

## A COGNITIVE-PRAGMATIC STUDY OF AUSTRALIAN ENGLISH PHRASEOLOGY

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**Abstract:** Taking the intertwining of culture and cognition in a holistic nature of phraseologisms as a starting point, we investigate 400 units in Australian English from cognitive and pragmatic perspectives. It is argued that phraseologisms are formed on certain cognitive models that schematically represent real-world situations and shape the inner form of the expressions. The objectives of the study are to find out these models, explain how they configure the image component motivating the idiomatic meaning and pragmatic value of phraseologisms. The findings indicate that the flexibility of metonymy- and metaphor-based models allows a diversity of the inner forms which motivate idiomatic meanings and provide pragmatic efficiency of phraseologisms.

**Keywords:** Australian English, cognitive model, inner form, phraseology, pragmatic properties.

### 1 Introduction

Phraseology constitutes a significant part of a national language reflecting the unique history of its speakers, their social and cognitive experience, cultural values, traditions and the national ethos. Many studies on phraseology start with intertwining "cultural patterns and ways life" (Colson, 2008, 192) with language and cognition (Langlotz, 2006), because phraseology is a product of the national culture that reflects its deep core and uniqueness.

At the same time there are interesting observations on the cross-linguistic character of many idioms that are functioning in "much larger linguistic areas than that of one individual language" (Piirainen, 2008, 243-244). Having investigated phraseologisms across languages and discourses, researches advanced towards discovering words and patterns that frequent idiomatic structures (Hoffmann, Fischer-Starcke, Sand, 2015; Miller, 2020; Piirainen, 2008; Piirainen, 2020; Stubbs, 2007). Similarities in idioms were demonstrated by Piirainen (2012) in 74 European and 17 non-European languages. The cross-linguistic and cross-cultural dissemination of idioms was explained by lingvocultural exchange and intertextuality as well as by shared aspects of mental and social culture (Kozlova, 2019). These and other findings on phraseology have proved that "the nature of our *experience* in many instances favours certain construals over others. ... [although it] does not constrain human conceptualization" (Croft, Cruse, 2004, 72).

Understanding the significance of conceptualization in linguistic expression has caused phraseological studies to divert from traditional to cognitive perspective in order to consider how idiomatic images originate and emerge in formulaic language (Langlotz, 2006; Zykova, 2016). Cognitive scientists have emphasized that linguistic creativity can be realized in the formation and use of phraseological units. A pragmatic approach to the study of phraseology has taken on a challenge to examine the creative use of idioms conveying and expressing extra meanings (Batirkhanova, 2021; Jaki, 2014; Liu, 2012; Murar, 2009; Zubareva, Siddikova, 2021).

Comparative, cognitive and pragmatic studies on phraseology have revealed widespread and specific images that constitute the inner form of phraseologisms in individual languages and their varieties, English in particular. However, the questions remain as to how such diversity of knowledge about the world is packed and converted into the inner form (i.e. the image component) of phraseological units; how the inner form motivates the actual meanings and influences pragmatic features of phraseological units. A cognitive-pragmatic study of phraseology will help to discover cognitive structures underlying the inner forms of phraseologisms, explain their deployment in achieving certain communicative goals.

It is hypothesized that despite their diversity and distinctiveness, phraseologisms are based on certain cognitive models motivating representations of real-world situations in the inner form of the expressions.

The purpose of the study is to find out these models, explain how they configure the image component motivating the idiomatic meaning and pragmatic value of phraseologisms.

The study was carried out on phraseology of Australian English which is accepted as "one of the core global varieties of English" with a standard form whose influence is increasing in East Asia (Cox, Palethorpe, 2012, 294). Having evolved in a multicultural environment, Australian phraseology reflects the unique national ethos, speakers' cognitive and sociocultural response to challenging conditions of life. Phraseology constitutes a significant part of informal usage of Australian vernacular, or "*the Lingo...* [as] most important signifier of [Australian] cultural identity" (Seal, 1999, VIII).

The studies on Australian English phraseology have drawn attention to the description of its roots and history (Wilkes, 1986). While there exist numerous lexicographic collections of Australian words and phrases including phraseologisms, colloquialisms and slang (ANDS, 2017; Butler, 2017; Hughes, 1989; Jonsen, 1999; Miller, 2015; Ramson, 1988; Wilkes, 2014), very few works provide an insight into semantic, functional or rhetorical properties of Australian phraseologisms, considering either individual cases (Laugesen, 2012; Langlotz, 2006, 122) or a particular group of Australian phraseologisms, for example, similes and evaluative expressions (Peters, 2017). Although there has been some growth of interest in Australian phraseology, it still remains understudied.

In this paper, Section 2 outlines our research methodology and materials. Section 3 presents the analysis of cognitive models that motivate conceptualizations of speakers' experience and their manifestation in Australian English phraseology. It also explains the pragmatic value of the units in question.

### 2 Research methodology and materials

#### 2.1 Methodological approach

Taking a holistic nature of phraseologisms, and the intertwining of culture, cognition and communication as starting points, we consider phraseology at the crossroads of cognitive and pragmatic frameworks. The methodology of the research adheres to the Conventional Figurative Language Theory (Dobrovolskij, Piirainen, 2005); multifactorial view of phraseology (Baranov, Dobrovolskij, 2009); theories of knowledge organization in language, cognitive models that structure our thought, metonymic and metaphoric reasoning (Croft, Cruse, 2004, 40-109; Kövecses, 2015; Lakoff, 1987, 1-153); the theory of cognitive and societal synthesis in language (Marmaridou, 2000), the theory of idiomatic creativity that interprets cognitive mechanisms of idiom use in discourse (Langlotz, 2006) along with the properties of language units manifesting "in communication and remain[ing] hidden in the systemic-structural description" (Nesterova, Shutova, Khromov, 2020, 201). The basic ideas that constitute the theoretical frame of this study can be summarized as follows:

- phraseology is a significant part of the heterogeneous lexical layer embracing among others idioms, fixed collocations, proverbs, lexicalized metaphors, figurative compounds, etc.;
- phraseology itself is a broad class of multi-word expressions, therefore, the terms *phraseology*, *phraseologism(s)* and *phraseological unit(s)* are used in this paper synonymously as umbrella terms to refer to subsets of idioms (phraseological fusions), phraseological unities, phraseological combinations / collocations, and proverbs;

- a broad view of phraseology allows representativeness of the sample including lexical units of different degrees of motivation, semantic opacity (idiomaticity), and structural fixedness;
- phraseologisms are distinguished from free expressions according to the frequently cited criteria of compositeness (having multi-word structures), institutionalization (being memorized and currently reproduced for specific meanings and pragmatic functions), non-compositionality (semantic indivisibility), fixedness (relative structural stability);
- phraseologisms are complex units made up by multiple interacting aspects – the inner form / the image component, actual (idiomatic / figurative) meaning, structural / syntactic and functional (stylistic / discursive) properties;
- the inner form of phraseologisms is most pivot constituent of their content and is modelled in a particular way to anticipate the actual meaning (Baranov, Dobrovol'skij, 2009, 23-25);
- cognitive structures and mechanisms shape the interaction of content, form and function of phraseological units responding to cognitive and sociocultural preferences of language users.

This study pertains to the cognitive-pragmatic analysis of phraseological units, the role of cognitive structures in the formation of their inner forms. The inner form of phraseologisms is considered to be the invariant of their content structure that shapes actual and extra meanings created during communication.

## 2.2 Methods of data collection and analysis

For the purpose of this research, we made the sample of 400 phraseologisms selected according to three criteria: availability of sources, grammatical description, and representativeness.

The sample was extracted from good-quality dictionaries and other sources which we could easily access. It was composed of multi-word units registered in several sources and labeled as *phr* (*phrase*) or *comb.* (*combination*), for instance, “Special Comb. *tin arse*, an unusually lucky person” (Hughes, 1989, 582). This appeared a useful limitation for the sampling and enabled us to distinguish compound words from phrases. Cf.: the compound *out west, adv., n. and a.* “Eastern States” (ibid., 386) and the phrase *up east* “along the coast of W. A., north and east of Broome” accompanied by the label *in the phr.* in (ibid., 606). Compounds were not considered in this study. The third criterion for the sample selection was its representativeness in the sense that we took into account the semantic and structural diversity of Australian phraseology.

The selected phraseologisms were analysed and systematized according to the type of their syntactic structures, patterns of their formation and conceptual models underlying the inner forms (image components).

In certain cases, Australian data were compared to those in other languages or English varieties in order to find out how different language tools and varied conceptual models are used to perform universal cognitive tasks, indicate speakers' cognitive and linguistic preferences.

The next step was to analyse the use of the phraseologisms and examine pragmatic effects along with extra meanings produced by creative use of the units in various spheres of communication. The final stage of the research involved examining the rhetorical means used in Australian phraseology, explaining their correlation with the cognitive-pragmatic features of the expressions.

## 3 Results and discussion

The results presented below show that the inner forms of Australian phraseologisms are diverse and modelled on the basis of metonymy and metaphor. The cognitive structures are flexible enough to vary their manifestation in actual meanings, syntactic structures and pragmatic functions of phraseologisms.

### 3.1 Metonymy-based models

Metonymy is efficiently used as a cognitive model to organize speakers' practical knowledge as a “stand-for” relationship between the source and target domains ... [It is] primarily used for reference ... to an entity by means of another entity” (Fan, Liao, Lou, 2017, 1721). The metonymy-based models which manifest themselves in the inner form of Australian phraseologisms deal with the part-whole relations.

The cognitive metonymy “a category member > a whole category” is based on the interpretation of the whole category of entities in terms of their representatives. The application of this model can be instanced by the inner form of the idiom *brownie gorger* which is used in Australia to refer to shed-hands, usually young boys with big appetites. As the idiom conveys an idea of extreme wanting or needing of food, the metonymic cognitive model stimulates the mapping between two cognitive subdomains of the sphere “human”: “an insatiable eater of brownies” > “an insatiable eater”.

The idiom *brownie gorger* is a binominal structure combining two nouns. One of them is the leading component that carries a hyperbole (*gorger* “someone who eats until s/he is unable to eat any more”), whereas the other is the attributively used noun (*brownie* “a piece of bread sweetened with brown sugar and currants, a kind of typical shearers food”). The expression manifests the practical knowledge of shearers' lifestyle at Australian stations (homesteads): “We were shearing out Hungerford way. Joe was one of the ‘brownie gorgers’” (Adam-Smith, 1982, 403). Shed-hands used to travel along shearing routes in search of work in the Australian outback: “Click go the shears boys, click, click, click, / Wide is his blow and his hands move quick.../ Roll up your swag for we're off on the tracks” (Anonymous. *Click Go the Shears, Boys*) (More, 2021, 31-32). Probably because the occupation of shearing implied very hard and unskilled manual labour during a seasonal employment on the rural property, shearers' food was really crude. Brownies, in particular, were made of flour and water, without any yeast, and baked on a fire. Cooked simply to give a nourishing feeling, brownies were not a kind of delicacy, but something one was supposed to be satisfied with in the deserted areas of Australia, beyond the limits of settlement, in a camp shelter roughly constructed near a creek (a watercourse).

Due to the intentional overstatement, the idiom *brownie gorger* expresses speakers' impression of the situation when tiring work causes need to eat. Such inexactitude of measurement results in intensification. When exaggeration accompanies metonymical rethinking, it produces significant pragmatic effects and contributes to the favourable attitudes of speakers to those who were able to stand the hardships of life, survive in the challenging natural and social environment of the nineteenth century Australia.

It is noteworthy that the feeling of extreme hunger is almost universally verbalized by means of colourful exaggerations. For example, there are hyperbolized expressions in English (*eat a horse* “used to describe someone very hungry”), German (*einen Bärenhunger haben* “to be very hungry, to have a big appetite”, lit. ‘to have a hunger of a bear’), and many other languages which associate extreme hunger with the ability to eat something huge, such as a horse (Spanish, Canadian French, Portuguese), a cow (Argentinian Spanish), a bull (French) (Ramraj, 2009) or an ox (Italian, Portuguese (ibid.) and Chinese (Chen, Chen, 2011, 132)). However, these are all cognitive metaphors revealing conceptualization of an intensive feeling in terms of a big animal. Cultural differences determine the specificity of features motivating the above-mentioned conceptualizations, such as greediness in Chinese (ibid.), and the prototypes of big entities (various animals kept for meat and milk).

The case of *brownie gorger*, when compared to its approximate equivalents in other languages and cultures, is a convincing evidence of how different language tools and varied conceptual models are used to perform universal cognitive tasks, yet indicate divergence in speakers' pragmatic preferences. While

“an insatiable eater” is cross-culturally interpreted as “an eater of an enormous animal”, the Australian English idiom is different. The hyperbole in *brownie gorgier* is an indicator of the Australian masculine culture and national ethos to treat difficulties with humour and enthusiasm, without any fear of deprivation, or a sign of weakness.

Another instance of cognitive metonymy is found in the inner form of *within cooee* “within earshot” (Hughes, 1989, 135). The idea of nearness is conceptualized as “a part standing for its whole”, that is “a unit of measure for the distance”. The word *cooee* is a loan from the Aboriginal language Dharuk (*guuu-wi*) (ibid.) meaning a call made by tribesmen to communicate at a distance. The cry was adapted by the first settlers to be used in the bush, i.e. the area which remained unsettled and in its natural state. The metonymic model of the idiom formation relies upon speakers’ previous experience of signaling someone who is not near: “*In calling to each other at a distance, the natives make use of the word Coo-ee [italicized], as we do the word Hollo [italicized], prolonging the sound the sound of the coo [italicized], and closing that of the ee [italicized] with a shrill jerk*” (P. Cunningham. *Two Yrs. in N.S.W.* (rev.ed.) II, 1827, 23) (cited in Ramson, 1988, 166). The mechanism of the metonymic conceptualization activates the target domain which is the whole situation (being near) by appealing to the source domain (a constituent of the situation that is a call heard).

From the mid-19<sup>th</sup> to the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, the idiom *within cooee* occurred in fiction and mass media stories with reference to the amount of space between two points, places, or people. Cf. the instances we selected from the quotes in the Australian National dictionary on historical principles: “*He ... managed to crawl within coo-ee of the camp*” (R. Porter. *Hist. Story*, 1836, 12), “*... no one else, could come within coo-ee of him*” (*Quiz*, (Adelaide) 4 Apr. 3/1, 1890), “*... their chief city of Constantinople just within ‘coo-ee’*” (R. H. Knyvett. *Over there with Australs*. 1918, 125), “*... some white men ... should never come within coo-ee of them [the natives]*” (A. E. Farrell. *Vengeance*, 1963, 188) (cited in Ramson, 1988, 167).

The second half of the twentieth century, however, marks the tendency to the metaphoric shift from spatial reference “not far in position” to more abstract ideas: temporal “not far in time” (“*Holland was our only hope within cooee of winning an Olympic gold medal at Montreal*” (*Nat. Times* (Sydney) 6 July 50/2, 1984) (cited in ibid.)) and completion “finishing the final stage” (“*Murdoch within cooee of Dow*” (*Australian Aug.*, 31-32) (cited in Kirkpatrick, 2007, 1)).

In addition to conceptual and semantic modifications, metaphors generate important pragmatic effects. To find out about the pragmatic effects of the idiom use enhanced “due to an activation of a cognitive base of meaning” (Colston, 2021, 77), it is necessary to consider the contextual factors that influence the pragmatic awareness of speakers (Infantidou, 2013, 116). Among others, they include the topic of conversation and the intentions of participants. Let us examine the use of the idiom *within cooee* in the Australian English-speaking mass media discourse, because it best reflects the “social dimensions of the communicative process” (Dijk, 1985, 6).

The findings prove that the idiom frequents pragmatically strong parts of stories presented in mass media, namely headlines of articles and blogs. For instance, in the context of climate change and its possible catastrophic consequences, the idiom *within cooee* agrees with the reporter’s intention to warn recipients of the approaching environmental disaster, and to stir anxiety over the real threat posed by climatic changes: “*Climate change: within Cooee of the 2050 generation: the seriousness of climate change has become unavoidable. Nonie Sharp asks if it will be enough to stir us into action...*” (Sharp, 2007). Thus, spatial meaning triggers the activation of the target domain “unavoidability”.

Another article examines social hardships of single-parent families living in the rural suburbs of Melbourne: “*Almost*

*within Cooee’: The Implications, for Sole-parent Families Living beyond Melbourne’s Suburban Edge, of Long-term Poverty and ‘Duty’-based Interventions*” (Holmes, 2018, 729). The author expresses worries about impoverished members of contemporary Australian society, “which is among the world’s wealthy nations” (ibid.). Alternatively, the title “*Swimming spots within cooee of Melbourne*” appears in the idealized discourse of the blog relating to joys and pleasures of blissful rest on Melbourne beaches (Amanda, 2018). Spatial meaning “not far in space” is transferred to the target domain “ease of accessibility”.

In the article entitled “*Not within cooee*”, R. Hussey (Hussey, 2002) did not try to hide his bitter disappointment about closing Adrian Newstead’s gallery of Australian Aboriginal art. It took Newstead over 20 years of complete dedication to travel thousands of miles (“*not within cooee*”) to keep in touch with Aboriginal communities and artists in order to proclaim the indigenous art. As was stated in the article, Newstead would not stop his hard toil in spite of the obstacles posed by the government. Hopefully, the diminishment of Newstead’s genuine endeavour was *not* going to be *within cooee*. In cognitive-pragmatic terms, the activation of spatial meaning aroused a positively evaluated processual meaning of “continue without any change or pause”.

Providing scarce information on the events and “increasing audience’s curiosity” (Jaki, 2014, 36), the phrase *within cooee* influences the reader’s opinion in the way to comply with that of the author’s. The pragmatic effect of persuasiveness shapes the readers’ assessment of the described situation, their attitudes towards the events approaching in space, time, performance, accessibility, etc.

The same metonymy-based model shapes other Australian and American phraseologisms with meanings similar to *within cooee*. The American idiom *within the sound of my voice* “nearby” (Jonsen, 1999, 129), its Australian equivalents *within a bee’s dick* “very near” and *within a bull’s roar* “not too far away” together with the semantically opposite negative *not within a bull’s roar* “nowhere near” (ANDC, 2017) interpret distance in terms of something that stretches or travels not beyond that. With the intention to add expressivity and persuasiveness to the utterance, speakers suggest that something is coming near to something else in space, time or quality: *not within a bull’s roar from home, not within a bull’s roar from winning* (Butler, 2017, 202), “*Not surprisingly John Howards reckons WA Labor leader Mark McGowan wouldn’t come within a ‘bull’s roar’ of Colin Barnett as a person*” (Foster, 2017).

Other manifestations of the metonymy-based model include mappings within such domains as:

- “Emotion” (“a trigger of the emotion > emotion”) as in the idiom *to give (one) the sterks* “to frighten, to give a fit of exasperation or depression”, where *sterks* is probably formed on pertaining to excrements (Hughes, 1989, 543);
- “Termination” (“to break connection, or lose an essential part > to stop existence”) as in the idiom *to snap one’s hobbles* “to die” (ibid., 257), cf. Russian *отдать концы* (*otdat’ kontsy*), Ukrainian *віддати кінці* (*viddaty kintsi*), lit. ‘to give the ends’, Ukrainian *віддати Богови душу* (*viddaty Bohovi dushu*), lit. ‘to give your soul to the God’; or as in *to drop one’s bundle* “to go to pieces” (ibid., 89); *to go bung* “to go bankrupt” (ibid.), where *bung* pertains to “die”;
- “Drinking” (“a part of an action > a whole action”) as in *to blow the froth off* “to drink beer” (ibid., 54);
- “Involvement” (“to begin to be involved > to become involved”) as in *to bog into* “to engage (in a task or activity) with vigor or enthusiasm; esp. to begin eating” (ibid., 60), where *to bog* “to sink” is reinterpreted as “to get stuck into”, to name but a few.

The findings show that the metonymy-based model which is relying on the contiguity between the source of conceptualization “a part of action, activity, procedure, and situation, or an attribute or feature of the situation, etc” and the

target concept “a whole action, activity, procedure, or situation” is a highly productive basis for the inner forms of Australian phraseologisms: *to put (or sink) the boot in, to put in the boot* “to attack savagely, or in a manner which is otherwise conventionally unacceptable” (ibid., 66); *to put (push, stick) one’s bib in* “to interfere” (ibid., 40), where *bib* is a figurative use of “upper garment”; *to hoist one’s bluey (or Matilda, drum)* “to set off on a journey as a swagman” (ibid., 258), where *bluey, Matilda* and *drum* mean “a swag, blanket, luggage”; *to give smb kurrajong* “to hang smb with a rope made from kurrajong tree” and *to go kurdaitcha* “to embark on a mission of vengeance” (ibid., 297) from *kurdaitcha* “shoes worn by Aborigines on a mission of revenge which are made from emu and turkey feathers to make wearer’s tracks invisible” (ibid.); *to make a welter of it* “to engage (in an activity) to excess”, where *welter* is a loan from British dialects meaning “something exceptionally big or heavy” (ibid., 624).

The synecdoche, in which the whole of something is interpreted in terms of its part, has provided the cognitive base for a variety of images, such as:

- “the container > the substance contained” in *to boil the billy (billy “a kettle”)* “to brew tea” (ibid., 42), *to bring a plate* “to bring some food in order to contribute towards the catering at a social gathering” (ibid., 415; ANDC, 2017);
- “one of the parts of the body > a single human, animal, or a whole group” as in *a ball of muscle* “a physically-fit person” (Hughes, 1989, 25); *wooly back* “a sheep” (ibid., 42), *the hands of the government* “the official custody” (ibid., 252);
- “a single unit > the whole amount, thing, utterance” as in *not to like the bar of* “to dislike completely, be unable to tolerate” (ibid., 28), where *bar* pertains to “a long, thin piece”; *to put the hard word on* “to make an importunate request” (ibid., 253).

The second type of metonymy-based models relies on the enumeration of the constituents of some set to stand for a whole:

- enumeration of similar or related things (*stiff and swagless* “without money and possessions”, lit. “penniless and without a swag” (ibid., 545, 561));
- enumeration of different possibilities or opposites (*Sydney or the bush* “all or nothing; with reference to the extremes of urban and rural life” (ibid., 567));
- enumeration of the first and the last items of a set (*from go to whoa* “from start to finish” (Ramson, 1988, 275), *to and from* “a pom, an immigrant from England” (Hughes, 1989, 584)).

In other instances, *A and B* model conjoins: *A* “container” and *B* “contents” (*the whole box and dice* “everything, the whole lot” (ibid., 73)); *A* “exemplar 1” and *B* “exemplar 2” (*tea and sugar burglar (bandit, bushranger)* “a swagman; a petit thief” (ibid., 575)); *A* “exemplar” and *B* “everything else” *boots and all* “without reservation, with no holds barred” (ibid., 67)).

Enumerations also include *A* “cause” and *B* “effect” model: *he went mad and they shot him* “a jocular reply to an enquiry about somebody’s whereabouts” (Wilkes, 1986, 43) which a coordinated sequence of clauses representing the order or stages of the whole situation development. The constituents of the expression metonymically explain the reason of someone’s absenteeism.

Phraseological enumerations can be extended structures *A, B and C*. For instance, *hell, west and crooked* “all over the place; in disarray” (Hughes, 1989, 256); *a cup of tea, a Bex and a good lie down* “the need for a rest in order to settle down, solve a problem, etc.; a panacea” (ANDC, 2017).

While the conjunction *and* coordinates similar and related entities, the conjunction *or* in the structure *A or B* conjoins different possibilities: *not know whether you are Arthur or Martha* “to be in a state of confusion” (ibid.) and similar phrases meaning “someone stupid”, for instance, *wouldn’t know*

*if it was Tuesday or Bourke, wouldn’t know if it was Pitt Street or Christmas, wouldn’t know if it was Thursday or Antony Hordens* (ibid.; Wilkes, 1986, 63).

From a pragmatic point of view, phraseological enumerations realize intensification which is a significant part of verbalized concepts and is added to the actual meanings of idioms. The enumerative metonymy-based model is pragmatically valuable, because emphasis, expressivity and elaboration work usefully together for better conceptualization of a certain idea. In the following extract, the Governor-General addressed the election meeting and used a coordinative enumeration of *A and B* type to excite the patriotic feelings towards Australia: “...he [Fischer] urged all Australians to entertain the kindest feelings towards the mother country. ‘Should the worst happen’ after everything had been done that honour would permit, Australians would ‘stand beside our own to help and defend her to our last man and our last shilling’ ” (Clark, 1997, 448).

Another context demonstrates the use of *populate or perish* which is the coordinative enumeration of *A or B* type. The expression was coined by the Minister for Repatriation and Health to draw the audience’s attention to the problem of decreasing birth-rate in Australia and advertise the idea of its necessary increase: “Australia must advance and populate, or perish” (*Sydney Morning Herald* 2 Feb. 10/4, 1937) (cited in Hughes, 1989, 423). The above discussed contexts demonstrate how the use of the metonymy-based phraseologisms help to echo the solemn voice of the officials and move from social values to argumentative strength and the importance the speakers’ ascribe to the events or changes.

### 3.1 Metaphor-based models

Metaphor is an efficient cognitive tool that deals with different domains of speakers’ knowledge. The metaphoric model maps the schema of the source to the target and interprets an entity in terms of another entity. Metaphor-based phraseology employs a wide range of realistic images, such as *to be on the wrong tram* “to be pursuing an unproductive course” (Hughes, 1989, 591), and unrealistic ones, for instance, *Blind Freddie could see that* “it must be the reach of the lowest intelligence” (Wilkes, 1986, 57), *didn’t come down in the last shower* “not without experience” (Ramson, 1988, 589-590). The metaphor-based models which manifest themselves in the inner form of Australian phraseologisms include image-schemas, cohered (complex) images, and prototypical comparisons.

According to Kövecses (Kövecses, 2010, 42-43), image-schemas map relatively little from the source domain to the target one as the mapping involves the constituents of the schemas, but not the conceptual constituents of speakers’ knowledge. Schemas result from our visual, orientational, or motor experience. For instance, *tall poppy* “a person who is conspicuously successful; frequently one whose distinction, rank, or wealth attracts envious notice or hostility” (Hughes, 1989, 423). The idiom manifests the visual image of a tall plant with a bright red flower on top. This image is mapped to a prominent and successful person: “height” (“tall”, that is “some such that sticks out from a surface, hence noticeable” > “prominent”) and “colour” (“bright red”, that is “full of colour” > “full of success”).

In sociocultural reality, the use of language integrates both cognitive and pragmatic aspects of phraseologisms. As a result, the pragmatic meaning is realized “as part of cognitive structure and not external to it” (Marmaridou, 2000, 13). Assumed that metaphors make a systematic use of image-schemas, the metaphor-based phraseologisms result from our “meaningful experience” in structuring the world, framing our experience, and “constructing social reality and self” (ibid., 61-62) in a given culture. In the above considered case of *tall poppy*, the image-schema of verticality (up – down) is employed to frame speakers’ knowledge about something prominent and to structure their cultural experience of denying the validity or importance of something: “The ‘tall poppies’ were the once it was desired to retrench, but fear was expressed that, as usual,

retrenchment might begin at the bottom of the ladder, and hardly touch those at the top at all" (H.L. Nielsen *Voice of People* 8, 1902) (cited in Ramson, 1988, 494). The expression *tall poppy* was intended to condemn pretentious, self-important people as well as those who are eminent for any reason: "Our national immaturity led us to cut down tall poppies and denigrate achievements" (*Canberra Times* 26 Jan. 1/5, 1986) (ibid.). The phrase *tall poppy* has a special meaning in Australian ethos not for the feeling of disdain, but for equanimity and stoic endurance as the typical physical and emotional response to the hostile environment, Australian "put up with" attitude and romanticized "low expectations of life in general" (Wilkes, 1986, 50-51).

As our bodily experience enables image-schemas framing speakers' cognitive and cultural practices. The schematized packages of knowledge are based on orientational, container, contact, and motion metaphors:

#### THE VERTICAL SCHEMA

- "up" is "periphery" (*up the county* "away from a centre of population; into the inferior of the country"; *up (in, to) (the) bush (or mulga)* "away from a major centre of population" (Hughes, 1989, 605);
- "down" is "center" (*to go (or come) down* "to travel from the country to a capital city"; *down south* "in a more southerly part of the country; with reference to the urban population of especially Melbourne or Sydney" (ibid., 175));
- "up" is "success" (*up there Cazaly* "a cry of encouragement or approbation" (ibid., 111);

#### THE HORIZONTAL SCHEMA

- "front" is "near and visible" (*to front up* "to make an appearance, to turn up" (ibid., 218);
- "back" is "far and invisible" (*at (out) the back* "most distant from the homestead or from permanent water" (ibid., 19);

#### THE CONTAINER SCHEMA

- "in" is "confinement; presence; involvement" (*in the tin* "in a tight spot" (ibid., 582); *in the pooh* "in trouble", used euphemistically for 'in the shit' (ibid., 322); *in the pool* "in trouble"; *in(to) holts* "in conflict, at grips" (ibid., 258);
- "out" is "absence" (*to go out to* "to die" (ibid., 384); *on (or of) the outer* "disadvantaged; ill-favoured; excluded" (ibid., 385); *out of the pool* "out of trouble" (ibid., 322));
- "out" is "exceeding the limit" (*out of the box* "unusually good" (ibid., 73);
- "body" is "container" (*to work the soul-case off* "to vex, to drive, to punish" (Ramson 1988, 611);

#### THE CONTACT SCHEMA

- "take and hold" is "possessing an object or a particular quality" (*to get (hold, pass) the flute* "to monopolize a conversation" (Hughes, 1989, 210); *(are you) getting any?* "is your sex-life satisfactory?" (ibid., 225); *to get up* "be successful in an endeavour" (ibid.); *to take out* "to win a prize" (ibid., 570); *to take it out* "to undergo a punishment; esp. to serve a sentence of imprisonment instead of paying a fine" (ibid.); *(how) are you holding?* "possessing money; in funds" (Ramson, 1988, 310);
- "give" is "start" (*to give it a burl* "venture an attempt, give something a try" ANDC, 2017);

#### THE MOTION SCHEMA

- "movement" is "change" (*fair go* "reasonable chance" (ibid.); *to go troppo* "to become mentally disturbed; to go crazy or wild" (ibid.); *to go crook on* "to become angry; to vent one's anger" (Hughes, 1989, 147);
- "movement" is "communication" (*to come it (on)* "to inform (upon someone)" (ibid., 152); *to come at* "to agree to do" (ibid.)).

Numerous phraseologisms are based on more complex imagistic reasoning than simple image-schemas. They result from cognitive coherence of metaphors, or metaphors and metonymies for the same target domain.

Consider the domain of deviant behaviour, eccentricity and mental unbalance. Although it is interpreted in spatial terms as "being away/far from position or place", the source domain employs several more specialized packages of knowledge: "Remoteness" and "Verticality". In specialized domain "Remoteness", the feature "off, away from a place or position" is interpreted as "when an element of the whole is missing, or out of place, the whole becomes disordered and uncontrolled" as in *to be off one's kadoova* "to be mentally unbalanced" (ibid., 284), where the word *kadoova* is of uncertain origin (Ramson, 1988, 341), though might be connected to *cady*, *kadi* "hat" (Wilkes, 2014). In the specialized domain "Verticality", the highest place is associated with head, and craziness can be interpreted in spatial terms as "the highest place in riot, hence uncontrolled" and represented in *(to have) kangaroos in your top paddock* "to be crazy or eccentric" (Hughes 1989, 286), *to be mad as a gumtree full of galahs* "to be completely crazy" (ANDC, 2017).

The third productive model for metaphor-based phraseology in Australian English manifests in similes. From a grammatical perspective, they are most common comparative structures:

- *as + noun (full as a goog* "extremely drunk" (Hughes, 1989, 219);
- *as + adjective + as + noun (as miserable (poor, bald, blind, hungry) as a bandicoot* "very unhappy" (ANDC, 2017);
- *like + noun (like steam* "furiously" (Ramson, 1988, 631); *done like a dinner* "comprehensively outwitted or defeated" (ANDC, 2017));
- *like + noun phrase (to shoot through like Bondi tram* "a hasty departure or speedy action" (ibid.); *off like a bride's nightie* "leaving immediately; making a hasty departure; at full speed" (ibid.));
- *adjective-er + than + phrase (better than a poke in the eye with a burnt stick* "used to greet piece of good fortune in a low-key way" (Wilkes, 1986, 60);
- *so + adj + clause (so bare you could flog (occasionally hunt) a flea across it* "drought-bare land" (ibid., 51).

Phraseological similes express resemblance between two things. Hence, their structure, (*A is) like B* or (*A is) as adj as B*, consists of three constituents. The first constituent (*A*) is *premium comparisonis*, i.e. the thing that is compared to something. The second constituent (*B*) is *secundum comparisonis*, i.e. the thing to which something is compared. The third constituent is *tertium comparisonis*, i.e. the quality or feature the constituents have in common. The first constituent is supplied by speakers.

From a cognitive theory approach, a simile can be presented as a mapping between the source, that is the second element of a simile (*B*), and (*A*), which is the target of conceptualization. Unlike metonymy-based idioms, metaphor-based expressions link two different knowledge domains. The source is always known, although may appeal to a complex of subcategories. The target domain is less predictable because it is introduced by speakers in communication.

Let us consider the simile *fit as a mallee bull* which is typically used to describe male state of fitness: "Graham Chandler was 'fit as a Mallee bull... I was about 85 kilos of just rippling muscle. I was really, really fit'. Laurie Sullivan used the same analogy, being 'fit as a bull' on his return..." (Yule, 2020, 49). The simile is formed on the exemplar-based model in which a *mallee bull* is a creature that lives in an arid region with scattered mallee (eucalypt) trees. An animal that survives under such poor conditions would be really strong and not easily damaged. The simile relies on the best exemplar (*mallee bull*) of physical strength and prime health, especially as a result of exercise: "Grant wasn't in need of a rest, he was as strong as a mallee bull and could keep up a jogging pace for hours at a time"

(Moylan, 2013, 39); “*He’s as fit as a Mallee bull and he’s had months of training*” (Challinor, 2019, unpag); “*I [speaker’s dad] w’s as fit and as strong as a mallee bull in them days (which you had to be to handle them dunny cans without spilling ’em) and a pretty fair horseman too, even if I say so m’self*” (Lindenmayer, 2012, 6). The typicality effect arises from that the particular member of the category metonymically stands for the whole category and accounts for possible subcategories (Evans, Green, 2015, 278). Therefore, the source of knowledge mapping is evaluated as the prototype licensed by speakers’ cultural experience. For instance, the word *bandicoot* has accumulated associations with misfortune and is emblematically used in multiple similes alluding to deprivation: *as poor (bald, blind, hungry, ignorant, lousy, lugubrious, miserable, orphan sad) as a (blanky, misanthropical, widowed) bandicoot (on a burnt (out) range (ridge)* (Peters, 2017, 244, 246; Ramson, 1988, 33; Wilkes, 1986, 51).

The conceptual metaphors involving exemplar-based comparisons (*A is (like) B*) vary within and across cultures. As the exemplar categories are based on our cultural experience, they appeal to a set of conceptualized features. The degree of linguistic elaboration is evidenced by a range of idiomatic similes: *mad as a cut snake* and *mad as a meat axe* “very angry”; *full as a goog* “extremely drunk, replete with food; extremely full, packed” in Australian English, and *full as a tick* with similar meaning in British English (ANDC, 2017).

Phraseologisms that refer to “overflowing, intoxication or overcrowding” employ various images of entities conceptualized as containers with the amount of substance that cannot or can hardly fit them, like in the examples below (Dale, 2010, 50; Miller, 2015, 74). Having become a recurrent theme, “overflowing” stimulated an elaboration of *full as + noun/noun phrase* by means of incorporating the names of:

- an object holding as much substance or people as possible (*goog “egg”; a Bourke Street tram; a Corby boogie board bag*);
- an object which is too big or taking too much space (*bull; bull’s bum; a fat lady’s sock, bra, undies, gumboot*);
- someone taking as much as one wants (*butcher’s pup*);
- common and frequently attended places (*a Catholic school, a State school; a seaside shithouse on Boxing Day*);
- something incessant (*a fairy’s phone book* alluding to the long list of desirable things; *a pommy complaint box* appealing to the stereotypically fretful behaviour of immigrants from Britain).

In addition to linguistic elaboration of concepts (Kövecses, 2015, 28), cultural experience of speakers leads to alternations in conceptual metaphors. The expression *as Australian as a meat pie* means “quintessentially Australian” (Ramson, 1988, 391), whereas *as American as apple-pie* (Wilkes, 1986, 61) describes something typically American. The idiom *as Kiwi as kiwifruit* is applied to exemplars of New Zealand culture, the similes *as English as apple pie (fish and chips)* and *as Scottish as haggis* represent typically British way of life, while *as Canadian as maple syrup* involves most typical examples of Canadian lifestyle (McNair, 2015). For instance, “*Weems’s book is “as American as apple pie, or spoon bread, or baked beans”*” (Furstenberg, 2007, 130); “*...Canada would, at first glance, appear to be an unlikely place for anything exciting to happen. So, what’s a poor kid to do if he’s Canadian as maple syrup...*” (Atkey, 2006, 3). Speakers of different English varieties interpret things that best represent their cultures as “a national dish” by addressing the gustatory domain as the source of metaphorical representation: “*People use this expression [as American as apple pie] when talking about things like blue jeans, baseball, and rock-n-roll music*” (Ruthie & Madeliene, 2021).

The pragmatic value of this iconic construal and prominence of a national dish is to convey an idea of something unique, very famous or popular, especially when it is to represent a particular culture, lifestyle, beliefs and opinions. The proof is found in a selection of contexts describing actors, entertainers, social

leaders, events etc., reflecting Australian spirit and inciting national pride. The idiom *as Australian as a meat pie* occurs contextually close to words and expressions carrying positive connotations:

- “being the only existing of its type, very interesting an exciting” as in “*Rolf is a unique entertainer. ... with a voice that’s as Australian as a meat pie, he captures an audience...*” (*The Sun-Herald*, Sydney, NSW 10 Apr., 1966) (cited in Tréquer, 2021);
- “very skillful in dealing with local conditions” as in “*...you quickly become assimilated (As Australian as meat pie and Tomato Sauce)... [and] make cars that master local conditions*” (*The Bulletin*, Sydney, NSW, 4 March, 1967) (ibid.);
- “honest and sincere” as in “*...his face as genuinely Australian as a meat pie*” (*The Bulletin*, Sydney, NSW, 13 May, 1972) (ibid.);
- “famous” as in “*...If you haven’t heard of the Balzary Cup you should be ashamed of yourself as we hear it is as Australian as meat-pie’n sauce*” (*The Sun-Herald*, Sydney, NSW, 20 May, 1973) (ibid.);
- “open, sincere and demonstrative” as in “*Blunt as the rear end of a timber cutter’s axe, bush-raised, as unashamedly Australian as the meat pie, earthy but perceptive...*” (*The Bulletin*, Sydney, NSW, 16 Oct. 1976) (ibid.);
- “smiling, happy, and motivated” as in “*... his wide grin and fierce desire to win as Australian as a meat pie*” (*Sunday Austral.*, Sydney, 16 Apr. 4/6, 1972) (cited in Ramson, 1988, 391).

Harmonizing with a normative set of Australian culture, phraseological similes can acquire negative pragmatic meanings because there is always the need to reflect anti-values as an inevitable product of social practices. The disapproving images of a tiny but potent thing in the idioms *dressed like a sore finger* “dressed with unusual care” (ibid., 611) and *flash as a rat with a gold tooth* “ostentatious” (ANDC 2017) are a predictable response to a showy style that is not trusted, considered superficial and evokes dodgy assumptions in Australian society. For instance, using “*A rat with a gold tooth*” as a headline, *The Saturday Paper* blames “trust and fear” policy, misinformation, unpopular political decisions and many other social concerns: “*Morrison [the minister] has been shown to have lied on many occasions, has failed to deliver his promised national integrity commission, and has corruptly allocated public monies to various sports, car parks and other rorts, in the hope of buying electoral support*” (Hewson 2021-2022).

Along with extreme evaluations, Australian phraseologisms may work for ambivalent attitudes in the scenarios of partial social agreement depending on the factors that determine what is regarded to be fair and approved. Consider the idiom *done like a dinner* “completely defeated, outwitted, demolished”. Although it usually occurs in disapproving contexts (see quotes in (ANDC 2017; Ramson, 1988, 205; Tréquer 2021)), it may add some embellishing details to the situations described. In the essay (Zengos, 2010) that addresses social adaptation in Australia, national culture and ethnicity, the author explores what it means to be Australian made. Trying “to earn Aussie identity” (ibid., 322), immigrant minorities experience injustices, suffer from isolation and marginalization. The main character of the story, who was trying to get rid of his ethnic background and avoid speaking his native language, ironically became an ethnic photographer. In the struggle for social recognition, multiculturalism wins as “*the film industry has done the bush like dinner*” (ibid.). From the vantage of someone who achieves in a competitive situation, the idiom evokes positive senses of “social competence”, “appropriate response”, “successful interaction”, etc. The disapproving senses will appeal to those who are defeated or outwitted: “*Garry won’t be forgiven for this... it sits there. The sheer unprofessionalism of it is what galls me. Paul had to carry the huge burden of getting done like a dinner by John Howard. You don’t expect this sort of thing as well, as people reposition themselves*” (Oakes, 2009). To sum, the pragmatic value of

phraseological similes is reinforced by that metaphors turn into persuasive comparisons and become efficient argumentative means.

The cognitive-pragmatic features of Australian phraseologisms correlate with their rhetorical value. Verbal eloquence is created by powerful decorative means that strengthen speakers' ludic imagination. Articulatory devices found in numerous idioms enhance emotionality and offer indispensable playfulness of speech. Some idioms exhibit alliteration, that is a consonant recurrence: *done like dinner* "completely defeated" (Hughes, 1989, 166), *stiff and swagless* "without money and possessions", lit. "penniless and without a swag" (ibid., 545, 561); *home and hosed* "having safely and successfully completed a task, journey, sporting contest, etc." (ibid., 259).

Other idioms are ornamented with assonance which is the repetition of the same vowel in proximity: *full as a goog*, *full as a boot* "very drunk", *a whale in the bay* "a person with money to spend", *to play the whale* "to vomit" (ibid., 625), *to go off pop* "to explode into angry speech" (ibid., 423). The use of alliteration and assonance in complex with bright idiomatic imagery may add solemnity and seriousness, or mockery and abuse to the utterance.

Sound repetitions, such as rhyming reduplications, provide rhythm, playfulness and humor in addition to mnemonic impact of making some points easier to remember. Appealing to speakers' auditory faculties is a means of sense elaboration: *Things are crook in (at) Tallarook (Muswellbrook)*, *Things are dead at Birkenhead*, *Things are weak at Julia Creek*, *There is no lucre at Echuca*, *There's no work at Bourke*, *The girls are bandy at Urandangie*, *(I) got the arse at Bulli Pass*, *In jail in Innisfail*, *Bugger all at Blackall*, *Everything's wrong at Wollongong* "bad; inferior; unpleasant; unsatisfactory" (Wilkes, 1986, 50).

Lexico-semantic means help to withdraw speakers' neutrality or indifference to what is said. Such is the inclusion of proper names as cultural markers into the structure of idioms. The proper names provide transparent reference to Australian cultural environment represented in:

- place names (*Albany*, *Esperance*, *Fremantle*, etc. *doctor* "a cool refreshing breeze with considerable inland penetration, which brings relief at the end of a hot summer day" (Hughes, 1989, 168); *Cobar*, *Wilcannia shower* "a dust storm" (ibid.; Ramson, 1988, 124, 734), also see the examples above);
- names of establishments (*to dodge Pompey* "to evade detection; avoid carrying out one's responsibilities, especially malingering, out of the sight of one's supervisor" from *Pompey* "a name for a house of correction or reformatory" (Hughes, 1989, 422));
- iconic personal names (*Buckley's chance* "no chance at all"; *up there, Cazaly!* "a cry of encouragement", *to do a Melba* "to make repeated farewell performances", *in like Flynn* "seizing an opportunity" (Wilkes, 1986, 54-55)).

Being prototypical in nature, anthroponyms and toponyms carry presuppositional meanings: "associative (introduced either via the name of a bearer or via the name form), [and] emotive senses" (Langendonck, 2007, 6-7). For instance, the idiom *as game as Ned Kelly* "fearless in the face of odds; foolhardy" (Hughes, 1989, 364) commemorates the Australian bushranger whose gangs were active in the southern state of Victoria in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. According to Basu (2012, 95), "Kellyana" has become synonymous with Australian national consciousness making the idiom *as game as Ned Kelly* part and parcel of national identity, language and pride as well as the highest rank of Australian esteem: "*He's branded on our culture (try a Kelly Country soft drink – Larrikin Lime, or Reckless Raspberry) and our language ('game as Ned Kelly' is still a compliment)*" (*The Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 Sept., 2000) (cited in Tréquer, 2021). There is more evidence to the fact that metaphoric mappings are made into other domains

than "Human". In particular, the mapping is aimed at something of great strength or ability to deal with difficult situations: "*The Holden and Ford are excellent machines for running down ordinary roads. Both ride and handle good and bad roads with ease plus a fair degree of enthusiasm and a tonne of balance. Both are as game as Ned Kelly in the rough*" (*Courier-Mail*, Brisbane, 8 Dec., 2004) (cited in Ludowyk, 2009, 2).

At the same time, when "*anyone tells you you are as game as Ned Kelly consider yourself insulted*" (*The Sydney Herald*, 1949) (cited in Basu, 2012, 95). The use of the idiom suggests that Ned Kelly and his characteristics are perceived with high ambivalence (Laugesen, 2012; Ludowyk, 2009, 2). The motivating properties of a national icon, his boldness and criminality, lead to evaluative inconsistency that "divides a nation" (Mercer, 2013) in Australia.

However, the idiom has entered the British English lexicon where its uses suggest positive connotations of "being very spirited or brave" (Ludowyk, 2009, 1). *The Collins Dictionary* (COUED, 2021) describes the meaning of the idiom *game as Ned Kelly* as "extremely brave; indomitable". Differences in evaluations revealed by Australian and British uses of the idiom (*as game as Ned Kelly*) could be explained by a set of factors. It might be the degree of cultural competence that determines the treatment of historical facts, elements of culture, attitudes, beliefs, etc. The polarizing attitudes to Ned Kelly's audacity are mirrored in Australian contexts as a result of cultural introspection, the inside life-embedded percept, whereas glamorizing British applications are shaped by the external approach to Australian cultural heritage and probably reinforced by associative parallels with mythical skills of Robin Hood, England's best-loved outlaw: "... the phrase 'Game as Ned Kelly' became a proud citation and persisted, unsupported by the myth. ... the literature was overwhelmingly anti-Kelly, but in folk songs and often wildly inaccurate oral traditions, a Robin Hood-like figure" (Jones, 2008, unpag); "...[due to] the tradition of sympathy for the underdog, stronger even than that which exists in Britain... The exemplar of this attitude is the great Australian underdog hero, that sardonic Robin Hood figure, Ned Kelly. The phrase 'He's game as Ned Kelly' was the highest praise you could bestow" (McInnes, 1965, 100).

Ambiguity plays an important role in idiomatic creativity. Not only do puns occur for the sake of speech playfulness, they significantly contribute into rhetoric and pragmatic effects leading to the increase of expressivity as well as intimacy in communication. As demonstrated above, metonymy- and metaphor-based phraseologisms result from mental mappings between the source domain (relating to a literal sense of the expression) and the target domain (relating to a figurative sense of the expression). Manipulations with polysemy, i.e. relations between literal and figurative senses, is another opportunity for successful production and use of phraseologisms. For instance, *to be off like a bride's nightie* "to make a hasty departure" (ANDC, 2017) ambiguates *off* when it is used with the action of removing something from another thing and the action of doing away from a position or place. In this idiom, the semantic relations of *be off* are employed to identify a situation and represent it in emotionally charged, expressive way: "... *if a horse starts off first from a barrier a race commentator is likely to say: 'He's off like a bride's nightie' – it's got a certain amount of innuendo about it...*" (Luck, 1989, 100).

Lexico-semantic means used in phraseologisms help to establish the intracultural links between interlocutors, create unique "domestic" interpretations of things and situations, render communication as an in-group interaction. By doing so, phraseologisms help to reinvigorate social solidarity and cultural integration.

On the syntactic level, repetition and its variations appear to be especially important for phraseological expressivity in Australian English. Pragmatic and rhetoric effects are generated by enumeration of elements coordinated by polysyndeton (*Hay and Hell and Booligal* "a place of great discomfort" (ANDC,

2017; Wilkes, 1986, 58-59)) or repetition and parallelism (*the last man and the last shilling* “everything at the disposal of someone” (Wilkes, 1986, 64)).

Emphasis is also increased by syntactic parallelism in the expressions dating back to World War II: *he went for a crap and a sniper got him* “a humorous reply to a superior’s questioning about the place where a person is” (Wilkes, 1986, 43). On the syntactic level, the compact form of parallel clauses operates towards organization and representation of information. The recurrence of structure becomes a rhetorical strategy employed to realize the speaker’s intentions and influence recipients. In addition to its rhythmic and esthetic values, parallelism integrates two different parts into the whole and expresses the speaker’s emotional attitude to the situation.

#### 4 Conclusions

The results proved that the distinctiveness of Australian phraseology was motivated by the sociocultural and cognitive experience of speakers. However, its diversity was enabled by the flexibility of cognitive structures that motivated the inner forms of phraseologisms. Our findings are in line with the multifactorial model of phraseology explaining interactions among content, structural and functional properties of phraseological units. Moreover, our data suggest that the diversity of the image component in phraseology is formed on a few cognitive models that schematically represent real-world situations and also shape the semantic, structural and functional features of phraseologisms. The metonymy-based inner forms of Australian phraseology manifested part-whole relations in representing a structure of a category, entity, process or situation by means of enumeration conceptually contiguous things or ideas. The metaphor-based inner forms employed image-schemas, cohered (complex) images, and prototypical comparisons. The rhetorical power of phraseologisms is enhanced by alliteration, assonance, repetitions and rhymes, employment of proper names, polysyndeton and parallelism. These appeared to be operating towards argumentative, ludic and esthetic effects in addition to expression of speakers’ sociocultural solidarity.

Our results should be validated by the corpus analysis into the prevalence of cognitive models underlying phraseologisms. These models may appear preferable in certain conceptual domains, hence frequent particular spheres of communication and influence the pragmatic features of phraseological units.

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#### Primary Paper Section: A

#### Secondary Paper Section: AI