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PICTORIAL AND MULTIMODAL METONYMY IN POLITICAL NEWSPAPER DISCOURSE: THE CASE OF BREXIT REPORTS**

This paper analyses several examples of pictorial and multimodal metonymy found in political cartoons and photographs related to the topic of Brexit and collected from the two British daily newspapers, *The Guardian* and *The Telegraph*. The first part of analysis deals with instances of pictorial metonymy, emphasising the importance of certain distinctive features such as colour, graphic representation, or photographic composition. The second part of analysis focuses on multimodal metonymy of the verbo-pictorial variety, particularly scrutinising the relationships between the two modes. Based on the different ways in which the pictorial and the verbal mode interact, the examples are classified into three separate categories: (1) image-dominant metonymy, (2) text-dominant metonymy, and (3) complementary metonymy. Furthermore, the analysis sheds some light on how these metonymies can form the basis of pictorial and multimodal metaphors, how several source and target concepts can be chained together within a single metonymy, and how metonymy in visual communication can also possess an indexical, rather than merely iconic character.

Keywords: pictorial metonymy, multimodal metonymy, political newspaper discourse, political cartoons, photographs, Brexit

1. Introduction

Compared to metaphor, metonymy is still far less studied, and this rings true for all sorts of communication, not only verbal languages in which these two phenomena are most often analysed. Due to its very nature as a specific conceptual shortcut (LITTLEMORE 2015), *metonymy* appears tailor-made for newspaper discourse, and this study presents

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an attempt at contributing to the research into metonymy in visual and multimodal communication by examining the use of non-verbal metonymy in such discourse, here related to the predominantly political topic of the 2016 United Kingdom European Union membership referendum. The material collected for analysis in this paper, comprising political cartoons and photographs that accompany newspaper articles, comes from the electronic archives of two British daily newspapers, *The Guardian* and *The Telegraph*, which were chosen precisely because of their opposing editorial views on the so-called Brexit referendum, with the former being staunchly against the United Kingdom leaving the European Union, while the latter acted as one of the main proponents of the UK severing its ties with the EU. The Brexit campaign was divided into two options, the Remain and the Leave camp, with the members of all political parties free to choose the side they wanted to endorse, which in practice meant that the political affiliation did not necessarily match the political option offered at the referendum. This was, for example, best reflected in the fact that the then prime minister David Cameron was the leading Remain supporter, while his Conservative party colleague Boris Johnson, at the time the mayor of London, was one of the most vocal advocates of the opposite outcome. Eventually, the Leave option prevailed at the referendum and it was decided that the UK should exit the EU.

The topic of Brexit was chosen for two main reasons. The first was its, above all, geopolitical and economic importance both for the United Kingdom and the rest of Europe, while the second lay in its very strong presence in newspaper discourse. In addition, the visual manifestations of metonymy related to this event seemed quite engaging from the very beginning. For instance, the fact that the UK's national symbols, most prominently its flag, were practically co-opted by the Leave campaign, partly disarmed their opponents and required them to be more creative in terms of visualising their messages. Bearing all this in mind, the examples were selected to represent the most illustrative instances of pictorial and multimodal (verbo-pictorial) metonymy in said discourse, with the aim of subjecting them to thorough qualitative analysis of their source and target concepts.

2. Theoretical framework

In discussing the differences between what he called “two gravitational poles” of language, metaphor based on similarity and metonymy grounded in contiguity, Jakobson (1956: 78) first drew attention to the fact that metonymy as a phenomenon is not limited to verbal languages. Providing a few examples from painting, cinema, and theatre, Jakobson expanded the field of human experience and creation in which one could search for metonymic expressions and showed that metonymy can be found in various forms of non-verbal, or not merely verbal, communication. The first studies into pictorial and multimodal manifestations of metaphor and metonymy, based on conceptual metaphor theory, dealt mainly with the former phenomenon, originally implying that visual metaphor can only be found in those instances where elements from two distinct areas get visually fused into a single spatially bounded entity (e.g. CARROLL 1996). However, eventually it became clear that the majority of visual metaphors do not represent a fusion of two separate elements into one, but that it is rather the case of more implicit forms, i.e., the vehicle and the topic are usually not shown together (EL REFAIE 2003: 79). Furthermore, some of the first definitions of visual or pictorial metaphor, such as the one offered by Forceville

(1996), which postulate that pictorial metaphor represents the substitution of an expected visual element with an unexpected one, cannot be applied to all varieties of this metaphor any longer. Perhaps it is best to draw on the conclusion reached by Kennedy, Green et al. (1993: 244), who propose that a visual depiction can be considered a metaphor if there is a clear purpose behind its use to express a metaphorical thought. Naturally, here an issue arises when trying to determine whether a thought is metaphorical or literal, leading to what El Refaie (2003: 83) sees as a necessary shift of focus from this issue to “the process whereby a particular visual metaphor may gradually become accepted as the ‘natural’ way of expressing a particular meaning”.

With regard to metonymy, as in the other areas, the study of its visual and multimodal manifestations came second to metaphor (for the examination of metaphor in political cartoons in general see, e.g., BOUNEGRU & FORCEVILLE 2011; EL REFAIE 2009; LIN & CHIANG 2015; MARÍN-ARRESE 2008; and for Brexit-related cartoons see, e.g., GODIOLI & PEDRAZZINI 2019; NEGRO ALOUSQUE 2020; SILAŠKI & ĐUROVIĆ 2019), which is still the case to a certain extent. However, the “next logical step” (FORCEVILLE 2009: 56) finally arrived, and researchers started turning their attention to studying metonymy in the visual and other non-verbal discourses, bearing in mind that numerous pictorial and multimodal metaphors are, in fact, based on metonymic transfers (NEGRO ALOUSQUE 2014). Drawing on the fundamental tenets of cognitive linguistics, but also other theoretical frameworks, such as Sperber and Wilson’s relevance theory (SPERBER & WILSON 1995; FORCEVILLE 2020), FORCEVILLE (2009: 58) provides a definition of metonymy that can easily be applied to its non-verbal or multimodal instances. In it, he poses that (1) metonymy consists of a source concept or structure, which when expressed in a communicative mode (including visuals, which is of main concern for us here) allows the inference of its target concept or structure, (2) with both the source and the target being part of the same conceptual domain, (3) where the choice of the specific metonymic source is intended to make salient certain aspects of the target that are otherwise not clearly noticeable.

This choice of the metonymic vehicle is always motivated and not arbitrary. If we consult Peirce’s (1902/1955) semiotic division, the use of metonymy, as an indexical sign, is clearly motivated both in language and in other forms of communication. Namely, if an icon is physically similar to the object it denotes (e.g. a photograph of an object), then an index forms a causal relation with its object (e.g. clouds implying rain), while a symbol represents a highly unconventional, arbitrary choice (e.g. letters or numbers). Despite the fact that, by rule, we associate visual images with iconic signs, according to Feng (2017), metonymy in visual communication also possesses an indexical character, since it is possible to prove its motivation by perception or bodily experience. Even in such instances when we deal with graphic decorations that barely possess any inherent meaning, which are often found in cartoons and comics, the selection of the metonymic source is usually openly motivated, and very frequently culturally specific at that (see COHN 2013; FORCEVILLE 2011; TASIĆ & STAMENKOVIĆ 2017). As Feng (2017: 442) states, in line with Norrick (1981), “metonymic relations are seen as derived from the semiotic principle of indexicality, including relations such as cause and effect, part and whole, container and contained, and so on”. He further notes that, although primarily iconic,

images found in advertisement, film or comics also contain indexical properties, and for two reasons. The first is that such images are not exact copies of real objects, but merely their partial representations, while the second is that visual representations of invisible abstract concepts, such as emotions, can only be depicted through visible objects somehow metonymically related to them (FENG & O'HALLORAN 2012: 2068–2069). To illustrate this, Feng (2017: 452–453) says that emotions can be represented in visual images only by using metonymic transfers in which the role of the vehicle is played either by the eliciting condition (as the cause) or the reaction in behaviour (as the effect), and such transfers are often found both in static and moving images.

When it comes to multimodal metonymy, our investigation of it in political newspaper discourse is based on the wider field of research into multimodality in communication and discourse (see, e.g., BATEMAN, WILDFEUER et al. 2017; JEWITT, BEZEMER et al. 2016; KRESS 2010; O'HALLORAN 2004; PAGE 2010). As Bateman, Wildfeuer et al. (2017: 7) propose, multimodality is characterised by those communicative situations whose effectiveness depends on the combination of different modes of communication, such as television shows in which speech, image and text are employed, or restaurant conversations that combine speech with various forms of body postures and movement. In an attempt to arrive at a satisfactory definition of mode, Kress (2010: 79) says that it represents a “socially shaped and culturally given semiotic resource for making meaning”, examples of which can be found in representation and communication in the form of image, writing, movement, speech, music, etc. Nevertheless, it is not easy to accurately define a single mode of communication, let alone differentiate it from other modes. Jewitt, Bezemer et al. (2016: 12) state that there are numerous variations in meaning that can be assigned to certain modes, and it is thus possible to say that image and writing represent separate modes, but that the distinction between colour and layout is not that straightforward. On the other hand, Forceville (2006: 382) tries to link the modes with the five human senses in the following manner: (1) the pictorial or visual mode; (2) the aural or sonic mode; (3) the olfactory mode; (4) the gustatory mode; and (5) the tactile mode. However, under the weight of further considerations, he concludes that it is impossible to give a comprehensive definition or compile an exhaustive list of modes.

Regardless of all these difficulties, the research into multimodality and multimodal discourse analysis is a key factor for a better understanding of basic laws and principles of human communication, precisely because such communication is mainly multimodal. As Bateman, Wildfeuer et al. (2017: 7–8) note, researchers studying multimodality primarily aim to observe discourse as a whole, and thus do exactly the opposite of what many other scientific disciplines, such as linguistics, art history, graphic design, and others, are doing, and that is breaking down multimodal communication and analysing its components. According to them, it is no longer sufficient to focus on separate forms of expression in a communicative situation, as if they occur independently of each other and their natural environment, such as speech accompanied by body language. The interdisciplinary basis of studies in multimodality enables researchers to delve into what happens when different forms of communication are combined to create meaning yet does not “seek to replace existing disciplinary orientations, but add ways of dealing with particular challenges and questions that combining diverse forms of meaning-making rises” (BATEMAN,

WILDFEUER et al. 2017: 9).

As already stated above, this paper will include instances of both pictorial and multimodal metonymy, i.e., the metonymic transfers achieved by using more than one mode of communication. In the literature, the examples of such metonymies can be found in the combination of image and text in printed advertisements (FORCEVILLE 2009; HIDALGO DOWNING & KRALJEVIC MUJIC 2011; KRALJEVIC MUJIC 2009) or in the combination of image, text, and sound in TV commercials (SWEETSER 2017; URIOS-APARISI 2009; YU 2009). As far as the multimodal metonymy studied in this paper is concerned, it is of the verbo-pictorial variety found in political cartoons and photographs, in which the metonymic content is transferred via a combination of image and text in varying interrelations. Based on our classification first proposed for different types of verbo-pictorial metaphors found in comics (TASIĆ & STAMENKOVIĆ 2015), we will try to fit the examples of multimodal metonymy examined here into the following three categories: (1) image-dominant metonymy, (2) text-dominant metonymy, and (3) complementary metonymy. The proposed taxonomy can be related to Barthes's (1964/1977) classification of text-image relations (as presented in BATEMAN 2014: 34–36), where the first two categories could be characterised as unequal, and the last one as equal. Similarly, when presented against Kloefer's (1977) classification (within the systemic network proposed in BATEMAN 2014: 40), categories (1) and (2) would belong to the additive subtype of convergent relations, while category (3) would represent the parallel subtype of convergent relations.

3. Methodology and materials

The material for this study comprises cartoons and photographs on the topic of Brexit from two British daily newspapers, *The Guardian* and *The Telegraph*. The material analysed here was collected from the electronic archives of these two newspapers, where such material is abundant because every article is accompanied by at least one photograph or some other form of graphic expression. One should note that not all of the photographic material, unlike cartoons, found on the web pages of these newspapers is original, and some of the photographs examined here are, in fact, taken from other sources but then recontextualised in a particular way. Furthermore, special attention was paid to political cartoons since they often contain metonymic transfers, either in the function of the intended visual message, or as the basis for further metaphorical mappings. The examined cartoons contain caricatures of British politicians, characterised by exaggerating certain aspects of their personality or physical appearance, e.g., facial features, or making them more salient (the very term *caricature* comes from the Italian *caricare* that, among other things, means *to exaggerate*), which only further emphasises its metonymic nature. As is the usual newspaper practice, cartoons can be found in separate sections on the web pages of these newspapers (so-called *opinion cartoons*), and both *The Guardian* and *The Telegraph* have their resident authors, who collectively publish at least one cartoon every day, usually related to that day's most important news. The conducted analysis contains instances of all of the above forms of visual communication.

The examples examined in the paper date from 2016, more precisely from several months before and after the Brexit referendum that was held on June 23 of that year. The

two newspapers were selected primarily due to their differing views on the United Kingdom leaving the European Union, with *The Guardian* being for and *The Telegraph* against the UK remaining in the EU. These opposite editorial stances were used as starting points in the discussion on the motivation behind different metonymic transfers employed in each of the newspapers, though we have to note that *The Guardian* often includes contributions (both written and drawn) by people with a broad spectrum of opinions, who have their own perspective on the events.

We considered around 200 illustrations related to the topic and the final selection was made based on the following criteria: (1) the selected illustrations had metonymic content in at least one of their parts as agreed by the two raters; (2) in the selected illustrations we avoided duplicating the metonymic pattern, unless the illustration also contained novel patterns that would then become the focus of analysis (in cases when the same metonymic pattern was found in more than one illustration, the raters agreed on the most characteristic instance). Thus, a small corpus of most representative examples from the above period was compiled, and the paper contains a total of ten illustrations of metonymy that is not purely verbal (five pictorial and five multimodal), subjected to qualitative analysis so as to provide as wide a range as possible of different metonymic transfers. The overall number of examples containing metonymy in the examined corpus was such that it favoured a qualitative approach, which allowed us to pay enough attention to each example within the scope of a single paper.

The analysis of this non-verbal (or not entirely verbal) material consists of two parts and is conditioned by the technical characteristics of newspaper discourse. On the one hand, we have examples of purely pictorial metonymy, in which metonymic transfers occur within a single mode of communication, while on the other, there is multimodal metonymy that employs both the verbal and the pictorial mode in leading the reader/viewer to the intended metonymic target. A simple visual inspection of the available material was used to first select the appropriate examples of pictorial metonymy, followed by adequate instances of multimodal metonymy. In selecting the examples presented and discussed here, we paid attention that they covered a number of different aspects of metonymic transfers, which in the case of pictorial metonymy, for example, included the investigation of properties peculiar to this mode, such as colour, graphic representation, or photographic composition, whereas the selection of multimodal manifestations of metonymy was primarily concerned with the diverse relations between the two modes as described above. All of the collected examples were then scrutinised for source and target concepts, transfer patterns, importance in conveying the entire message, instances of metonymic chaining, and the connection between the identified metonymies and the pictorial and multimodal metaphors that were subsequently based on them. In what follows we will present the conducted analysis.

4. Analysis and discussion

Bearing in mind its production characteristics, newspaper discourse (or more precisely here, political newspaper discourse) comprises two types of non-verbal, or not exclusively verbal, metonymic transfers. As mentioned above, on the one hand, we have pictorial metonymy, which contains only the elements of this mode of communication, and

in which the intended messages are conveyed through images, i.e., the source concepts are always purely graphic in nature. On the other hand, such pictorial content can be combined with verbal expressions, which results in metonymies that function in the desired way only by some sort of interaction between these two modes of communication, and we can describe them as multimodal metonymies of the verbo-pictorial variety, which are specific to newspaper discourse. Thus, the analysis of the selected examples of non-verbal metonymy will be divided into these two groups. In addition, the instances of multimodal metonymy examined later on will also be subjected to the analysis of the relations between the two modes within them, with the aim of determining which, if any, of the modes is more “responsible” for the success of the desired metonymic transfer. We propose that verbo-pictorial metonymies can be classified into the following three categories: (1) image-dominant metonymy, in which the message is primarily communicated through the pictorial mode, (2) text-dominant metonymy, in which verbal language plays the main role in getting the message across to the reader/viewer, and (3) complementary metonymy, in which both modes are equally employed in conveying the intended message. But first, let us examine the selected examples of pictorial metonymy.

4.1. Pictorial metonymy

The first subsection aims at presenting and interpreting several examples of pictorial metonymy found in the two newspapers, primarily to show how metonymic transfers function in visual media, such as cartoons and photographs. We begin with a combination of a flag and an urban landmark. Flags are one of the most frequently employed visual source concepts in the analysed material, and, as perhaps the most recognisable symbol of a country, they very often serve as the vehicle in pictorial metonymies identified in the examined newspaper material. Our analysis will show that a flag as a symbolic sign takes on certain indexical characteristics by being imbued with metonymic meaning and comes to stand for that to which its sign object is related. Besides flags, other prominent features such as landmarks can be used as metonymic vehicles that lead to countries as their target concepts. The first example in this subsection is taken from *The Guardian*.



Figure 1. *EU flag and Big Ben.* Source: LEAL-OLIVAS 2016

The photograph in Figure 1 accompanies an article that discusses the relationship between Great Britain and some of the EU member states, that is, their citizens, who believe that Great Britain should not be offered ideal conditions when negotiating the Brexit deal. The photographic composition closely follows the topic of the article by juxtaposing two metonymic vehicles, which primarily relate to the political and administrative entities to which they belong, and subsequently to their surveyed populations. On the one hand, we have the European Union flag that stands for this political institution as a whole, but also for its parts, i.e., member states, while on the other there is the famous Big Ben clock tower, which clearly represents both London and the United Kingdom as its capital. It is interesting to note that the name Big Ben is itself a metonymy, since it is the nickname of the bell (more precisely, the largest of the five bells) inside the clock tower that was officially renamed Elizabeth Tower in 2012, and that it stands by extension for both the clock and the tower. Nevertheless, this photograph does not merely possess an iconic function of representing a flag and a clock tower, even though that is all we actually see in it, but the meaning derived from the political discourse of which it is part allows us to easily trace the metonymic transfer from the photographed objects to their target concepts. One could perhaps attempt to analyze the composition of the photograph further, and interpret the EU flag partially obscuring Big Ben as either giving preference to the option of the UK remaining in the EU, or, conversely, the EU hampering the UK from achieving its full potential in the current geopolitical and economic state of affairs. Despite the fact that the reason for this composition most probably lies in the difference between the mere sizes of the clock tower and the flag, which would render capturing an image where the flag would be observable behind a foregrounded Big Ben much more difficult, it could still play an important part in the meaning-making process. Ultimately, even though our understanding of this pictorial metonymy is related to the context provided by the article that it accompanies, formally speaking, it is still a case of monomodal metonymy, since being aware of the very topic of Brexit is enough to infer the intended meaning, without

any crucial contribution from the verbal mode.

The next example (Figure 2) further elaborates on the elements present in the previous one, with famous architectural landmarks of London again taking the centre stage, but this time only represented by their contours, thus triggering a double metonymic transfer: firstly from the shape to the building, and secondly from the building to the city in which it is located.

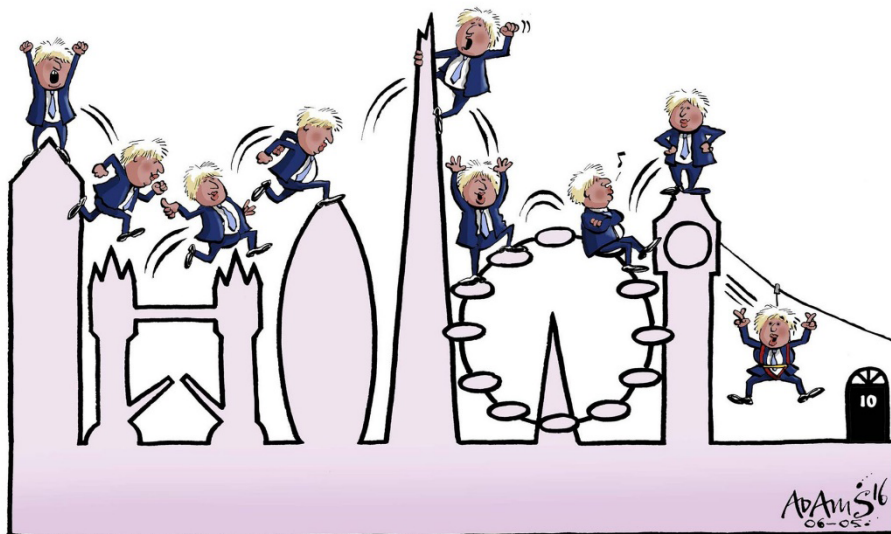


Figure 2. *Boris Johnson on his way to Downing Street.* Source: ADAMS 2016a

This “prophetic” illustration shows the then mayor of London, Boris Johnson, easily recognisable by his haircut, in an attempt to reach the highest political position in the country via his current executive role. The image is rich in pictorial metonymy, and we can say that there are three transfers that are key to understanding the author’s message. The first is the caricature of the mayor of London, which, by exaggerating certain traits of the person it depicts, facilitates the access to the target concept, i.e., ensures that the drawn figure is recognised. Namely, the caricature is based on the transfer between a salient property of a category and the category itself (in the sense defined by RADDEN & KÖVECSÉS 1999), since that is the mechanism used by this graphic form to draw our attention to that part of the depicted person that would most easily allow us to recognise him. Regardless of the fact that we can see the whole figure in this illustration, the caricature-enhanced property is the one that provides us access to the desired target of this metonymic transfer. The second key metonymy is the already mentioned use of contours of well-known London landmarks (such as Tower Bridge, the Shard skyscraper, or the London Eye) over which Boris Johnson advances toward 10 Downing Street, forming a metonymic chain (as first observed in REDDY 1979, and further elaborated, among others, by RUIZ DE MENDOZA IBÁÑEZ & PÉREZ HERNÁNDEZ 2003, and in visual discourse by FORCEVILLE 2009). Finally, the last key metonymy in this sequence is yet another metonymic chain that lies in Boris Johnson’s destination, with its initial point being the

image of a front door with number 10 on it (which can perhaps be observed as an instance of multimodal metonymy in itself). If we “unlink” this chain, the first link relates the front door to the object on which it is placed, the second link stands for the object and what is found within it, and finally that which is located in this object leads to the position that enables one to occupy it. In this way, the three metonymies together enable the integrated interpretation of the illustration and represent the basis for the understanding of its entire visual content.

What we have in the next pair of photographs is what Feng (2017: 453) defines as the metonymic pattern REACTION FOR EMOTION, in which reactions in one’s behaviour, particularly specific facial expressions, are used to construe emotive meaning. The two photographs show the supporters of the two opposing referendum options immediately following the announcement of the results. Before moving on to the analysis of the photographs, it should be noted that the title of the article in which they are found, *Tears and cheers: Brexit reactions around the UK*, also contains the transfer between emotions and their physical manifestations, which contributes to the interpretation of the photographic material below, even though the metonymic transfer presented here in the pictorial mode cannot simply, or at least as concisely, be translated to words (the emotions are indeed verbalised in the article itself, yet the facial expressions and gestures seen in the photographs produce that effect much more efficiently).



Figure 3. *Leave supporters celebrating.* Source: MELVILLE 2016



Figure 4. *Remain supporters lamenting.* Source: STOTHARD 2016

Figures 3 and 4 show the participants in both campaigns, Leave and Remain, respectively, with the former celebrating the victory of their option for Brexit, and the latter lamenting the outcome. The metonymic transfer in both cases fully corresponds to Feng's pattern, where facial expressions and gestures of the persons in the photographs serve as a visual metonymic vehicle that leads to their emotive state as its target concept. The REACTION FOR EMOTION pattern belongs to the cause-and-effect metonymic relations, and the reader/viewer can easily infer the emotion being represented from their own experience with the emotions that lead to such physical reactions, making the captions that further describe which supporters are shown in which photograph redundant, since it is perfectly clear who is featured where. This interpretation is additionally facilitated by the presence of the UK flags held by the supporters of the Leave option in Figure 3.

The final example in this subsection can be considered a borderline case between a pictorial and verbo-pictorial metonymy due to the presence of text, in itself metonymic but given here as part of a statistical data graph. However, since our main focus in this illustration is on how colour can be employed as a distinct metonymic vehicle, specific to the nature of the pictorial mode, we have decided to analyse it within the present subsection.



Figure 5. *Final referendum result.* Source: EU REFERENDUM 2016

Besides the specific use of gestures and expressions described in the previous example, which we once again see in Figure 5, this time, though, in the form of a caricature, our attention is here directed to the use of colour as a metonymic vehicle in the illustration

accompanying the graphic representation of the referendum results. In it, David Cameron, the pre-referendum Prime Minister, as the main proponent of the option to remain in the EU, wears a bright blue suit with a yellow tie, while Boris Johnson, as one of the most vocal supporters of the Leave option, dons a dark blue suit with a red tie. Both of these clothing combinations, that is, their colours, clearly symbolise the flags of the European Union and the United Kingdom, respectively. In this example, colour serves as a trigger of metonymic chaining, first leading us to the symbols of the EU and the UK, then to the EU and the UK themselves, and finally to the referendum options closely related to the two entities at hand. Moreover, the persons depicted in the illustration function as metonymic vehicles as well, since they stand for everything that these two campaigns represent as their most prominent advocates. This final example serves as an introduction into the next subsection in which we will discuss how text can be used to further enhance graphic expressions in different manners and to varying extents.

4.2. Multimodal metonymy

In this paper, multimodal metonymy represents a combination of image and text that functions as a symbiotic relationship. Within it, image and text can interact in different ways so as to best produce the desired effect. It is possible that image serves as the dominant mode, with text being more of an accompanying aspect that supplements the visual content, but also vice versa. Furthermore, it is not always possible to clearly determine which of the two present modes plays a more important role, and in what precise way they interact with each other resulting in a truly multimodal representation. To distinguish between these different types of interaction, we propose three separate categories of the verbo-pictorial metonymies analysed in this paper. The first is the image-dominant metonymy in which the pictorial mode obviously has a more decisive influence on the appropriate understanding of the target concept. The second is the text-dominant metonymy in which the verbal mode assumes this responsibility. And the third is the complementary metonymy in which the two modes complement each other in conveying the intended message, without any of them being the clearly dominant mode through which this is achieved. Let us now look at the five selected examples to better illustrate the proposed classification. The first is an image-dominant metonymy, the second a text-dominant metonymy, and the last three cases are instances of complementary metonymies.



Figure 6. *Casting a vote.* Source: VIEIRA 2016

The photograph in Figure 6 relates to the notion of voting, whose meaning is here metonymically expanded via a multimodal representation. The above photograph accompanies an article in which the author explains how the votes will be counted in the referendum, emphasising the differences between that type of voting, where each individual vote is counted, and the process of voting in the general elections in Great Britain, which is based on a different principle. This multimodal metonymy functions along the lines of the transfer between a subevent and the whole event to which it belongs. Namely, bearing in mind that the article describes the manner of voting, as well as the subsequent phases of counting the votes and interpreting the potential outcomes, the very act of casting a ballot shown in the photograph can be understood as one of the subevents that comprise the entire process of voting. The relation between the two modes responsible for the metonymic transfer in Figure 6 is such that the pictorial mode of communication is the dominant one, with the verbal mode taking a more inferior role. By observing the ballot box as one of the most characteristic objects related to the voting process, and the hand hovering above it ready to cast the vote, the reader/viewer can easily infer the implicit target concept from the literal meaning of this object, based merely on the visual content, with the text written on the box only sustaining such an interpretation. Nevertheless, in this image-dominant metonymy both of these modes act together as a single multimodal metonymic vehicle, yet with an obviously dominant role of the visual content.

Conversely, the next photograph shows an example of a text-dominant metonymy, where the focus of the multimodal representation of the two referendum options now shifts from the *remain/leave* to the *in/out* dichotomy.



Figure 7. *Brexit mugs.* Source: KITWOOD 2016

At first glance, observed within the given context, it would probably be sufficient for the mugs in Figure 7 to bear the inscriptions *IN* and *OUT*, and in that way achieve the metonymic transfer from the prepositions to the actual options given to the people at the referendum. However, the situation would certainly change if these objects were taken out of the specific context, thus the added visual content further assures the intended transfer and makes this realisation essentially multimodal, yet with a specific interaction between the two modes. Here the metonymy is dominated by the verbal mode, which is the one that primarily affects nonliteral meaning making, while the pictorial mode plays a similar role to the verbal one in the previous example, by contributing to and supporting the accurate expression of the desired content, all with the final goal of reaching the target concept. If one takes a closer look, they can see that the pictorial part of this multimodal metonymy is a metonymy in itself, with the EU flag being used in the manner already described earlier, but the interpretation of this multimodal content is intentionally simplified only to serve the purpose of a more concise illustration of the proposed categories. The next three examples will be used to showcase what we here call the complementary verbo-pictorial metonymy.

Often it seems that if taken apart, the two modes that constitute a multimodal metonymy are not strong enough to convey the intended meaning on their own, or that such meaning remains insufficiently clear to the reader/viewer if each of the modes is examined separately. To truly function as a multimodal metonymic vehicle, the two modes need to complement each other in a way that will be presented and explained below starting with Figure 8.



Figure 8. Theresa May on her way out of the EU. Source: MORAN 2016

In the image above, we see Theresa May riding a bicycle and carrying a UK flag in each of her hands. As already observed in the pictorial metonymy subsection, the flags indicate that Theresa May is somehow connected to the British nation, either as a metonymic vehicle for the country itself or its population. However, this metonymic relationship becomes clearer when the interpretation of the image takes into account the inscription on the road sign that says *sortie* (French for *exit*), which leads to a direct association with Brexit, and in turn to an unambiguous metonymic transfer from the state leader to the people she governs. Hence, both the image and the text participate equally in the formation of this metonymic transfer and serve as reference points that lead to the final target concept. Once again, it is interesting to note, as was the case with Big Ben, that the word *sortie* is, in fact, a metonymy itself, since the primary meaning of this lexeme “the act of leaving” now stands for “a way out” (PEIRSMAN & GEERAERTS 2006: 293). This is how the pictorial and the verbal mode of communication work together in enabling the specific multimodal transfer of meaning. The following cartoon provides another example of complementary metonymy.



Figure 9. *European Rolls-Royce*. Source: WILLIAMS 2016

The penultimate example again deals with the two referendum options, with its topic being the decision of the German car manufacturer BMW, the majority owner of the British Rolls-Royce, to inform its British workforce on the dangers that their own firm might face if the UK leaves the EU, thus indirectly implying that the workers will be expected to vote for the Remain option at the referendum to prevent that from happening. The cartoonist uses this information to show that the German owners are, in fact, leaving only one option to their workers, and the multimodality of the illustration emphasises that option in several different ways. On the one hand, the automobiles in the image are painted in the colours of the EU flag, while on the other, the text in the balloon further states that this paint is the only available option offered by the manufacturer. The third element of this

multimodal metonymy is the inscription on the vehicle registration plate that reads “YES I”, with the affirmative word implying that the voter opts for the UK to remain a member of the EU (the referendum question would later be reformulated from the original yes/no form), which completes the picture on the desired metonymic transfer. The last example brings us figuratively to the end of (or the exit from) our analysis.



Figure 10. *(Br)Exit*. Source: ADAMS 2016b

Playing with the form of the well-known exit sign, with a slight intervention where now the text reads *Brexit* instead of *Exit*, the illustration contains a number of metonymic transfers. The image shows Prime Minister May, who was determined to see Brexit through, running toward the exit, and her Chancellor of the Exchequer, Philip Hammond, himself a vocal Brexit opponent, trying to trip her and prevent her from finally reaching the exit. Published by *The Telegraph*, whose editorial board strongly supported the Leave option, the image is politically charged as well, employing the act of tripping someone as something intrinsically dishonest and insidious. Metonymy can be found in the representation of the main actors in this short story, as well as the entire illustration. It uses the part for the whole pattern by which the reader/viewer determines who the actors are merely based on their heads, since their bodies are graphically represented in the vein of the exit sign that serves as the template for the entire setting. Thus established metonymic background further enables the development of the metaphor that connects a person leaving a room with Great Britain leaving the European Union, with Theresa May clearly standing metonymically for the country she leads.

Finally, we should point to the fact that the non-verbal (or not entirely verbal) metonymies discussed above rely heavily on the context in which they appear. This can particularly be seen in the recontextualisation of the already existing visual and multimodal material, as is the case with the stock photograph in Figure 6, for example. Even when original works are used with a specific intention, the new context created within the political newspaper discourse of which these works are now part, dictates both the very

act of creation and the subsequent interpretations of the created product. And as we have seen, regardless of the means or forms of communication, metonymy is a potent discursive tool.

5. Conclusions

Thinking about metonymy as a specific conceptual shortcut, visual or multimodal communication seems perfect for its use in conveying messages, with such metonymic transfers frequently carrying witty and comic overtones (particularly in cartoons and caricatures) even when the subject matter is rather grave. The results yielded by the conducted analysis of the pictorial and multimodal (verbo-pictorial) material collected from the two examined newspapers, comprising cartoons and photographs, fully justify such a statement. As far as monomodal, pictorial metonymies were concerned, the analysis showed how specific properties of this communicative mode, such as the use of colour, stylised graphic representation, or particular photographic composition, provide this type of metonymy with a character of its own, differentiating it from its verbal counterpart. For example, the metonymic transfer based on the REACTION FOR EMOTION pattern showed that the realisation of this transfer in the pictorial mode is not easily translatable to words, or at least not using a single corresponding verbal metonymy. The analysis of the other presented instances of pictorial metonymy leads to a similar conclusion. Therefore, we can say that there are mode-based differences that will likely make pictorial metonymies usable in contexts in which their verbal counterparts cannot operate in the same way, and vice versa.

On the other hand, speaking of multimodal metonymy, the analysed political newspaper discourse allowed for the examination of its verbo-pictorial variety, since these two modes are employed by the given discourse. Particular attention was dedicated to the manner in which these two modes interacted within certain instances of multimodal metonymy, and the ways in which they cooperated in forming the metonymic transfer based on the multimodal nature of expressions. We were able to discern between three different categories of verbo-pictorial metonymies. The image-dominant metonymy in which the pictorial mode is the more important one, the text-dominant metonymy in which the message is primarily transferred through the verbal mode, and the complementary metonymy in which both modes participate in the metonymic transfer equally. Furthermore, although without going into much detail here since it was not our primary line of inquiry, the analysis also showed how pictorial and multimodal metonymies could form the basis of pictorial and multimodal metaphors. This could certainly be one of the directions for our future research. In addition, we witnessed instances where different graphic or verbal elements, such as numbers, colours or objects triggered metonymic chains, which are yet to be systematically addressed in the realm of pictorial and multimodal metonymy. Finally, having established a preliminary classification of multimodal metonymies of the verbo-pictorial variety, we would like to further expand it by examining different varieties of multimodal metonymies realised through two or more communicative modes.

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SLIKOVNA I MULTIMODALNA METONIMIJA U POLITIČKOM NOVINSKOM DISKURSU: SLUČAJ IZVEŠTAJA O BREGZITU

U ovom radu se analiziraju primeri slikovne i multimodalne metonimije koji se nalaze u političkim novinskim stripovima i fotografijama na temu Bregzita. Svi primeri su sakupljeni iz dva britanska dnevna lista, *Gardijana* i *Telegrafa*. Prvi deo analize se odnosi na slučajeve slikovne metonimije, sa posebnim naglaskom na određenim osobenostima poput boje, grafičkog prikaza ili fotografske kompozicije. Drugi deo analize je fokusiran na multimodalnu metonimiju verbo-slikovnog varijeteta, gde je naročita pažnja posvećena odnosima između ova dva modaliteta. Na osnovu različitih načina na koje slikovni i verbalni modalitet interaguju, primeri multimodalne metonimije u ovom radu podeljeni su u tri zasebne kategorije: (1) metonimija u kojoj dominira slika, (2) metonimija u kojoj dominira tekst i (3) komplementarna metonimija. Pored toga, pokazano je i kako ove metonimije mogu da predstavljaju osnov za slikovne i multimodalne metafore, kako nekoliko izvornih i ciljnih pojmova mogu da budu povezani u metonimijske lance, te kako metonimija u vizuelnoj komunikaciji može da ima i indeksičan, a ne samo ikoničan karakter.

Ključne reči: slikovna metonimija, multimodalna metonimija, politički novinski diskurs, politički novinski strip, fotografije, Bregzit