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METONYMY IN GRETA THUNBERG'S CLIMATE CHANGE DISCOURSE ON FACEBOOK

Abstract: *The issue of climate change, which still remains among one of the most significant challenges to humanity (Han et al., 2024; Malhi et al., 2020), is routinely addressed by politicians and public figures, such as, for instance, the Swedish climate activist Greta Thunberg (Mansikka-aho et al., 2024). This article introduces and discusses a study that focuses on Greta Thunberg's discourse on climate change, which she shares on the Social Networking Site (SNS) Facebook in the form of status updates. In particular, the study sought to identify conceptual metonymy in a corpus of Thunberg's Facebook status updates on climate change. The study was grounded in the tenets of cognitive linguistics, which considered metonymy a conceptual phenomenon. Specifically, Kövecses and Radden's (1998) typology of conceptual metonymy guided the identification of metonymy in the corpus. The results of the corpus analysis revealed that Thunberg used such types of conceptual metonymy as* PART FOR WHOLE, WHOLE FOR PART, PLACE FOR EVENT, PLACE FOR INSTITUTION, *and* ACTOR FOR ACTION. *The findings are further presented, illustrated and discussed in the article.*

Keywords: climate change discourse, cognitive linguistics, metonymy, Facebook, Greta Thunberg

1. Introduction

The issue of climate change represents a considerable challenge for the contemporary world (Angrist et al., 2024; Salguero et al., 2024). The gravity and urgency of climate change are at the centre of attention of the public at large, as well as prominent public figures and climate change activists, such as Greta Thunberg (Kapranov, 2022; 2024a). Her discourse on climate change resonates with the

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climate change protest movement (McKnight, 2020), creates controversies (Ryalls & Mazzarella, 2021; Schmidt, 2021), propagates climate change activism (Zhanda et al., 2021), facilitates the construction of environmental citizenship (Fonseca & Castro, 2022), and symbolises an eco-warrior, i.e. a fighter for climate change mitigation (Brugger & Wieser, 2022). For these reasons, it is, perhaps, not surprising that Greta Thunberg's discourses on climate change and the environment have attracted attention of a substantial number of scholars in communication, discourse studies, and linguistics (Murphy, 2021). Consequently, there seems to be a plethora of studies on Thunberg's climate change and environmental discourses, inclusive of the way she uses metaphors, personal pronouns, as well as syntactic and lexical constructions, to name just a few (Adystianto et al., 2020; Kapranov, 2022; Huan & Huan, 2022; Leung, 2020; Nordensvard & Ketola, 2022; Suryaningsih, 2021).

Whilst the contemporaneous scholarship on Greta Thunberg's climate change and environmental discourses seems to be rather sufficient, there are no current studies on how she uses metonymy in her climate change discourse on the Social Networking Site (SNS) Facebook (Kapranov, 2022). In order to fill the gap in the literature, the present article introduces and discusses a study that aims to identify and analyse conceptual metonymy in Thunberg's climate change discourse, which she shares online as her Facebook status updates. The focus on conceptual metonymy in Thunberg's Facebook discourse on climate change is accounted by the view of metonymy as an essential element of everyday human communication (Milinović, 2023) and cognition (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). In this regard, it should be pointed out, that in cognitive linguistics, metonymy is regarded as a conceptual mechanism, which is based upon contiguity relationship and/or relationships between two concepts within an idealised cognitive model (ICM), a coherently organised experiential realm that is centred on phenomena in people's physical reality, culture, and everyday experiences (Croft 1993). It should be emphasised that metonymy in cognitive linguistics is thought to be intrinsic to human cognition (Kövecses & Radden, 1998:p.39). This contention is critical to our understanding of the role of metonymy in discourse, given that "a communicator always has a reason to use a metonym, and to use one metonym rather than another" (Forceville, 2009:p.57). In other words, an analysis of the types of metonymy a communicator (i.e., a speaker or a writer) utilises can provide an invaluable insight into the communicator's cognition (Sánchez, 2005). Hence, we may argue that conceptual metonymy in Greta Thunberg's discourse on climate change can be reflective of the way she deliberates upon the issue of climate change. Informed by the aforementioned considerations, the study aims to answer the following research question (**RQ**):

RQ: What types and subtypes of conceptual metonymy are used in Greta Thunberg's discourse on climate change shared in her Facebook status updates?

Further, the article is structured as follows. First, in section 2, a brief description of the theoretical tenets of the study is provided. It should be observed that a review of prior studies on Greta Thunberg's discourse is intentionally omitted in the article, given that there is a cornucopia of meta-studies on the matter (see, for instance, Brugger and Wieser (2022), Kapranov (2022), and Nässén and Rambaree (2021). Second, in section 3, the present study is discussed. Third, in the conclusions, the summary of major findings, the limitations of the study, and suggestions concerning future research are provided.

2. Theoretical framework: A cognitive approach to metonymy

As noted by Ädel (2014:p.73), "the traditional view of metonymy as a mere rhetorical device is challenged by the more recent view of metonymy as a fundamental cognitive process". It should be mentioned that a cognitive-linguistic account of metonymy was developed by Lakoff and Jonson (1980), who reason that metonymy as well as metaphor are integral to human cognition, since they structure people's thoughts, attitudes, and actions (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Following this line of reasoning, metonymy in cognitive linguistics is deemed to be reflective of conceptual relationships of contiguity between the concepts (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Oleniak, 2022). It should be specified that contiguity in cognitive linguistics is typically regarded as a stand-for relationship between the concepts. In particular, metonymy "establishes the 'stand for' relationship between two objects – one object is used to replace another" (Drożdż, 2014:p.123). In case of metonymy, contiguity eventuates between the concepts within the same ICM (Croft, 1993). In this regard, it should be, perhaps, reiterated that an ICM is operationalised as an experiential realm that is coherently organised around people's physical reality, culture, everyday experiences, as well as direct physical and mental associations (Croft, 1993; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980).

The cognitive account of metonymy postulated by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) was further developed by a number of cognitive linguists (see Barcelona, 2000; Gibbs, 1999; Giora, 2002; Kövecses & Radden, 1998; Panther & Thornburg, 2005; Paradis, 2004; Warren, 1999), who seem to share a contention that metonymy is conceptual in nature, i.e. it involves a relationship between the concepts and not only words (Kövecses & Radden, 1998:p.38). Furthermore, metonymy is a cognitive process through which people gain access to a mental entity via another mental

entity (Langacker, 1993). Commenting on Langacker's (1993) idea concerning mental access that is realised in metonymy, Kövecses and Radden (1998:p.39) note that metonymy involves "an elaborate mental operation to access certain mental entities through certain others". Consequently, Kövecses and Radden (1998:p.39) define metonymy as "a cognitive process in which one conceptual entity, the vehicle, provides mental access to another conceptual entity, the target, within the same domain, or ICM". The definition seems to be crucial in differentiating metonymy from conceptual metaphor, in which two separate ICMs (put differently, two domains of experience) are involved (Brdar-Szabó & Brdar, 2011). In contrast to conceptual metaphor, however, conceptual metonymy operates within the same ICM, in which contiguous connections are established between the concepts (Panther, 2006).

Whilst there seems to be no generally agreed-upon typology of conceptual metonymy (Ädel, 2014), the literature indicates that the following types of conceptual metonymy occur rather systematically, namely (i) A PART FOR THE WHOLE, (ii) A CAUSE FOR ITS EFFECT, (iii) AN ACT FOR ITS PARTICIPANTS, (iv) A CONTAINER FOR ITS CONTENT, (v) A POSSESSOR FOR POSSESSIONS, (vi) A PRODUCER FOR PRODUCTS, (vii) AN OBJECT FOR ITS USER, (viii) AN INSTITUTION FOR PEOPLE RESPONSIBLE/PEOPLE INVOLVED, (ix) A PLACE FOR THE INSTITUTION, and (x) A PLACE FOR THE EVENT (Kövecses & Radden, 1998; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980:p.38-39). It should be noted that in some cases, the types of metonymy can be reversed, for instance, A PART FOR THE WHOLE may be reversed to THE WHOLE FOR ITS PART (Kövecses and Radden (1998:p.50).

It can be summarised so far that conceptual metonymy in cognitive linguistics is seen as an element of cognition that is recurrent (Brdar-Szabó & Brdar, 2012), systematic (Paradis, 2004), and indicative of the way human beings conceive of entities and events within the same ICM (Croft, 1993). Having specified the definition and types of conceptual metonymy (further in the article – metonymy), let us proceed to the present qualitative study, which seeks to shed light on the types of metonymy in Greta Thunberg's climate change discourse on Facebook.

3. The present study: Research aims, corpus, and methodology

As already mentioned, the present study is anchored in cognitive linguistics, in which metonymy is seen as a conceptual phenomenon that involves contiguous relationships between two concepts within the same ICM (Kövecses & Radden, 1998). Guided by the cognitive-linguistic approach, the study explores the RQ,

which is formulated in the introductory part of the article. In conjunction with the RQ, the study involves the following research tasks: (i) to collect the corpus of Greta Thunberg's status updates on Facebook and (ii) to determine the types of metonymy that occur in the corpus.

The corpus is comprised of Greta Thunberg's status updates on Facebook posted between 1 January 2020 and 1 January 2024. It should be emphasised that Thunberg's Facebook status updates in Swedish as well as her followers' comments on her status updates are excluded from the collection of the corpus. However, the corpus collection includes Thunberg's Facebook status updates on climate change written in English. Following the aforementioned criteria, the corpus is comprised of 7498 tokens, 1980 types, and 653 sentences.

Methodologically, the corpus was analysed in the following manner. First, Thunberg's Facebook status updates were downloaded from her official Facebook account https://www.facebook.com/gretathunbergsweden and saved as a Word file. Second, the corpus of Thunberg's Facebook status updates was checked manually for its association with the issue of climate change, which was considered an ICM (Croft, 1993). Third, the corpus was examined for the presence of the keywords pertaining to the issue of climate change, namely *anthropogenic climate change*, *climate change adaptation*, *climate change demonstration*, *climate change event*, *climate change mass media coverage*, *climate change mitigation*, *climate change policy*, *climate change protest*, *climate risk/risks*, *CO2 absorption*, *CO2 capture and storage*, *CO2 emission/emissions*, *CO2 emission reduction/reductions*, *extreme weather event/events*, *extreme drought*, *extreme rain/rainfall*, *Fridays For Future (FFF)*, *global warming*, *green energy*, *greenhouse gasses/GHG*, *green technology*, *net zero*, *rising sea level/levels*, *school strike*, *the consequences of climate change*, *(the) health effects of climate change, wind energy*, and *wind farm*. The use of said keywords was determined by prior studies that employed them in climate change discourse (see Kapranov, 2017, 2018, 2024b; Koteyko & Atanasova, 2016). Fourth, it was manually examined whether or not the aforementioned keywords partook in forming contiguity relationships within the ICM CLIMATE CHANGE along the typology of metonymy proposed by Kövecses and Radden (1998), such as (i) A CATEGORY FOR A MEMBER OF THE CATEGORY (and vice versa); (ii) A PART FOR THE WHOLE (and vice versa); (iii) AGENT FOR ACTION (and vice versa); (iv) AGENT FOR A CHARACTERISTIC ACTIVITY OF THAT AGENT; (v) AUTHOR FOR THE WORK; (vi) CATEGORY FOR DEFINING AND/OR SALIENT PROPERTY (and vice versa); (vii) CONTAINER FOR CONTAINED (and vice versa); (viii) CONTROLLER FOR CONTROLLED (and vice versa); (ix) DESTINATION FOR MOTION; (x) DESTINATION OF THE MOTION FOR THE

MOTION; (xi) EXPERIENCER OF AN EVENT FOR THE EVENT; (xii) INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION; (xiii) MANNER OF ACTION FOR THE ACTION; (xiv) MEANS FOR ACTION; (xv) OBJECT FOR MATERIAL CONSTITUTING THAT OBJECT (and vice versa); (xvi) OBJECT INVOLVED IN AN ACTION FOR THE ACTION (and vice versa); (xvii) OBJECT OF MOTION FOR THE MOTION; (xviii) PRODUCER FOR PRODUCT; (xix) PLACE FOR PRODUCT MADE THERE; (xx) POSSESSOR FOR POSSESSED (and vice versa); (xxi) RESULT FOR ACTION (and vice versa); (xxii) RESULT FOR THE ACTION THAT BRINGS ABOUT THAT RESULT; (xxiii) SUCCESSIVE SUBEVENTS FOR A COMPLEX EVENT (and vice versa); (xxiv) TIME PERIOD FOR A CHARACTERISTIC ACTIVITY IN THAT TIME PERIOD; and (xxv) TIME PERIOD OF ACTION FOR THE ACTION. The aforementioned types of metonymy postulated by Kövecses and Radden (1998) were regarded in the present analysis as generic high-level conceptual configurations, or generic types of metonymy, which could be instantiated in the ICM CLIMATE CHANGE by specific subtypes of metonymy. For instance, Kövecses and Radden's (1998) type of metonymy CATEGORY FOR DEFINING AND/OR SALIENT PROPERTY was operationalised in the present analysis as A SALIENT PROPERTY FOR THE CATEGORY CLIMATE CHANGE MITIGATION.

It should be clarified that the present analysis sought to position each case of metonymy in the corpus along the axes of (i) the subtype of metonymy, i.e. a context-specific subtype of metonymy bound to Thunberg's Facebook discourse on climate change (for instance, A SALIENT PROPERTY FOR THE CATEGORY CLIMATE CHANGE MITIGATION) and (ii) the generic high-level type of metonymy described by Kövecses and Radden (1998), for example, PART FOR WHOLE. To illustrate the point, we should consider the following hypothetical sentence:

(a) Fossil fuel corporations dismiss **the 1,5°C target.**

Assuming that (a) was contextualised in climate change discourse, then "the 1,5°C target" in (a) referred to the Paris climate agreement that recommended to set the goal of limiting the temperature increase to 1.5°C above pre-industrial levels (Tanaka & O'Neill, 2018). Considering the aforementioned context, it could be argued that "the 1,5°C target" could be seen as an important and salient property of the current goals of climate change mitigation (Abraham–Dukuma et al., 2022). On the conceptual level, the current goals of climate change mitigation (inclusive of "the 1,5°C target") could be argued to represent the category CLIMATE CHANGE GOALS. Accordingly, it could be assumed that "the 1,5°C target" manifested a metonymic mapping between the concepts CLIMATE CHANGE GOALS and A SALIENT PROPERTY OF CLIMATE CHANGE GOALS, which resulted in the subtype

of metonymy A SALIENT PROPERTY FOR THE CATEGORY CLIMATE CHANGE GOALS. Hence, "the 1,5°C target" in (a) was classified as a context-specific subtype of metonymy (i.e., A SALIENT PROPERTY FOR THE CATEGORY CLIMATE CHANGE GOALS), which corresponded to the generic high-level type of metonymy PART FOR WHOLE as described by Kövecses and Radden (1998). In other words, "the 1,5°C target" was analysed as a constituent PART of a certain set of climate goals, i.e. THE CATEGORY OF CLIMATE CHANGE GOALS.

Additionally, it should be specified that the corpus analysis did not aim to investigate multimodal elements (for instance, videos, photos, Internet links, and hashtags) in conjunction with metonymy, since multimodality in Thunberg's Facebook updates should be analysed in a separate investigation. The results of the analysis are further discussed in subsection 3.1 below.

3.1. Results and discussion

In line with the RQ in the study, which seeks to identify the types and subtypes of metonymy, the qualitative investigation of the corpus has yielded the findings that are summarised in Table 1. It should be specified that Table 1 is organised in the following manner. First, the generic high-level types of metonymy (e.g., PART FOR WHOLE) are given on the left-hand side of the table. Second, the subtypes of metonymy (e.g., A SALIENT PROPERTY FOR THE CATEGORY CLIMATE CHANGE MITIGATION) within the ICM CLIMATE CHANGE are presented under the heading "Subtypes of Metonymy", whereas their examples (taken verbatim from Thunberg's Facebook status updates available at https://www.facebook.com/gretathunbergsweden) are provided on the right-hand side of the table.

Table 1. The Types and Subtypes of Metonymy Associated with in the Corpus

#	Types of Metonymy	Subtypes of Metonymy	Examples
1	PART FOR WHOLE	A SALIENT PROPERTY FOR THE CATEGORY CLIMATE CHANGE MITIGATION	Unless we achieve immediate, drastic, unprecedented, annual **emission cut**s at the source it means we're failing when it comes to this climate crisis.

2	PART FOR WHOLE	A SALIENT PROPERTY FOR THE CATEGORY CLIMATE CHANGE GOALS	They use greenwashing and fancy rhetoric to make it seem like they are taking real action and that they care. All this while people are literally dying as a consequence of their inaction. They already seem to be giving up on **the 1,5°C target.**
3	PART FOR WHOLE	A SALIENT PROPERTY OF CLIMATE CHANGE ACTORS FOR THE ACTORS	I've invited over 100 leading **voice**s from around the world - scientists, experts, activists and authors to create a book that covers the climate- and ecological crisis from a holistic perspective.
4	WHOLE FOR PART	NET ZERO FOR CLIMATE CHANGE MITIGATION MEASURES	They also leave out the fact that this "**net zer**o" doesn't include the use of their product.
5	PLACE FOR EVENT	THE PLACE OF A CLIMATE CHANGE CONFERENCE FOR THE CONFERENCE	**Glasgo**w has a credibility gap between talk and action.
6	PLACE FOR EVENT	THE PLACE OF A CLIMATE CHANGE DEMONSTRATION FOR THE DEMONSTRATION	**Hamburg** right now!! The organizers say 60 000!
7	PLACE FOR INSTITUTION	THE COUNTRY FOR THE GOVERNMENT THAT IS INVOLVED IN CLIMATE CHANGE MITIGATION	**Brazil** sure did not start this crisis, but your leaders are adding a lot of fuel to the fire. Just because the leaders of the global north have failed, that is no excuse for **Brazil** not to take a different path.

8	ACTOR FOR ACTION	FROM A JOURNAL TO ITS CLIMATE CHANGE-RELATED ACTIONS	Over 200 **health journals** call for urgent climate action.
9	ACTOR FOR ACTION	FROM AN ENERGY COMPANY TO ITS CLIMATE CHANGE-RELATED ACTIONS	In Sweden **Fortum Sverige** is running a huge "green" campaign saying that "The future is already here", and that they have decided to "take care of the future".
10	ACTOR FOR ACTION	FROM A FOSSIL FUEL CORPORATION TO ITS CLIMATE CHANGE-RELATED ACTIONS	There is nothing in this statement to suggest **B**P will move away from previous plans to increase oil and gas production by 20% over the next 10 years."

It follows from Table 1 that there are ten subtypes of metonymy that occur in the ICM CLIMATE CHANGE. It should be noted, however, that these subtypes correspond to several generic high-level types of metonymy found in Kövecses and Radden (1998), specifically PART FOR WHOLE, WHOLE FOR PART, PLACE FOR EVENT, PLACE FOR INSTITUTION, and ACTOR FOR ACTION. Let us discuss the occurrence of climate change-specific subtypes of metonymy through the lens of the generic high-level types of metonymy and organise the discussion in the following manner. First, in subsection 3.3.1, we will dwell upon the high-level type of metonymy PART FOR WHOLE and its subtypes in the corpus. Second, in subsection 3.3.2, we will consider the high-level types of metonymy PLACE FOR EVENT and PLACE FOR INSTITUTION and their respective subtypes. Finally, in subsection 3.3.3 of the article, we will discuss the type of metonymy ACTOR FOR ACTION and its respective subtypes in the corpus. Importantly, it should be specified that in the discussion, we will refer to the examples of metonymy provided in Table 1 and, whenever possible, broaden the range of examples presented in Table 1 by quoting additional passages from Thunberg's Facebook status updates.

3.3.1 The type of metonymy PART FOR WHOLE and its subtypes in the corpus

It is evident from Table 1 that there are several subtypes of metonymy that can be subsumed under the generic high-level type of metonymy PART FOR WHOLE. Specifically, these subtypes are A SALIENT PROPERTY FOR THE CATEGORY CLIMATE CHANGE MITIGATION, A SALIENT PROPERTY FOR THE CATEGORY CLIMATE CHANGE GOALS, and A SALIENT PROPERTY OF CLIMATE CHANGE ACTORS FOR THE ACTORS. It follows from the data that the aforementioned subtypes share a common feature of salience. It is posited in cognitive linguistics that, typically, there are two types of salience, namely (i) top-down, which represents predictability and expectedness (Barcelona, 2000; Croft, 1993; Schmid & Günther, 2016), and (ii) bottom-up, which manifests low predictability and remarkableness (Boswijk & Coler, 2020; Zarcone et al., 2016).

As far as salience is concerned, we may argue that the subtype of metonymy, A SALIENT PROPERTY FOR THE CATEGORY CLIMATE CHANGE MITIGATION is structured by the top-down type of salience associated with predictability and expectedness. Indeed, what Thunberg describes as the "annual emission cuts" (see Table 1) constitutes a typical and even expected aspect of climate change mitigation measures (Anderson & Bows, 2011; Sebos et al., 2020). Hence, we may contend that the "annual emission cuts" of CO2 as the most obvious measure of climate change mitigation (McLaren & Markusson, 2020) constitutes a salient property that metonymically represents the whole CLIMATE CHANGE MITIGATION category. Also, we may claim that the subtype of metonymy A SALIENT PROPERTY (i.e., PART) FOR THE CATEGORY CLIMATE CHANGE MITIGATION (i.e., WHOLE) instantiates the high-level type of metonymy PART FOR WHOLE. It should be observed that there are multiple instances of the subtype of metonymy A SALIENT PROPERTY (i.e., PART) FOR THE CATEGORY CLIMATE CHANGE MITIGATION in the corpus, for instance (i) "**Cutting emissions** tomorrow is better than the day after, because we can always avoid worse happening", and (ii) "Our **emissions** aren't falling, they are rapidly rising. The climate crisis is still seen as an isolated 'topic'".

Another subtype of metonymy in the corpus that can be subsumed under the generic high-level type of metonymy PART FOR WHOLE is represented by A SALIENT PROPERTY FOR THE CATEGORY CLIMATE CHANGE GOALS. As is widely known, one of the climate change goals consists in limiting the temperature to the pre-industrial levels (UNO, 2022). However, as noted by Thunberg, "They are already seeming to give up on **the 1,5°C target**" (see Table 1). By referring to "the

1,5°C target", she appears to use the subtype of metonymy A SALIENT PROPERTY (i.e., PART) FOR THE CATEGORY CLIMATE CHANGE GOALS (i.e., WHOLE). Given that "the 1,5°C target" emblematises the commonly agreed upon climate change goal, we may posit that "the 1,5°C target" as a salient part of the category CLIMATE CHANGE GOALS stands for the whole category. Just like the previously discussed subtype of metonymy A SALIENT PROPERTY FOR THE CATEGORY CLIMATE CHANGE MITIGATION, the subtype of metonymy A SALIENT PROPERTY FOR THE CATEGORY CLIMATE CHANGE GOALS is encountered quite regularly in the corpus. For example, Thunberg remarks that "We've already emitted 89% of the CO2 budget that gives us a 66% chance of staying below **1,5°C**". Clearly, the aforementioned examples are evocative of the top-down type of salience that is based upon common knowledge, which, in our case, is represented by the climate change goal of limiting the rise in temperature by 1,5°C.

Accordingly, the subtype of metonymy A SALIENT PROPERTY OF CLIMATE CHANGE ACTORS FOR THE ACTORS corresponds to the generic high-level type of metonymy PART FOR WHOLE. This subtype is found only twice in the corpus, for instance, (i) "I've invited over 100 leading **voices** from around the world…" (see Table 1 for the full quote), and (ii) "The book contains essays from over 100 leading experts and voices". In these examples, the "**voices**" of 100 leading climate change actors (for instance, "scientists, experts, activists and authors") manifest a stand-for relationship between a distinct and salient PART (i.e., voice) for WHOLE, which is represented by climate change actors involved. In this regard, it should be noted that cognitive linguists (Ädel, 2014; Kövecses & Radden, 1998; Lakoff & Johnson,1980) argue that body parts and bodily functions (e.g., voice) play a significant role in human cognition. Moreover, it is posited in cognitive linguistics that human body and bodily functions constitute a recurrent aspect of metaphor and metonymy, respectively (Gibbs, 1999; Giora, 2002; Kövecses & Radden, 1998; Langacker, 1993; Panther & Thornburg, 2005; Warren, 1999). However, the type of metonymy that involves the human body (inclusive of its parts, organs, and functions) occurs rarely in the present corpus.

Whilst the previous subtypes of metonymy are associated with PART FOR WHOLE, the subtype of metonymy NET ZERO FOR CLIMATE CHANGE MITIGATION MEASURES is connected to the high-level type of metonymy WHOLE FOR PART. Referring to a number of climate change mitigation measures by an international company, Thunberg asserts that (i) "this '**net zero**' doesn't include use of their product" (see Table 1), and (ii) "**Net zero** emissions by 2050 for the EU equals surrender". It should be, perhaps, specified that net zero presupposes carbon dioxide removal measures that leave zero carbon emissions in the atmosphere (UNO, 2022).

The notion of net zero seems to be a commonplace feature in climate change discourse (Kapranov, 2024b). As a set of measures to mitigate the negative consequences of climate change, NET ZERO can be argued to represent a category, which in its totality involves CO2 cuts, carbon capture and storage, and other measures whose aim is to ensure that the world mean temperature returns to its pre-industrial values (Beck & Oomen, 2021). Subsequently, we regard NET ZERO as a category that is comprised of specific measures, or PARTS of the category, which can be represented by various procedures of climate change mitigation. Consequently, we may contend that the category NET ZERO (i.e., WHOLE) stands for the specific steps involved in the company's climate change mitigation strategy (i.e., PART) in the corpus.

Judging from the corpus, the generic high-level type of metonymy WHOLE FOR PART is less common in contrast to the reversed type of metonymy PART FOR WHOLE, which seems to be preferred by Thunberg. Indeed, the subtypes of metonymy A SALIENT PROPERTY FOR THE CATEGORY CLIMATE CHANGE MITIGATION, A SALIENT PROPERTY FOR THE CATEGORY CLIMATE CHANGE GOALS, and a SALIENT PROPERTY OF CLIMATE CHANGE ACTORS FOR THE ACTORS, which are subsumed under the aegis of PART FOR WHOLE, clearly point out to Thunberg's inclination to use PART FOR WHOLE more profusely. This finding can be explained by several variables. First of all, let us be aware of the fact that English, in which Thunberg writes the majority of her Facebook status updates, is not her native language (L1). Consequently, it can be assumed that her tendency to employ PART FOR WHOLE more amply in contrast to WHOLE FOR PART could be reflective of her writing and, quite possibly, the way of thinking in her L1, Swedish. This assumption can be accounted by the literature in cognitive linguistics (Barcelona, 2000; Gibbs, 1999; Giora, 2002), which postulates that metonymy is, to an extent, reliant on the linguo-cultural specificity. In other words, metonymy, in addition to being a universal phenomenon of cognition, is reflective of the language-specific peculiarities found in each individual language. In our case, Thunberg's preference for PART FOR WHOLE instead of WHOLE FOR PART can be taken to indicate that PART FOR WHOLE could be, arguably, more prevalent in Swedish, her L1. Another variable that may account for her tendency to use PART FOR WHOLE could be associated with Asperger's syndrome, which she is diagnosed with. In this regard, the literature posits that speakers with Asperger's syndrome function perfectly well syntactically, but may experience problems with figurative language in general, and with metaphor and metonymy resolution in particular (Kapranov, 2014). Presumably, due to the Asperger's-related constraints, Thunberg exhibits

an observable preference for PART FOR WHOLE and underutilises its reversed counterpart. Obviously, more research is needed to corroborate this assumption.

3.3.2 The types of metonymy PLACE FOR EVENT and PLACE FOR INSTITUTION and their subtypes in the corpus

The generic high-level type of metonymy PLACE FOR EVENT is instantiated in the corpus by the subtypes THE PLACE OF A CLIMATE CHANGE CONFERENCE FOR THE CONFERENCE and THE PLACE OF A CLIMATE CHANGE DEMONSTRATION FOR THE DEMONSTRATION. In this regard, it should be remarked that the type of metonymy PLACE FOR EVENT is amply described in the literature (Panther, 2006). In the present corpus, the specific realisation of PLACE FOR EVENT as the subtype THE PLACE OF A CLIMATE CHANGE CONFERENCE FOR THE CONFERENCE (see Table 1) refers to the PLACE (i.e., Glasgow), where the Glasgow Climate Change Conference took place in 2021. Expressing her opinion about the outcomes of the conference, Thunberg declares that "**Glasgow** has a credibility gap between talk and action" (see Table 1). Arguably, the case of metonymy here is enabled by the contiguity relationship between PLACE and THE CONFERENCE, which takes place in that PLACE. However, in order to unpack this subtype of metonymy, one needs to make inferences about the conference on climate change that Thunberg refers to and elaborate upon a knowledge-rich specific context, which seems to be specifically confined to the ICM CLIMATE CHANGE. Similarly, the subtype of metonymy THE PLACE OF A CLIMATE CHANGE DEMONSTRATION FOR THE DEMONSTRATION is instantiated in a rather specific and context-sensitive discursive environment, e.g. "**Hamburg** right now!! The organisers say 60 000!" (see Table 1). Presumably, this subtype of metonymy is clear to climate change activists and Thunberg's Facebook followers, whereas further inferencing is required on the part of the general public. In particular, THE PLACE OF A CLIMATE CHANGE DEMONSTRATION FOR THE DEMONSTRATION requires shared knowledge concerning the series of climate change demonstrations taking place at various European cities under the aegis of *Fridays For Future*, which is a global climate strike movement (Kapranov, 2023). Commenting on a climate change demonstration in Hamburg, Thunberg uses the generic high-level type of metonymy PLACE FOR EVENT, in which PLACE (e.g., Hamburg) stands for EVENT, which is manifested by a climate change demonstration. Notably, there are no reverse types of metonymy in the corpus that involve, for instance, EVENT FOR PLACE. However, the qualitative analysis revealed that PLACE gives rise to the generic higher-level type of metonymy PLACE

FOR INSTITUTION. In the corpus, it is represented by its subtype THE COUNTRY FOR THE GOVERNMENT THAT IS INVOLVED IN CLIMATE CHANGE MITIGATION. This subtype of metonymy occurs several times in the corpus, for instance (i) "**Brazil** sure did not start this crisis, but your leaders are adding a lot of fuel to the fire" (see Table 1), and (ii) "It will make it impossible for **Sweden** to reach the emission targets in line with the Paris Agreement". Here, the metonymic connection is evident from the context, which illustrates the metonymic stand-for relationship between PLACE (e.g., Brazil) and THE GOVERNMENT THAT IS INVOLVED IN CLIMATE CHANGE MITIGATION. Unlike the previously mentioned subtypes of metonymy THE PLACE OF A CLIMATE CHANGE CONFERENCE FOR THE CONFERENCE and THE PLACE OF A CLIMATE CHANGE DEMONSTRATION FOR THE DEMONSTRATION, the subtype of metonymy THE PLACE (COUNTRY) FOR THE GOVERNMENT THAT IS INVOLVED IN CLIMATE CHANGE MITIGATION does not seem to require deep inferencing, given that the use of "Brazil" instead of "Brazilian government" appears to be quite plain and self-explanatory.

3.3.3 The type of metonymy ACTOR FOR ACTION and its subtypes in the corpus

The generic high-level metonymy ACTOR FOR ACTION is manifested in the corpus by such subtypes, as FROM A JOURNAL TO ITS CLIMATE CHANGE-RELATED ACTIONS, FROM AN ENERGY COMPANY TO ITS CLIMATE CHANGE-RELATED ACTIONS, and FROM A FOSSIL FUEL CORPORATION TO ITS CLIMATE CHANGE-RELATED ACTIONS. It should be noted that ACTOR in these subtypes of metonymy seems to be expressed quite explicitly. In particular, ACTOR in the subtype of metonymy FROM A FOSSIL FUEL CORPORATION TO ITS CLIMATE CHANGE-RELATED ACTIONS is represented by British Petroleum (BP), a well-known international fossil fuel corporation, whose climate change-related actions are criticised by Thunberg, e.g. "... nothing in this statement to suggest **BP** will move away from previous plans to increase oil and gas production" (see Table 1). Likewise, the subtype of metonymy FROM ENERGY COMPANY TO ITS CLIMATE CHANGE-RELATED ACTIONS is reliant on the stand-for relationship between the name of the energy company (e.g., Fortum Sverige) and its climate-change related actions, e.g. "**Fortum Sverige** is running a huge 'green' campaign saying that 'The future is already here', and that they 'have decided to take care of the future'" (see Table 1). Arguably, in the aforementioned subtypes of metonymy the names of the fossil fuel corporation and energy company are used by Thunberg to convey the

stand-for relationship between ACTOR and its ACTIONS, which, at the same time, could be considered to represent ACTOR'S goals. This assumption is especially true in case of BP, since Thunberg writes that "**BP** will move away from previous plans to increase oil and gas production by 20% over the next 10 years". Given that there is a clear indication of BP's plans, we may argue that the subtype of metonymy FROM A FOSSIL FUEL CORPORATION TO ITS CLIMATE CHANGE-RELATED ACTIONS is, perhaps, concurrent with the subtype of metonymy FROM A FOSSIL FUEL CORPORATION TO ITS CLIMATE CHANGE-RELATED GOALS. The co-occurrence of two or more subtypes of metonymy is not an unusual phenomenon in cognitive linguistics (Warren, 1999), which posits that one metonymy may be superimposed upon another and they may form metonymic chains (Brdar-Szabó & Brdar, 2012). In our case, a possible co-occurrence of the subtypes of metonymy FROM A FOSSIL FUEL CORPORATION TO ITS CLIMATE CHANGE-RELATED ACTIONS and FROM A FOSSIL FUEL CORPORATION TO ITS CLIMATE CHANGE-RELATED GOALS may reveal, perhaps, a complex metonymic network, which is customised (Brdar-Szabó & Brdar, 2012) by the context of climate change discourse found in Thunberg's Facebook status updates.

Concluding the discussion section, it should be noted that whilst the previously mentioned two subtypes of metonymy within the high-level type of metonymy ACTOR FOR ACTION are associated with the names of corporate ACTORS from the energy and fossil fuels sectors, the subtype of metonymy FROM A JOURNAL TO ITS CLIMATE CHANGE-RELATED ACTIONS is instantiated by a metonymic stand-for relationship between A JOURNAL and CLIMATE CHANGE-RELATED ACTIONS, e.g. "Over 200 health **journals** call for urgent climate action". Seemingly, Thunberg conceptualises a group of health journals as an ACTOR that requests further ACTIONS associated with climate change mitigation. It should be noted that this subtype of metonymy occurs only once in the corpus.

4. Conclusions, limitations, and prospects for future research

The study, which is described in the article, revealed that metonymy is manifested in Greta Thunberg's climate change discourse on Facebook by five types of high-level metonymy whose classification is postulated by Kövecses and Radden (1998), specifically, PART FOR WHOLE, WHOLE FOR PART, PLACE FOR EVENT, PLACE FOR INSTITUTION, and ACTOR FOR ACTION. Summarising the major findings, it can be concluded that the high-level types of metonymy in the corpus of Thunberg's Facebook status updates on the issue of climate change give rise to several specific

subtypes of metonymy that are associated with the ICM CLIMATE CHANGE. Specifically, it was found that the high-level types of metonymy PART FOR WHOLE and ACTOR FOR ACTION are involved in instantiating a diverse set of subtypes of metonymy, whereas the high-level types of metonymy PLACE FOR INSTITUTION and WHOLE FOR PART are associated with only one subtype of metonymy each. In addition, it was ascertained that the types of high-level metonymy in the corpus are rather limited compared to the exhaustive classification provided by Kövecses and Radden (1998). Nevertheless, it can be concluded that whilst the types and subtypes of metonymy in the corpus are not profuse, they are reflective of the presence of metonymy in climate change-related discourse that is disseminated online by Greta Thunberg. Furthermore, it can be summarised that the presence of the limited types and, respectively, subtypes of metonymy, is a customised discursive signature that Thunberg utilises when communicating her views on the issue of climate change on Facebook.

Given that the present study is concerned exclusively with the types of metonymy in Thunberg's climate change discourse on Facebook, there are several limitations of the study. Seemingly, the study could have benefitted from (i) the identification of metonymy in Thunberg's speeches on the issue of climate change and (ii) a multimodal analysis of metonymy in conjunction with a range of digital artefacts found on Facebook (for instance, hashtags, emojis, etc.) and Thunberg's discourse on climate change on Facebook. Hopefully, these limitations will be addressed in future research.

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https://www.facebook.com/gretathunbergsweden

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METONIMIJA U DISKURSU GRETE TUNBERG O KLIMATSKIM PROMENAMA NA FEJSBUKU

Rezime

Pitanjem klimatskih promena, koje i dalje ostaje jedan od najznačajnijih izazova za čovečanstvo (Han et al., 2024; Malhi et al., 2020), bave se političari i javne ličnosti, kao što su npr. švedska klimatska aktivistkinja Greta Tunberg (Mansikka-aho et al., 2024). Ovaj članak predstavlja i razmatra studiju koja se fokusira na diskurs Grete Tunberg o klimatskim promenama, koji ona deli na sajtu društvenih mreža (SNS) Fejsbuk u obliku ažuriranja statusa. Konkretno, studija je nastojala da identifikuje konceptualnu metonimiju u korpusu ažuriranih statusa Tunbergove na Fejsbuku o klimatskim promenama. Studija je zasnovana na principima kognitivne lingvistike koja metonimiju smatra konceptualnim fenomenom. Konkretno, Kovecses i Raddenova (1998) tipologija konceptualne metonimije vodila je identifikaciju metonimije u korpusu. Rezultati korpusne analize otkrili su da je Tunbergova koristila takve tipove konceptualne metonimije kao što su DEO ZA CELINU, CELINA ZA DEO, MESTO ZA DOGAĐAJ, MESTO ZA INSTITUCIJU i GLUMAC ZA DELO. Nalazi su dalje predstavljeni i razmatrani u članku.
▸ ***Ključne reči***: diskurs klimatskih promena, kognitivna lingvistika, metonimija, Fejsbuk, Greta Tunberg.

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