's reputation as PM; Johnson's election promise; general lack of confidence in May; May's party management; May's loss of control; resignations of ministers in May's government;
<i>Brexit</i> process	no-deal is a possibility; working out unresolved issues and uncertainty; never-ending story; saga which British are sick and tired of; division and incompetent leadership; slowdown on housing market; May's promise regarding no border checks and protection of the island territory;
<i>Brexit</i> plan	May's poor leadership skills; criticism of May; no solution to deal with the impasse; Johnson's defeat in the Commons; different approaches to <i>Brexit</i> from opposite parties; revoking Article 50; second referendum; May's deal; May's deal plus customs union and single market access; a standard free trade agreement; no-deal <i>Brexit</i> ; Johnson's failure to leave the EU on 31 Oct 2019; dissatisfaction with May's handling of <i>Brexit</i> ; May's given support from Angela Merkel; disagreement in the Conservative Party;
<i>Brexit</i> agreement	rise of Nigel Farage; minorizing Theresa May for not reaching the agreement; political war amongst opposition; deception regarding full alignment between NI and the Republic; May's leadership skills expressed in numbers (95% of the deal settled); the risk of introducing backstop arrangements;
<i>Brexit</i> delay	no confidence in May; means of argument between MPs (as they wanted a delay) and Johnson (who told the EU he didn't want one); something that is better than no-deal <i>Brexit</i> ; May's promise to step down as PM; "Trump moment", i.e. something stupid; pressure on MPs from May on supporting her deal; the date 22 May 2019 (if approved by MPs) or 12 April 2019 (if rejected in a 3rd meaningful vote); no confidence in May's government;
<i>Brexit</i> date	extension till 30 June 2019; 12 April 2019; delay to 29 March 2019; flexibility over the real exit date with delays and extensions included;
<i>Brexit</i> talk	clarity (under May's premiership); UK's boundness to EU policy after <i>Brexit</i> ; trade is the focus of PM's questions; UK's refusal to apply the European Convention on Human Rights; mutual accusations between May and Corbyn; the issue of the Irish backstop;
POLITICAL BIAS	neutral

Table 8. Metonymic meaning of the nominal head of the collocation with *Brexit* in *Sky News*

The results regarding what *Brexit* may refer to in British political discourse are enlisted in the following chapters in a table format for each newspaper. Possible meanings are marked in bold and italics.

4. 2. Daily Mail

TOTAL NUMBER OF WORDS: 301 904	TOTAL NUMBER OF <i>Brexit</i> USE: 3,211 times as a noun + 14 times as an adjective - altogether: 3,225 times
MOST FREQUENT COLLOCATIONS WITH <i>Brexit</i>	<i>Brexit</i> refers to....
<i>Brexit deal</i> appears 217 times (6.7 %)	<i>future relationship with Europe</i> ; May's <i>Brexit</i> deal means <i>disagreement between the opposite parties</i> ; <i>public is tired of Brexit</i> ; <i>May's lost</i> (by 58 votes her deal was rejected); <i>Johnson's hypocrisy</i> (he voted Remain on 2016 referendum, but then was a great supporter of May's deal); <i>expressing patriotism on the basis of deal</i> - manipulation; it is used as a means of <i>opposite parties working together</i> (to reach <i>Brexit</i>); May's <i>Brexit</i> deal means that <i>the UK is stuck in EU's customs union</i> which is what Johnson is not approving - manipulation by means of "spitting" on the opposite view; <i>May's political skills</i> (persistent as her deal was three times rejected, hypocritical as she was a Remainer prior to becoming a PM, etc.); <i>an ultimatum for May</i> - to quit as PM when the deal is passed in Commons; <i>political chaos</i> ; <i>May's defeat</i> ; <i>May's try to win over Eurosceptic MPs</i> - also indicative of May's political skills; a fight between Leavers and Remainers (Leavers would rather accept no-deal than May's deal, whereas Remainers would do anything to prevent a no-deal); <i>the problems with the Irish backstop</i> ; it also means <i>desires of other political men in power such</i> as Trump (who wishes UK to import chlorinated chicken and GM food in <i>Brexit</i> deal); it also means <i>everyone is united in one</i> - May should step down as PM - illustrative of how no-one reached a goal - <i>Brexit</i> , but someone had to be scape goat - manipulating with the voters; it also means <i>new PM</i> after May, new successor;
<i>Brexit negotiation</i> appears 69 times (2.13%)	<i>a desire for new approach, new leadership, fear from outcome, settlement of overseas territory, delay of investment, increased inflation, tighter financial conditions, lack of confidence; trading relations after Brexit between the UK and the EU; difficulties the UK</i>

	<p><i>is encountering May's bad political skills</i> as she had difficulties within her own party and how it badly affected the course of negotiations; used in a context of "taking control" of negotiation - manipulating with the voters as it is unclear what the phrase "take control" entails; potential leaders of <i>Brexit</i> negotiations; <i>handling the issue of British overseas territory</i>, i.e. Gibraltar which depends on the future UK-EU relationship; <i>the preparation for a possible no-deal Brexit</i>; <i>the rights of EU citizens in the UK and UK citizens in one of 27 EU member states</i>; <i>the EU is satisfied with 3 things - financial divorce settlement, rights of EU people in the UK and soft border with Ireland</i>; May's handling of the negotiations means <i>the country is in a political turmoil</i>; Johnson's and May's <i>Brexit</i> negotiations are largely the same with respect to trade and travel arrangements; <i>complications regarding Northern Ireland and EU member Ireland</i>; <i>finding the way to maintain the free movement across the 310-mile frontier between Northern Ireland and the Irish Republic</i>; <i>May's portrayal as a bad politician</i> who is handling <i>Brexit</i> badly; <i>May being an accidental PM</i> who is doing the job nobody else wanted to; <i>resolving tensions on both sides - the UK and the EU</i>; <i>easing the anxiety for EU citizens living in the UK</i>; <i>uniting the Tory party</i> (under May's premiership); <i>a possibility of a no-deal Brexit scenario</i>; <i>fear that it would be even worse after Brexit</i>; <i>May's promise for stepping down as PM</i> when the negotiations enter the next phase;</p>
<p><i>Brexit process</i> appears 37 times (1,14%)</p>	<p><i>new referendum, unclarity, Conservative leadership contest, political games and accusations</i>, either "softer <i>Brexit</i>" or extending transition period (under Johnson's premiership), playing political games and somehow <i>diverting the attention from the process on the possibility of a new leading coalition consisted of Lib Democrats, Labour and SNP (Scottish National Party which wants independence) (led by Corbyn)</i>; <i>Parliament's control of the Brexit process if May fails to reach the deal until 22 Feb 2019</i>; <i>extension to Article 50 withdrawal process</i> (something May requested), <i>pathetic wooing to voters</i>, not losing the</p>

	US investors; <i>playing on the "unity" card</i> ("a more united nation" – by May)
<i>Brexit plan appears 66 times</i> (2,04%)	<i>"unknown"; long-term uncertainty; political war between May and MPs</i> (that's why they rejected her deal 3 times); <i>May's ruin; making fun of Johnson's "do or die" Brexit deal; resignations of David Davis (Brexit secretary) and Johnson (foreign secretary) and a leadership contest; assuring Irish people that there wouldn't be a hard border; May's questionable credibility; May's failure regarding Brexit; Cabinet sellout and capitulation to EU; illusion</i> (Donald Tusk said); <i>May's Brexit plan is the cause of D.Raab's resignation</i> (he was Brexit Secretary); <i>sport's determination</i> (that May's favourite cricketer player Geoffrey Boycott has); <i>May's forging of the "united nation" Johnson's accusing May of surrendering to Brussels - dissatisfaction with May's deal; May's loss of ministers</i> , i.e. their resignations; <i>installing Corbyn to 10 Downing Street if May's plan didn't get through the Parliament</i> ; (May's) <i>a mess; May's historic defeat</i> (432 to 202 votes); <i>bribery from May to DUP</i> (she gave 1 billion pounds to get support for Brexit);
<i>Brexit talk appears 60 times</i> (1,86%)	<i>a united Ireland is a possibility after Brexit; Brexit divorce talks mean the fall of house prices; unclear political situation and complications regarding negotiations; EU's mockery on the part of the UK and how the Brexit was being handled; four fundamental freedoms (capital, service, goods and people) are not negotiable; prioritising Brexit negotiations over Presidency of the Council</i> (scheduled for the second half of 2017); <i>plotting</i> (by Oliver Letwin and Dominic Grieve) <i>against May on leading Brexit negotiations; Johnson's love promise</i> to his girlfriend Carrie Symonds - getting <i>Brexit</i> done by Christmas; Johnson not being afraid of the forthcoming <i>Brexit</i> talks; <i>May's failure to secure a progress regarding Brexit negotiations; Britain's refusal to be "isolationist" after Brexit; details on future relationship between NI and the Irish republic after Brexit; deadlock</i> as British politics is in turmoil; May needs a minority government which would be formed from NI DUP and Eurosceptic members of her own party; <i>May is under pressure to reach the deal and deliver Brexit; opposite parties</i>

	<p><i>can't find common grounds regarding Brexit</i> - it results in voters being somehow deceived and their attention drawn towards mutual accusations instead of being drawn to <i>Brexit</i>; <i>May's plea for a delay</i>; <i>reopening of Withdrawal agreement</i>; Scottish accusation that May's B. deal wasn't something they would support as May made only cosmetic changes to it; <i>criticism on relation Trump-May</i> (he criticises her handling of <i>Brexit</i>, and she is criticising his retweeting far-right British anti-islam videos); <i>border issue to be resolved</i>; <i>pushing for a general election if the talks failed</i>; <i>second vote on Brexit</i> and, consequently the <i>rise of the Right</i>; <i>the row between May and Jean Claude Juncker</i>; (according to the poll) small amount of voters agree with how May was handling <i>Brexit</i>; <i>May's loss of credibility</i>; <i>no investing due to Brexit frustration</i></p>
<p><i>Brexit agreement</i> appears 15 times (0,46%)</p>	<p><i>not seeing eye to an eye with the opposition</i>; <i>fear from Corbyn forming a minority government which would allow the second referendum</i>; <i>the end of Theresa May</i>; <i>May's stubbornness</i> as she pushed the agreement (deal) so many times, even though the Parliament wouldn't support it; <i>leaving the bloc was due on 29 March, 2019</i>; a possibility of a Norway-style <i>Brexit</i> agreement which would mean staying in the EEA (European Economic Area) and leaving the single market; May's deal triple rejection tends to illustrate her as a politician; <i>May's resignation and Johnson's becoming the PM</i>;</p>
<p><i>Brexit delay</i> appears 13 times (0,40%)</p>	<p><i>a possibility for Corbyn to come to No 10</i> (Johnson warns) - manipulating the voters by "spitting" on the opposition European Parliament election on 23 May, 2019 and presenting <i>May's poor political skills</i> as her deal had been rejected 3 times; playing games to mislead the voters (first, MPs said they didn't want a no-deal scenario, but rejected May's deal 3 times, however, they are in favor of the delay); due to <i>Brexit</i> delay he requested as he was compelled to under the Benn Act, Johnson lacks majority in Parliament; <i>playing games</i> (Johnson and Macron tried to engineer a swift in order to prevent another delay); <i>raising uncertainty</i>;</p>

collocate in the dataset. As one should expect, the lemma *deal* is in the biggest word cloud, and the collocation *Brexit deal* indeed is found most often in the dataset. Subsequent nouns are *plan*, *talk*, *process*, *negotiation*, *vote*, *Secretary*, etc. When it comes to verbs which collocate with *Brexit*, *deliver* is in the biggest word cloud which is suggestive of the fact that *Brexit* is used mostly as some kind of a deliverable, hence *deliver* is the most significant amongst verbs. The other three verbs that are in a somewhat smaller word cloud are *get*, *do* and *mean* which could be accounted for by the two slogans that marked the whole *Brexit* thing and were used by two British Prime Ministers, Johnson and May, respectively. *Get* and *do* are a part of Johnson's slogan *Get Brexit done*, while *mean* is often found in the dataset as May repeatedly used her slogan *Brexit means Brexit*. It can be concluded that the abovementioned verbs are actually frequently used due to their belonging to tautologies used by Johnson and May which prove that metonymy is used for obtaining different pragmatic effects, one of them most certainly is manipulation, i.e. getting the votes. In both cases, it is completely unclear what *Brexit* refers to, which is why it is considered a fertile ground for manipulation. When it comes to other collocates, somewhat bigger word clouds are found with adjectives such as *hard*, *soft*, or with a premodifier *no-deal*. The latter has been mostly used by May who repeated many times that no-deal *Brexit* is better than a bad deal.

4. 3. *Daily Mirror*

TOTAL NUMBER WORDS: 216 322	OF	TOTAL NUMBER OF <i>Brexit</i> USE: 2,099 times as a noun + 8 times as an adjective; altogether 2,107 times;
MOST FREQUENT COLLOCATIONS WITH <i>Brexit</i>		<i>Brexit</i> REFERS TO...
<i>Brexit deal</i> appears 192 times (9.04 %)		May's soft <i>Brexit</i> deal vs. Labour' soft <i>Brexit</i> deal - Labour wanted <i>protection of workers' rights, alignment with the single market and being in a customs union with the EU</i> - also a way of manipulation as each party wants to illustrate their party's principles on the example of <i>Brexit</i> deal; Johnson's deal means <i>something rotten</i> (as Labour Corbyn

	<p>suggests) - manipulation; Johnson wanted his deal to pass before Halloween (also suggestive of the deal itself - <i>something unknown, scary...</i>); <i>May's continuous defeat</i> as her deal didn't pass the Commons three times; <i>Johnson's</i> deal was coded into the UK law - illustrative of his <i>competence as a politician</i> as he delivered <i>Brexit</i>; <i>not having a clear vision of whether the UK should leave or remain in the EU from Labour perspective</i>; <i>playing filthy political games, blackmailing the opposition with the aim to achieve party's agenda</i>; <i>accusations</i> and equalizing Johnson and Nigel Farage (leader of the <i>Brexit</i> party) - with the aim to mislead and confuse the voters; backing the Johnson's deal means avoiding the death threats (Labour MP was receiving them) - very manipulative way to get the support; Johnson's deal means <i>keeping the transition period until 31 Dec 2020 and a 39 billion pound divorce bill</i>; the difference between May's and Johnson's deal is in the Irish backstop which does not exist in Johnson's deal and that the checks would be when the goods reach Northern Ireland on the Island of Republic; May's <i>determination</i> - (<i>Brexit</i> deal will not be done at any cost.);</p>
<p><i>Brexit negotiation</i> appears 11 times (0,51 %)</p>	<p>having to pay money to Brussels without having to say anything about it - <i>unfair treatment for the UK</i>; <i>portrayal of May's political incompetence</i> as her ministers keep resigning; <i>playing political games</i> by accusing government of "scribblings" in which is allegedly government's opinion on <i>Brexit</i> negotiations, and that was something government rejected (manipulation with the aim to hide the real truth from the public); <i>diverting attention from the whole Brexit thing to Johnson's accusations of the Parliament who was trying to sabotage negotiations</i>; <i>a change and renewal</i> (it's a part from Johnson's speech on 31 Jan 2020) – (typical manipulation and self-representation to get the votes);</p>
<p><i>Brexit process</i> appears 11 times (0,51 %)</p>	<p><i>playing on emotion card</i> (playing on the card of family holidays which would be affected after <i>Brexit</i>); difference of opinion amongst opposite parties regarding what <i>Brexit</i> should entail - also manipulation; <i>political fight for power</i> (who would come as a new Tory leader and a</p>

	PM when May stepped down and who would be in charge of <i>Brexit</i>); <i>political portrayal of May</i> which is not good; <i>worry about the future of the UK</i> ; <i>division of the country (UK)</i> ;
<i>Brexit plan</i> appears 44 times (2,07 %)	<i>political calculations</i> (political decision making process based on personal interests with the aim to manipulate the voters); different political game played by Johnson and May with the aim to get the votes and/or show different political skills as PM; <i>May's ignorance regarding what Brexit would mean for jobs, wages, trade, migration, policing and security</i> - May's political portrayal; May's plan included 3 options: option 1) March 12 - vote on May's deal (if it accepted, the UK leaves the EU on 29 March), if it was rejected, option 2) March 13 - vote on no deal <i>Brexit</i> , which if rejected, option 3) March 14 - vote on delaying <i>Brexit</i> - all options illustrative of <i>May's personal and political character</i> ; May's plan means <i>May's battered authority</i> , i.e. her political defeat; Johnson's optimism regarding his premiership as he delivered <i>Brexit</i> ; <i>two borders in Northern Ireland (Johnson's Brexit plan)</i> ; Labour's <i>Brexit</i> plan means <i>customs union with the EU, close alignment to Single Market, Dynamic alignment on rights and protections</i> ; <i>Commitments on participation in EU agencies and funding programmes, including in areas such as the environment, education, and industrial regulation</i> ; Johnson's <i>Brexit</i> plan means <i>rushing legislation through the Commons so the UK can leave the EU before Halloween which worried MPs</i> - trying to reach certain goal with the aim to come off as a much better PM than the previous one; expensive cost for the country (4.4. billion pounds); Johnson trying to get support for his plan from Labour - manipulation of the voters with the aim to show they all work together for the purpose of one goal - <i>Brexit</i> ; May's plan means <i>unhappiness amongst Tories</i> because of the Irish backstop; <i>May's defeat</i> as she lost by 58 votes (her plan suffers 3 defeats); <i>damaging and dangerous consequences</i> ;
<i>Brexit talk</i> appears 11 times (0,51 %)	<i>uncertainty and country's division</i> ; <i>Johnson's broken promises</i> (such as extended <i>Brexit</i> talks); reaching the deal before 31 October 2019; <i>playing filthy political games</i> ;

<i>Brexit agreement</i> appears 3 times (0,14 %)	<i>Johnson's success</i> as he managed to get <i>Brexit</i> done on Jan 31, 2020;
<i>Brexit delay</i> appears 17 times (0,80 %)	<i>humiliation for Johnson</i> as he had to seek for three-month extension to deliver <i>Brexit</i> (he had to send extension letter for which he had said he would rather die in a ditch than send; Johnson's delay means a possibility of a no-deal <i>Brexit</i> ; <i>putting the Brexit deal into the law</i> ; <i>fight between the opposite parties</i> - difference of opinion as a means of misrepresenting the opposite leader; approval for Johnson's deal was upheld "unless and until" every part of it passed into UK law - also <i>portrayal of Johnson's political (in)competence</i> ; triggering Benn Act which would mean PM (Johnson) would have to request for extension to <i>Brexit</i> until 31 January 2020; Johnson had to seek for a three-month extension in order to avoid no-deal <i>Brexit</i> on October 31 (Halloween date - also may be significant as <i>something scary, unknown, uncertain</i>);
<i>Brexit date</i> appears 5 times (0,23 %)	<i>October 31, 2019</i> ; <i>accusations</i> with the aim to manipulate the voters by trying to form their opinion (coming from Tony Blair regarding how Tories and Labour deal with the <i>Brexit</i> process); <i>a lot of pressure being put on Theresa May for not reaching 29 March 2019 Brexit date</i> with the aim to depict her political incompetence;
<i>Not clear what Brexit refers to</i> appears 627 times (29 %)	it's very unclear what " <i>Brexit</i> means <i>Brexit</i> " slogan actually means; also a Johnson's slogan "Get <i>Brexit</i> done" is very unclear (does it just mean exit from the EU, or exit on some terms, and which they are - that's very vague);

Table 10. Metonymic mappings of *Brexit* in *Daily Mail* (taken from *Sketch Engine*)

4. 4. *The Sun*

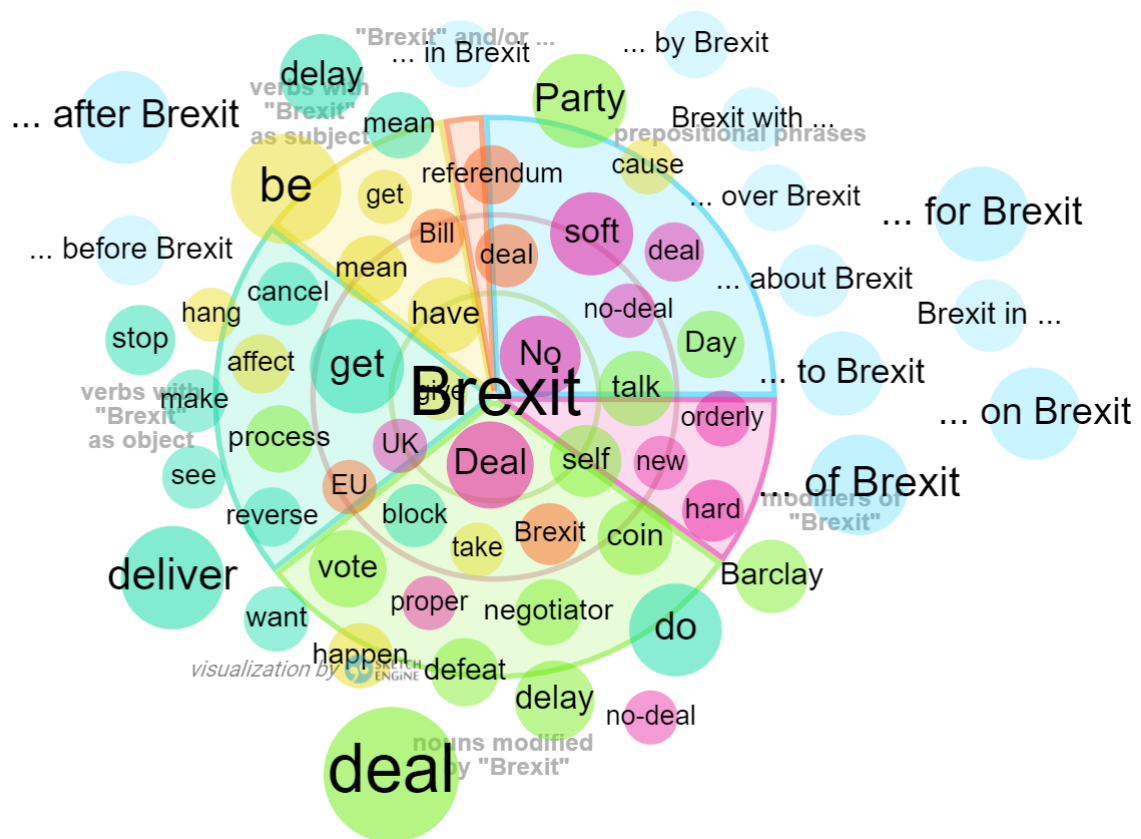
TOTAL NUMBER OF WORDS: 240 844	TOTAL NUMBER OF <i>Brexit</i> USE: 2,040 times as a noun + 8 times as an adjective - altogether: 2,048 times
MOST FREQUENT COLLOCATIONS WITH <i>Brexit</i>	<i>Brexit</i> REFERS TO...
<i>Brexit deal</i> appears 176 times (7,9 %)	it is used by <i>May to persuade MPs</i> by means of playing on their patriotic feelings (<i>It is time to come together, to back the improved Brexit deal...</i>); it is used as a <i>means of opposite parties working together (to reach Brexit)</i> ; May's <i>Brexit deal</i> means that <i>the UK is stuck in EU's customs union</i> which is what Johnson is not approving - manipulation by means of "spitting" on the opposite view; <i>May's political skills</i> (persistent as her deal was three times rejected, hypocritical as she was a Remainer prior to becoming a PM, etc.); an <i>ultimatum for May</i> - to quit as PM when the deal is passed in Commons; <i>political chaos</i> ; <i>May's defeat</i> ; <i>May's try to win over Eurosceptic MPs</i> - also indicative of May's political skills; <i>a fight between Leavers and Remainers</i> (Leavers would rather accept no-deal than May's deal, whereas Remainers would do anything to prevent a no-deal); <i>the problems with the Irish backstop</i> ; it also means <i>desires of other political men in power such as Trump</i> (who wishes UK to import chlorinated chicken and GM food in <i>Brexit deal</i>); it also means <i>everyone is united in one</i> - May should step down as PM - illustrative of how no-one reached a goal - <i>Brexit</i> , but someone had to be scape goat - manipulating with the voters; it also means <i>new PM after May</i> , new successor; <i>uncertainty</i> ; <i>economic turmoil</i> and <i>affecting pound</i> ; <i>conservative tensions</i> (who would succeed May, who would get <i>Brexit</i> done, etc.); Johnson uses the phrase in a rather pathetic way, as a part of Christmas present (<i>All I want for Christmas is Brexit.</i>) - also manipulative as he wanted to " <i>play on holiday card</i> " as well as to reach

	<p>the goal - getting <i>Brexit</i>; "secret document" Corbyn used to depict Johnson's real stand on the Irish backstop - typical <i>political battle between opposite parties</i>; <i>mess</i>; <i>playing political games</i> with the aim to strike as doing the right job - manipulation; a means of affecting the pound and holidays in Britain; <i>ultimatum for May</i>: if she made a soft <i>Brexit</i> deal with Labour, her leadership is in question - also manipulation; Party disunity; Johnson's deal tougher than May's - illustrative of political skills of both politicians; Johnson's deal means putting customs border down the Irish Sea to avoid hard border with Ireland; <i>Johnson is ambitious and "unrealistic"</i>; a choice between 2 not as good options - accepting May's deal or a weaker negotiating position with the EU; May's deal means affecting the pound (it strengthened against dollar by 1.32); increasing risks; Johnson would lose the hopes of Tory leadership after he had said he would support May's deal - <i>playing filthy games</i>, manipulating; Johnson's deal means something finished, i.e. the exit to be finalised; Johnson's deal (as opposed to May's) means <i>new customs arrangement</i>; May's deal means <i>retaining trade independence</i>; Tory breakdown if May did a deal with Corbyn - manipulation and <i>blackmailing</i>; May's deal with Corbyn means Tory leadership collapse - <i>political reputation of May</i>; May's deal means <i>not delivering (Br)exit</i>; <i>May's resignation as PM</i> (due to 4 attempts to pass her deal);</p>
<p><i>Brexit negotiation</i> appears 10 times (0,45 %)</p>	<p><i>torture for everyone</i>; it would result in <i>a second referendum</i> or <i>election</i>; <i>winning or losing in a battle with the EU</i> - leaders say Britain can win it - it is also manipulative, the goal is to persuade the voters into their own thinking; <i>loss of trust in May</i> and how she handled the whole thing; the need for May to step down - <i>May's bad political skills</i>;</p>
<p><i>Brexit process</i> appears 13 times (0,58 %)</p>	<p><i>playing political games</i> (May's government ordered Conservative MPs to vote against unregulated exit); May's loss of control of the whole <i>Brexit</i> thing - illustrative of <i>May's bad political management</i>; <i>the opposite viewpoint on Brexit amongst Brexiteers</i>; <i>Brexit affecting civil servants who are for Remain option</i> (90% of them - the figure does not go in line with 52% of people who voted for <i>Brexit</i>) - the data serves as</p>

	a means of manipulation to get the votes; manipulation of voters by <i>spitting on the opposition and calling names and accusing them</i> (Jacob Rees-Mogg accusing J. Corbyn of being a Remainer and thus he is against Corbyn being involved in <i>Brexit</i> process); <i>something endless</i> ;
<i>Brexit plan</i> appears 9 times (0,40 %)	<i>something vague</i> ; <i>no confidence motion for May</i> - illustrative of her poor political management; May's <i>Brexit</i> plan means the <i>Conservative Party is a mess</i> ; May's <i>Brexit</i> plan means <i>May's political death</i> ; <i>playing political games</i> (May's plan vs. Johnson's) with the aim to manipulate the voters;
<i>Brexit talk</i> appears 22 times (0,99 %)	<i>the date when Britain can leave the Irish backstop</i> ; <i>the row between May and MPs</i> ; <i>Brexit</i> talks means <i>fear of spreading coronavirus</i> ; <i>accusations amongst opposite parties - the Tories and Labour</i> (Labour accuses the Tories that they should soften red lines on leaving EU's customs union); <i>May's encounter with difficulties to solve Brexit issue</i> ; <i>Britain's future relationship with the EU</i> ; either staying in customs union or leaving it because of the size of British economy - also manipulative, it affects people's patriotic feelings; the phrase used to hide the real inner-party problems (the problem of who the new Tory leader would be after 23 May election); <i>the disagreement between the Labour and Tories regarding Brexit</i> (cross-party <i>Brexit</i> talks); <i>Brexit</i> talks under Johnson means <i>friendly relationship between the UK and the EU after Brexit</i> ;
<i>Brexit agreement</i> appears 3 times (0,13 %)	<i>a possibility for May to find solution with Corbyn</i> (opposition) regarding <i>Brexit</i> - it is a typical manipulation of voters (both sides pretending to agree on the <i>Brexit</i> to get the votes, to hide personal political incompetence, etc); <i>blackmailing the public</i> (May would resign as PM if MPs approved her deal); <i>playing filthy games and putting Johnson under pressure</i> to ask Brussels for third <i>Brexit</i> extension (which made the Leave voters furious) - also, typical political games with the aim to misrepresent Johnson or illustrate his political skills;
<i>Brexit delay</i> appears 29 times (1,31 %)	<i>date May 22</i> ; May's begging EU leaders for a new delay means she is persistent to achieve her goals - illustrative of <i>May's personal and</i>

	<p><i>public (political) character</i>; it also means <i>date 30 June</i>; May's <i>Brexit</i> delay means <i>a possibility for Corbyn to enter No 10</i> - used to divert the attention from <i>Brexit</i> onto the ordinary political war amongst the opposite parties; <i>a year of agony</i> - indicative of May's political skills; <i>disagreement between May and MPs</i> - May illustrated as incompetent; <i>ultimatum for May</i> - the delay would be a possibility if Commons passed her deal until the following week; <i>fallout amongst EU leaders over Brexit delay</i>; <i>future relationship between the UK and the EU</i>; <i>new date - 31 October</i>; <i>protesting of angry voters</i> who ripped up their ballot papers; <i>Johnson has an ultimatum</i> from Labour to seal a trade deal by June 2019 or the delay would be pushed for 2 years;</p>
<p><i>Brexit date</i> appears 3 times (0,13 %)</p>	<p><i>exit date on 29 March 2019 or no deal</i> - manipulation; 31 Jan 2020 - actual exit from the EU - it refers to <i>Johnson's political skills as he made the country exit the EU</i>;</p>
<p><i>Not clear what Brexit refers to</i> appears 236 times (10,70 %)</p>	<p>The same as in the previous tables, it mostly refers to May's and Boo's slogans.</p>

Table 11. Metonymic mappings of *Brexit* in *The Sun*



determined. With respect to prepositional phrases, the preposition *No* is in the biggest word cloud, which means that the collocation *No Brexit* is most often found in the *Sun* dataset.

4. 5. *The Guardian*

TOTAL NUMBER OF WORDS: 212 999	TOTAL NUMBER OF <i>Brexit</i> USE: 1,671 times and 11 times as an adjective; altogether 1,682 times
MOST FREQUENT COLLOCATIONS WITH <i>Brexit</i>	<i>Brexit</i> REFERS TO...
<i>Brexit deal</i> appears 76 times (4,51 %)	<i>May's resignation for Commons' approval of her deal</i> - political conditioning with the aim to manipulate the voters so that they can regard May as someone who keeps the best interests for the UK; May's loss of control - <i>her leadership skills</i> ; <i>May's defeat</i> as her deal was rejected three times; <i>split amongst Tories</i> because of May's deal; <i>pressure being put on May</i> to ask for a delay until 30 June; <i>resignation of ministers as a sign of May's leadership incompetence</i> ; May's deal means <i>international concern about stability in the UK</i> ; <i>political battle amongst May and those who would succeed her</i> ; Johnson's deal means <i>2 borders for 4 years</i> ; May's deal means <i>restriction of immigration</i> - May presented as homophobic politician; May's deal means <i>the status of Irish border after Brexit</i> ; Johnson's deal means his try to manipulate the voters by claiming that his deal and <i>Brexit per se</i> would <i>reunite the country</i> ; Johnson's deal means <i>his betrayal of the NI when the trade barrier was put along the Irish Sea</i> ; Johnson's <i>Brexit deal</i> means <i>bad business conditions for NI</i> - there is a threat for NI to be separated from the UK's internal market; Johnson's deal means <i>Johnson's incompetent advisors</i> ; Labour opposed Johnson's deal - typical political battle between opposite parties with the aim to get the votes; Johnson's deal means <i>uncertainty for investments</i> ;

<i>Brexit negotiation</i> appears 9 times (0,53 %)	<i>chaos and disarray</i> (led by May); May's negotiations means there was <i>a need for a new political approach</i> and she wouldn't stand in the way of that - <i>May's acknowledgment of defeat which is illustrative of her integrity</i> ; <i>May's humiliation</i> ; it is a means of <i>political accusations</i> with the aim to divert attention from the real problems to typical political battle amongst opposite parties; <i>Brexit</i> negotiations under Johnson means his deception and/or manipulation of the voters (he said that <i>Brexit</i> is not an end, it is the beginning.); <i>problem of the Gibraltar issue</i> because of trade as Gibraltar is UK's overseas territory - <i>chaos</i> and <i>unclear situation</i> ;
<i>Brexit process</i> appears 14 times (0,83 %)	<i>political accusations</i> ; <i>May's loss of control</i> ; <i>May's shaky position as a PM</i> ; <i>a promise almost impossible to achieve</i> ; <i>something controversial</i> ; <i>EU's door still opened for the UK</i> - typical manipulation (the EU wanted to come off friendly, where actually they need the UK because of trade and free movements); <i>effects on trade, prosperity</i> , etc.; <i>difficulties</i> ;
<i>Brexit plan</i> appears 9 times (0,53 %)	<i>May's defeat</i> ; May's B. plan means <i>May's confidence that the voters would support her</i> ; <i>disagreement within Tories and resignations because of May's plan</i> ;
<i>Brexit talk</i> appears 13 times (0,77 %)	<i>humiliations to domestic policy</i> ; <i>manipulation</i> as No 10 said they wanted the deal in which there would be shared history, interests and values as well as friendly cooperation - the aim is to come off as the ones who really put public interest at first place, but in reality they are all just power-hungry politicians; <i>trade and economic relationship with the EU after Brexit</i> ; Johnson's <i>Brexit talks include 3 areas: the Irish border, EU citizens rights and divorce bill</i> ; <i>chaos (the talks led by Johnson)</i> ;
<i>Brexit agreement</i> appears 8 times (0,47%)	the phrase has a very similar meaning as <i>Brexit deal</i> ; Johnson's agreement is somewhat less strict and much looser in terms of economic relations with the EU - it may be suggestive that <i>May is more patriotic, more for the UK's interest, and Johnson is more like a typical power-hungry politician</i> ; <i>uncertainty</i> especially regarding transition period which ended at the end of Jan 2020; leaving the transition period

	without a deal means that 3 things remain intact: money, the Irish border and citizens' rights ;
<i>Brexit delay</i> appears 4 times (0,23 %)	political accusations with the aim to deceive the public; May's political calculations with the goal to deliver <i>Brexit</i> as promised and remain the PM; it is a means of May's humiliation as she had to request delay from the EU to get her deal passed in the Commons; Johnson used it to spit at May's leadership skills and to emphasize his slogan once again: get Brexit done -manipulation and typical political battle with the aim to deceive the public;
<i>Brexit date</i> appears 7 times (0,41%)	May's failure and EU's control of the date of exit; extension and difficulties May encountered by asking for extension; 29 March 2019, 12 April 2019, 22 May 2019, 31 October 2019, end of January 2020 ; when the date was 31 Oct, the bill was 32.8 bn pounds instead of previous 39 bn pounds - it reflects that Johnson was more successful as a PM handling Brexit than May; uncertainty regarding 31 Jan 2020 date ;
<i>Not clear what Brexit refers to</i> appears 298 times (17.7%)	The same as in the previous tables, it mostly refers to May's and Boo's slogans.

Table 12. Metonymic mappings of *Brexit* in *The Guardian*

	<p><i>defeat</i> as her deal was 3 times rejected; <i>May's deal is dead, her premiership as well</i>; May's resignation if her deal is approved - <i>political conditioning</i>; May's promises that delivering <i>Brexit</i> will mean <i>UK having a brighter future</i> - typical manipulation, she wanted to come off as a UK's saviour; May's deal means <i>something unclear for everyone in the UK and the future after the exit</i>; <i>playing games to get the votes</i> (May tried to reach a deal with Labour) - it shows how May was desperate to reach her goal; Johnson's deal means <i>showing Johnson's political dirty laundry</i> - political portrayal with the aim to lose votes - manipulation; Johnson's deal means <i>spitting on Labour policy</i> -also manipulation; May's deal means <i>the status of Irish backstop</i> which is the insurance policy for avoiding hard border (in that way, NI would be a part of the customs union with the EU); May's asking for <i>Brexit</i> deals, i.e. short extension <i>shows May's character - persistent, goal-orientated</i>; difference between May's and Johnson's deal - Johnson wanted getting a deal at any cost- <i>political portrayal of both (May had principles, Johnson was eager to deliver Brexit at any cost)</i>; Johnson hoped having a support from DUP to get his deal through the Commons - the focus is on being in power rather than public interest, i.e. <i>Brexit</i>; Johnson's deal means <i>bad conditions for Scotland</i> - dissatisfaction with Johnson's deal; Johnson's deal means <i>disruption and chaos amongst Conservatives</i> (DUP encouraged Conservative MPs to vote down Johnson's deal); Johnson's deal means <i>Johnson's confidence in his own capacities and skills</i> (He said that there was no better outcome than delivering his deal); Johnson's deal means <i>abolition of the backstop</i> - it shows difference comparing to May's deal which included the Irish backstop - illustrative of both PMs; the deal means that if there was a hard border, there was a support (56%) for Irish reunification (as polls said) - <i>Irish dissatisfaction with the deal; Tories split</i>;</p>
<p><i>Brexit</i> negotiation appears 27 times (1,63 %)</p>	<p><i>May's failure; focusing on the party management, and not the public interest</i> - manipulation in a form of diverting attention; <i>accusations of Johnson by Tony Blair</i> - the aim is to give support to Labour's Jeremy</p>

	<p>Corbyn and by doing so, to divert attention from the real issue - <i>Brexit</i>; Johnson's self-interests instead of public interests - Johnson presented as a typical power-hungry politician; <i>free movement of people is questionable under May's leadership</i>, opposition is against such negotiations - <i>political battle with the aim to move May out of No 10</i>, i.e. to manipulate; <i>Tory's unhappiness with May's handling of Brexit</i>; <i>the UK's loss of power when it comes to trade after Brexit</i>; <i>the Irish border would be the only 300-mile border between the UK and the EU</i>; negotiations are a <i>cause of Labour's and Conservative's division</i>; <i>expensive divorce bill</i> - suggestive of something that is very bad for the UK;</p>
<p><i>Brexit process</i> appears 40 times (2,42 %)</p>	<p><i>government's leadership</i> (under May) which is also illustrative of May herself; <i>resignation of ministers</i> (under May) which is also indicative of May's leadership skills; <i>extension of the process until 30 June</i>; <i>May's political future as PM is highly dependent on MPs vote</i>; <i>extension of the exit date</i> - portrayal of May's leadership; <i>political conditioning</i> (May asked for a support and then she would resign); <i>uncertainty</i>; <i>playing political games</i> to get the votes (May and other opposition members made a motion to get her deal approved by the Commons); <i>affecting house prices</i> which could fall up to 30% if there was a no deal or a disorderly <i>Brexit</i>;</p>
<p><i>Brexit plan</i> appears 17 times (1,03 %)</p>	<p>options: <i>holding another referendum, leaving with no deal</i>, or <i>pursuing a closer economic arrangement such as Common Market 2.0</i>; <i>playing games</i> with the aim to manipulate the voters; <i>a plot against May</i> (by her Conservatives) - it is a political portrayal of May; <i>Labour's sabotage of May's deal</i> - manipulation as opposition ever really agrees on something; <i>Conservative opposition against May's leadership</i>; <i>unclear adjustments to new regulations regarding businesses in NI</i>; Johnson attacked May because of her plan - typical <i>political battle</i> with the aim to manipulate the voters by means of spitting at the opposite; May's <i>Brexit plan</i> means <i>strengthening of a far right political party UKIP</i> - <i>bad political portrayal of May</i>; <i>making fun of May by Johnson as he was caught jogging and she previously</i></p>

	<i>said that the naughtiest thing she had ever done was running through the fields of wheat</i> - typical manipulation for winning votes; <i>May's defeat</i> as her plan had been rejected every time - it shows her persistence and character;
<i>Brexit talk</i> appears 14 times (0,84 %)	<i>May's political skills</i> as she was unable to get support for her deal from the Commons; <i>May's request for supporting the deal from Macron</i> ; <i>playing political games</i> (government and Labour talking about <i>Brexit</i> could end by European parliamentary elections on 23 June, the goal is to avoid parliamentary elections and bring resolutions to create certainty in the UK - typical manipulation); saying bad things about opposition to divert attention from the real issue, i.e. <i>Brexit</i> - also manipulation; <i>Johnson's political skills as his deal wasn't undermined by MPs</i> ; it also means "playing with words" to create confusion and unclarity (it's not immigration, rather, it is mobility (used in a sense of rights of people, tourists, students and businesspeople)); <i>May's political moves and how it affected the whole Brexit thing</i> (her tax cuts made <i>Brexit</i> talks worse) - <i>portrayal of May's political skills</i> ; <i>May's political stand on Brexit</i> , i.e. no deal <i>Brexit</i> is better than bad <i>Brexit</i> ;
<i>Brexit agreement</i> appears 17 times (1,03 %)	the same as <i>Brexit</i> deal - <i>political conditioning</i> (if May's <i>Brexit</i> withdrawal agreement is backed by the Parliament, she would step down as PM); May's defeat as it was rejected 3 times; <i>rows between Tory Brexiteers</i> ; <i>affecting trade relations between Ireland and NI and Ireland and other countries</i> ;
<i>Brexit delay</i> appears 7 times (0,42%)	<i>date 12 April 2019</i> ; <i>conditioning</i> (May would get a support for her <i>Brexit</i> deal from the Commons if there was a delay); <i>different political styles of EU countries</i> (e.g. France (tougher) and Germany (more open) when referring to <i>Brexit</i>); <i>date 30 June 2019</i> ; Johnson didn't want a delay, he wanted to exit on 31 October 2019 - it shows <i>Johnson's determination and strong leadership</i> ;
<i>Brexit date</i> appears 15 times (0,91 %)	the date of exit: <i>29 March</i> ; <i>30 June</i> ; <i>12 April</i> ; <i>political conditioning</i> (if MPs didn't approve May's deal until 22 May, <i>Brexit</i> would be delayed); it means <i>May's resignation after 22 May</i> if her deal was

	passed through Commons; it means <i>affecting the permanent residency of people</i> (who stays in the same EU country for 5 years can apply for permanent residency);
<i>Not clear what Brexit refers to</i> appears 181 times (10,98 %)	The same as in the previous tables, it mostly refers to May's and Johnson's slogans.

Table 13. Metonymic mappings of *Brexit* in BBC

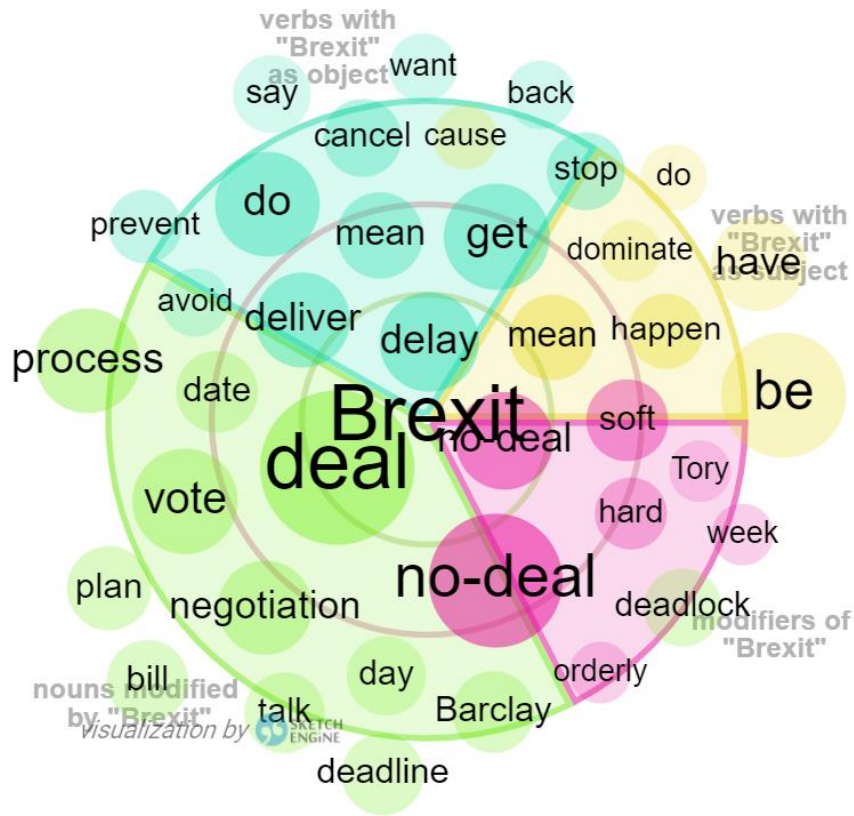


Figure 9. Most frequent collocations with *Brexit* in BBC (taken from *Sketch Engine*)

In terms of categories provided by the program *Sketch Engine*, it should be said that the results are also very similar to those previously explained under Figure 3, 4 and 5. However, there is one modifier that stands out in a way, and that is *no-deal*. The reason may be the fact that, by following the actual political scene in the UK, most of the articles that dealt with *Brexit* were suggestive of a situation that a *no-deal Brexit* is a possibility not to be excluded completely.

4. 7. Sky News

TOTAL NUMBER OF WORDS: 155 035	TOTAL NUMBER OF <i>Brexit</i> USE: 1,307 times as a noun + 4 times as an adjective - altogether: 1,311 times
MOST FREQUENT COLLOCATIONS WITH <i>Brexit</i>	<i>Brexit</i> REFERS TO...
<i>Brexit deal</i> appears 168 times (10,4 %)	<i>future relationship with Europe</i> ; May's <i>Brexit deal</i> means <i>disagreement between the opposite parties</i> ; <i>public is tired of Brexit</i> ; <i>May's loss</i> (by 58 votes her deal was rejected); <i>Johnson's hypocrisy</i> (he voted Remain on 2016 referendum, but then was a great supporter of May's deal); <i>expressing patriotism on the basis of deal</i> - manipulation; Johnson's deal means <i>UK's interests aren't protected</i> ; manipulation (Johnson's team banned a phrase no deal); date 31 January 2020; <i>Johnson's excellent political skills</i> as he got <i>Brexit</i> done; May's deal means <i>uncertainty</i> ; <i>Brexit delay until 12 April</i> , <i>May's political defeat</i> ; <i>symbol of disagreement amongst Tories</i> ; <i>delay until 22 May</i> ; <i>fear of staying in customs union</i> ; <i>May's failure to protect jobs, economy and people's livelihoods</i> ; <i>playing filthy games, being hypocritical</i> - manipulating the voters; Johnson's deal means <i>putting the exit agreement into the UK laws</i> ; under Johnson - 31 January 2020; <i>disagreement with NI regarding backstop</i> ; <i>Johnson's bragging about getting Brexit done</i> ;
<i>Brexit negotiation</i> appears 17 times (1,29 %)	<i>May's reputation as a PM</i> ; <i>Johnson's election promise to leave the EU by the end of 2020</i> ; <i>lack of confidence in May</i> ; <i>May's party management</i> ; <i>loss of control (refers to May)</i> ; <i>inner-party disagreement causing the resignation of ministers (under May's leadership)</i> ;
<i>Brexit process</i> appears 18 times (1,37 %)	<i>no deal is a possibility</i> ; <i>working out unresolved issues and uncertainty</i> ; <i>never-ending story</i> ; <i>the public was sick and tired of the whole Brexit saga</i> ; May's government is <i>the cause of division and</i>

	<i>incompetent leadership; cause of slowdown on the housing market; promise to the British from May's government regarding no border checks, and protection of the island economy;</i>
<i>Brexit plan</i> appears 14 times (1,06 %)	<i>May's poor leadership; criticism of May</i> ; no candidate has a solution to deal with the impasse; <i>Johnson's defeat in Commons; different approach to Brexit amongst the opposite parties</i> (Labour's <i>Brexit</i> plan means staying in customs union with the EU and its single market; <i>May's manipulation and try to get the support for her plan</i> (she urges people to vote as democrats and patriots); plan under May's premiership means the following: <i>choice between revoking Article 50, a second referendum, the prime minister's deal, her deal plus a customs union, the deal plus a customs union and single market access, a standard free-trade agreement, or a no-deal Brexit</i> ; Johnson's <i>Brexit</i> plan means <i>failure to leave the EU on October 31</i> because he lost key vote; <i>dissatisfaction with May's handling of Brexit</i> ; May would receive <i>support from Angela Merkel</i> ; May's plan means " <i>cracks</i> " (<i>disagreement</i>) in <i>Conservative party</i> - not all members look at <i>Brexit</i> with the same eyes;
<i>Brexit talk</i> appears 8 times (0,61 %)	<i>clarity (under May's premiership)</i> ; <i>Brexit</i> trade talks mean <i>the EU's toughness on the UK regarding trade</i> (UK would have to be bound to EU policy after <i>Brexit</i>); trade talks are <i>the focus of Prime Minister's questions</i> ; <i>UK's refusal to apply the European Convention on Human Rights</i> ; manipulating the voters by <i>mutual accusations between Corbyn and May</i> ; during May's premiership <i>the issue of the Irish border</i> ;
<i>Brexit agreement</i> appears 10 times (0,76 %)	May's failure to reach a <i>Brexit</i> agreement caused <i>the rise of Nigel Farage, the leader of the Brexit party who uses promises in order to get the votes</i> - manipulation and spitting on May and her handling of the <i>Brexit</i> ; <i>Johnson's try to manipulate the voters by comparing his agreement, i.e. deal and May's and by describing his deal in superlatives</i> ; <i>Corbyn's spitting on May's agreement</i> with the aim to present himself as a better option - manipulation and political war; May's try to deceive the voters by <i>not clarifying what that there would</i>

	<p><i>be "full alignment" between NI and the Republic in the Brexit agreement</i> (she avoids the answer, i.e. answer question in an unclear way - actually not answering what she had been asked); <i>Brexit</i> divorce agreement under May's premiership means <i>leadership skills expressed in numbers</i> (the agreement is 95% settled); the risk of introducing the backstop arrangements;</p>
<p><i>Brexit delay</i> appears 17 times (1,29 %)</p>	<p><i>no confidence in May; means of argument between MPs (who wanted a delay) and Johnson (who said the EU he didn't want one)</i>; it is <i>an option more preferable than a no-deal Brexit</i>; <i>May's promise to step down as a PM if the delay didn't break the impasse</i> - typical (politician's) manipulation by means of promise; the phrase compared to "Trump moment" which suggests <i>the delay is stupid thing to do</i>; it is <i>a means of May's pressure on Commons to pass her Brexit deal</i>; <i>the date of the delay is 22 May</i> (if May's deal was approved by MPs); either <i>12 April (2019) if May failed to pass her deal in a 3rd meaningful vote or 22 May (2019) if her deal was approved by MPs the following week</i>; it is <i>a means of accusations amongst politicians in the UK</i>; <i>no confidence in May's government</i>;</p>
<p><i>Brexit date</i> appears 5 times (0,38 %)</p>	<p><i>extension till June 30 (under May's premiership)</i>; <i>April 12</i>; <i>delay to March 29 date</i>; <i>flexibility over the real date of exit with delays and extensions included</i>;</p>
<p><i>Not clear what Brexit refers to</i> appears 446 times (34,01 %)</p>	<p>The same as in the previous tables, it mostly refers to May's and Johnson's slogans.</p>

Table 14. Metonymic mappings of *Brexit* in *Sky News*

One should emphasize that the tables presented above are not representative of metonymic meanings of *Brexit*; rather, it is a situational and linguistic context, both of which contribute to the metonymic network of meanings surrounding *Brexit*. The situations in which it is not clear what *Brexit* refers to illustrate the pragmatic effects caused by metonymy, i.e. blurring. All of those contexts make the metonymic network of *Brexit* in media discourse.

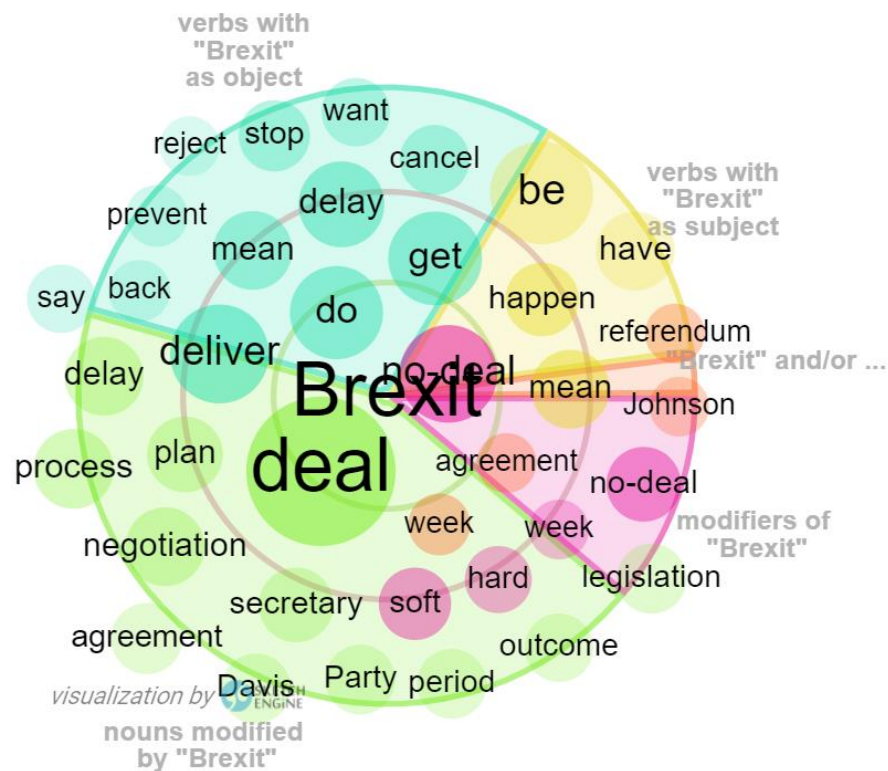


Figure 10. Most frequent collocations with *Brexit* in *Sky News* (taken from *Sketch Engine*)

Figure 10 is not much different from all other results presented and explained so far, which goes to show that the results are more or less the same with several exceptions which may be ascribed to the size of the dataset, and/or to the alleged political bias each newspaper has.

Certain collocations such as *soft Brexit* or *hard Brexit* appear in all newspapers and they need to be explained with respect to the aspect of ideology. When May was the Prime Minister and wanted to push her *Brexit deal* through the House of Commons, she was often accused of pushing through the so-called *hard Brexit* which mostly refers to the control of immigration. It is therefore claimed that *hard Brexit* is related to the conservative worldview which has at its core significant concepts such as sovereignty, control of immigrants, giving up full access to single market, and a full access of the customs union along with the EU. It would mean that the arrangement would prioritise giving Britain full control over its borders, making new trade deals

and applying laws within its own territory. The idea of a *hard Brexit* includes British goods and services subject to tariffs, adding 10 per cent, to the cost of exported cars. All the while, sectors such as agriculture could lose protections against cheap imports from abroad. It also means that leaving the customs union would mean a significant increase in bureaucratic checks on goods passing through ports and airports.

In contrast, *soft Brexit* is an approach which would leave the UK's relationship with the EU as close as possible to the existing arrangements and is preferred by many Remainers. The UK would no longer be a member of the EU and would not have a seat on the European Council. It would lose its MEPs and its European Commissioner. However, it would keep unfettered access to the European single market. Goods and services would be traded with the remaining EU states on a tariff-free basis and financial firms would keep their "passporting" rights to sell services and operate branches in the EU. Britain would remain within the EU's customs union, meaning that exports would not be subject to border checks. National models for this sort of deal include Norway, Iceland and Liechtenstein, which are not members of the EU but have access to the single market by being part of the European Economic Area (<https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/brexit-hard-soft-what-difference-uk-eu-single-market-freedom-movement-theresa-may-a7342591.html>, last updated on 9th July 2018).

The difference between the two *Brexit* options could be summarised as follows:

The key issues on the hard side are sovereignty and control, whilst those on the soft side are collaboration and trade. These issues, within the constraints of the negotiations, are usually considered to be tradeoffs. For example, having access to the single market would necessarily involve acceding to EU market regulations, thereby relinquishing some control (Richards and Heathe, 2018: 38).

In short, *hard Brexit* is favoured by Brexiteers whose values coincide with those of the Conservative Party. *Soft Brexit*, however, is an approach mostly favoured by those who share the values of the Labour Party and/or Liberal Democrats. The following examples demonstrate what each of the approaches entails, and by whom each is favoured:

(1) A spokesman said: "There is no need for a hard Brexit and there is no mandate for a hard Brexit. " The group believes Britain does not need to quit the single market to control immigration, end payments to EU coffers or return powers to Parliament. It also says voters did not decide to leave the trading arrangement when they backed Brexit in the June 23 referendum. Group chairman Peter Wilding said: "This is not stopping Brexit, this is shaping it. The country demands a win-win, smart Brexit, not a lose-lose ideological **hard Brexit** which will damage the UK, damage Europe and for which there is no need and no mandate.

(<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/pa/article-4021188/Legal-challenge-planned-Brexit-means-leaving-single-market.html>).

(2) They will return to the negotiating table on Thursday, after Mrs May has secured a further delay to Brexit at a Brussels summit tomorrow. Jeremy Corbyn wants to push the PM to back a **soft Brexit** deal - to the fury of Tory Brexiteers. But other senior figures in Labour want the party leader to insist on a so-called "people's vote" as the price of any compromise.

(<https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/brexit/8823127/theresa-may-brexit-second-referendum-mps/>).

Another collocation which appears in all the newspapers and is as relevant as the two explained above is a *no-deal Brexit*. It is a scenario which poses a serious risk to current labour and social protection in the UK. The government subtly loosens current protections via secondary legislation, resulting in the UK's legislative framework on labour and social rights drifting apart from the EU model and weakening gradually over time (Morris, 2019: 17).

(3) Many farmers fear a **no-deal** Brexit could threaten their livelihoods by suddenly removing subsidies, blocking their access to European markets and leaving them vulnerable to competition from lower-cost producers like the United States that do not match European animal welfare standards. Johnson said leaving the EU would allow the government to scrap the Common Agricultural Policy -- a system of farm subsidies unpopular in Britain which contributes more than it receives -- and sign new trade deals to expand the market.

(<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/reuters/article-7299041/Brexit-means-better-deal-farmers-PM-Johnson-tells-Wales.html>).

The analysis of the collected dataset yielded the results which tend to present metonymy as operative in creating the euphemistic effect³³ of an avoidance strategy in discourse (Gradečak-Erdeljić, Milić 2011, Moritz 2018). The nominal heads following the lemma ‘*Brexit*’ all refer to one relevant aspect in the *Brexit* as a process, and their frequency in the dataset indicates the prototypical referents present in the target domain, as shown in Figure 11.

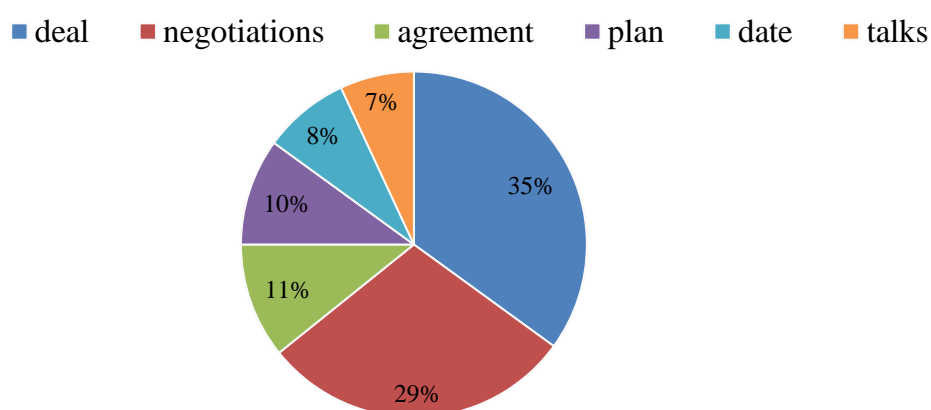


Figure 11. Distribution of senses of nominal heads in Det+Brexit+Noun construction (Gradečak, Ćosić, 2020)

In the observed seven-month period, it transpired that the deal itself, as the primary goal of the process, was of most interest to the participants in *Brexit* discourse, followed by negotiations, the most relevant aspect involving the key facts important for the UK and its citizens. The deal was primarily seen as economic in nature, thus its lexicological relationship to the domain of business and economy, whereas the negotiations as a diplomatic process were reflected in the third most frequent noun ‘agreement’. In the focus of the political agenda was, naturally, the plan for reaching the deal, thus ‘plan’ as a lexeme is rather frequent, followed by ‘talks’ as a less formal variant of ‘negotiations’ used when the durational aspect of the process was to be emphasized.

³³ Euphemism in this context is used for: “dealing with taboo or sensitive subjects. It is therefore the language of evasion, hypocrisy, prudery, and deceit”. (Holder 2007: vii)

An experiment with deleting the nominal head in above examples rendered many of them acceptable in the sense that the lexeme '*Brexit*' suffices to provide a coherent and acceptable meaning, due to the contiguity relationship where the WHOLE FOR PART metonymic mapping may be operative:

- (4) It came as Mr Johnson came to the Commons on the last day before Christmas to push through ~~his~~ ***Brexit deal***. (Gradečak, Ćosić, 2020).

When Johnson uses *Brexit* it does not always refer to the exactly the same thing as when it is used by Theresa May, and examples will demonstrate it later in the dissertation. That is why language of the political discourse at times looks like a linguistic anarchy, just like the politics often is since we witness that there are no limits as to what is and what is not allowed to say, how to say something, how to disagree with the opposition, etc.

5 DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS

5. 1. Similar research in the field

Metonymy used to be regarded only as a figure of speech, i.e. trope. In his paper “Four Master Tropes”, Kenneth Burke (1941: 421) underlies the following tropes: metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche and irony. He investigated those concepts, not with respect to their figurative usage, but with their role in discovery and in description of the “truth”. The aspect of being truthful, i.e. saying the truth becomes the most important part of the media discourse. Metonymy plays a significant part in the processes of hiding the truth, deceiving, distorting reality, or simply said, manipulating. Burke (1941: 424) claims that the basic “strategy” in metonymy is to convey some incorporeal or intangible state in terms of the corporeal or tangible. E.g. to speak of the “heart” rather than “the emotions”. However, such status of metonymy changed as of 1980 and Lakoff and Johnson’s publication of the book *Metaphors We Live By* which contributed to a different look at two phenomena – metaphor and metonymy. Metonymy used to be seen as an embellishment, or something unnecessary. However, cognitive linguists proved it is a pervasive cognitive tool (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980: 3) which helps in referring to people and/or things. In addition, Brdar (2003: 37) claims that metonymy is a linguistic expression denoting a part of a larger whole which is substituted by another expression denoting the whole. Many examples of the dataset demonstrate that metonymy is often used as a means of not being clear and precise in referring to things, people or events, which is why indefiniteness is regarded as one of the important roles metonymy has in media discourse. The phenomenon of indefiniteness contributes to creating and expanding the metonymic network of *Brexit* in British media discourse.

Moreover, cognitive linguists examined different phenomena with respect to metonymy used in media discourse. Silaški and Đurović (2017: 143 – 144), for instance, analysed how visual

and/or verbal modalities of metaphor, metonymy and image schemas hinging on the LIQUID and MOVEMENT domains as cognitive instruments used on the front covers of *The Economist* magazine contribute to the structuring of the concept of the European sovereign debt crisis in order to make it more fathomable to the readership. The relationship between metaphor and metonymy on the cover of the magazine *The Economist*, as well as how it affects the readers is explained in the following way:

Pictorial and multimodal metaphors used on the cover, the most prominent part of a magazine, are forms of mass communication and thus should bring about a strong impact on the readership. The importance of effective magazine covers may be attributed to several reasons. Firstly, they serve as an introduction to the articles featured inside and should be as attractive to readers as possible so as to make them buy the magazine. In this sense, a magazine cover functions metonymically in relation to the whole text contained inside, thus having to be strong and salient enough as a part to represent the whole.

The authors conclude that pictorial metaphors enable better understanding of the crisis “since, although most frequently metaphorically structured in words alone, it may be better perceived by using powerful pictorial elements which pertain not only to its multifarious causes and effects but also the ideologies subtly hidden behind the metaphorical veil” (Silaški and Đurović, 2017: 131 – 132).

The *Brexit* indeed, is a very challenging phenomenon to examine from various perspectives. Charteris-Black, (2019: 281 – 283) investigated tautology with respect to *Brexit* in media discourse and came to the conclusion that allegorical frames are nothing else than tautology in which it is said that *x* is deceptive because I say that *x* is deceptive, and by doing this,

“we reduce the extent to which the argument can be said to rely on moral reasoning, although moral intuitions coincide with strongly held beliefs. I identified two dominant allegorical frames for animal idioms: ‘Deception & Disloyalty’ and ‘Disclosure & Non-Disclosure’; the first is based very much on the Loyalty/Betrayal moral foundation, whereas the second is based on Fairness/Cheating; these and various other frames are summarized in Table 9.1.

Table 9.1 Allegorical frames of animal idioms

<u>Frame</u>	<u>Sample idiom</u>
Deception and disloyalty	Rats leaving a sinking ship
Disclosure and non-disclosure	Elephant in the room

Greed	Fat cat
Self-destructiveness	Lemmings jumping off a cliff
Impossibility	Pigs might fly
<u>Insanity</u>	<u>Mad as a box of frogs”</u>

In other words, Charteris-Black (*ibid.*) examined allegorical frames and animal idioms that occurred most frequently in tweets posted during the week before the referendum using the hashtags #Brexit #Leave and #Remain by each side beginning with Deception and Disloyalty and inferred the following:

Brexit supporters on Twitter and social media employed a frame for Distrust and Betrayal to arouse suspicion and significant distrust of an outside group. A set of allegories originating from classical, biblical and other phraseological sources was based on iconographic stereotypes of animals that profiled deception and disloyalty. In all of these, the animal role is to represent some threat. The agent of deception and disloyalty is constructed as potentially life threatening crocodiles etc. These animal idioms provide iconographic references that associate a stereotypical behaviour of an animal with the person or group to whom it refers, and the allegory provides a highly negative value judgement of the referent. The role of the speaker is to reveal the ‘true’ nature of opponents’ leaders so that readers are protected from their deception and disloyalty.

(5) For most of his political career, Ian Paisley saw the prospect of devolved power sharing with his political enemies as a Trojan Horse to Irish unity.

(<https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-northern-ireland-46903876>)

Example (5) illustrates the use of animal frame in a such way that it is symbolic of the threat aimed at Irish unity.

Musolff (2020: 298) studied the media discourse with respect to the Referendum and situation after the *Brexit* vote and reached the following conclusion:

[...] the Brexit debate was from the start characterised by a strong tendency of hyperbolic rhetoric, due to the pro-Brexit side depicting the political choice as a matter of complete victory (liberation from the EU) or utter defeat (continued and irreversible enslavement). Within this highly charged public debate, the discourse-historical development of the have/eat cake phrase exemplifies the transformation of Brexit from a foreign policy option (among other options) into an all-or-nothing, triumph or-catastrophe dichotomy. It was first used to advertise Brexit as a perfect “win-win” opportunity, only to end in ignominious defeats in parliament and a humiliating request for postponement. Even if Brexit is finally consummated it will not be the super-victory

promised in Johnson's defiant proverb assertion. This "suboptimal" result was "achieved", I contend, through the combination of metaphor and hyperbole, as the catalyst of discursive conflict escalation.

Brexit is a phenomenon that could be regarded as a sort of a "crisis", and as such, it needs someone to deal with it. That someone could not be pinpointed at one person in particular. In case of *Brexit* crisis, the bond between politicians and the public (the voters) is what tackles the issue of *Brexit* in the best possible way, both on the national and international level, i.e. the voters' reaction further tailors the politics. It means that the media is a key factor in the creation of public opinion, and that public opinion (the votes) is what gives the politicians the prerogative to act upon people's will. Such a relation is a two-directional process in which one affects the other and *vice versa*. The symbiosis of the two (politicians and voters) is an excellent foreground for the media to interject and thus help in creating the public opinion. Sometimes, certain newspapers are more inclined to certain politicians and their party, and because of that political partiality, people reading such newspapers are influenced by what they read and thus their opinion is created upon what and how they received the information. If an author of the article takes a certain stand against Johnson, obviously, the readers of such newspapers will probably dislike Johnson as well. This, of course, also happens in the opposite direction. Some newspapers may write in superlatives of Johnson's opponent, Jeremy Corbyn, hence creating highly positive opinion about him. Their mutual action – the politicians' statements, the media presenting it and the public receiving it – what creates media discourse such an interesting field of study, especially from a linguistic perspective.

[...] media have played a pivotal part in not only representing but also developing interpretation of national (political, economic, or social) crises. They have also played a crucial role in forging and mediating connections between crises and the wider social phenomena and attitudes as is evident with regard to such central issues as e.g. immigration or social class (Krzyżanowski, 2019: 4).

Newspapers the people read on a daily basis is most certainly the means of affecting readers' opinion. In other words, people reading the newspaper which is pro-Conservative tend to share conservative values in their life, and *vice versa*, those who read newspapers with a rather liberal worldview, take the liberal stand.

The liberal press also in most cases focussed on political and social dimensions and implications of the UK referendum rather than on its economic repercussions. On the other hand, it could be seen that the conservative press displayed some rather unanimous

tendency to focus on the market/economic implications of the UK referendum and of the eventual *Brexit* (Krzyżanowski, 2019: 24).

Two online newspapers used in the analysis of the dissertation are considered to be right – oriented (*The Sun*, *Daily Mail*) two are considered to be left – oriented (*The Guardian*, *Daily Mirror*), and the remaining two are considered to be neutral, i.e. politically unbiased (*Sky News*, *BBC*). The following examples will prove how political partiality is (clearly) apparent from how an article is written:

- (6) The newspaper says the prime minister pleaded, "with her voice cracked and fading", with the House of Commons to pass the deal and that its failure to do so was "humiliating", a "crushing new blow" and "a catastrophic defeat" for May.
(<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2019/mar/13/house-of-fools-what-the-papers-said-about-mays-Brexit-defeat>)

In example (6) the reader can take a hint regarding *The Guardian*'s stand on Theresa May's premiership. The words "humiliating", "crushing new blow" and "a catastrophic defeat" suggest that the deal (*Brexit deal*) is metonymically mapped onto **May's political incompetence**, and as ultimately, **her resignation as PM**. It is an example of a PART FOR WHOLE metonymy, precisely SUB-EVENT FOR THE WHOLE EVENT. The case of May's not being able to pass the *Brexit deal* through the House of Commons again is mapped onto her defeat which lead her to resign eventually. In other words, *Brexit* is used to mean **May's political incompetence**.

- (7) Clarke said Johnson's policy vagueness was particularly acute on *Brexit*: "I could never get out of Boris – and nobody so far could get out of Boris – what he has in mind for the eventual deal. To say they're generalities is an understatement. "It's not good sitting alongside the people who've been mandated by 27 other governments and just saying your aim is to be global Britain. They'll say, 'What are we going to do about nuclear safeguarding in Euratom?'" Johnson had no policy on social care, the most pressing domestic issue, or on skills training and education, Clarke said.
(<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2019/dec/20/Brexit-pm-asks-britons-to-move-on-as-mps-debate-withdrawal-bill>)

In example (7) we can see quite a negative stand on Johnson and his political agenda regarding the burning issues in the UK post-Brexit. The above statement was made after Johnson became

PM by Kenneth Clarke who is a politician who nurtures economically liberal and social views, even though he shares the conservative view as he has been the President of the Tory Reform Group since 1997. This example is a case in point regarding the relation between political bias of the newspaper (in this case *The Guardian* which is left – oriented) and presenting Johnson who is the representative member of the British Right. Even though Clarke is also a member of the British Right, he is used by left-oriented newspapers with the aim to better describe Johnson by his own colleague from the Right. In that way, the article weighs differently in the eyes of readers, i.e. it carries even more negative input regarding Johnson than it would normally carry. The whole purpose of the article, and *The Guardian* is to manipulate the readers and/or voters into desirable conducts, i.e. not to give votes to Johnson and to think poorly of him. That is why we have said above that politics is such a shady realm of our society which often strikes as a game with no rules whatsoever.

The polarising effect of the discourse surrounding Brexit can be observed in the study on *Brexit* in which the way 2016 referendum vote³⁴ was covered in the media the result of which is the analysis of the discourses (re)produced on the websites of the two organisations designated by the UK Electoral Commission as the official lead campaigns for the ‘leave’ and ‘remain’ vote. These were, respectively, Vote Leave (VL) and Britain Stronger In Europe (BSE) (Zappettini, 2019: 2). The motivation for writing such a paper lies in the following:

The reason for focusing on these organisations is that VL and BSE were key semi-institutional actors in the process of legitimisation of *Brexit* effectively contributing to setting the referendum agenda. VL and BSE had the power to influence public opinion on the meaning of *Brexit* and to frame the context of the debate by reproducing, challenging or silencing certain discourses and ideologies which they were able to associate with the generic binaries ‘leave’ and ‘remain’ (Zappettini, 2019: 2/3).

This is an interesting view in which it is suggested that those groups influenced the public opinion, as well as the newspapers writing about them. In other words, Zappettini goes from the premise that the thing that is said or the one being left unsaid is what creates the context in a way that it is associated with two possible stands regarding *Brexit*: you are either for it, hence the option Leave, or you are for the option the UK being within the EU, hence Remain.

³⁴ The referendum vote on *Brexit* took place on 23rd June 2016 in the UK

5. 2. Tautology in Language

The language of politics provides a great amount of possible perspectives to look at when it comes to what politics entails. Politicians use different strategies to get the votes and be in power, which is why political discourse has so many phenomena to explore. One such phenomenon is the strategy politicians often use – tautology. “The term tautology is typically used in linguistics to refer to a statement that is true concerning every possible situation. This is achieved through the repetition of the same lexical or propositional content (e.g. boys will be boys, a deal is a deal)” (Mompean and Manzanares, 2017: 2).

Tautology is thus also an inextricable part of the study when the language of politicians relevant to the whole issue of *Brexit* are in question, more precisely, Theresa May and Boris Johnson. The following chapters provide two slogans which are illustrative of repetition which has had its pragmatic effect. These are *Brexit means Brexit* and *Get Brexit done*, slogans used by two British Prime Ministers, Theresa May and Boris Johnson, respectively. *Get Brexit done* is not a tautology in itself, but the fact that it was repeated many times in British media discourse, makes it tautological.

There are some authors dealing with the *Brexit means Brexit* slogan claiming that there are two points of view with respect to how the slogan should be regarded. Mompean and Manzanares (2019: 24) conducted an analysis of the slogan from the constructionist perspective using a corpus-assisted discourse analysis approach.

The analysis has shown how a basic ICM underlies and motivates the use of the tautology and how social changes in perception of that ICM create two opposing versions (which we have called the ACCEPTANCE ICM and the OPPOSITION ICM), connected in turn to two main patterns of use. More specifically, the analysis has pointed out how the semantic and pragmatic components of the tautology are grounded in the political context and the opposing ICMs emerge at different times: the original one is found shortly after the 2016 referendum on the UK’s membership of the EU (and its prime example is Theresa May’s use of the phrase on 30 June 2016), while the alternative version, related to a more critical view of Theresa May, was developed in the months following. The newspaper thus shows the fluid interaction between social features and linguistic forms, revealing how language and social factors are inextricably related, and explanations of language use cannot eschew the role of social parameters.

When tautology in the UK’s media discourse is observed with respect to *Brexit*, especially May’s slogan *Brexit means Brexit*, Charteris-Black (2019: 320) claims the following:

[...] then perhaps Brexit itself is a metaphor for travelling back in time to the 1950s or 60s, a time when life was purported to be less complex, less driven by technology, social media and online hate videos. Support for this claim was in the 2011 poll showing that 62% agreed with the statement: “Britain has changed in recent times beyond recognition, it sometimes feels like a foreign country and this makes me uncomfortable”. It is as if Leave voters wanted a return to the time when the world was thought to be simpler and kinder, when neighbours knew neighbours, and people left the backdoor unlocked because there was no danger of a thief creeping in; when a sense of community and a friendly face was always available down at the local pub. Was online contact with strangers really a satisfactory substitute for real people? In this case the best metaphor for Brexit was the Myth of a Golden Age.

In contrast, Johnson’s campaign was based on the research conducted by Dominic Cummings, Chief Adviser to the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom. He conducted research across all the UK with the aim of examining what people’s emotions are with respect to *Brexit* negotiations. He came to a conclusion that *Brexit* negotiations are the source of negative emotions such as annoyance. In other words, the British were tired of the *Brexit* and wanted to see the end of it. Cummings used the results of the research and created a campaign for May’s successor Boris Johnson, a campaign whose slogan is illustrative of the research results: *Get Brexit done!*

Luhmann (1988: 34) says that tautologies are distinctions that do not distinguish. Tautologies thus block observations. They are always based on a dual observation schema: something is what it is. This statement, however, negates the posited duality and asserts an identity. Tautologies thus negate what makes them possible in the first place, and therefore, the negation itself becomes meaningless.

To sum up, slogans found in the media discourse are repetitively used, and by means of their repetition (recycling), the meaning is dispersed. In other words, when *Brexit* is used as a part of both slogans, its meaning is dispersed or vague due to its (ab)use by the politicians.

5. 2. 1. *Brexit means Brexit* slogan

Theresa May was the Leader of the Conservative Party and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland from 13th July 2016 to 24th July 2019. Her three-year long premiership began with a typical strategy politicians (ab)use, - a promise. She promised Britons to act upon 2016 *Brexit* vote, that is to deliver *Brexit* – the UK’s exit from the

European Union. Her campaign was marked by the slogan *Brexit means Brexit* where it is highly unclear what *Brexit* in those two cases entails. It is unclear whether it means ***the referendum, trade relations with the EU and the world, future of the UK, economy, citizens' rights, immigration politics, all things combined, something unknown or something else.*** Such expressive unclarity leads to a fertile ground for manipulating the voters. It should be stressed however, that *Brexit means Brexit* is the metonymy in itself – it is PART FOR PART as well as PART FOR WHOLE metonymy, and the examples in the following sections demonstrate their subtypes.

We will see how this slogan is used across all the newspapers, and what the slogan means in the given context, as well as the number of times the slogan appeared in certain newspaper which will only be illustrative of the frequency of occurrence in the media discourse, not as a basis for a quantitative analysis.

5. 2. 1. 1. *Daily Mail*

In the *Daily Mail* the slogan was found 33 times, but only a few instances will be exemplified.

May used the slogan to show the confidence regarding her premiership and her political skills thanks to which she would deliver *Brexit*. She changed her opinion regarding the exit many times which is why *Brexit* is seen as a means of manipulation with the only aim of obtaining votes, irrespective of one's principles. Such tautologies, repeating one thing over and over again is a strategy for brainwashing, and ultimately getting desired votes. Examples (4) and (5) show instances of May's speech following the *Brexit means Brexit* slogan showing that *Brexit* means ***the actual date of exiting*** the EU which is a case of the WHOLE FOR PART metonymy:

- (8) December 15, 2017: "What people voted for last year was for us to leave the European Union and we will leave the EU on 29 March 2019.

<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/ap/article-6862027/Theresa-May-quotes-Brexit-means-Brexit-I-quit.html>)

- (9) December 20, 2017: "We are very clear - we will be leaving the EU on 29 March 2019 at 11 p.m."

<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/ap/article-6862027/Theresa-May-quotes-Brexit-means-Brexit-I-quit.html>)

- (10) February 7, 2019: "I'm clear that I am going to deliver **Brexit**. I am going to deliver it on time.

(<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/ap/article-6862027/Theresa-May-quotes-Brexit-means-Brexit-I-quit.html>)

Example (10) on the other hand, is an obvious example of blurring, which is a result of a metonymic mapping. In other words, *Brexit* in that context means *something distinct*, i.e. we are not quite sure what *Brexit* actually refers to, the whole deal with all its negotiated elements, the document as such or the date of the exit. In such a way, it can refer to many things, people assign to it meaning relevant for their own understanding of the concept, thus creating different variants and networks of meaning with different repercussions on their understanding of the situation and their subsequent behaviour. This is another point in case that metonymy serves different pragmatic effects in political discourse, i.e. metonymy is a vital part of blurring. It is a case of a WHOLE FOR PART metonymy where the whole process of exiting means *something vague/distinct*.

5. 2. 1. 2. *Daily Mirror*

In the *Daily Mirror* the slogan was found 40 times, a few of which will be exemplified. The following examples are not something Theresa May said *per se* but are a part of the article where the slogan was found, so the context it was found in suggests the possible metonymic meaning of the slogan. The slogan was used in the context of the *Irish backstop* which is what the British people had been brainwashed with for a very long time without actually knowing what it really entails. AIt was also used as a portrayal of *May's political skills*, i.e. incompetence which really makes MPs angry.

- (11) The former MEP will spearhead his party's response to **Brexit**. He said: "Theresa May says **Brexit** means **Brexit**, but no one actually knows what that means. "Will we be in the single market or cut off from it, with all the implications that has for British jobs and our economy? "What does it mean for immigration? What about the Brits who live abroad and the Europeans who have made our country their home? "How will we co-operate with our neighbours to tackle terrorism, cross-border crime and climate change? "With no meaningful opposition from the Labour Party, no exit plan from the Government, Whitehall unprepared for the *Brexit* negotiations, and above all, Theresa

May's refusal to seek a mandate from the people for what is in effect a new government, there is a real risk that she and her *Brexit* ministers won't be subject to the scrutiny and accountability which voters deserve.

(<https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/nick-clegg-returns-lib-dem-8452648>).

Example (11) are the words of the Ex-Deputy Prime Minister Nick Clegg who is also a former MEP. He openly asked May what *Brexit* as a part of the slogan entailed because it was very unclear from her campaign. His questions are aimed at diverting May's attention to actually say what *Brexit* means – is it a control of immigration, or being a part of the single market or out of it, etc. In other words, the slogan is used as a WHOLE FOR PART metonymy in which the whole *Brexit* is used to mean either of the possible things: a control of immigration, the question of the single market, tackling with cross-border crime, or climate changes, etc. All the possible meanings *Brexit* entails could be subsumed under *negotiations*, so one could argue that *Brexit* in the example is used as *negotiations*.

(12) She set out three key planks to her strategy for Number 10: "First, our country needs strong, proven leadership to steer us through this time of economic and political uncertainty and to negotiate the best deal for Britain as we leave the EU and forge a new role for ourselves in the world. "Second, we need to unite our party and our country. "And third, we need a bold new positive vision for the future of our country - a vision of a country that works not for the privileged few, but for every one of us. "Because **Brexit means Brexit** , and we're going to make a success of it."

(<https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/theresa-may-tory-leadership-campaign-8396030>)

Example (12) was May's strategy for delivering *Brexit*. *Brexit* as a part of the slogan is a PART FOR WHOLE metonymy because it is the exit that is being mapped onto *the whole process* surrounding *Brexit* – the whole process is assumed to be the three aspects May mentioned in the example.

(13) And the problem with all of this began when people tried to interpret what Brexit meant. " **Brexit means Brexit** ," said Theresa May with a ring of authority, heralding the nation's slide into mental incompetence in defining a word by itself. So

what? Teabags means teabags. It still doesn't tell us what the tea, or the bag, consists of or its relationship with the rest of the world. In normal life, of course, most of us are. Within the Conservative Party, sanity is such a narrow field that someone with merely a dim recollection of it is considered slightly over-qualified.

(<https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/brexit-means-stupid-who-voted-9078503>)

Example (13) is a part of the commentator's (Fleet Street Fox) column and is also suggestive of the fact that at the time nobody really knew what *Brexit* was, which is within the slogan actually entailed. This is another case of a PART FOR WHOLE metonymy in which the exit from the EU means *something vague* which illustrates how metonymy is being used for blurring, or hiding the truth.

5. 2. 1. 3. *The Sun*

In *The Sun* the slogan is found 7 times, and a few will be exemplified and explained.

(14) The PM came to power saying ' **Brexit means Brexit** ' - but could never make it happen THERESA May entered office three years ago declaring "Brexit means Brexit". But now she's been forced to quit before managing to take Britain out of the EU - the one task she set herself at the very beginning.

(<https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/9144554/theresa-may-resigns-prime-minister-brexit/>)

The *Sun Reporters* made the comment provided in example (14), and the lexeme *Brexit* within the slogan is an example of the WHOLE FOR PART metonymy because the whole issue of *Brexit* is mapped onto the part, i.e. onto the *exit* since May is the one who failed to make the UK out of the EU. She did not succeed in what she had promised after the 2016 *Brexit* vote.

The slogan was also used in a context of May's broken promises to her voters, to the public who voted to exit the EU in the 2016 referendum.

(15) They trusted Mrs May in 2016 when she promised " *Brexit means Brexit* " and in 2017 as she vowed "No Deal is better than a bad deal". They don't trust her any more. Both promises were flushed down the pan along with £1.5billion for a No Deal that never was – and the £110million EU elections she insisted would never happen. Not to mention her £39billion EU ransom. Staunch Conservatives are ticked off, disgusted to

see Mrs May plotting with arch-enemy Corbyn to thwart *Brexit* Local party chiefs are on strike. Canvassers steer clear of angry voters. Donors have zipped their wallets and cash has dried up.

(<https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/8863423/theresa-may-jeremy-corbyn-pm-victory-opinion/>)

Example (15) is also a comment made by the *Sun Reporters* surrounding the slogans *Brexit means Brexit* and *No deal is better than a bad deal*, which were used by May. The WHOLE FOR PART metonymy is operative in this case as the whole process of *Brexit* means *broken promises and loss of trust in May*.

It appears as if Theresa May used the slogan as an entry card for becoming the PM which she successfully achieved. It demonstrates that tautologies, though tiresome for the voters to listen all the time, do in reality, have their purpose. Slogans, however, are obvious tools for manipulation that politicians (and Theresa May is no exception) often use in their speeches, election campaigns, etc. May's slogan is highly manipulative, as voters can only guess what *Brexit* actually entails, and based on that vagueness, they should provide her with the support, i.e. the vote. The tautology plays on May's determination to proceed with *Brexit* as it had been planned and proposed. That is her primary goal, although it is not clear whether voters understand it in that way.

5. 2. 1. 4. *The Guardian*

The Guardian is the newspaper where the slogan occurred 11 times.

Because of the slogan which she based her whole election campaign on, Theresa May is seen as a politician whose slogan is primarily based on her trying to control one of the free movements (movement of people), i.e. immigration. Like many European newspapers, *De Volkskrant* in the Netherlands picked up UK reports that May was in difficulty.

(16) The paper said May "lacks the communication skills, the capacity for creative thinking and the political flexibility to make a success of **Brexit**". It added: "She speaks mostly in platitudes: '*Brexit means Brexit*', 'strong and stable', 'smooth and orderly'. But above all, the paper concluded: "**Brexit** was, for her, a way to control immigration.

<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2019/mar/24/european-media-delight-in-covering-anti-Brexit-march>).

PART FOR WHOLE metonymy is operative in the example (17) in both cases because one part of Brexit, namely *Brexit negotiations* is used to mean the whole Brexit.

(17) At \$5,995 (£4,650) per person, the six-day guided tour called “Brexit means Brexit” is not for the mass market, but offers select groups of American tourists the chance to “examine the historic implications of a historic vote”.

<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2017/may/09/new-york-times-offers-brexit-means-brexit-guided-tour-of-london>)

Example (17) is also demonstrative of the PART FOR WHOLE metonymy in which the slogan itself is a metonymy for the whole *Brexit process*. The slogan which is a significant part of the whole *Brexit process* is mapped onto the *Brexit* alone, and in that sense *Brexit* means *something unknown, unclear*. It can be argued that the type of the metonymy included in the example is the *SUB-EVENT FOR THE WHOLE EVENT* because the political situation surrounding May’s election campaign under the slogan *Brexit means Brexit* is mapped onto the whole *Brexit* issue.

(18) PM If you don't know that, you shouldn't be in politics. And certainly not in government. Progressives take note: **Brexit means Brexit** , so let's create a vision for it. Remainers must move beyond our grief at the referendum result and unite and rebuild our country.

<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/sep/05/progressives-note-brexit-create-vision-labour-eu-referendum>)

Example (18) is from the Ivan Lewis³⁵ column and is suggestive of the fact that PART FOR PART metonymy is operative in that case. *Brexit* is being metonymically mapped onto *the exit*. The example is illustrative of how tautology is actually confirmed because in the slogan Brexit actually means *the exit*. The meaning is intensified by the last sentence in which it is referred to the referendum result, i.e. the desire of the British to leave the EU and reunite the UK.

³⁵ Ivan Lewis is the Labour MP for Bury South and a former Foreign Office and DfID minister.

5. 2. 1. 5. BBC

The *BBC* however, compared to *The Guardian*, had a higher occurrence of the slogan, amounting to 13 times.

(19) "**Brexit** means **Brexit** and that means delivering on their instructions and restoring UK control over our laws, borders, money and trade.

(<https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-37334628>)

Brexit in example (19) means the *Brexit negotiations* which is a result of the WHOLE FOR PART metonymy, *Brexit* as the part of the slogan is mapped onto constitutive parts of *Brexit* such as *Brexit negotiations* which include UK control over our laws, borders, money and trade.

(20) New Prime Minister Theresa May has said " Brexit means Brexit " - but no-one yet seems too sure what **Brexit** means. Will the UK stay as a member of the EU single market? Will EU nationals retain the right to live and work in the UK? What economic impact has the Brexit vote had?

(<https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-36881718>)

Example (20) is a case where a WHOLE FOR PART metonymy takes place in a sense that the whole *Brexit* means one of the possible aspects of the *Brexit negotiations*. The example once again exemplifies blurring and/or vagueness as a prevalent pragmatic effect brought about by metonymy.

5. 2. 1. 6. Sky News

The slogan appeared 11 times in *Sky News*.

(21) May moves beyond '*Brexit* means **Brexit**' slogan The "Great Repeal Bill" means we have moved from "**Brexit** means **Brexit**" to "how **Brexit** will mean **Brexit**", writes Faisal Islam. The Prime Minister will finally move beyond "**Brexit** means **Brexit**" with an explanation of how it will happen at some point in the future. In the absence of firm progress so far towards a successful **Brexit**, Theresa May will announce how **Brexit** will be achieved legally and constitutionally on the first day of the Conservative conference in Birmingham.

<https://news.sky.com/story/may-moves-beyond-Brexit-means-Brexit-slogan-10602492>)

Example (21) demonstrates that *Brexit* in the slogan is a result of WHOLE FOR PART metonymy in which it means ***Brexit (date)extension***. In other words, the whole *Brexit* means extending the date of exit, and it is intensified by the shift in grammatical tense, i.e. Simple Present Tense (*means*) became Simple Future Tense (*will mean*) which is suggestive of the time extension. There is however, a case of the PART FOR PART metonymy in the example, and that is evident in the phrase *a successful Brexit* which means that only one part of Brexit, namely ***negotiations***, is mapped onto another one, and that includes a successful negotiations which lead to ***the exit***.

(22) In saying " **Brexit** means **Brexit** " she helped set impossibly high standards for what *Brexit* might mean. She could never meet them. No surprise then, that only 11% of the public back Chequers and 38% think we must come out with no deal at all. Like Cameron, she finds her own words and actions haunting her. In both cases, the political breathing space they bought in the short-term suffocates them in the end. Over the summer, she must do her best to sell her proposals which in fact fall a long way from the soft **Brexit** many Remainers would like.

<https://news.sky.com/story/the-tragedy-of-theresa-may-repeating-david-camerons-mistake-11445842>)

It could be argued that example (22) is a case of PART FOR PART metonymy, i.e. CONTROLLER FOR CONTROLLED. It actually means that *Brexit* which is controlled by May is mapped onto May herself in a sense that it means ***a lot of pressure being put on May***. It is intensified by the words *impossibly high standards*, and *she could never meet them*.

In all the newspapers there is a general conclusion that May was promising Brexit in any possible context, and it meant to stand for many other things, not just the date of exit on 29th March 2019 as she promised but failed to deliver. Moreover, May's slogan is used to present her as ***incompetent***, as the one who broke all the promises given to the British people after being elected as a PM. The slogan is used in a highly manipulative way as nobody really knew what *Brexit* actually entailed in her slogan. A variety of scenarios could be seen as possible, and exactly that vagueness and unclarity is what the British people had been brainwashed with for a very long period of time - all of that hidden under her patriotism expressed by the slogan (when she used the slogan, she wanted the public to be clear that it meant UK's independence, sovereignty, leaving the single market, having its own laws, etc., although many things

remained unclear regarding the real meaning of the slogan). Also, because of the slogan, May had been accused of wishing the (BR)exit in order to stop immigration, by which she, on the one hand, wanted to show the values of the party she belonged to (The Conservatives), and on the other hand, wanted to show that she is the PM who didn't hide genuine patriotic feelings towards the UK - both of the aspects very manipulative towards the voters (which is obviously the goal - causing the confusion in people's minds). It is also important to stress that the interpretation of all examples is possible due to WHOLE FOR PART and PART FOR WHOLE metonymies which seem to be very operative in media discourse and seem to cause many pragmatic effects. Needless to say, the context and co-text is also what matters a lot when it comes to adequate interpretation of the examples.

5. 2. 2. *Get Brexit done* slogan

Theresa May's resignation speech took place on 24 May 2019 and it was a natural course of events as her Withdrawal agreement was rejected three times by the Parliament. The UK was in desperate need of a new political breeze, someone who would be not only a better Leader of the Conservative Party, but also a better Prime Minister, the one who would actually perform in accordance with what Britons voted for in 2016, i.e. to deliver *Brexit*. That is how Boris Johnson (by its full name Alexander de Pfeffel Johnson), comes to the spotlight – he took over leadership of the Conservative Party as well as premiership of the UK. He was Foreign Secretary from 2016 to 2018, and a mayor of London from 2008 to 2016 which means that Theresa May's successor came to the political stage as someone with a lot of political experience and with enough stamina and arrogance to deal with the greatest challenge the UK had to encounter, i.e. *Brexit*. Theresa May's political career was marked by the slogan *Brexit means Brexit* as we have seen in the previous chapter. Similarly, Boris Johnson started his election campaign (prior to becoming PM) with a very vague slogan *Get Brexit done* which will be analysed in this chapter. *Get Brexit done* is a WHOLE FOR PART metonymy in which the whole mess of Brexit should be done and over with, and the following examples demonstrate those metonymic mappings, their purposes and/or pragmatic effects caused by them.

5. 2. 2. 1. *Daily Mail*

In the *Daily Mail* the slogan appears 120 times.

The context surrounding the use of Johnson's slogan, as well as May's, is indicative of what political discourse really is: a place of "political battle", difference of opinion, accusations, manipulation, false admiration by other politicians, etc. - all with the purpose to get in power by all means (irrespective of the people's wellbeing which should be their first and foremost focus).

(23) UK PM Johnson: Let's get **Brexit** done or face "horror show" of Corbyn </s><s>
LONDON, Nov 6 (Reuters) - British Prime Minister Boris Johnson urged voters to back his Conservatives in a Dec. 12 election or face the "horror show" of two referendums next year if Labour's Jeremy Corbyn was elected.

(<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/reuters/article-7656039/UK-PM-Johnson-Lets-Brexit-face-horror-Corbyn.html>)

Johnson's slogan in the example (23) suggests WHOLE FOR PART metonymy as the whole process of *Brexit* is mapped onto the part of it, i.e. (*date of*) *exit*. In other words, the example is understood in the following way: if the UK is not out of the EU as planned, the UK would face another obstacle – another chaos, only then under Corbyn.

Johnson used the slogan in every possible context, even in the context of his "love life" as he used *Brexit* as a means of Christmas present for his girlfriend Carrie Symonds. The act is very corny and very suggestive of the fact that there is no limit to the situations in which Johnson wouldn't use the slogan to get in power, he really mastered it before becoming the PM in July 2019.

(24) Boris Johnson says he will ' get **Brexit** done ' as a Christmas present for his girlfriend Carrie Symonds. In BBC interview Boris Johnson was asked what he is going to get girlfriend Carrie for Christmas. The PM stuck to his core message and replied that he would 'get **Brexit** done'. Mr Johnson said gift no-one wanted was 'deadlock under Corbyn and Sturgeon'.

(<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-7772157/Boris-Johnson-says-Brexit-Christmas-present-girlfriend-Carrie-Symonds.html>)

Example (24) demonstrates WHOLE FOR PART metonymy in which the whole *Brexit (process)* is used as the *exit from the EU*. He used it in a rather corny way, "playing" on emotions, so people could relate to it more easily and give him the votes. In that sense, it could be argued that we are dealing with double metonymy. The fact that the UK's exit from the EU would be

sufficient for his girlfriend's Christmas present goes to show that PART FOR WHOLE metonymy (SUB-EVENT FOR THE WHOLE EVENT type) is operative in the following way: the event of giving her the present (actually exiting the EU) is mapped onto whole event of the *Brexit*, i.e. with all it entails.

The emotion card is a phenomenon often utilized in politics because it gives another dimension to what is being said – it is done so that people (voters) can relate with politicians more easily, as in that way it seems that a politician is just like a common man. Politicians, hence, use emotions often in their public addressing. In addition, Wideman says that the view of emotion as motivation solidifies an emerging consensus amongst rhetoricians, psychologists, sociologists, and political scientists that rationality is static in nature and so needs emotion to perpetuate action (2017: 15). In other words, the author says that rationality is boring, it needs emotion to make it more convenient for the voters. This actually means that inclusion of emotion in public addressing is a strategy for manipulation.

5. 2. 2. 2. *Daily Mirror*

In the *Daily Mirror* the slogan is used 127 times.

It is used by Johnson as a means of accusation towards Labour leader Jeremy Corbyn for not taking a stand against racism in his party. Also, Johnson blamed Islamophobia in Conservative Party for the failure of getting *Brexit* done. Obviously, politicians are searching for reasons for the failure they are actually to be blamed for. It is highly manipulative, and once again, shows how political discourse is like a boxing match in which one sides receives and gives the punches (punches in a sense of accusations and election failures).

(25) The Prime Minister replied: "What we need to do is come together as a country. "We've been going at this too long - and this is my key point tonight - the scratchiness of politics, the bitterness, the acrimony is a function of our inability to get **Brexit** done.

(<https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/politics/boris-johnson-appears-blame-islamophobia-21042044>)

Example (25) shows that *Brexit* in the slogan means the *end of the negotiations as well as the exit*, and it is again an example of WHOLE FOR PART metonymy.

Also, Johnson used the slogan in a rather pathetic way as to come off as a saviour the UK desperately needed, he used the slogan so many times in all contexts that one could argue the British had obviously been successfully brainwashed as they had chosen him to be their new PM and the one who could really get *Brexit* done (under what terms is a completely different story). Example (25) illustrates the context in which the slogan is used.

(26) The manifesto adds: "Above all, we will listen to the people who have felt left behind by the last few decades of economic growth and want to have more control of their future. "We will get **Brexit** done, so we can unleash Britain's potential.

(<https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/politics/conservative-manifesto-launch-live-boris-20949493>).

WHOLE FOR PART metonymy is at work in the example (26) because *Brexit* means the *date of exit*, *which* is, by the way, the most common metonymic meaning encountered whenever Johnson used the slogan. The meaning is intensified by the phrase *unleash Britain's potential* which could be interpreted that everything will be over as long as the end is finally reached, i.e. as long as exit comes to life.

5. 2. 2. 3. *The Sun*

In *The Sun* the slogan is used 45 times.

The slogan was used in a context of Johnson who gave his support to his opponents Lib Dem and SNP coalition (Remainer plan) for the 9 December election - it is all very suggestive of the games usually played by the protagonists of the political discourse in which there are often hidden agendas.

(27) BORIS Johnson could back a Lib Dem and SNP plot for a December 9 election as he vows to "look at all options" to get *Brexit* done. The PM has opened the door to backing the Remainer plan – ending his hopes of getting *Brexit* delivered before the national poll.

Again, the example (27) is also representative case of WHOLE FOR PART metonymy where the whole *Brexit* is used to mean the *date of the exit*. It is also intensified by the provided context, i.e. the word *before* which always suggests a kind of time frame.

(28) FURIOUS Remainers have said that they want to get Brexit done, that they back Boris to deliver it, and that they are ashamed to have voted for Jeremy Corbyn at the last election.

(<https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/10519921/these-remainers-want-brexit-done-so-are-voting-tory/>)

Example (28) is also a case of WHOLE FOR PART metonymy in which the whole *Brexit* means *(handling) Brexit negotiations*. Somehow, when the example is read, it strikes as the date of the exit is not what is meant by *Brexit* in the slogan, but dealing with the negotiations, i.e. *terms of the exit*.

5. 2. 2. 4. *The Guardian*

The Guardian used the slogan slightly more, i.e. 51 times.

The slogan was used in a context of successful brainwashing. It was also used in the context of "spitting" on the opposition as to come off as better, as a nation's saviour. It is also highly manipulative towards voters as when Johnson, or anyone else uses the slogan in such a context, they are actually influencing the opinion of the nation - all such games are used with an obvious purpose to deceive, conceal the truth, change the focus of the topic, etc.

(29) Yes, a Tory victory at this week's election would confirm the UK's departure from the councils of the EU. But it would not " get Brexit done ". Far from it. It would clarify almost nothing. That is the big lie of this election.

(<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2019/dec/09/get-brexit-done-lie-leave-eu-johnson>)

The example (29) is another example of the WHOLE FOR PART metonymy in which the whole issue of *Brexit* actually means *Brexit negotiations, the future in the UK after the exit, the date of the exit on the terms negotiated by the deal*, etc.

(30) The " get Brexit done " Tories, exploiting the least electable Labour leader ever, won the election and were handed an 80-seat majority. The die is cast. For the political class, the issue has become toxic.

<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2020/jan/12/remainers-arent-going-to-vanish-on-31-january-we-fight-on-sure-of-our-cause>)

The example (30) is a case of the WHOLE FOR PART metonymy in which lexeme *Brexit* means *something unknown, vague, etc.*

(31) The Tories now face a dilemma: change or lose their new voters </s><s> ' Get Brexit done ' will not be enough, and the demands of working-class leavers will jar with the party's deepest beliefs </s><s> Its work has barely started, but the government led by Boris Johnson has already transformed British politics.

<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2020/jan/06/tories-dilemma-change-lose-voters-brexit-working-class>)

Example (31) is also an example of the WHOLE FOR PART metonymy in which the whole *Brexit* can mean variety of things: *negotiations, date of the exit, exit itself, exit under negotiated terms, or something else*. Such vagueness is one of the possible metonymic outcomes of using *Brexit* and that is what the politicians rely their rhetoric on. A relevant factor as well is the voter's knowledge with respect to the matter, as well as the political bias they have.

5. 2. 2. 5. BBC

On the BBC, Johnson's slogan was used 37 times.

Johnson used the slogan in one of his speeches when he became the PM. When he used the slogan, the *Brexit* (under his terms) was clarified as he mentioned almost every aspect of the UK's society and generally its future after the exit. It is also illustrative of the fact that manipulation is often nicely packaged, so that the voters can't feel that they had been manipulated or brainwashed to some extent. And naturally, because of that nice package and people's superficiality, they are inclined to give their votes to him.

(32) I will put an end to all that nonsense and we will get *Brexit* done on time by the 31 January. No ifs, no buts, no maybes - leaving the European Union as one United Kingdom, taking back control of our laws, borders, money, our trade, immigration system, delivering on the democratic mandate of the people.

<https://www.bbc.com/news/election-2019-50777071>)

Example (32) illustrates how Johnson's determination and self-assurance (or arrogance for that matter) is a means of hiding the truth, or cause confusion by emphasising what the UK would benefit after the exit from the EU, although nobody actually knows what the future would look like after the exit. The example may be accounted for by what Harkova and Shigapova (2014) suggest, *viz.* implicitness, which is a crucial part of euphemisms caused by metonymy. In other words, the source domain is what is being implied by *Brexit*, whereas target domain is the referential (metonymic) meaning of *Brexit*, i.e. ***the exit***. It is also an example of WHOLE FOR PART metonymy in which the lexeme *Brexit*, which is a part of the slogan actually means ***the exit*** from the EU.

(33) Speaking ahead of the conference Mr Davies said: "We must get Brexit done so that we can focus on the issues that actually matter to people."

(<https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-wales-politics-49864921>)

Example (33) is a case of WHOLE FOR PART metonymy where the whole *Brexit* means ***something very vague, unclear, could be anything: negotiations, end of Brexit process, the date of exit, the exit, future in the UK post-exit, etc.***

(34) He said the Conservative government would "make sure we give our children and grandchildren the future they deserve in this country". Mr Johnson ended by saying: "Let's get *Brexit* done and take this incredible country forwards together." 'Incredible message' "We have travelled all round the country and the enthusiasm of our party's supporters working together to get out there with our message is incredible - and I think that message is getting through," he said.

(<https://www.bbc.com/news/election-2019-50750877>)

WHOLE FOR PART metonymy is the case in the example (34) and the meaning of the lexeme *Brexit* in the slogan is ***the exit***, though it is unclear on what terms. Johnson used the slogan as a means of accelerating negotiations in order to deliver *Brexit* as he promised the British he would. Of course, he did it in a rather pathetic way by playing on the "family" card and the future of those families.

5. 2. 2. 6. *Sky News*

The slogan was found 28 times in *Sky News*.

The slogan was used as a source of disagreement and name-calling between *Brexiteers* and *Remainers* all with the aim to give the public the show, and in such a way, switch the attention from the real problem (the future of the UK after the exit) to accusations.

(35) He's "got *Brexit* done" as he promised, if not quite on time. He'll be hoping to buck the trend and pull off a happy European ending for himself and the country. *Brexit* party 'like Punch and Judy show' as toxic mood persists Shouts of "fake news" were aimed at journalists while *Brexiteers* were called "Nazi scum" on an evening of celebration and sorrow.

(<https://news.sky.com/story/boris-johnson-has-got-Brexit-done-but-will-proceed-with-caution-11923199>)

The example (35) are the words of the commentator Adam Boulton and *Brexit* as a part of the slogan means ***the actual exit*** (in terms of the date and negotiated issues), so metonymy WHOLE FOR PART seem to be operative in this case. Another factor that enables such interpretation of the possible meaning of *Brexit* is the date when the article was published. In this particular case, it was on 4th February 2020 – the beginning of the transition period which means that the UK actually was out of the EU, but terms were yet to be determined.

(36) The sister of Jo Cox, who was killed by a far-right terrorist, says Boris Johnson should reflect on his use of language. The sister of an MP murdered by a far-right terrorist has told Sky News that Boris Johnson was wrong to tell MPs they should honour her sister's memory by delivering *Brexit*. Jo Cox was shot and stabbed a week before the 2016 EU referendum. The prime minister has been heavily criticised for saying the "best way" to honour Mrs Cox was to "get *Brexit* done".

(<https://news.sky.com/story/boris-johnson-wrong-to-say-best-way-to-honour-murdered-mp-is-to-get-Brexit-done-11819980>)

Example (36) is another case of the WHOLE FOR PART metonymy in which *Brexit* means ***the exit***. Johnson used the slogan even in a context which should have been unimaginable to do. It was a rather disrespectful and even insulting act which goes to show Johnson's character - using the slogan in context of someone's death shows (only on surface) his patriotism, but as a human, he was presented inhumane - all of that goes to show that media discourse and its protagonists do not choose the means to be in power, and metonymy as such is a cognitive tool that enables steering of public's opinion and its voting preference.

The slogan coined by Johnson and his team is used to win the elections and deliver *Brexit* - both situations happened. Although he did win the elections and succeeded Theresa May as PM, and he did deliver *Brexit*, one can't help finding the hidden meanings of the slogan (specifically of the *Brexit* within the slogan). *Get Brexit done*, the same way as the *Brexit means Brexit* slogan is used for highly manipulative purposes - to get votes.

Another thing is that there could be some similarities between the two Prime Ministers - Theresa May and Johnson. Although each premiership is characterised by a slogan (Theresa May's by *Brexit means Brexit* and Johnson's by *Get Brexit done*), there is a similarity in a sense that both PMs come from the same Party, they used those slogans for the same purpose - getting the votes, trying to make the deal pass through the Commons, still the ultimate winner was Johnson. The reason for that may be the fact that the UK is a rather conservative society, and from that perspective, she, as a lady had smaller chances of winning, or perhaps her deal was simply worse than his. A counterargument for this claim is Margaret Thatcher's successful 11-year old premiership. Obviously, May's deal was worse, or perhaps, people were just sick and tired of *Brexit*, and they actually gave the green light to Johnson's *Brexit* deal. To sum up, a general conclusion is that metonymies are inevitable and vital part of political discourse which is why politics is so dynamic and very challenging to study from many perspectives.

5. 3. Metonymic Network of *Brexit* in *The Guardian*

This chapter will demonstrate the referential meanings of *Brexit* in *The Guardian*, i.e. what *Brexit* means in article when it is mentioned for the first time, as opposed to its meaning later in the same article, i.e. we will see what the meaning of *Brexit* is in a period of time from around when Theresa May became the Prime Minister to the period of time when Boris Johnson managed to get the UK out of the EU and when the negotiation period started. In other words, we will see whether the metonymic network of meanings expands with time and if so, in what ways and with what pragmatic effects. Only *The Guardian* was taken for the analysis, and given the fact that it is a subset of 212 999 words, it can be argued that the results will be quite credible, as well as applicable across all other newspapers conducted in the analysis of the dissertation, because, as we have seen from the above results, referential meanings of *Brexit* are more or less the same across all the newspapers.

(37) Moments after the crushing defeat, Donald Tusk, president of the European council, warned that he expected a "credible" reason for any delay to **Brexit**. "Should there be a UK reasoned request for an extension, the EU27 will consider it and decide by unanimity," a spokesman for Tusk said. "The EU27 will expect a credible justification for a possible extension and its duration.

(<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2019/mar/12/mps-ignore-mays-pleas-and-defeat-her-Brexit-deal-by-149-votes>)

In the article, after the collocation **Brexit deal** was mentioned for the first time, the topic switches to *Brexit* (based on May's *Brexit* deal) which refers to the *delay* of *Brexit* (but it is very unclear what *Brexit* in that case entails: the exit date, the terms of exit, the future afterwards or all things combined), hence the WHOLE FOR PART metonymy was operative in the example.

(38) We hope naturally that in the coming 17 days we would still be able to avoid a **disorderly Brexit**. But we must now wait and see how the political situation in Britain develops and must not speculate. The British lower house has it all in its own hands.

(<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/live/2019/mar/12/Brexit-mps-vote-theresa-may-backstop-deal-jeremy-corbyn-politics-live>)

In an article in which **Brexit deal** is mentioned first the focus moves onto the (Br)*exit* itself whereby which it is emphasized that under May and *Brexit* would be conducted in a disorderly way. The metonymy WHOLE FOR PART is also at work in the example in which *Brexit* is used to mean the date of the exit.

(39) We are 17 days away from **Brexit** and the uncertainty and confusion continues. A crash-out **Brexit** would be unthinkable for the peace process, jobs, trade and to the loss of people's rights and quality of life, particularly in border communities. Despite giving assurances to Theresa May, the EU has made clear that the withdrawal agreement is not going to be reopened for negotiation. There is now a need to intensify planning for a no-deal crash with an imperative to ensure no return to a hard border, protections of our agreements and safeguarding the rights of citizens.

(<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/live/2019/mar/12/Brexit-mps-vote-theresa-may-backstop-deal-jeremy-corbyn-politics-live>)

The *Brexit deal* collocation appears in an article in which the focus is moved from the deal onto the *Brexit* itself although it is unclear what exactly it is; it is suggested, however, that it entails

uncertainty and confusion. Again, it is a case of the WHOLE FOR PART metonymy in which whole *Brexit* is regarded to mean *Brexit negotiations*.

(40) It can be hard to disentangle the disaster **Brexit** might always have been from the specific mess May has made of it. There are turnings on the road to failure that she did not need to take, junctions that were missed. She did not have to embark on the article 50 route before knowing where it led. She could have drawn different red lines or changed them when they confined her to impossible choices. But while there were problems with the driver, there were also limits to how far she could get with *Brexit* maps, scrawled in crayon on the eve of the referendum with wild, higgledy lines pointing at destinations that don't exist. The result is that the country has been driven round in circles.

(<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2019/mar/12/theresa-may-Brexit-reality-prime-minister-eu-exit>)

The example (40) which is also illustrative of the WHOLE FOR PART metonymy is from the article in which collocation *Brexit negotiation* is the topic of the article, and where it soon switches to *Brexit*, which is used to mean *consequences*.

(41) May loses control of **Brexit** after MPs throw out revamped deal". The paper says May's authority is "in shreds" after her "revamped exit deal was overwhelmingly rejected".

(<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2019/mar/13/house-of-fools-what-the-papers-said-about-mays-Brexit-defeat>)

Most of the time, whenever *Brexit deal* appears, *Brexit* somehow refers to *date of exit* as her deal has been 3 times rejected, and it is intensified because of the published date of the article which is only 16 days before the planned date of exit, i.e. 29th March 2019. The example (41) is also illustrative of the WHOLE FOR PART metonymy in which whole *Brexit* is used to mean the *date of exit*.

(42) The Guardian reports the vote as "Another huge defeat for May. And just 16 days until **Brexit**". The paper says the prime minister pleaded, "with her voice cracked and fading", with the House of Commons to pass the deal and that its failure to do so was "humiliating", a "crushing new blow" and "a catastrophic defeat" for May.

(<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2019/mar/13/house-of-fools-what-the-papers-said-about-mays-Brexit-defeat>)

Brexit also refers to May's loss of control regarding the whole *Brexit* thing. The explanation for example (42) is the same as in the previous example. *Brexit* means the *date of exit*.

(43) This was their first chance to stand up and be counted, but instead they sat on their hands. **Brexit** remains in chaos with the government having faced heavy defeats this week. The Commons has agreed by a large majority that article 50 will have to be extended. With the hallowed exit date of 29 March more or less scrapped, it now seems inevitable that **Brexit** will be delayed or very possibly stopped. A people's vote remains the only way to resolve what is fast becoming a national crisis.

(<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/live/2019/mar/14/Brexit-mps-to-vote-on-delaying-departure-from-european-union-politics-live>)

In the following article *Brexit* means *delay to the proposed date of exit*. It thus means that the PART FOR PART metonymy is operative in this case as *Brexit*, i.e. *Brexit process* (one part of the whole *Brexit*) is used to mean *delay to the proposed date of exit, i.e. 29th March 2019*.

(44) **Brexit** has caused international concern about stability in the UK, former Foreign Office minister Alistair Burt has said. Mr Burt, who quit his ministerial post this week so that he could vote against the Government on EU withdrawal, said overseas observers want to see the situation resolved. He said **Brexit** had had an impact on the view of the UK from abroad, telling The House magazine: "The exposure of our processes has made some people think very carefully about where British politics is going. "They're concerned about stability. They want to see this resolved.

(<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/live/2019/mar/14/Brexit-mps-to-vote-on-delaying-departure-from-european-union-politics-live>)

In the article, *Brexit* then refers to instability surrounding *Brexit*. It is an example of the PART FOR WHOLE metonymy in which *end of Brexit process* is used to mean *Brexit*. In that sense, we are dealing here with the example of SCALE ICM in which the END is used to mean the THE WHOLE SCALE.

(45) May began the session, which is the first cabinet meeting since the summer break, by telling her ministers that there will be "no attempts to stay in the EU by the back door". She said that meant no second referendum, before restating the slogan from the

early part of her premiership: "**Brexit** means **Brexit**". Her spokeswoman said the group also had a long discussion on their commitment to the devolved nations of the UK, promising to "make sure **Brexit** works for all".

(<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/live/2019/mar/14/Brexit-mps-to-vote-on-delaying-departure-from-european-union-politics-live>)

Brexit also refers to something very vague and unclear with an obvious intention to deceive the public and get the support, i.e. votes. May used her electoral slogan *Brexit means Brexit* and the use of such tautology is again very indicative of how politicians use empty and vague expressions with the only goal to cause confusion. The WHOLE FOR PART metonymy is operative in the example as the whole *Brexit* is used to mean either *better future for everyone, Brexit negotiations, the question of single market solved, the relation with the NI, rights of UK citizens outside of the UK, and rights of the EU citizens in the UK, worker's rights, immigration policy, fishery policy, the issue of real-estate market in the UK, etc.*

(46) Remaining in the customs union would prevent Britain pursuing an independent trade policy; and for many Conservatives that was the whole point of **Brexit**. Theresa May's deal does in fact secure most of the advantages of the customs union without its obligations. Remaining in the internal market entails freedom of movement, which most Conservative MPs, and indeed most **Brexit** voters, reject.

(<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2019/mar/20/mps-theresa-may-deal-Brexit-norway-peoples-vote>)

From the Conservatives' point of view, the whole point of the *Brexit* is for the UK to have independent trade policy, deciding trade issues on their own, rather than being in customs union with the EU. This is the example of the PART FOR WHOLE metonymy in which *Brexit* is used to mean *Brexit negotiations*.

(47) "We see at the moment a real **Brexit** revolt," he said. "Until now, all the Commons votes have been against something. This is the first time that there is a vote for something – cross-party cooperation. We have long called for that. "It is possible now to work for cross-party proposals and an alliance that could change the political declaration fundamentally. It is very important that this cross-party cooperation will start and I hope it leads to proposals that can be backed by a majority."

<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/live/2019/mar/20/Brexit-latest-news-letter-article-50-extension-pmq-s-theresa-may-bends-to-pressure-from-tory-Brexiters-and-rules-out-asking-for-long-article-extension-politics-live>)

The example is illustrative of the WHOLE FOR PART metonymy in which *Brexit* is used to mean either *(May's) Brexit deal, Brexit negotiations, Brexit process, Brexit delay, etc.* The revolt is against one of these things: either May's handling of the *Brexit*, or the negotiations, process, delay, or something else. It is not completely clear what is being referred to.

Example (47), as many others in the dissertation, illustrates what Halliday and Song talked about and that is the importance of linguistic context on the metonymic meaning of *Brexit*. Linguistic context, as Song (2010) explains it, presupposes the relation between the deictic, co-text and collocation (*Brexit* revolt). Deixis includes parameters such as time, space, protagonists, and other circumstances, whereas co-text and the collocation "*Brexit* revolt" contribute to the metonymic meaning of *Brexit* inasmuch as they intensify the target domain, which ultimately has a certain pragmatic effect – influence on the voters. After the collocation, the lemma *Brexit* appears in the text and it refers to cross-party cooperation (Conservative party and the Labour) regarding the exit and it all strikes one as an act of manipulation, as the opposed parties rarely agree on something, so it is difficult to imagine that there would be a different scenario in that sense as well.

(48) The Express says: "Today at 11pm Britain was to be free from the shackles of the EU". The Express calls MPs failure to deliver **Brexit** on schedule the "Darkest hour for democracy".

<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/live/2019/mar/23/Brexit-hundreds-of-thousands-expected-to-march-for-peoples-vote-london-live-updates>)

In the article, when the *Brexit* process was mentioned, only *Brexit* was mentioned later and then it referred to dark democracy. It suggests that even though, the *Brexit* vote was a symbol of democracy (people of the UK decided whether they wanted to stay or leave the EU), the *Brexit* outcome seems to be very dark in terms of what the future brings, and therefore is referred to as dark democracy. However, the example is a clear instance of WHOLE FOR PART metonymy in which *Brexit* is used to mean the *date of exit*.

(49) "Nicola Sturgeon, the first minister of Scotland, urged people to secure a longer extension to the process, to allow time for a new referendum to be held. This is now the

moment of maximum opportunity – we need to avoid both the catastrophe of no-deal and the damage which would be caused by the prime minister's bad deal. The EU's decision to postpone things until at least April 12 has opened a window, and those of us who oppose **Brexit** must seize the chance it offers." Sturgeon said the House of Commons must take back control from Theresa May and "secure a longer extension to the process, to allow time for a new referendum to be held". "The prime minister and her government have proved completely incapable of delivering on the result of the 2016 vote, which is why it is right that this should now go back to the people.

(<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/live/2019/mar/23/Brexit-hundreds-of-thousands-expected-to-march-for-peoples-vote-london-live-updates>)

Example (49) is a good example of what Song refers to as situational context, as Nicola Sturgeon used “the then” moment, referring to May’s deal as the bad one. In other words, we have participants, we have the time and object of the speech which are all features of the situational context which contribute to the meaning of the target domain. Also, it is an instance of the WHOLE FOR PART metonymy where it may mean either the *date of exit*, or *Brexit vote*. Because of the lexeme *postpone* and the date 12th April, *Brexit* may be used to mean *date of exit*. However, in light of the remaining text, or co-text, the meaning may also be *Brexit vote*. Ambiguity is created and we do not know for sure what is meant.

(50) The paper said May "lacks the communication skills, the capacity for creative thinking and the political flexibility to make a success of **Brexit**". It added: "She speaks mostly in platitudes: '**Brexit** means **Brexit**', 'strong and stable', 'smooth and orderly'." But above all, the paper concluded: "**Brexit** was, for her, a way to control immigration. This was a red line that ruled out other options in the negotiations and led, inevitably, to the present impasse.

(<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2019/mar/24/european-media-delight-in-covering-anti-Brexit-march>)

The example illustrates WHOLE FOR PART metonymy in which *Brexit* is regarded to mean one part of it, i.e. *Brexit negotiations*. In the article, when the *Brexit* process was mentioned, the author of the article switched swiftly to what *Brexit* means for May (according to the German newspaper Die Zeit), and it was concluded that *Brexit* for her means primarily the control of immigration, i.e. the focus of her handling of *Brexit* is actually the number of people coming to live in the UK.

(51) Another day, another series of front pages dedicated to **Brexit**. The Sun has revelations that the prime minister will consider resigning in exchange for MPs passing her *Brexit* deal, under the slightly nauseating and nonsensical headline: "Back me and sack me".

<https://www.theguardian.com/media/2019/mar/26/stuck-in-the-muddle-with-eu-what-the-papers-say-about-mps-taking-control-of-Brexit>

Brexit is used to refer to political blackmailing coming from May. It was packed in the following shape: if MPs supported her *Brexit* deal, she would step down as a PM. *Brexit* in the example is used to mean either ***Brexit negotiations***, ***Brexit process***, or ***Brexit deal***. Again, this is a case of WHOLE FOR PART metonymy.

(52) We've been driven round in circles. There's a huge gulf between the PM's skills and those required to navigate Britain's EU exit There might still be ways that **Brexit** can go badly; unexplored dead ends and byways of failure. There is no strategy, no guiding intelligence. A plan must be salvaged from the wreckage of a bad idea badly executed.

<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/live/2019/mar/27/Brexit-latest-news-live-debate-indicative-votes--to-vote-on-alternative-votes-as-speculation-mounts-may-could-announce-plans-to-quit-live-news?page=with:block-5c9be834e4b0b4d18bde1672#block-5c9be834e4b0b4d18bde1672>

When the collocation *Brexit date* was mentioned in the article featuring example (52), the switch soon took place to *Brexit* which refers to something highly unsuccessful caused by May and how she handled the *Brexit* thing. It is a very manipulative way of influencing the readers/ voters because instead of discussing the possible dates of the exit, the author of the article moves the focus onto May's (in)competence and general dissatisfaction with May's handling of *Brexit*, so that the pressure becomes overwhelming for May and that she eventually steps down, what she actually did after her deal had been 3 times rejected. The example is a WHOLE FOR PART metonymy in which *Brexit* is used to mean ***Brexit negotiations***.

(53) There is a quieter tranche of MPs whose first preference is that **Brexit** just be done with a minimum of trauma. Most aren't that bothered about the detail. But May's withdrawal agreement, the only existing mechanism to achieve their goal, is just too toxic after so much high-profile scorn.

<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/live/2019/mar/27/Brexit-latest-news-live-debate-indicative-votes--to-vote-on-alternative-votes-as-speculation-mounts-may-could-announce-plans-to-quit-live-news?page=with:block5c9be834e4b0b4d18bde1672#block-5c9be834e4b0b4d18bde1672>

At first the focus in the article featuring example (53) includes the most important things regarding the deal (agreement), and then the switch is being made on the *Brexit* meaning May's incompetence, i.e. May's failure to have her deal passed by the Commons. In the article she was presented as incompetent, handling *Brexit* badly and causing a lot of dissatisfaction and general chaos and confusion. The example, however, demonstrates WHOLE FOR PART metonymy in which *Brexit* is used to mean *Brexit process*.

(54) The Guardian says that May promised more than 100 times that the UK would leave the EU on 29 March but instead she will be submitting "only half of her **Brexit** deal to a vote today".

<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2019/mar/29/day-of-reckoning-what-the-papers-say-on-29-march-2019>

Firstly, *Brexit* is used as a part of the collocation *Brexit deal* in an article, and later on, within the same article, *Brexit* is mentioned to refer to the 29 March, the exit day which May would not be able to achieve. Again, it is an example of a PART FOR PART metonymy as *Brexit deal* is used to mean *the exit day*.

(55) Goldsmith said: "I cannot support this convoluted mess. That it takes us towards a rigged referendum between her deal and **no Brexit** is just grotesque. The PM must go." At a meeting of the European Research Group of pro-*Brexit* MPs, a source said the mood had turned definitively against May's deal. The draining away of Conservative support for May's deal suggests it could be defeated by a much greater margin than last time, when it lost by 58 votes.

<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2019/may/21/tories-line-up-to-reject-convoluted-mess-of-mays-Brexit-deal>

In some articles there is a mention of *Brexit steering group*, and somewhere there is the *Brexit* delivery group of 100 MPs who supported May's deal with the aim to avoid a second referendum. In both cases, after it has been mentioned for the first time in the article, later in the text there is a switch of focus onto *Brexit*, which refers to criticism of May and her deal

(especially amongst Conservative MPs). The example, however, is a case of WHOLE FOR PART metonymy in which (no)*Brexit* is used to mean a part of the whole *Brexit* issue which mean either ***Brexit process***, ***Brexit deal***, ***Brexit negotiations***, or all three combined. It is not completely clear.

(56) And with her party facing defeat by Nigel Farage's **Brexit** party in Thursday's European election, she warned that extending the **Brexit** deadlock "risks opening the door to a nightmare future of permanently polarised politics". "Look around the world and consider the health of liberal democratic politics, and look across the United Kingdom and consider the impact of failing to deliver on the clear instruction of the British people in a lawful referendum," she said.

(<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2019/may/21/may-offers-mps-vote-on-second-referendum-in-new-Brexit-deal>)

In some articles, the focus of the text is moved from *Brexit party MEPs* onto *Brexit* which refers to politics which is highly polarised. Although *Brexit* in both places of the example is actually premodifier, its meaning is the result of WHOLE FOR PART metonymy and it means ***Brexit negotiations*** in the first case, whereas a PART FOR PART metonymy is operative in the second case, as the date or deadline is used to mean ***Brexit delay***.

(57) A source close to Johnson said: "He's proud to have been one of those who led the campaign for **Brexit**, and he's absolutely proud that it's given voice to millions of Britons who have previously felt ignored. "His role now will be to champion that cause; to ensure that those commitments made by our leaders to the people and the message sent by the people to our leaders is heard. " They added that he would fight to ensure that politics does not return to "business as usual".

(<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/30/boris-johnson-rules-himself-out-of-tory-leadership-race-Brexit-eu-referendum>)

In the article after the mention of the collocation *Brexit vote*, the focus of the text soon switches to Johnson and his political ascent as May's most serious rival. In the articles with the collocation (15 articles), it is obvious that in political discourse the change of topic smoothly and swiftly happens after the introduction of the first topic. It shows us that the intention is to deceive the public, hide something, or make it prettier. It is the case of the WHOLE FOR PART metonymy in the example as the whole *Brexit* is used to mean ***the exit*** from the EU.

(58) Jeremy Corbyn, the Labour leader, rejected Johnson's defence of his deal, saying it would "fire the starting gun on a race to the bottom". "Voting for a deal today won't end **Brexit**. It won't deliver certainty and the people should have the final say. Labour is not prepared to sell out the communities we represent. We are not prepared to sell out their future. And we will not back this sell-out deal," he said.

(<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2019/oct/19/boris-johnson-implores-mps-to-get-Brexit-done-in-super-saturday-session>)

In the article, after the mention of the *Brexit delay*, *Brexit* is used by the Labour leader and it is used to refer to uncertainty, and it is the uncertainty caused by Johnson's deal. It is very suggestive in the article that the newspaper is completely against Johnson's policy. In addition, the political bias of the newspaper is close to the left wing which is why Johnson receives so much antipathy from the paper as he is the politician belonging to right wing of the UK's politics. The example is a case of the PART FOR WHOLE metonymy in which *Brexit* is used to mean only a part of it, namely ***Brexit process***.

(59) The Tories' central campaign theme is unachievable: they created this mess and can deliver only division and destabilisation. The leitmotif of Boris Johnson's campaign has been **Brexit**. For someone who loves to speechify as much as he does, Johnson's message discipline has been awesome. "Get *Brexit* done" has been the "strong and stable" of the 2019 campaign. The slogan is brilliantly succinct and well chosen. But it is a fraud. Johnson did not call the election because he lacked a parliamentary majority for **Brexit**. A Commons vote on 22 October showed that there was such a majority.

(<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2019/dec/12/Brexit-election-boris-johnson-tories>)

In the article *Brexit* is mentioned to refer to division and destabilisation under Johnson's premiership. In both cases within the example *Brexit* is used to mean either ***Brexit process***, ***Brexit negotiations***, ***the exit***, ***the future after exit***, or ***something else***. It is not clear exactly because metonymy triggered such vagueness of meaning.

(60) **Brexit** remains in chaos with the government having faced heavy defeats this week. The Commons has agreed by a large majority that article 50 will have to be extended.

(<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2019/dec/13/bombastic-boris-johnson-wins-huge-majority-on-promise-to-get-Brexit-done>)

There is a situation in which the use of collocation *Brexit deal* is transformed into *Brexit* and the term refers to chaos; it is suggestive of typical politician's manipulation (one party member "attacks" the other party member for conducting certain political moves - in that sense, May's deal and the whole *Brexit* is referred to as chaos). WHOLE FOR PART metonymy is operative in this example as well, and *Brexit* means *Brexit deal* or *Brexit negotiations*.

(61) Boris Johnson is deluded if he thinks he can 'get **Brexit** done' in a hurry. Even if the Tories gain a majority, the UK faces a long wait for a trade deal with the EU to be negotiated "Get **Brexit** done." The phrase certainly has a powerful ring to it. More than that, it fulfils two obvious electoral purposes. It avoids political discussion of what "doing **Brexit**" might actually involve. And, more practically, it provides a phrase that can be memorised and repeated ad nauseum on rainy doorsteps and in online advertisements.

(<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2019/dec/13/bombastic-boris-johnson-wins-huge-majority-on-promise-to-get-Brexit-done>)

First there is the mention of the collocation, which is soon after replaced by the mention of *Brexit* in a sense that Johnson is wrong to think he could deliver *Brexit* in a hurry. So, from *Brexit* project collocation, the article switches to *Brexit* which mostly refers to Johnson's unrealistic wish (which is also electoral promise) - to get Brexit done, but in a hurry. The meaning of *Brexit* in the example is a case of the WHOLE FOR PART metonymy in which *Brexit* is used to mean *Brexit negotiations*.

(62) He said he was "obviously very sad at the result we've achieved" and suggested he will step down in the early part of next year, but insisted he had "pride" in the party's policies. His critics blamed the party's losses on Corbyn's ambiguity over **Brexit** and said voters had expressed antipathy to him during the campaign.

(<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2019/dec/13/bombastic-boris-johnson-wins-huge-majority-on-promise-to-get-Brexit-done>)

In one of the articles (out of 14 altogether), from the use of the collocation *Brexit referendum*, the focus of the text is moved onto *Brexit* which refers to Corbyn's failure and the antipathy he received when he had introduced a manifesto in which he offers a second referendum. So as it becomes obvious, *Brexit* has multiple referential roles (at one point, it refers to May's competence, at some other point it reflects Johnson's political skills, and in some cases, it refers

to Corbyn's skills; of course, it refers to uncertainty, chaos and many other things). The example is again a WHOLE FOR PART metonymy and *Brexit* means one of the following: ***Brexit negotiations, Brexit process, the exit date, Brexit deal, something else, or it could mean anything.***

(63) Clarke said Johnson's policy vagueness was particularly acute on **Brexit**: "I could never get out of Boris – and nobody so far could get out of Boris – what he has in mind for the eventual deal. To say they're generalities is an understatement. "It's not good sitting alongside the people who've been mandated by 27 other governments and just saying your aim is to be global Britain.

<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2019/dec/20/Brexit-pm-asks-britons-to-move-on-as-mps-debate-withdrawal-bill>)

The example represents the WHOLE FOR PART metonymy where everything surrounding *Brexit* is used to mean one part of it, namely ***Brexit negotiations, Brexit process or Brexit deal.***

(64) Whatever Johnson does, he cannot keep all of his **Brexit** promises, as gigantic hurdles stand in his way. The most impassable are fisheries, agriculture, finance and Northern Ireland. No fixes and fudges will let him bluster through these. One is of the gravest economic importance, the others are of little financial value but stand at the beating heart of everything **Brexit** stands for – nation, flag, heritage, identity and independence.

<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2019/dec/20/johnson-break-Brexit-promises-labour-forensic-exposing>)

Although it is a text about Johnson and his *Brexit promises*, *Brexit* is found in the article to refer to nation, flag, heritage, identity and independence. So, as is obvious here, *Brexit* refers to strong patriotic words. The aim of the article is to play with patriotic feelings of the public to make them more focused on politicians' personal agenda, i.e. the exit on their terms. From a cognitive perspective, however, the first *Brexit* in the example is used to mean ***Brexit process and/or end of it*** and is a result of the WHOLE FOR PART metonymy. The second *Brexit* is used to mean ***the exit*** and is a result of a PART FOR PART metonymy in which *exit* is only one part of the *Brexit negotiations*.

(65) Precisely, the problem was that Labour massively underestimated how much leave voters wanted **Brexit**, while overestimating how much remainers wanted to stop **Brexit**.

Millions and millions of people still want Britain to leave the EU. In December thus far, remain is averaging 53% and leave is averaging 47% in polls; although remain is ahead in the polls, leave voters showed that they were prepared to vote collectively to ensure that **Brexit** happens. Remain voters, however, showed that they were not willing to vote collectively to stop **Brexit**.

(<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2019/dec/21/johnson-dances-around-varadkar-claims-he-is-on-hard-Brexit-path>)

After the mention of the *Brexit bill* in the context of Johnson's withdrawal bill, the focus of the text is switched to *Brexit* which stands for Labour's defeat. The example is illustrative of the WHOLE FOR PART metonymy in which the whole *Brexit* is mapped onto a part of it, namely *the exit*.

(66) Apart from ardent Brexiteers, few voters I spoke to had confidence in its outcome and fewer still saw Johnson as a trustworthy leader. Indeed, I have never experienced an election where opinion on a prime minister was so cynical and dismissive. He was just the lesser of two evils. But there was also little sense among constituents, despite my best efforts, that there was any alternative to seeing **Brexit** through. Some were resigned to leaving the European Union even though they believed this would be harmful for Britain.

(<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2019/dec/23/tory-boris-johnson-labour>)

Most of the time the collocation is used in the context of Johnson and his handling of the *Brexit* - the question of the Irish backstop and other key issues such as people's rights, etc. Also, *Brexit* refers to Labour party protesting or disagreeing with Johnson's handling of Brexit. Again, WHOLE FOR PART metonymy is operative in this example as *Brexit* is used to mean *the exit*.

(67) Hitler was the biggest threat facing Europe, and Churchill knew it. While not wishing to compare the threat of **Brexit** to the threat of Hitler, I think the point is that Hitler's intentions were always clear for those with eyes to see and ears to hear, and so are the prospects for leaving the single market and pretending we can go back to the 19th century. Johnson's 'Get *Brexit* done' drumbeat cannot drown out reality for ever. The prime minister's snappy, inane slogan is the prelude to inevitable lies, betrayal and duplicity.

<https://www.theguardian.com/business/2019/dec/29/get-Brexit-done-not-even-allowed-to-mention-it>)

In the article the collocation is used as a part of Johnson's campaign slogan (*Get Brexit Done*) and then the focus changes from the slogan onto what *Brexit* entails for Johnson, what his ambitions are, both personal and political, and in that context, *Brexit* is referred to as a threat similar to the one Hitler stood for in the 20th century. Given the fact that Hitler represented the worst part of world history in the 20th century, it is obvious that by comparing *Brexit* with what Hitler did, represents an act of affecting the voters, so they can be disgusted and appalled by Johnson and his *Brexit* - again, political discourse is seen as an act of manipulation. Example (67) illustrates how cultural context Song (2010) talks about is also very important in creating the target domain, i.e. it provides insight into what *Brexit* refers to. Reference to Hitler intensifies the metonymic meaning of *Brexit*. The WHOLE FOR PART metonymy is operative in the example as whole *Brexit* is used to mean *the exit*. It could be argued, however, that the example is also illustrative of PART FOR PART metonymy in which the “ugly part” that Hitler represented for the rest of the world (world’s threat) is mapped onto Johnson’s *Brexit* which is used to mean *Brexit process, Brexit negotiations and/or the exit*.

(68) She warned that **Brexit** day would be hard for those who wished to remain in the EU. "This will be a tough and emotional day," she said, adding that both sides needed to be optimistic about the future beyond 31 January.

<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2020/jan/08/ursula-von-der-leyen-uk-deadline-makes-full-Brexit-deal-impossible>)

Another collocation used in *The Guardian* is *Brexit process* which, when used in the article often switches to *Brexit* which then has a variety of meanings. By means of the WHOLE FOR PART metonymy *Brexit* is used to mean *the exit*.

(69) The **Brexit** department is to close. The word itself is to be outlawed from Whitehall. But Johnson knows that **Brexit** is an oceanic process. It can't be wished out of existence. How significant is all of this for the longer term? This is only the start of whatever process is evolving.

<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2020/jan/08/boris-johnson-right-left-Brexit>)

After Johnson became the PM, he banned the word *Brexit* from the Whitehall - it is also very manipulative towards the public, he wanted to show that now that he managed to deliver *Brexit*, he no longer wanted the word anywhere as it symbolizes something bad, something the UK finally managed to get rid of. *Brexit* under Johnson refers to something being full of general, instead of specific things, which raises the level of uncertainty in the UK. The example is illustrative of the WHOLE FOR PART metonymy in which *Brexit* means *the exit*.

(70) Second, many at the top of government see diverging from EU rules as the big prize of **Brexit**. While legislation enshrining existing EU standards in the areas of workers' rights and the environment is likely, it's doubtful this government will agree to follow EU rules in the future.

(<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2020/jan/14/Brexit-weekly-briefing-uk-eu-all-smiles-but-faultlines-clear>)

In the article, after *Brexit talks* were first mentioned, later it was only *Brexit* that was mentioned and it referred to not obeying to the EU laws, i.e. to independence from the EU laws. Also, the WHOLE FOR PART metonymy is operative, the result of which is that *Brexit* means *the exit*.

(71) **Brexit** is inherently anticlimactic. This is not just because the botched process of negotiating withdrawal has turned the gush of liberation into a dribble, with Independence Days (29 March; 31 October) coming and going like a millenarian preacher's predictions for the end of the world. It is not just because the special memorial 50p coins had to be melted down. It is because the act of liberation itself is fundamentally spurious. Revolutions unleash euphoria because they create tangible images of change and inaugurate, at least in the fevered minds of their supporters, a new epoch. **Brexit** can't do either of these things. The problem with a revolt against imaginary oppression is that you end up with imaginary freedom.

(<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2020/jan/17/nul-points-eu-revision-contest-Brexiters-big-ben>)

The example is representative of *Brexit* being used to mean *Brexit negotiations*, *Brexit process*, *Brexit deal*, *the exit* or *everything combined*. It is a result of the WHOLE FOR PART metonymy.

(72) "He argued the UK and the EU would be able to negotiate a zero-tariff and zero-quota deal even while Britain was insisting on some degree of regulatory divergence. "We're coming out of the single market, we're coming out of the customs union. We're not just going to diverge just for the sake of it – we need to look at where the opportunities are. "But it is true that we are going to have control of our approach to regulation and that's the very essence of **Brexit**: that we can do things differently, particularly where, for example, there is innovation, there is new technologies, there's things where we want to move quickly. **Brexit** at its very core is that we will have control of our laws, our regulation and that is why we can't be a rule-taker. We need to have that opportunity.

(<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2020/jan/26/Brexit-uk-trade-talks-steve-barclay-eu>)

In the article *Brexit* is used to refer to the UK's policy, the policy which is strong and independent; *Brexit* is actually a symbol of that strength and independence. By using *Brexit* in such a context, the author wants to influence voters by playing on the patriotic feelings of the public and by doing so in a way justifying the (Br)exit *per se*. It is the case of WHOLE FOR PART metonymy in which *Brexit* is regarded to mean *the exit*.

(73) Barnier, who is due to deliver a speech in Belfast, said the united front that delivered a withdrawal agreement acceptable to Brussels, Dublin and other members would continue in **Brexit's** next phase. "**Brexit** really showed, we are all part of a family," he said. "**Brexit** will not go away. We have important work ahead of us.

(<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/jan/27/Brexit-eu-will-have-upper-hand-in-trade-talks-says-leo-varadkar>)

In the article after the *Brexit talk* collocation was used for the first time, *Brexit* was mentioned to refer to the one family everyone is a significant part of. The example demonstrates three uses of *Brexit*, the meaning of each of them is mapped onto a different thing under WHOLE FOR PART metonymy, as well as PART FOR PART metonymy. The first *Brexit* means ***Brexit negotiations***, the second is a result of PART FOR PART metonymy and is a case of *CONTAINMENT ICM* in which *Brexit* means *the exit* because of which the UK's citizens are members of such family. The third *Brexit* is also a result of PART FOR PART metonymy in which it means ***Brexit process and/or the exit***.

(74) Schmidt realised at a meeting with French universities last year that **Brexit** was already harming student exchange. "Some partner institutions were saying that they were stopping sending new students to the UK because of the uncertainty. A lot of institutions are worried that they might be left footing the bill for fees at British universities."

<https://www.theguardian.com/education/2020/jan/28/too-much-risk-why-erasmus-students-are-shunning-Brexit-britain>)

Brexit and *Britain* are sometimes used as a collocation, and sometimes after *Brexit*, there is a comma, and then the other part of the sentence continues. (In 2016, Davis argued that after *Brexit* Britain should provide "an 0800 number that a small specialist manufacturer in the north of England, say, could call for practical help in Shanghai".) In some other articles there is a real *Brexit Britain* collocation after which there is a mention of *Brexit* in which it refers to the risk for academic life. Obviously, the paper wants to show that *Brexit* affects every aspect of life in the UK post-*Brexit*, and academic life is in distress too. The example is a case of WHOLE FOR PART metonymy in which *Brexit* means *the exit*.

(75) We are living in an increasingly digital age and the young mostly don't use cash, preferring plastic. Big Ben is also not going to bong so there will be no ringing in **Brexit**. Not a good start methinks. GDP growth appears to be flat and imports have fallen after the stockpiling that took place on **Brexit** fears. Over the Christmas period retail sales failed to rise for a record fifth month in a row in a sign of just how weak the economy is.

<https://www.theguardian.com/business/2020/jan/30/is-uncertainty-lifting-now-Brexit-is-finally-happening-experts-debate-the-data>)

In the article, after the collocation was used and discussed in terms of possible delays and further negotiations with the EU, the focus is moved on the *Brexit* and it refers to bad economy for the UK after the exit (according to David Blanchflower, professor of economics). The first *Brexit* in the example demonstrates WHOLE FOR PART metonymy in which it means *the exit*. The second *Brexit*, however, is a case of PART FOR WHOLE metonymy in which it means that the exit is used to mean *consequences* and/or *concession*.

(76) Johnson claimed that pressing ahead with **Brexit** would "allow the warmth and natural affection that we all share with our European neighbours to find renewed

expression in one great new national project of building a deep, special and democratically accountable partnership with those nations we are proud to call our closest friends".

<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2020/jan/31/keir-starmer-labour-should-argue-for-return-of-free-movement-Brexit>

In the article there is a shift from *Brexit deal* (under Johnson) on the *Brexit* whereby it refers to something good and desirable for both the UK and the EU. It is a case of WHOLE FOR PART metonymy in which *Brexit* means either *Brexit negotiations or the exit*.

(77) At 10pm, he is scheduled to deliver a televised address to the country calling **Brexit** not an end but a beginning and will describe it as "a moment of real national renewal and change". "This is the moment when the dawn breaks and the curtain goes up on a new act," Johnson will say, according to snippets released in advance by Downing Street. "This is the dawn of a new era in which we no longer accept that your life chances – your family's life chances – should depend on which part of the country you grow up in.

<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2020/jan/31/keir-starmer-labour-should-argue-for-return-of-free-movement-Brexit>

In the article *Brexit deal* shifts to *Brexit* which means something better, something new, new breeze with new changes, and very likely, a better future. It is an example where WHOLE FOR PART metonymy is operative and in which *Brexit* means *the exit*.

In addition, as presented so far, the aim of the media is probably to cause confusion in people's minds, and in such way manipulate them. Instead of writing about the date of British exit from the EU, the authors of the article move the focus of the topic onto what *Brexit* entails. In such a way, people are getting confused, and without even realizing, manipulated by both politicians as well as the media.

(78) Shambolic and a bit clueless. Because deep down Boris has never really been a true believer. **Brexit** was an ill-fitting carapace he had worn to get into power. He'd never really thought anyone would believe the lies he'd told. It was a game that had suddenly become all too real. The fun had stopped but he couldn't. Now he was expected to take responsibility for what he had done, he just wanted to hide.

<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2020/jan/31/boris-johnson-goes-missing-in-action-on-his-big-Brexit-day>)

In the article the focus is moved from *Brexit night* onto *Brexit* which refers to Johnson's means of getting into power, and not truly fighting for the UK's interests. The example demonstrates PART FOR WHOLE metonymy in which a part of the whole *Brexit* thing, namely the exit, is used to mean *consequences*. It again shows that politics is a place for reaching one's own power-hungry ambitions, instead of fighting for "better tomorrow" for the people who made them make decisions of such importance. It is evident how manipulation is the only way to get the votes, and metonymy is a device to achieve that.

(79) Speaking in Paris, Michel Barnier, the EU's chief **Brexit** negotiator, said things "would never be the same as before" between the EU and Britain, because "the British don't want them to be". He said the EU would be guided in the future talks by the principle that "we will not compromise to the detriment of the single market". The EU "respects the UK's choice", he said. "But they must decide what they want. They want to diverge from the EU rulebook – the question is, will it be a reasonable divergence, or will it lead to a situation of social dumping, of unfair competition?"

<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2020/jan/31/eu-leaders-tell-uk-to-expect-tough-Brexit-trade-negotiations>)

In the example *Brexit* appears to mean things would be changed after the exit. It represents a small hope for the public that everything would be better after the exit, when in reality many things still remain unclear. It is a case of WHOLE FOR PART metonymy in which it is evident that *Brexit* is used to mean *Brexit negotiations*, and it is evident through the collocation "Brexit negotiator" in which *Brexit* is used as a premodifier on a syntactic level.

(80) One of the architects of the **Brexit** project, Daniel Hannan, said **Brexit** was as much the EU's fault as it was Britain's. Had the EU been "a little bit more flexible" when David Cameron sought reforms it would have worked out differently, he claimed. "But faced with the loss of its second biggest financial contributor the EU was still not prepared to concede any return any of powers to the national level and I think that ultimately was what made a parting of the ways inevitable.

<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2020/jan/31/michael-gove-hails-Brexit-day-with-relief-and-delight>)

In the article after the use of collocation *Brexit project*, the text soon switches its focus on *Brexit* which refers to trying to find whose fault was Brexit, i.e. "what if" scenarios and accusations. The author of the article wanted to find a culprit for the *Brexit* and all it entails, but it was impossible to find just one, so the best method was a method of accusation and "what if" situations - all with the aim to manipulate the voters and general public. Pinpointing the culprit of *Brexit* is demonstrative of diverting people's attention from not being able to successfully deal with *Brexit* onto who is to be blamed for such a mess. *Brexit* is the fault of both the EU leaders as well as the ones governing the UK. From a cognitive perspective, however, it is a case of WHOLE FOR PART metonymy in which *Brexit* is used to mean *the exit*.

5. 4. Metonymy and Grammatical Recategorization on the example of *Brexit*

As amply mentioned, and exemplified so far, metonymy serves a variety of purposes, especially when political discourse is in question. Political discourse is a place where neologisms are born, and it is a result of many factors in the whole process of generating new words with new meanings.

The political sphere is very active in the formation of neologisms, and due to its constant development and actual nature, its productivity will grow. Through mass communication, people structure and substantiate their own beliefs and experiences. Mass media is predetermined not only by information awareness but also by everyday life and the picture of the world. Mass communication can be considered the space where people create and share life experience, values and knowledge (Katermina, 2018: 227).

Metonymy is a cognitive tool used for many purposes as we have seen and grammar is not exception. In other words, metonymy affects language with respect to the schemas that are involved in the process – those schemes not only affect the target domain, i.e. the meaning of the referent but also affect the form as we will see on several examples found in the dataset. Metonymy has always almost exclusively been studied in terms of the effects it has on the lexicon, although there are scholars who claim that its role is very significant when it comes to grammar. Brdar (2002: 42/43) claims that the role of metonymy in grammar, just like its pragmatic aspects in discourse, is virtually a virgin territory. Trousdale (2018: 37/38) explored the ways in which figurativeness affects patterns of use (in terms of rhetoric) and patterns of structure (in terms of grammar). In the case of metonymy, the concept of 'denotational shift' was considered in relation to the development of derivational affixes from compounds, to

examine how Colman and Anderson's view of the association between metonymy and conversion could be extended to the domain of overt derivation, and the evolution of 38 new derivational suffixes (*ibid.*). Colman and Anderson (2004: 547) start from the following premise: "metonymy is not entirely idiosyncratic, and results in derived lexemes which bear a relationship to their bases parallel to (derivational morphological) conversions; both traditional conversions and (other) metonymically-based relationships may be class-preserving and class-changing. We thus argue that lexicalised metonymies are conversions".

The subject of grammatical recategorization of nouns due to metonymic processes is a vast subject and has been studied in a series of recent publications (cf. Pustejovsky 1991, 1993, 1995, Pustejovsky and Bouillon 1995, Hobbs, Sticker, Appelt, and Martin 1990, Lascarides and Copestake 1998, Radden and Kövecses 1999, Ruiz de Mendoza and Pérez Hernández 2001, Gradečak-Erdeljić 2004, Imamović 2006). The phenomenon has also been approached as a result of image-schema transformation (Dewell 1994). Such metonymy-based grammatical categories trigger different pragmatic effects of the political discourse, which the dissertation will try to show on several examples found in the dataset. Let us now take a look at the following sections in which the examples will be demonstrative of metonymy-based derivational processes, i.e. grammatical shifts which have a variety of pragmatic effects. Apart from that, we will see neologisms based on *Brexit*, as well as ambiguity and vagueness caused by referential meanings of *Brexit*, as well as the othering strategy which is frequently used in media discourse.

5. 4. 1. *A Brexit vs. The Brexit*: the Metonymic Meaning of Article-Based *Brexit* in British Political Discourse

Table 15 indicates the number of occurrences of *a Brexit* and *the Brexit* phrases across all six newspapers. The indices are indicative of the extent to which metonymy is used in political discourse and how it reflects grammatical constructions.

NEWSPAPER	<i>Daily Mail</i> (301 904)	<i>Daily Mirror</i> (216 322)	<i>The Sun</i> (240 884)	<i>The Guardian</i> (212 999)	<i>BBC</i> (220 916)	<i>Sky News</i> (133 533)
<i>a Brexit</i>	107 (0,35%)	72 (0,33%)	65 (0,26%)	31 (0,14%)	42 (1,90%)	50 (0,37%)

<i>the Brexit</i>	330 (1,09%)	195 (0,90 %)	197 (0,81%)	174 (0,81%)	224 (1,013%)	144 (1,07%)

Table 15. Frequency of occurrence of a *Brexit* and the *Brexit* phrase across analysed newspapers

It is obvious from the table that *the Brexit* appears in almost all newspapers at around 1% of the total word count per subset. A *Brexit* phrase appears not as often as *the Brexit* phrase which is illustrative of the fact that *the Brexit* phrase is used when it is known what type of *Brexit* they refer to, mostly at times when *the Brexit* phrase is used as a premodifier and could be found in examples such as *the Brexit deal*, *the Brexit process*, *the Brexit negotiation*, etc. A *Brexit* phrase is thus used when it is not known which specific subset of meanings is referred to, or when it is deliberately used with an aim to cause confusion, hide something, distort reality in a way, and hence manipulate the voters. Though the appearance in the dataset is below 1%, the number is not to be neglected as it is a part of the manipulation with the meaning developed in order to blur the boundaries of the *Brexit* concept and its integral parts. Moreover, both numbers are indicative of how politicians really use and abuse metonymy to satisfy their own desires, i.e. get the votes by means of linguistic manipulation in a form of vagueness caused by the use of indefinite article *a*. Such indefiniteness caused by the indefinite article is also suggestive of the fact that metonymy serves as a device which enables the target domain to be unclear, confusing, ambiguous, etc. That means that such a target domain, i.e. such a referent is a means of manipulation as it can mean many things. The following examples are taken from all six newspapers, and since the results are somewhat of the same proportion comparing to the total number of each subset, it goes to show that linguistic manipulation is one of the most significant tenants of the political discourse, and metonymy is the niche which very much enables it.

(81) But with a separation from the EU, Britain may no longer be bound by the limit dictated by Europe and so it could rise or fall from its current level. Markets continue to recover - the bargain hunters move in. The FTSE 100 continues to inch up, now just over three per cent down today. However, it could be that rather the recovery indicating the direction of travel, it could instead be demonstrative of the level of volatility we're likely to see as we work out what a *Brexit* means.

<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/money/news/article-3656663/Money-live-blog-Market-reactions-referendum-result-means-pocket.html>)

Example (81) is a representative example of what it means when the use of *a* article causes confusion, uncertainty, etc. In the example, *Brexit* is deliberately used in such an indefinite way, i.e. the use of the indefinite article *a* is intended to show that *Brexit* in that sense can indeed mean a lot of things: *referendum, exit, the date, the terms of the negotiations, the future afterwards*, etc. Such a variety of possible meanings is what causes confusion, uncertainty, agony, etc. From a grammatical perspective, it also indicates *any Brexit, some Brexit, etc.*, and that is exactly what causes the confusion, uncertainty, etc. The example is a case of a PART FOR WHOLE metonymy in that metonymy operates as a knife which cuts one part of *Brexit*, which is then regarded as the whole *Brexit*, inclusive of all aspects surrounding Brexit, from the exit, negotiations, etc. to the future after the exit. Another interesting aspect in terms of grammar is the fact that the noun *Brexit* is actually an abstract noun, and by adding an indefinite article *a* in front of it, *Brexit* is made countable. That is a direct result of metonymy operating on the level of grammar, which ultimately has a result from the pragmatic perspective, one of making people confused.

(82) Her message to her successor was clear; you have my backing to deliver **a *Brexit*** that works for everyone. "Much remains to be done," she said, adding: "success means a new beginning, a national renewal".

<https://news.sky.com/story/thank-you-for-putting-your-faith-in-me-mays-final-words-as-pm-11769627>).

(83) And mocking Mrs May's '*Brexit means Brexit*' slogan he added witheringly: "Is it a temporary backstop? No. Backstop means backstop. The devastating comments reignite **a *Brexit battle*** for Theresa May just 24 hours after she finally agreed her plan with warring Tory ministers. The backstop is designed to stop ports grinding to a halt and Northern Ireland setting up border posts, which could lead to violence.

<https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/politics/breaking-eu-chief-michel-barnier-12667813>)

What does *a Brexit battle* mean in this context? What kind of *Brexit* is it? Again, it is used in order to be unclear, and left for the public to create a variety of assumptions, and act upon that in terms of the votes they would give politicians in the elections. The example is suggestive of the fact that it means any *Brexit battle*. In other words, *a battle* means any battle, and *Brexit* in

front of it suggests that it can be *any Brexit battle* which is also very confusing, and once again demonstrative of the fact that metonymy in media discourse often causes blurring, confusion, uncertainty, etc.

(84) In a video message to followers, ex-minister Esomethinger McVey blasted: "It could mean that *Brexit* is defeated, the democratic will of the people is thrown away and we end up remaining. One of the PM's former top allies today called on her to quit as soon as *a Brexit deal* is secured.

(<https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/Brexit/8635262/Brexit-deal-delay-house-of-commons-theresa-may/>)

Example (84) is an example of *Brexit* being used without an article which is suggestive of the fact that politicians wanted to create vagueness, and such vagueness is another example of manipulating the voters. As an example what *a Brexit* may mean we have *a Brexit deal* which has a rather pejorative meaning – it is understood as *any Brexit deal* and in that way the whole deal and the situation surrounding *Brexit* is to be mocked at.

(85) What does the 2019 general election mean for *Brexit* ? </s><s> Likely outcomes explained </s><s> We're facing a new Prime Minister just 49 days before Brexit. </s><s> So how will it affect the Brexit deal if Labour or the Tories win?

(<https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/politics/what-2019-general-election-mean-20750689>)

The examples of *Brexit* being used without any article go to show that such use is meant to cause uncertainty, vagueness, it could mean practically anything, and it depends on the encyclopaedic knowledge everyone possesses regarding *Brexit*. Also, from a grammatical perspective, *Brexit* is an abstract uncountable noun, and when it appears without a definite article, it could mean anything. That is illustrative in the examples (81) to (85) in which both PART FOR WHOLE and WHOLE FOR PART metonymies are operative because for someone only the exit stands for a better life and for someone the whole *Brexit* entails one part of life, i.e. freedom and better life, so it is very vague. In example (86) for instance, it could be that *Brexit* is used to mean the *date of the exit or the exit* itself, but we are not quite sure.

(86) We're facing a new Prime Minister just 49 days before *Brexit* .

(<https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/politics/what-2019-general-election-mean-20750689>)

(87) How **Brexit** unfolds will be defined by what groupings can be formed between Remainers - including small parties like the Lib Dems, who are widely expected to make gains - and Brexiteers.

(<https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/politics/what-2019-general-election-mean-20750689>)

Example (87), however, could mean *Brexit negotiations* from the context, but we are also not quite sure.

(88) Mr Barnier said he had "no time for any polemics". "On both sides we have to keep calm and face the reality, to face the truth and assume the consequences - all the consequences - of **Brexit** ," he told Sky News.

(<https://news.sky.com/story/brexit-trade-deal-eu-tells-boris-johnson-he-faces-different-ball-game-to-canada-negotiations-11937808>)

(89) The non-experts who quite like **Brexit** say we shouldn't pay any attention to this because it's stupid.

(<https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/brexit-means-stupid-who-voted-9078503>)

(90) As **Brexit** hangs in the balance, Rudd – Secretary of State for Work and Pensions – should be doing everything to help Theresa May drag her deal across the finishing line to end the agony and get this thing done.

(<https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/8548904/tony-parsons-amber-rudd-brexit-eu-remainers/>)

(91) James Osei-Anane, a student adviser at the union, said **Brexit** will likely cost him a chance to study abroad.

(<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/ap/article-6810033/Brexit-uncertainty-means-anxiety-UK-students.html>)

(92) Brexiteer Ben Bradley, who backed Mrs May's deal, fumed: "We just betrayed the promise we made to the electorate. </s><s> I'm angry, quite emotional really. </s><s> "It's incredibly difficult to justify... </s><s> We promised to leave on the 29th, now Parliament has said we're not going to leave. </s><s> " </s><s> "We are not getting the **Brexit** we want and not getting it on the time we voted for.

[\(https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/brexit/8625724/no-deal-brexit-blocked-mps-vote-tonight/\)](https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/brexit/8625724/no-deal-brexit-blocked-mps-vote-tonight/)

(93) Theresa May made a number of other pledges which, taken together, massively soften the **Brexit** Britain would have. They include: MPs will get a vote on whether to have a temporary customs union, lasting until 2022, or not have a customs union.

[https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/politics/brexit-second-referendum-vote-explained-16179118\)](https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/politics/brexit-second-referendum-vote-explained-16179118)

(94) But we cannot know what the **Brexit** that Johnson promises, if he wins, would actually involve. This may be good enough for voters who simply want to pull the duvet over their heads, or for those who are so wealthy that the uncertainty would not affect them.

[https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2019/dec/12/brexit-election-boris-johnson-tories\)](https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2019/dec/12/brexit-election-boris-johnson-tories)

The abovementioned examples are taken to illustrate how the "play with articles" causes manipulation with the voters by means of causing confusion in the sense of being ambiguous. The ambiguity I refer to in this context is the same one as in the phrase *a Brexit*. On the one hand, the indefinite article *a* suggests that it can be any *Brexit*, though we know for sure it cannot be any *Brexit* as the word itself refers to the British exit (from the EU). However, when used as *a Brexit*, it means that it can be a certain type of *Brexit* (*soft Brexit*, *hard Brexit*, *clean Brexit*, etc.), so when politicians do not want to be absolutely clear about what *Brexit* they actually have in mind, they use such an indefinite phrase and hope that people will understand what is it they had in mind. On the other hand, when *Brexit* is used with the definite article *the*, the meaning is even more unclear because the definite article suggests that one knows exactly what is meant by *Brexit*, but in reality, *the Brexit* means nothing in particular. Of course, it is not to be ignored that the protagonist of those political statements also plays a significant role. It means that if Johnson uses the phrase in front of the audience which likes him, of course, the pragmatic effect will go in a wanted direction, i.e. the voters would act upon the emotions they have for him – they would celebrate everything he says, and eventually, they would give their

voice to him, which seems to be the whole purpose of politicians (more on the emotions cf. in 5. 7.).

5. 4. 2. *Brexit*-Based Neologisms

Brexit is a neologism which resulted from combining two words – British and exit. The blend has entered the British media in 2012, and by 2016 everyone in the UK and across the world was familiar with the term. One aspect of looking at the neologism is whether it is a verbal or nominal concept.

Unlike many of the lexical items coined on a regular basis in the English language, *Brexit* has not simply come into use in an ad hoc and temporary way (i.e. not fully adopted into the language). It has, on the contrary, gained media currency and is, at the time of writing, a term that all UK residents know. Its development in the three-year period studied here has been shown to be fundamentally nominal by its behaviour; this lexical item is a member of the class of nouns and behaves as such. In this sense, it is not a typical example of a blend since it has not lost any part of its form, at least not the ‘exit’ part, and yet it is not a full compound either. Therefore, its nominal status is best seen as a complex nominal (Fontaine, 2017: 13).

We could agree with Fontaine that *Brexit* is a complex nominal, and as such it provides a space for making new blends whose root is *Brexit* or something related to it, as we will soon demonstrate. Metonymy is the device that helps in the process of generating new blends, i.e. neologisms, and it is possible because it is based on contiguity. Metonymy-based grammatical recategorization is found in a few more examples, not just the above mentioned one that deals with articles. Such examples include the following words: *Brexiteer*, *Remainer*, *no-deal*, *Bregret*, etc.

Brexit as a blend is easily accessible, as previously explained – it is a blend of a shortened word for British, which is *Br* and the word *exit*. The process of word formation resulting in neologisms starts from the blend *Brexit*.

The next process is morphological derivation where new words are derived from existing ones by the addition of a suffix (or prefix), so from ‘*Brexit*’, ‘*Brexiteer*’ developed in which the suffix ‘-eer’ is added to the root form ‘*Brexit*’ (Charteris-Black, 2019: 32).

Apart from blending and morphological derivation, which is a result of adding prefixes or suffixes to a derived word, Charters-Black claims that there are two more similar processes.

The third word formation process is creative exploitation of a word through the use of half (or slant) rhyme, so from 'Remain', we have 'Remoan' to refer to the dissatisfaction of those who had voted to remain in the EU—once again with a strong negative evaluation. Sometimes these word formation processes were combined, so 'remoan' (half rhyme) was combined with suffix addition to produce 'Remoaner'. Such variations and elaborations of names conveyed a strongly negative attitude towards a group that contributed to identifying them as 'Other' and contributed to a form of cultural identity politics (Charteris-Black, 2019: 32).

The last, but not least of such processes is compounding.

[..] this is when two existing words are joined, so the campaign for a Second Referendum was referred to by its supporters as the 'People's Vote'. This sought to capture the populist mood to compensate for the failure of the Remain campaign to arouse populist sentiment during the referendum campaign. Of course, opponents of a second vote argued that the Referendum was a 'people's vote' and that the campaign for a second referendum was a campaign to overturn the result of a 'people's vote' (Charteris-Black, 2019: 32).

Some other authors also support such production of new words, which is based on word formation processes.

Due to these words a new suffix was brought into existence: -exit (suffix) - added to the first letters of the name of a country or state to indicate that it may leave a union or federation. Any political process has its own supporters and opponents. The following neologisms are confirmation of that: *regrexiteer* – someone who regrets the vote to leave the EU; *bremoaner* -someone who complains about Britain's exit from the European Union; *Brexiter/Brexiteer* – one who favours *Brexit*. We should single out a lexical innovation *brexistence* – the fact or state of living or continued survival of Britain (UK) or the British after the *Brexit* event. One should also note such new lexical units like *bremorse*, *breturn*, *breversal* (Katermina, 2018: 227).

Not all the neologisms that Katermina mentions are found in the analysed dataset, but those that are will be exemplified.

(95) Apart from ardent **Brexiteers**, few voters I spoke to had confidence in its outcome and fewer still saw Johnson as a trustworthy leader.

(<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2019/dec/23/tory-boris-johnson-labour>)

Example (95) shows the use of a neologism, **Brexiteer**, the concept used for someone who is in favour of the UK leaving the EU. The word was created as a result of *Brexit* being constantly

the central topic of the British press. Such extensive mention of *Brexit* in the media leads to creating new words, which is also a piece of evidence that extralinguistic factors such as historical and in this case, political context account for creating new words, i.e. neologisms.

(96) But 31 January seems like much ado about nothing other than the issuing of a reminted 50p coin that is going to highlight the stark differences that exist between young **remainers** and old leavers.

<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/live/2019/mar/27/Brexit-latest-news-live-debate-indicative-votes--to-vote-on-alternative-votes-as-speculation-mounts-may-could-announce-plans-to-quit-live-news?page=with:block-5c9be834e4b0b4d18bde1672#block-5c9be834e4b0b4d18bde1672>

Example (96) is an example of newly-coined word which is also a result of all the things surrounding the whole *Brexit* event. It is a word that refers to someone who is against *Brexit*, i.e. the one who favours the option that the UK should remain the EU member. **Remainer** is actually an antonym with respect to the previously explained neologism, i.e. **Brexit**eer.

(97) This is now the moment of maximum opportunity – we need to avoid both the catastrophe of **no-deal** and the damage which would be caused by the prime minister's bad deal.

<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/live/2019/mar/23/Brexit-hundreds-of-thousands-expected-to-march-for-peoples-vote-london-live-updates>

Example (97) represents a new kind of a word which is combined from two words: particle **no** and a noun **deal**. The word suggests The British exit from the EU on no-specified and elaborated details of the exit. It primarily deals with the trade issues, as well as the immigration policy. Extensive use of a **no-deal Brexit** is also an example of politicians' way of manipulating the voters as they use it attack one another, accusing each other – generally, diverting attention from the really important thing, i.e. the terms of the exit. More on that in chapter 5. 7.

5. 5. Vagueness in British Political Discourse on the Example of *Brexit*

Vagueness as a typical linguistic misconduct is one of the key tools frequently used in the political discourse. Needless to say, politicians use it as a means of hiding the truth, making the

truth prettier, deceiving, being ambiguous and thus, causing the confusion and chaos – a surrounding they find best to work in as they can be regarded as someone who has dealt with that “chaos”, though they are the ones who put the country in such state in the first place. Such cunning ways of manipulation in terms of vague concepts are what is present in the political discourse at all times.

Despite their lack of clear reference, vague terms are an important part of natural language. Sometimes using a vague concept such as ‘tallness’ is more efficient and accurate than giving a precise measurement. Similarly, using a vague term or phrase such as ‘liberty’ or ‘what is best for society’ can be more efficient than being more precise (Dowding and Bosworth, 2018: 28).

Sometimes the terms vagueness and ambiguity seem to mean or refer to quite the same thing. Notwithstanding, there is a slight difference.

We argue that vagueness can sometimes be addressed in the same manner as ambiguity, by precisification and the subscript gambit. However, we also suggest that attempting precisification sometimes demonstrates fundamental incoherence. Our moral and political terms have complex and multidimensional referents, involving intuitions that at the margin contradict one another. Sometimes precisifying merely elucidates or brings to the surface those contradictions (Dowding and Bosworth, 2018: 2/3).

The dissertation has already demonstrated several examples of vagueness in the previous chapters (cf. chapters 5.5.1. and 5.5.2.) where we showed how the vagueness is accomplished (examples 44 and 49). Also, vagueness was illustrated through the „play with articles“ in which it is absolutely unclear what *Brexit* refers to when used with an indefinite article *a*, and what when used with a definite article *the*.

What is actually the purpose of using vague language in political discourse which is most representative of it? Vague language describes the use of linguistic items including grammar and particularly lexis to modify and make the meaning of a communication less precise and less clear. While scientific and much academic language prides itself on rigour, precision and clarity, vague language, or VL, as it is known, is a linguistic device used in politics, reporting and everyday conversation to avoid over-declaratory statements and assertions and to build or protect relationships (McGee, 2018: 40).

McGee also argues that both the speaker and addressee play certain role in creating vagueness and dealing with its effects in language (2018: 43). He claims as well that there is a positive aspect of using vague language.

There are certain advantages in the use of fuzzy concepts and vague boundaries, because they extend the range of options open to a speaker, offering a chance to express many grades of truth

and many different attitudes towards propositions without the speaker having to be pinned down to just one position' (McGee, 2018: 44). This may be best illustrated on the example of using *Brexit* without any article, which suggests that it can mean just about anything.

(98) *Brexit* is inherently anticlimactic. This is not just because the botched process of negotiating withdrawal has turned the gush of liberation into a dribble, with Independence Days (29 March; 31 October) coming and going like a millenarian preacher's predictions for the end of the world. It is not just because the special memorial 50p coins had to be melted down. It is because the act of liberation itself is fundamentally spurious. Revolutions unleash euphoria because they create tangible images of change and inaugurate, at least in the fevered minds of their supporters, a new epoch. *Brexit* can't do either of these things. The problem with a revolt against imaginary oppression is that you end up with imaginary freedom.

(<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2020/jan/17/nul-points-eu-revision-contest-Brexiters-big-ben>)

Example (98) demonstrates what was said above. *Brexit* is used without an article which just goes to show that it can refer to anything since it is thus coded as an abstract, amorphous concept. The context in which it appears suggests quite a negative stand towards *Brexit* and the future afterwards. The last sentence of example (95) is illustrative of what *Brexit* actually entails; it symbolizes revolt against the EU (imaginary oppression), and once the UK is out of the EU, it ends up with imaginary freedom. It means that though they will no longer be a member of the EU, it would nonetheless be somehow bound to obey their rules, and the future would not be so bright in the end (that is why the meaning of the whole example is intensified by the use of word *imaginary*).

The motivation behind using vague language in political discourse can be summarised in the following:

'The idea here is that precise language gives too much information, or information that is not welcome or wanted by the addressee' (McGee, 2018: 46).

Obviously, the readers actually do not want to hear the truth, they would rather hear what they like. Leaving concepts like *Brexit* verbalized as abstract, ambiguous concepts, allows for it to be conceptualized in whichever way it is convenient or mentally accessible by the reader. In other words, if someone, for instance, dislikes Theresa May and the article they read does not

write favourably about May, it means that they would be further influenced by the newspaper in the creation of such opinion. The press should be unbiased. However, that is often not the case, and that is one of the key factors in creating public opinion upon which the public acts in a sense of votes in the elections. This all works like a two-directional process in which one aspect of the story (a reader's point of view regarding someone or something) is the motivation (for brainwashing, i.e. manipulating) as well as the result of a written article, and it is all done with the ultimate goal of creating public opinion, or manipulating, if you will. The protagonists of such interaction, i.e. readers and politicians who provide political statements are in a way „enchanted“ – it means that their existence is interdependent.

There is one aspect relevant for the study of political discourse and the vagueness used in it, and that is gender. Obviously, there is some difference in using vague strategies in political discourse and it depends on whether you are a man or woman. It has been suggested in some studies that vagueness is more commonly used by women due to the stereotypical roles that men and women are expected to play in most human societies (McGee, 2018: 47). The reason why women use vague expressions more often than men, is because they are supposed to be more polite than men, that is why they must not be completely honest, but instead, they use nice packaging to express what they want, and by doing so, they often hide the truth, make it prettier, divert attention to something else, etc. Needless to say, such behaviour of women in politics is most probably connected with the role women have always played, i.e. they have always been expected to be quite, not to stand out, they had the nurturing and caring role, as well as a generally lower status in society (*ibid*).

The following examples will demonstrate the gender-based vagueness used by a male and a female PM, Johnson and Theresa May, respectively.

(99) Mr Johnson ended by saying: "Let's get **Brexit** done and take this incredible country forwards together. " 'Incredible message' </s><s> "We have travelled all round the country and the enthusiasm of our party's supporters working together to get out there with our message is incredible - and I think that message is getting through," he said. </s><s> "I think the support is growing and there is a greater understanding that we cannot go on with underfunded public services and a government that has not been straightforward with us on **Brexit** or the trade talks with the USA.

(<https://www.bbc.com/news/election-2019-50750877>)

Example (99) are the words of Johnson and it is obvious that he is very straight-forward, arrogant, (too)confident that he would deliver *Brexit*, etc. He strikes one as a boastful, arrogant and self-assured politician, however, he did get *Brexit* done, he made it happen. As a man, he was allowed (by means of a non-written rule pertaining to a patriarchal society such as the UK is) to be direct, completely frank and straightforward. However, his frequent use of the slogan *Get Brexit done* enables vagueness because it is not clear what *Brexit* in that slogan means.

(100) Standing alongside Mrs Merkel on her first foreign trip as premier and after a red carpet welcome to Berlin, Mrs May said: 'I have been clear that **Brexit means Brexit** and the United Kingdom is going to make a success of it. 'But I also want to be clear here today, and across Europe in the weeks ahead, that we are not walking away from our European friends.

(<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3698983/Britain-GIVES-chance-charge-EU-one-time-focus-Brexit-talks-Theresa-visits-Berlin-start-negotiations-Angela-Merkel.html>)

Example (100) however, are the words of Theresa May in which it is completely unknown what *Brexit* actually entails, as it was previously described (cf. 5. 2. 1.). Moreover, the example is illustrative of how May actually does not reveal much (or actually anything) by the use of the slogan. She just uses typical cliché words such as “success”.

As demonstrated above, we can agree with McGee in his claim that gender plays a role in causing vagueness in media discourse, and it is a part of evolutionary legacy, as women have always been regarded as an inferior part of a society. Such inferiority led to women not being allowed to say what they want in a way they want, unlike men who had that possibility, and the phenomena is obvious in the political discourse as well.

In terms of a cognitive perspective on the phenomenon of vagueness in media discourse, it could be argued that PART FOR WHOLE and PART FOR PART metonymies could be operative in those cases, or they actually contribute to such vagueness. Example (119) is a tautology, and as such, completely unclear, especially because it is completely unclear what *Brexit* in the slogan means and/or includes. It can be understood as the date of exit to mean to the whole *Brexit* event, or one part of *Brexit* such as *date* can mean *negotiations, concession, future after the exit, the issue of single market, the relation with the Northern Ireland, trade relations after the exit*. etc.

5. 6. Ambiguity in British Political Discourse on the example of *Brexit*

Ambiguity is a linguistic device used for the same reason as vagueness is – to manipulate the voters by means of causing confusion by not completely telling the truth. Both vagueness and ambiguity are forms of doublespeak and are often regarded as synonymous, although there is a difference. Ambiguity may be differentiated from vagueness in that it includes a certain choice of meaning for the lexeme in question. Vagueness is somewhat broader as the span of possible meanings is much bigger than the one in case of ambiguity.

The study revealed that ambiguity in language is best defined as the presence of two or more distinct meanings in a sentence, whether those two interpretations are due to lexical, semantic, syntactic, or pragmatic inflections; and nothing in the sentence favours one meaning over the other. Both are semantically and syntactically perfectly logical (Awwad, 2017: 196).

What motivates ambiguity?

[...] ambiguity results from a pressure for efficient communication. We argued that any efficient communication system will necessarily be ambiguous when context is informative about meaning. The units of an efficient communication system will not redundantly specify information provided by the context; when examined out of context, these units will appear not to completely disambiguate meaning. We have also argued that ambiguity allows efficient linguistic units to be preferentially re-used, decreasing the overall effort needed to use a linguistic system (Piantadosi, 2011: 11).

Efficient communication is always very desirable, but when it comes to political discourse, it is the politicians' ultimate goal to communicate things as efficiently as possible, which is why a lot of ambiguity is found in political discourse. The lexeme *Brexit* used in British political discourse is an excellent example of an ambiguous concept, and all politicians use it as we have seen in previous chapters, to refer to many things, not only to what is summarized in its definition, i.e. the UK's exit from the EU.

(101) No10 is desperate to move on from **Brexit** and to focus on domestic policy. The PM will have a big Cabinet reshuffle and is expected to make a string of announcements that benefit new Tory constituencies in the Midlands and North. He won his election victory on a promise of "levelling up" the British economy with greater investment into areas devastated by a decade of Tory austerity. But with tough trade talks and another looming deadline, *Brexit* isn't going away, even if the PM has restricted parliamentary scrutiny of the next phase. Will our economy be stronger after *Brexit*? The full

consequences of *Brexit* are uncertain. Much depends on whether we get a trade deal with the EU. Without one, the UK will "fall out" onto damaging WTO terms.

(<https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/politics/Brexit-what-happens-now-after-21404402>)

Example (101) demonstrates the ambiguity, as it is not completely clear whether the topic is *Brexit* (actual exit from the EU and future afterwards) or Johnson's handling of domestic policy. Within that ambiguity there is another one: What does *Brexit* refer to? It is also unclear. Again, the lexeme is used without an article, which intensifies its indefiniteness, which in turn causes ambiguity.

(102) There's no doubt though that although **Brexit** is now moving forwards the country remains bitterly divided. Many Remainers commiserated at home.

(<https://news.sky.com/story/Brexit-party-like-punch-and-judy-show-as-toxic-mood-persists-11923288>)

It is very ambiguous what *Brexit* refers to in example (102) as it can be either ***Brexit negotiations***, or ***Brexit date***, i.e. *the date of exit*. It is the PART FOR WHOLE metonymy which is deliberately used in that context to cause confusion, and the example is another case in point that both a speaker/writer and a listener/voter are both contributors to such ambiguity, as not everybody has the same image schemas when *Brexit* is used. In other words, encyclopaedic knowledge also plays an important role in understanding what is meant by the use of *Brexit*. For someone, it may be the actual exit from the EU, for someone else it may be the future after the exit, for someone the date when the UK is no longer a member of the EU, for others it means trade independence, some see it as another referendum, some as the uncertainty after the exit is finalised, etc. Such a variety of possible meanings entailed in the use of lexeme *Brexit* is the proof that politicians use metonymy to create doublespeak.

Ambiguity is also found in media discourse via Adj. + *Brexit*-type *phrases* which could be illustrated in the following examples:

(103) Economist Anatole Kaletsky recalls the legend of King Canute and writes that the referendum result will "not turn back the economic tides driven by globalisation".
</s><s> He predicts: "As Britain's economy sinks into recession, and the government's promises of a quick ' **successful Brexit** ' prove unrealistic, public opinion will shift.

(<https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-36881718>)

(104) There is no democratic mandate for Brexit in name only. </s><s> There is no democratic mandate for **a Brexit that is so soft and squishy** that it keeps us chained to Brussels for ever.

(<https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/8755672/brexit-vote-delay-tony-parsons/>)

(105) The Prime Minister will finally move beyond "Brexit means Brexit" with an explanation of how it will happen at some point in the future. </s><s> In the absence of firm progress so far towards **a successful Brexit**, Theresa May will announce how Brexit will be achieved legally and constitutionally on the first day of the Conservative conference in Birmingham.

(<https://news.sky.com/story/may-moves-beyond-brexit-means-brexit-mantra-10602492>)

(106) Esomethinger McVey </s><s> The former work and pensions secretary, who quit last year over May's Brexit plans, has launched her own in-party campaign group/leadership vehicle called Blue Collar Conservatism. </s><s> It promises to make the party more amenable to voters in deprived communities – mainly through a promise to deliver **a strong Brexit** and policies such as diverting much of the foreign aid budget to schools and police.

(<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2019/may/16/tory-leadership-contenders-whos-up-whos-down-replace-theresa-may>)

In examples (103) to (106) WHOLE FOR PART metonymy is operative, where everything surrounding the *Brexit* event is used to mean a part of it, either *negotiations*, *date of exit*, *concession*, *future after the exit*, *etc.* In that way ambiguity is achieved, alongside with vagueness which is another proof that metonymy triggers such pragmatic effects to a great extent.

The metonymic network of *Brexit* is extended by means of the following phrases which are also illustrative of how ambiguous the meaning of *Brexit* may be:

(107) Theresa May must take blame for **Brexit chaos**, says Sturgeon Theresa May must take responsibility "for the mess that the UK is in" after blaming MPs for the Brexit chaos, Nicola Sturgeon has said.

<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/pa/article-6835323/Theresa-May-blame-Brexit-chaos-says-Sturgeon.html>)

(108) The British government's **Brexit chaos** has been marked by prevarication and stalling, ever changing positions and broken agreements," she said. "This situation is intolerable and unacceptable.

<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/pa/article-5972641/Theresa-May-EU-change-unworkable-Brexit-position.html>)

(109) Lib Dem leader Vince Cable claims the public have changed their mind about Brexit - and said Britain is now a 'remain country'. Posting on Twitter moments after the march began, the former cabinet minister wrote: "We are a Remain country now with 60% wanting to stop the **Brexit mess**.

<https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/brexit-march-london-live-tens-14175697>)

(110) The vote for Brexit caused a political earthquake, with British politics consumed by the aftershocks for years. It ended the premierships of David Cameron, who called the referendum, and Theresa May, who saw her time in Downing Street ended by the **Brexit chaos**. Mr Johnson, who led the campaign to leave the EU, managed to get a Brexit deal passed by parliament.

<https://news.sky.com/story/brexit-day-celebration-and-regret-as-britain-leaves-eu-after-47-years-11923114>)

(111) Plaid Cymru's leader at Westminster, Liz Saville Roberts, who has been taking part in the talks, said: "The government is now openly exploring a process to allow Parliament to take control - an effective admission that they have lost all authority. "We will be continuing to push for a People's Vote as a way out of **this Brexit mess**.

<https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-47663031>)

(112) In his final question, Corbyn urged May to listen to the worries of unions and others over the **Brexit chaos**.

<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2019/mar/13/theresa-may-confirms-she-will-vote-to-block-no-deal-brexit-pmq-jeremy-corbyn>)

(113) Labour leader Jeremy Corbyn had earlier attacked Theresa May's Government leaving the country in "chaos" because of the **Brexit mess**. He stormed: "This chaos cannot go on much longer. "

(<https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/brexit/8614866/brexit-deal-breakthrough-theresa-may-backstop/>)

Examples (107) to (113) are also cases of WHOLE FOR PART metonymies where the whole event of *Brexit* is used to mean one part of *Brexit*: ***Brexit negotiations, delay of the negotiations, the date of exit, the terms under which the exit would take place, etc.*** It is also a case of the PART FOR PART metonymy in which one part of *Brexit* is used to mean some other part such as ***workers' rights*** as in the example (112).

5. 7. *Brexit*: The Role of Emotions in British Political Discourse

Politicians often use a variety of manipulative tools in order to achieve their goals, i.e. control public mind and get the votes. Likewise, it has been recognized that emotions play a significant role in political discourse; they are also used as a means of manipulating the voters.

Ultimately, emotions partly constitute that politics matters, disclose what matters—and that it matters to ‘me’, to ‘us’, and to ‘them’ often differently and conflictingly. In this sense, then, political affectivity, in general, and antagonistic political emotions in particular, go directly to the onto-political heart of ‘real politics’ (Szanto and Landweer, 2020: 16).

(114) Barclay said: "We're coming out of the single market, we're coming out of the customs union. We're not just going to diverge just for the sake of it – we need to look at where the opportunities are. "But it is true that we are going to have control of our approach to regulation and that's the very essence of **Brexit**: that we can do things differently, particularly where, for example, there is innovation, there is new technologies, there's things where we want to move quickly. **Brexit** at its very core is that we will have control of our laws, our regulation and that is why we can't be a rule-taker. We need to have that opportunity.

(<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2020/jan/26/Brexit-uk-trade-talks-steve-barclay-eu>)

In the article, *Brexit* is used to refer to the UK's policy, the policy which is strong and independent; actually, *Brexit* is a symbol of that strength and independence. By using *Brexit* in such context, the author wants to influence voters by playing on patriotic feelings of the public and by doing so in a way justifying the (Br)exit *per se*.

(115) Whatever Johnson does, he cannot keep all of his **Brexit** promises, as gigantic hurdles stand in his way. The most impassable are fisheries, agriculture, finance and Northern Ireland. No fixes and fudges will let him bluster through these. One is of the gravest economic importance, the others are of little financial value but stand at the beating heart of everything **Brexit** stands for – nation, flag, heritage, identity and independence.

Emotive words provide an appearance of reality, a perception of a state of affairs which makes them instruments for drawing a value judgment in conditions which provide reduced processing time, resources, or information. Emotions are described in terms of perception and experience. They are triggered by assessments of states of affairs and lead to an action (Macagno, 2014: 119).

Emotive words are powerful and dangerous instruments, both for the audience and for the speaker. Sometimes the grounds of their use cannot be supported by acceptable reasons and the risk of incurring criticism can become high. To avoid this, the speakers can use side tactics, in particular introducing pragmatic ambiguity. The communicative setting can be altered or claimed to be different from the shared one, thus reinterpreting the communicative intention underlying his words (Macagno, 2014: 120).

The term „manipulation“ originates from psychology, where it is defined as type of psychological affection, which in case of skilful realization leads to implicit provocation of another person's intentions that do not correspond to his actual wishes and his stimulation towards commitment of actions required by the manipulator (Akopova, 2013: 4).

Although psychological definition of the term is actually the real definition of manipulation, Akropova (2013: 2–4) provides another look at linguistic manipulation as a type of manipulation:

[...] exclusion of manipulative component from modern political practices will facilitate assertion of truly democratic political culture. It can be agreed that if political discourse lacked manipulative component, we would be faced with a rather civilized and democratic politics,

politics in terms of how Aristotle imagined it to be, i.e. politics should be a law making area of society in which the central task of a politician is the one of law making.

According to the character of subject-object interaction, manipulation can be direct (i.e. the subject is openly presenting his demands to the object of manipulation) and indirect (i.e. manipulation directed at the environment rather than at the object).

According to awareness of linguistic actions, manipulation can be intentional and non-intentional. In case of intentional linguistic manipulation, the subject aims at a definite result on the part of the object of manipulation. Non-intentional linguistic manipulation is exercised involuntary, as the subject does not aim at achieving results from the listener. Manipulation in the media discourse is regarded as argued by De Saussure (2005: 144):

I suggest that manipulation in discourse is clearly a pragmatic and contextual problem, where the notion of context is understood as the subset of the hearer's cognitive environment which allows for the interpretation to be constructed. As such, manipulation involves cognitive processes; my main hypothesis is that normal interpretive processes are troubled at the level of intention recognition, which involves a specific cognitive device (mindreading module).

Populist communication was revealed as inherently more emotional than nonpopulist communication; the emotional power of political claims is stronger if such claims rely on populist rather than nonpopulist communication. Furthermore, the study has shown that depending on the populist appeal, both negative and positive emotions may determine the success of populist communication (Wirz, 2018: 1131).

Specifically, we could show that only when participants felt angry or enthusiastic, did this emotional response mediate framing effects on political opinions (Lecheler et al., 2013: 202).

(116) The People's Vote March saw huge crowds descend on Central London, with a rally held in front of Parliament. It comes as a petition demanding Article 50 is revoked - which would cancel **Brexit** altogether - reached four million signatures this morning. The march piles pressure on under-fire Theresa May, who faces opposition from within her own cabinet as the original *Brexit* date March 29 approaches.

(<https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/Brexit-march-london-live-tens-14175697>)

The example shows the reaction of people on May's handling of the whole *Brexit* thing, primarily the promised date of leave. It is an example of the PART FOR WHOLE metonymy in which the exit as a part of the *Brexit* thing is used to mean the whole *Brexit*.

5. 8. Othering Strategy on the Example of *Brexit*

OTHERING IS AT THE heart of populism. The essence of populism is a group antipathy, profoundly felt, toward perceived elites. It is their opposition to the elites, the Other, that gives a populist movement its identity; movement is defined by its opposition to the Other. Populists see elites as corrupt, powerful, and ideologically suspect (Rosenthal, 2016: 60).

Modern populism has been characterized by protest movements that express “disillusionment and disappointment with established systems” and aim for a better and more “real” democracy that truly represents “the people”. Othering is a recurring strategy of right-wing populist discourse (Reisigl, 2013; Reisigl and Wodak, 2001; Wodak, 2015) in which members seek to differentiate “us” from “them” by first establishing a positive “us” and then showing how “they” are different, through the attribution of negative traits. Van Dijk (1997: 30) refers to this as “the ideological square” and argues that it is a common strategy in racist talk and text (Fielder and Catalano, 2017: 209). Right-wing populism is very present in the UK, and its rise is a result of a historic moment in the UK and the world, which is *Brexit*. Because *Brexit* entails many aspects of life in the UK for all the citizens (trade, immigrants, freedom of money, goods, service and people, etc), it is not surprising at all that othering significantly takes place in British political discourse.

Political campaign speeches as a discourse type typically have the following characteristics. Speeches are addressed to an overhearing audience; the direct audience might be members of the press, other politicians and perhaps a small section of the public but the main audience, the majority of the voting public will usually not be present at the time of utterance, they will hear/see/read elements of the speech at a later time (via the mass media). Speeches are delivered in a more formal speech style than ordinary conversation, although not necessarily. They may be authored by a person other than the speaker, such as a professional speech writer, but this is not always so. They are often followed directly by another discourse type, that of the political press conference (Allen, 2007: 2).

Political discourse is abundant in othering as a typical strategy used by politicians which results in manipulation. We often witness the (ab)use of US and THEM pronouns in politics, and it can be argued that such communication is metaphorically motivated. Metaphor POLITICS IS A WAR could be applied when the strategy US vs. THEM is discussed. Moreover, such strategy is the cause of divisions in a society, or, one could argue, a means of diverting the attention from the actual problems onto the fun, yet irrelevant ones. Numerous examples with metonymic vagueness of *Brexit* above play an important role in the process of othering because they very

frequently hid the actual referents, such as the process of departing from the European values of solidarity or implying the decrease of immigration as an essential motivation for Tories promoting its idea.

Moreover, the othering strategy is very pervasive in political discourse, one may say that it is actually *conditio sine qua non*. In other words, how else would politicians stand out if not by means of comparing themselves to the others, namely the opposition. It means that they often disapprove and minorize the political moves conducted by the opposite politicians, and that is how they manipulate with the public. In using that strategy, metonymy also plays an important role on the way to achieving the intended goals.

Especially nationalistic actors were very prolific in the production of political metaphors and in taking advantage of their particular properties. This refers foremost to the ability of metaphors to shape public discourse, to speak to particular frames and to present political “reality” in a specific way, hegemonizing a divisive agenda, and constructing clear boundaries between us and them, between the interests of the Self and those of the Other (Cammaerts, 2012: 243).

It is not being argued here that the use of metaphors is inherently bad or should be avoided in political communication, but that we must be careful if the power of metaphors in representing ideology as common sense is being used in processes of othering, geared towards exacerbating political conflict rather than seeking democratic solutions to them. Words and discourses do matter and that is why the political intentions behind the use of metaphors need to be exposed for what they are, not common wisdom and self-evident, but rather ideological vehicles advancing one particular view of the world whilst delegitimizing others (Cammaerts, 2012: 244).

It could be argued that the frequent use of (some) metaphors by political and media elites has resulted in more division rather than convergence of positions. Metaphors indicating a move towards seeking solutions and a willingness to compromise were less prominent than those that symbolised gridlock or internal as well as external conflicts and tensions. At the same time, some metaphors precisely referred to the inability of political elites to overcome the crisis or to the lack of a coherent vision for the future and leadership. Others were intentionally used to belittle political opponents and make a solution less probable (*ibid*).

Such use of language has a variety of pragmatic effects, i.e. listeners (voters) act upon what they hear and how it is packed. Meaning is always dependent on many factors, primarily extralinguistic factors. In addition, Allen clarifies meaning in following by

saying that all meanings intended by the speaker aim to fulfill a politically strategic function; words are carefully scripted and written for a purpose.

Politicians use *we* for a number of different purposes: to talk on behalf of their party; to deflect individual responsibility; to include or exclude hearers from group membership; and to invoke a general collective response or attitude to a matter. This makes *we* very useful for political purposes as interpretation of the discourse referents is dependant on the context of use and inferences drawn on the basis of knowledge shared between the speaker and hearer (Wales 1996 in Allen 2007).

They, on the other hand, is used to show ideological differences, or to lessen the speaker's responsibility for actions or events. While still acting as a distancing strategy, they can be also be used for positive self-presentation (Allen, 2007: 3 – 11).

“Othering” is a term that not only encompasses the many expressions of prejudice on the basis of group identities, but we argue that it also provides a clarifying frame which reveals a set of common processes and conditions that propagate group-based inequality and marginality (Powell and Menendian, 2016: 17).

(117) But unskilled immigrants will still be restricted from coming to Britain within 12 months, Downing Street has signalled. Former PM Theresa May had planned to allow a long transition period before a new system is enforced after **Brexit**. Under her blueprint, the current level of new arrivals would last until 2022 in a concession to worried businesses in sectors like hospitality who feared a collapse in their workforce. But Boris Johnson unveiled a rethink to the Cabinet yesterday as a new plan for Britain's borders was discussed by his top table of ministers. One of the three key principles that will drive it is reducing low skilled migration, No10 said. Migrants' earnings are expected to be taken into account alongside their ability to speak English, qualifications, and current job.

(<https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/10792168/unskilled-immigrants-restricted-entry-britain/>)

The example is illustrative of what was above said. The immigrants are representative of being a social distraction, unwanted in a way. As we can see, the othering strategy could be applied here as well because immigrants are „the others“:

(118) Labour leader Jeremy Corbyn dismissed the proposals as "worse than Theresa May's deal". He added that Mr Johnson knows "full well that what he's put forward is

unlikely to be agreed" and that "everything about his behaviour and his language" in recent weeks has been "about getting a no-deal **Brexit**".

(<https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/politics/breaking-boris-johnson-publishes-brexit-20387805>)

In other words, although human beings have a natural tendency to make categorical distinctions, the categories themselves and meanings associated with those categories are socially constructed rather than natural (Powell and Menendian, 2016: 25).

5. 9. *Brexit*-related Symbolism

As it has been illustrated so far, *Brexit* is used in different contexts, serving different purposes, and most importantly, with a variety of meanings. It has been used by all politicians to mean whatever they intend it to mean (often it is completely vague what it is), and it has been used by both PMs as a means of getting the votes in a sense of presenting themselves as the national saviours who wish only the best for their country, and the best thing is the UK being outside the EU, i.e. regaining its sovereignty. However, sometimes certain elements of symbolism could be traced when the whole issue of *Brexit* is in question. In that sense (Dhungana, 2018: 123) claims:

Culture and symbolism is a reaction against the utilitarian conceptions of human behavior in the society, with the passage of time symbolic anthropology was criticized for its loopholes viz it rejects the existence of social structure, concentrates only on symbols and meaning, ignores history, economy politics. Culture and symbolism has never had a clear center, but a number of people had a concern for interpreting the symbolic structures, or complexes as a way of trying to understand the basis of culture. Symbols are abstract thus making difficult the interpretation.

Although the author claims that symbols are abstract and complicate the interpretation, sometimes the situational context, which is symbolic for understanding, may be the mitigating (or contributing) factor in the process of interpretation. One such example is the case in which Johnson mentions date of possible exit as the 31st October 2019 which is a very suggestive date as it is Halloween night. Halloween is the day when people mask themselves into some other people, (super)heroes, etc. Sometimes, by wearing masks, people may use that day to show dissatisfaction with some social, political, economic or other problems – it is at times a means of protest aimed towards the ones who are in charge of the country. All in all, it is a possibility

for people to be someone else for just one day, and it is also illustrative of the level of democracy a certain society has as it enables people to be thieves, prostitutes, drug addicts, politicians, doctors, hairdressers, nurses, nuns, priests, and many other for one day. People usually buy or make the costumes and masks for their children and go with them doing trick or treat which is a custom in which children go from door to door in order to get candies. The whole holiday means something unclear, chaotic, dark, scary, uncertain, and the promised date of exit may be symbolic of what is usually celebrated on that day. Since the day is usually marked by wearing masks, by something vague, dangerous, unclear, chaotic, dark, scary, etc., it could be argued that Brexit may be such (at least from the perspective of Remainers, which is not likely to be the case with Brexiteers).

(119) We are going to get **Brexit** done on Oct. 31 and we are going to take advantage of all the opportunities it will bring in a new spirit of can do." ON RESTORING OPTIMISM IN THE UK "Like some slumbering giant we are going to rise and ping off the guy-ropes of self-doubt and negativity with better education, better infrastructure, more police, fantastic full-fibre broadband sprouting in every household. We are going to unite this amazing country and we are going to take it forward." ON HIS VICTORY "I know that there will be people around the place who will question the wisdom of your decision and there may be some people here who still wonder what they have done and I will just point out to you that no one party, no party has a monopoly of wisdom.

<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/reuters/article-7276483/HIGHLIGHTS-Boris-Johnson-promises-unite-UK-winning-PM-race.html>

(120) "Since I became Prime Minister I've said we must get on and get **Brexit** done on October 31 so that this country can move on. That policy remains unchanged. "No delays, and I will continue to do all I can to get *Brexit* done on October 31.

<https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/politics/breaking-Brexit-boris-johnson-forced-20653962>

Both examples (119) and (120) are a result of the WHOLE FOR PART metonymy in which *Brexit* means *the exit*.

With respect to who the PM is, the results above could be analysed and summarised in a way that when the PM was Theresa May, *Brexit* mostly referred to her incompetence as her deal had

3 times been rejected, whereas when the PM was Johnson, *Brexit* mostly referred to independence in terms of laws, trade, migration policy, etc. Perhaps such results are indicative of the fact that people (the British) were not as pleased with Johnson's deal as they were tired of the whole *Brexit* thing. As we know, the whole process of leaving the EU was a four-year process, which expired on 31st December 2020, and whose consequences are yet to be disclosed. However, it could be argued that in both cases PART FOR WHOLE and WHOLE FOR PART metonymies were operative, but, as demonstrated above, with different pragmatic effects.

In addition, Figure 12 illustrates the metonymic network of the lexeme *Brexit* in British media discourse covering the period from at around March 2019 to the end of January 2020.

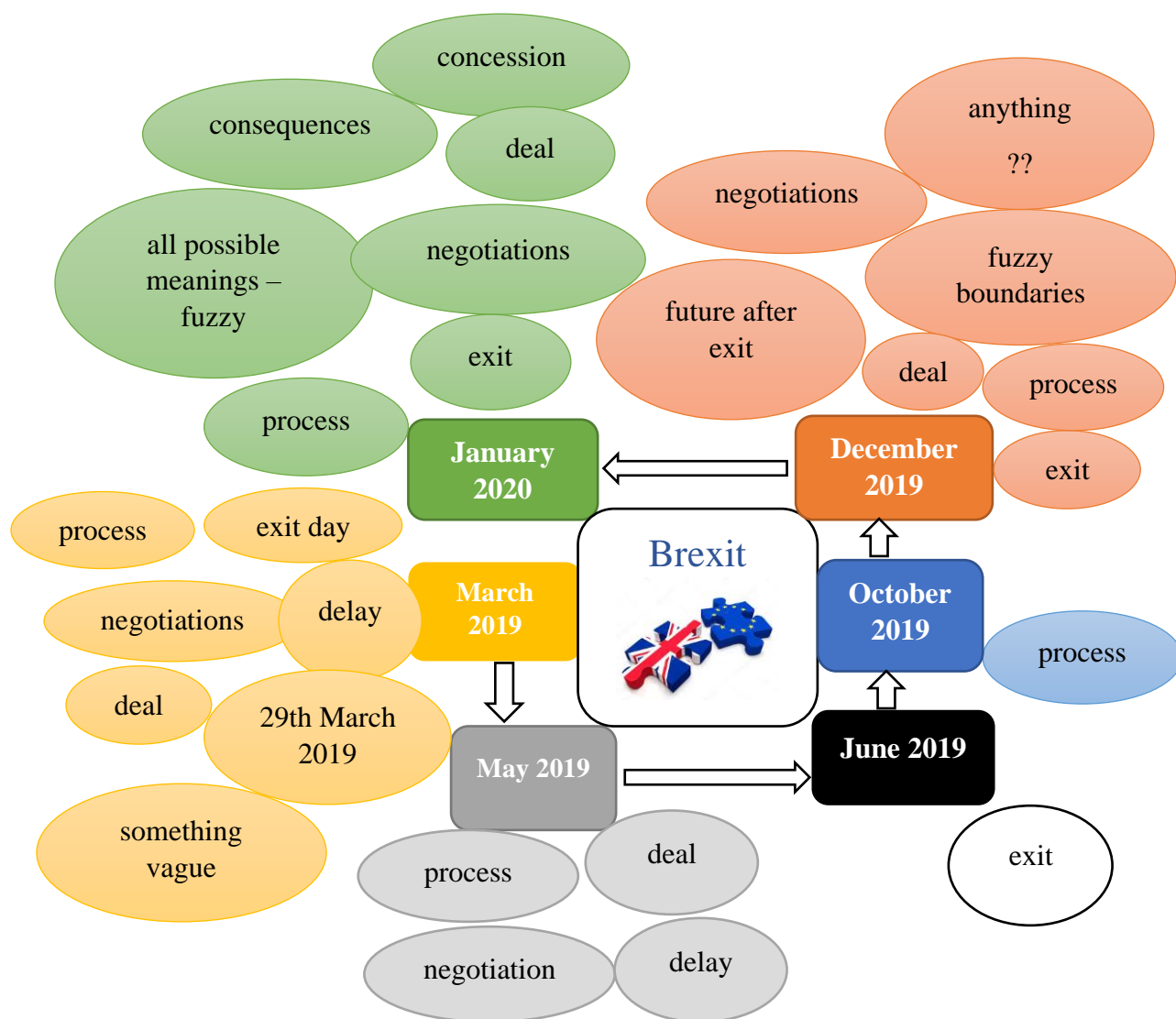


Figure 12. Metonymic network of meanings of the lexeme *Brexit* in media discourse during a 10-month period

The beginning of the covered period, i.e. in March are marked with the use of *Brexit* which means mostly *the date*, *the delay* and *29th March 2019* (the proposed date of exit). The meanings are much-less the same through a period from May to October, while in December and January the metonymic network of meaning is extended so the new meanings are *consequences* and future *after the exit*. Those two meanings could be ascribed to the fact that people have become tired of the whole *Brexit*, and it was intensified by Johnson and his slogan *Get Brexit done* which was very helpful, in fact so helpful that he won the elections, became the PM, and actually, made the UK out of the EU. The meanings are no surprise whatsoever since the date of the proposed date of exit was approaching and everyone was afraid of what the future would hold after the exit.

6 CONCLUSIONS

The research conducted in Cognitive Linguistics so far has been very valuable in providing understanding how our minds operate and what the relationship between the mind and language is. Although the research has been invaluable (think of the work by Lakoff (1980, 1987), Johnson (1980, 1990), Langacker (1987, 2001), Barcelona (1997, 2011), Brdar (2002, 2003), Semino (2008), etc.), it is still insufficient in some respects. Given the fact that the backbone of all the research in CL is mostly based on exploring the phenomenon of metaphor, the motivation behind this dissertation was to try and correct this kind of injustice aimed at metaphor's ugly sister – metonymy and to invite more scholars from the field to investigate the phenomenon of metonymy from other perspectives, i.e. in discourses such as media discourse. The dissertation deals with the analysis of metonymies surrounding *Brexit* in the British media discourse. The aim of the dissertation is to enlighten rhetorical functions as well as the pragmatic effects of overexploiting metonymy in political discourse and to examine the results of such (ab)use. The first research question was to see whether metonymic mappings enabled a variety of rhetorical functions such as euphemisms, dysphemisms, blurring, etc. The second research question dealt with examining whether *Brexit*-based metonymies were used as tool for manipulating the voters. The last research question, however, was to see whether there were any changes in the target domain which were triggered by metonymic meanings of the lexeme *Brexit*. The dissertation showed that all three research questions were confirmed. In other words, metonymic mappings did indeed cause rhetorical functions such as euphemisms, as well as blurring. Dysphemisms were not found in the analysed dataset. The dissertation presented how *Brexit* is used in British political discourse, i.e. we were presented with what the metonymic (referential) meanings of *Brexit* were, and how they were received by the general public, i.e. how the voters would act upon it. In other words, the dissertation presented whether *Brexit* really stood for **British exit**, or whether it entailed other referential meanings as well, and whether such a metonymic network expanded through time, thus causing different pragmatic effects. The media discourse was demonstrative of all of these phenomena, which shows us that metonymy is very operative in it. The dissertation presented how euphemisms are used in media discourse based on metonymic mappings. Making the truth prettier, distorting the reality, hiding the ugly parts of the truth, etc. is all made possible because metonymy triggers them. Moreover, blurring was also present in media discourse and it is a pragmatic effect, since the public makes the decision about what is being said/unsaid and how it was done. In the case of euphemisms, it is said that the process of formation of euphemisms is to display a language tendency for

observation of political correctness in the English-speaking society (Harkova and Shigapova, 2014: 112). They are used to package the taboos in a society, and metonymy has proved to be very operative in that sense, especially in media discourse, so one could agree with Warren (1999: 123) that they are an *avoidance strategy*, since they are used to avoid being completely direct, with the aim not to hurt someone's feelings, or rather to save the face of the speaker, mostly politician. Although the number of euphemisms caused by metonymy is rather high, blurring turned out to be the most significant of rhetorical functions, as there are many examples of *Brexit* which were used to mean something with fuzzy boundaries, i.e. it is not clear from the context what it actually meant. The second research question was also confirmed, as *Brexit*-based metonymies were used to manipulate the voters. It means that in the article when *Brexit* was used, one of the following things was meant: ***Brexit negotiations, Brexit deal, Brexit process, exit date, the exit, the referendum, the concession, the future after the exit, the Brexit vote, the immigration policy, the fishery policy, etc.*** Those meanings were a result of WHOLE FOR PART, PART FOR WHOLE, or PART FOR PART metonymy. The last research question was confirmed as well, because there were changes in the target domain which were triggered by the use of the lexeme *Brexit*. The dissertation proved that the metonymic network of meanings expands with time and it is dependent on the factors such as the change of the country's leadership, people's fatigue with *Brexit*, and other extralinguistic factors. Moreover, the dissertation demonstrated that ambiguity, doublespeak and vagueness are contributors to the metonymic network being expanded. Such a network was expanded in situations when meaning was not evident from the context so it could have been anything, and the result of that was causing confusion, uncertainty, etc. which were the intended desires of politicians, columnists, journalists, and other participants of the media discourse. The topic of the dissertation was the analysis of metonymies which are based on a historic event in the British history, i.e. *Brexit*. The whole idea of the UK leaving the EU was inspired by the Greek exit in 2010, also known as *Grexit*. Moreover, the idea of leaving the EU was initiated by the former UK's Prime Minister David Cameron who, although against the exit himself, fostered the Referendum in 2016 on which 52% of the British voted to leave the EU. After that there were two campaigns which had influence on the course of events surrounding *Brexit*. Those were the Remain campaign and the Vote Leave campaign, whose leaders were Jeremy Corbyn and Theresa May/Boris Johnson respectively. The former was in favour of staying in the EU, the latter were in favour of the UK to be outside the EU. After the Referendum Theresa May was chosen to be the Prime Minister of the UK for almost three years, until June 2019 when she was replaced by Boris Johnson who is now the PM. May was forced to resign because her *Brexit deal* had been rejected

three times by the House of Commons. May's successor to the position of the Prime Minister was Boris Johnson who still holds the position. Johnson managed to take the UK out of the EU on 31st January 2020 when the transition period started in which the negotiating terms between the EU and the UK were to be arranged. The situation surrounding Johnson's becoming the PM should be looked at with respect to Dominic Cummings, whose impact on Johnson's success as a PM, as well as the one who managed to take the country out of the EU, was very significant, as Johnson's election slogan was *Get Brexit done* and it was a result of Cummings' efforts to help him win the elections. Cummings organized focus groups around the UK with the aim of investigating people's emotions caused by *Brexit*. The results showed that people had been tired of the whole *Brexit* thing (the process, negotiations, date of exit, the terms of exit, etc.) and wanted to see the end of it. That is how Johnson's election campaign was organized, and eventually, how the elections were won. The period of time covered in the analysis was from around March 2019 to 31st January of 2020 when the transition period started. Any such analysis should take into account a relationship between metonymy and rhetoric. It has been argued that rhetoric is the power of persuasion. In traditional rhetoric, Aristotle placed metonymy under metaphor, but that changed a lot since 1980s when Lakoff and Johnson argued that both metaphor and metonymy are important cognitive tools that enable understanding and are pervasive in our everyday language. The basic difference between traditional (classical) rhetoric and modern rhetoric is that in the first case rhetoric was used for persuasion, while in the second case it was used for communication. The dissertation has analysed what kind of communication was the dominant one in the British media discourse. In order to analyse communication of the discourse, the theoretical framework was needed for such a conduct, and in this particular case, the communication via the media discourse was analysed from the cognitive perspective. In this respect, encyclopaedic knowledge is very important from the perspective of *Brexit*-based metonymies in the British political discourse because for someone *Brexit* means freedom and/or happy thoughts, while for someone else it means uncertainty and/or problems. Apart from encyclopaedic knowledge, image-schemas also turned out to be important in meaning production as they are mental representations of knowledge which enable mappings to take place. Regarding the role of conceptual metaphor and metonymy (in their newly suggested role in CL), the analysis found/ showed that metonymy is very operative in media discourse, and is a significant means of persuasion, and such persuasion is often vivid in terms of playing on voters' emotions, distorting reality by means of causing vagueness, ambiguity, by utilization of tautologies, etc. All of those phenomena are possible because of the metonymy, and the dissertation presented such results, which is illustrative of the fact that metonymy is pervasive

in our everyday communication, as well as in media discourse which goes to show that metonymy deserves just as much, or even more scientific attention as metaphor in cognitive researches. Furthermore, as media discourse is a type of discourse which includes all participants involved in media and/or politics which means politicians, columnists, journalists, and public (readers/voters) as integral part of it, it was focused on to show how metonymy causes manipulation with the public. Moreover, the media is also a contributor to such manipulation because it is involved in the process of providing the latest news in politics, providing the outcome of politicians' public addressing, etc. The media deals with telling the news, but the beauty of the discourse is that they choose how they want the news to be packed, and that is why it could be argued that media creates public opinion to some extent which is why it has lately become such an interesting field of study. The purpose of the media is to inform the public of the novelties their country and/or world encountered and to provoke the reaction. The outcome of media influence may be a phenomenon called populism, and it was best seen in the (ab)use of slogans surrounding *Brexit*: *Brexit means Brexit* and *Get Brexit done* which were used by Theresa May and Boris Johnson, respectively. Because the media provided necessary space for using those slogans, they eventually became popular catchphrases and *Brexit* for that matter, became the topic everybody was fussing about – some were enthusiastic about it such as *Brexiters*, and some were tired of the whole situation around *Brexit* that they just wanted to see an end of it. The analysis of metonymies in the dissertation was conducted on the collected dataset which was comprised of three British online newspapers (*The Guardian*, *BBC*, *Sky News*) and three British online tabloid papers (*The Sun*, *Daily Mail*, *Daily Mirror*), and only qualitative analysis was conducted. However, the numbers presented in the dissertation were merely an illustration, and not subjected to quantitative analysis. The dataset of **1.326.558** words was analysed in the program *Sketch Engine*. The lexeme *Brexit* was analysed with respect to the meaning it entailed in the analysed texts. Since it was taken into consideration that certain newspapers are more inclined towards right-oriented parties, some are neutral, while some are in favour of the left-oriented parties, the focus of analysis was to see whether such political bias affects the referential meanings of *Brexit* used in the discourse. Precisely, the focus of the analysis was to see what the metonymic (referential) meanings of *Brexit* are and whether such metonymic network of meanings was expanded with time and with the change of circumstances. In addition, in the articles it was obvious that in political discourse the change of topic happened soon after the introduction of the first topic which is indicative that the intention was to deceive the public, hide something, or make it prettier. The results demonstrated that *Brexit* meant a variety of things: *(Brexit) negotiations*, *(Brexit) deal*, *(Brexit)*

process, the date of exit, the exit, concession, (Brexit) vote, (Brexit) delay, the future after the exit, something unknown (vague), etc.

The examples presented in the dissertation proved to be a vital piece of evidence that metonymy is very operative in media discourse and hence, has its pragmatic effects which means that people would act upon the information they received. In other words, metonymy has proved to be a useful tool that participants of the media discourse often resort to in their public addressing with the aim of manipulating with the voters.

Moreover, it has also been argued that metonymy plays a role in grammatical (re)categorization, and the dissertation provided plenty of examples demonstrating the phenomenon, as reflected in the use and choice of articles with the lexeme in question. Our insights support the claim that metonymy is operative on the level of grammar and it has its pragmatic effect as well. When the lexeme is used without article, everything is vague, and the metonymy PART FOR WHOLE is operative in that case since the author or the politician wanted to refer to one aspect of *Brexit* (perhaps *Brexit negotiations, Brexit process, Brexit deal* or something else) to refer to the whole *Brexit* for which it is very unclear what it entails. When it is used with indefinite and definite article, the meaning is dependent on the context and the co-text. *Brexit* was most frequently found without an article which says that it can be **whatever**, it appeared with indefinite article *a* which means **any Brexit** (although there is only one *Brexit*, and such meaning is non-sensical), and it appeared with definite article *the* which then means one of the possible meanings above mentioned or something else. At times, the use of *Brexit* causes vagueness, ambiguity, blurring, etc. and all those pragmatic effects are the results of metonymy being operative in media discourse. There were also examples of metonymy being operative in word-formation processes as in the examples such as *Brexiters, Brexiter, Brexiteers, Remainers*. Again, the WHOLE FOR PART metonymy was operative in those cases as the newly formed word was a result of mapping the whole *Brexit* onto a part of it, namely **the exit**. The results have shown that metonymic network of meanings expanded with time but in accordance with the changed political circumstances.

It could be summarised that the level of intended transparency, that is opacity of referential meaning varies depending on the pragmatic functions of metonymies such as its euphemistic character of hiding the truth, making it more appealing, conceptually distancing from the truth, etc., and all with an aim to manipulate the voters.

In conclusion, the purpose of the dissertation is to invite more scholars to examine the phenomenon of metonymy in media discourse from various perspectives since it is operative on so many levels.

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***Brexit* as a Complex Metonymic Network**

The dissertation focuses on the analysis of metonymies in British media discourse on the example of the lexeme *Brexit*. The analysis is conducted from a cognitive perspective with a covered period of ten months, i.e. from around March 2019 to the end of January of 2020. The aim of the analysis is to see what the metonymic meanings of *Brexit* are in the media discourse as well as the pragmatic effects their (ab)use causes. The theoretical framework, definitions regarding media discourse and basic postulates of the Cognitive Linguistics are provided in the dissertation. Moreover, the motivation behind the research presented in the dissertation is also offered. Cognitive and pragmatic look at the phenomenon of metonymy in media discourse is in the focus of the research. The data of the research is collected from three British online papers (*The Guardian*, *BBC* and *Sky News*) and three British tabloid papers (*Daily Mail*, *Daily Mirror* and *The Sun*) in the covered 10-month period. The data is analysed in the program *Sketch Engine* across all six papers. The method used in the analysis included qualitative analysis only by means of entering the lexeme *Brexit* in the program to see what metonymic (referential) meanings of *Brexit* are with the aim to examine whether it affects the public in terms of the election votes, as well as to see whether such network of meanings is expanded with time. The results of the analysis were demonstrative of the fact that metonymy is very operative in media discourse, and as such is a means of manipulation aimed at the public, i.e. the voters. Politicians use *Brexit* in a variety of contexts in their public addressing and its meaning includes the following: ***Brexit negotiations, Brexit process, the exit, the date of exit, 29th March 2019, 31st October 2019, the (date)extension, the delay, concession, something with fuzzy boundaries, etc.*** Those meanings are a result of WHOLE FOR PART, PART FOR WHOLE and PART FOR PART metonymy. Rhetorical functions of such (over)exploitation of metonymies are euphemisms as well as blurring, both of which are directed towards the voters with the aim to create confusion, uncertainty, etc. *Brexit* is also found with and without articles (*a, the, or zero article*) which demonstrates how metonymy is operative on the level of grammar, as it causes grammatical recategorization. Such recategorization has its purpose as well, and it is manipulation with the voters by means of being unclear, vague, ambiguous, etc. Manipulation is also presented by means of the analysis of two slogans which marked the covered period in which *Brexit* has a variety of meanings.

The dissertation demonstrated that the repetition of the lexeme *Brexit* has its purpose and it is to manipulate and persuade the voters. It showed as well that metonymic network of meanings is expanded by time which goes to show that metonymic meanings are dependent on the situational context. It also demonstrated that meaning is dispersed by means of constant repetition, and such repetition is aimed at causing confusion, uncertainty, and ultimately generating public opinion.

Key words: metonymy, *Brexit*, media discourse, politics, manipulation, persuasion, euphemisms, blurring, tautology

***Brexit* kao složena metonimijska mreža značenja**

Disertacija se temelji na analizi metonimija u britanskom medijskom diskursu na primjeru leksema *Brexit*. Analiza se provela s kognitivnog stajališta i pokrivala je razdoblje od deset mjeseci, otprilike od ožujka 2019 do kraja siječnja 2020. godine. Cilj je analize vidjeti koja sva metonimijska značenja proizlaze iz uporabe leksema *Brexit* u medijskom diskursu te koji su pragmatični učinci takve pretjerane upotrebe. Disertacija daje teoretski okvir i definira medijski diskurs i daje pregled osnovnih principa kognitivne lingvistike. Jednako tako, prikazani su i razlozi odabira ovog istraživanja. U središtu su ovog istraživanja kognitivni i pragmatični pogled na metonimiju u medijskom diskursu. Istraživanje se temelji na podacima prikupljenim iz triju britanskih portala (*The Guardian*, *BBC* i *Sky News*) i triju tabloida (*Daily Mail*, *Daily Mirror* i *The Sun*) u 10-mjesečnom razdoblju koje je pokriveno ovom analizom. Tekst iz svih šest novina analizirao se u programu *Sketch Engine*. Koristila se samo kvalitativna analiza teksta i to tako što se unio leksem *Brexit* u program kako bi se vidjela metonimijska (referencijalna) značenja koja *Brexit* ima s ciljem da se ispita utječe li to na izborne glasove, ali i da se vidi širi li se takva mreža značenja kroz vrijeme. Rezultati analize pokazali su da metonimija djeluje u medijskom diskursu te je kao takva sredstvo manipulacije usmjereno na javnost, točnije na glasače. Političari koriste *Brexit* u svom javnom obraćanju, a njegova upotreba može značiti jedno od sljedećeg: ***pregovori vezani uz Brexit, process vezan uz Brexit, izlazak, datum izlaska, 29. ožujka 2019., 31. listopada 2019., produljenje, odgoda, ustupak, nešto s nejasnim granicama, i sl.*** Ta su značenja rezultat sljedećih metonimija: CJELINA ZA DIO, DIO ZA CJELINU i DIO ZA DIO. Takva pretjerana upotreba metonimija rezultira retoričkim funkcijama poput eufemizama i zamagljivanja koji su usmjereni prema glasačima kako bi stvorili zbunjenost, nesigurnost i sl. Leksem *Brexit* pojavio se sa (*a, the*) i bez člana, a to pokazuje kako metonimija djeluje i na gramatiku jer izaziva gramatičku rekategorizaciju. Takva rekategorizacija ima svoju svrhu također, a to je manipulacija glasačima kroz nejasno, isprazno i dvosmisleno izražavanje, itd. Manipulacija je prikazana i analizom dvaju slogana koji su obilježili pokriveno vremensko razdoblje u kojem *Brexit* može značiti mnogo stvari. Disertacija je pokazala da ponavljanje leksema *Brexit* ima svoju svrhu, a to je manipulacija i uvjeravanje glasača. Jednako tako, pokazala je da se metonimijska mreža značenja vremenom širi što pokazuje da su metonimijska značenja ovisna o situacijskom kontekstu. Pokazala je, između

ostalog, da se stalnim ponavljanjem značenje raspršuje te da je takvo ponavljanje ujedno usmjereno na stvaranje zbunjenosti, nesigurnosti, te u konačnici, stvaranja javnog mišljenja.

Ključne riječi: metonimija, *Brexit*, medijski diskurs, politika, manipulacija, uvjeravanje, eufemizmi, zamagljivanje, tautologija

Nevena Ćosić (ex Tanasić) was born on 24th December 1986 in Osijek. She received a Bachelor's degree in English language and literature and Croatian language and literature from the Faculty of Philosophy in Osijek in 2008. Two years later, she received a Master's degree in English language and literature and Croatian language and literature from the same Faculty which is today known as the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences. In 2010, she enrolled into the postgraduate doctoral study program in Linguistics at the same Faculty.

From 2010 and 2019 she worked in different schools as a substitute teacher of both Croatian and English in the following schools: Škola primijenjene umjetnosti i dizajna Osijek, Osnovna škola Dobriše Cesarića Osijek, Ekonomska škola Vukovar, Strukovna škola Vukovar, Gimnazija Beli Manastir, Zdravstvena i veterinarska škola dr. Andrije Štampara, Vinkovci, Osnovna škola Josipa Kozarca, Semeljci, Osnovna škola Miroslava Krlež, Čepin. She also worked as a teacher of Business English at the College of Applied Sciences „Lavoslav Ružička“ in Vukovar. From 2019 to 2020 she worked as an associate worker in Association for nature and environment protection Green Osijek where she translated and edited texts from English to Croatian and *vice versa*, as well as she was involved in project activities. She now owns a business in which she provides the following services: translating texts from English to Croatian, and *vice versa*, editing texts in Croatian and English, teaching Croatian and English, and holding lessons in Public Relations. She participated in several national and international conferences on linguistics. Her fields of interest include the following: cognitive linguistics, pragmatics, rhetoric, applied linguistics and translation. She published five papers in different publications, from students' linguistic journals to conference proceedings; one paper is in the publishing procedure.

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