

Cognitive Linguistic Critical Discourse Studies

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1. Introduction

One of the more recent developments on the Critical Discourse Studies (CDS) landscape lies in critical applications of Cognitive Linguistics (e.g. Chilton 2004; Koller 2004; Hart 2010, 2011a, 2014a; Hart and Lukeš 2007). Critical Linguistic CDS (CL-CDS) is characterised by a shift in focus to the interpretation-stage of analysis (O'Halloran 2003; Hart 2010). That is, CL-CDS addresses the cognitive-semiotic processes involved in understanding discourse and the fundamental role that these processes play in the construction of knowledge and the legitimisation of action. Cognitive Linguistic approaches to CDS thus typically present detailed semantic analyses of language usages. In particular, CL-CDS emphasises the conceptual nature of meaning construction and is concerned with modelling the conceptual structures and processes which, invoked by text in the course of discourse, constitute an ideologised understanding of the situations and events being described. Cognitive Linguistics itself is not a specific theory but a paradigm within linguistics comprised of several related theories. Accordingly, Cognitive Linguistics makes available to CDS a set of alternative 'tools' as different theories may be operationalised as methodologies in critical analyses of discourse. Theories in Cognitive Linguistics, however, share a common set of assumptions about the nature of language. These assumptions are naturally shared by Cognitive Linguistic studies in CDS and thus provide the common thread and theoretical backdrop that defines a more general Cognitive Linguistic school of CDS (cf. Hart 2011b, 2015b). In this chapter, then, I begin, in Section 2, by introducing the Cognitive Linguistic perspective, reviewing the common aims and commitments of Cognitive Linguistic approaches. In section 3, I introduce some of the methods employed in Cognitive Linguistic approaches. And finally in Section 4, I provide an example analysis using data sourced from three online newspaper articles reporting on the 2014 Million Mask March in London.

2. Cognitive Linguistic Approaches to CDS: Aims and Commitments

Like most schools or approaches within CDS, Cognitive Linguistic approaches are not restricted to the application of a single analytical framework. Rather, what demarcates and characterises Cognitive Linguistic approaches is a particular theoretical perspective on language and a particular emphasis or orientation in doing critical discourse research. Cognitive Linguistic approaches, for example, subscribe to a view of language in which meaning is seen as conceptual in nature (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 1999; Langacker 2008; Talmy 2000). Language usages are seen as prompts for the co-construction of meaning jointly performed through a range of conceptual processes or 'construal operations' (Croft and Cruse 2004). Principle aims of Cognitive Linguistic approaches are then (i) to

model the conceptual structures invoked by language; and (ii) to disclose the ideological qualities and legitimating potentials which conceptual structures, invoked by particular language usages in contexts of social and political communication, may carry. In so doing, Cognitive Linguistic approaches are oriented to what Fairclough terms 'interpretation-stage analysis', which involves "more psychological and cognitive concerns" (Fairclough 1995: 59) with how readers construct meaning (see Hart 2010; O'Halloran 2003). That is, Cognitive Linguistic approaches are concerned primarily with cognitive processes of semiosis.¹ This emphasis is based on the assumption that the processes of meaning construction which give power to texts to enact ideology and mobilise social action are necessarily "taking place in the minds of (interacting) individuals" (Chilton 2005a: 23).² Cognitive Linguistic approaches to CDS may also be seen as motivated by critical reactions to other strands of CDS (cf. Hart 2014a). As Jeffries (2010: 128) puts it:

While sub-disciplines of linguistics like Critical Discourse Analysis have long asserted the truth of a Whorfian-style effect of culturally dominant texts, they have also been criticised for making too much of this in the absence of hard evidence of the process by which such hegemonic power is wielded and the objection that readers are not so vulnerable to ideological manipulation as the statements may suggest. However, the use of cognitive theories ... as an 'explanatory' device could help us to understand the mechanisms by which some such ideological influence may indeed operate.

To address the ideological and legitimating functions of language and conceptualisation various frameworks in Cognitive Linguistics are drawn upon, including Force-Dynamics (Talmy 1988, 2000), Cognitive Grammar (Langacker 1987, 1991, 2002, 2008), Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 1999), Mental Spaces Theory (Fauconnier 1994, 1997), Conceptual Blending Theory (Fauconnier and Turner 2002), Text World Theory (Werth 1999) and Discourse Space Theory (Chilton 2004).³ These frameworks, although addressing different aspects of meaning construction, all share a common view of language. It is this view which defines Cognitive Linguistics and thus Cognitive Linguistic approaches to CDS. It can be summarised under three major theses:

- **Symbolic thesis:** language is seen as a system of 'symbolic assemblies' (Langacker 1991, 2002) in which both words and grammatical constructions are paired with abstract knowledge structures which are conceptual in nature.

¹ This is not to deny the complex social, historical and other contextual factors necessarily involved in the discursive construction of knowledge, which are described in detail in other approaches to CDS. It is only to highlight and address the cognitive processes which are equally necessarily at play.

² In this sense, CL-CDS has much in common with Teun van Dijk's 'socio-cognitive approach' (1998, 2008, 2014). CL approaches and the socio-cognitive approach, however, should not be conflated (cf. Wodak 2006). While the two share a general focus on cognition, they are epistemologically and methodologically quite different (see van Dijk, this volume, for an outline of the socio-cognitive approach). In many respects, of all the approaches within CDS, Cognitive Linguistic approaches have most in common with and can be seen as emerging from Critical Linguistics (Fowler et al. 1979; Fowler 1991; Hodge and Kress 1993). Like Critical Linguistics, the focus of CL-CDS is on linguistic structure rather than thematic content (see Hart and Cap 2014 for a 'map' of contemporary approaches to CDS). In marked contrast to Critical Linguistics, however, CL-CDS is explicitly concerned with the conceptual reflexes of lexico-grammatical structures. Moreover, epistemologically and methodologically, while Critical Linguistics orients to Systemic Functional Grammar, CL-CDS orients to Cognitive Linguistics (ibid.).

³ For useful overviews of Cognitive Linguistics see: Dağbrowska and Divjak (2015); Croft and Cruse (2004); Evans and Green (2006); Littlemore and Taylor (2014).

- **Experientialist thesis:** the knowledge structures with which linguistic units are paired are not innate or specific to the language system but are more general knowledge structures derived from experience, including (i) experiences we have as members of a particular culture or society and (ii) universal experiences we have as a consequence of the kind of bodies we have and our interactions with or observations of the physical environment.⁴
- **Encyclopaedic thesis:** Although paired immediately with a particular conceptual structure, linguistic meaning is not 'closed'. Words and constructions afford access to their conceptual counterparts which, in turn, afford access to further conceptual structure within the same area of experience. Meaning in language, in other words, is open-ended.

From these epistemological commitments, a number of significant corollaries follow. For example, it follows from the symbolic thesis that grammar and lexicon are not distinct components of the language system. Words and constructions both carry semantic content which is distinguished only by its degree of abstractness. Grammatical constructions are not assembled ad hoc according to generative principles but are stored as discrete conventionalised units in the same way as words. Lexical and grammatical units may therefore be described as existing on the same continuum. Similarly, no distinction is made between literal and figurate language. Metaphorical expressions are principally no different from words or grammatical constructions in so far as they index abstract knowledge structures in the form of conceptual metaphors (Lakoff and Johnson 1980).

It follows from the experientialist thesis that language itself is not an autonomous cognitive faculty. The cognitive processes involved in language are not unique to language but are manifestations of more general cognitive processes found to function in other non-linguistic domains of cognition, including memory, perception and action. Space, in particular, represents a fundamental area of embodied experience. Spatial cognition therefore plays a key role in structuring concepts and conceptualisation and is naturally exploited in political discourse (Chilton 2004; Hart 2014a; see also Cap, this volume). Evans and Green (2006: 27) thus describe a *cognitive commitment* in Cognitive Linguistics as the "commitment to providing a characterisation of general principles of language which accord with what is known about the mind and brain from other disciplines". The conceptual processes maintained in Cognitive Linguistics to provide meaning to language therefore often have parallels in mental processes observed in other areas of cognitive experience. It further follows that meaning is 'situated', bound to one's own position in the cultural and physical context of interpretation.

It follows from all three theses that alternate language usages are functional in effecting *construal*, which refers to "our manifest ability to conceive and portray the same situation in alternate ways" (Langacker 2013: 43). Meaning is achieved in discourse as textual elements invoke the conceptual structures and processes they conventionally index in order to construct an (inter)subjective mental representation which constitutes a shared understanding of the referential situation. Since language provides multiple means of describing the same situation, however, competing language usages invite alternative conceptualisations. Crucially, then, it is in the particular construal of a situation that ideology and (de)legitimation are enacted. Conceptualisations invoked in discourse constitute only one potential, perspectivalised, understanding of reality. The particular construal encoded

⁴ In this second claim, Cognitive Linguistics subscribes to the embodiment principle in Cognitive Science more broadly (Gibbs 2005; Pecher and Zwaan 2010; Shapiro 2010).

defines reality in a way which accords with wider systems of knowledge and value (discourses) and acts heuristically to direct and delimit inference and action. It is then the aim of Cognitive Linguistic approaches to CDS to critically examine the conceptual structures and processes which are constitutive of meaning in discourse to disclose the particular patterns of belief and value they support.

2. Cognitive Linguistic Approaches to CDS: Methodological Frameworks

Cognitive Linguistic approaches to CDS exploit the multitude of frameworks which Cognitive Linguistics makes available to address the conceptual structures and processes through which we make meaning. However, three programs in particular currently stand out as being the most developed and widely applied:

- Image schema analysis
- Metaphor analysis
- Discourse world analysis

In **image schema analysis**, scholars address the way that situations and events are structured by image schemas. Image schemas are abstract holistic knowledge structures which emerge pre-linguistically from repeated patterns of embodied experience (Johnson 1987; Mandler 2004). They arise in basic domains like ACTION, FORCE, SPACE and MOTION encoding relational information pertaining, for example, to topology, sequence and causation. Image schemas form the foundations of the conceptual system and provide ‘folk theories’ of the way the world works. They later “work their way up into our system of meaning” (Johnson 1987: 42) to become paired with lexical and grammatical units inside the system of symbolic assemblies which makes up language. In discourse, they are invoked by their reflexes in text to constitute our most basic understanding of the event being described, defining its type and internal structure. Their selection in discourse thus serves an ideological function in categorising and organising reality as well as in directing inference. Different schemas, further, define different semantic roles within the event-structure, thus attributing particular qualities to the actors involved. There is also then an ideological dimension in assigning social actors to the different roles specified within the schema (Wolf and Polzenhagen 2003: 265). The ideological functions of image schemas have been studied in a range of discursive contexts (e.g. Chilton 1996; Hart 2011, 2013 a/b; Nuñez Perucha 2011; Oakley 2005). In many of these cases, the image schemas involved have served as source domains in conceptual metaphors.

Metaphor analysis is perhaps the earliest and most recognised application of Cognitive Linguistics in CDS (see Ng, this volume, for a general overview). Several edited collections have been specifically dedicated to analysing metaphor from a broadly critical Cognitive Linguistic perspective (e.g. Dirven, Frank and Putz 2003; Musolff and Zinken 2009). From this perspective, metaphorical expressions in discourse are seen as linguistic reflexes of, or prompts for, conceptual structures and processes. Metaphors are not seen as mere tropes, then, but rather, the conceptual structures and processes involved in metaphor shape our thoughts and actions. Conceptual metaphors are therefore an important starting point in the cognitive study of ideology (Koller 2014). Findings from critical metaphor analysis show that a relatively finite number of familiar knowledge frames including JOURNEY, BUILDING, WAR, WATER, ILLNESS, WEATHER, GAMES and GAMBLING, as well as orientational and

topological image schemas like UP-DOWN, NEAR-FAR and CONTAINER are recruited to provide metaphorical understandings of a wide range of social and political phenomena (Charteris-Black 2004, 2006; Chilton 1996; Koller 2004; Musolff 2003, 2004). Metaphor analysis, it should be noted, is not restricted to the linguistic modality but has been usefully applied to the visual modality also (e.g. Bounegru and Forceville 2011; El Rafaie 2003; Forceville and Urios-Aparisi 2009). Here, scholars have shown that many of the conceptual metaphors evidenced by patterns of linguistic discourse find expression in visual discourse too.

Discourse world analysis (e.g. Chilton 2004; Filardo Llamas 2013; Filardo Llamas, Hart and Kaal 2016; Kaal 2012) aims to account for processes of meaning construction in discourse beyond the sentence. *Discourse worlds* are conceptual structures which represent the ‘ontologies’ defined in or presupposed by the text (Chilton 2004; Gavins 2007). They emerge as texts are contextually interpreted against a backdrop of broader systems of knowledge and value, encoded in frames and conceptual metaphors etc., which constitute common ground. According to Discourse Space Theory (Chilton 2004), discourse worlds are constructed inside a three-dimensional, deictically defined, mental or *discourse space*. Discourse worlds are constructed as elements – people, places, actions, events and propositions, inter alia – explicitly or implicitly referenced in the text get positioned at locations along three axes – space, time and evaluation – relative to a deictic centre, which represents a point of view in socio-political, temporal and evaluative ‘space’. The basic organising principle of discourse worlds is thus (metaphorical) distance. Discourse worlds are important structures in the cognitive study of ideology since they represent the worldview espoused by the text which readers are asked to assume. In an important development of Discourse Space Theory, Cap (2006, 2008, 2011, 2013, 2015) outlines a model of proximisation. Within this framework, proximisation is defined as a conceptual contraction of the space between elements initially located at distal points along the socio-spatial, temporal or modal axes and the deictic centre representing the conceptualiser’s ‘situatedness’ in social, physical, temporal, epistemic and axiological space (see Hart 2014 for a revised typology of proximisation operations). Proximisation is a powerful rhetorical strategy in interventionist discourses because it construes evolving actions or situations as personally consequential. It has been shown to operate in a range of interventionist discourses (Cap 2006; Hart 2010, 2014; Filardo Llamas 2013).

In some of my own work (Hart 2014a), I have tried to bring these three strands together inside a single integrated framework.⁵ This framework, presented in Table 1, organises construal operations in relation to the more general cognitive systems on which they rely and a taxonomy of ideological discursive strategies which they potentially realise. Four strategies are identified. *Structural configuration* concerns the conceptualisation of basic event-structure and is realised through a construal operation of schematisation – the superimposition of an image schema. It relies on a more general cognitive ability to analyse complex scenes in terms of gestalt structures. *Framing* concerns the way actors are actions are attributed more specific qualities as alternative categories and frames are accessed, sometimes via metaphorical mappings, in their construal. It relies on a general cognitive capacity for comparison. *Identification* concerns which facets of a scene are selected for

⁵ This is not in any way an attempt to subordinate specific Cognitive Linguistic approaches. It is merely to locate them with respect to a wider research context. It must also be recognised that not all scholars working with Cognitive Linguistic frameworks in CDS would necessarily place their work within the broader Cognitive Linguistic Approach that I advocate.

conceptualisation and the relative degree of salience with which elements of the scene are represented. Selection and salience effects are achieved through various construal operations referred to by Langacker (2002) as ‘focal adjustments’. It can be argued, however, that the focal adjustments involved are ultimately a function of shifts in point of view (Hart 2015) and thus also relate to positioning strategies. Positioning is a broad strategy which concerns where we situate ourselves within the conceptualisation and where other actors and actions are located relative to this position. It thus incorporates distancing and proximation strategies and can be spatial, temporal, social, epistemic and axiological. It may also pertain to grammatical constructions effected through a given viewing arrangement in a mental space or to larger stretches of text effected through the construction of a discourse world inside a discourse space. Positioning strategies are realised conceptually in point of view shifts and deictic organisation. They rely on a more general cognitive capacity for perspective-taking.

System		Gestalt	Comparison	Attention	Perspective
		Strategy			
Construal operations	Structural Configuration	Schematisation			
	Framing		Categorisation		
			Metaphor		
	Identification			Focus	
				Granularity	
				Viewing Frame	
	Positioning				Point of View
					Deixis

Table 1. Typology of construal operations, cognitive systems and discursive strategies

In the following section, I provide an example analysis applying aspects of CL-CDS. I focus specifically on image schema analysis in the context of discourse on political protests.

4. Example Analysis: The Million Mask March 2014

In this section, I show how the CLA can be applied to reveal ideological and legitimating qualities of alternative conceptualisations of violence in press reports of political protests. Media reactions to political protests are important since it is the media who have the power to “characterise the events of the day and the social structure of society in a particular way” (Santa Ana 2002: 51). The CLA has previously been applied in studies of the 2009 G20 and 2010 Student Fee protests (Hart 2013a/b, 2014a/b). In this chapter, I take data from five online news reports of the 2014 Million Mask March. The Million Mask March consists in multiple protests staged in different cities around the world. However, London is usually one of most widely attended. The protests, which take place on the 5th of November each year, are characterised by participants wearing Guy Fawkes masks. They are organised by a global activist network known as Anonymous and are intended to protest against austerity, infringements of civil rights and liberty, war crimes and corruption.⁶ The data below is taken from online media reports of the London protest. Articles were published on the day of the event in the *Guardian*, the *Telegraph*, the *Independent*, the *Mail*, and the *Express*.⁷ The data is intended to illustrate, through qualitative analysis, some of the conceptual parameters along which ideology may be enacted. No quantitative comparisons are made. However, I hope it will be clear how this approach could be applied in large-scale quantitative, corpus-assisted, analyses.

An important finding in media studies of political protests is that they are treated as a spectacle, with a focus on violence, and without any serious discussion of the causes behind them (Murdock 1973). One way in which this is achieved conceptually is through headlines like (1):

- (1) Chaos breaks out in London as Russell Brand joins thousands of masked Guy Fawkes protesters in dramatic Bonfire Night demonstration (*Mail*, 5.11.2014)

The underlined portion in (1) instantiates a conventionalised construction [Sbj BREAK out] whose Subject ‘elaboration site’ (Langacker 2008) is, according to FrameNet⁸, restricted to “fighting or other undesirable things”. The construction is thus a fitting and frequent feature of discourse on political protests. Ideologically, however, the construction does a number of things. Firstly, the

⁶ <https://www.facebook.com/events/485894658146587/>. Accessed 04.05.2015

⁷ Articles available at:

<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2822591/Chaos-breaks-London-Russell-Brand-joins-thousands-masked-Guy-Fawkes-protesters-dramatic-Bonfire-Night-demonstration.html>

<http://www.express.co.uk/news/uk/531957/Anonymous-Million-Mask-March-Guy-Fawkes-Trafalgar-Square-Parliament-Square>

<http://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2014/nov/05/million-mask-march-london-russell-brand-anonymous>

<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/law-and-order/11211981/Masked-protestors-fire-fireworks-at-the-Houses-of-Parliament.html>

<http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/million-masks-march-2014-thousands-gather-for-anticapitalist-protest-in-london-9842407.html> Accessed 04.05.2015

⁸ <https://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu/>

Subject elaboration site has as its specification abstract nouns or nominalisations likes ‘chaos’, ‘trouble’ and ‘violence’ which, through a process of **reification**, reduce complex interactions and relations to THINGS which have some kind of ontological existence (Radden and Dirven 2007: 78).⁹ This process thus occludes attention to internal event-structure, including who did what to whom. It may therefore be said to realise an identification strategy as the actors involved, as well as the interactions between them, are glossed over. The construction as a whole, moreover, is paired with a concept [SUDDEN OCCURRENCE].¹⁰ This meaning is likely derived from, or motivated by, the more literal, prototypical sense of ‘break out’ in the concept [EMERGE/ESCAPE], which is structured by the image schema in Figure 1.¹¹ In Figure 1, a TR is seen to appear from having previously been invisible contained within a bounded LM. The extent to which the construction in (1) will invoke the schema associated with the prototypical sense is the subject of debate (see Evans 2009). The important point for our purposes is that the construction, by virtue of its primary invocation in the [SUDDEN OCCURRENCE] concept, presents the ‘chaos’ as having come into ontological existence *suddenly* and *spontaneously* without causation and thus ignores the background to the situation.

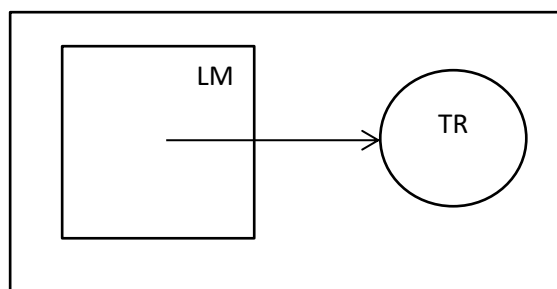


Figure 1. EMERGE/ESCAPE schema

When event-structure is spelled out, a crucial ideological dimension concerns the experiential realm to which the event in question is construed as belonging, as well as, within the event-structure, which actors are cast in which roles. Throughout a text, social actors can be seen to participate in different kinds of events, in different ways. This contributes to the construction of a worldview in which social actors behave in certain, more or less desirable, ways. Perhaps the most fundamental distinction here, in the context of political protests, concerns whether actors are construed as participating more often in physical or speech events. Within these categories are further distinctions. For example, in the realm of speech events, are processes like CHANT, DEMAND, SHOUT, GOAD, THREATEN, WARN, CAUTION etc., all of which can function to (de)legitimate the actors involved in different ways. Activating protesters more often in speech act events like CHANT and DEMAND

⁹ Reification may be a function of shifts in point of view and mode of viewing (Langacker 2008; see also Hart 2015)

¹⁰ Evans, personal communication.

¹¹ Image schemas are subject to further construal as the structure of the event is necessarily conceived from one spatial point of view or another. Thus, every schematisation strategy is accompanied by a spatial positioning strategy, giving rise to a further ideological potentials. To discuss this, however, is beyond the scope of the current chapter (see Hart 2015 for extensive discussion).

compared to physical events, for example, politicises and therefore legitimises the protest by highlighting the message it is presenting. By contrast, activating protesters in physical events serves to depoliticise the protest by focussing on the spectacle rather than the message.

In the physical realm, events can be divided into those pertaining to basic experiential domains like ACTION, FORCE, MOTION and EXISTENCE IN SPACE.¹² There are then further divisions within each of these domains. There is thus ideological significance as to (i) which domains different actors are seen to participate in; (ii) within those domains, which particular event-types they are seen to participate in; and (iii) within particular event-types, which roles they are cast in.

For example, actors might be more often activated in events belonging to the domains of FORCE, MOTION or EXISTENCE IN SPACE compared to ACTION. Consider the contrast between (2) and (3). The event in (2) construes the police as active in an event pertaining to EXISTENCE IN SPACE. By contrast, the event in (3), in which it is protesters who are activated, belongs to the domain of ACTION. Such a schematisation strategy serves to legitimate the police by presenting them as active in largely peaceful or peace-keeping events and to delegitimize protesters by presenting them as active in largely violent, criminal events (*ibid.*).¹³

(2) [Riot police_{TR}] [lined_{EXISTENCE IN SPACE}] [streets_{LM}] as protesters donned sinister Guy Fawkes masks. (*Mail*, 5.11.2014)

(3) [The masked demonstrators – some as young as 14 –_{AGENT}] also [kicked and dragged over_{ACTION}] [security railings_{PATIENT}] (*Mail*, 5.11.2014)

Within each domain, actors may be activated in alternative event-types, encoding more subtle ideological differences. For example, when actors are activated in events pertaining to EXISTENCE IN SPACE, this may be in relation to SHAPE or EXTENT. In (2), the police are construed as forming a particular one-dimensional shape. The schema invoked is that of a LINE as in Figure 2(a). In (4), by contrast, protesters are activated in an event relating to EXTENT and construed as an expanding mass as in Figure 4(b). The image of an expanding mass invoked by examples like (4) may serve to create a sense of looming threat. This schematisation strategy is often accompanied by a strategy of aggregation in social actor representation (van Leeuwen 1996) whereby large specified numbers of actors are presented as amassing.

(4) [Thousands_{TR}] [gather_{EXISTENCE IN SPACE}] for anti-capitalist protest in London (*Independent*, 5.11.2014)

¹² In Cognitive Linguistics the notion 'event' is understood to cover both events and states (Radden and Dirven 2007: 270).

¹³ Where actions are not coded in the following examples it is because they do not relate to a particular contrast being highlighted.

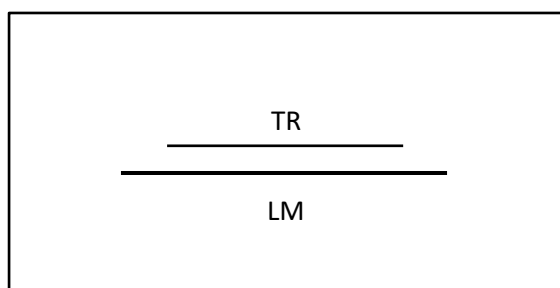


Figure 2(a). LINE schema

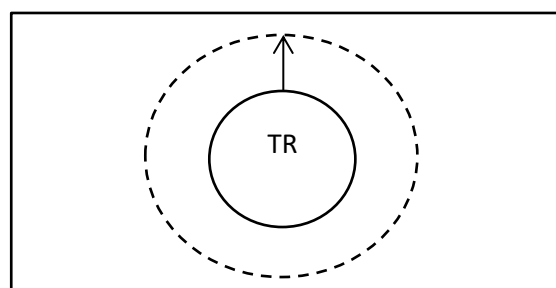


Figure 2(b). EXPAND schema

The sense of threat created in (4) is realised in event-construals relating to ACTION and MOTION like (5) and (6) respectively.

- (5) Arrests made after thousands of anti-capitalist protesters [storm ACTION] streets of London. (*Express*, 5.11.2014)
- (6) Russell Brand and Vivienne Westwood joined thousands of masked anti-capitalist demonstrators who [descended on MOTION] Westminster for a Bonfire Night protests (*Mail*, 5.11.2014)

In (6), the construction [Sbj DESCEND on Obj] encodes a MOTION event. The MOTION event, however, is one involving concepts [DOWNWARD VERTICAL MOTION + SURFACE COVERAGE] so that the TR, ‘thousands of masked anti-capitalist demonstrators’, is construed as enveloping the LM, Westminster. This sense of enveloping may be rhetorically effective in creating a feeling of claustrophobia. This in contrast to horizontal motion as in (7):

- (7) Million Mask March draws thousands in London on global day of protest. (*Guardian*, 5.11.2015).

A further distinction in relation to horizontal motion concerns whether the event is one of FREE MOTION as in (8) or IMPEDED MOTION as in (9). The construal invoked in (8) is one of canonical unhindered motion based in the SOURCE-PATH-GOAL schema. In (9), however, the schematisation invoked by the construction [Sbj VERB_{motion} through Obj] involves a conceptualisation of impeded motion. The Object e-site specifies an OBSTACLE on the path which, as in (9), may be affected in the realisation of the motion.¹⁴ The alternative schemas invoked by (8) and (9) are modelled in Figure 3(a) and (b) respectively. In Figure 3(a), the LM is the GOAL of the motion – ‘locations including Buckingham Palace and the BBC’s central London studios’. In Figure 3(b), the LM is an OBSTACLE on the path of motion – ‘rush hour traffic’. The stepped arrow represents the effect of the event on the LM. The construal invoked by (9) thus serves to delegitimize the protest by highlight its disruptive effects.

¹⁴ This is contrast to the construction [Sbj VERB_{motion} along Obj]. See Lee (1998) on the semantics of *through*.

- (8) [Thousands _{TR}], many wearing the Guy Fawkes masks which become a symbol of Anonymous ... later [made their way _{MOTION: FREE}] ... [towards _{PATH}] [other locations including Buckingham Palace and the BBC's central London studios _{LM: GOAL}]. (*Guardian*, 5.11.2014)
- (9) [Hundreds of anti-establishment masked protesters _{TR}] [marched _{MOTION: IMPEDED}] [through _{PATH}] [rush-hour traffic _{LM: OBSTACLE}] in central London, bringing Whitehall to a standstill. (*Telegraph*, 5.11.2014)

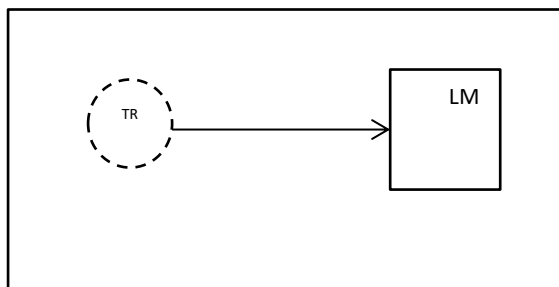


Figure 3(a). FREE MOTION schema

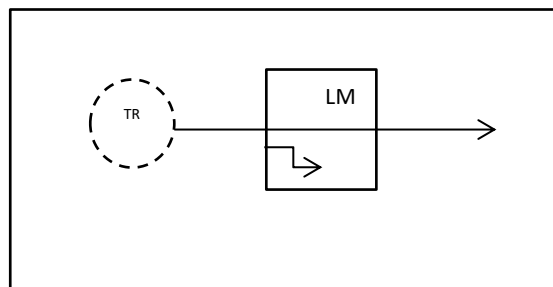


Figure 3(b). IMPEDED MOTION schema

The final schemas that I will discuss in this chapter are those relating to the domain of ACTION.¹⁵ Many ACTION schemas can be identified. Action-events may be volitional or non-volitional (i.e., caused). They may be directed or non-directed. Directed actions may be one-sided (asymmetrical) or two-sided (reciprocal). One-sided directed actions may be directed at ENTITIES or OBJECTS. They may also be mediated, i.e. enacted via an INSTRUMENT, or unmediated. Thus, in (3), protesters are activated in a volitional one-sided unmediated object-directed action-event. Construing events in terms of alternative action schemas has potential ideological and (de)legitimizing effects. By way of example, consider the contrast between (10)-(12):

- (10) During the march, [protesters _{AGENT}] ... [threw firecrackers _{ACTION: ONE-SIDED}] at [police _{PATIENT}] who were guarding the Victoria Memorial (*Mail*, 5.11.2014)
- (11) [Officers in riot gear _{AGENT¹}] at a number of points later drew batons and [clashed with _{ACTION: TWO-SIDED}] [members of the crowd _{AGENT²}] (*Guardian*, 5.11.2014)
- (12) [Officers _{AGENT}] were [forced to _{CAUSATION}] [draw their batons _{ACTION: REACTION}] [as [missiles, plastic cones and road signs were launched along the mall _{EVENT}] _{CIRCUMSTANCE}]. (*Mail*, 5.11.2014)

The transitive construction in (10) construes the event, in which it is protesters who are activated, as a volitional, one-sided, entity-directed action-event. The event is volitional in the sense that it is brought about of the AGENT's own accord. It is entity-directed in the sense that the PATIENT in the action is an animate ENTITY rather than an inanimate OBJECT. It is one-sided in the sense that the transfer of energy between participants is uni-directional, from an AGENT to a PATIENT.¹⁶ The schema invoked is modelled in Figure 4(a). In (11), by contrast, the reciprocal verb invokes a construal of the

¹⁵ On FORCE schemas in discourse on political protests see Hart (2013b, 2014a).

¹⁶ It is also mediated in the sense that the energy transfer is enacted through an 'energy transmitter' in the form of an INSTRUMENT. However, for present purposes we do not need to include this in the analysis.

event as a volitional, two-sided, entity-directed action-event. The schema associated with reciprocal constructions such as [Sbj CLASH *with* Obj] is modelled in Figure 4(b). Crucially, in a two-sided action-event the transfer of energy between participants is bi-directional. That is, both participants are equally activated in the event-structure. Ideologically, therefore, while (10) serves to apportion responsibility for the violence that occurred to only one participant, the protesters, (11) serves to attribute blame to both participants who thus share responsibility.

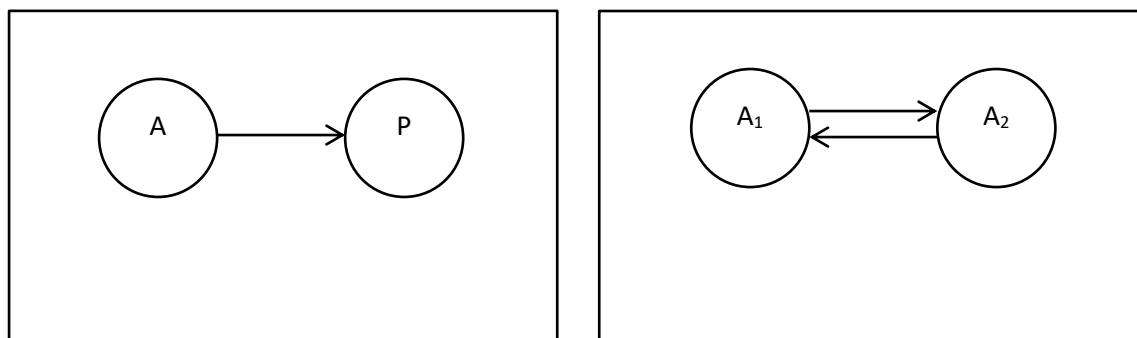


Figure 4(a). One-sided volitional ACTION schema Figure 4(b). Two-sided volitional ACTION schema

The construction in (12) is an expression of caused action. The agent in the process is no longer presented as acting volitionally but in response to a preceding circumstantial event. The action, in other words, is construed as a *reaction*. In reality, of course, every action is a reaction. While this not recognised in examples such as (10), it is taken into account in examples such as (12). Conceptually, construing an event as reactive involves an expansion in the distribution of attention, directed by the coverage of the clause, so that it extends over a greater portion of event-structure (Langacker 2008; Talmy 2000).¹⁷ This is modelled in Figure 5. In the schema, the interaction that constitutes the circumstantial event, with its own internal structure, is collapsed, for the sake of simplicity, into a single causal element (E).

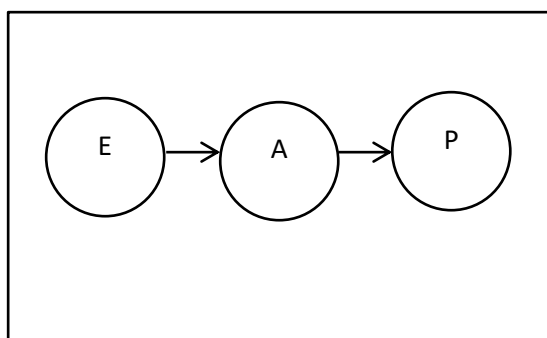


Figure 5. Caused ACTION schema

¹⁷ In Hart (2015) it is argued that this extended range of attention is a function of construing the event from a maximally distal point of view which allows a wider angled scope over the situation.

Ideologically, construing an event as reactive as in (12) mitigates the action involved, presenting it as provoked, last resort, and in the interests of restoring order. By contrast, the narrower range of attention in volitional action-event-construals such as (10) presents the action as an unprovoked instance of gratuitous violence. Examples like (10) and (12) on the one hand, then, and (11) on the other, can be related to wider, ideologically opposed, discourses of political protest. While examples like (10) and (12) support discourses in which protests are demonised as a form of deviance and police behaviour is seen as above suspicion, examples like (11) at least recognise the role of the police in the violence that occurred and raise critical questions concerning their behaviour. Examples like (11) may thus be said to support a more liberal discourse on state-citizen relations.

5. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have introduced methods of CDS sourced from Cognitive Linguistics. Three approaches in particular have been identified: image schema analysis, metaphor analysis and discourse world analysis. I have outlined a particular view of meaning in language and discourse which is characteristic of these approaches. Namely, that meaning-making in discourse is achieved as words and grammatical constructions invoke conceptual structures and processes which they conventionally index in order to impose a particular construal on the situation under consideration. In relating conceptual structures and processes to the more general cognitive systems on which they rely as well as the discursive strategies which they potentially realise, I have outlined a more general Cognitive Linguistic framework for CDS which takes in a range of methods to address a variety of conceptual phenomena through which ideology and legitimation may be enacted. In the final section of the chapter, I have conducted an image schema analysis of discourse on political protests to show how the selection of alternative grammatical constructions can lead to competing conceptualisations of the same target situation whose properties, in that context of use, may be ideologically load-bearing. In doing so, I hope to have demonstrated the way at least one aspect of the CLA may be applied.

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