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A STEEP AND ROCKY PATH TO BREXIT: CREATIVE METAPHORS IN BRITISH POLITICAL DISCOURSE ON BREXIT

This paper examines the emergence of metaphorical creativity from the creative elaboration of the single walking journey metaphor, which is used in British political discourse for the conceptualisation of Brexit. Using the cognitive linguistic theory of conceptual metaphor, three instances of creative metaphors are analysed at the level of conceptual domains and metaphor scenarios, as well as metaphorical stories activated by those metaphors, which, according to Ritchie (2017), seem to be crucial for the complete comprehension of creative metaphors. Special attention is given to contextual factors that motivate the emergence of creative instances of the walking journey metaphor, as well as the rhetorical force with which they shape political reality.

Key words: metaphorical creativity; conceptual domains; metaphor scenario; metaphorical story; rhetorical goals; contextual factors; Brexit; WALKING JOURNEY metaphor

1. INTRODUCTION

It is a generally accepted fact that metaphorical language characterises much of the discourse aimed at achieving persuasive effects, particularly political discourse, which mostly addresses intricate and contentious issues in a society (Semino 2008, Charteris-Black 2011, Musolff 2016, 2017 a, Ritchie 2017). The reason why metaphors are very useful conceptual tools for presenting political issues is because they tend to simplify complex and abstract issues and present them in vivid and potentially emotional terms (Semino 2008: 124). Though conventional metaphors represent an important part of political discourse, more intriguing seem to be the cases of creative metaphors, which, as Semino (2008: 124) notes, are used more deliberately to argue particular points in particular contexts, which at the same time puts an emphasis on the crucial role the specific contexts have in motivating the choice of metaphor and its possible effects on audience. Brexit, a very complex process of Britain's withdrawal from the EU, has become a controversial and widely discussed issue in British media. What contributes to its controversy is deeply rooted British Euroscepticism, which has portrayed Britain in the eyes of Europe as an outsider, mostly sceptical and reluctant when it comes to the European integration process. As it is always the case with complex political situations that are likely to produce a political crisis, language used to talk about Brexit relies heavily on metaphors, both conventional and creative ones, which enable the speakers/writers to communicate their ideas more effectively.

Due to the controversy which Brexit caused, it was expected that the language used to discuss such a complex political issue in British online newspapers was abundant in both conventional and creative metaphors. The aim of this paper is to demonstrate how metaphorical creativity emerges in British political discourse on Brexit by examining the use of three creative instances of a single WALKING JOURNEY metaphor from three different British online newspapers, using the cognitive linguistic theory of conceptual metaphor. More specifically, the paper examines how recontextualisation of the same metaphor can lead to its creative elaborations which are aimed at achieving particular rhetorical goals. Due to the important role context plays in the choice of metaphors, the present paper gives special attention to identifying different contextual factors that motivate the emergence of creative instances of the WALKING JOURNEY metaphor in British political discourse on Brexit.

2. METAPHORICAL CREATIVITY IN POLITICAL DISCOURSE

The use of metaphor in political discourse has for a long time been associated primarily with rhetorical and persuasive function and it was not expected that political discourse could account for any form of metaphorical creativity, which has always been associated with literature. The tendency of recent studies to extend metaphorical creativity beyond literary genre to real discourse has brought about a more serious exploration of creative metaphors in political discourse (Müller 2005, 2010; Semino 2008; Semino et al. 2013; Hidalgo Downing and Kraljevic Mujic 2013; Hidalgo Downing et al. 2013; Musolff 2004, 2011, 2012, 2016, 2017a; Kövecses 2015; Ritchie 2017). Kövecses's exhaustive study of metaphorical creativity, which he conducted in a number of his works, proves to be very useful for understanding the emergence of creative metaphors in political discourse. Thus, Kövecses (2005: 259-267) deals with the issue of creativity within the realms of Conceptual metaphor theory and introduces the term "figurative creativity", which captures three basic cognitive operations: metaphor, metonymy and blending. He (2010b: 664) defines metaphorical creativity as the production and use of conceptual metaphors and/or their linguistic manifestations that are novel or unconventional, explaining that novelty and unconventionality are graded concepts. The author (2005, 2010a, 2015) identifies three types of metaphorical creativity: creativity based on the source domain, creativity based on the target domain and context-induced creativity¹. He was among the first scholars who offered a quite extensive study of the issue of context-induced creativity, but other scholars have dealt with this issue as well, which is evident in the works of Semino (2008), Semino et al. (2013), Hidalgo Downing et al. (2013), Hidalgo Downing and Kraljevic Mujic (2013), Müller (2005, 2010), Musolff (2004, 2016). Kövecses (2015: 99) emphasises that the context is in fact a major source of motivation for the use of novel and unconventional metaphors and identifies five contextual factors that commonly produce unconventional and novel metaphors: 1) the immediate phys-

¹ Creativity based on the source domain is also called source-related creativity and can be of two kinds: source-internal, in which the target is understood by using the unused source-internal materials, and source-external creativity, which includes the cases when in the process of metaphor conceptualisation new, additional source domains are available to a particular target domain. The second type of creativity is the one based on the target domain, also called target-induced creativity, which Kövecses (2010b: 665) defines as "... a particular target that is conventionally associated with a source "connects back" to the source taking further knowledge structures form it". The third type of creativity, which has not been systematically explored within the realms of CMT, refers to creativity induced by the context in which metaphorical conceptualisation occurs. Kövecses (2010b: 665) termed it context-induced creativity and the metaphors that emerge in that way context-induced metaphors.

ical setting, 2) what we know about the major entities participating in the discourse, 3) the immediate cultural context, 4) the immediate social setting and 5) the immediate linguistic context². It is important to note that these contextual factors do not work independently in real discourse; several of them are found to function in combination and thus influence the use of metaphors in particular discourse situations.

As a result of the aforementioned studies of metaphors in political discourse, it has been discovered that metaphors in this type of discourse can indeed exhibit a great deal of creativity, which is, according to Müller (2010: 232), understood in broader sense than in literary discourse, due to the practical functions they serve. Both Semino (2008) and Müller (2005) assert that creativity exists in clines which ought to be redefined in accordance with the context. The idea that metaphorical creativity in political discourse does not necessarily involve novel and unconventional mappings has been explored further by the authors such as Semino, Deignan and Littlemore (2013) and Hidalgo Downing, Kraljevic Mujic and Núñez-Perucha (2013), who use the term recontextualisation to suggest that many metaphors rely on and use already existing metaphorical expressions in a more creative manner or with a different meaning. Recontextualisation can therefore be defined as “the capacity of metaphor to act as an instrument that adapts already existing or familiar concepts and experiences, in order to yield new meanings and new experiences” (Hidalgo Downing and Kraljevic Mujic 2013: 134). This means that metaphors can be creatively extended through the elaboration of the existing metaphor scenarios, which is closely tied to Musolff’s (2017a: 644) concept of metaphor’s flexibility for variation and creative reformulation, as well as Kövecses’s (2015) claim of the impact of contextual factors on metaphorical creativity.

Musolff’s methodological approach, i.e. scenario analysis, is also very useful for understanding metaphorical creativity in political discourse. The basic idea behind this new approach is avoiding the standard view of metaphor, based on domains, and choosing the “discourse-based, culturally and historically mediated version of a source domain” referred to as a metaphor scenario (Musolff 2016: 30), which he defines as a set of assumptions made by competent members of a discourse community about the prototypical elements of a concept, or more precisely, participants’ dramatic story lines and default outcomes and ethical evaluations of these elements, connected

² Furthermore, based on the major areas of human interaction with the world, Kövecses (2017a, 2017b) distinguishes four kinds of contexts: the situational context, the conceptual-cognitive context, the discourse context and the bodily context (Kövecses 2017b: 312-316).

to the social attitudes and emotional stances prevalent in the respective discourse community.

What strikes as particularly innovative in the recent study of metaphorical creativity in political discourse is the approach introduced by Ritchie (2017). He uses the examples from political discourse to extend the analysis of metaphors to the analysis of metaphorical stories, which he considers to be crucial to discourse analysis, especially political discourse. Ritchie (2017: 29) argues that politicians, marketers, and other persuasion professionals shape narratives to activate these master-plots. This means that discourse, both political and marketing, is full of stories, which report actual events either from the teller's or someone else's experience, and which are often used metaphorically, especially for persuasive purposes (Ritchie 2017: 120). He (2017: 1) highlights that the importance of metaphorical stories lies in the fact that they contribute to the proper understanding of many metaphors, which can often be fully understood only through the implied stories.

2.1. JOURNEY metaphors in political discourse

Cognitive linguistic research on conceptual metaphor has demonstrated that JOURNEY metaphors are among the most prevalent metaphor types, which can be ascribed to the fact that the experience with journeys is one of the most familiar kinds of experience to most people. This also applies to the area of politics, in which, as Semino (2008: 117) notes, JOURNEY metaphors appear to be “discoursally systematic ... especially in relation to plans, policies, and the histories of nation states”. Generally, JOURNEY metaphors belong to the EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor³, which was first explored by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and recognised as one of the most basic conceptual metaphor systems. Furthermore, Semino (2008: 92) and Hidalgo Downing et al. (2013: 203) argue that JOURNEY metaphors invoke the PATH image schema⁴, or, as

³ It has been highlighted that the EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor is very complex, COMPRISING of the following conceptual metaphors: STATES ARE LOCATIONS, CHANGES ARE MOVEMENTS, CAUSES ARE FORCES, ACTION IS SELF-PROPELLED MOTION, PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS, MEANS ARE PATHS, DIFFICULTIES ARE IMPEDIMENTS, EXTERNAL EVENTS ARE LARGE MOVING OBJECTS, EXPECTED PROGRESS IS A TRAVEL SCHEDULE, LONG-TERM PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITIES ARE JOURNEYS (Kövecses 2005: 43).

⁴ According to Hidalgo Downing et al. (2013: 203), the path image schema has three basic properties: a starting point, contiguous points and an ending point, which correspond to the structural elements “source”, “path” and “goal” (Kövecses 2006: 210), adding that the clarity these elements exhibit is the reason why journeys are such a potent source domain for metaphors. This image schema provides a way of metaphorically constructing goals as destinations, ways of reaching goals as movement forward, problems as obstacles and success or failure as reaching or failing to reach a destination.

Kövecses (2006: 210) puts it, the SOURCE-PATH-GOAL schema, which is based in our physical experience of motion in space and constructs the basic structure of the very complex JOURNEY domain, which also consists of richer and more culture-specific knowledge about travellers, vehicles, modes of travel, impediments to travel and so on (Semino 2008: 92), which further enrich the process of evaluation and meaning construction (Hidalgo Downing et al. 2013: 203).

When it comes to its application in political discourse, JOURNEY metaphors refer to the predetermined objectives of policy, implying that one needs to have a clear idea in the mind of where one would like to be at some point in the future. This also implies some type of planned progress and assumes a conscious agent who will follow a fixed path towards an imagined goal (Charteris-Black 2011: 316-317). The author (2011: 47) adds that these metaphors are rhetorically attractive to politicians and leaders because of their potential to be turned into a whole scenario, where they can represent themselves as ‘guides’, their policies as ‘maps’ and their supporters as ‘fellow travelling companions’. Borčić et al. (2016: 86) find that MOVEMENT/TRAVEL metaphors create the picture of a politician with clear goals, making recipients aware that achieving those goals sometimes requires patience and overcoming of possible obstacles, which all contributes very much to the frequency with which these metaphors occur in political discourse. Charteris-Black (2011) assumes that our rich knowledge of journeys contributes to the richness of the JOURNEY source domain. Thus, considering our knowledge that journeys can be long or short, that they can be over easy or difficult terrain, that journeys can involve a different mode of travel – foot, horse, cart, car, train, spaceship, which in turn determines the speed movement, that the choice of mode of travel and the nature of the terrain also determine the amount of effort that is required to reach the destination, it becomes easier to appreciate the richness of this source domain (Charteris-Black 2011: 316-317), which can also contribute to the creative extension of JOURNEY metaphors when used in political or any other type of discourse.

2.1.1. JOURNEY metaphors in British political discourse on Brexit

One of the most debated issues in British politics in the last couple of years has certainly been Brexit, i.e. the withdrawal of the United Kingdom from the European Union (henceforth the EU), which occurred on 23 June 2016. According to Oxford English Dictionary, the word Brexit is a blend of the words *British* or *Britain* and *exit*. As it is usually the case, the language used for discussing such popular and con-

troversial political issues is to a large extent metaphorical, involving both conventional and creative cases of metaphors. Such an abundance of metaphorical language is generally a characteristic of the political discourse on the relations among the EU member states and has been the object of recent studies within the realms of cognitive linguistics (Musolff 2004, 2006, 2011, 2017a, 2017b; Đurović 2009; Đurović and Silaški 2018; Drulák 2015; Berberović and Mujagić (2017); Werkmann and Buljan 2013, Šarić 2005). Thus, Musolff's (2017a, 2017b) preliminary survey of 145 UK press articles from the period January 2016 - September 2016 has shown that JOURNEY is certainly among the most prominent and recurrent source concepts used to conceptualise the political situation revolving around Brexit (the remaining concepts are: FIGHTING/WAR, NATURAL DISASTER, DIVORCE, GAMBLE and BODY/HEART). Though JOURNEY metaphors are generally conventional, it does not mean that they do not exhibit any creative potential. On the contrary, many novel conceptual elements are introduced to creatively extend the basic mappings and, consequently, the conventional metaphor itself. This happens under the influence of various contextual factors and with the aim of achieving different rhetorical goals.

3. CORPUS AND METHODOLOGY

The texts from which the examples of creative instances of WALKING JOURNEY metaphor (see 4.1. for clarification of the metaphor) in British political discourse on Brexit have been isolated and analysed come from Google News Archive, which contains full texts from British newspapers written in English. The data was searched for in different British electronic news media sources during the period following the Brexit vote (2016 and 2017). Due to the vastness of the database, the examples were searched by key words based on the source and target domain concepts, such as *Brexit* and *walking*. Considering the fact that JOURNEY metaphors are very frequently used in political discourse and that WALKING JOURNEY metaphor is the basic one, important for the search were the central conceptual mappings and scenarios for WAY-MOVEMENT-SPEED metaphors provided by Musolff (2004: 43), which were then extended to the words related to the unused aspects of the WALKING JOURNEY source domain such as *mountain*, *summit*, *mountaineer*, *walking stick*, etc. After finding the texts that contained the key words, the entire texts were carefully read with the aim of finding the metaphorical expressions which are creative instances of the WALKING JOURNEY metaphor. Only three such texts were identified and selected for the analysis. These

are the articles from three different British electronic news media, *the Independent*, *the BBC* and *Politico*.

The criterion for determining whether a metaphorical expression is conventional or creative is based on Semino's (2008) and Müller's (2005) claim that conventionality and creativity are graded phenomena which exist in clines. Therefore, in accordance with the approach used by Semino (2008), based on the metaphor identification procedure (MIP) proposed by the Pragglejazz Group⁵, creative metaphorical expressions are those whose metaphorical meanings have not become lexicalised and cannot be found in dictionaries. On the other hand, all those metaphorical expressions whose metaphorical meanings have become lexicalised and can be found in dictionaries together with nonmetaphorical meanings are regarded conventional. Parts of the texts which contain the metaphorical expressions that seem relevant for the analysis were extracted and the author judged their metaphoricity by checking their meaning in Oxford English Dictionary. Lexical units whose meaning in the dictionary differed from the contextual meaning were marked as metaphorical. After examining the metaphorical expressions from the three texts selected for the analysis, three complex instances of WALKING JOURNEY metaphor were identified and analysed in the present study in terms of metaphorical creativity they exhibit. One of the examples was identified as the original use of creative metaphors, whereas other examples emerged as a result of recontextualisation of the original metaphor. The proper understanding of how creative metaphors emerge in political discourse requires the analysis of metaphors at the level of conceptual domains and metaphor scenarios. This two-fold analysis is

⁵ The name Pragglejazz derives from the initials of the first names of the ten scholars who formed the group: Peter Crisp, Ray Gibbs, Alan Cienki, Gerard Steen, Graham Low, Lynne Cameron, Elena Semino, Joseph Grady, Alice Deignan and Zoltan Kövecses. The procedure for the identification of metaphorical which they propose is the following:

1. Read the entire text-discourse to establish a general understanding of the meaning.
2. Determine the lexical units in the text-discourse.
3. (a) For each lexical unit in the text, establish its meaning in context, that is, how it applies to an entity, relation or attribute in the situation evoked by the text (contextual meaning). Take into account what comes before and after the lexical unit.
(b) For each lexical unit, determine if it has a more basic contemporary meaning in other contexts than the one in the given context. For our purposes, basic meanings tend to be
 - More concrete (what they evoke is easier to imagine, see, hear, feel, smell and taste);
 - Related to bodily action;
 - More precise (as opposed to vague);
 - Historically older.Basic meanings are not necessarily the most frequent meanings of the lexical unit.
(c) If the lexical unit has a more basic current-contemporary meaning in other contexts than the given context, decide whether the contextual meaning contrasts with the basic meaning but can be understood in comparison with it.
4. If yes, mark the lexical unit as metaphorical. (Pragglejazz group 2007: 3 in Semino 2008: 11-12)

complemented by the inclusion of Ritchie's (2017) concept of metaphorical stories which he considers essential for the comprehension of metaphors in discourse, especially political discourse. By combining the analysis of creative metaphors at the level of conceptual domains with the implied metaphorical stories, a fuller picture of the rhetorical power creative metaphors exhibit is created.

4. ANALYSIS

4.1. WALKING JOURNEY metaphor

The general metaphor A POLITICAL PROCESS IS A JOURNEY has several variations depending on the type of journey involved. One such instance is the metaphor A POLITICAL PROCESS IS A WALKING JOURNEY, which simplifies the understanding of the abstract and complex notion of a political process by bringing into correspondence its characteristics with the characteristics of a walking journey. It does so by mapping the conceptual elements of the WALKING JOURNEY source domain, such as travellers, path, obstacles, etc., onto the conceptual elements of the POLITICAL PROCESS target domain, such as politicians, political process, difficulties in a political process, etc. Since, according to Musolff (2004, 2016, etc.), Semino et al. (2016) and Kövecses (2017c), analysing metaphor only in terms of the mappings between conceptual domains is too general and does not suffice when it comes to the use of metaphor in a real discourse, it is necessary to extend the metaphor analysis to the individual level of metaphor scenarios, which contain far more conceptual material, such as entities/participants, roles and relationships, possible goals, actions and events, and evaluations, attitudes, emotions, etc. (Semino et al. 2016: 12). One of the most basic and the most frequent JOURNEY metaphor scenarios is the WALKING JOURNEY scenario, which is defined by Musolff (2004: 45) as A GROUP OF STATES CO-OPERATING IN A POLITICAL PROCESS ARE TRAVELLING TOGETHER ALONG A PATH. The author (2004: 46-47) further explains that, besides being a general scenario, it consists of various roles and storylines, which can be grouped into two sets: PROGRESS ALONG A PATH (with its characteristics of being EASY/FAST or DIFFICULT/SLOW depending on the existence of OBSTACLES) and DIFFERENCES OF SPEED.

The first use of this metaphor in our corpus was recorded in May 2017 and is attributed to the chief EU negotiator Michael Barnier who tried to warn the Prime Minister Theresa May that the process of negotiating Brexit might be very complicated

and might require a great deal of persistence. Even though the term Brexit does not appear in the part of Mr Barnier's speech presented in the example that follows, it is important to note that Mr Barnier did make a clear reference to Brexit in other parts of his speech which were quoted in the same article.

- (1) Saying that he found the No10 meeting "cordial", Mr Barnier went on: On a personal basis I had the opportunity to discuss a shared passion with Theresa May which is rambling and hiking in the mountains.

He added: *If you like walking in the mountains you have to learn a number of rules. You have to learn to put one foot in front of the other, because sometimes you are on a steep and rocky path.*

You also have to look what accidents might befall you –falling rocks. You have to be very careful to keep your breath, you have to have stamina, because it could be a lengthy path and you have to keep looking at the summit. (Joe Watts, *the Independent*, 3 May 2017)

Looking at the example from the general level of conceptual domains, it can be observed that the WALKING JOURNEY source domain has been used for the comprehension of the target domain THE PROCESS OF BREXIT, resulting in the metaphor THE PROCESS OF BREXIT IS A WALKING JOURNEY. However, a closer look at the example reveals that the WALKING JOURNEY source domain has been extended to the unused source-internal conceptual material involving the specific type of the journey, i.e. walking in the mountains, which has resulted in an unconventional case of metaphor THE PROCESS OF BREXIT IS WALKING IN THE MOUNTAINS. The cognitive mechanism responsible for this kind of metaphorical creativity is what Kövecses (2010b: 664) termed source-related creativity. Consequently, the conceptual elements of the source domain WALKING IN THE MOUNTAINS have been mapped onto the conceptual elements of the target domain THE PROCESS OF BREXIT, providing the structure for the emergence of the specific scenario, which focuses on the rules mountaineers need to obey when travelling, and can thus be called the MOUNTAINEER scenario. The scenario utilises the conceptual material of the source domain and creates an image in which Britain and the British government are presented as MOUNTAINEERS, who in the process of negotiating Brexit, have to be very cautious due to the obstacles, such as *steep and rocky path* and *falling rocks*, and have to observe a number of rules, such as *put one foot in front of the other*, *look what accidents might befall*, *be very careful to keep your breath* and *have stamina* and *keep looking at the summit* regardless of a *lengthy path*. From these metaphorical expressions it becomes clear how unused aspects of the source domain,

recruited from our rich encyclopaedic knowledge about the domain, ranging from the specific type of obstacles, which require a particular way of walking, to physical and psychological fitness, can be mapped onto the target domain and thus participate in producing a creative scenario. As Kövecses (2017c: 17) claims, the cognitive mechanism that can explain the usage of these “unexpected items” in a real discourse is target-induced creativity. What happens is that once a particular source domain, in this case WALKING IN THE MOUNTAINS source domain, is used to structure a target, i.e. THE PROCESS OF BREXIT, the target can connect back to the source and take further knowledge structures from it (Kövecses 2010b: 665). Considering all this, it can be claimed that the passage as a whole implies a metaphorical story (Ritchie 2017) of a mountaineer who has set on a difficult journey and thus has to be careful and obey a set of rules if he/she wants to reach the summit. The first rule the mountaineer must learn is to be careful *to put one foot in front of the other, because sometimes you are on a steep and rocky path*. Besides a problematic path, there are other potential dangers for the mountaineer, such as *falling rocks*. The second rule for the mountaineer is to keep his/her breath, have stamina and always focus on the final goal, because the journey is very long, demanding and full of obstacles, which can distract the mountaineer. This metaphorical story is mapped onto the story in which Theresa May, metonymically standing for the British government and the entire nation, has entered a very complicated process of negotiating the terms of Brexit with the EU. Therefore, she must be aware that such negotiating processes require patience, wisdom and attentiveness. Since negotiations are mostly characterised by different kinds of problems, in this case multiple losses on Britain’s side, they have to be handled with great wisdom and care, without those in charge being distracted from the ultimate goal of the entire process, i.e. Britain’s independence from the EU.

Mr Barnier’s MOUNTAIN WALKING metaphor was reused in the article by Charlie Cooper, but further elaborated by the inclusion of new conceptual elements.

(2) *One rule of hiking that Barnier missed though – always be prepared. For May, holding the election is the equivalent of packing the right crampons, walking sticks and safety helmet.*

It looks like she is going to need them. (Charlie Cooper, *Politico*, 3 May 2017)

The source and the target domains are the same as in the original metaphor. However, based on the knowledge about the MOUNTAIN WALKING source domain, the author extends the source domain by including its unused element of the safety equipment required for this type of journey. This was possible due to the ability of

the target domain of reconnecting to the source and drawing some further, unused elements from its structure, which results in the emergence of a creative metaphor, which is a case of target-induced creativity. Hence, the existing MOUNTAINEER scenario, with all the implied rules, has been enriched by an additional rule for mountaineers. According to the author, Mr. Barnier forgot to mention the necessity of packing the equipment such as *the right crampons, walking sticks and safety helmet*. The reference to all these pieces of equipment implies that the journey is expected to be very difficult and full of obstacles and can therefore be understood as a reference to the precautionary measures that Theresa May ought to take or has already decided to take. This especially refers to Theresa May's announcement from April 2017 that she intended to call early general elections, which surprised everyone. Implied from the scenario is the story of a mountaineer who is preparing for a journey. Aware that reaching the summit might be full of difficulties, the mountaineer takes all the security measures to ensure the safe journey. Those measures include bringing the equipment that would help him/her overcome all the problems on the journey. The story is mapped onto the story of Theresa May taking all the necessary measures to prevent hampering the Brexit negotiation process by both the local and the EU politicians who have opposed Brexit from the very beginning.

The analysis of the two cases of the metaphor THE PROCESS OF BREXIT IS WALKING IN THE MOUNTAINS at the level of conceptual domains and scenarios as well as the implied metaphorical stories contributes to the understanding of rhetorical goals that are achieved through its use. It can be argued that Mr Barnier used the metaphor in order to express his view of how the situation regarding Brexit might develop in the future. Moreover, the metaphor he used can also be understood as a direct warning for his fellow politician Theresa May. The fact that he chose a creative metaphor adds vividness and clarity to its understanding. By referring to the interest in mountain walking which he shares with Ms May, he makes an emotional appeal and creates a sense of solidarity, encouraging Ms May, and by extension the entire British nation, to accept and endure all the difficulties in order to achieve the ultimate goal. In accordance with the claim that JOURNEY metaphors generally tend to emphasise purposeful and positive experiences (Charteris-Black 2011), the present metaphor can also be claimed to convey a positive representation of the process of Brexit. This is especially evident in the metaphorical expression *it could be a lengthy path and you have to keep looking at the summit*, which emphasises the aforementioned idea that no matter how difficult the journey is it is the final destination that is important and worth every possible sacrifice. Therefore, Britain has to be ready to endure all the

difficulties that the process of leaving the EU requires in order to achieve the ultimate goal of gaining its independence. Unlike Mr Barnier who intended his metaphor for Ms May primarily, Charlie Cooper, as a journalist, reused and creatively elaborated the same metaphor in order to warn readers about the problems that the Prime Minister and the entire country must deal with. Thus, by adding *the right crampons, walking sticks* and *safety helmet*, the author wishes to question whether the British government representatives are fully aware of what problems lie ahead of them in the negotiating process and whether they are taking all the measures to ensure the completion of the process of Brexit.

The recontextualisation of the same metaphor is found in the article written by Mark Mardell in September 2017, reporting the conclusions from the Ambrosetti Forum held in Italy. It focuses on the speech delivered by Mr Barnier, who used some elements of the MOUNTAIN WALKING metaphor again, in the context of discussing the position of the EU in the process of negotiating the terms of Britain's withdrawal from the Union.

- (3) Michel Barnier concluded by pointing out again that he was, like Theresa May, *a walker, a mountaineer used to taking one step after another, watching out for problems but always with his eyes fixed on the peaks.*
The EU is determined that it will not stumble just because one member of the team is giving up on getting to the summit, particularly when it thinks that member never really believed in the sunny uplands in the first place.
(Mark Mardell, *the BBC*, 3 September 2017)

As seen from the metaphor used in the first paragraph of this example, the change of the context in which Mr Barnier reused his own metaphor caused him to adapt and elaborate some elements of the metaphor beyond its original use, producing a slightly different metaphor. In the metaphor found in the first paragraph both source and the target domain have undergone certain changes. The greatest change occurred in the target domain which has been completely altered, so that in this case, MR BARNIER, metonymically standing for the EU as its Chief Negotiator in the process of Brexit, is the target domain. When it comes to the source domain, a particular part of the structure of the original source domain has been preserved. However, instead of employing a more general source domain WALKING IN THE MOUNTAINS, Mr Barnier focused on one of its aspects, that of the TRAVELLER, or more precisely the MOUNTAINEER, which brings about the metaphor MR BARNIER IS A MOUNTAINEER. This is also the case of the target-induced creativity, in which the target domain, MR

BARNIER, selected the element of the source domain that seemed most suitable in this context of use. Consequently, the elements of the source domain have been mapped onto the target, resulting in the emergence of the MOUNTAINEER scenario, which, as it has already been mentioned, selects particular aspects of the source while neglecting others. Metaphorical expressions *taking one step after another*, *watching out for problems* and *always with his eyes fixed on the peaks* clearly highlight the aspects of attentiveness and concentration that are essential for a successful mountaineer. Furthermore, it can be claimed that the scenario activates the metaphorical story of a mountaineer walking in the mountains, watchful of every step, dealing with the upcoming obstacles, but always concentrated on reaching the final goal, i.e. *the peaks*. This metaphorical story is then mapped onto the story of Mr Barnier's dealing with the Brexit negotiation process in a very careful way, paying attention to all the details, always bearing in mind the expected outcome.

An even more interesting case of creative elaboration of metaphor is evident in the second paragraph, in which the author of the article reused Mr Barnier's metaphor in order to summarise the conclusions from the Ambrosetti Forum. The target and the source domain have been changed again. Here, instead of MR BARNIER, THE EU, with all its individual members, appears as the target domain. The knowledge about the aspect of the MOUNTAINEER source domain, which involves a group of mountaineers travelling together, has been used to create a new source domain, i.e. A TEAM OF MOUNTAINEERS. The emergence of the creative metaphor THE EU IS A TEAM OF MOUNTAINEERS has once again been enabled by means of the target-induced creativity. Considering the fact that the EU has multiple members, it is obvious that the target domain structure required a source domain that could account for this aspect, which has led to the activation of the most suitable element of the source domain, i.e. A TEAM OF MOUNTAINEERS. The mappings created between the two domains contribute to the creation of the scenario in which the EU is perceived in terms of a team of mountaineers who are focused on reaching the summit despite all the difficulties and obstacles. Based on the knowledge about the source domain, the emerging A TEAM OF MOUNTAINEERS scenario highlights some of the unused elements of the source domain, such as determination in reaching the goal despite all the problems and the possibility that one member of the team may decide to withdraw, which is evident in the following metaphorical expression *[t]he EU is determined that it will not stumble just because one member of the team is giving up on getting to the summit*. Additionally, the metaphorical expression *particularly when it thinks that member never really believed in the sunny uplands in the first place* indicates that the scenario utilises one further

aspect of the source domain that can be ascribed to the leaving member of the team, the initial lack of trust in the possibility of reaching *the sunny uplands* (the goal of every mountaineer), resulting in the lack of motivation for putting any effort into the journey. The scenario activates the metaphorical story of a team of mountaineers who are travelling together towards the summit. During the travel, one member decides to give up, but that does not stop other members of the team. They are aware of the fact that the member who gave up never really believed in reaching the goal and this awareness further enhances their determination. This metaphorical story is mapped onto the story in which the EU is determined to protect its own interests and ideals, even though Britain, one of its most important members, decided to leave, emphasising the lack of belief in the EU that Britain has always had.

The change of the target domains in these recontextualised metaphors, bringing into focus the EU instead of Britain, has resulted in the change of the rhetorical goals of these metaphors. Mr. Barnier creatively employed almost the same source domain to give his view of the process of Brexit negotiations from the EU perspective. He again utilised the emotional element by drawing back to the shared interest between Ms May and himself, but this time for the purpose of reinforcing the image of himself, as the EU Chief Negotiator, and the entire EU as the parties determined to protect their own interests in the negotiating process. Mr Mardell's creative elaboration of Mr Barnier's metaphor served as a comment and a summary of the discussions held at the Ambrosetti Forum. It is the EU's struggle to protect its ideals that has been positively represented by the JOURNEY metaphor in this case, as opposed to the positive representation of the British struggle for independence which has been given in the original metaphor in the example (1). Furthermore, being presented as the member of the team who is *giving up on getting to the summit* and who *never really believed in the sunny uplands in the first place*, Britain was criticised for deciding to withdraw from the EU, which also contradicts the goal of the original metaphor. All this serves as an indicator of how a particular metaphor can be recontextualised with the purpose of achieving an entirely different rhetorical purpose.

After discussing how creative instances of the MOUNTAIN WALKING metaphor emerge, it is important to see which contextual factor impacted their emergence. Several of them seem to be at work in these three examples. In the example (1), Mr Barnier himself explained the reasons for his choice of metaphor. He highlights that he and Theresa May share interest for mountaineering. Since the interest is mutual, motivation can be claimed to come from two sources. The first contextual factor belongs to the realm of the conceptual-cognitive context and is termed concerns and

interests. Thus, Mr Barnier was motivated to use this particular metaphor because of his personal concern and interest for walking in the mountains. At the same time, his knowledge about the main elements of discourse, i.e. his and Theresa May's shared interest, as an element of the discourse context, served as the second contextual factor that prompted the author to use the metaphors. The example (2) reveals yet another type of impact, that of the discourse context, manifested in the effect of the previous discourse on the same topic. It is clear that the author of the metaphor in the example (2) relied on the metaphor originally used by Mr. Barnier, but he extended its source domain by including the additional element of the equipment for mountaineers. Finally, since in the example (3) Mr. Barnier reused his own metaphor, the same contextual factors seem to be at work as in the example (1), personal concerns and interests in the mountain walking and the knowledge about the main element of discourse, i.e. Ms May's and Mr Barnier's mutual interest in mountain walking. However, the original metaphor was changed first by Mr Barnier, in the sense of putting himself as the target domain, and then by Mr Mardell, the author of the article, who put the EU as the target domain. The question that arises here is what might have caused this change. The answer to this question lies in the context. In contrast to the occasion in which he produced the metaphor for the first time, which was the Downing Street meeting with Ms May, the occasion in which Mr. Barnier reused and changed the original metaphor was the Ambrosetti Forum held in Italy. His audience were the elite EU politicians and Mr. Barnier discussed the issue of Brexit from the perspective held by the EU officials. Thus, it can be claimed that the social context, i.e. the social situation, acted as the contextual factor that influenced the author to adapt and produce the metaphor which fits his audience's point of view. In case of Mr Mardell's reuse and elaboration of the metaphor, it is the immediate linguistic context (co-text) and the knowledge about the topic, as elements of the discourse context, that motivated metaphorical creativity.

5. CONCLUSION

The combination of the cognitive theory of conceptual metaphor with Musolff's theory of metaphor scenarios, Ritchie's theory of metaphorical stories and Kövecses's theory of context-induced creativity has been used in the present paper with the purpose of analysing three creative instances of a single WALKING JOURNEY metaphor in British political discourse on Brexit. It has been shown that a single creative metaphor,

i.e. WALKING JOURNEY metaphor, can be reused and creatively elaborated with the aim of achieving particular rhetorical goals. The present study has revealed that a proper understanding of how metaphorical creativity emerges first requires the analysis of creative metaphors in terms of conceptual domains and mappings established between them. At this particular level, the production of creative metaphors seems to occur under the impact of two cognitive mechanisms identified by Kövecses (2010b, 2017c), i.e. source-related creativity and target-induced creativity. The latter one, which enables a target domain to reconnect to the source domain and take further knowledge structures from it, has enabled the elaboration of the existing basic mappings between the domains and caused the emergence of creative metaphor scenarios, which are essential for identifying all the individual conceptual elements of the emerging creative metaphors. Furthermore, it was necessary to consider each passage as a whole in which creative metaphors activate a metaphorical story, which is in turn crucial for a full comprehension of rhetorical goals intended by the use of a particular creative metaphor. Finally, the analysis has also confirmed Kövecses's (2015) claim that the production of creative metaphors is to a large extent motivated by the context in which they are produced.

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STRM I KAMENIT PUT KA BREXITU: KREATIVNE METAFORE U BRITANSKOM POLITIČKOM DISKURSU O BREXITU

Sažetak

Cilj ovog rada je istražiti metaforičku kreativnost koja proizlazi iz jedne WALKING JOURNEY metafore, koja se u britanskom političkom diskursu koristi za konceptualiziranje Brexita. Primjenjujući kognitivno-lingvističku teoriju konceptualne metafore, tri kreativne metafore su analizirane na razini konceptualnih domena i metaforičkih scenarija, ali i metaforičkih priča koje bivaju aktivirane upotrebom datih metafora i koje su, kako Ritchie (2017) navodi, neophodne za potpuno razumijevanje kreativnih metafora. Posebna pažnja je usmjerena na kontekstualne faktore koji motiviraju nastajanje kreativnih metafora, kao i na retorički potencijal kojim kreativne metafore oblikuju političku stvarnost.

Ključne riječi: metaforička kreativnost; konceptualne domene; metaforički scenarij; metaforička priča; retorički ciljevi; kontekstualni faktori; Brexit; WALKING JOURNEY metafora

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