Metonymic Modelling of Discourse, Discourse Modelling of Metonymy. The Case of the Place-Name Based Metonymies

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ABSTRACT: This paper deals with the way metonymy contributes to the construction and understanding of social objects and of discourses related to them. The analysis is based on an empirical study of place-name based metonymies on the grounds of discourse analysis and cognitive linguistics. It is shown that metonymy lays out referential nets characterized by the variability of anaphora and predicate agreement, as well as by the agglomeration of coreferential units. These nets outline discourse sites and provide both a relevant support for text interpretation and a flexible ground for text progression.

Keywords: metonymy, discourse, coherence, place name, social object, cognitive tool.

RESUMEN: El presente artículo trata de cómo la metonimia contribuye a la construcción y la comprensión de objetos sociales y los discursos relacionados con ellos. El análisis se basa en un estudio empírico de metonimias basadas en topónimos, desde una perspectiva de Análisis del Discurso y Lingüística Cognitiva. Se demuestra que la metonimia despliega redes referenciales caracterizadas por la variabilidad de la concordancia entre anáfora y predicado, así como por la aglomeración de unidades correferenciales. Dichas redes perfilan los lugares del discurso y proporcionan tanto el fundamento para la interpretación del texto como una base flexible para la progresión textual.

Palabras clave: metonimia, discurso, coherencia, topónimos, objeto social, herramienta cognitiva.

1. Introduction

Metonymy is one of the "basic characteristics of cognition" (Lakoff, 1987: 77). It may also have the "function of understanding": through its providing of coherent models of the world, it helps to understand complex and/or abstract notions (Radden, 2005: 26). Besides, metonymy is ubiquitous, in so far as it operates at quite a number of linguistic structure levels: phonology, syntax, vocabulary, pragmatics, etc. (Barcelona, 2002; Radden, 2005).

This paper aims at analyzing the way metonymy contributes to the construction and understanding of social objects and of discourses related to them. I propose a study of country-name based metonymies (*Russia gives France old documents; Great-Britain beat Canada 2-1*, etc.) – but other place-name based metonymies will be addressed too – from a discursive point of view. I adopt a bidirectional approach: on the one hand, I assume that these metonymies rest on social object-constitutive discourse; on the other hand, I argue that they play a crucial role in discourse cohesion and development. Discourse is understood here as a socioculturally situated language production, determined by the dialogical (Bakhtine, 1977) relation between texts.

Although a lot of things have been said about metonymy – and at least the same amount remains to be said – I won't discuss here the notion of metonymy itself; I will simply take on A. Barcelona's definition (Barcelona, 2002: 208), broad enough to suit the dynamics of the data used in this paper: "A metonymy is a mapping, within the same overall cognitive domain, of a cognitive (sub)domain, called the source, onto another cognitive (sub)domain, called the target, so that the latter is mentally activated."

I will deal with metonymy as a *cognitive tool*, *i.e.* an instrument that supports thinking processes, categorization and world representation (see Paveau, 2006). Cognitive tools give rise to shared cognitive patterns; for this reason, their use presupposes cooperation and intersubjectivation. These tools may have a linguistic aspect; it is the case for the metonymy. In this regard, cognitive tools represent the interface between object-world and language.

My analysis is based on an empirical study on the grounds of discourse analysis (which studies texts in their relationship with other texts and with the sociocultural context), cognitive linguistics and text linguistics. The corpus I will work with consists of British and American newspapers (*The Guardian, The Times, The Washington Post*), of Web news and various world-wide English speaking newspapers.

I will begin with general remarks on place-name based metonymies; these remarks will tackle with conceptual, linguistic and ontological aspects. I then will examine the mechanism of reference assignment, in order to determine the types of mappings and conceptual relationships that are established in discourse. I will next question the way metonymy contributes to social realities discourse construction. Last but not least I propose a text and discourse analysis focusing on the metonymic use as a discourse-derived mechanism.

1. Place-name Based Metonymies. General Remarks

1.1. "Liberia cries" and Other "Wall Street is in a panic"

It is not hecatombs, but a special type of metonymy that I'd like to examine here from the conceptual structure and reference point of view. Lakoff and Johnson (1980, chapter 8) argue that examples like "Wall Street is in a panic" are instances of a general principle – *i.e.*, the idealized conceptual model (ICM) 'PLACE for INSTITUTION' – which applies to an open-ended class of cases. Indeed, such structures are very frequent, and all kinds of place names seem to be concerned. One more ICM they mention is

'PLACE for EVENT':[1] "Do not let Nicaragua become another Vietnam". These are what I will call *place-names based metonymies* (PNB).

Nevertheless, these two ICMs do not allow generalization of all the cases of place-names metonymization. From a referential point of view, for "Liberia cries" or "Great-Britain is in mourning" (Cruse, 1996), a different conceptual model seems imperative: 'PLACE for PEOPLE'. And it is not clear how to conceptually represent utterances like "Great-Britain moved four points clear at the top of the table after they beat Canada 2-1". Should one propose 'PLACE for TEAM'?

The conceptual modelization of place-names based (PNB) metonymies raises some problems. First of all, the potentially infinite multiplication of ICMs is not the best way to account for language and cognition; it is one of the most serious criticisms that can be opposed to Lakoff and Johnson's associationism (cf. Papafragou, 1996). Moreover, one has to justify not only the multiplication of ICMs, but also their selection process. Why 'PLACE for INSTITUTION', for instance? Fass (1997) considers that utterances like "Britain tried to leave the Common Market" ('PLACE for INSTITUTION'?) are cases of metonymy in metaphor. Stern (1968, cited by Fass, 1997) proposes the structure 'Place-names for Inhabitants or Frequenters' for "Great Britain announced", although it is usually not the people, but the government (an institution) that "announces", as my empiric data confirm. These disagreements are not surprising since PNB metonymy description is generally not based on empirical data.

What seems to be clear with PNB metonymies is that the concept of 'PLACE' serves to process various metonymic mappings, just as the same concept gives birth to 'MORE is UP'; 'HAPPY is UP' (Lakoff; Johnson, 1980: 147). One may stipulate that some concepts are more prolific than others within the metaphoric process. 'PLACE' and 'UP' acquire a status of basic concepts in metaphoric-metonymic processing. In fact, all the ICMs 'X, Y, Z is UP' or 'PLACE for X, Y, Z' are developments of a single one-fold model.

1.2. Linguistic and Ontological Material for PNB Metonymies

One may notice that, in all the examples illustrating PNB metonymies, the 'PLACE' concept is semiotized by a proper name.[2] Common-name based metonymies, like "the country/city is in mourning" (Cruse, 1996), are not impossible. But it appears that proper names represent the most salient linguistic material for PNB metonymies in the news.

Still, it is worth mentioning that only some kinds of place-names may generate the type of metonymies exposed above. Thus, the plain meaning of "The Mississippi isn't saying anything" is "the river does not speak", unless "Mississippi" is also an institution name, a town name, etc. PNB metonymic mappings are specific to names of countries, of towns, of regions, of states or buildings. The metonymic use of place-names seems to be determined, at least to some extent, by the ontology of their reference domain.

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1. The 'PLACE for EVENT' cognitive model will not be analysed in this paper.
2. This is the list of the names used by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) to illustrate 'PLACE'-based conceptual models: The White House, Washington, The Kremlin, Paris, Hollywood, Wall Street, Vietnam, the Alamo, Pearl Harbor, Watergate, and Grand Central Station.

Last, but not least, the notion of 'PLACE' itself needs a survey, since there are no clear-cut criteria to define a place. Casati; Varzi (1997: 73) point out the vagueness and the diversity of spatial objects and argue that "common-sense reasoning about space is, first and foremost, reasoning about things located in space". Yet, metonymy is expected to help to understand complex and/or abstract notions. One may conclude that the account on complex and abstract notions offered by PNB metonymies is grounded on an unbounded concept.

2. Reference Assignment in Discourse

2.1. Two Types of PNB Metonymic Mappings

In discourse, as Fauconnier (1984) has indicated, metonymy favours indirect relations:

(1) *Plato is on the top shelf. It is bound in leather.*

also called "conceptual anaphora" (Gibbs, 1994)

(2) *I need to call the garage. They said my car is ready.*

Indeed, metonymic subjects need not agree as to number with their predicates and anaphors. The indirect relations generally strengthen referential interpretation. For instance, "It" refers to the book as a subdomain of the author; more concretely, as a part of the encyclopaedic knowledge concerning Plato (1). "They" refers to people working in the garage (2).

PNB metonymies may generate indirect relations as well:

(3) *A 14th straight victory for **Barcelona** has increased their lead at the top of the table to twelve points over **Valencia**, who were fortunate to pick up a point […].* (*Think Spain*, 30.01.06)

In this example, "Barcelona" and "Valencia" agree, respectively, with plural pronouns and predicate. Moreover, one may notice that the relative pronoun determining "Valencia" is "who" [+human]. According to English grammars, plural forms are commonly used with collective nouns when the group is considered as a collection of people doing personal things like deciding, hoping or wanting; in these cases "who", not "which", is used as a relative pronoun. Co-textual data ("top of the table", "points", "goals") indicate that "Barcelona" and "Valencia" refer to some sport-teams of these cities.

On the contrary, singular pronouns and predicates follow the country-name in (4):

(4) ***Brazil** pays its poor to send kids to school: officials say program cuts truancy, hunger.* (*The WP*, 01.07.03)

Co-textual ("the officials") and contextual data suggest that the name "Brazil" refers to the governmental institution.

In examples (3)-(4), metonymic mapping referring to a team is morphologically marked by plural agreement, while metonymic mapping referring to a government is marked by singular agreement. Even though both "government" and "team" can be used with both singular and plural verbs in British English (in American English, singular forms are more common in both cases), I could settle on the basis of extended data that the distinction 'PLACE for TEAM'+PLURAL and 'PLACE for INSTITUTION'+SINGULAR is systematic in British newspapers:

(5) **Zimbabwe** <u>were</u> *bowled out for 93, their lowest score in 25 one-day internationals in England, but <u>they</u> – and Heath Streak, <u>their</u> leonine captain […]. (The Times, 07.07.03)*

(6) **Zimbabwe**, *<u>which</u> already <u>has</u> the fastest-collapsing gross domestic product in the world […]. (The Times, 30.07.03)*

and current in the American ones (see 5 *supra*). The distinction is sound even when the place name referring to the institution has a grammatically plural form:[3]

(7) *I have made very clear that the **United States** <u>expects</u> <u>its</u> laws to be respected […] (CBS News, 26.01.06)*

How can one explain this morphological distinction? What is its cognitive value?

One may try a grammatical interpretation. Whereas plural agreement indicates that a group is considered as a collection of people doing personal things (see above), singular forms (with "which" as a relative pronoun) are more common when the group is seen as an impersonal unit. Nevertheless, in English, the word "team" is not systematically interpreted as a collection of people doing personal things nor the government is limited to an impersonal unit representation. So, the grammatical explanation is not sufficient.

The predicate and anaphora agreement has been used as a strong argument in order to precise the relationship between source and target in terms of inclusion and in terms of domains and subdomains (Ruiz de Mendoza, 2000: 126). Ruiz de Mendoza (2000) distinguishes two types of metonymic mappings: one in which the source is a subdomain of the target ("source-in-target" metonymies); another in which the target is a subdomain of the source ("target-in-source" metonymies). The author argues that the anaphoric reference to an expression involving a metonymic mapping always concerns the *matrix domain* (*i.e.* the target for source-in-target metonymies; the source for target-in-source metonymies), and not a subdomain (Ruiz de Mendoza, 2002). According to this thesis, if one considers that the plural marking corresponds to the 'TEAM' reference and that the singular marking corresponds to the 'PLACE' reference, then 'PLACE' (*i.e.* "Barcelona", "Zimbabwe") is either a subdomain of the team or a matrix domain of the government. But it is not clear how the relationship between domains should be

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3.   One pays no attention to the discrepancy between the form and the agreement in this case. Still, Word's corrector suggests plural agreement with "the United States" […]

distinguished (see Warren, 2004: 108). Why should place be a subdomain of a team, while the latter is not even necessarily attached to a place? Besides, since from a grammatical point of view, both plural and singular marking may agree with "team" and "government", the reference agreement is completely opaque as far as target-and-source relationship is concerned.

In line with Nunberg's (1995) suggestion that in some metonymies the predicate is about the explicit rather than the implicit element, Warren (2004: 112) assumes that metonymy is a focussing construction: "the speaker is focussing [more] on the attribute of some entity than on the entity itself". In this respect, metonymy is assigned a topicalization function: in plural marked cases, the utterance would focus on the team (the team is the topic); in singular marked cases, the focus would be on the place (the place is the topic). Supposing that is so, the following question arises: why should 'place' be the topic in all the utterances that refer to the government?

I have examined here three accounts (among others) for predicate and anaphora agreement: one is grammatical, another is conceptual, and the last one is "communicative". None is directly applicable to the case of PNB metonymy. Nevertheless, they can all provide partial answers. Firstly, these accounts are complementary, because they tackle with different levels (and metonymy itself belongs to different levels). Warren's account supposing a topicalization function of the metonymy looks promising from a discursive point of view, particularly to the extent that it would permit to seize the informational aspect of the discourse. However, her account occults the conceptual dimension and in so doing suspends the cognitive dimension of the metonymy. Secondly, the last two accounts both deal with the source-target relationship, which is natural for metonymic mappings. It is this relationship that I will try to clarify with regard to PNB metonymies, while analyzing their reference in discourse.

2.2. Binary Reading

I now propose to consider more closely how reference is assigned to PNB metonymies. One may notice that referential complexity is specific mainly to country-name based metonymies.

(7)   *"It's not just **America**, but it's very exaggerated here."* (*Digital Spy UK*, 28.01.06)

Does "America" mean /place/ or /nation/ before being referred to by "here", clearly locative? It looks as though the metonymic use of place-names preserves spatial reference: in discourse spatial value systematically combines with metonymic interpretation. A coordinative model (Radden, 2000) – 'PLACE and INSTITUTION', 'PLACE and INHABITANTS' – is likely to be more adapted for place-name based metonymies than the "stand for" relationship, specific to the conceptual models proposed by Lakoff; Johnson (1980).

Metonymy expects binary reading in such cases. Conceptual coordination plays a crucial role in discourse, in so far as it permits to sum up two referential values. Both

elements A and B are active in discourse. Indeed, metonymy interrelates two entities in order to form a new, complex meaning (Dirven, 1993; Radden; Kövecses, 1999). According to a stronger version (supported by Turner; Fauconnier, 2000; Coulson; Oakley, 2003; etc.), metonymy is a source of *blendings*, *i.e.* mixed concepts resulting from a partial cross-space mapping between two inputs. Being a cognitive tool, metonymy is thus likely to produce new semantic dimensions and relationships. I shall now examine this potentiality from a discursive point of view, based on a corpus study.

2.3. PART-WHOLE Relationship

Considering corpus data, I suggest that conceptual coordination triggers a PART-WHOLE relationship within place-name based metonymies. In (8), for instance, 'PLACE' and 'INSTITUTION' are seen like elements of the same entity, referred to by a proper name.

(8) *I have made very clear that **the United States** expects <u>its</u> laws to be respected, expects <u>its</u> borders to be respected* […] (*CBS News*, 26.01.06)

The referential scope of "the United States" includes 'PLACE and INSTITUTION'. 'INSTITUTION' is retrieved by "laws". The spatial interpretation is semantically confirmed by the mention of "borders". The fact that the possessive "its" accompanies "borders" as well as "laws" clearly shows that reference to the place and reference to the institution are associated, and that both proceed from the same cognitive-discursive level.

As shown in Cislaru (2005) and Lecolle (2005), country-names are polyreferential, and metonymic mappings may be superimposed within the same utterance. In (9), a single token of "Norway" may receive a double interpretation: as 'INSTITUTION', in a co-textual relationship with "legislation", and as 'INHABITANTS / NATION', in a co-textual relationship with "drug-related deaths":

(9) ***Norway**, by contrast, which has stringent <u>anti-drugs legislation</u>, has the highest prevalence of acute <u>drug-related deaths</u> in Europe*. (*The Times*, 30.07.03)

'INSTITUTION' and 'INHABITANTS' are here elements of a whole which is referred to by the country-name "Norway".

The capacity of country-names to subsume several concepts has been signaled by Cruse (1996). The author proposes an analysis in terms of *facets*, defined as elements of a global whole, incapable to be subsumed under a hyperonym (Croft; Cruse, 2004: 116); in fact, facets represent different ontological aspects. Cruse (1996) distinguishes three facets of the name *Britain*: these are the categorical concepts *country* (land), *nation* and *state*. Country-names may substitute themselves to any of the three concepts in almost all syntactic-semantic positions. Introducing a country-name in a context selects, highlights or emphasizes one (or more) conceptual facet(s) of its referent considered as a whole.

The facets mentioned by A. Cruse correspond to most of the metonymic concepts cited above (nation *vs*. inhabitants; state *vs*. institution). However, these facets do not include 'TEAM' metonymic mapping (see Cislaru, 2005). As a matter of fact, conceptual coordination as seen in (8) is impossible with 'TEAM' metonymies.[4] It is noteworthy that this contrast between 'PLACE and INSTITUTION / INHABITANTS / NATION' metonymies and 'TEAM' metonymies is symmetrical with the contrast regarding predicate and anaphora agreement.

The immediate self-imposing conclusion is that country-names (and some other categories of place-names treated above) may be used to process at least two cognitively and linguistically different types of metonymic mappings. The first type of mapping generates the 'PART-WHOLE' grasping concept of 'country', semiotized by the country-name. The second type of mapping processes a "local" metonymy referring to the national team. This metonymy is external to the 'PART-WHOLE' grasping concept. Nevertheless, so as a proper-name names a single individual, its use as a linguistic material for the metonymy permits to maintain the connection between the two mappings. Once this is assumed, it is the nature of this difference and its discursive impact, if any, that I shall try to bring to light.

3. Building Social Realities

3.1. Metonymic Convertibility

The points I have addressed up to now concern country names, however the assumptions above apply, to some extent, to capital and institution names. I would like to point out the strong referential relationship that emerges between different categories of place-names. In fact, country-names, capital-city names and institution names are highly convertible. "Russia" and "France" may function as substitutes for state symbols such as "Kremlin" and "Elysee" (see example 10).

(10) ***Kremlin-Elysee*** *hotline to be set up;* ***Russia*** *gives* ***France*** *old documents*. (headline, *BBC*, 21.05.94)

In (11), the country name, "US", stands for the institution name, "The White House". The capital-city name, "Washington", locates the event exposed in the news, and at the same time operates a more direct link between "US" and "the White House".

(11) *US rejects Iranian "games" on nuclear issue (*headline*)*
*WASHINGTON - **The White House** said Iran was playing "games" with the international community by not accepting a Russian compromise aimed at allaying US concerns that Tehran seeks nuclear weapons. (AFP, 22.01.06)*

Degressive and progressive chains of PNB metonymic mappings are quite current in newspaper discourse. They enable various social-cognitive projections and trigger the

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4.   But other forms of binary reading are possible; cf. (16) in 4.4.

interaction of various conceptual levels. This feature is successfully exploited by political discourse as well as by news discourse: responsibility for political actions may be attributed either to the country as a whole or to a single leader, or to a political group (see Cislaru, 2003). This strategy has an important impact on the process of stereotype construction; stereotypes are connected with the country when the discourse itself focuses on the country (see also 4.1.). This strategy also enhances global reference and 'PART-WHOLE' relationship.

However the fact that the convertibility is not valid for 'TEAM'-metonymies should be mentioned. Country names and capital-city names refer to distinct teams (national *vs.* local teams): fans would never mistake them for one another! Once more, 'TEAM' metonymies appear to be different from other PNB metonymies. I propose to explain this clearly marked opposition by different ontological and social-cultural knowledge structures.

3.2. Social Objects

Some parcels of the real world acquire their status of entities only by means of human agreement (Searle, 1995: 13). Social objects are the products of human agreement, in so far as they are dependent on language. According to J. R. Searle, entities depend on language if they are constituted, at least partly, of language dependent mental representations. Metaphor (and metonymy) is one of the cognitive-linguistic tools that contribute to building social objects, as Lakoff; Johnson (1980: 156) point out: "Metaphors may create realities for us, especially social realities. A metaphor may thus be a guide for future action. Such actions will, of course, fit the metaphor. This will, in turn, reinforce the power of the metaphor to make experience coherent. In this sense metaphors can be self-fulfilling prophecies."

I think the 'PART-WHOLE'-type of PNB metonymies functions in just the same way. 'INSTITUTION' is, to some extent, metonymically constructed. This construction may be developed at several levels, all interrelated: objectification, localization, extension.

Objectification is a conceptual adaptation that strengthens object perception. Szwedek (2002: 173) defines "objectification" as follows: "Thus OBJECTIFICATION[5] keeps our world (all our conceivable worlds?) unified, consistent with our physical experience and is in harmony with our original, primeval physical experience of MATTER."

'PLACE-INSTITUTION' metonymic mappings of "the White House" or "the Kremlin" concern the objectification level. The place and the institution overlap, and the latter becomes "tangible", *i.e.* accessible to perception. "Tangibility" (Szwedek, 2002: 165) is one of the necessary conditions for social objects' continuity.

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5.   OBJECTIFICATION is used here in the OED sense: "The action of objectifying, or condition of being objectified; an instance of this, an external thing in which an idea, principle, etc. is expressed concretely […] To make into, or present as, an object, esp. an object of sense […]". (Szwedek, 2002:159)

Localization, which cannot really be dissociated from objectification in the cases tackled here, reinforces the institutional status and settles institution's geographic anchoring. "Washington" situates "the White House" and thus prepares extension to country-name based metonymy. This step reveals social conventions about state institutions and capital-cities: a state institution is located in the capital-city, and, conversely, a capital-city becomes a capital when it is chosen as a location for the state institution.[6]

Extension, which is based on reference stretching mechanisms, helps modeling holistic concepts. Country-name based metonymy is elaborated at this level, the most complex and at the same time unitary level. Extension configurates and legitimates the concept of country as a state, as a nation.

Place, as well as institution, state or nation, are parts, elements of the same complex social concept. Cruse (1996) called them facets and argued that country-names are polysemous rather than metonymic. However, from a cognitive point of view, concepts themselves are metonymic products. As social objects are directly dependent on language, this opposition between lexis and cognition, between unity on the one hand and 'PART-WHOLE' relationship on the other hand, is constantly negotiated in discourse.

4. Text and Discourse Analysis

4.1. Metonymy and Forward-labelling

In the following part, I will focus on the contribution of metonymy to text organization in newspaper discourse.

Newspaper discourse is a specific genre, characterized by complex social purposes (Fairclough, 1995) and by constitutive ideology. Events are not only recounted, they are also interpreted and explained, in order to make people see things and act in certain ways (Fairclough, 1995: 91). One could even say that media discourse constructs events out of related facts. I have shown elsewhere (Cislaru, 2005) that, due to their reference potential, country-names play an important role in the configuration of events agents (*France declared…, China decided…*, etc.). Does their part-whole substratum influence discourse organization?

First of all, it appears that discourse itself processes metonymic part-whole relations. Spatial adverbials and place-names have a special discourse status: when mentioned at the beginning of a phrase or paragraph, they forward-label the text, *i.e.* they look ahead and provide instructions for the interpretation (see Charolles *et al.*, 2005). For instance, "in Spain" frames the information that follows:

(12) ***In Spain***, *it was a very good year* […] (*The WP*, 30.07.03)

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6. Note German government's rather recent transfer from Bonn to Berlin and the modification of metonymic relations it has entailed.

Propositions that follow the frame-introducing expression may include stereotypical beliefs that associate to the referent: "In Brazil, people are hospitable" naturally produces the metaphoric mapping "Brazil is hospitality" and allows, in some contexts, hospitality to symbolize Brazil (hospitality can then be perceived almost like a "product" of Brazil, for instance). The next step is metonymic mapping:[7] "I've brought a piece of Brazil"; "There is a lot of America in everything he does" (Lakoff; Johnson, 1980). Although the process leading to such metonymic mappings is rather long and complex, it is probable that the mapping mechanism itself plays an important cognitive and cohesive role in discourse. In fact, this mechanism facilitates the grasping of information and information hierarchical organization. By filtering out irrelevant data, metonymization produces synthetizing short-cuts to the information that is being focused on.

4.2. Text-provided Interpretation of Metonymy

Let us now examine the relation between the headlines that contain a country-name based metonymy and the articles that follow in newspapers. Headlines optimize the relevance of the information produced by the media (Dor, 2003: 695): they "provide the readers with the optimal ratio between contextual effect and processing effort, and direct readers to construct the optimal context for interpretation". I suggest that, at least to some extent, country-name based metonymies provide instructions for the interpretation of the forthcoming text. Metonymic mappings used in headlines open various referential possibilities; their scope is wide enough to give way to more specific designations.

Systematically, metonymic mappings from headlines are interpreted in the introductory phrase of the text:

(13) ***Iraq Closing Borders Ahead of Election*** (headline)
Iraq's government *announced it will close its borders […]* (*Associated Press*, 11.12.05)

In the headline, the country-name based metonymy, "Iraq", blends place and institution. The text of the article proposes an immediate referential interpretation, "Iraq's government". But this interpretation must not be exclusive: it has been assumed in this paper that country-name based metonymies preserve the spatial reference, place being an unalienable element of the holistic concept (see section 2). Thus, the spatial aspect remains available: it is in Iraq that it happens; it is with Iraq that the story deals. The metonymic use becomes a cognitive and pragmatic tool, putting reference at the service of the topic.

In just the same way, the chain "U.S. → [Washington] → the White House → U.S. administration" below is governed by the country-name based metonymy, used in the headline. Extension frames localization ("Washington") and objectification ("the White House").

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7.   The intermediation of metaphoric mappings is inevitable here.

(14) *U.S.* <u>*looks for positive shift*</u> *in Canada ties with realistic expectations* (headline)
WASHINGTON (CP) – **The White House** *offered congratulations to Stephen Harper*
[…] as **the U.S. administration** <u>*looked for a positive shift*</u> *in dealings with Canada.*
(*Canadian Press*, 24.01.06)

In such discourse configurations, which are rather current, the metonymic mapping activated by the headline enhances the dominance of the WHOLE on its diverse elements (parts?) mentioned in the text of the article. These data unveil the discursive aspect of the social object construction.

4.3. Metonymic Nets in Discourse

Discourse is the place where social objects are given form, reality and tangibility. Social objects have their counterpart, *discourse objects*. A discourse object is a bundle of malleable aspects (properties, functions, relations, etc.) characterized by an "ingredient" relationship, which links the parts to the containing ensemble (Grize, 1998). 'PART-WHOLE' relationship is transferred to the discourse level. Thus a discursive category, the discourse object, works out a cognitive category, the concept corresponding to the social object.

One should also mention that discourse objects are "products of different texts and discourses which emerge in the discursive process of the co-construction of meaning" (Johansson, 2006: 219). Locally, the construction of the discourse object can be observed within *discursive sites*, which are specific "discourse structures organized around a thematic pole and anchored in the materiality of referential expressions; they include semantic, stereotypic and contingent associations" (Cislaru, 2005: 339). The role of the discursive sites is to settle a relational background – comprising reference, associativity, semantics and focus – in order to further the discourse progression and cohesion.

A case study illustrates the mechanism of a discursive site. The example (15) is a summarized reproduction of a half-text from which I have extracted parts of sentences containing referential expressions. The article deals with Iraq, and the name of the country appears in the headline. From the opening sentences, a specific referential chain can be brought out: "the people of Baghdad → they → Abdul Hassan → he → nation". What do these noun phrases share, what do they have in common? How do they relate to the metonymic mapping of the headline, "Iraq wakes up…"?

(15) ***Iraq*** *wakes up and demands to see the bodies of evidence* (headline) – **the people of Baghdad** *awoke yesterday to a nagging question: how can* <u>*they*</u> *be sure that Uday and Qusay Hussein, Saddam's reviled sons, are really dead? […]* **Abdul Hassan** *said as* <u>*he*</u> *drank tea at a roadside stall. But,* <u>*he*</u> *quickly added: "Are you absolutely sure it is them?" – Such scepticism is hardly surprising from a* **nation** *that has twice heard the Americans claim that they might have killed Saddam himself.* (*The Times*, 24.07.03)

Before any attempt to answer the question, let us have a glance at the entire referential chain that one may connect to the occurrence of "Iraq" in the headline. The following figure reflects the text structure, each rectangle corresponding to a paragraph;

the symbol "[…]" indicates a paragraph that contains no element of the referential chain. Each rectangle compiles the referential chain elements that appear in a given paragraph.[8]
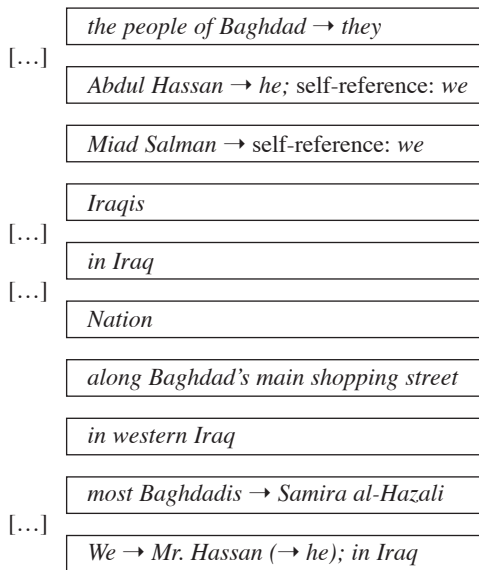
[…]
> *the people of Baghdad → they*

> *Abdul Hassan → he;* self-reference: *we*

> *Miad Salman →* self-reference: *we*

> *Iraqis*

[…]
> *in Iraq*

[…]
> *Nation*

> *along Baghdad's main shopping street*

> *in western Iraq*

> *most Baghdadis → Samira al-Hazali*

[…]
> *We → Mr. Hassan (→ he); in Iraq*

Figure 1. A discursive site through its referential chains.

This representation in itself is an interpretation guided by discursive and contextual data. After all, as suggests Emmott (1999: 5), "instead of simply making links between words in a text, a reader is regarded as making inferences about cognitively-constructed entities in cognitively constructed worlds".

Most of the referential expressions listed above are metonymically used. On the one hand, a geographically determined 'PART-WHOLE' relationship is established between "Iraq" and "Baghdad". On the other hand, the reference of "Iraq" narrows to the reference of the noun phrase "people of Baghdad", which is a partial interpretation of the headline metonymic mapping. "People of Baghdad" is the link-point allowing reference to concrete persons, like "Abdul Hassan" or "Miad Salman". Reference to concrete persons in the media discourse is a wide-spread strategy meant to give a concrete expression to events and to incite empathy in order to attract the reader. This strategy provides cognitive tangibility to events and situations (see 3.2.).

The reference to concrete persons stretches to reference to the nation in the article. Both Abdul Hassan and Miad Salman make use of banal national referents (Condor, 2000: 196) like "we" and "here": "We really do need to see the bodies";[9] "We want it to be true but it is hard for us to believe it". The matter is not whether they really use the plural pronoun "we" or whether the journalist himself includes it in their discourse. Be

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8. In text linguistics, the paragraph is seen as a potential marker of episode boundaries. An episode "is defined conceptually as a semantic unit in discourse organisation consisting of a set of related propositions governed by a macroproposition or paragraph level theme." (Tomlin, 1987: 460)
9. The bodies of evidence concerning Saddam's sons' death are meant here.

it as it may, this national referent, coupled up with the name of the inhabitants "Iraqi", enables comings and goings between the headline and the text ("Iraq […] demands to see the bodies of evidence" vs. "We need to see the bodies") on the one hand, with the nation on the other hand.
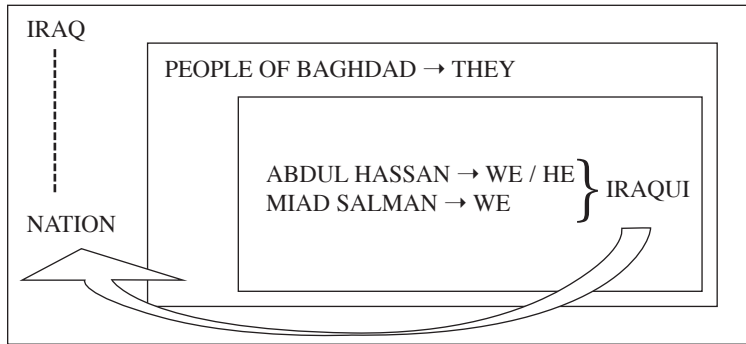

Figure 2. The metonymic circuit.

There is a sustained continuity between all these referential elements. A metonymic network is settled, and it serves to outline, fix and identify a discourse site, within which referential and topic elements converge. The metonymic circuit is closed, but not finished, so that the metonymic nets may be re-arranged in the text continuation.

4.4. Text as Metonymy; Metonymy as a Discourse

Recently, two new conceptual models have emerged in cognitive linguistics: 'TEXT is a WORLD' and 'TEXT is a METAPHOR'.[10] This find marks a significant step in language conception, since it implies to bridge between (or even to superimpose, in a more constructivistic perspective) discourse and cognition. Werth (1994; 1999) describes the development of the text as a world built by means of mental and linguistic tools. Hiraga (2005: 63) provides an example of "text as metaphor": the poem "Love's Philosophy" by Shelley, where different cognitive metaphors form a complex blend. On the ground of text linguistics, Ponterotto (2000) shows the cohesive role of the cognitive metaphor, rhizome-featured, in discourse and conversation.

What about metonymy? One may assume that texts have a metonymic dimension. According to Tomlin (1987: 459), text production takes the following form:

Figure 3. A simplified cognitive model for discourse production (adapted from Tomlin, 1987: 459).

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10. The proximity of the two conceptual models is obvious, since WORLD is a METAPHOR, as one may infer from the works of G. Lakoff and M. Johnson.

Let us examine the first two stages, "mental model of X" and "text representation of X". A banal interpretation – which is still very close to Saussure's semiotic triangle object-concept-sign – would be as follows: the mental model stands for X, the text stands for the mental model (text→mental model→X[object]). The stand-for relationship, which is one of the foundations of semiotics, clearly indicates a metonymic mapping (Lakoff; Johnson, 1980).

However, I will not be satisfied with the stand-for interpretation. Firstly, because I have assumed above (2.1.) that metonymy is better accounted for by a coordinative model. Secondly, because text does not substitute itself to the object: the text and the object co-construct one another. The metonymic interpretation may be induced, like in (15), by the discursive proximity of different referential expressions. Metonymy in such a case is a discursive product, but this does not mean it loses its cognitive potential; on the contrary, discourse is an excellent way to convey knowledge. Besides, as has been mentioned above, metonymy continues to play its role in constructing discourse, and, through these means, in the construction and description of social objects.

If text may be regarded as a metonymic mapping, metonymy may develop a discursive dimension. In order to verify this hypothesis, I will go back to the conceptual distinction between two PNB metonymy types: the 'PART-WHOLE' grasping concept and the 'TEAM' metonymy. One might have noticed the formal, functional and ontological differences between these two types: they have different predicate and anaphora agreement; different degrees of referential complexity; different ontological status. I also insist on the fact that, in discourse, the 'TEAM' metonymy has less cohesive force (cf. the non convertibility country-name ↔ capital-city name). Moreover, it is less independent, in so far as it is based on the first type metonymic mapping. When newspaper discourse focuses on the first type metonymic mapping, 'TEAM' metonymy is generally not evoked. Yet, when the article focuses on 'TEAM' interpretation, it may evoke the grasping 'PART-WHOLE' mapping. In some particular socio-historical contexts, such as political conflict between the countries teams of which meet, 'team' and 'institution' almost converge, in so far as the thematic features concerning 'PART-WHOLE' grasping concept are transferred to 'TEAM' metonymy.

(16) *u.s. Drawn Into Difficult Cup Group; Sweden, Nigeria,* **N. Korea** *Await* (headline)
[…] **North Korea***, at a political standoff with* **the United States** *over the Asian nation's nuclear weapons programs,* <u>*is*</u> *ranked seventh and Nigeria 23rd.* […] <u>*The u.s. government*</u> *included* **North Korea** *in an "axis of evil" and says* **North Korea's** *nuclear ambitions are a regional threat.* (*The wp*, July 18, 2003)

One may assume that this phenomenon is generated by the dialogical relation (Bakhtine, 1977) between discourses. Lexicon is one of the points of discourse intersection: words can stock imprints of the discourses they traverse (Moirand, 2003). Country-names, which are the linguistic material of the metonymic mappings analysed here, carry along such imprints, independently of the type of metonymy processed.

Besides, I can mention at least one case when 'TEAM' metonymy was used to strengthen the 'PART-WHOLE' mapping. It happened in 2000 in France, just before and during the Football European cup. A quick contextualization is necessary. One must

know that football has recently acquired a special status in France: it is not a "religion" yet, as it is in some other countries (stereotypes are unavoidable here…), but it is very common in everyday discourse. Football has a real social impact: the suburban-ghetto teenager's ideal is to become a professional football-player; in the media, football is sometimes presented as the unique possibility for these teenagers to become successful. Last, but not least, the national team represents the "ethnical diversity" of the country; it thus emphasizes a positive aspect of immigration. Besides, immigration is considered one of the most acute social problems in France nowadays, as a recent media discourse survey shows. The national team becomes a "state affair", and, consequently, 'TEAM' metonymy is integrated to the 'PART-WHOLE' grasping concept.

I have argued that metonymy contributes to text cohesion and coherence. In the field of discourse analysis, cohesion is an internal as well as external phenomenon. As a linguistic unit, a text is cohesive in so far as it has its own internal organization. As a linguistic event, a discourse is coherent with its context of production and with its intertextual environment.

5. Conclusions

The empirical data examined above underline strong correlation between metonymy and discourse, under both the cognitive and the organizational aspects.

On the one hand, some features of the metonymic mapping mechanism may be fully seized only at the discursive level, which favours the connection with sociocultural representations and thus outlines intersubjectively-shared cognitive patterns. The discourse study of two different types of place-name metonymic uses giving rise, respectively, to a 'PART-WHOLE' grasping concept and to 'TEAM' interpretation, brings out their formal, functional and ontological characteristics. This study also indicates the possibility of a pragmatic interrelation between the two metonymic mapping types where the 'TEAM' metonymy strengthens the grasping concept of 'country'.

On the other hand, metonymy plays a crucial role in discourse production and organization. To the extent it implies a coordinative relation, metonymy more than doubles the number of possible referential and topic developments; at the same time, because it has a unifying role that warrants the coherence of these developments. Besides, as a cognitive tool, metonymy participates in the construction of social objects; so it is for the 'PART-WHOLE' grasping concept that represents country-name referents. Metonymy takes charge of the discourse object configuration and thus triggers intertextual connections.

Going further, one can consider the text itself as a metonymic mapping that represents and constructs objects. At a larger scale, metonymy may be understood as a discourse, in so far as it activates intertextual nets and the sociocultural context.

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