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## **Metonymy and text messaging:**

### **A framework for understanding creative uses of metonymy**

#### **Abstract**

The significance of linguistic creativity in everyday situations is now widely recognised in applied linguistics. There has been substantial discussion of the role played by various tropes in the development of linguistic creativity. However there is one trope which has been relatively underexplored in this literature. *Metonymy* – the use of one entity, process or event to refer to another related entity, process or event – is an important means of communication as it allows people to formulate and express ideas succinctly as well as serving a range of communicative functions. The use of metonymy as a creative linguistic resource has received very little attention in the literature on everyday creativity. In order to show how metonymy is used creatively in everyday texts, this paper reports findings from an in-depth study of metonymy in an 11,067-word corpus of text-messages. We highlight the role of metonymy as a creative resource, and propose a framework for categorising and explaining creative uses of metonymy. The framework identifies two non-mutually-exclusive forms of creativity involving metonymy: one based on meaning and one based on form.

#### **Introduction**

The prevalence and significance of linguistic creativity in everyday situations is now widely recognised in applied linguistics research (Carter 2004; Cook 2000; Maybin and Swann 2007; Tannen 1989/2007 and others). Linguistic creativity has been identified and described across a number of modes and genres, including spoken encounters (Tannen 1989/2007; Carter, 2004), personal letters (Maybin 2011), and online communications (North 2007; Tagg, 2013). As such, it is no longer considered an extraordinary property of a few gifted individuals, but a mundane or everyday practice (Veale 2012). As Carter (2004: 64-67) argues, it may be more useful to place all texts on a cline of creativity and literariness, rather than seeing some as creative and others as not. Despite its prevalence, however, as documented in this research and discussed below, linguistic creativity is not a trivial matter. It plays a key role in the generation of new ideas, the development of shared identities and rhetorical persuasiveness. Numerous studies have pointed out the role of creativity in bonding and signalling group identity (Carter

2004) and a few comment on its role in competition and conflict (Cook 2000). In other words, linguistic creativity is central to social relations and meaning-making.

In the literature on everyday creativity, although there has been substantial discussion of the role of metaphor, the creative potential of a related trope, *metonymy*, has received very little coverage. Metonymy is a cognitive and linguistic process whereby we use one entity, process or event to refer to another related entity, process or event<sup>i</sup>, so for example, we might use ‘Hollywood’ to refer to mainstream American films, ‘9/11’ to refer to the events that occurred on that date in New York, or ‘Shakespeare’ to refer to plays by Shakespeare. In these examples, a place, date and person are used to refer to things strongly related to them. Metonymy can also convey evaluation, as in the following example from the Bank of English corpus (BofE):

The best part of working at night is that *the suits* have gone home<sup>ii</sup>.

(Littlemore 2015)

In this example, ‘the suits’ are used to refer somewhat negatively to the sorts of people who wear suits for work: accountants, managers, businessmen. By referring to these people via their suits, the writer manages to portray them as rather characterless, conventional but possibly powerful individuals.

In the literature on everyday creativity, metonymy is often bundled together with metaphor (as Carter 2004: 119 points out). Carter (2004: 93-94) discusses just one creative example of metonymy in his 5-million-word corpus, in a conversation about a ship wreck in which one participant remarks ‘All hands lost but legs saved’. The creativity in this remark creates a parallelism between the PART FOR WHOLE metonym ‘hands’ (meaning people and, in this case, ‘sailors’) and ‘legs’, which the interlocutors subsequently exploit by referring to sailors ‘getting legless’ and having ‘sea legs’ (p. 93). Carter’s discussion highlights the potential for creative metonymy but the phenomenon remains under-investigated.

The aim of our study is to carry out a detailed study of metonymy in a single dataset (a corpus of British SMS text messages, sent between 2004 and 2007 amongst a loose, extended network comprised largely of British professionals and students), and to explore how it is used creatively in this dataset. We chose to look at text messaging because it has already been shown to be a fertile source of everyday creativity (Tagg 2013). We also believed that it would be a potentially fertile register in which to search for metonymy. There are two reasons for this. Firstly, there is often a need for speed and a lack of space in text messaging, and research shows

that one of the main functions of metonymy is to provide quick reference to things by referring to their most salient features (Langacker 1993). Secondly, the close relationships between texters mean there are large amounts of shared knowledge between participants, which allows them to make use of vague, underspecified language, and a shared understanding of metonymic links. Based on our findings, we argue for the consideration of metonymy as a resource available for everyday creativity, and present a framework for categorising and explaining the various ways in which metonymy is creatively exploited in text messaging.

The article begins by exploring existing research into creativity and metonymy, highlighting the neglect of metonymy in the growing literature on everyday creativity. We present our analysis of metonymy use within our corpus, outlining the challenges involved in identifying metonymy. Finally, we introduce a new framework for categorising and explaining the ways in which metonymy is used creatively in naturally-occurring discourse.

### **Background to the study**

This study brings together two areas of research that, to date, have had little to do with one another: creativity and metonymy. We explore below the relevant aspects of those research areas, and their connections with each other, in order to explain our research questions.

### ***Everyday Linguistic Creativity***

Most research into everyday linguistic creativity falls to varying extents into two main types: research that sees creativity as inherent to a text or utterance and research that focuses on creativity as co-constructed between participants<sup>iii</sup>.

Researchers interested in the inherent nature of creativity draw on Jakobson's (1960) poetic function of language, emphasising the foregrounding of form over semantics; that is, where precise formal choices rather than semantically-driven choices dictate meaning. What this often means in practice is the identification of phrasings that are unexpected or novel as revealed, for example, through corpus analysis (Vo and Carter 2010), and it is this approach that we adopt in our study. One advocate of the inherency approach, Cook (2000), argues that the cognitive explanation for the interpersonal effects of linguistic creativity lies in our 'surrender of control to language'. His argument rests on the 'randomness' of the relationships between form and meaning. If what we say or write is determined primarily by coincidences of linguistic form, Cook argues, then this may allow 'our minds to range more freely, thinking creatively through a process which yields new associations and new ideas' (Cook 2000: 43). Research has shown that if expressions contain elements of form-based creativity, such as

alliteration or assonance, the content of those expressions is judged to be more meaningful and ‘deep’ than that of expressions that do not contain these features. McGone and Tofighbakhsh (1999), who were the first to identify this phenomenon, labelled it the ‘Keats heuristic’.

In contrast, scholars taking a sociocultural perspective see creativity as embedded in and shaped by the social and cultural context within which it occurs, so that no text can be said to be inherently creative but is available for interpretation as such (Maybin and Swann 2007). This is important for foregrounding the role of shared background knowledge in creativity, and for highlighting the need for researchers to evaluate instances of creativity in context.

A somewhat different approach towards everyday creativity is that which incorporates insights from cognitive linguistics. Focusing on the mental processes which underlie acts of creativity, cognitive linguists draw attention to the ways in which concepts or domains are connected in new or immediately relevant ways in order to solve problems or achieve goals (Gibbs, 1994; Kövecses, 2010; Lakoff and Turner, 1989). Much of the cognitive linguistic work into everyday creativity has focused on metaphor (e.g. Cameron 2011; Forceville 2011). Conceptual metaphor theory (Lakoff and Johnson 1980/2003) explains how even very conventional metaphors such as ‘blow one’s stack’ are motivated not only by the target they convey (in this case, anger) but also by an underlying metaphorical schema, so that ‘blow one’s stack’ also implies pressure and a lack of agency (Gibbs 1992). With respect to less conventional metaphors, conceptual metaphor theory shows how seemingly unusual surface forms emerge because of the underlying conceptual metaphor, so that a patient claiming ‘The pain was like a small garden rake’ is using a non-conventional or creative simile which nonetheless draws on the conceptual metaphor PAIN IS CAUSE OF PHYSICAL DAMAGE (Semino 2011: 88-89). While wholly novel metaphors occur rarely in everyday talk (Cameron 2011: 76), metaphors can sometimes be described as setting up a new cross-domain mapping, such as when a patient describes their pain as ‘an apple which is rotten from the inside’ (Semino 2011: 88-89).

The aim of our study is to draw on, and bring together, these three approaches in order to provide an account of the creative use of metonymy in a large, authentic data set of everyday language. We foreground and develop the cognitive perspective, whilst paying due attention to relevant linguistic features and retaining a central focus on the role of shared background knowledge in facilitating interpersonal creativity. We draw on the literature discussed above to define creative metonyms as a) those which display marked formal patternings, either of parallelism or deviation, to use Jakobson’s (1960) terms; b) those which occur infrequently in

language corpora and which therefore may be considered novel (Semino 2011); and c) those which combine in creative ways with other metonymic expressions in the co-text (Carter 2004: 119-41). As well as looking at surface forms, we also look at the creative ways in which underlying conceptual mappings are exploited. Given that conventional and creative language uses, like texts (Carter 2004), exist on a cline, our aim is not to set up a binary distinction between the two, but rather to select criteria which characterise metonyms at the ‘creative’ end of the cline. Whilst acknowledging the drawbacks of trying to pin down the culturally- and socially-relative phenomenon of creativity, the approach enables us to distinguish usefully between the probable communicative effects of, for example, the frequently-occurring and apparently conventional metonym in ‘do u fancy meeting up for a *drink*?’ which, in British English, implies an alcoholic drink, and the likely more unexpected metonym in ‘it appears, from my end, that *birthday beverages* will have to proceed in my absence’. Nonetheless, we acknowledge that any attempt to identify and categorise linguistic creativity is necessarily ‘open to debate’ (Swann 2006: 9).

### ***Metonymy***

Simple definitions of metonymy such as the one employed at the beginning of this paper belie the complex nature of the phenomenon. Metonymy manifests itself in a number of different forms, which can be seen in the large number of taxonomies of metonymy types that have been proposed in the literature (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980/2003; Norrick, 1981; Radden and Kövecses, 1999; Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez and Otal Campo, 2002; Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez & Mairal Uson, 2007; Sappan, 1987; Seto, 1999; Ullmann, 1951; Yamanashi, 1987). Four of the most widely discussed types are, ‘referential’ metonymy, ‘propositional’ metonymy, ‘illocutionary’ metonymy and ‘situational’ metonymy<sup>iv</sup>.

‘Referential’ metonymy (Warren, 2006) is arguably the most prototypical type. Here, one entity or event is used to refer to another. The ‘Hollywood’, ‘9/11’ and ‘Shakespeare’ examples, mentioned at the beginning of this article, are all examples of referential metonymy. In contrast to ‘referential’ metonymy, where one entity is related to another, propositional metonymy (Panther and Thornburg, 1998; 2007; 2009) involves a relationship between two propositions. So one might talk about ‘raising an eyebrow’ to trigger the proposition that one is surprised. Illocutionary metonymy (Panther and Thornburg, 1998) involves pragmatic inferencing. For example, the question ‘have you got a fiver’ is linked through an illocutionary metonymy to the question: ‘please can you lend or give me five pounds?’ Finally, situational metonymy (Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez and Otal Campo, 2002) involves the evocation of a

situation within which one can infer a relationship between one event and another. So I might for example ask a friend if he or she has ‘called the restaurant’ in order to ask if he or she has booked a table.

In practice, when we look at metonymy in corpus data, we find that these distinctions shade into one another and that it can be difficult to tell them apart. For this reason, some researchers (e.g. Barcelona, 2011; Handl 2011) propose a radial category approach to metonymy, with more prototypical types of metonymy, such as referential metonymy, shading into less specified, more schematic types of metonymy that involve domain highlighting or pragmatic relations (see Littlemore, 2015).

In their ground-breaking work on the cognitive basis of figurative language, Lakoff and Johnson (1980/2003: 39) argued that metonymy, like metaphor, is systematic and grounded in experience, and that it structures our thoughts and actions. They argued that ‘conceptual metonyms’ underlie the everyday metonymic expressions found in language. This led to a number of taxonomies of conceptual metonyms, the most comprehensive of which was provided by Radden and Kövecses (1999). A summary of this taxonomy can be found in Figure 1.

[FIGURE 1 NEAR HERE]

Radden and Kövecses’ (1999) taxonomy is used in a great deal of metonymy research. This is unsurprising given its comprehensibility and originality, and we draw on this taxonomy throughout our analysis.

The successful interpretation of metonymy relies on the activation of shared background knowledge between interlocutors. Cognitive linguists have discussed the role of background knowledge in metonymy comprehension and production by referring to the notion of ‘idealized cognitive models’ (ICMs) (Lakoff 1987). ICMs are knowledge networks that we have in our heads for particular concepts or events<sup>v</sup>. The aforementioned metonymic use of ‘the suits’ is facilitated by a model in our mind of the ‘world of business’, the sorts of behaviours that are associated with that world, and the ways in which people dress in business. Without this knowledge, we would not understand the metonymic meaning of ‘the suits’. To illustrate this concept further, let us take the example of an ICM for ‘weddings’. In many places, this is likely to include the fact that weddings involve a ceremony, the couple who are getting married walk up a central aisle to the place where the ceremony takes place, there are guests, an elaborate meal, and so on. This particular ICM licenses the metonymic use of ‘walked up

the aisle' to refer to the act of getting married. ICMs are culturally-based in the sense that they are based on our experience of the world, which is affected by culture (Kövecses, 2005), as well as bodily factors (Gibbs, 2006), though they can also be highly idiosyncratic and flexible, and their successful interpretation relies on shared background knowledge. They are 'idealised' in the sense that they encompass the cultural knowledge that people have and are not restricted to the 'real world' (Lakoff 1987; Radden and Kövecses 1999). In other words, ICMs are best seen as abstractions from people's encounters with particular concepts. By providing access to an ICM, or part of an ICM, metonymy constitutes a useful way of conceptualising and communicating ideas as it allows a great deal of complex underspecified information to be conveyed economically and implicitly. Another of our aims is to explore the roles played by ICMs in the creative use of metonymy.

Metonymy serves a range of functions. For example, Panther & Thornburg (2002; 2009) show how metonymy can serve important illocutionary functions, both Al Sharafi (2004) and Brdar-Szabó and Brdar (2011) demonstrate that it plays an important role in text cohesion and coherence, and Gradečak-Erdeljić (2004) shows that it can play an important role in euphemism. Barcelona (2003) explores the use of metonymy in jokes, while Tabacaru and Feyaerts (2014), who looked at different linguistic devices underlying humour in the scripted television show, "The Big Bang Theory", found metonymy to be the most prevalent device. Deignan et al (2013) found that, along with metaphor, the use of metonymy contributed to discourse community membership both amongst staff working in a children's day nursery and parents supporting a children's football club. Metonymy can also serve a strong persuasive function. Ferrari (2007) draws attention to PART FOR WHOLE metonymy in an Address to the Nation given by George Bush in 2006, in which the 'eyes' and 'ears' are used to look out and listen out for potential bombers. Pinelli (2012) found metonymy to be heavily implicated in the framing of identities in media reporting of terrorist incidents. Finally, in her study of metonymy in focus-group conversations about terrorism, Biernacka (2013) found that, like metaphors, metonyms partially shaped participants' understanding of the topic under discussion, and that more than one type of metonymy could exert a force at any one time, pulling a particular conversation in different directions.

Despite the growing number of studies on metonymy, no study has to date focused on the ways in which it is used creatively in a corpus of naturally-occurring data from a single genre. We aim to do this by identifying creative uses of metonymy within a corpus of text messages and to analyse those uses in terms of both form and function. We hope to use the

findings from our study to argue that metonymy deserves greater consideration in discussions of the nature of everyday creativity in language. Our analysis involved identifying all instances of metonymy, in order to then decide which are creative. The research questions guiding this study are therefore as follows:

1. What is the nature of metonymy, and what are the roles it plays, in a corpus of text messages?
2. To what extent can the metonyms in the corpus be described as creative (either in terms of formal parallelism and deviation or exploitation of the underlying conceptual mappings)?
3. For which communicative purposes do people creatively exploit metonyms in text messaging?

### **Data and methods**

The data used in our study comprised a corpus of text-messages called CorTxt (Tagg 2012) which consists of 11,067 texts produced by largely British English speakers, professionals and students aged 19-68. The texts were sent to friends or family and largely revolved around the making of social arrangements and general gossip. Details of CorTxt are given in Table 1. We manually studied a subset of 2000 text-messages using an Excel spreadsheet.

[TABLE 1 NEAR HERE]

This choice of dataset is likely to shape the findings, and so it is important to look more closely at what texted communication entails. Deignan et al (2013) urge researchers to consider the three key features of register (field, tenor and mode) that are likely to have an influence on the nature and extent of figurative language use. We therefore adopted these terms, taken from systemic functional linguistics (Halliday and Hasan 1976), in exploring the likely ways in which metonymy would be shaped by text messaging. In terms of mode, the centrality of language to text messaging means that a hundred or so characters must do a lot of communicative work (Georgakoupou 1997) and it is likely that participants rely on shared knowledge in performing linguistic ‘short-cuts’ such as abbreviations and acronyms (Tagg 2012). This constraint combines with three other affordances of the technology: the spatial distance between participants, the relative synchronicity of texting, and the ability to reflect on the written message, all of which determine the nature of the language used. In terms of tenor, text messaging is characterised by equal, intimate relationships (Ling and Yttri 2002). An informal speech-like tone tends to be adopted through phonological approximations,

paralinguistic substitutions (Thurlow and Brown, 2003) or stylised talk (Kirsten-Torrado 2013). In terms of field, the main functions of text-messages have been shown to be friendship maintenance and the making of arrangements (Ling and Yttri 2002). As outlined earlier, many of these affordances – close relations between participants, spatial constraints, expectation of quick replies but time to craft them – are likely to encourage metonymy. Of particular relevance to this paper, the situational features described above mean that text messaging is characterised not only by conventionalised formulaic phrases (Tagg 2012) but also by a great deal of creativity, in the sense that texters playfully manipulate spellings (Tagg 2012) as well as exploiting idioms and fixed expressions (Tagg 2013) in ways also identified in spoken conversations (Carter 2004). This orientation towards language play may in part explain the occurrence of creative metonymy in our data.

Our approach can be divided into two phases: 1) the identification of metonymy in the corpus and 2) the identification and explanation of creativity within the metonyms. Below we outline the procedures adopted in both phases, and document the challenges met.

### ***Identifying metonyms in naturally-occurring data: methods and challenges***

In our attempt to identify all metonyms occurring in a corpus of real-world data, we were obliged to address a number of identification problems, discussion of which is of value to future empirical study of metonymy. Metonymy can be harder to identify than other types of figurative language. In contrast to metaphor, which involves a relationship between two unrelated entities, metonymy involves relationships between entities where there is some pre-existing or presupposed relationship between the term and its referent. Because of this close relationship, metonymy is not all that different from ‘literal’ language and the two often shade into one another, making metonymy a difficult phenomenon to pin down.

The only study that has attempted to identify metonymy in a systematic way is Biernacka’s (2013) aforementioned study of metonymy in focus-group discussions about terrorism. We employed her procedure across our 2000 text message corpus. The procedure, as outlined by Biernacka, is as follows:

1. Read the entire text to get a general understanding of the overall meaning.
2. Determine lexical units.
3. Decide on metonymicity of each lexical unit:

- a. For each lexical unit establish its contextual meaning – taking into account how it applies to an entity in the situation evoked by the text, as well as co-text.
  - b. For each lexical unit determine if it has a more basic contemporary meaning in other contexts than the meaning in the given context.
  - c. If the lexical unit has a more basic contemporary meaning in other contexts than the given context, and the contextual and basic meanings are different, determine if they are connected by contiguity, defined as a relation of adjacency and closeness comprising not only spatial contact but also temporal proximity, causal relations and part-whole relations.
4. If a connection is found in step 3c that is one of contiguity: check backwards and forwards to determine if any other lexical unit(s) belong(s) together semantically, thus determining the extent of the metonym vehicle; and mark the lexical unit (or lexical units which belong together) as metonymy vehicle.

(Biernacka 2013: 117)

During the identification process, we took account of the co-text of metonymy and the field-tenor-mode framework within which we were working. We discussed cases of disagreement in depth and brought in a third discussant in cases where we were unable to reach a decision. Using this technique, we were able to resolve all disagreements. We excluded from our analysis cases in which a modified form stood for an original form (*u, tomo*), although these could arguably be described as metonymy, for two reasons: firstly, because we did not feel that describing these forms as metonymic would add to the already large literature on the topic of respellings (e.g. Tagg 2012); and, secondly, because the sheer frequency of such forms would have skewed our findings. We also excluded from our analysis possible metonyms whose meaning was unclear from the context, such as the following:

- i) Am here so come on out n help *lug in the gin!*

In this example, it was impossible to know whether the writer was referring to gin or whether they were using the word metonymically to refer to a wider range of consumables.

Another problem we encountered was that, in some cases, it was difficult to determine whether an example was metaphor or metonymy, as in the following:

- ii) Mejor si volvimos a espana- tenemos que ir un dia..... [It would be better if we went back to Spain – we have to go there one day.....] Wish my phone could *speak* Spanish, would be much easier.

In this example, ‘speak’ could be encoded as metonymy in that ‘speak Spanish’ stands for ‘understand that I’m trying to write in Spanish, not in English’ or ‘automatically translate my texts into Spanish’. At the same time, it could be that the phone is being personified as something that is able to speak, in which case it would be described as a ‘personification metaphor’. In this case, because of the close relationship we felt most people perceived between ‘speaking’ a language and ‘recognising its vocabulary’ we decided it was metonymic and labelled it as SUB-EVENT FOR WHOLE EVENT.

Another confounding issue was the fact that metonymy often operates at the level of the phrase and as such was sometimes difficult to attribute to a particular word. The problem lay in determining where exactly the boundaries of the metonym could reasonably be drawn. We can see this in the following example:

- iii) Good job left when did - arrived + left before timetabled time! The cheek of it!  
Have good day tomo + *get those lengths in* to get some sleep if nowt else. See ya mon. xx

In this example, *get those lengths in* is a RESULT FOR ACTION metonymy, meaning to go swimming. It is the phrase that carries metonymic meaning, and not the individual word. Here we followed Biernacka (2013) in that we labelled the whole italicised segment as metonymy, rather than the individual units.

We then classified the metonyms according to the taxonomy proposed by Radden and Kövecses (1999). In cases where metonyms did not fit, we identified further categories, some of which we detail below. We identified the parts of speech for all metonymic items. Again, both researchers (the authors of this paper) coded the items, and discussions took place wherever there were disagreements. With recourse to a third analyst, it was again possible to resolve all differences.

### ***Identifying creative metonyms***

There are no established procedures for identifying creativity within a corpus and it is not possible to make claims regarding objectivity. As Carter (2004: 151) explains, there is ‘always the danger that what is perceived by the analyst will be of a different order from that perceived by the participants’. Nor, as mentioned earlier, is it possible to clearly distinguish between

conventional and creative metonyms. Taking these caveats into consideration, we developed a three-stage procedure for identifying metonyms at the far end of the creativity spectrum.

1. Identify metonyms that exhibit features of creativity identified elsewhere (Carter 2004) such as parallelism or manipulation of fixed expressions and idioms (FEIs) (Moon 1998).
2. Identify metonyms that, although not exhibiting formally creative features, appear to be novel phrasings, in that they:
  - a. occur once in the sample of 2000 messages AND
  - b. occur once in the corpus (CorTxt) AND
  - c. are considered by researchers to be novel AND
  - d. do not occur in the BofE in the same form and/or depart from the expected pattern noted in the BofE.
3. Identify playfully used conventional metonyms that appear to extend use of the same underlying ICM or that creatively juxtapose metonyms within or across ICMs.

The first step involved identifying metonyms which exhibited creative formal features such as parallelism and alliteration as documented in studies of spoken interaction. Let's take as an example the metonymic use of 'train' as a verb meaning 'to take a train' (OBJECT FOR ACTION). In the following, the particular form, 'training', appears to have been used in response to the parallelism that resulted from the two 'ing' forms (that is, the verb 'driving' motivated the form 'training' rather than 'taking a train'). We thus classified it as creative on the basis of its formal parallelism.

iv) R u driving or *training*?

We surmised that formal creativity was in most cases likely to have influenced to some extent the choice of OBJECT FOR ACTION metonym and its realisation.

The second step was to identify metonyms that occurred only once in the sample and in the corpus as a whole, and which could thus be considered as potentially creative by way of their novelty, at least within the context being analysed. These we call 'metonymic hapaxes'. Thus, we discounted all metonyms that occurred more than once (unless they displayed creative formal features, as in step one). We then judged the originality of the hapaxes by searching for them in the BofE and ascertaining whether they were typically used in general English. For example, 'make yourself a cup of tea on me' was an unexpected phrasing. When we searched in the BofE, we found that it did not occur in that form but seemed to be a variant of the phrase

‘have a drink on me’, which occurred six times, along with the phrases ‘have a cake on me’, ‘have a bite on me’ and ‘have a bottle of whisky on me’, which appeared to be used humorously. The small number of occurrences in the BoE thus supported our interpretation. In cases where the corpus data did not support our interpretation, we removed the item from our list of creative metonyms.

The third step involved identifying cases where ICMs were being extended in unconventional ways or where metonyms were creatively juxtaposed: at times, texters playfully brought together similar metonyms from different ICMs, or contrasting metonyms from the same ICM; at other times they made playful use of expressions that had both literal and metonymic readings and those that had two different metonymic readings. Examples are provided below.

This procedure combines the use of existing findings on the nature of linguistic creativity (step 1) with corpus-based methods (step 2) and cognitive linguistic principles (step 3). As already discussed, our identification of creative metonyms in this way does not presume that the remaining metonyms are in any way uniformly ‘conventional’. Rather they exist on a cline from the likely very conventional, frequently-used and unremarked-upon metonyms (such as *drink*), and those which are more playfully deployed but which did not meet the criteria as outlined above (e.g. ‘Ok I’ll go along with *that coffee thing* if you insist’).

## **Results and discussion**

### ***Nature and role of metonymy in a corpus of text-messages***

Just over a quarter (27.4%) of the text messages (546 out of 2000) contained metonymy. Of these, 122 contained two or more examples of metonymy (18.7% of the total number of text messages containing metonymy), making a total of 735 instances of metonymy in the corpus. Although only a minority of the messages contained metonymy, the minority is large enough to indicate that the phenomenon is worth exploring further.

Because much of the literature on metonymy uses noun phrases as examples, we were interested to see how the use of metonymy was spread over different parts of speech in our dataset. The results of our part-of-speech analysis can be seen in Table 2.

[TABLE 2 NEAR HERE]

Although the largest group of metonyms were indeed noun phrases, many others were verbal phrases, and a small number were adjectives or adverbs. The relatively large proportion

of verbal metonyms might be explained in part by the register of text messaging, and its role in making social and practical arrangements (Tagg 2012). However, our findings also mirror Cameron's (1999) findings for metaphor; she showed that a significant number of metaphors in her corpus of naturally-occurring educational discourse were in fact verbs.

We identified thirty-eight metonymy types, of which the majority could be located within Radden and Kövecses' (1999) taxonomy. A full list of the types of metonymy identified, along with quantitative data and an example of each type from our corpus, can be found in Table 3.

[TABLE 3 NEAR HERE]

However, not all examples fitted easily into Radden and Kövecses (1999) taxonomy. This is likely due to our working with a particular genre of naturally-occurring data. We created twelve new or adapted categories, many of which had more than one realisation. As we can see in the following examples, the most heavily populated categories included metonymic references to social events, again likely due to the role text messaging plays in arranging future plans (Tagg 2012).

- v) TIME FOR EVENT (38 examples found) (as distinct from Radden and Kovecses' TIME FOR ACTION, e.g. 'To summer in Paris'): 'Hey hun yeah having a great time thank you. Definitely still up for *next saturday*'
- vi) OBJECT FOR EVENT (19 examples found) (distinct from OBJECT FOR ACTION, e.g. 'To dust the room'): 'Im free when ever for *photos* mr if ya still need me x'
- vii) PLACE FOR PERSON OR PEOPLE ASSOCIATED WITH THAT PLACE (6 examples found) (distinct from PLACE FOR INHABITANTS, e.g. 'The whole town showed up'): 'Just got ur messages. *The pub* was silent when we left! I really thought they were going 2 win. Hope ur not 2depressed!' 'I told *the hotel* we would be there sometime pm'.

In some cases, a single expression involved the conflation of two metonymic relationships. Consider the following message:

- viii) *A drink or a cuppa* sounds good to me! When and where? Xx

Here, *drink* and a *cuppa* are both OBJECT FOR ACTION metonyms in that they actually mean 'let's have a drink' or 'let's have a cup of tea or coffee'. In addition, they could both be defined as PART FOR WHOLE metonyms in the sense that the texter is not just talking about having a

drink or a cuppa, but also other actions that are associated with having a drink or a cuppa (chatting, relaxing, having fun) and specific contexts are implied (a pub or coffee shop). At the same time, *a drink* involves a CATEGORY FOR MEMBER OF CATEGORY metonymy, where a *drink* refers specifically to an alcoholic drink, and *a cuppa* involves a CONTAINER FOR CONTAINED metonymy, where a *cuppa* means tea or coffee. Here we have a co-occurrence of ‘domain expansion’ (where less means more) and ‘domain reduction’ (where more means less). We thus have a combination of several metonymic relationships within a simple, apparently very straightforward text-message. We also see in this example how a great deal of assumed cultural knowledge is implied in a few words.

### ***The extent and nature of creative metonymy***

Of the 735 metonyms identified, we labelled 65 as creative. Our analysis of these creative uses leads us to propose the following framework (Table 4).

[TABLE 4 NEAR HERE]

As we can see in this framework, there were two ways in which individuals used metonymy creatively, one involving meaning and one involving form. It should be said that the two categories are not mutually exclusive and a single creative use of metonymy could involve more than one of these forms of creativity.

### ***Meaning (ICM)-based Creativity***

As evident in Table 4, meaning-based creativity involves the exploitation or creation of relationships within or across ICMs for creative purposes. Thirty-eight metonyms displayed this kind of creativity. These are further subdivided into instantiations involving the extended use of the same ICM and instantiations involving the juxtaposition of contrasting metonyms.

An example of an extended ICM can be seen in the following text-message:

- ix) Happy daddy day to you. happy daddy day to you. happy daddy day to daddy. happy daddy day to you. hope you've had a nice day. i bet you've been *screwing something down or building something*. anyway *make yourself a cup of tea* on me, *kick back* and enjoy

This example builds on an underlying ICM of ‘things that fathers typically do on a day off’, which is triggered by the formally-creative reference to Fathers Day (where ‘happy daddy day’ includes alliteration and the repetition of word-final <y>). The existence of a shared ICM between participants then allows the texter to refer elliptically to things his father might be

doing because of the occasion, ‘screwing something down or building something’, which might function interpersonally as an indirect enquiry as to his father’s day. Here we have a SUB-EVENT FOR WHOLE EVENT metonym which is readily comprehended because of the texters’ shared access to this ‘typical things that Dads do’ ICM. In some British cultures, ‘a cup of tea’ is something that a father might typically enjoy during such activities, and the SUB-EVENT FOR WHOLE EVENT metonym here serves to link the home-improvement activities with a ‘relaxation’ ICM, access to which facilitates the comprehension of a further SUB-EVENT FOR WHOLE EVENT metonym: ‘kick back’. Overall, the texter implicitly foregrounds their shared background through the extended ICM to maintain and/or strengthen the father-son relationship.

Other examples of extended ICMs include:

- x) Right *big boy, former house wives favorte*. just keep it chilled out and fun and good things will happen!

Both italicised TRAIT FOR PERSON metonyms constitute humorous comments on male sexuality. The creative humour derives in part from this relationship. An ad-hoc ICM involving images of male sexuality is created on the fly, which is then available for future exploitation.

Other instances of creativity resulted from the juxtaposition of two metonyms from different ICMs, of two contrasting metonyms from a same ICM, and of literal and metonymic meanings.

The juxtaposition of metonyms from different ICMs can be seen in the following:

- xi) A: Just in case you need rescuing from work or dissertation or both, we are meeting again tomo at 6 in staff house. Hope week 3 ok.

B: It's a toss up between that and going for a *balti* with *cherry blossoms*.  
Not sure what would be more fun.

A: Ooh i wouldn't like to have to make that decision...

*[time passes]*

- xii) B: Sorry *cherry blossoms* and *balti* win out. Maybe we could meet up tomorrow if you fancy. NAME119's busy tonight and haven't asked about tomorrow yet.

A: Damn, passed over for *a cherry blossom*. Yeah give me a shout if you're doing anything tomo. Happy *balti* - and happy end of course.

In this example, we have repeated metonymic references to ‘cherry blossoms’ and ‘baltis’. The two texters in this exchange were language teachers at an English Language school and by ‘cherry blossoms’, they are referring to a group of Japanese students from the ‘Cherry Blossom’ college in Japan. A ‘balti’ is a curry dish popular in Birmingham (UK) and is itself a metonym in that it is derived from the vessel in which these types of curries are normally cooked. In this example it has a further metonymic use as it means to go out to a restaurant and eat a balti. Thus we have two different metonymy types (PLACE FOR PERSON and OBJECT FOR EVENT) being used in close proximity. So far, both metonyms are likely to be highly conventionalised ones, at least for these texters. However, the way in which they are repeatedly juxtaposed here suggests a degree of deliberateness and an awareness of the two very different ICMs being evoked: one surrounding Japanese culture (and, in particular, the texters’ shared knowledge of the Japanese university students in question) and one surrounding heavy, spiced Indian food. Coherence is provided by the fact that both refer to ‘foreign’ or even ‘exotic’ cultures (Japanese and Anglo-Indian), but humour is implied by the contrasting features of Japanese and Anglo-Indian culture. The humour appears to be used to mitigate a potentially face-threatening situation. Texter B is turning down texter A’s offer of a night out, and seems to be using the references to baltis and cherry blossoms to cover any potential social awkwardness.

The balti/cherry blossom example evokes the metonymic clusters observed by Biernacka (2013) in her study of the use of metonymy in focus-group discussions of terrorism. She found that metonymic clusters, where several metonyms were used in quick succession, tended to coincide with intense discussions of particularly controversial and emotional topics. The metonyms in these ‘emotionally-intense’ clusters were used by the participants to describe how they saw themselves in relation to the situation under discussion and how they felt about their relations with others. Whilst our data are by no means as dramatic as Biernacka’s, a common thread is that the metonym clusters in our data also appear to serve an important relationship-building function.

We saw earlier another example of this sort of juxtaposition:

xiii) *Make yourself a cup of tea* on me

This metonym combines ‘make yourself a cup of tea’ with the words ‘on me’. Having a drink ‘on me’ is usually associated with a visit to the pub, where the term is used to mean ‘I would like to buy you a drink’. By combining the references to these two shared ICMs (‘things fathers do’ and ‘things you do in pubs’), the texter voices his desire to help his father celebrate the day in a contextually-relevant way.

Other cases of juxtaposition involved two contrasting metonyms from same ICM, as in the following:

- xiv) Dance style... *Jt* crossed with *billy elliot!* Smooth is the word.. Fav momento complet head bake cant explain it but its great!

This text-message is part of an exchange in which the texters respond to prompts such as ‘Your dance style’ and ‘Favourite moment’. ‘JT’ stands for ‘Justin Timberlake’, a popular singer at the time. ‘Billy Elliot’ refers to the character in a film about a boy who dreams of becoming (and eventually becomes) a ballet dancer. Drawing on the same ICM – ‘the idea that dance styles can be associated with people’ – the texter highlights the contrast between these two very different dance styles by referring to them metonymically in quick succession; again mild humour is involved. This juxtaposition of these two PERSON FOR TRAIT metonyms creates a new meaning (i.e., the description of a hybrid dancing style) which is in turn a statement of identity.

Another example of this type can be found in the following:

- xv) Hey there *my lovely*. I'm gonna drive NAME40 to fal to pick up his car. I'll give him your clothes. Have a good day *stinky*. Mwah! Xxx

The texter uses two TRAIT FOR PERSON metonyms, ‘my lovely’ and ‘stinky’, again in quick succession. The creativity derives from the clear contrast in meaning between the two words, both of which are located within the ICM of ‘descriptions of individuals’.

The third type involves the juxtaposition of both literal and metonymic meanings, as in the following:

- xvi) A: Greetings me, NAME209! Consider yourself excused. But very expected saturday – POSTALADDRESS. Just down from pool lane, crown pub. Drinks, nibbles, food available from ... any time really xx  
B: food u say! how many good folk u expecting? am assuming *batman*

won't really be needed! (may wear underneath just in case!)

A: Not a huge no but all the people i wanted there - cept my brother ... Focus is on drink - s'not a dinner party - but even dedicated drinkers've gotta eat ... Eat before you come or not won't matter, batman. And just cos nobody else is wearing a costume doesn't mean you can't ...

B: can't wait to *get the old bat-belt out* again! anyway, many good evenings to u!

Here, 'batman' is used by texter B to refer to his wearing of a Batman costume for a forthcoming party, which B 'may wear underneath just in case' (WHOLE FOR PART). However, the utterance 'am assuming bat-man won't really be needed!' could also be read as referring (literally) to Batman himself, the implication being that the texter is Batman (or that he might bring Batman along) but that Batman would not be called upon for his heroic services, given the 'good folk' attending. This reading is supported by A referring to B as 'batman' and can also be read into B's stated intention to 'get the old bat-belt out again!' (SUB-EVENT FOR WHOLE EVENT), which works metonymically to refer either to his intention to find and wear the full fancy-dress costume again or (given the earlier references to Batman) to his suggestion that he is Batman. The metonymy in this example is doing three interesting things. Firstly, it combines referential and propositional features (Warren 2006). It is referential in that the term 'Batman' is used to refer to a Batman costume, and propositional in that it proposes a certain course of action (wearing the Batman costume). Secondly, it involves zeugma: two senses of the term 'Batman' (wearing the Batman costume and being Batman and/or bringing Batman along) are employed for subtle humorous effect. And, thirdly, it extends beyond the level of the phrase to form a cluster of metonymically-related meanings. Like the balti/cherry blossom cluster cited above, it appears to serve a relationship-building function as well as a mitigating function. B is attempting to mitigate a potentially face-threatening situation in which he attempts to ascertain what sort of party he is being invited to, without asking the question outright. He does this through tentative language such as 'am assuming' and also through the humour intended by his metonymic references to Batman and wearing the costume. This indirect approach is responded to by A, who answers the unspoken question humorously with 'just cos nobody else is wearing a costume doesn't mean you can't'.

Finally, the fourth type involved the juxtaposition of two different metonymic readings of the same word, as in the following:

- xvii) Hey mr NAME240 NAME353 and I are going to the sea view and *having* a couple of gays I mean games! Give me a bell when ya finish x

Here, the texter creatively exploits the double-meaning of ‘having’, which in this context refers metonymically to ‘having intercourse’ and ‘playing [games]’ (SUB-EVENT FOR WHOLE EVENT). It also plays on the phonetic similarity of the start of both ‘gays’ and ‘games’. Our focus on metonymy here highlights the cognitive process which underlies humorous punning.

### ***Form-based Creativity***

The second way in which metonymy was used creatively involved what can be broadly described as ‘form-based creativity’. Forty-three of the creative metonyms identified involved this form of creativity. Form-based creativity involved either repetition or deviation from expected forms.

Examples were found of phonological repetition such as alliteration or assonance. We can see this in the following examples (words involved in creativity are underlined).

- xviii) Hope red dress is wowing at wedding. (EFFECT FOR CAUSE)
- xix) Might have to resort to the roller skates option! (OBJECT FOR ACTION)
- xx) it appears, from my end, that birthday beverages will have to proceed in my absence. (SUB-EVENT FOR WHOLE EVENT)

There were also instances of lexical repetition and structural parallelism, or the near-repetition of syntactic structures (Tannen 2007). Examples are as follows:

- xxi) Oh dear, on many fronts. Perhaps we can do a long run Monday, bank holiday?  
Hope car and day both ok! Mine fine if largely uneventful - day not car ;) . x  
(TIME FOR EVENT)
- xxii) Hello! All well hope you are ok too. Looking forward to seeing you. R u driving or training? (OBJECT FOR ACTION)
- xxiii) Hey.sorry i just missed ur call.we'r up for flyering. (OBJECT FOR ACTION)

The first of these examples involves the repeated juxtaposition of two noun phrases and also exhibits assonance in the rhyming of ‘day’ and ‘okay’, ‘mine’ and ‘fine’. The second two involve repetition of the gerund with the creative use of metonymy sanctioning the change from noun to verb. This process evokes Halliday’s (2004) notion of ‘grammatical metaphor’.

Grammatical metaphor involves a change in word class in order to alter the register. The type of grammatical metaphor that is most widely discussed is ‘nominalisation’ through which verbs are changed to nouns, resulting in a more erudite or academic-sounding register. Here we have the opposite process; the nouns ‘train’ and ‘flyer’ are converted into verbs, and the result is an informal, playful-sounding register.

There were also multiple instances of co-construction and re-use of the same metonymic terms across turns. We saw in earlier examples how the phrase ‘Balti with cherry blossoms’ was reformulated as ‘Cherry blossoms and balti’, ‘passed over for a cherry blossom and ‘Happy balti’, and how ‘batman’ was reformulated as ‘the old bat-belt’. This combination of both meaning-based creativity and form-based creativity points to shared background knowledge and a shared sense of playfulness; these forms of metonymy are thus powerful indices of friendship.

The second type of form-based creativity involved deviations from expected forms. This involved the manipulation of FEIs, as in the following examples:

xxiv) *Make yourself a cup of tea* on me (SUB-EVENT FOR WHOLE EVENT)

xxv) *Never in blue jeans* (TRAIT FOR PERSON)

xxvi) *Smell ya later* (MANNER FOR ACTION)

These examples involve the creative manipulation of the idiomatic expressions ‘have one on me’ (usually referring to an alcoholic drink at the bar), ‘forever in blue jeans’ (meaning overly casual) and ‘see ya later’. As we saw earlier, the ‘cup of tea’ example also involves meaning (ICM)-based creativity.

As a final note, we observe that a strikingly high number of metonyms exhibited both forms of creativity. Of the forty-three examples of metonyms that displayed form-based creativity, twenty also exhibited meaning-based creativity. Metonymy-based creativity can involve playing with meaning or form, and in our study we found that it often involves both.

## **Conclusion**

Our study addressed three research questions:

1. What is the nature of metonymy, and what are the roles it plays, in a corpus of messages?
2. To what extent can the metonyms in the corpus be described as creative?

3. For which communicative purposes do people creativity exploit metonyms in text messaging?

We found that metonyms in our data often involved parts of speech other than nouns, and that metonymy often operated above the level of the word and sometimes above the level of the phrase; both likely due to the social functions of text messaging, particularly its role in making social and practical arrangements. Examples such as ‘A drink or a cuppa sound goods good to me!’ showed how frequent and unmarked metonyms function as linguistic shortcuts which exploit texters’ shared cultural knowledge. We also identified metonymy types that do not exist within Radden and Kovecses’ (1999) taxonomy. We found that metonymy was often used creatively, either by playing with the meaning or the form, or with both. Creatively exploiting metonyms appeared to fulfil a number of communicative functions for these texters. Because metonymy involves indirectness and shared knowledge, its potential for humour is heightened. It can therefore be used to manage potentially sensitive issues and complex social situations, as well as bonding with others and constructing a shared identity based on underspecified mutual knowledge.

The original theoretical and empirical contribution of our research is threefold. Firstly, as a corpus-based analysis of naturally-occurring metonyms, our study provides a detailed and nuanced account of the way metonymy behaves in a genre-based dataset. Secondly, our findings contribute to the existing literature on linguistic creativity not only by foregrounding metonymy as another creative strategy available in everyday discourse but also by providing an explanatory account that brings together a view of creativity as residing in textual features with an understanding of the culturally-contingent nature of creativity and an explanation of one of the cognitive mechanisms through which creativity works. In particular, our study highlights how in a constrained, intimate and playful medium such as text messaging, people creatively exploit metonymy as a linguistic short cut not only to save space but to heighten intimacy and bolster relationships through humour and the allusion to shared knowledge. Given growing recognition of the centrality of linguistic creativity in everyday interactions, our work is important in explaining one of the mechanisms through which such creativity draws on shared and unspecified knowledge to fulfil communicative functions. Thirdly, the framework that we propose will be useful for future corpus-based analyses of creative uses of metonymy in other contexts and across text types.

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## Figures and Tables

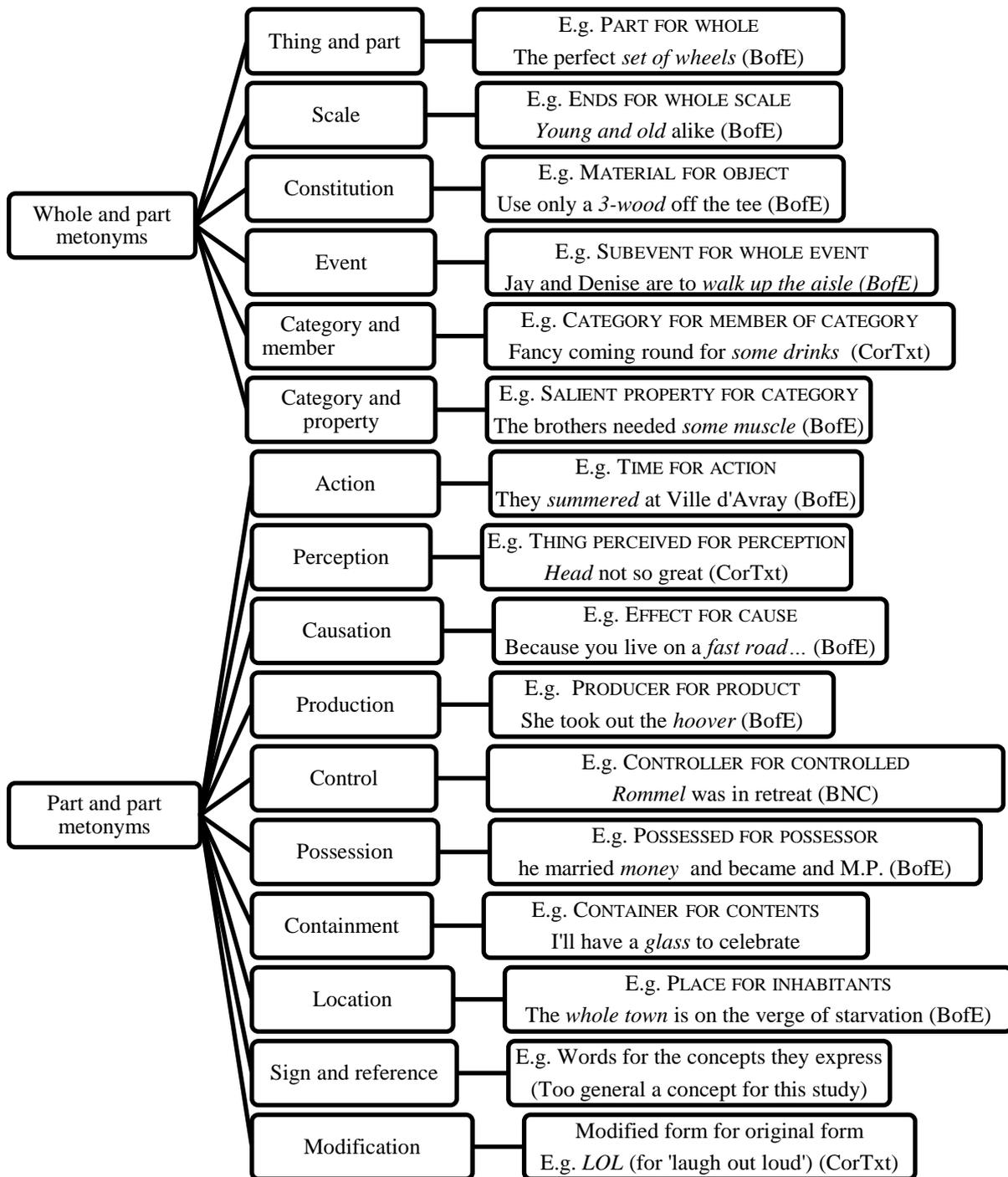


Figure 1. Key metonymy types in Radden and Kövecses (1999) taxonomy (adapted from Littlemore 2015)

<b>Text-message corpus (CorTxt)</b>	
No. of messages	11,067
No. of words	190,516 words
Average no. of words	17.2 words
Collection period	March 2004-May2007
Collection method	From friends and family
No. and composition of texters	248 texters, largely British English speakers, aged 19-68, professionals and students.  Of 175 texters identified: F=59%; M=41%
Sample analysed for study	2000 text-messages

Table 1. Details of the text messaging corpus (see Tagg 2012)

	Nouns	Verbs	Adjective	Adverbs	Other	Total
Number of metonyms involving this part of speech	338	253	44	14	86	735
Percentage of metonyms involving this part of speech	50%	34.4%	6.0%	1.9%	11.7%	100% <sup>vi</sup>

Table 2. Parts of speech that were involved with the metonyms

Metonymy Type	No. of instances	Example
<b>1. ABSTRACT FOR CONCRETE</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>Hi! Have you picked up <i>the exam</i>?</b>
2. ACTION FOR EVENT	7	Are you coming to NAME236's <i>talk</i> at the ELR seminar on Tuesday?
3. ACTION FOR OBJECT	2	Sometime, can we try and find that set [pet?] shop that sell though <i>throwie things</i> ?
4. ACTION FOR RESULT	1	Matchpoint on at amc broadway plaza - top of broad st - at 6.55 or 9.45. <i>Early showing</i> plus drinks suits me. What about you?
<b>5. ACTION FOR TIME</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>I to am looking forward to all the sex cuddling.. Only two more sleeps x</b>
6. CATEGORY FOR MEMBER OF A CATEGORY	6	I think you should encourage the <i>year 7</i> who would take german next year to get their parents to write in to complain. Is NAME5 going to speak to NAME82?
7. CATEGORY FOR SALIENT PROPERTY	2	hello there, i saw you phoned me? i am still down south, going to hyde park calling festival today. hope you are well? i will be back late tonight, we should have a <i>girls night</i> this week! ta ta cheerio pip pip ra ra
8. CAUSE FOR EFFECT	4	Can't hang around too late tonight, need to leave around six as <i>have my orders</i> for the evening. Does this allow enough time? Have good classes. Sxx
9. CONTAINER FOR CONTAINED	5	Only me! I've saved some <i>cds</i> onto my hard drive and want to have a folder that looks like the one you've stored the robbie ones in. how do you change the standard new folder so that it looks like that?
10. EFFECT FOR CAUSE	179	Ho ho - <i>big belly laugh!</i> See ya tomo x
<b>11. EVENT FOR PERSON</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>Hope all is well with you- any news on <i>last week's snog</i>? Is it all still happening on the 19th? Give me your new address?</b>
<b>12. EVENT FOR TIME</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>I think its a bug,quite a few ppl hav had the same kinda thing,she's better now stil a bit dazed i think.i had a lovely nap <i>at lunch</i> and im about to hav another now!i had a really good nite too,it was good to get to know u a bit better.x</b>
<b>13. INSTITUTION FOR PEOPLE WHO WORK THERE</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>Also <i>tesco</i> is trying to get hold of you. They are open til 3 today. 0845 3005475</b>
14. INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION	15	<i>Snow boarding</i> is the 19th of march for about 10 days
15. MANNER FOR ACTION	16	Hope u had good day. Me been busy + productive. Shall we meet at floosie around half five, <i>nibble</i> + <i>or sip sth</i> to keep us going, saunter up broad st? Enjoy eve, whatever you're up to. Sxx

16. MENTAL/PHYSICAL STATE FOR PERSON CAUSING IT	2	Sorry to be a <i>pain</i> . Is it ok if we meet another night? I spent late afternoon in casualty and that means i haven't done any of y stuff42moro and that includes all my time sheets and that. Sorry. xx
17. OBJECT FOR ACTION	82	Hey.sorry i just missed ur call.we'r up for <i>flyering</i> .
18. OBJECT FOR EVENT	19	<b>Hi - wkend v nice, but our last together so leaving last night was v v difficult. Still coldy but better tho tried as <i>boat</i> was at midnight + had to get up at five this am. Yes, will be in tomorrow so see you then. Sx</b>
19. OBJECT FOR PHYSICAL STATE	1	<b><i>Head not great so maybe i imagined the pandas.</i></b>
20. PART FOR WHOLE	19	Ok.Get ur fucking lazy,no good for nothing <i>arse</i> in here right now
21. PERSON FOR PLACE	2	BORED! been sat in <i>doctors</i> waiting for ages!
22. PERSON FOR TRAIT <sup>vii</sup>	3	Wow, you are <i>Paula Radcliffe</i> ! No, really I am v impressed.
23. PLACE FOR EVENT	28	You can - tho please compare carefully with <i>Bristol</i> offer - we would all be in the same room and i'd be leaving at eight in the morning ;) Not offended if other offer sounds better - and very excited about wedding! Xx
24. PLACE FOR INSTITUTION	10	Teaching at <i>selly oak</i> til half four. Traffic n parking difficult to main campus round then so urs? Or u come to <i>selly oak</i> ? Don't mind.
25. PLACE FOR PERSON OR PEOPLE ASSOCIATED WITH THAT PLACE	6	<b><i>The whole car appreciated the last two! Dad and NAME307 are having a map reading semi argument but apart from that things are going ok. H.x</i></b>
26. PLACE FOR PRODUCT	1	Hey baby as u r staying late did u want me to bring u a <i>subway</i> wen i finish? Having a good day
27. POTENTIAL FOR ACTUAL	8	<i>Can you ring them</i> now then?
28. PRODUCER FOR PRODUCT	4	Fair enough then. Can't say I've ever been keen on <i>agatha</i> though. Have help coming tomorrow for leg. Hope that will fix it better than <i>saville</i> and his jewellery
29. RESULT FOR ACTION	5	Has anyone made out what the picture is? The weather has been lovely still walking round with vest tops on of a night. Need to <i>book into aa</i> when i get back. X
30. SALIENT PROPERTY FOR CATEGORY	10	Who's <i>the bastard in the black</i> ? J x
31. SUB-EVENT FOR WHOLE EVENT	158	Ok I'll go along with <i>the coffee thing</i> if you insist...Quarter to five in the arts building? However you'll have to come to <i>wallis</i> with

		me ...Just one more skirt! Saturday sounds good too. Eat well!
<b>32. TIME FOR EVENT</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>Hey hun thank you so much for <i>last night</i> it was so good to see you all.</b>
<b>33. TRAIT FOR EVENT</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>Hey, what do you think about a <i>quiet one</i> in the sea view tomorrow night? X (meaning: let's go for a drink, just you and me)</b>
<b>34. TRAIT FOR LOCATION</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>Are you still not <i>English</i> (meaning: are you still not in England)</b>
35. TRAIT FOR PERSON	52	Hey <i>gorgeous</i> , love u, just rang 4 a gossip on my new fone, but u not there.
36. WHOLE EVENT FOR SUB EVENT	3	Sorry but wei i have had to put the <i>holiday</i> on NAME182s credit card coz i didn't have enough to pay for it so i need it as soon as poss sorry
37. WHOLE FOR PART	32	Mans body found in a canal in Italy this morning wearing Welsh rugby shirt, panties, suspenders. <i>Police</i> removed the shirt to save the family any further embarrassment.
<b>38. WRITTEN FOR SPOKEN<sup>viii</sup></b>	<b>1</b>	<b>Ooh don't <i>shout</i>, head hurts. Just got back from seminar - me and NAME2 mainly, but our incredible combined intelligences were more than enough! V rough</b>

Table 3. Types of metonymy identified in the sample (Metonymy types that are additions to, or adaptations of, Radden and Kövecses (1999) taxonomy are shown in bold).

<b>1</b>	<b>ICM-based creativity</b> <b>Exploitation of relationships within or across ICMs for creative purposes (N=38)</b>
a	Extended use of same underlying cognitive model
b	Juxtaposition
	<i>Juxtaposition of two metonyms from different ICMs</i>
	<i>Juxtaposition of two contrasting metonyms from same ICM</i>
	<i>Juxtaposition of both literal and metonymic meaning</i>
	<i>Juxtaposition of two different metonymic readings of the same word</i>
<b>2</b>	<b>Form-based creativity (N=43)</b>
a	Repetition
	<i>Alliteration</i>
	<i>Parallelism</i>
	<i>Co-construction/re-use</i>
b	Deviation from expected form

Table 4. A framework for understanding the creative use of metonymy in text messaging

<sup>i</sup> There is considerable controversy over the nature and scope of metonymy, which means that it can be defined in different ways (see, for example, Barcelona, 2002; Benczes et al., 2011; Littlemore, 2015; Panther and Thornburg, 2007; Radden and Kövecses, 1999; and Ruiz de Mendoza, 2000). The definition employed here is therefore intended to operate simply as a working definition.

<sup>ii</sup> The metonymic parts of the examples are italicised throughout the article.

<sup>iii</sup> Although note that there have been some studies into the use of creativity in other modes of expression, such as visual communication (van Leeuwen, 2011), gesture (Müller, 2007/2008) and performance (Gibbs, 2014), which have shown creativity to be a dynamic multimodal interactive process, lying somewhere between these two approaches.

<sup>iv</sup> Another important classification of metonymy is Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez's (2000) distinction between SOURCE IN TARGET metonymy and TARGET IN SOURCE metonymy. However, the specific focus in this article is on the more functional classifications of metonymy.

<sup>v</sup> Lakoff (1987) lists five types of ICM: propositional ICMs, image schema ICMs, metaphoric ICMs, metonymic ICMs, and symbolic ICMs. What we are referring to here are propositional ICMs. The fact that Lakoff includes metaphor and metonymy in his list is somewhat infelicitous as these are best seen as operational or 'dynamic' cognitive processes rather than non-operational cognitive models. This view is also expounded by Ruiz de Mendoza (1998).

<sup>vi</sup> The previous figures in this row are rounded to the nearest 0.1% which is why they add up to 99.9% rather than 100%.

<sup>vii</sup> These metonyms were sometimes paragons (see Barcelona, 2004), but this was not always the case.

<sup>viii</sup> The decision to count this relationship as metonymic took place after a considerable amount of discussion. The relationship between speaking and writing could arguably be described as metaphorical (because it

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involves two different domains, speaking and writing) or as metonymic (because there is an intrinsic relationship between the domains of speaking and writing). We chose to interpret it as metonymic because of the contiguity nature of the domains, particularly in the context of text messaging, which combines features of both spoken and written language.