Mental Models in Manifesto Texts:
The Case of Students for a Democratic Society and Weatherman

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Abstract

The focus of this thesis is the study of manifesto texts and the way they offer collective audiences geopolitical worldviews grounded in mental models. I investigate both propositional and imagistic approaches to conceptual structure suggested in sociological, psychological and linguistic literatures. By reviewing contemporary representational formats for the internal structure of mental models, my aim is to develop a framework for demonstrating conceptual structures encoded in manifesto texts. In different research fields the mental model construct is recognized by multiple terms and is variously referred to as 'collective action frames' in social movement theory, 'situation' and 'context models' in socio-cognitive discourse studies, 'case frames' in frame semantics, 'idealized cognitive models' in cognitive linguistics and 'deictic space models' in cognitive discourse studies. Building on these recent approaches to mental models, conceptual operations such as schematization, categorization, metaphorical projection and mental space construction will be integrated into my suggested theoretical framework. Using two 1960s social movement manifestos as data, I explore the potential for a *scenes-and-episodes framework* for reconstructing conceptual structures within models. Following other cognitive discourse approaches, this framework assumes that conceptual structures active in both short term memory (STM) and long term memory (LTM) models are embodied. Analysing language from an embodied perspective means that lexical and grammatical constructions are thought to be cuing imagistic simulations that bring internal structure to a mental model. These imagistic simulations are employed by the reader during the construal of situations encoded in the text. In this framework, the sum of these lexical and grammatical constructions are considered to make up a *cognitive discourse grammar*. Moving toward a more complete understanding of the conceptualisation process, I also explore how online construal operations active during model creation may be interacting with offline categorical structures in LTM. Overall, the aim of this thesis is to provide a framework for modelling meaning construction as it takes place in the minds of text consumers.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Critical discourse analysis and manifesto texts

The focus of this thesis is the study of mental models in manifesto texts. Specifically, I consider two manifesto texts from the 1960's New Left Movement in North America (Gosse 2005). The *Port Huron Statement*, written in 1962 by a handful of university students in the United States, is widely acknowledged to be the first manifesto of the New Left and the beginnings of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). The *Weatherman Statement*, penned in 1969 by a radical faction within SDS, exists as the one of the last manifestos written just before the organization's dissolution. During the Cultural Revolution in North America, SDS became an umbrella organization for college students interested in advancing civil rights and ending the Vietnam War. Using the introductory sections of these manifestos as data, my aim is consult contemporary sociological, psychological and linguistic perspectives in order to explore representational formats for the inner structure of mental models. In cognitive discourse approaches, mental models are commonly held to be specific kinds of 'knowledge structure in memory' (Van Dijk 1987: 161).

The main research field orienting this project is critical discourse analysis (CDA). Wodak (2013: xix), understands CDA as:

> A problem-oriented interdisciplinary research programme, subsuming a variety of approaches, each drawing on different epistemological assumptions, with different theoretical models, research methods and agenda. What unites them is a shared interest in the semiotic dimensions of power, injustice and political-economic, social or cultural change in our globalised and globalising world and societies.

There is a tripartite interest in language-ideology-power relations in CDA, which encourages text analysts to investigate institutional social construction or ideological influence. Even though my interest lies with anti-institutional or social movement organizations, the same overarching concerns of CDA apply. Cultural elites, whether left or right-wing, decide to form new social movements (power), which intend to rhetorically elevate novel arguments and perspectives (language), within a comprehensive and mobilising cognitive framework (ideology). I am understanding cultural elites broadly to include any group of persons who possess symbolic capital within their own discourse community.

Critical Discourse Analysis, with a combination of critical social theories and novel linguistic meta-grammars, has carved out a new space for socio-political critique. In the early 1990's CDA became the brainchild of loosely connected group of linguistically oriented scholars. At a symposium held at the University of Amsterdam in 1991, founding members sat down to discuss relevant theories and methods with the intention of establishing a 'critical' research program (Wodak and Meyer 2009). When introducing the journal *Critical Discourse Studies* (CDS) the editors at the time, Norman Fairclough, Phil Graham, Jay Lemke and Ruth Wodak, recognize that although discourse is well established as a meta-category, there is still 'widespread suspicion of discourse analysis amongst social scientists' (2004: 3). Manifold definitions of discourse within differing academic traditions, as well as the perception that discourse analysts are reductive in

interpretation of social contexts, tend to downplay the potential of integrative discourse studies. However, the CDS editorial team points to the 'increasing convergence across disciplines' as the reason for launching their journal. The editors argue that most of this new kind of theoretical work doesn't fit neatly into existing journals because of the exclusivity-criteria within the disciplinary structure of the academy. Within their introductory statement, the CDS editors also discuss the various ways an academic study can be considered 'critical'. They conclude that 'critical social research' is meant to identify pressing social problems, reveal to what extent these problems 'are products of human invention' and to 'discern feasible ways of alleviating…them' (Fairclough et al. 2004: 1). The editors close their introduction emphasizing this critical dimension and with activist overtones state their intention 'to publish work that contributes…to projects and agendas for social justice' (Fairclough et al. 2004: 6). CDA thus establishes a kind of 'free range' methodology, not cooped up within strict disciplinary boundaries, able to roam the theoretical spectrum, essentially pragmatic in its appropriation of methods and theories from various research traditions.

Within the CDA research program, an author utilizing a critical approach must validate and ground the standards by which the text under consideration will be judged. What is held in common by those practicing CDA is a few basic positions including the notion that 'hidden power structures should be revealed, unjustified discrimination and inequality have to be fought, and the analyst has to reflect on her/his own position and make her/his standpoint transparent' (Forchtner 2011: 1). For the most part, CDA expositions have focused on particular social problems or have looked closely at ideologies perceived as being harmful to minority groups in wider society. In practice, this has meant that much attention has been given to the sociological issues of race, class and gender inequalities, as well as an intense focus on right-wing political discourses. Building on this critical tradition of scholarship, I take available theoretical tools from different CDA approaches in order to look critically at a left-wing movement that arose in the United States in the 1960s. Starting out as a university organization called Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), college students mainly from liberal homes in the northeast region of the country began seeking to produce a new, more inclusive social vision for their generation. As the decade was drawing to a close and the war in Vietnam was still escalating year by year, some of these university organizers broke off from SDS in order to form a more militant, direct-action organization. These organizers, who later became known as Weatherman, believed that property destruction of governmental and corporate buildings was justified as a response to the ongoing war efforts in Vietnam and for the exploitation of resources from third world peoples. In short, members of SDS and Weatherman organizations were both concerned with rapid social change, they were both seeking to reveal the hidden power structure of American imperialism and they were both willing to place their lives in danger to fight class and race discrimination. This being the case, one may ask, how can I be critical of those who themselves were providing a critique of an unequal political system to their peers? While this thesis is primarily concerned with analysing the merit of various theoretical frameworks for text analysis active in CDA, after the text analysis is performed I do engage in both sociodiagnostic and retrospective forms of critique.

Sociodiagnostic critique has the goal of demystifying discourses, where the author argues 'on the basis of a progressive consensus' (Forchtner 2011: 10). Therefore, in the conclusion of the thesis I consider the truthfulness of the claims made by SDS and Weatherman and judge to what extent their claims for seeking to attack the US

government from inside its borders is necessary or justified. Retrospective critique is concerned with moving beyond diagnosis of the social situation in order to provide a critique that aims to transform social conditions in a positive manner. Usually this type of critique is provided against the backdrop of 'Habermas's concept of deliberative democracy which rests on inclusive and egalitarian communication' (Forchtner 2011: 11). While, for the most part, SDS members understood themselves to be socialists or democrats, as the organization progressed it began to attract more anarchists and communists to its ranks. Retrospective critique is a way to remember both the positive and negative aspects of past political efforts within an organization. In this spirit, I will critically reflect on the beginnings of SDS as an inclusive umbrella organization for social experimentation in the US and how it was eventually undone by internal factional in-fighting over conflicting ideological positions. Weatherman rose from the ashes of SDS and began a campaign of material violence by strategically bombing important US government and corporate buildings, what they called 'armed propaganda'. In this case, a retrospective critique is a way of self-reflecting on the past wrong doings and excesses of the American Left at the end of the 1960s, and provides a way to imagine new, less exclusionary forms of direct action that could lead to dismantling vast racial and class inequalities perpetuated in the United States.

To introduce the research field of CDA, I will discuss the main concepts surrounding the dialectic, discourse-historical and cognitive approaches to CDA. Norman Fairclough is best known for initiating the dialectic-approach to CDA. At times his books read like tactical field manuals, demonstrating the subtleties of institutional encounters, as in hospital discourse, mass media and the educational sector. Affirmed at the beginning of many a CDA methodological exposition is a guiding principle championed by Fairclough's approach, one that is axiomatic for all CDA approaches, a compact, bite sized, and by now sloganized statement of epistemological position. And it is upon this underlying presupposition that CDA practitioners hinge the relevance of their analytical claims: That language is 'socially constitutive' while at the same time 'socially conditioned'. (Fairclough 1992: 64; Fairclough and Wodak 1997: 258). With this dialectical understanding, CDA practitioners explore the intricacies of social interaction, while paying special attention to the alienating influence of institutional processes.

Ruth Wodak is the founder of the discourse-historical approach within CDA. She positions her approach as a continuation of German critical scholarship, who practiced a kind of interdisciplinary social theory. Within her approach grand theories of the Frankfurt school serve as the point of departure for middle-range theories of linguistic and cultural critique (Wodak and Meyer 2009: 87-89). Wodak's historical approach places high emphasis on contextual concerns and she advocates for an ethnographic component to be included when studying political movements (Wodak and Savski *forthcoming*). This historical approach is more concerned with helping to illuminate and solve social problems than simply focusing on specific linguistics items. Intertextual and interdiscursive relationships within various public spaces are investigated. Especially important in this approach is the recontextualization of concepts between genres. Also, socio-political context and argumentation strategies are considered key concepts in the interpretation of discourses (Wodak and Meyer 2009: 70). CDA practitioners are continually developing various aspects of Wodak's methodology in studies ranging from contemporary religious expression (Von Stuckrad, 2013) to creating rhetorical profiles for presidential speeches (Slavíčková, 2013).

Teun Van Dijk is the convener of the socio-cognitive discursive approach within CDA methods. His journal, *Discourse and Society* (D&S), established the beginnings of CDA publishing and served as an early medium for international collaboration. D&S's introductory statement titled 'a new journal for a new research focus' is sole authored by Van Dijk himself. He opens his statement listing the variety of disciplines that have not escaped the reach of what he terms 'the new cross-discipline of discourse studies' (Van Dijk, 1990: 5) Included on his list of major disciplines that have turned their analytical attention to consider text and dialogue are anthropology, semiotics, literary studies, linguistics, sociology, psychology and communication studies. He claims that traditional boundaries have been traversed and that this new cross-discipline is increasingly becoming autonomous. Van Dijk (1990: 12) goes on to present the journal as a prophetic 'voice' crying out in the interdisciplinary wilderness, insistent that it not be viewed as a strict representation of a domineering research program. Even so, this self-definition as the 'voice' of an emerging community does share affinities with a few other critical communities centred explicitly on theory creation (c.f. the Frankfurt School, Gramsian-inspired theorists, French social philosophers, Anglo-Saxon language philosophers and those within the school of critical linguistics). Socio-cognitive discourse analysis is concerned with 'the ongoing communicative Common Ground and the shared social knowledge as well as the attitudes and ideologies of language users…as members of social groups and communities' (Van Dijk 2018: 54). In this approach, textual phenomena are described in terms of cognitive operations including syntactic word order, topic and focus, the structures of propositions, local coherence relations, co-reference, indexical expressions, theories of mental representations and the ways these mediate between shared social cognition. While most CDA approaches tend to explain discourse in terms of its institutional contexts, Van Dijk's approach is focused on uncovering the cognitive interface between discourse processing and societal structures.

Building on this socio-cognitive dimension to text analysis, there is an emerging strand of cognitive linguistic research in critical discourse analysis (CL-CDA) interested in political texts and conceptualisation (Cap 2013; Chilton 2004; Hart 2013). Paul Chilton (2014) emphasises the mediatory role of cognition in the dialectic relationship between language and society. Differing from the traditional functional perspective in CDA which draws on Hallidayan linguistics, Chilton opts for a cognitive approach able to more adequately explain 'a range of semantic and pragmatic phenomena such as implicature, conceptual blending and metaphor' (Wodak 2013: xxxii). In this cognitive strand of CDA, linguistic choices within texts are thought to impose constraints on the way mental models are built through the initial placement and movement of discourse contents through a conceptual space.

Since Chilton (2004) outlined the first steps for a cognitive discourse approach, a new research programme has appeared in CDA. This is seen as a 'cognitive turn' in the field (Hart 2015: 241), where discourse analysts draw upon cognitive linguistics for insights into how spatial cognition is involved in discourse processing (Dunmire 2011; Kaal 2015). Four contemporary discourse approaches have emerged in this field including critical metaphor studies (Charteris-Black 2014; Koller 2004), an event structure approach (Hart 2011, 2013), a legitimisation model based on the concepts of distance and proximity (Cap 2008, 2013) and a discourse space approach taking account of spatio-temporal attention fields (Kaal 2017). Discourse analysts, inspired by Chilton, have adopted this CL-CDA perspective in order to investigate the inner structures of mental models built in STM by investigating selected construal operations (e.g. structural

configuration, framing, identification and positioning) invoked by political texts (Hart 2014a: 111). Taking construal operations as unavoidable and necessary for interpretation of a political text, Hart (2014a: 108) is convinced that 'the locus proper of ideological reproduction is…not language itself but rather the cognitive processes, which language invokes'. The primary concern of the cognitive linguistics approach to date has been to show how in political discourse, the reader is led through a series of unconscious construal operations occurring within transient conceptual spaces built in short-term memory.

Keeping the CDA emphasis of elite power relations in mind, I define manifesto texts as manuscripts drafted by cultural elites with the intention of galvanizing a previously uninitiated group of people into a social cause that promotes one view of the world over another. Texts meant to mobilize are unique in their heightened use of polarizing 'concepts' versus 'counter-concepts' (Koselleck 1985). Previous studies (Holland 2014; Holland & Nichele 2016) have shown that in these kinds of texts it is not uncommon to find:

- ingroup identities and moral evaluations being celebrated, while outgroup actors and values are derided;

- ingroup orienting narratives being presented as enlightened ideals, while outgroup narratives are presented as dangerous ideologies;

- ingroup actions being presented as useful or helpful to society at large, while outgroup actions are viewed as damaging or harmful to others; and

- ingroup utopian visions being cast in order to portray current outgroup visions as dystopian.

During manifesto creation, a new geopolitical worldview is proposed by a handful of movement entrepreneurs, where a novel rendering of the political landscape is put forth as authoritative. The creation of a mobilising manifesto text occurs when political leaders assemble various intertexts into an overall logical and comprehensive framework. In a manifesto, a new interpretation of the socio-political situation is presented as legitimate. Subject positions, standard values, stories that underpin the current ingroup mindset, means for reaching goals and future hopes have all been pre-selected by elites and solidified as text. This pre-selection and pre-arrangement of discourse contents makes up a unique conceptual structure imposed by movement leadership. This means that when political leaders engage in the creation of a new manifesto text it is an attempt to transform the formalized knowledge of group members, and to stabilize this transformation by setting in place a new conceptual ordering. What this thesis seeks to accomplish is to provide a semi-formal method for unpacking these conceptual structures introduced by elites through an examination of mental models as encoded in manifesto texts.

Although mental models play a key role in discourse processing, humans make use of a wide range of different knowledge structures during text comprehension, including knowledge of lexis, syntax, text type, aspects of the world and human behaviour. In order to place the study of mental models in communicative context Table 1.1 is offered, which depicts broad areas of knowledge construction. Although each knowledge type is

represented as a discretely bounded entity, each layer interacts and overlaps during the actual process of language comprehension. For instance, it is not possible to separate lexical knowledge of the word 'revolutionary' from our own individualized concept of 'revolutionary', or from our particular cultural knowledge about how a 'revolutionary' operates. In actual text comprehension, all of these different communicative levels are involved to some degree, but 'we do not draw on them in any linear or ordered way' (Bax 2011: 10). The shaded area in Table 1.1 pinpoints the communicative level and knowledge types associated with mental models relative to other broad areas involved in text comprehension.

Within various theories of reading, the reading process is recognized as a combination of 'bottom up' linguistic information with 'top down' world knowledge that the reader brings to the task. However, there is wide ranging opinion as to how these multiple sources of information are combined by the reader. Khalifa and Weir (2009: 42) describe the bottom up process as 'employing linguistic knowledge to build smaller units into larger ones through several levels of processing'. The bottom up process moves from orthographic, phonological, lexical, syntactic, sentence to discourse level meanings. In top down processing, larger communicative units effect the way smaller units are perceived, which include context and genre. It is generally accepted that we process at different levels simultaneously, drawing on both bottom up and top down processes in establishing meaning (ibid.).

Communicative Level	Knowledge Type
World Context	Shared general knowledge (places, people, events)
Cultural Context	Societal knowledge of social relations and roles Pragmatic knowledge (speech acts)
Genre and Text	Physical factors Intertextual relations Rhetorical modes
Conceptual Structure	Mental models Schemas Coherence (inference, reference, deixis)
Cohesion	Cohesive devices
Sentence	Syntax
Word/Concept	Lexis, concepts
Element	Letters or sounds

Table 1.1 Communicative level and types of knowledge used in text comprehension.

1.2 Propositional and imagistic representational formats for mental models

My intention in this thesis is to examine the virtues and limitations of propositional and imagistic representational formats for mental models in various social science literatures. I do this in order to suggest a new representational format for modelling conceptual structures as encoded in manifesto texts. To be clear, the representational format I am proposing is intended to model conceptual structures active inside mental models during online text processing. Table 1.2 provides a compact overview of the main lines of investigation in the thesis. What one should immediately notice is that there are multiple disciplines, each with nuanced criteria as to what constitutes a mental model. In each field of research, the model construct is recognized by different terms and is variously referred to as 'collective action frames' in social movement theory, 'situation' and 'context models' in socio-cognitive discourse studies, 'case frames' in frame semantics,

'idealized cognitive models' in cognitive linguistics and 'deictic space models' in critical discourse studies. My objective in consulting these literatures is to understand the parameters and inter-workings of mental models. Since my primary concern is to explore the inner structure of mental models, the literature review is divided into two chapters based on whether the suggested model's representational format is propositional (see Chapter 3) or imagistic (see Chapter 4) in nature.

My aim is not to evaluate contemporary modelling approaches as having better or worse representational formats, but to investigate each field's unique theoretical perspective when it comes to offering differing formats for modelling knowledge structures. Moving through several proposed representational formats, I am guided by three general research questions:

- What are the basic semantic contents and conceptual structures of mental models as encoded in manifesto texts?

- How are propositional and imagistic processes active in building mental models and how do they complement one another in the construction of meaning?

- How can semantic contents and conceptual structures in mental models be displayed and analysed?

Field of Research	Name of Model	Inner Structure	Aspect of Investigation	Key Contributors
Social Movement Studies	Collective Action Frame	Propositional Hierarchical	Argument Causal	Axelrod 1983 Johnston 2005
Socio-cognitive Discourse Analysis	Situation & Context Model	Propositional Hierarchical	Topical Layout	Johnson-Laird 1983 Van Dijk 1987
Frame Semantics	Case Frame	Propositional Syntactical	Scripts & Scenes	Fillmore 1968 Fillmore 1982
Cognitive Linguistics	Idealized Cognitive Model	Imagistic Topological	Image Schemas Metaphor	Johnson 1987 Lakoff 1987
Cognitive Linguistic Discourse Analysis	Deictic Mental Space Model	Imagistic Deictic	Image Schemas Mental Space	Chilton 2014 Hart 2013
Cognitive Linguistic Discourse Analysis	Discourse Space Model	Imagistic Deictic	Image Schemas Discourse Space	Kaal 2012 Kaal 2017

Table 1.2 Overview of fields suggesting representational formats for conceptual structure.

In Chapter 3, I examine three modelling approaches that are propositionally arranged. Amongst propositional approaches conceptual knowledge is thought to be stored in a hierarchical manner. Beginning with the first propositional format, social movement theory's theoretical roots lie in the symbolic interactionist tradition of sociology (Snow & Benford 1988). This field of research has primarily been concerned with the identification of different types of 'collective action frames' and their impact on intersubjective organizational processes (Benford & Snow 2000). Recently, cognitively oriented social movement theorists have offered an argument schema for conceiving of the collective action frame as a 'mental model' (Johnston 1995). This collective action frame model has been usefully applied for understanding the pragmatic function of how social movements diagnose social ills in order to mobilize activists. The methodology consists of tracing causal links back to the imputed source of the social problem, which

then reveals the argument structure of the frame. Johnston (2005) demonstrates this representational format by examining social movement pamphlets in West Germany during the Cold War. This modelling approach works well with manifesto texts, and I demonstrate how it can be usefully extended in the consideration of prognostic argument structure as well.

In the socio-cognitive account of 'situation' and 'context models', the main concern is to discern the common semantic categories and ontological domains that are involved during the conceptualisation process. Building on mental model theory in cognitive psychology, Van Dijk (1987) offers a distinction where situation models are those active in short term memory (STM) and context models are those recalled from long term memory (LTM) (specifically, episodic memory). Van Dijk (2008: 77) points out that discourse recipients reduce the complexity of incoming textual information in terms of a 'few schematically organized categories' which include identities, evaluations, events/mindsets, actions and goals. These few discursively relevant categories are thought to be the same in both online and offline processing, meaning that situation models and context models are composed of the same basic categories. While all mental models may share these key categories, during construal each newly constructed situation will give rise to different combinations and configurations of these categories. Not having any 'alternative formats' for representing these conceptual configurations, Van Dijk (1999) follows hierarchal representational formats first suggested by story grammar approaches (cf. Thorndyke 1977). The socio-cognitive approach is concerned to show how macro-propositional (or topical) understandings are maintained during discourse processing. Hence, the main goal is to demonstrate coherence relations by showing how global-discourse information is kept track of during local-sentence processing when reading through a text.

Fillmore's (1968) frame semantic approach is presented last in the order of propositional models, because he theoretically represents a bridge between propositional and imagistic positions. Building on studies of verbs in lexical semantics, he determined that meaning comes as a result of prototype structures and schemas that have social-contextual slots. In his later work, Fillmore (1982: 111) came to describe a 'frame' as 'any system of concepts related in such a way that to understand any one of them you have to understand the whole structure in which it sits'. In cognitive language studies, Fillmore's model of case frames is considered propositional in nature because he does not offer a model of conceptualisation based on an embodied perspective. This is clear in the distinction Lakoff (1987: 289) makes between 'frame models' as propositional structures and metaphoric, metonymic or 'symbolic models' as imagistic structures. Anticipating a different format for cognitive models, Johnson-Laird (1983: 398) says that mental models differ from 'propositional representation, which are close to the linguistic form (or textual layout)'. Johnson-Laird (1983: 415) is convinced that mental models not only represent the layout of concrete objects in an 'internal spatial array', but that abstract discourse entities 'can be similarly encoded'. He suggests that just as a physical process can be represented by a 'three-dimensional dynamic model' constructed during conceptualisation, a more abstract discursive process can as well (ibid.). Instead of a hierarchical layout of knowledge schemas, Johnson-Laird conceives of the mental model as playing an analogical role in conceptualisation.

The remaining modelling approaches, in Chapter 4, are imagistic in nature. Recent cognitive linguistic research supports Johnson-Laird's suspicions about the inner

structure of mental models, demonstrating how they can be structured in an imagistic manner. In cognitive linguistics, propositional models are seen as such because they are supposedly not structured by 'imaginative devices' (e.g. image schemas, metaphorical projections and metonymic relations) (Lakoff 1987: 285). An imagistic approach to meaning construction assumes that reasoning occurs through schematic structures, which are gained through perceptual processes. These schematic structures are imagistic in that they are embodied gestalts arising from everyday interaction with our human environment, and are commonly recognized as 'image schemas' (Johnson 1987). Lakoff (1993: 229) claims that during discourse processing image schemas 'project a topological structure, and that this structure is always preserved by metaphor'. In Chapter 5, I discuss how this topological structure is active in constructing scenes and episodes in STM models, while simultaneously building geopolitical worldview in LTM models.

One fundamental tenet of any embodied approach to discourse analysis is the denial that there is an 'autonomous language mechanism that is independent of cognition' (Johnson 1987: 31). Instead, humans are seen to have 'general processing capacities' that can be specified for language comprehension (Langacker 2008). Following these observations, this thesis operates within the 'holistic paradigm' (Ziem 2014: 36) of cognitive linguistics in which the following claims are made:

- Linguistic-cognitive processes are 'grounded' (or embodied) in everyday human experience, including our experience of three-dimensional space (Lakoff and Johnson 1999).

- Language processing recruits perceptual and sensorimotor processes which contribute to meaning in the form of image schemas and conceptual metaphors (Johnson 1987).

- Spatial concepts developed in the first six months of infancy feature in the meanings of language (Mandler 1992), which has implications for conceptualisation (e.g. schematization, categorization and metaphorical projection) during adulthood.

Within this holistic perspective, the concern of the theorist has been to detect operational relations and pose different representational formats for knowledge structures. These representational formats have included 'mental spaces' (Fauconnier 1985), 'idealized cognitive models' (Lakoff 1987), 'text worlds' (Werth 1999) and 'domains' (Langacker 1987) to name a few. So, the primary concern of cognitive linguistic theory has been to investigate fundamental cognitive processes such as categorization, figure/ground distinctions, pattern recognition and schematization (Ziem 2014). In consultation with imagistic perspectives to the mental model, Chilton (2005) offers a 'deictic space model' for mapping the construal of discourse entities within a geometric design that takes into consideration space, time and evaluation. Chilton's models are built on the assumption that construal operations in mental models are deictically encoded from the writer's point of view, so that the reader is invited to take on the subjective perspective of the text.

1.3 Proposal for a scenes-and-episodes approach to conceptual structure

After reviewing the relevant literature in Chapters 3 and 4, it will be shown how conceptual operations such as schematization, categorization, metaphorical projection and mental space function within a general cognitive format. In Chapter 5, I advance a scenes-and-episodes framework, where I discuss an embodied approach to conceptual structures active in both STM and LTM. For data, I have chosen the introductory sections of two social movement manifesto texts (see Appendices A and B). I discuss the historical context surrounding these manifestos in Chapter 2, and will interchangeably use both texts when illustrating different representational formats for conceptual structure throughout the literature review. However, I focus exclusively on the Weatherman text when providing a detailed demonstration of the scenes-and-episodes framework in Chapters 6 and 7.

Taking Chilton's geometric formalization of the mental model on board, in Chapter 5 I theorize the construal and categorization of discourse contents within the constraints of an embodied perspective. I piece together a framework for text analysis using Lakoff's (1987) 'spatialization of form hypothesis' and Johnson's (1987) emphasis on 'image schemas' in order to investigate the fundamental structuring devices active in conceptualisation. The spatialization of form hypothesis states that conceptual structure can be explored via image schemas plus metaphorical projection. The basic logic of image schemas is due to their configurations as gestalts—as structured wholes, which are more than a mere collection of parts (Johnson 1987). For example, the CONTAINER schema is made up of an inside, outside and a boundary in every instance. The imagistic arrangements found in political mental models are governed by spatial schemas that are acquired during infancy (Mandler 2004). Language builds upon this early ability to recall scenes and episodes via a few schematically organized movements, and adults continue to use these schemas when trying to make sense of highly abstract political texts (Chilton 2014). When learning language, these schematic movements become linked to certain lexical and grammatical constructions. As one processes linguistic utterances particular imagistic schemas are cued, which enables the reader to mentally represent situations being read about in the text. The reader has the ability to arrange scenes and episodes in innumerable ways depending on the schematic relations holding between the discourse contents.

This ability to arrange situations in mental models in multiple ways depending on the schematic relations is known as 'construal' (Langacker 2008). Construal operations happening at the point of utterance is an online process in STM. Knowledge structures stored in LTM are considered offline in that they are already possessed by the reader (or hearer) and are available upon recall. The accumulation of these schematic interactions causes a mental simulation of situations being read about in the text. Vandervert (1997) claims that individual image schemas are pieced together one after another to produce an 'online simulation' of the incoming text. The sum of these image schemas avaliable for recruitment in constructing meaning, evoked by lexical and grammatical constructions, are understood here as making up a cognitive discourse grammar. With this framework, I trace image-schematic arrangements involved in construing discourse contents within a geometric backdrop in order to determine unconscious inference relations. My claim is that cognitions shared between members of any common political group can be explored by reconstructing the shared mental models prompted by a manifesto text. These shared

models are instrumental in setting the 'conceptual grounding' for rational thinking from the ingroup's collective point of view (Kaal 2017).

For a more complete understanding of the conceptualisation process, cognitive researchers should seek to better define the relationship between the construal of discourse contents in STM and categorical relations existing in LTM. Thus, one aspect of this thesis is concerned to demonstrate how online construal operations interact with offline conceptual structures during 'updating' in LTM (Zacks, Speer, Swallow, Braver and Reynolds 2007). It is already well known that intercommunication between STM and LTM models is happening within fractions of a second during the conceptualisation process (Van Dijk 2008: 17-18). The speed of communication between online and offline models must eventually lead cognitive linguists to the question: What does this rapid-processing observation mean for the inner structures of mental models, which are simultaneously being constructed at both the sentence level and discourse level? In Chapters 6 and 7, I explore how the accumulation of repetitive construal relations in STM models may also be responsible for setting categorical relations in LTM models.

Based on insights from all the representational formats considered for mental models in STM, I extend the scenes-and-episodes framework beyond construal operations in STM to include category structure in LTM. Like the scenes-and-episodes framework for construal operations in mental space, the format for a categorical relations in *frame space* consists of a few ontological domains (Johnson-Laird 1983), a set number of semantic categories (Van Dijk 1998), a limited number of imagistic structuring devices (Lakoff 1987) and a deictic design (Chilton 2014) all working together as a functional unit. Drawing on both propositional and cognitive approaches, I understand the manifesto text to instil socially shared mental models in the minds of readers. Each of these four model aspects (ontological domains, categorical contents, imagistic gestalts and deictic structures) work together in order to provide the reader with a cohesive interpretation of the communicative situation. Social cognition occurs when this conceptual structure is held in common by a politically oriented discourse community. This conceptual structure becomes essential for providing an ingroup with a shared interpretive design of the ongoing geopolitical situation.

In Chapter 8, I go further in discussing how ideological worldviews should primarily be understood as knowledge structures held in LTM. When cultural elites finish constructing a manifesto text, they distribute their message with hopes it will become a fixed and widespread worldview. Stabilisation of socio-political category structures in LTM accounts for social cognition amongst political ingroup members, allowing them to come to similar and speedy interpretations of the geopolitical situation (Van Dijk 2014). Hence, my goal is to explore how mobilizing text producers solidify conceptual structures in a social movement's collective mindset. Taking from social movement theory the idea that mental models have diagnostic and prognostic functions important for mobilization, from socio-cognitive discourse analysis that models are made up of a fixed number of semantic categories, from frame semantics the importance of syntactic relations, from cognitive linguistic theory its insistence on the primary role of image schemas in conceptualisation and from critical discourse analysis the elevation of deixis as a central construal operation, I provide a scenes-and-episodes framework for modelling conceptual structures occurring both online and offline during discourse processing.

To be clear, I am theorizing the internal structures of mental models, based on an embodied perspective. But I am still only offering up hypotheses which will need empirical verification in the future. What I am seeking to accomplish is to take the common ontological domains (space, time, causality, possibility and intentionality), semantic categories (identities, evaluations, mindsets, actions and goals), imagistic structures (CONTAINER, PATH, COUNTERFORCE, etc.) and deictic formats that have been discussed in differing literatures about mental models and combine them into one general format for reconstructing conceptual structures in manifesto texts.

Chapter 2: Historical Background

2.1 Origins of the New Left and Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)

The two selected case studies for this project are taken from social movement manifesto texts, both produced during the 1960's. In order to elucidate the political context, I sketch out the historical background surrounding the creation of the *Port Huron Statement* and the *Weatherman Statement*. After World War II, Americans moved from being isolationists to embracing the role of a global empire. Traditionally, the Republican Party had taken serious the first president's warning in his farewell address about not becoming involved in the affairs of other nations, what Washington called 'entangling alliances'. However, many conservative intellectuals predicted that post-war policy would be 'strongly imperialistic', with a focus on capturing oil resources in the Persian Gulf (Morley 1945). In the early 1950's a unification process called 'fusionism' occurred in the Republican Party where right-wing activists and intellectuals specifically focused on the libertarian, moral-traditionalist and emerging anti-communist strains in the party (Diamond 1995: 27). During this period conservatism did not yet have a social movement, but 'corporate-backed intellectuals established organizations through which they were able to consolidate thinking along conservatism's libertarian dimension' (ibid.). At this time, libertarian-oriented intellectuals began to use Austrian economic theories to openly critique new deal politics. The argument against the Left was that socialist policies in the US could potentially lead to either the fascism Americans were witnessing in Germany or the communism manifest in Russia. Bringing these ideological strands together, Conservatives wanted to consolidate a power base making anti-communism a badge of membership for the party.

The Communist Party, which had over 60,000 members at the end of the war broke up in 1954, mainly due to internal schisms between Trotskyist and Stalinist factions (Heale 1998). Externally, the party was under attack from the Senate Permanent Committee on Investigations under the chairmanship of Senator Joseph McCarthy (1952-1955), systematically persecuting both its members and sympathizers (Crosby 1978). During this period, anti-communism became the main national justification for US objectives abroad. On the domestic scene, Americans were experiencing the second 'Red Scare', where conservative senators attempted to rid the trade unions, academia and the entertainment industry of all communists. With this anti-communist priority, conservative leadership tended to downplay the libertarian and traditionalist components of their three-dimensional ideology. Anti-communism was the principle around which everyone on the Right could rally (Diamond 1995: 37). Corporate leaders latched onto this anti-communist priority while unions were purged of all their radical leaders and solidarity on the international level dissipated. After WWII the ideological mindset known as the 'Cold War' came to set the agenda for political policies (Chilton 1996). Both Republicans and Democrats constructed the Cold War as a moral struggle between two competing worldviews. Despite being complicit in fostering the Cold War mentality, the two parties differed greatly as to what they considered their target constituency. The Democratic Party sought the support of black voters, many of whom migrated to the north after the war. Republicans mostly opposed federal intervention into racial inequality and sought new party members among disaffected Southern Democrats for whom civil rights initiatives were perceived as threatening (Diamond 1995: 38).

The 1954 Supreme Court decision requiring school desegregation brought with it a new interest in local politics. From here, a civil rights movement developed embracing a non-violent style of action guided by moral conviction. On January 1st, 1960 four black college students from a college in Greensboro, North Carolina sat down at the counter of a department store cafeteria reserved exclusively for white customers. Within the following year, 'over 50,000 people had participated in a demonstration in 100 cities and over 3,600 spent time in jail' (Zinn 1997: 48). By the end of 1961 several hundred lunch counters were desegregated in Oklahoma, Texas and Georgia (ibid.). The civil rights movement began to develop this type of decentralized activity, but coordination took place slowly. The Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) sprang into existence in order to bring together different groups that had participated in the sit-ins. The organization's intention was to be an informal resource for autonomous groups in various southern states. The success of SNCC lie in its open and flexible nature, a lack of fixed bureaucracy and a democratic decision making process (Barber 2008). Civil rights leaders emphasized non-violent resistance though public demonstrations, economic boycotts of racist businesses and integration as the solution to overcoming disparities between races.

At the same time, in outright rejection of military conscription and a culture obsessed with material goods, a youthful counter-culture emerged complete with its own major ideological themes (e.g. love, peace), notions of community (e.g. free love, self-fulfilment), artistic expressions (e.g. beat poetry, folk music) and political representatives (e.g. the Youth International Party). This rejection of the previous generation's institutional aspirations happened in many other places around the world experiencing similar cultural revolutions among the youth including China, Germany, Japan, Mexico and the United Kingdom. These new counter-cultural revolutionaries are referred to as the 'New Left' (Teodori 1969: 69). General positions holding these loosely-knit groups in common included the tendencies to view society as a system, participatory democracy as a method for guiding political decision making and individual moral revolt as the means of changing society (ibid.). Tired of the bickering and stagnation of the previous Left centred around labour struggles, this generation denied the possibility of becoming an 'avant-garde party' and instead embraced a scepticism of experts, abolition of hierarchical institutional relations and decentralization (ibid.). Instead of coming up with a grand social theory for solving the problems of society in general, the New Left were more interested in regional analyses, where they could understand and immediately confront any undemocratic situation.

In summers between semesters, university students from campuses all over the country travelled to the southern states in order to help push forward the civil rights agenda. Many university students participated in voting drives, civil rights marches and sit-ins. The goal was to organize blacks and poor whites through educational projects and direct action (Hayden 2005). These students faced the violence of trying to overturn a centuries-long apartheid, cutting their organizational teeth in solidarity with civil rights leaders. Experiencing a series of escalating violent encounters of beatings and incarcerations, these students became radicalized. Struggling with blacks in the south, the students began to understand the nature of the country's political structures, so that when they arrived back on their university campuses they brought with them a new political analysis.

Returning to the universities, a handful of these activists founded an organization called Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and wrote the *Port Huron Statement*, which cast a vision for a post-Cold War mentality. These activists, mainly from north eastern ivy-league universities, sought to realign the Democratic Party as a 'party of the people' by filling the party with radicals and driving out the southern conservative element known as the 'Dixiecrats' (Wilkerson 2007). SDS leadership called for a coalition of the oppressed including minority groups, workers and students. Learning from the civil rights movement the effectiveness of nonviolence in changing government policy, SDS incorporated peaceful-yet-confrontational tactics within a broader strategy for mobilizing a political student base (Sale 1974). Klatch (1999: 10) conducted life-histories of seventeen women and nineteen men that had been involved in SDS activities throughout the 1960s. She found that most SDS activists fell on the same side of the political divide as their parents.[1] Out of her sample, parents of SDS activists ranged from new deal anti-communists and liberal democrats, to those identifying as socialists or communists. Among the values of SDS parents were the importance of civil rights and anti-racism, being suspicious of the powerful, questioning political leaders, organizing labour unions, helping the poor and rejecting materialism (Klatch 1999: 46-48).

In March 1962 Tom Hayden began his draft notes of the *Port Huron Statement*, claiming that a commitment to 'value free' research in American universities and the increasing turn to specialization results in moral blindness and political impotence (Miller 1987: 93). At this time SDS had eleven chapters and wanted to create a collective statement that would act more as a living document than a definitive manifesto. The small group rented a United Auto Workers union camp site at Port Huron Michigan. The agenda was to hold a week-long educational conference with a series of speakers and panels, while revising and accepting Hayden's manuscript (Miller 1987: 105). The conference was organized around six broad discussion topics including human nature, the complexity of modern society, the structure of large corporations, mass society, totalitarianism and Third World revolutions. In July 1962, the first mimeographed copies of the finished position paper appeared in New York and were mailed out to members. In 1964, 20,000 copies of the complete document were printed and two years later 25,000 copies were made containing selected exerts (McMillian 2008).

Influenced by his teacher Arnold Kaufman in his essay 'Participatory Democracy and Human Nature', Hayden carried forward a vision of society in which every citizen assumed direct responsibility for decision-making and sought to develop the human powers of thought, feeling and action (Miller 1987: 108). However, Hayden did not foresee that any form of participatory democracy would ever overtake representative democracy, but simply recognized that increased participation is important for voters to make informed decisions in the midst of representative institutions. As Miller (1987: 144) records, quoting Hayden:

> Voting was not enough. Having a democracy in which you have an apathetic citizenship, spoon-fed information by a monolithic media, periodically voting, was a very weak, a declining form of democracy. And we believed, as an end in itself, to make the human being whole by becoming an actor in history instead of

[1] Klatch's study shows that a majority of activists enter into a linage of political ideology from parents to children indicating a 'continuity of belief' (1999: 10). This suggests that a majority of activists were not acting out of the need to reject a parental belief system, but were acting with the intention to extend and apply these beliefs in their contemporary situation.

> a passive object. Not only as an end in itself, but as a means to change, the idea of participatory democracy was our central focus.

As a concept, participatory democracy holds many meanings to the members of SDS. For the more socialist-minded in SDS, the problem was trying to figure out a way to 'talk about socialism in an American accent' (Miller 1987: 151). In doing so, they tried to redefine the socialist tradition in terms of its democratic content, where the principles of democracy would be extended from the political sphere into industrial and educational sectors. Yet, it was not clear how participatory democracy was compatible with the country's political system. Because the political reality was so far away from the democratic ideal of SDS, most organizers downplayed the radical implications and spoke of participatory democracy as the 'restoration of a lost American dream' (ibid.). This strategic move by SDS left a false impression of historical precedent and blurred the meaning of democracy because they needed an expedient way to unite people with differing interests under a common political umbrella.

Although there were multiple revisions of the *Port Huron Statement*, there were only two major contested amendments, which included more recognition of the role of the labour movement in producing social change and taking a more explicit stance against communism. Not wanting to concede any ground to Cold War politics, SDS decided to disassociate itself from any totalitarian state, including the Soviet model. This sentiment is echoed in the preamble to the SDS constitution where it states, '[SDS] feels the *urgency* to put forth a radical, democratic program counterposed to authoritarian movements both of Communism and the domestic Right.' Additionally, in the *Port Huron Statement,* the opening paragraph of a section entitled 'Communism and Foreign Policy' states, 'As Democrats we are in basic opposition to the communist system. The Soviet Union, as a system, rests on total suppression of opposition, as well as a vision of the future in the name of which much human life has been sacrificed, and numerous small and large denials of human dignity rationalized'.

2.2 Rise of the anti-war SDS

By the end of 1964, SDS decided to sponsor a nationwide demonstration in Washington against the Vietnam War, but drew only a handful of students. Between February to November 1965, President Johnson began to escalate the troop numbers into Vietnam from 25,000 to 200,000 (Berger 2006). March 1965 saw the first 'teach in' on a university campus against the war, with hundreds following the next few months. In May, a Berkeley teach-in lasted 36 hours with 35,000 people in attendance (ibid.). Under new leadership in April 1965, SDS again organized a march on Washington joined by pacifist organizations and other Left groups (e.g. War Resisters League, Committee for Non-Violent Action, W.E.B. DuBois Club and May 2nd Movement), this time drawing over 20,000 people (Sale 1974). After hours of picketing the White House, the president of SDS, Paul Potter, spoke in front of the Washington monument giving what has come to be called the 'Naming the System' speech. In his speech, Potter (1965) commands the crowd to 'name the system' stating, 'We must name it, describe it, analyse it, understand it and change it'. Potter (ibid.) criticizes the usefulness of the Vietnam War in bringing 'freedom' to either the Vietnamese or the American people, calling the war a 'cultural genocide'. Potter (ibid.) explains that he is 'not simply talking about napalm or gas or crop destruction or torture…[but about] a larger pattern of destruction'. By this he meant the destruction of local customs, mass dislocation of the Vietnamese people and their

placement into concentration camps. In his speech, Potter (ibid.) asks a series of open ended questions calling on the audience to engage in national reflection on the merits of the Vietnam War:

> What kind of system is it that justifies the United States or any other country seizing the destinies of the Vietnamese people and using them callously for its own purpose? What place is there for ordinary men in that system and how are they to control it, make it bend itself to their will rather than bending them to its? How do you stop a war? If the war has its roots deep in the institutions of American society, how do you stop it? How can you make the decision makers hear us, insulated as they are, if they cannot hear the screams of a little girl burnt by napalm?

At this gathering in Washington, SDS consisted of about 30 local groups and around 2,000 members. After the April 1965 march the organization rapidly increased to 125 groups and doubled membership (Sale 1974). Afterwards, SDS organizers decided upon a three-pronged strategy for following up on the demonstration: 1) Organize grass-roots activists around Vietnam, 2) Start building a 'National Vietnam Week' and 3) violate the 1917 Espionage Act by encouraging young men to resist the draft (Wells 1994: 44). By June, SDS leadership felt that they were being ignored by the government as the war in Vietnam only escalated, and they began having doubts about the effectiveness of non-violent tactics. This is the same year that many autonomous SDS chapters throughout the country began leafleting draft induction centres, urging youth to apply for conscientious objector status and directly confronting military recruiters on campus.

In June 1965 SDS elected Carl Ogelesby, its first national leader who had not been part of the founding Port Huron group, and who had only become politically active within the anti-war movement. At the annual SDS national convention, held in Kewadin Michigan, the delegates agreed to take the anti-communist 'exclusion clauses' out of the constitution. The preamble to the constitution was changed from 'a radical, democratic program counterposed to authoritarian movements both of Communism and the domestic Right' to 'a radical, democratic program whose methods embody a democratic vision'. Although more senior members of SDS were wary of such changes, younger members tended to feel that any attempt at communist exclusion was simply irrelevant. Many argued that strict exclusionism could not work in an organization like SDS, which had no strict qualifications for membership. Because of this change, SDS lost the sponsorship of their parent organization: the League for Industrial Democracy (LID) (Heath 1976). The board of directors quickly requested the student group retract this decision stating that, 'We are…deeply troubled that the 1965 convention of our student department…removed from its constitution and membership card the long-standing reference to Communism as an authoritarian movement' and went on to say, 'We seek a reaffirmation of SDS's adherence to the traditional opposition…to totalitarianism of both the Right and the Left' (Sale 1974: 138-139). After the Kewadin convention, LID called a meeting with SDS but student leadership failed to show up. In an underground newspaper editorial, Oglesby (1965b) speaks to this concern about removing the anti-communist clauses writing, 'So we welcome communists do we? We welcome small-d democrats and converts to radical democracy, not totalitarians in cloaks—neither red cloaks nor fed cloaks'. Oglesby (ibid.) goes on to call the conflict with LID a 'guilt by association attack'.

In November 1965, during a march on Washington organized by anti-nuclear activists, Oglesby delivered a speech harshly condemning the liberal ruling class and emphasizing the constant element of imperialism. In his speech, Oglesby (1965a) takes up Potter's previous challenge to 'name the system' giving it the title 'corporate liberalism'. He argues that since 1932 the American government has considered itself liberal, with President Truman staring the war in Vietnam as a 'mainstream liberal', Eisenhower giving approval as a 'moderate liberal' and Kennedy intensifying the conflict as a 'flaming liberal'. Echoing the sarcasm of Shakespeare's Marc Antony, Oglesby (ibid.) quips, 'They are not moral monsters. They are all honorable men. They are all liberals'. Addressing the audience, Oglesby (1965a) acknowledges that some in the crowd will think that his speech sounds anti-American, to these concerned patriots he replies, 'Don't blame me for that! Blame those who mouthed my liberal values and broke my American heart'. Ending his speech, he questions the American corporate system that enables 'five percent of the world's people…[to] consume half of the world's goods'. He goes on to question the American people who are the direct beneficiaries of this system saying:

> On the face of it, it is a crime that so few should have so much at the expense of so many. Where is the moral imagination so abused as to call this just? Perhaps many of us feel a bit uneasy in our sleep. We are not, after all, a cruel people. And perhaps we don't really need this super-dominance that deforms others. But what can we do? The investments are made. The financial ties are established. The plants abroad are built. Our system exists. One is swept up into it. How intolerable—to be born moral, but addicted to a stolen and maybe surplus luxury. Our goodness threatened to become counterfeit before our eyes—unless we change.

By 1967 the escalation of American troops into Vietnam had exceeded 400,000 (Sale 1974). Known as 'Vietnam Summer', over the summer break around 20,000 students and concerned activists dedicated themselves to educational work, discussing the causes and nature of the Vietnam War throughout the country (Hayden 2005). Peaceful protesters were becoming frustrated by the ineffectiveness of their increasingly massive demonstrations. Building on the resonating social justice component of the civil rights message, SDS began to look outward, beyond the domestic situation, and came to demand justice for international peoples as well. Many local factions within SDS integrated Marxist ideals into their social critique and some adopted a vision of global solidarity. In the midst of prominent civil rights leaders being assassinated[2] and the US government's program of covert infiltration and systematic destabilization of Left organizations (cf. COINTELPRO), the Black Panther Party for Self-Defence (BPP) rose to the occasion (Churchill and Vander Wall 2002). Ideologically, the BPP can be defined as anti-imperialist. Seeing their social situation as an extension of US colonial activities abroad, the BPP expressed solidarity with Third World revolutionary movements fighting for national sovereignty (Bloom and Martin 2016). Leaders of the BPP considered themselves an internal colony of the empire, which were suffering the same oppressive fate as all the other brown and black peoples of the world. For this reason, they became active in protecting their communities by providing free breakfast clubs to disadvantaged children, overtly documenting police activities and arming themselves with firearms. By 1968, the US was experiencing an unprecedented amount of anti-war

2 Key assassination dates: Malcom X (February 21st 1965), Martin Luther King Jr. (April 4th 1968), Robert Kennedy (June 6th 1968) and Fred Hampton (December 4th 1969).

protest led most visibly by SDS (Darnovsky, Epstein and Flacks 1995). In August that year, the Democratic National Convention held in Chicago saw massive street riots instigated by frustrated protesters. From this point forward, a stream of political events fed into a spirit of militancy, bringing with it an apocalyptic sense that immediate change was essential.

2.3 Progressive Labour, Revolutionary Youth and Weatherman

Nearing the end of the 1960's, views within SDS over how to end the war in Vietnam were divided amongst three broad factional positions. The Progressive Labour (PL) faction of SDS took a more traditional Marxist approach. PL were mainly made up of disenfranchised Maoists who had been expelled from the Communist Party. Founded on the principle of democratic centralism, the group fostered a tight cadre style and adopted conservative dress with short hair-cuts and working class clothing (Klatch 1999). PL was opposed to counter-cultural drug use, beards, long hair and cohabitation. PL advocated that students should continue seeking a socialist revolution though organizing the industrial working class, pushing union trade agreements and by infiltrating the Democratic Party structure. As early as 1967, PL were making a serious attempt to recruit SDS members through its worker-student alliance program, which called upon students to join the working class by supporting striking workers. In contrast, the Revolutionary Youth Movement (RYM) faction of SDS saw working class mobilization as a dead end because it only addressed the concerns of the white community in the US. RYM thought that an exclusive focus on workers neglected the harsh realities of oppression experienced by both black and youth communities throughout the world. In response, RYM proposed that SDS should take on a fully revolutionary identity and fall in line with the leadership of the BPP in understanding themselves as part of a global revolution. RYM believed that white workers had the potential for revolutionary change, and hoped that a combination of blacks, women and students would take a key role in raising the consciousness of the white working class. The Weatherman faction of SDS emerged from within RYM, advocating that violent action be taken. Weatherman wanted to fight the revolution from behind enemy lines as a white guerrilla army of a much larger anti-racist and anti-imperialist struggle. While many within the RYM faction agreed with Weatherman's revolutionary diagnosis, they were highly sceptical that immediate violent action would produce fruitful results in the US context.

Founders of the Weatherman faction include Karen Ashley, Bill Ayers, Bernardine Dohrn, John Jacobs, Jeff Jones, Jerry Long, Jim Mellen, Howie Machtinger, Mark Rudd, Terry Robbins and Steve Tappis. This group of loosely affiliated campus organizers formed around the need to respond to PL's revolutionary framework steeped in what they saw as outdated Marxist orthodoxy. SDS, up to that point, had not yet worked out a comprehensive theory of revolutionary change. At the end of 1968, these future Weatherman activists travelled throughout the country presenting a series of strategy papers at SDS national meetings, and met in tight-knit discussion groups seeking to produce contemporary understandings of the revolutionary situation (Jacobs 1970). These revolutionary discussion groups resulted in a 12,000-word document that was sent to SDS's in-house periodical *New Left Notes*. The document was also to be presented at the June 1969 national conference as a strategy paper (Weatherman 1969a). The night before the group sent their freshly conceived manifesto text to the mimeograph machine, a few organizers were up late in a Chicago apartment trying to come up with a name. Rudd (2010: 146) relates that, 'Terry Robbins, who had memorized dozens of Bob Dylan

songs, blurted out the line from *Subterranean Homesick Blues* "You don't need a weatherman / To know which way the wind blows"'. The lyric fit the spirit of the manifesto's contents perfectly as Weatherman wanted to leave behind outdated Marxist theorizing and put in its place a more up-to-date, action-based approach to social transformation. The name Weatherman was meant to appeal to the youth culture, taking on Dylan's meaning that you don't need experts to tell you how to make revolution.

The main ideological task for Weatherman was to convince the rest of SDS that white activists should support domestic black liberation while opposing colonial exploitation abroad. Weatherman leaders found their inspiration from recent student power struggles on American campuses (e.g. Berkeley, Columbia) and Third World revolutionary movements (e.g. Cuba, China). Interested in 'propaganda of the deed', Weatherman sought to update Ché Guevara's strategy of resistance in rural Latin America, as well as to revise the Tupamaros urban guerrilla war strategy in Uruguay (Varon 2004). John Jacobs and Jim Mellen took the role of theoretical leaders and pushed an extreme internationalist perspective suggesting armed struggle in the Third World as a potential model for organizing. Weatherman's organizational vision came to mean creating a white fighting force of university students and working class youths based in major urban centres throughout the country. The reason behind turning to youth as the main agents of change was that 'students have less of a stake in society and are some of the most hurt by unemployment, jail-like schools, and conscription into imperial war' (Weatherman 1969b). Organizing the white industrial and professional classes was understood as a dead end because of their own racial position of 'white skin privilege' (ibid.). Weatherman also embraced a youthful, counter-cultural lifestyle, calling for sexual liberation and the 'smashing of monogamy' (ibid.).

By 1969 the national image of SDS promoted by the media was of an 'extremist organization determined to overthrow the US government' (Gitlin 1980: 360). In June, SDS held its last national convention at the Chicago coliseum. Although organizers of the convention tried to secure facilities on surrounding college campuses, they came up empty handed due to administrative hostility toward SDS (Rudd 2010: 148). At the entrance of the convention centre, Weatherman members were passing out a short eight page tract entitled 'Bring the War Home', in which they claimed that the American social system is in an irreversible crisis situation. In this tract, Weatherman (1969b) indicate their interest in putting together a movement made up of black people 'who are being murdered by the police', working people 'facing higher taxes and inflation' and young people 'who trained for jobs that don't exist'. The solution proffered by Weatherman was to employ strategic action not simply against a single war like Vietnam, but 'against the whole imperialist system that made the war a necessity'. With this coalition of fighters, Weatherman wanted to establish another revolutionary front against imperialism inside American borders. The pamphlet ends demanding that all occupation troops withdraw from Vietnam, that all political prisoners involved in the black liberation struggle be released, that the National Liberation Front in South Vietnam be supported and that the American people stopped being taxed to pay for killing 'working people in Vietnam and other places for fun and profit' (ibid.).

During opening deliberations at the 1969 national convention in Chicago the three main ideological factions within SDS had problems agreeing on basic procedural matters. The leaders of SDS at the national office were frustrated by the anti-democratic attitude of PL because they followed a party line and always voted in blocs (Rudd 2010: 149). In

response to PL, Weatherman invited black and brown allies of SDS (e.g. Puerto Rican Young Lords, Chicano Brown Berets and the Chicago BPP) as guest speakers to the convention. These invitations by Weatherman were strategic in nature. By granting minority speakers access to address the convention floor, Weatherman wanted to discredit the ideological stance of PL and RYM, which largely ignored the role of minority organizations in bringing about revolutionary change. On the second day of the convention BPP leader Jewel Cook proclaimed that 'SDS would have to kick out PL, which denied the right of self-determination to oppressed people, or else cease to be called revolutionary' (Rudd 2010: 151). BPP leaders were not yet sensitive to the newly budding women's rights movement, which white New Left leaders were struggling to incorporate into an anti-imperialist framework. Because of this insensitivity to the emerging woman's liberation movement, one BPP speaker at the conference publically made sexist comments that represented an ideological misstep and embarrassed Weatherman leaders, who had placed so much authority in the BPP as a vanguard. PL, by no means feminists, took advantage of the opportunity and began the chant 'Fight Male Chauvinism! Fight Male Chauvinism!'(ibid.). RYM and Weatherman, sensing the fragile balance of power swinging in the PL direction, quickly responded by appropriating the Panther slogan 'Power to the People! Power to the People!' Taking the advantage of this disruption, Bernadine Dohrn, who at the time was SDS inter-organizational secretary and pro-Weatherman, rushed to the microphone and said, 'We're going to have to decide whether we can continue to stay in the same organization with people who deny the right of self-determination to the oppressed! Anyone who wants to talk about that, follow me into the next room' (Rudd 2010: 152). At this point around five hundred convention participants followed her and ultimately voted to rid SDS of the PL faction. Rudd (ibid.) notes that, 'Bernardine's proposal won, roughly 5 to 1'. When RYM and Weatherman factions re-entered the larger meeting still happening on the convention floor, they took up positions guarding the main stage and announced PL's expulsion.

This was the last time all three ideological factions met under the larger banner of SDS. The dismantling of the organization occurred without a proper vote being taken on the convention floor. The ideological showdown between rival factions ended in an organizational coup, spearheaded by Weatherman. On the last day of the convention, while PL continued to meet at the coliseum, around a thousand delegates met at a Congregationalist church near the Chicago national office. Here RYM and Weatherman ran separate slates of candidates for the national office positions. Candidates from the Weatherman faction 'won all three national positions' (Gitlin 1980: 209). By the end of the 1969 convention, PL had been expelled, RYM disregarded and mass demonstrations of violence called for in Chicago. Now in charge, Weatherman insisted SDS focus exclusively on mobilizing working-class youth to join revolutionary actions against the Vietnam War. These irreconcilable factional differences had caused SDS to drift away from what the Port Huron founders had intended. Beginning the student organization with the intention of avoiding dogma, doctrine, top-down discipline, factional warfare, and sectarian style language, by the end it had fallen prey to all the rhetorical excesses that plagued the previous American Left. From its founding in 1960 until its demise in 1969, the membership rolls of SDS increased year by year, and by the end claimed over 300 chapters and approximately 100,000 official members (McMillian 2008: 86). The disbanding of SDS signals the winding down of the cycle of protest begun by the civil rights movement, where activists began to disperse into a more narrow identity politics.

With a mixture of revolutionary ideals, the first national action called for by Weatherman was direct, targeted and violent. The idea was to give the American people a taste of the violence perpetrated by the empire at large, which was captured in their slogan: '|||Bring the War Home'. The 'days of rage' outing, in October of 1969, was the first and last of such direct action events in which a small group of SDS members, sympathetic to Weatherman, engaged in hand-to-hand combat with the Chicago police force (Varon 2004). Expecting thousands of people to join them, Weatherman were disappointed to find only around two hundred and fifty activists interested in violent tactics. After these dangerous demonstrations in Chicago, many Weatherman leaders received harsh indictments by federal courts for 'crossing state lines with the intent to cause riots', causing them to quickly submerge underground (Jacobs 1970). For a few former SDS organizers this was just the beginning of operating a clandestine terrorist organization. From that point forward, Weatherman sought to destabilize the state through the use of 'armed propaganda', by bombing government and corporate buildings serving as operational hubs for promoting colonial violence (ibid.). Weatherman's ambition was to live out an urban guerrilla war in America inspired by Third World national resistance movements. They envisioned that this militant approach would successfully mobilize disenfranchised lower class youth and signal their allegiance to the BPP, whom they had defined as the true revolutionary vanguard in the US.

Just before going underground, in December 1969, Weatherman used the printing press of SDS to release a few issues of a new journal entitled *Fire*. These publications contained images of machine guns, New Left martyrs and communist leaders throughout the world. In this journal, Weatherman (1969c) made clear their intentions to become 'part of the international war' and openly encouraged 'attacks on imperialist property and power'. Not until July 31, 1970 would Weatherman make another public statement, which came in the form of a communiqué. Following the tactics of Third World revolutionaries, Weatherman released a communiqué to the national press in order to take credit for and explain the reasons behind any subversive action they committed. In Weatherman's case, this usually involved bombing various government and corporate buildings. The first communiqué, phoned in by Bernardine Dohrn, was entitled 'A Declaration of a State of War'. In this initial message to the public, Weatherman (1970a) explain 'we never intended to spend the next five to twenty-five years of our lives in jail'. In regards to social change they are convinced 'protests and marches don't do it…revolutionary violence is the only way'. Using Ché Guevara's philosophy that 'revolutionaries move like fish in the sea', they claim that the contempt young people have for the country has 'created the ocean for this revolution'. Mocking federal and local police forces, Weatherman (ibid.) report, 'We're not hiding out but we're invisible'. The first communiqué ends claiming that in the 'next fourteen days we will attack a symbol or institution of American injustice' (ibid.). Although failing to meet their detonation date, a few days later Weatherman successfully bombed the police headquarters in New York City.

In a second communiqué released to the press, Weatherman take credit for the New York City bombing, and derogatorily refer to the police as 'pigs'. Weatherman (1970b) state, 'The pigs in this country are our enemies' and that 'The pigs try to look invulnerable, but we keep finding their weaknesses'. Again, Weatherman end their communiqué by taunting law enforcement saying, 'Every time the pigs think they've stopped us, we come back a little stronger and a lot smarter. They guard their buildings and we walk right past their guards. They look for us; we get to them first' (ibid.). Perhaps the greatest success

of Weatherman was their ability to avoid capture by federal officials, proving that maintaining an active revolutionary underground was possible. To give these subversive actions context, in the early 1970s 'over twenty thousand government targets inside the US were bombed', while Weatherman only took responsibility for around a dozen (Dohrn, Ayers and Jones 2006: 29). A few of their most infamous targets were the US Capitol, the Pentagon, Gulf Oil's Pittsburgh headquarters and the State Department. By 1976 Weatherman, as an organized bombing campaign, had officially dissolved with all the members either having been arrested or making the decision to resurface and face the legal consequences.

Moving forward, in the next two chapters I review contemporary approaches to modelling the inner structure of mental models using the Port Huron and Weatherman manifestos as data. In Chapter 3, I begin with propositional approaches to conceptual structure currently employed in social movement studies, socio-cognitive discourse analysis and frame semantics. In Chapter 4, I turn to imagistic approaches discussing the role of schemas in cognitive linguistics and deictic space in cognitive discourse studies. Collecting the most useful ideas from each model, in Chapter 5 I present a scenes-and-episodes framework for reconstructing construal operations in STM models and categorical relations in LTM models. This scenes-and-episodes approach is demonstrated in Chapter 6 with reconstructions of mental models built in STM, and in Chapter 7 with reconstructions of mental models coming to have a stabilized structure in LTM. In Chapter 8, I end with a discussion about how shared mental models, as espoused manifesto texts, contribute to social cognition within political groups. Mental models that are held in common promote shared interpretations of the ongoing geopolitical situation by providing the group a standard worldview from which to make logical conclusions.

Chapter 3: Propositional Approaches

In this chapter, my intention is to compare representational formats for mental models across different literature bases. I begin by looking at three propositional approaches. Propositional approaches conceive the inner structure of the mental model to be hierarchical in nature. Within discourse approaches influenced by cognitive psychology, memory representations are thought to be hierarchically structured networks, where a fixed number of general categories are arranged in a conceptual schema aiding in the organization of memory retrieval. As Johnston (2005: 241) states, 'most models of cognitive processing presume that experience is organized hierarchically', where 'higher-level categories subsume a multiplicity of detail and serve as points of access for retrieval from memory'. I start my investigation with social movement theory, where recently there has been a call for cognitive oriented methodologists to develop a standardized way for reconstructing mental models. The aim is to develop a representational format able to be replicated, and thereby aid in forming a comparative approach for ideology studies. After considering social movement studies, I look at formats inspired by cognitive psychology and frame semantics. Specifically, I examine discourse-processing models as described in Van Dijk's (2014) socio-cognitive approach to text analysis. Then, I turn to 'case frames' and discuss Fillmore's (1968) approach to mental models. Fillmore's approach to model construction comes last because his insights into semantic structure act as a bridge between propositional and imagistic approaches. Crucially, Fillmore (1977) recognizes that the surface structure of the text evokes a conceptualisation of scenes and episodes in the mind of the reader. In Chapter 4, I continue to compare approaches to mental models across different literatures interested in cognitive linguistics. In this investigation, I mean to establish that there is a consensus across disciplines that texts lead to social action by establishing worldviews within groups of people. In the literature review, I examine a cognitive turn in both sociological and discourse studies in which these worldviews are seen as grounded in cognition. At present, there is still wide disagreement on the form and the structure of these mental models and how best to represent them.

3.1 Social movement theory and collective action frames

In the early 1980s, social movement theorists turned to cognitive frames as a way to theorize the interface between cultural and social structures (Snow, Rochford, Worden and Benford 1986). Before the emergence of frame approaches, the production of meanings within social movement mobilization campaigns were largely ignored (Vicari 2010: 505). At present, most sociological approaches to framing are inspired by the work of Goffman (1974: 27) who defines frames as 'mental constructs that organize perception and interpretation'. Drawing on the frame theory of Goffman, Snow and Benford (1988: 137) define a frame as an 'interpretive schemata that simplifies and condenses the "world out there" by selectively punctuating and encoding objects, situations, events, experiences, and sequences of action'. Extending the frame concept in order to explore social change, Benford and Snow (2000: 614) offer the term 'collective action frame', which they define as 'action-oriented sets of beliefs and meanings that inspire and legitimate the activities and campaigns of a social movement organization'. Since social movement researchers seek to understand mobilization processes, they have viewed frames as 'intentionally constructed guides to action' created by cultural elites who (re)define the socio-political situation as being in need of transformation (Johnston 2005:

2). The process of defining the political situation in order to promote movement activity is referred to as the 'forging of collective action frames' or 'framing processes' (ibid.).

Elaboration of the framing perspective originally articulated in social movement studies has tended to shift discussion away from mental constructs and toward organizational processes involved in mobilization (Snow et al. 1986; Snow and Benford 1988). In contrast to the theoretical tradition in political sociology, which considers phenomena termed as 'belief systems', 'cognitive schemes', or 'ideology', this concept of framing has been developed within the guidelines of the symbolic interactionist tradition (Benford and Snow 2000). This theoretical perspective places high importance on the social character of shared frames, which leads researchers in this tradition to focus especially on the organizational processes relevant to their creation. Similar to the post-structuralist emphasis on emergence, symbolic-interactionist theories consider all ideological thought to be in constant development and responsiveness to the socio-political context. Reflecting on their methodological approach to frame analysis, Snow and Benford (2005: 207) explain: 'Our objective was to attempt to specify the interactive processes by which frames are socially constructed, sustained, contested, and altered, the phenomenological constraints on those processes, and the consequences of these processes for aspects of mobilization'. Within this symbolic interactionist school, theorists have offered various classifications of framing strategies (cf. Johnston 2005). The most popular approach to framing in social movement studies sees mobilisation as effected through three core framing tasks: diagnostic framing, prognostic framing and motivational framing (Snow and Benford 1992). The main benefit of this classificatory scheme is that the analyst can discern which portions of a mobilizing text are identifying problems, offering solutions or inciting action.[3] Despite these divisional framing schemes capturing some basic pragmatic elements of ideological texts, they were never intended to be used as tools for an in-depth discourse analysis. Instead, they serve as useful descriptive categories for social movement scholars seeking a more exacting way to elucidate movement organizational processes. However, Johnston (1995: 219) is wary of this strictly organizational way of viewing the collective action frame and is convinced that 'only an intensive discursive analysis, from the bottom-up, from the text to the frame can reconstruct framing processes'.

3.1.1 Call for a cognitive approach

The descriptive method of the framing community has traditionally not had anything to say about how manifesto texts set in place a coherent political worldview for social movement members. In fact, current sociological approaches to framing do not yet provide 'a deductive procedure to test hypotheses in analysing frames' (Gerhards and Rucht 1992: 573). The lack of useful methods to analyse frames stem primarily from the fact that 'the objects of the analysis are texts and frame analysis refers to the system of meaning represented by these texts' (ibid.). Addressing this problem, social movement scholars have recently expanded on interactionist frame analyses, calling for more cognitive approaches to the collective action frame (Johnston and Oliver 2005; Tucker 2013). While movement studies have been predominately interested in 'framing' as a contingent, emergent and negotiated process, this small cohort of researchers have begun to treat the social movement frame as a 'relatively fixed template' or 'fully formed cognitive structure' (Oliver and Johnston 2005: 188). So far, social movement theorists

3 Vicari (2010) finds that Gamson's (1995) 'frame components' largely overlap with Snow and Benford's (1992) 'framing tasks'.

have focused almost exclusively on the verb ‘framing’ as a historically contingent interactive process, while assuming the noun ‘frame’ must consist of a relatively stable cognitive structure. These new cognitive frame analysts contend that ‘it is the noun—an interpretive frame defined as a cognitive structure with specifiable content—that will move the framing perspective forward, not the verb, not descriptions of framing processes as ends in themselves’ (ibid.). The main proponent of this view, Johnston (1995: 219) states, ‘The scheme of signification that frames belong to can be understood as the mental structure that social movement participants adopt to get involved in collective action’. The frame concept points to cognitive operations wherein people utilize contextual background knowledge to interpret an event and locate it in a larger system of meaning. Johnston (1995: 235) argues that the goal of modelling frame structure is a worthwhile pursuit, yet points out ‘that there are no shared criteria about how to do this, nor are there rules to ascertain whether a frame has been correctly interpreted’.

3.1.2 Cognitive maps for argument structure

In a comparative study of movement frames, Gerhards and Rucht (1992) introduce a cognitive turn in social movement literature by reproducing the ‘frame structure’ of two widely distributed leaflet campaigns in Germany. The analysts take the leaflets to be broadly representative of each movement organization’s worldview. By reconstructing the frame, they intend to compare structural relations between the pamphlets with the help of a ‘schematic diagram’ that reveals the causal relations between concepts in the frame. In order to analyse the inner structure of the frame, Gerhards and Rucht (1992: 574) draw on ‘a method for analysing decision-making processes’ first proposed by Axelrod (1976) who was interested in mathematical theories of collective decision making. Using Axelrod’s notation system, the authors produce a frame structure in the form of a directed graph of points and vectors. With this propositional approach, the analysts are able to make comparisons amongst the range of topics included in the text and discern logical connections between entities making up an argument structure.

When working with this cognitive-sociological approach, reproducing the inner structure of a collective action frame is accomplished by constructing a ‘cognitive map’. Axelrod (1976: 55) defines a cognitive map as ‘a specific way of representing a person’s assertions about some limited domain, such as a policy problem’. This kind of mapping is designed to capture the structure of the person’s causal assertions and to generate the consequences that follow from this structure. Cognitive maps consist of a ‘complex system with two kinds of parts and two basic laws of interaction amongst the parts’ (Axelrod 1976: 343). The two basic parts of the map consist of ‘concepts’ and ‘causal beliefs’ (ibid.). Concepts are treated as variables, while causal beliefs are treated as relationships between the variables. To build a cognitive map from a set of assertions in a text, it is necessary to ‘combine into one relationship all assertions that have the same cause variable and the same effect variable’ (Axelrod 1976: 60). Variables are represented as points and the causal relationships are represented as vectors pointing from the cause variable to the effect variable. Whenever possible, a cognitive map should be drawn so that vectors move in one consistent direction, arranging the variables so that there is no crossing of vectors. Causal variables will be at the top of the map since they have no vectors going into them, while variables being caused are located further down the map.

In this version of cognitive mapping, Gerhards and Rucht (1992: 579) do not step completely away from Benford and Snow's (1992) 'framing tasks' classification, and draw on the 'three dimensions' (diagnostic, prognostic and motivational) in order to compare the internal structure of two movement framing efforts. However, when reviewing their reconstructions of argument structure, one finds that the diagnostic aspect is elevated at expense of the prognostic and motivational. Thus, their method for disclosing the internal argument structure of the collective action frame seems to rely heavily on the diagnostic dimension. Methodologically, the analysts begin by looking for a first cause, and then at the problems that can be attributed to this cause. Internal structure here refers to the 'argumentative logic of frames' and the multitude of problems expressed in the frame can be interpreted as 'differing consequences of one and the same external cause' (Gerhards and Rucht 1992: 580).

To demonstrate this cognitive mapping approach, I take the first section of the Weatherman manifesto and reproduce the diagnostic argument structure. Additionally, I will show how this model of causality can be utilized in an examination of prognostic structure. As can be seen, the proposed argument structure of the frame (Figure 3.1) is organized in a hierarchical manner. Following Johnston (2005), sentence line numbers from the manifesto are inserted directly into the model for cross-referencing purposes.[4] The top level variable of the 'United States as an imperialistic order' is positioned as the cause of the three mid-level categories 'war', 'wealth accumulation' and 'class society', which organize the six lower-level variables. Each variable is represented by a statement taken from the Weatherman manifesto (see Section 2.3) and is paired with the corresponding sentence number from the text.[5]

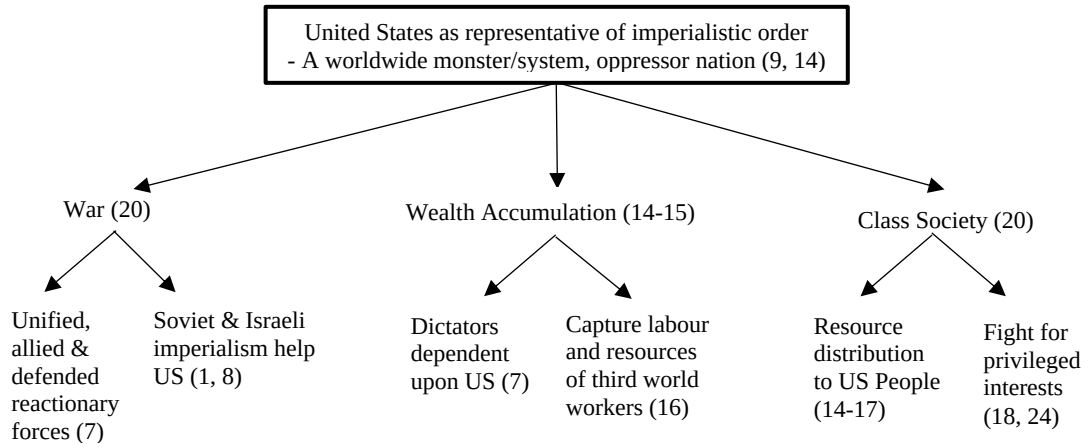


Figure 3.1 Diagnostic argument structure of the Weatherman manifesto section one.

The United States, as a country concerned with its own economic interests, wants to improve the lives of the people who live within its national borders. In Weatherman's cognitive map, the United States is positioned as the primary agent causing the world's economic problems. Above the three variables on the mid-level are the causal agents associated with the imperialistic order in the form of institutions or powerful individuals including the US nation, other imperialistic nations, dictators in the Third World and

4 The only difference Johnston (2005) finds between his approach to frame structure and Gerhards and Rucht (1992) is that he has suggested a formalized method of linking different points of the schema explicitly to the text under consideration. This is accomplished by inserting reference lines to sentences directly into the model structure itself.

5 See Appendix B for Weatherman manifesto section one.

those Americans seeking privilege. If the United States can successfully be labelled as the causal agent for the problems highlighted, then the frame gives good reasons for political mobilization. The mid-level variables are the main topics that Weatherman bring up in order to convince their American collegiate audience that the political situation will not change until directly addressed by social movement activity. In the manifesto, all three mid-level variables are presented as integral to the survival of an American imperialistic order.

The three mid-level concepts correspond to the overall diagnosis of the geopolitical situation, which, in Weatherman's estimation, is dominated by a greedy imperialistic order as ultimate cause. Moving the to lower levels of the hierarchical structure, one can see that 'war', not explicitly mentioned until line 20, has already been indirectly addressed as early as line 7. The vectors moving from the mid-level 'war' to 'unified, allied and defended all reactionary forces' is treated as a direct consequence of a national war mentality. Since any empire would be useless without allies abroad having mutual interests in an exploitative economic system, the US policy of perpetual war brings together new coalitions, which Weatherman label 'reactionary forces' and 'petty dictators'. As a result of war ambitions, new forms of imperialism have arisen during the Cold War era, and Weatherman are most concerned with 'Soviet' and 'Israeli' versions. The Soviet version arose in order to maintain a global economic and military balance with the US, while the Israeli version arose as a direct result of Western intervention in the Middle East. In this way, new militaristic coalitions and the rise of imperialistic states can be traced back up the causal chain to the 'oppressor nation'. Since the American system is represented as a greedy 'worldwide monster', the mid-level variable of unbridled 'wealth accumulation' acts as the effect. As a consequence of amassing an incredible amount of wealth, on the lower level we find that 'dictators' around the world have become dependent upon the US to maintain the economic status quo. Weatherman have in mind governments in Third World counties that live in prosperity while 'capturing labor and resources' from disadvantaged workers. This never-ending accumulation of wealth causes unfortunate divisions in these vulnerable states, where dictatorial regimes work out beneficial deals for themselves while workers remain sorely undercompensated.

The third main topic running throughout the manifesto is 'class society'. The ongoing 'wars' and 'wealth accumulation' are pointless and unsustainable unless the American government can ensure a 'class society' within its own borders. The relational vector moving from 'class society' to 'resource distribution to the US people' indicates that an imbalanced economic order can only be maintained by placating citizens within the nucleus of such a system. Even though Weatherman call the US a 'monster' and the workers in its borders 'enslaved masses', they do acknowledge that the American people enjoy a much higher quality of life than most throughout the world. This makes comprehensible the other variable co-appearing here on the lower level—'fight for privileged interests'. Many of the American people enjoy a comfortable First World existence because workers are involved in lucrative technological and industrial vocations. Acknowledging this economic reality, Weatherman move away from the traditional Marxist analysis that places hope for socialist revolution in the working class. Instead of seeing industrial workers as agents of change, Weatherman look to build a novel coalition of alienated students, minority groups and anti-war protesters. From Weatherman's point of view, the variable of 'privileged interests' is not reserved for the outgroup only, but is also utilized to condemn those within their own organizational

ranks. The analysis of class society is especially poignant to SDS organizers who mostly come from well-to-do families in the US.

In the prognostic argument structure of the manifesto (Figure 3.2), Weatherman heavily imitate Third World revolutionary movements seeking to drive out foreign economic interests. Like the revolutionary nationalists they admire, Weatherman position themselves as representing a distinctly subversive version of communist leadership in America. In the first section of the manifesto, Weatherman are present as those who examine the geopolitical situation and who will eventually fight a revolutionary war to defeat US imperialism. Taking a pro-violence stance sets the Weatherman faction of SDS apart from other Left activists who thought any military confrontation within America was highly naïve and adventurist.

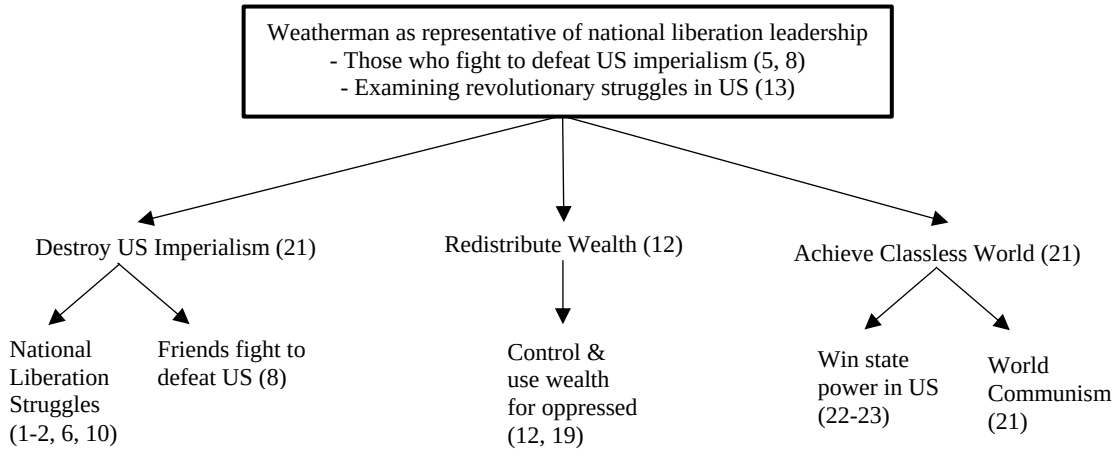


Figure 3.2 Prognostic argument structure of the Weatherman manifesto section one.

The writing collective position themselves as causal agents at the top-level within the hierarchical structure. They present their prognostic argument in contrasting terms to the mid-level variables witnessed earlier in the diagnostic structure. In contrast to unending 'war' they intend to 'destroy US imperialism', instead of 'wealth accumulation' they intend to 'redistribute wealth' and against maintaining a 'class society' they envision a 'classless world'. The mid-level variables are the main logical solutions presented in the first section of the manifesto. Ultimately, Weatherman are arguing that they should be elevated to a position of leadership within the American Left, precisely because their causal assertions are the exact antithesis to those of the current imperialistic order.

The six solution-based variables on the lower level represent proposed actions for the recreation of international economic relations. Intending to destroy US imperialism, Weatherman cast their lot ideologically with Third World revolutionaries engaged in violent campaigns against colonialism. Applying this mindset to the American situation, Weatherman understand the domestic civil rights struggle of the African-American population to have come as a result of a racial apartheid kept in place by an imperialistic order. Framing the American political system as a grand colonial project, Weatherman make clear 'friends' are those who 'fight to defeat the US'. Weatherman's intention is to usher in a domestic revolution by recruiting disenfranchised American youth. Weatherman insist their plan to overthrow and reconfigure the state is driven by the intention to redistribute wealth to the 'oppressed'. The purpose of this explicit moral

posturing is to boost the idea that US institutions are not simply well meaning but misguided organizations in need of reform, but are intentionally moulding Americans for the imperial status-quo. To reverse this institutional trend, Weatherman want to seize control of the state and redirect monetary benefits of American corporations back to Third World workers. Through a global redistribution of wealth, they hope to institute a new, more equitable system of international trade. The third mid-level topic 'achieve a classless world' is perhaps the most abstract of the prognostic variables. This variable is presented as a utopian existence to be accomplished at some indeterminate point in the future. Moving from the mid-level cause to the lower-level effect, these variables remain as equally abstract. 'Win state power in the US' assumes that a classless world will not be possible unless radical internationalist groups like Weatherman are ushered into positions of power. 'World communism' is the preferred ideological system of the core ingroup, and is positioned as the ultimate effect of undoing American 'class society'.

3.1.3 Toward a comparative frame methodology

The main benefit of this representational format for mapping argument structure in manifesto texts is its ability to systematize textual elements schematically in terms of cause and effect. In contrast to frame analysis that leaves the internal structure of frames implicit, this effort at standardization does represent gains over more tacit approaches to the content and structure of frames. This propositional organization of a frame's internal content is a step in the right direction for sociologists who intend to display set schematic influences on thinking within a social movement organization. Johnston (2005: 250), advocating a comparative approach in frame studies, encourages the analyst to identify these 'verifiable hierarchal structures' and compare these structures either diachronically (e.g. within the life span of a social movement) or synchronically (e.g. amongst differing political groups at once). I am in agreement that studies of framing processes in social movement studies would benefit from a comparison of the internal structures of frames. Taking comparative snapshots of frame structures within an organization is a practical way to demonstrate how causal structure and key contents change over time. This form of static frame modelling can be accomplished while not denying that collective action frames are also dynamic, contested and emergent. Moreover, like Johnston (2005: 254), I see the need for a 'cognitive-conceptual structure approach' to framing that aims at reconstructing the mental schemas active in setting the interpretive parameters for social movement participants.

The representational format of 'cognitive mapping' found in social movement studies allows the analyst to see how movement leaders mobilize with a series of proposed problems and solutions. Where I differ from the sociologists is in seeing the mapping of a cause and effect structure as the ultimate solution for understanding the internal structures of mental models. Although reconstructing diagnostic and prognostic argument structures does allow the analyst to temporarily freeze discursive processes, I do not presume that it is the most accurate method for modelling interacting mental operations active during discourse processing. Moving into Section 3.2, I turn to a discourse approach for mental models inspired by cognitive psychology that explores ontological domains, semantic categories and hierarchical schemas. In Section 3.3, I continue to explore the internal structure of mental models by considering the interdependence of syntactical structure and semantic categories.

3.2 Cognitive psychology and mental models

In the early 1980s, research programs were suggested concerning the nature of mental models for language use (Johnson-Laird 1983) and discourse processing (Van Dijk and Kintsch 1983). The primary usage of the term mental model, in cognitive psychology, indicates a 'specific kind of knowledge structure in memory' (Van Dijk 1987: 161). Johnson-Laird (1983) posits mental models as theoretical entities necessary to explain how both explicit and implicit inference is possible. In his studies on inference, Johnson-Laird supposes that models must be much richer in information than the discourses that are based on them, both in production and comprehension. This being so, it is plausible to assume that mental models 'play a central and unifying role in representing objects, states of affairs, sequences of events, the way the world is, and the social and psychological actions of daily life' (Johnson-Laird 1983: 397). Most important to his thesis, mental models enable readers to 'construct complex representations analogical to those directly experienced in the world, relating words to the world through conceptualisation' (ibid.). In the socio-cognitive approach to discourse analysis, mental models are understood as 'cognitive representations of our experiences' (Van Dijk 2008: 61). Van Dijk insists that a discourse approach to mental models should account for the fact that when individuals are processing text they encounter specifically described discourse entities, which are gradually introduced and built up during a communicative exchange. The emphasis of Van Dijk's (1987: 170) modelling has been concerned to explore 'cognitive interpretation strategies' for discourse comprehension, with the aim of providing an 'explicit cognitive semantics for co-reference, coherence, and similar phenomena'.

I review the socio-cognitive approach in order to consider the essential domains and categories that must be present during the construction of mental models. Johnson-Laird (1983) suggests that there must be a finite set of ontological domains within mental models consisting of 'time', 'space', 'entities', 'permissibility', 'causation', 'possibility' and 'intention'. Although he gives broad outlines for the necessary domains in mental models, what the inner structures of such analogical models may be is far from settled. In fact, a fundamental question of any discourse researcher seeking to understand the construction of mental models is posed by Johnson-Laird (1983: 397-398) when he asks, 'What exactly are mental models intended to be, and how do they differ from other postulated forms of mental representation?' The exact constitution of mental models, he suggests, will be unknown until an adequate theory 'specifies the set of all possible mental models', and until 'comparable theories [become available] from the proponents of schemata and prototypes' (ibid.). In response to his first concern about clarifying different types of mental models, Van Dijk (1987) has suggested the term *situation model* for a model constructed during online discourse processing, and *context models* for those more general models conferred with during updating and recall. As for Johnson-Laird's second concern about the creation of comparative schema and prototype theories, analysts in cognitive semantics and critical discourse analysis have recently begun to offer comparative schema approaches (see Section 4.2).

3.2.1 Situation and context models

In cognitive psychology, the situation model is understood as the mental representation of the situation that is being constructed through various linguistic processes in STM (Zwann 1999). For Van Dijk (2014: 51) discourse is about situations containing 'objects,

persons, actions or events, properties and relations, or a complex episode of these'. In order to examine how situation models are constructed, Van Dijk (1987: 174) proposes a 'situation schemata'. He suggests that as people are constantly creating situation models 'they use more-or-less stable categories', which entails that 'they analyse different situations in much the same way' (ibid.). In Figure 3.3, I present Van Dijk's representational format for the situation model, where he argues that in everyday processing the hierarchical schematic we use to comprehend each situation is 'more or less invariant' (ibid.).

Van Dijk treats his invariant situation structure in a similar manner to Johnson-Laird and his essential ontological domains. In comparing the proposed model elements, Johnson-Laird's domains of 'time', 'space', 'entities', and 'causation' are captured under what Van Dijk refers to as 'setting the scene'. Johnson-Laird's remaining categories of 'permissibility', 'possibility', and 'intention' are all components belonging to the larger 'episode' division in Van Dijk's model. The striking similarity between Johnson-Laird's ontological domains and Van Dijk's key semantic categories for the situation model shows that in both cognitive psychology and socio-cognitive discourse analysis the same basic propositional categories are in play.

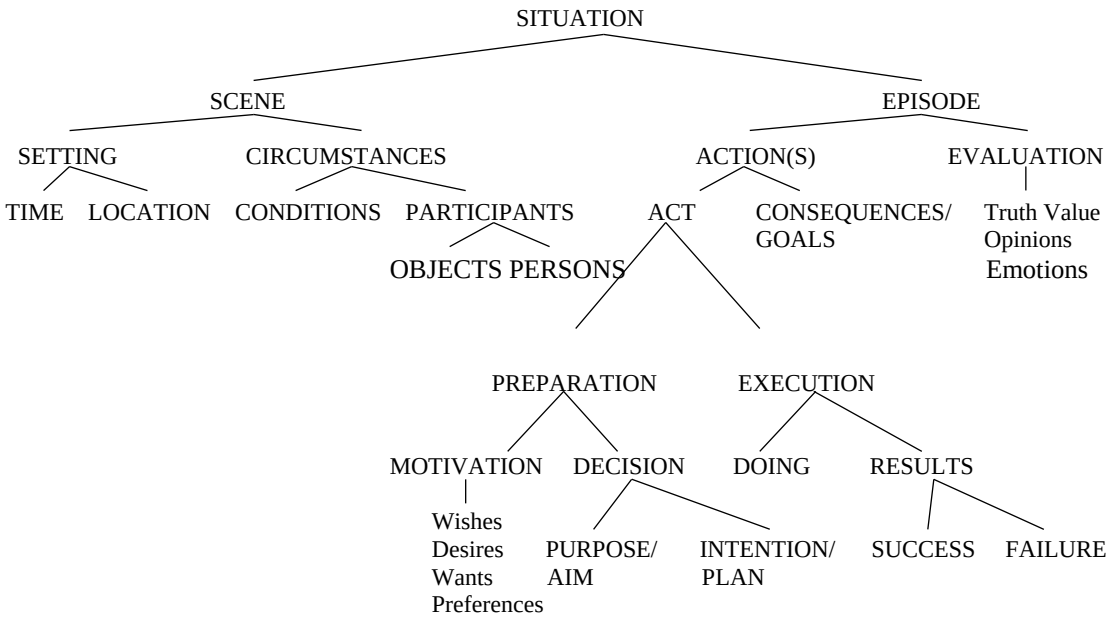


Figure 3.3 Schematic structure of a situation model.

Having considered the categorical outline of online situation models, I now consider its connection to a representational format for offline context models. We know that situation models are key in the conceptualisation of current semantic input, but discourse is also controlled by pragmatic context models. Van Dijk (1987: 163) reasons, 'If people form models of situations in which they participate or read about, it seems plausible that they also build a model of the communicative situation they participate in when producing or understanding a discourse'. These context models are understood as 'subjective participant representations of communicative situations' (Van Dijk 2008: 22). Context models represent the 'parameters of the communicative situation' that at each moment are relevant for readers and are already 'partly pre-planned' for many communicative genres (Van Dijk 2014: 54-55). Even though contexts are subjective

definitions of the communicative situation relative to a unique perspective, 'their structure and construction obviously have a social basis' (Van Dijk 2008: 17). While models typically contain personal knowledge about particular situations, part of the model may be shared by significant others or even a whole socio-cultural group. This is known as social cognition. Knowledge stored in LTM may be more or less unique or general, and more or less personal or social (Van Dijk 1987: 162). Given their subjective nature, context models may well be biased by the ideologies of the socio-political group of which the recipient is a member. However, they do allow each member to practically apply these shared group beliefs in a personal and ad hoc way. Charteris-Black (2014: 197) points out that Van Dijk restricts the term context model to 'verbal communication' and that 'this is the only thing that distinguishes them from mental models' more generally. He goes on to ask the question: 'Why should contexts be purely verbal, and if they are not, how are context models different from mental ones?' (ibid.). In agreement with the critique behind this question, the meaning of the term context model in this thesis will also include textual communication. Since all mental model construction is imagistic in nature (See Section 4.1), the distinction between a context model as the result of verbal communication and a mental model as the result of textual communication is hard to maintain.

Charteris-Black (2014: 197) points out that Van Dijk restricts the term context model to 'verbal communication' and that 'this is the only thing that distinguishes them from mental models' more generally. He goes on to ask the question: 'Why should contexts be purely verbal, and if they are not, how are context models different from mental ones?' (ibid.). In agreement with the critique behind this question, the meaning of the term context model in this thesis will also include textual communication. Since all mental model construction is imagistic in nature (See Section 4.1), the distinction between a context model as the result of verbal communication and a mental model as the result of textual communication is hard to maintain. However, Van Dijk (1997: 193) does make a distinction between situation and context models suggesting that in situation models language users 'update models of events…they communicate about' and that context models help keep track of the 'communicative event in which they participate'. Thus, the context model enables the language user to mentally monitor the ongoing communicative situation enabling her or him the ability to understand and plan responses. Yet, Van Dijk (ibid.) admits, the inner structure of a context model should be similar to any kind of mental model in that 'a context is not essentially different from other events or (inter)actions people participate in'. So the difference between situation models and context models is not the categories that are contained within a model schema (e.g. setting, circumstances, participants and action), but the scale of information being received. In sum, situation models exist for events communicated about, while context models exist for the communicative events themselves.

One question still being explored is how to relate the online situation model that enables local coherence in sentence processing to the offline context model that is informing the current situation model being constructed through recall. Van Dijk (2014) points out that current model theories relate discourse structure directly to situation-type models, but ignore attempts to model the larger contextual situation in which the participants are communicating. This means psychological model theory has so far focused primarily on semantic instead of pragmatic cognitive modelling. In fact, cognitive psychology 'does not postulate an intermediary representation of the communicative situation in terms of mental models' (Van Dijk 2008: 57).

The primary function carried out by context models in Van Dijk's (1997: 198-199) theory is to mediate between situation models on the one hand and social structure on the other. In this way, context models act as the 'crucial interface' between situation models constructed when reading and social structure that exists as a result of shared group cognitions (Van Dijk 2008: 59). Van Dijk (2014) contends that all mental models are stored in episodic memory (or autobiographical memory), which is one part of LTM. Everyday experiences, including our communicative experiences, come to be represented in context models. These context models control speech acts, indexical expressions and generally make sure that an interaction is stylistically appropriate to the current communicative situation. The building of context models occurs as the result of an ongoing accumulation of situation models as discourse unfolds.[6] Posing the context model as a cognitive interface provides a way to bridge the well-known 'sociological gap' between symbolic interaction occurring during reading (or hearing) on the one hand and the interpretation of social structure of the other.

In Figure 3.4, I offer a depiction of the process of conceptualisation occurring between text (and talk) as an exchange of communicative symbols on the one hand, and comprehension of social circumstances on the other. Note that the different points within this conceptualisation process are bound in a dialectical relationship, which is represented with bidirectional arrows (Hart 2008: 124). The communicative interaction of 'text & talk' stands to one side with the complexity of 'social structure' on the other. This dialectical relationship is mediated by 'conceptual structures' present in the mental models constructed in STM and recalled from LTM (Hart 2014b: 163). I will have more to say about the configuration of these conceptual structures in Chapter 5, as this question is not satisfactorily answered in the socio-cognitive discourse approach.

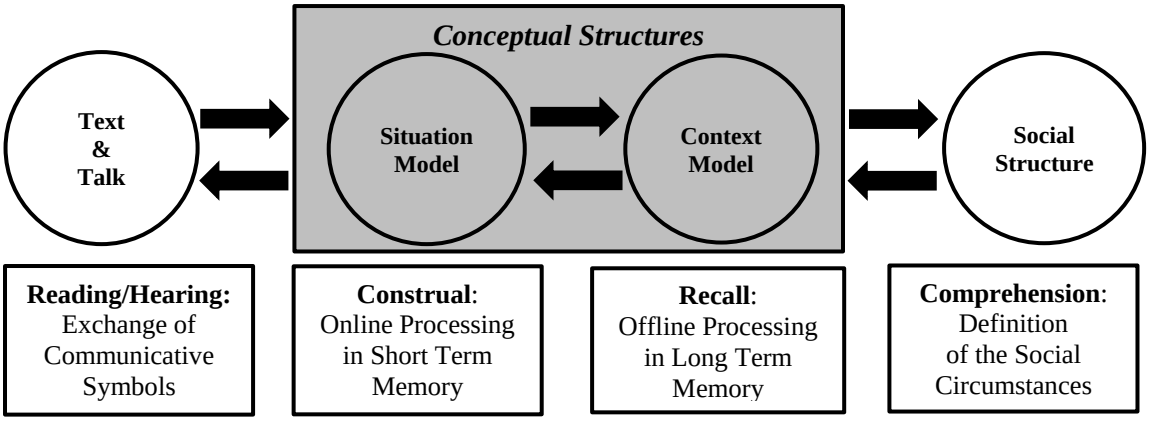


Figure 3.4 Process of conceptualisation.

3.2.2 Social cognition

We know that without efficient processing strategies our mental processing and storage capacity would be hopelessly overtaxed. Yet, what accounts for the efficiency of our conceptual system? How can we account for the rapid flow of information between STM

6 STM is only for immediate, online processing of smaller units, like words, clauses and sentences and has a very limited buffer of 4 to 7 items at a time (Cowan 2001). In language processing, after the memory buffer of STM is cleared, the propositional meaning is stored in LTM.

and LTM? Ziem (2014: 213) calls this the 'cognitive economy of our minds' and credits this efficiency to our cognitive ability 'to categorize both perceived and remembered information'. In this process we employ previous experiences to interpret new ones and categorization comes into play by identifying relations of similarity between old and new situations. Without readily available context models in LTM, such rapid classification could not function, because 'every category itself represents a product of abstraction of past experiences, and thus must be specifically retrieved' (ibid.). In order for context models to be recalled and updated in real time they must be relatively simple. That is, although the communicative situation being experienced may be highly complex in nature, discourse recipients will reduce this complexity in terms of a 'few schematically organized categories' (Van Dijk 2008: 77). These few discursively relevant categories are thought to be the same in both online and offline processing, meaning that situation models and context models are composed of the same basic categories. Without commonly shared conceptual categories, political groups would be unable to comprehend complex geopolitical situations usually within fractions of a second (Van Dijk 2008: 17-18). These shared abstract categories between situation models and context models act as an economy measure when accessing past episodes. Abstract categories pulled from stored context models enable quick processing of incoming situation models that would otherwise be handled less confidently. The fact that model categories are shared between STM and LTM mental models will be important later (see Section 5.2.1), where I theorize the relationship between the two types of models in more depth while consulting imagistic approaches.

Based on his earlier work concerning the psychology of event comprehension, Van Dijk has suggested a set number of categories as candidates for the design of a simple context model schema in multiple articles (1997: 193; 1999: 131; 2008: 76). Similar to the situation model, Van Dijk (2008) provides a list of fundamental categories for the context model including 'time', 'place', 'participants', 'knowledge', 'action' and 'goals'. While all mental models may share these key categories, each newly constructed scene and episode in the situation model will give rise to different combinations and configurations of these categories (see Section 5.1.2). In Table 3.1, I compare the ingredients of situation (Van Dijk 1987: 195) and context models (Van Dijk 1999: 131). Considering the shared categories under the major division of 'scene', both model structures contain a spatio-temporal 'location', which acts as the setting for various discourse entities in the form of 'participants' and 'objects'. In the context schema, Van Dijk emphasizes the unique contextual roles that social actors will be expected to fulfil in the midst of group interaction, and divides these roles between 'social', 'situational' and 'participatory'. Both situation and context models share the 'circumstances' category. However, the context schematic breaks up the conditions category into the tripartite division of 'previous acts', 'current communicative situation' and 'institutional environment'. Under the major heading of 'episode', the situation model's evaluation category is complimented in the context model by 'knowledge', while both share 'opinions' and 'emotions'. When considering action, the situation model includes the categories 'act', 'decision' and 'execution', while the context model is more concerned with 'action types' or 'genres'. This difference indicates that the situation model is utilized in real time decision-making, where execution of action may be crucial, whereas the context model is more concerned with regulating what type of action is mutually understood as appropriate for the current institutional environment. The 'motivation' category with its attendant 'wishes', 'desires', 'wants' and 'preferences' in the situation schema is captured in terms of 'cognition' and 'intention' in the context schema. In the situation

model, ‘intention’ and ‘plan’ categories are closely related to ‘purpose’ and ‘aim’, while in the context model ‘aims’, ‘goals’ and ‘purposes’ all coincide to a large measure. In sum, situation models are considered semantic in that they are involved in the constitution of meaning relations at the point of utterance. Context models serve a more pragmatic function in ensuring that the current situation models being constructed are an appropriate fit to the more general communicative environment.

Situation Model	Context Model
SCENE	**SCENE**
SETTING TIME LOCATION	SETTING TIME LOCATION
PARTICIPANTS OBJECTS PERSONS	PARTICIPANTS ROLES Social roles (group membership and identities) Interactional roles (situational relations) Communicative roles (participation structure) Relations between participants (power, friendship) Objects
CIRCUMSTANCES CONDITIONS	CIRCUMSTANCES Previous acts Current situation Institutional environment
EPISODE	**EPISODE**
EVALUATION Truth Value Opinions Emotions	KNOWLEDGE OPINIONS EMOTIONS
ACTION ACT DECISION EXECUTION	ACTION/DISCOURSE ACTION TYPES/GENRES
MOTIVATION (Wishes, Desires, Wants, Preferences) AIM/PURPOSE/INTENTION/PLAN CONSEQUENCES/GOALS	COGNITION/INTENTION AIMS/PURPOSES GOALS

Table 3.1 Comparison of semantic categories between situation and context models.

Despite having pinpointed the essential ontological domains and semantic categories present in mental models utilized for discourse processing, a straightforward account of the internal structures of models is still lacking. In fact, Van Dijk (1998: 190) states outright, that, in terms of mental models, there is not an ‘explicit theoretical account of their internal structures’. Van Dijk, although seemingly unsatisfied with a hierarchical format for models, stays more focused on the essential categories that must be present and the contents that must fill in the categorical spaces within the model. In one instance, Van Dijk (1997: 191) comments, ‘the specific representational format of models…are networks that may be represented by propositions organized by schematic categories’. Van Dijk takes on this hierarchal structure from cognitive psychology lacking ‘alternative formats of representation’, and thereby conceives of mental models as being made up of abstract propositions arranged in top-to-bottom networks (ibid.).[7]

7 In this way Van Dijk follows a host of experiments that were conducted testing textual recall by asking subjects to reconstruct a previously read text. A representative study for narrative schemas involved in recall is Thorndyke’s (1977) grammatical rules for simple stories. Like syntax at the sentence level, Thorndyke supposes that narratives have their own internal structure. He proposes a comprehension model that assumes a hierarchical framework of stories in memory, representing the abstract structural components of the plot. The textual coding involves numbering propositions and linking them vertically in a hierarchical network. A proposition subsumed under a higher proposition is meant to express ‘an idea or event that is different from its parent but which is a topical elaboration, a further specification, or a causal implication’ (Thorndyke 1977: 82).

Considering his invariant category structure, I present a context model of the Weatherman manifesto. Within this approach, categorical slots are filled by sets of propositions, which are understood as topics that organize information encountered on the sentence level. In Table 3.2 the context model is presented where noun phrases fill the vacant categorical spaces available.

CONTEXT MODEL	
SEMANTIC CATEGORIES	**CONTENT**
Type of Speech Event	Weatherman Manifesto
Location	National Convention in Chicago, Illinois USA Published in *New Left Notes*
Date	June 1969
Participant Roles	A Direct Action-Oriented Faction of SDS
Organizational Roles	Campus Organizers in North Eastern Universities
Affiliation	New Left, Students for a Democratic Society
Political Ideology	World Communism, Radical Internationalism
Gender	Mixed, Mostly Male
Race	Jewish, Caucasian
Opponents	U.S. Empire, Reactionary Forces, 3rd World Dictators
Social Others	International Revolutionaries, Third World Peoples
Readers	SDS Members and Participants
Overhearers	Media, Other Movement Groups, Public at Large, FBI-COINTELPRO
Intention	Present a geopolitical worldview to SDS adherents.
Purpose	To convince others to carry out the strategic vision proposed in the position paper.
Overall Goal	To take over the leadership of SDS and guide the organization into more direct action, including confrontations with the police.

Table 3.2 Context model of the Weatherman manifesto in propositional format.

3.2.3 Frame semantics and case frames

The appeal of Fillmore's approach to mental models is his intention to come to a more complete understanding of the multimodal experience of the situations words refer to. For Fillmore, mental models represent socially shared fragments of world knowledge that are organized in different ways. Researching the distributional properties of verbs, Fillmore (1968) began looking at the suitability of words within what he called 'syntactic' or 'case frames'. Fillmore proposed that verbs contain a deep structure valence description expressed in terms of case frames. A 'case' in his case grammar approach is taken to characterize a small abstract scene, which identifies the participants and action sequences. In order to comprehend a sentence, the language user has mental access to such schematized scenes. Thus case frame analysis amounts to describing semantic structure in terms of predicating words (verbs) usually occurring in expressions that contain at least three nominals. These include an actor who performs the act (AGENT), an entity to which the action happens (PATIENT) and an object through which the actor brings about a state change (INSTRUMENT). As his method developed, Fillmore realized that clause classification and verb groupings can be stated more meaningfully if the propositional structure of the sentence is described in terms of semantic roles. In later studies, Fillmore added other thematic roles including EXPERIENCER, LOCATION, GOAL and

RESULT. With his case frame methodology, Fillmore sought to determine to what extent syntactic structure can be predicted from semantic role classes.

Based on early studies of case frames, Fillmore (1975: 124) came to use the term 'frame' to mean any system of words, grammatical rules and linguistic categories that come to be associated with 'prototypical instances of scenes'. He defines these conceptual scenes, evoked by linguistic case frames, rather broadly to include 'visual scenes but also familiar kinds of interpersonal transactions, standard scenarios defined by the culture, institutional structures, enactive experiences, body image' (ibid.). The 'frame' relates linguistic elements to conceptual entities associated with a particular culturally embedded scene from experience. Therefore, each case frame is understood as characterizing a small abstract 'scene' or 'situation', so that to understand the semantic structure of a verb it is necessary to understand the properties of schematized scenes. Frames become associated with other frames by shared linguistic material, while scenes are associated with similar scenes, which may contain the same entities, relationships or contexts within them. In this way, the reader invokes particular conceptual scenes associated with certain semantic frames.

In the field of frame semantics that has evolved from Fillmore's work, a frame is defined as a knowledge structure used to bind together a group of related words. An early demonstration of this case frame approach can be seen in the COMMERCIAL EVENT frame, with the attendant verbs 'buy', 'sell', 'pay', 'spend', 'cost', 'charge', 'tender' and 'change' (Fillmore 1977). These action words are understood as a relational group inter-defining each other within the frame. With the COMMERCIAL EVENT frame example, we are introduced to a slot-filler methodology to parsing the text. In Fillmore's case frame approach, the frame concept is applied to verbs (e.g. 'buy') with the intention to represent the relationships between syntax and semantics. Table 3.3 demonstrates the semantic slots available in the case frame structure for the sentence 'Cassidy is going to buy a painting from the gallery for £300'. Based on the verb 'buy' as the ACTION, there are at least four other semantic slots that are either explicitly present or must be inferred. In the example sentence, the AGENT ('Cassidy') intends to procure an OBJECT ('a painting'). The slot for the PATIENT comes as the third nominal in the sentence ('the gallery'), with the INSTRUMENT of money ('£300') coming last.

AGENT	ACTION	OBJECT	PATIENT	INSTRUMENT
Buyer	Buy	Goods	Seller	Price
Cassidy	is going to buy	a painting	from the gallery	for £300.

Table 3.3 Example of Fillmore's COMMERCIAL EVENT frame.

In this case frame model of syntactic structure, the verb 'buy' requires a number of other obligatory semantic slots with a buyer, goods and optionally a seller and price. Verbs, with related meanings such as 'sell', are expected to have the same meaning slots but may occur in syntactically different orderings. This collection of interconnected semantic roles forms an ordered conceptual structure.

3.2.4 Anticipating the imagistic approach

Having considered different representational formats for conceptual structure in social movement theory, socio-cognitive discourse studies and frame semantics, in Chapter 4 I move from propositional to imagistic approaches. When discussing the inner structure of

mental models, Van Dijk (1987: 175) says, ‘models need not be only propositional, but may also feature analogical information, such as the spatial relations between objects, and configurable properties of objects and persons’. Johnson-Laird (1983: 398) goes even further in promoting the analogical nature of the mental model commenting that mental models differ from ‘propositional representation, which are close to the linguistic form (or textual layout)’. Johnson-Laird (1983: 415) is convinced that mental models represent the layout of concrete objects in an ‘internal spatial array’, and that abstract discourse entities ‘can be similarly encoded’. Hence, Johnson-Laird (1980: 98) conceives of the mental model as representing ‘a state of affairs and accordingly its structure is not arbitrary like that of a propositional representation, but plays a direct representation or analogical role’. For him, the structure of the model must mirror the relevant aspects of the situation being experienced, where models appear in the mind as an analogical representation and may be ‘party image-like’ (ibid.). Building on Johnson-Laird, Garnham (1981) offers a theory of text representation suggesting that when reading a text it becomes encoded as a mental model. In Garnham’s estimation a mental model arising from a text ‘contains representations of only those individuals and events that are relevant to the interpretation of the text in question’ (1981: 560). He theorizes that remembering the content of a passage is based on the mental model of a real or imaginary world as encoded by the text. Garnham (1981: 564) notes, ‘mental models are not structurally similar to any lexical or syntactic linguistic representation’, and that future formal designs of such models will have to ‘take into account that models are built up piece wise as text is processed’ (see Sections 5.2.3 and 7.1). The text’s surface structure activates a semantic representation that is only temporarily needed to form the mental model.

Similarly, Fillmore (1982: 122) states what is needed is a method for ‘discussing the development, on the part of the interpreter, of an image or scene or picture of the world that gets built up and filled out between the beginning and the end of the text-interpretation experience’. In his view, as a person reads and interprets a text s/he mentally creates a partially specified world, and as the reader continues with the text the details of this world get filled in. Fillmore (ibid.) suggests that particular ‘lexical terms are linked to highly specific cognitive frames’ so that the process of text comprehension ‘involves retrieving the frames evoked by the text’s lexical content…and assembling this kind of schematic knowledge into some sort of “envisionment” of the “world” of the text’. Despite this insight, Fillmore pursued framing in a propositional format instead of focusing on the imagistic nature of conceptualisation. While Fillmore’s representational format concentrates on the connection between syntactic and semantic meaning structures, the exploration of different representational formats for conceptual structure is necessary in order to take account of cognitive operations involved in construal and categorization processes.

To review, in Chapter 3 Johnson-Laird sets out the essential ontological domains that must be present in order to form a mental model. Van Dijk goes further in providing a model theory complete with criteria of what categorical entities must be present during model construction. Fillmore points to the syntactic structure of semantic roles, which are useful for tracking the invariable contents present in a mental model. Johnson-Laird calls for comparative schematic approaches, arguing that progress in mental model theory will be postponed until analysts have identified the relevant schemas active during online construal processes, as well as those schemas that enable updating and recall during memory storage processes. This lack of progress in determining the inner structures of

mental models speaks to the fact that schema theories are still needed in order to answer the call for a truly comparative mental model studies. However, proposed propositional approaches exploring the inner structure of mental models have made much progress in identifying the key ontological domains, semantic categories and discourse contents.

In Chapter 4, I look at how these propositional elements go on to be conceptualised within a structure made up of imagistic arrangements. During conceptualisation, these ontological domains, semantic categories and discourse contents from the propositional structure are taken out of syntactic order and recast in a spatially analogue manner to perceptual awareness. With this essential information about mental models, my aim moving forward in the next chapter is to examine cognitive linguistic approaches to text analysis in order to piece together a plausible format for the imagistic design of both online models in STM and offline models in LTM. In agreement with Hart (2014b: 180), the situation and context models of Van Dijk's socio-cognitive modelling approach 'may be best theorized in terms of conceptual structures and construal operations described in cognitive linguistics'. With this combination of propositional and imagistic modelling approaches, in Chapter 5 I suggest of scenes-and-episodes approach that is able to explore construal relations in STM models and categorical relation in LTM models. I demonstrate this scenes-and-episodes approach for the building of mental models in STM in Chapter 6, and do the same for mental models being updated and stored in LTM in Chapter 7. In Chapter 8, I end by discussing the role mental models play in stabilizing shared geopolitical worldviews in members of political groups.

Chapter 4: An Imagistic Turn

4.1 Cognitive linguistics and the inner structure of mental models

Turning from the representational formats for mental models in Chapter 3 that advocate causal, hierarchical or syntactical relations, I move to imagistic models interested in displaying conceptual relations in spatial terms. Based on experimental evidence in cognitive science, Lakoff and Johnson (1999: 13) report that unconscious thought makes up around '95 percent of all thought', and that unconscious cognitive processes shape and structure all conscious thought. In cognitive linguistics, this unconscious structuring of thought is explored via the embodiment thesis.[8] For cognition to be 'embodied' means that our bodies provide the basis for structuring devices that work their way up into our abstract reasoning processes (Hampe and Grady 2005). A central claim of any embodied perspective to language structure is that conceptualisation is not an innate logic, but emerges from the logical entailments of schematic structures that arise as the result of sensorimotor experience (Johnson 1987). These imagistic schemas are integral to the conceptualisation process because they consist of irreducible gestalt structures. They are received through perception in infancy and go on to operate as conceptual structuring devices throughout our lifetimes (Mandler 2004). These conceptual structuring devices enable humans to simulate situations (or events) in mental models necessary for language processing (Hart 2014b). In cognitive linguistic accounts, this unconscious structuring of thought is approached via 'image schemas' in order to account for the meaning basis of linguistic units (Lakoff 1987). Image schemas are schematic versions of images that occur unconsciously as part of our everyday embodied experience.[9] Johnson (1999: 85) posits, that within the embodied mind, 'abstract reason is not separate from the sensorimotor system, but rather builds on it'. Sensorimotor experience is schematized—where image schemas have 'logics' that are regular consequences of perception and action (ibid.). Our more abstract concepts are developed via metaphorical extensions of these basic sensorimotor structures.

4.1.1 Image schemas, perceptual meaning analysis and mental simulation

A number of image schemas have been identified in cognitive linguistic literature (Evans and Green 2006: 190; Johnson 1987: 126; Lakoff 1987: 271-275). In Table 4.1, I provide a list of commonly reoccurring image schemas categorized by the experiential domains of space, motion and force. I will consider each of these experiential domains in analyses of the Weatherman manifesto in Chapters 6 and 7. Cognitive linguists have invested much time analyzing how image schemas underpin specific lexical items and grammatical constructions. Instead of providing an in-depth investigation of any one image schema in isolation, my intention is to produce a modelling format able to consider multiple schematic interactions occurring during discourse processing. The

8 Until recently, Western analytic philosophy understood concepts, propositions and logical forms as having no direct connection to the body therefore ignoring its role in formal semantic analysis. Therefore, the traditional view is understood as both 'disembodied and literal' (Johnson 1999: 83). 'Disembodied' in that the body plays no constitutive role in meaning making, and 'literal' in that meaning does not come in the form of imaginative designs such as mental images, metaphorical mappings or prototype relations.

9 In cognitive approaches, schemas are understood as 'units of generic knowledge in long-term memory' and 'form culturally stable patterns, as structural units consisting of a set of highly conventionalized elements' (Ziem 2014: 223). In order not to confuse the notion of 'schema' here with other competing definitions, I stay close to the definition of Johnson (1987: Ch. 2), where schemas are embodied and referred to as 'image schemas'.

building of situations represented in discourse is complex, involving numerous schematic interactions between multiple entities.

Fundamental Image Schemas	
SPACE	CONTAINER, PART-WHOLE, CENTRE-PERIPHERY, SURFACE, CONTACT, MERGING, NEAR-FAR, FULL-EMPTY
MOTION	AGENT-PATH-GOAL, SCALE, LINK, PROCESS, CYCLE
FORCE	ENABLEMENT, COMPULSION, ATTRACTION, REMOVAL OF RESTRAINT, BLOCKAGE, COUNTERFORCE, EQUILIBRIUM, POINT BALANCE

Table 4.1 Image schemas categorized by perceptual domain.

Before moving into descriptions of individual image schemas, I take a moment to consider the work of Mandler (2004), a researcher in the field of infant cognition interested in the beginnings of the conceptual mind. Mandler and Cánovas (2014) acknowledge that previous work on image schemas in the field of cognitive semantics is a major step forward in understanding conceptualisation processes. However, Mandler is concerned that linguists re-examine their findings in light of recent research considering how the infant mind begins, develops and changes with the onset of language. Through experimentation, Mandler (1992) has found that meaningful interaction begins at birth, arriving prior to any language learning. These early meaning-giving patterns do not come as a result of lexical or propositional learning, but rather from emerging forms of reasoning that are grounded in early perceptual patterns of bodily activity. In her view, infants perform a 'perceptual meaning analysis' (PMA), where conceptualisation and reasoning are grounded in our embodiment (e.g. bodily orientations, manipulations and movements). PMA, as described by Mandler (2012: 422), is an 'innate, domain-general mechanism that generates concepts from attended perceptual data'. She discusses the format of PMA in terms of image schemas. In her theory, perceptual analysis has the ability to redescribe incoming perceptual data into meanings. This is the beginning of concept formation, which consists of recoding perceptual information into a simplified form of less detail.

The conceptual system begins at or near birth, and the foundations that structure it are created during the early months of life. No one has suggested any other format than imagery for these kinds of preverbal thinking, so image schemas are productive in providing a common framework for preverbal as well as verbal thought.[10] The most basic image schemas are formed from infants attending to motion along paths with a few other attendant spatial relations including containment and (dis)appearance (Mandler and Cánovas 2014: 9). The first image schemas are formed in infancy from spatial and motion primitives, providing infants with a way of understanding and remembering events without the burden of near-infinite detail that events present. At two and a half months infants are able to make inferences, at three months they are able to recall and reproduce simple actions and by eight months they can solve simple problems (Mandler 2012). Differing from perceptual understanding, conceptualisation enables one to think about something in its absence, which requires some form of *simulation*. Before language, recalling or thinking about something means recreating an event imagistically. For example, when a 5-month-old remembers where an object has been hidden, that requires some form of imagery showing an object being placed at particular location in

10 Although some developmentalists have proposed that young infants also have concepts of causality or energy, the extant data can more simply be explained solely in terms of 'conceptualising motion of objects through space' (Mandler 2012: 423).

some delimited space (Newcombe, Huttenlocher and Learmonth 1999). Thus, in infancy image schemas structure our memory for an event such as an object disappearing at a particular location. Many details of the observed scene will be lost, but the basic structure of the event is preserved and may be used to form an image – in this example, a thing disappearing behind a screen at a particular location. After six months, these early spatial and motion primitives can be combined with feelings of force and other sensations to create new conceptual structures.[11]

Vandervert (1997) proposes image schemas as a viable candidate for cognitive 'simulation structures' cued by lexical and grammatical constructions. Building on Mandler's view of the role of image schemas in PMA, Vandervert understands them as essential to anticipatory processing.[12] Evolutionarily, Vandervert (1997: 114) supposes image schemas have developed as 'feedforward templates, where simulation-structured schematic information storages optimize an organism's survival'. In his view, image schemas represent 'iterative simulation structures' needed by the brain for modelling functions conducive to survival (ibid.). Vandervert (1997: 121) states that 'the significance of understanding image schemas as simulation structures cannot be overestimated'. In my theory, it is the simulatory nature of image schemas that creates representations, predictions, and control, not from an immense storehouse of images, but from a mechanism which employs a few state-estimating strategies to create a dynamic (temporally extended) mental model from the ubiquitous dynamical mappings in the brain'. This means that the construction of an embodied simulation arises from the meshing of imagistic constraints imposed by pieces of language.

In cognitive critical discourse studies, it is assumed that these early imagistic structuring abilities of infants continue to develop and are used in adulthood in order to conceptualise highly abstract material such as political texts (see Section 4.2). As we learn language these image-schematic structures are linked with certain lexical and grammatical constructions. When we read these lexical or grammatical items, they cue image-schematic representations enabling us to build models of the situations being described during discourse processing. This ability to arrange situations in multiple ways depending on schematic relations is known as construal. The lexical and grammatical constructions that cue the imagistic simulation of a situation is known as a 'cognitive grammar' (Langacker 2008). At this point in theorizing about the imagistic structures in mental models, there is little empirical knowledge about exactly what components of an utterance drive what aspects of simulation. Currently, cognitive linguists are exploring which words cue simulations inside the mental model, looking at both content words and grammatical structures (Hart 2014a). Grammar clearly has a role in assembling the contributions of a sentence's lexical parts. In current accounts of cognitive grammar, grammatical constructions do not provide discourse content themselves, but appear to operate over the representations evoked by content words such as nouns and verbs (Langacker 1987). In what has been termed the 'embodied construction grammatical

11 Mandler and Cánovas (2014: 19) suggest it is advisable to restrict the meaning of the term 'image schema' to imageable information, which forms the foundations of the conceptual system, and use the term 'schematic integrations' for structures that include internal feelings of force as well as emotion.

12 Experiments conducted with amnesic patients having medial temporal lobe damage have shown that the hippocampus supports the integration of individual narrative elements into coherent and cohesive discourse when constructing complex verbal accounts (Race, Palombo, Cadden, Burke and Verfaellie 2015: 271). Amnesic patients with adult-onset hippocampal damage have difficulty not only projecting back in time to mentally simulate the past (retrospection), but also projecting forward in time to mentally simulate novel and specific future scenarios (prospection) (Race et al. 2015: 279).

approach', grammar works to combine textual contents together and constrains their representations within the mental simulation (Bergen & Chang 2005). On such a view, grammatical constructions assemble and bind together content words during the simulation process. Still the question remains, how does language cue the simulation of discourse entities within a conceptual space? Specifically, what linguistic elements trigger the movements of discourse content occurring within mental simulations? Also, how do these linguistic triggers work conceptually when building the mental model as a series of congruent situations? In my proposed scenes-and-episodes approach (see Chapter 5), I understand a cognitive discourse grammar to be made up of lexical and grammatical items that set the imagistic relations between discourse contents in order to produce coherent simulations of manifesto texts.

4.1.2 Mental spaces and text worlds

In attempts to model the conceptual relations that linguistic items evoke, various cognitive language theorists have suggested different representational formats. Mental spaces (Fauconnier and Turner 2002), text worlds (Werth 1999), deictic spaces (Chilton 2008) and event models (Hart 2014a) are all contemporary approaches seeking to describe the phenomenon of conceptualisation. To remedy the proliferation of terms, I follow Fauconnier (1985) in referring to online discourse processing at the point of conceptualisation as the creation of 'mental spaces'.[13] To clarify, I do make a distinction between the situation model and mental space, which are both active in my proposed representational format for STM models (see Section 5.1.2). The term *mental space* is reserved for the imagistic spaces that are constantly opening and closing as discourse content is being simulated within conceptualisation. This mental space representation is meant to capture the placement and movement of discourse entities against a larger conceptual background occurring during construal processes. By contrast, I am using the term *situation model* when referring to semantic categories (identities, values, mindsets, actions and goals) and ontological domains (time, space, entities, causation, permissibility, possibility and intention) (see Section 3.2.1). Fauconnier (1985: 16) makes this same distinction between imagistic construal operations occurring cognitively and the propositional forms in the text itself when he states that mental spaces are 'distinct from linguistic structures but built up in any discourse according to guidelines provided by linguistic expressions'. Linguistic expressions typically establish new spaces, contents within them and relations holding between the contents. In Chapters 5 and 6, I explore how imagistic mental spaces and propositional situation models mutually inform one another during the conceptualisation process.[14]

Fauconnier and Turner (2002: 40) define mental spaces as 'small conceptual packets constructed as we think and talk, for purposes of local understanding and action'. These conceptual packets are conceived as partial assemblies in STM containing discourse elements, which are structured by mental models held in LTM. Conceptualisation

13 Mandler (2004: 79) states, 'Image schemas fit most naturally into a mental space form of representation, such as described by Langacker (1987) for language and by Fauconnier (1997) and Fauconnier and Turner (2002) for reasoning and thought'.

14 Freska and Barkowsky (1999: 200) note that the 'propositional and imagistic distinction has a strong correspondence to the what - where distinction in visual perception'. Both, propositional content and locational information are significant in two main ways for discourse processing: 1) The what-aspect of the represented situation is represented propositionally in content words, and the where-aspect is represented spatially in lexical and grammatical constructions. 2) The content of the represented situation is partially coded spatially through activated image schemas, and the spatial location is coded propositionally in the lexis of the text. Therefore, propositional and imagistic aspects of conceptualisation can be seen in a dual relationship to one another.

consists in building various mental spaces that can potentially encompass immediate reality, past events, future scenarios, hypothetical situations or abstract conceptual domains (Evans and Green 2006: 279-280). Fauconnier's research has been primarily interested in how mental spaces are set up for presuppositions, beliefs, hypotheticals, counterfactuals, scenarios and quantification schema among others. Fauconnier (1997: 41) has also identified a crucial property of conceptual links he has termed the 'access principle'. This principle states that an expression that names or describes an identity in one mental space can be used to access a counterpart of that identity element in another mental space. Hence, the access principle is a way in which various mental spaces keep track of various co-references between identity constructions (e.g. pronouns). Primarily concerned with sentence level processing, Fauconnier (1997: 39) maintains that when the reader is processing a sentence, different linguistic devices provide several kinds of information including:

- Information regarding what new spaces are being introduced and set up;
- clues as to what space is currently in focus, either a space currently being constructed in the present or spaces transporting the reader to other times, hypothetical scenarios, fictional territories, etc.;
- descriptions that add new elements into spaces with content words, or which direct the reader's attention throughout the space with orientational schemas;
- descriptions or names that identify existing elements, understood as referents to recurring categorical members in the text; and
- lexical information that connect conceptual elements in STM to mental models held in LTM.

Similarly investigating conceptual structure in text processing, Werth (1999: 7) builds on Fauconnier's observations and asks: 'How do we make sense of complex utterances when we receive them as hearers or readers? How do we as speakers or writers put together a complex utterance in order to express particular concepts?' Werth's (1999: 17) main thesis is that 'all of semantics and pragmatics operates within a set of stacked cognitive spaces, termed mental worlds'. These mental worlds are made up of both a 'discourse world' and complementary 'text world'. A discourse world represents the side of communication happening at the site of the 'context of the situation' underway, while the text world is a recognition of 'the existence of a conceptual domain of understanding jointly constructed by the producer and recipients' (ibid.). So the discourse world is the immediate situational language event, including the text and discourse participants. Key factors in the discourse world include the perceptions of the immediate situation, and the beliefs, knowledge, memories, hopes and imaginations of the discourse participants.

Werth posits text worlds as mental constructs, which he understands as 'conceptual scenarios' (1999: 7). The text world is posed as a conceptual artifice for displaying cognitive processing, where discourse participants use speech or text to construct discourse elements in a coherent structure. Yet, how does the reader of a text come to form an idea of the world which it depicts? A text world consists of both 'world building elements' and 'function advancing elements' (Werth 1999: 52). World building elements include orientation in time and place, as well as characters and other objects that furnish

the text world. World building elements also include deictic and referential information. In text world theory, deictic information 'defines spatial and temporal relationships as clustering around a notional zero-point' and referential information 'specifies the entities present in the text world together with their properties and interrelationships' (Werth 1999: 20). Following Fauconnier (1997) these deictic and referential elements are known as 'space builders' and include prepositional phrases, adverbs, connectors and noun phrases. As for Werth's function advancing elements there are two sorts, some that express predications that are 'attributive' (relations or descriptions), and others representing 'actions' (states, events or processes) (Stockwell 2002: 138). Werth also posits 'sub-worlds' as internal storylines to the text world. While text worlds describe the initial scene, sub-worlds are inserted into text worlds in the form of flash-backs/flash-forwards or any other departure from the main narrative. Thus, there are three 'worlds' under consideration within text world theory, which include the discourse world (socio-cultural context), the text world (main narrative) and the sub-world (internal storylines). Each of these distinct levels are equivalent in terms of structure (e.g. all include world builder and function advancer elements), and they are all capable of containing the same rich deictic and referential detail.

Concerned to move from a sentence level of text investigation to a discursive level, Werth (1999: 77) comments on Fauconnier's mental space programme pointing out:

- There is no explicit connection between mental spaces and a theory of mental models.
- The examples given do not usually correspond to a real life context.
- A general theory of space builders is not provided.
- So far, this type of text analysis has taken place exclusively below or at the sentence level of discourse processing.

In contrast to Fauconnier's attempt to model mental spaces at the sentence level, Werth takes the basic data for his conceptual approach to be at the discourse level. Werth (1999: 50) understood his work to be the first steps toward the creation of a 'cognitive discourse grammar', and intended to move the mental space approach from simplistic example sentences to more complex real life discourses (see Section 5.1). Despite these advances in a theory of conceptual space, both Fauconnier's and Werth's work is highly selective as to which image schemas are taken into account as structuring devices during simulation.

Developing text world theory further, Filardo-Llamas (2015) examines more closely the importance of 'deictic shifting' during conceptualisation. She demonstrates a multi-modal approach to meaning construction by analysing a political music video created with the intention to mobilize Americans during Barack Obama's 2008 presidential campaign. Her aim is to understand how mental representations could be interpreted by different audiences viewing the same promotional video. In her analysis, she considers lexis that prompts for deictic conceptualisation, including prepositions, pronouns, verb tenses, temporal adverbs, modality and negation. Filardo-Llamas (2015: 292) finds that multiple re-contextualizations of the phrase 'Yes we can!' in the video causes the viewer to shift through multiple personal and temporal deictic fields. This finding lends more

evidence to the claim that spatial cognition is key in how 'mental spaces are construed' (ibid.).

4.1.3 Function of metaphor and the spatialization of form hypothesis

A fundamental claim of cognitive linguistics is that the function of metaphor is not confined to figurative language, but that 'all human thought processes are largely metaphorical' (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 6). Metaphor is described as a cognitive operation that maps or projects a complex schematic structure from a more spatial domain (e.g. captain of a ship) to a more abstract domain (e.g. leader of a state). In cognitive metaphor theory, each metaphor is understood as possessing a source domain, a target domain, and a source-to-target mapping. For instance, in the metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR, the concept of an ARGUMENT (target) is metaphorically structured in terms of WAR (source). Building on the finding that the human conceptual system is largely structured by metaphor, Lakoff's (1987: 68) main thesis is that 'we organize our knowledge by means of structures called idealized cognitive models'. He claims that category structures and prototype effects must be by-products of a cognitive model's organization stored in LTM (see Sections 5.2 and 7.2). In order to investigate the configuration of conceptual structure in mental models, together Lakoff and Johnson posit the 'spatialization of form' hypothesis. Lakoff (1987: 283) describes this hypothesis as 'a metaphorical mapping from physical space into a conceptual space', where 'spatial structure is mapped into conceptual structure'. In his description, conceptual structure comes as the result of image schemas being metaphorically mapped into abstract reasoning. Lakoff (1987: 282) is convinced that the combination of image schemas and a metaphorical mapping operation provide cognitive linguists with 'sufficient foundations for a theory of general conceptual structure'. Instead of a mapping, Johnson (1987: xiv) describes the function of metaphor as a projection, where he states that there are 'Two central types of imaginative structure active in embodied understanding: image schemata and metaphorical projections'. On his account, image-schematic structure arising from embodiment can be projected via metaphor onto abstract domains of reasoning.

Spatialization of form makes intuitive sense when thinking about a concrete linguistic utterance such as 'Holden is bringing cake to the party'. In this instance, 'Holden' is presented as an AGENT moving along a PATH ('bringing') toward a GOAL ('party') with the intention of delivering an OBJECT ('cake'). What may be less obvious is that more abstract sentences retain the same intimate ties to embodied conceptualisation. Consider the example sentence: 'America is bringing democracy to the Third World'. In this case, the noun phrases have come to represent entire social categories, and the present tense verb 'bringing' is delivering a theoretical system termed 'democracy'. The second example involves more abstract reasoning processes as the terms 'America' and 'democracy' are far less tangible than 'Holden' and 'cake'. Yet in both cases, whether the sentence is more concrete or abstract, conceptual structuring systems grounded in our bodily experience are used to produce an interpretation.

From a cognitive linguistic perspective, then, the function of metaphor is primarily understood as either a mapping or projection. Speaking of metaphor as a cognitive operation that maps or projects has influenced proposed representational formats seeking to elucidate the inner structure of mental models. The terms mapping and projection are themselves metaphorical, being used in order to describe cognitive operations. While they can be seen as synonymous terms for the same phenomena, the mapping or

projection metaphor itself has influenced the way cognitive operations are conceived. Most efforts at representing the inner structures of mental models have grasped onto the idea of metaphor as a mapping (Driven, Frank and Putz 2003; Goatly 2007). More recently cognitive discourse analysts have begun to represent conceptual relations as a series of metaphorical projections (Chilton 2005; Hart 2014a). I too, explore both 'mapping' (see Sections 5.1.2 and 5.2.3) and 'projection' (see Sections 5.1.3 and 5.2.6) metaphors as ways to describe how image schemas provide structure to mental models containing abstract political situations. To summarize, both Lakoff and Johnson understand the conceptualising capacity in terms of:

- The ability to form symbolic structures that correlate with embodied structures in our everyday experience;

- the ability to metaphorically map or project structures encountered in the physical domain onto more abstract domains; and

- the ability to form complex concepts and general categories using image schemas as structuring devices.

4.1.4 Schema-based metaphor and frame-based metaphor

Conceptual metaphor theory is one metaphorical mapping approach utilized in cognitive linguistics (Lakoff 1993). This approach to metaphor assigns an important role to image schemas in making the connections involved during conceptualisation. To discuss metaphorical mappings of image schemas, I want to make a distinction between two types of metaphor: *schema-based and frame-based*. Schema-based metaphors consist of a one-to-one mapping (e.g. NATION STATE AS A CONTAINER), whereas frame-based metaphors are constituted of multiple mappings from one experiential domain onto another (e.g. PROTEST EVENTS AS FIRES). Scenes and episodes mentally constructed through schema-based metaphorical mapping occur as the result of a specific combination of various image schemas. As each image schematic design is processed sequentially, the reader receives a construal of the situation being described in discourse. In this view, image schemas serve as the building blocks of the situation being construed. As the result of these schemas being combined into a coherent mental simulation, scenes and episodes emerge as comprehensive entities. In contrast to the one-to-one mapping of schema-based metaphors, framed-based metaphors are utilized to produce mappings from a more concrete experiential domain onto a more abstract domain (e.g. TIME AS CURRENCY). Having made the distinction between schema-based and frame-based mappings, for the remainder of the thesis the focus will be upon schema-based. Paying attention to the way these metaphorical mappings occur, I explore how fundamental schematic interactions are actively simulating scenes and episodes during mental model creation (see Section 5.1.2).

4.2 Cognitive linguistic-critical discourse analysis and deictic space models

In critical discourse studies, the cognitive linguistic approach has increasingly been drawn upon in order to theorize 'the relationship between linguistic structures in texts and conceptual structures in the minds of discourse participants' (Hart 2014a: 11). Chilton's (2004, 2007, 2010 and 2014) work in political discourse analysis has progressively become more concerned with exploring the structure of conceptual space.

In fact, he goes so far as to suggest that it is 'conceptual space that gives rise to the need for the communication of meanings in the first place' (Chilton 2010: 193). Inspired by geometric investigation in language studies (Gallistel 1990), set theories for metaphorical mapping in blending theory (Fauconnier and Turner 2002), conceptual metaphor theory (Lakoff and Johnson 1980) and mental space theory (Fauconnier 1985, 1997), Chilton develops his own representational format for discourse processing. Chilton (2014:1) says, 'Geometry is, in its Euclidean form, based on human bodily experience', and that he intends to employ a 'three-dimensional geometry in order to model meaning in a cognitive embodied framework'. Most important to this project, Chilton intends to represent configurations of image schemas that bring about set conceptual arrangements necessary for discourse comprehension. Chilton's aim is to propose a deictic space model that consists of a 'rather simple vector geometry in variable coordinate systems' in order to explore 'some fundamental properties of human discourse' (2005: 3). Thus, Chilton proposes a representational format, which takes into account that conceptual structure is derived from spatial cognition.

4.2.1 Geometric conceptualisation

In deictic space theory, it is assumed that spatial, temporal and evaluative deixis are fundamental.[15] However, spatial deixis may be the most fundamental form of deixis, because it is capable of 'metaphorical projection into abstract domains' (Chilton 2014: 11). The elementary geometry of coordinate systems, vectors and transformations is meant to act as a heuristic for exploring linguistic-conceptual space. The underlying assumption of deictic space theory is that human minds set up a conceptual space as we process linguistic utterances, a conceptual space that is inevitably tied to a point of view attributed to the writer. Language encodes various conceptual structures that are essentially deictic, where propositions always connect simultaneously to spatial, temporal and evaluative dimensions. In deictic space theory, conceptual space is an intersubjective reality space and therefore reflects the broadly shared point of view of the writer and intended reader. Put differently, the text asks the reader to adopt the same point of view as the writer, at least in the moment of discursive interaction. In Hart's estimation, deictic space theory can be considered a 'formalised version' of text world theory (2008: 118). So, as a representation of narrative constructed in discourse, Chilton's (2014) 'deictic space' roughly equates with Werth's (1999) notion of 'text world' (see Section 4.1.2). Both representational formats are proposals for modelling the inner structure of mental models. Considering both modelling efforts at once, one can observe that deictic space theory moves Werth's text world modelling into a new stage of geometric formalism by elevating deixis as a central principle in the modelling effort.

From this geometric starting point, Chilton posits mental models as 'simple three-dimensional axis systems with the origin usually located at the point of text producer' (2010: 193). The goal of deictic space modelling is to chart how lexis and grammatical constructions within discourse locates the writer at a deictic zero point, and directs the perspective of the reader within a contained conceptual space. In contrast to the representational formats suggested by social movement theory, cognitive psychology and frame semantics intent to model causal, hierarchal and syntactic relations, Chilton models the writer as deictically encoding ontological relations through set semantic categories. As the reader takes on the mental vantage point of the writer, s/he becomes situated within the mental model. Hence, Chilton's geometric formalism is useful when

[15] In earlier works Chilton (2004; 2005) refers to 'discourse space', only later does he settle in favour of 'deictic space'.

modelling ontological relations from the perspective of the protagonist in a narrative, which in this project is the social movement writing collective. Beyond spatial positioning, Chilton assumes the same is true for 'position' in time and evaluation, where incoming episodes are considered to exist at different temporal and evaluative distances from the reader's point of view. This three-dimensional system of text representation is meant to model 'only core characteristics of discourse processing' and is most concerned with how discourse relations are structured within the mental model (Chilton 2005: 34). Thus, deictic space modelling is meant to represent the inner structures of mental models by 'denoting a particular representation of a linguistic conceptualisation' in the abstract deictic space coordinate system (Chilton 2005: 17). The prime benefit of a three-dimensional model, based on the embodiment thesis (see Section 4.1), is to explore how spatial, temporal and evaluative construal operations are interacting within mental space (see Section 4.1.2).

4.2.2 Axis system (spatial, temporal and evaluative)

The fundamental axis system of the deictic space model is given in Figure 4.2, where three unbroken lines *s*, *t* and *a* converge at the self. Chilton (2010: 196) conceives of the axis system as constituting 'base reality from the writer's point of view'. The s-axis is socio-spatial in that discourse entities (participants, places or objects) can be located at relative social distances from the reader. The t-axis is temporal, representing time in a bidirectional manner from the reader's point of view. Past and future events are represented as coordinate points along an internal timeline as being closer or more distant to the current temporal location of the reader. In line with findings in cognitive linguistics (Lakoff and Johnson 1980), temporal relations are understood as a metaphorical projection of spatial relations. Chilton uses the third axis as a way of viewing the epistemic certainty and deontic force of statements. However, since I am primarily interested in discourse level meaning making, I am following the path of later discourse analysts in limiting the third axis to an axiological (*a*) one (Cap 2013; Hart 2014a). This means evaluative concepts in the text are assumed to be spatialized as well, where normative values are located at relative distances from the reader. In the deictic space model, every utterance always has the potential to connect simultaneously to all three dimensions as discourse contents are placed at specific coordinate locations within the axis system. All content coordinates falling along the three axes are positioned 'relative to one another and to the origin' (Chilton 2014: 40). The intersection of the three axes is indicative of the origin point (i.e. deictic centre), which defines the viewpoint of the speaker (e.g. us, here, now, real and right vs. there, then, suspect and wrong). In this three-dimensional axis system, vectors represent movements of discourse entities within conceptual space. Vectors, positioned within the axes, possess both a magnitude and direction, which serves to relate contents within conceptual space relative to one another.

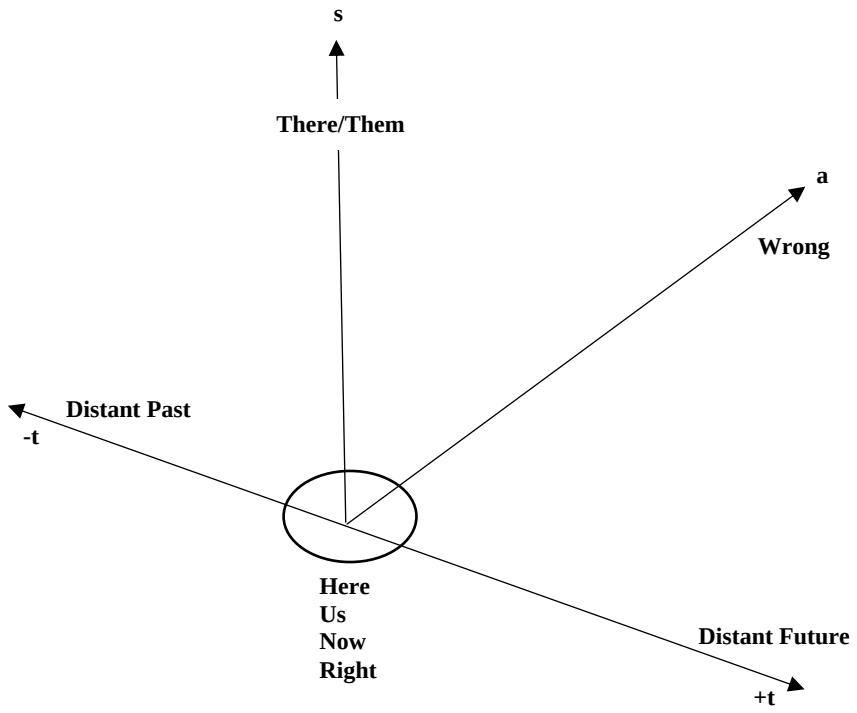


Figure 4.1 Basic deictic space model.

In Figure 4.3, I illustrate how the socio-spatial axis provides a scale of relative distance from the deictic centre with proximal, medial and distal relations. However, there is no objective metric for locations on this continuum. The discourse entities appearing on this axis are not precisely measurable as they are relative to the reader's subjective point of view. Therefore, although the deictic space model is able to represent direction and distance upon a coordinate scale, conceptualisation is not objective but exists in the mind of the reader. The s-axis acts as 'a scale of relative conceptual distance from the deictic origin' (Chilton 2014: 31). In the model, the s-axis is utilized to represent the psychological distance between the reader and other entities. In Figure 4.3, understand that 'distance' is defined as a kind of social distance from the ingroup point of view. Lending credence to this aspect of deictic space theory, experimental results in social psychology suggest that conceptualisation of human relationships is directly linked to thought about space in terms of proximal and distal locations (Bar-Anan, Liberman, Trope and Algom 2007; Matthews and Matlock 2010).[16]

[16] In social psychology, empirical studies have been performed revealing the cognitive phenomena of a scale of social distance. Bar-Anan et al. (2007) found that the spatial location of words on a computer screen affects categorization time when the words have temporal or social lexis, but not for words that lack such semantic properties. For instance, accessing the spatial location of a psychologically distant word such as 'others' is faster when the word is presented in the background of an image rather than in the foreground of the same image. The exact opposite accessibility pattern occurs with words that psychologically proximate (e.g. 'we').

In another experiment, Matthews and Matlock (2010: 34) ask: 'To what extent do people anchor thoughts about social relationships in terms of space and time?' Three experiments were designed using drawing and estimation tasks to explore the conceptual structure of social distance. In the three case studies, participants read short narratives, drew what they imaged happening during the narrative, then estimated both time and distance. In all three experiments participants, when they imagined traveling, drew their lines closer to figures on the map and estimated that the trip took longer when they believed the figures were friends (vs. strangers). Friendship consistently resulted in closer distance and longer time. In general, their results suggest that the conceptualisation of social relationships is linked to thought about space in terms of distance and temporal estimation.

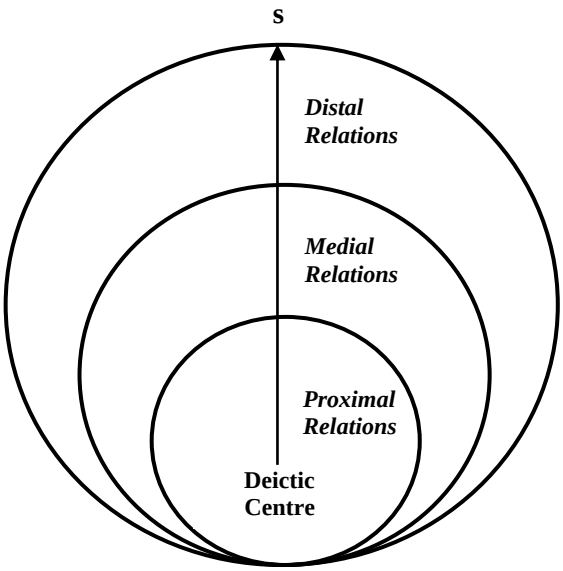


Figure 4.2 Relative distance and direction on the spatial axis.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) discuss how there is a very close blending of space and time such that the feeling of time's passage is conceptualised spatially (e.g. a long time, death approaches). Presumably, the abstractness of the time concept is the reason why spatial metaphors are so frequently used to describe temporal relationships. Figure 4.4 is a representation of temporal deictic space, where the spatial axis projects metaphorically onto the temporal axis. This projection provides the reader a temporal distance in two directions relative to the deictic origin.

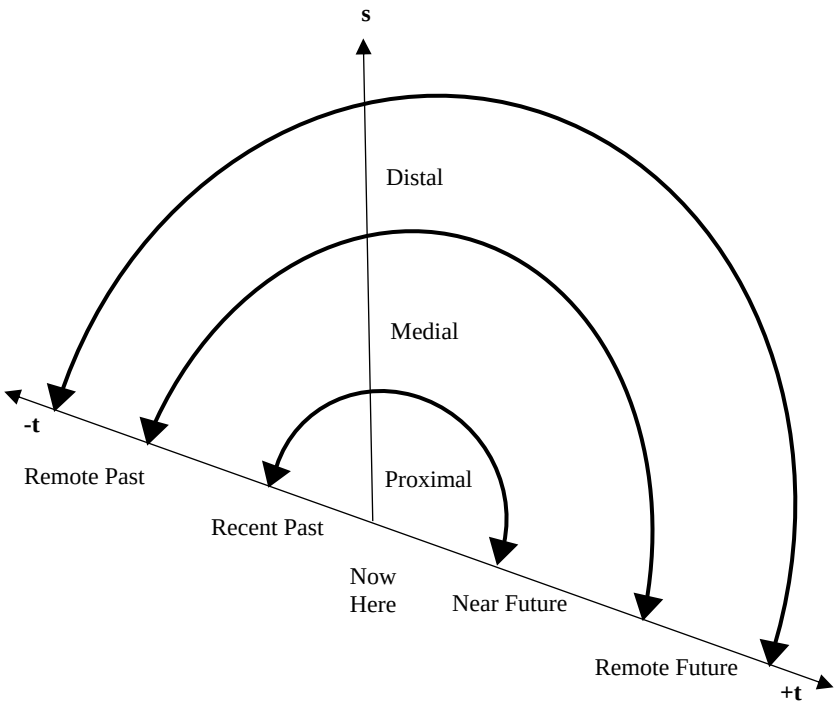


Figure 4.3 Spatial distance and direction metaphorically project onto the temporal axis.

The suggestion here is that conceptual space involves a temporal dimension that is conceptualised by analogy to spatial distance and direction. What is relevant in the

spatialization of time is bi-directionality and distance. One can conceptually orient to the past or future, and an event can be closer or more remote in either direction. As Chilton (2014: 35) remarks, 'Jointly orientating to a temporal location is what tense enables communicators to do'. Events on the timeline are viewed egocentrically taking the current temporal location within the text as the reference point. If the deictic space is conceptualised allocentrically, some 'other event relatively distal from the default reference point is taken as the temporary anchoring for the conceptualisation' (Chilton 2005: 14). However, a shift into the allocentric position already assumes that there is a default deictic centre to which the reader will return. Manifesto analysis is perhaps less complicated than other textual genres in this regard. Since manifesto texts are seeking to impart a coherent worldview and stabilize a collective ingroup perspective, there is virtually no shifting between egocentric and allocentric viewpoints (Kaal 2017). Instead, the reader's viewing position remains in one egocentric location in order to establish the crucial distances that will become relevant for building a shared social cognition of the current geopolitical situation.

In Chilton's (2014) more recent incarnations of his model, the third axis is modal in nature measuring epistemic relations, where different states of affairs can be viewed as true, possibly true or untrue relative to the writer's perspective. What is proximal in the model corresponds to what is most real while the distal space corresponds to what is most unreal. However, following others who have developed the deictic space model for political discourse studies (Cap 2013 and Hart 2014a), I utilize the third axis as a way to trace evaluation in terms of right and wrong. This is a metaphorical extension of spatial distance into the realm of evaluation where conceptual distance corresponds to evaluative distance (Figure 4.5).

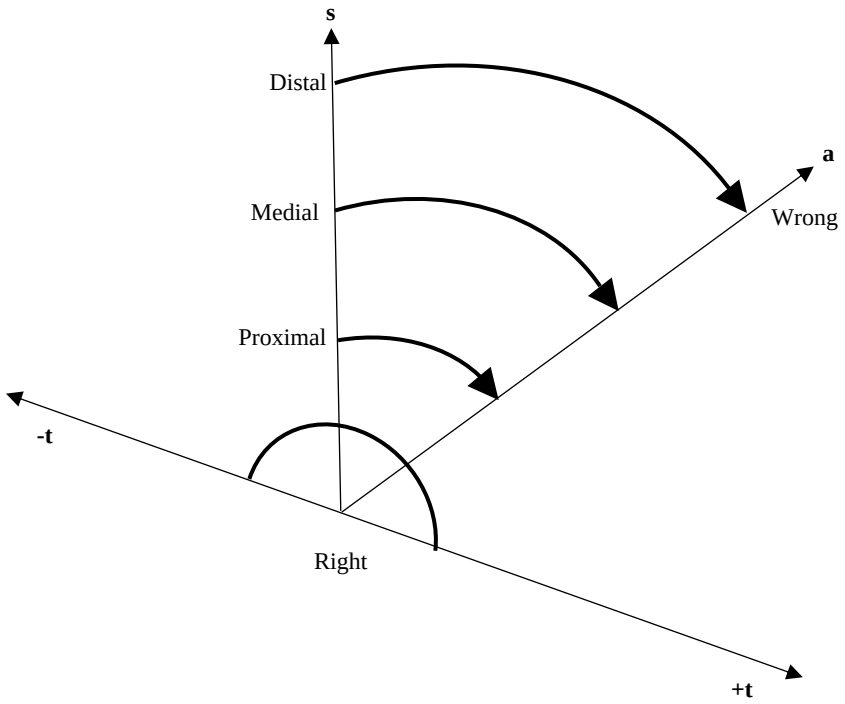


Figure 4.4 Spatial distance and direction metaphorically project onto the axiological axis.

Conceptual locations may be proximal, medial or distal from an evaluative standpoint relative to the reader. Evaluative distancing is immediately obvious in manifesto texts as

competing groups, and the values they hold, are often constructed in terms of an oppositional US-THEM conceptual distance.

Consulting this cognitive discourse approach, I assume that meaning comes as the result of situations being evoked in geometric space by incoming text. This occurs as lexical and grammatical constructions cue image-schematic simulations, which both constrain and move discourse entities throughout conceptual space (see Section 4.1.1). With this geometric model of mental space, Chilton proposes that linguistically encoded conceptualisation can be represented in terms of a deictic centre point relative to the writer's point of view, three axes with a series of coordinate locations and vectors which record relations of distance, direction and magnitude. As can be seen in Figure 4.6, the complete categorical structure of Van Dijk's situation model (see Section 3.2.1) has a set place within deictic mental space. The situation model offered in the socio-cognitive discourse approach gives us the necessary ontological domains and semantic categories making up the essential ingredients present during model construction. Now, cognitive linguists are exploring the spatial format and schematic devices necessary for understanding the inner relations of these invariant ontological domains and semantic categories. In Figure 4.6, the 'scene' is captured with circumstances moving along the -t-axis into the present, participants are located upon the s-axis with the attendant setting, time and conditions positioned at the here and now. The main heading of 'episode' falls along the +t-axis where actions are accomplished and goals are reached, while evaluations of identities and proposed actions fall along the a-axis.

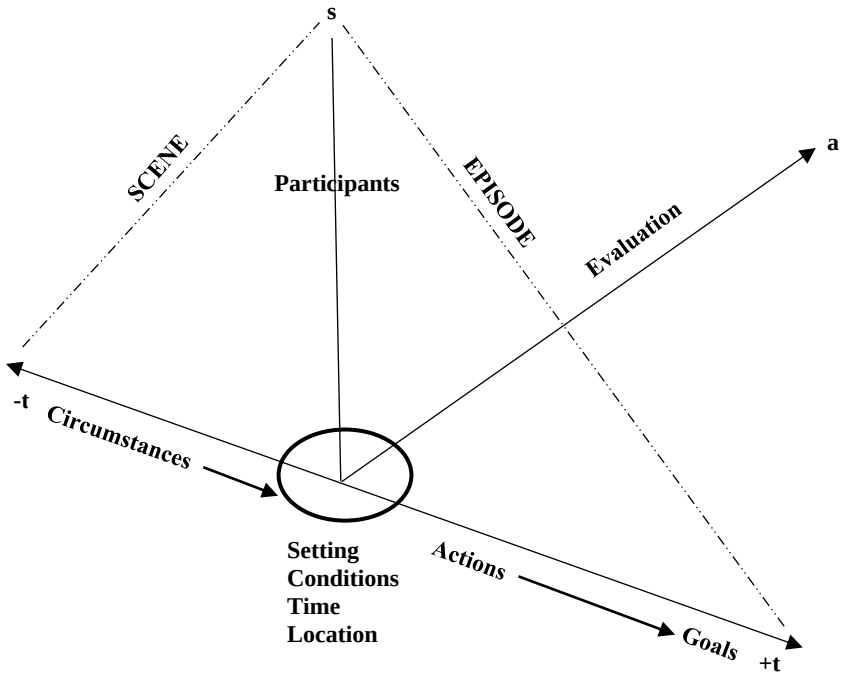


Figure 4.5 Categorical structure of the situation model in deictic mental space.

4.2.3 Proximization model

Building on Chilton's (2004) original deictic space proposal, various models are now being developed in critical discourse studies in order to reveal cognitive operations active within conceptual space. The deictic space model has seen extensions with grammars of proximization in mental space (Cap 2013) and political worldview construction in

discourse space (Kaal 2012). For the remainder of this section, I review the proximization model, focusing on both phrasal and narrative levels of construal. In the next section I discuss an approach to deictic space that explores spatio-temporal grounding and attention setting at the discursive level. What all these critical discourse analysts have in common, in modelling conceptual space, is that they elevate deixis as a central cognitive operation for discerning the underlying structure of both construal operations and worldview construction in political texts. Recall from Section 5.1.3, imagistic construal is theorized based on the 'invariance principle'. Lakoff (1993: 229) describes this principle where 'image schema project a topological structure, and that this structure is always preserved by metaphor'. In other words, 'propositional inferences arise from the inherent topological structure of the image schemas projected by metaphor onto concepts like times, states, changes, actions, causes, purposes, means, quantity and categories' (ibid.). This means that abstract reasoning is a special kind of imagistic reasoning, where schema topologies are metaphorically projected onto abstract domains.

Piotr Cap's (2006, 2008 and 2013) research has focused on American anti-terrorism rhetoric and is situated within the field of cognitive-pragmatics. The construal operation of 'proximization' is the focus of his theoretical work, which acts as a legitimization strategy in discourses of military intervention. When employed in political text, proximization is a strategy of presenting outgroup actions as increasingly closer, consequential and threatening to the ingroup. This discursive strategy invokes fear in the ingroup collective in order to solicit legitimization for pre-emptive responses to a perceived national threat. In this proximization adaptation of deictic space modelling, socio-spatial and temporal axes are extended to cover contemporary geopolitical relations and past political narratives, which are continuously recruited in order to boost the speaker's cultural legitimacy (Cap 2008). Proximization involves set configurations of discourse entities in deictic space, where the ingroup occupies the CENTRE of the deictic space and the outgroup occupies the PERIPHERY. In spatial proximization, the outgroup's actions are construed as moving toward and physically endangering the ingroup. In temporal proximization, the present time is construed as the moment for the ingroup to begin preparations in order to pre-empt the outgroup's invasive action coming in the near future. While in axiological proximization, ingroup and outgroup values are positioned as being involved in an ideological conflict, where eventually outgroup values come to have a negative impact upon ingroup. Cap's (2013) proximization model of interventionist discourse has shown that even though geopolitical changes may have occurred, politicians will seek new justifications for action. For instance, the initial premise for a pre-emptive strike may have disappeared (e.g. weapons of mass destruction), but the argument may receive compensation from axiological premises (e.g. bringing freedom to Iraq). Axiological groundworks are less vulnerable to contextual changes, because they set up conceptual situations that are essentially more abstract and involve less specific interpretations.

The proximization model enables the cognitive discourse analyst to represent online acts of construal. When seeking to describe the relations involved in proximization, Cap employs a phrasal grammar. The construal operation can be invoked by a single sentence or over a number of paragraphs, and its means of realization is either phraseological or narrative. Phraseological realization occurs within the span of one sentence, while narrative proximization occurs over a number of sentences (Hart 2014a: 170). The example below is considered to be a narrative proximization strategy because the simulation of outgroup entities moving towards the ingroup occurs over a number of

sentences. Cap's (2013) 'grammar of spatial proximization' provides the functional units appearing as phrases:

- Noun phrases: conceptualising antagonists & protagonists
- Verb phrases: conceptualising action/motion
- Prepositional phrases: conceptualising direction of action/motion

The antagonist and protagonist noun phrase slots must be filled in order for proximization to occur. Specifically, proximization involves a representation of the antagonist entering the protagonist's spatial ground, resulting in harm to the protagonist. In the verb phrase slot, the outgroup (or an object sent by the outgroup) is conceptualised as moving toward the ingroup. Referents in deictic space are linked either by connectors represented as dashed lines or by vectors represented as arrows. Connectors represent various kinds of relations between discourse entities including 'attribution or possession', while vectors 'represent material processes between elements and abstract movements through the space' (Hart 2014a: 167). Taking an extract from sentences (4-7) of the Port Huron manifesto, written by the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), I illustrate the construal operation of proximization in Figures 4.7–4.9.[17] In this example, I model how the reader is invited to take on the geopolitical deictic centre of the SDS writing collective made up of Ivy League university elites (see Section 2.1). The immediate goal of collegiate organizers writing this manifesto was to persuade other students to reject a politically apathetic lifestyle by engaging in activism. In the long term, SDS hoped to push forward a nation-wide realignment of the two-party political system, causing the Democratic Party to move further left (Jacobs 1970).

(4) As we grew, [our **protagonist**] comfort [was penetrated **motion/result**] by [events **antagonist**] too troubling to dismiss.

In sentence (4) the reader encounters the beginnings of a temporal narrative proximization operation occurring in deictic space. The reader is shifted into the deictic centre of the university students during their adolescence ('as we grew'). The ingroup's state-of-being is construed as a stable point fixed on the t-axis, where the antagonist 'troubling events' move from the past toward the ingroup as protagonist. The college students' contained state of comfortable complacency 'was penetrated', where 'troubling events' passed through a protective upper class shell and encroached upon their privileged existential state. This indicates a transfer of energy from the antagonist ('events') to the protagonist ('our'). This vector represents a force construal of ENABLEMENT, where 'events' move in an unimpeded fashion into the ingroup's deictic ground affecting a state of change in the ingroup. Following Langacker (2008), I represent this change-of-state with a stepped arrow, indicating here that the students' collective existence is not the same after having been 'penetrated'.

[17] For complete introduction of the Port Huron manifesto see Appendix A.

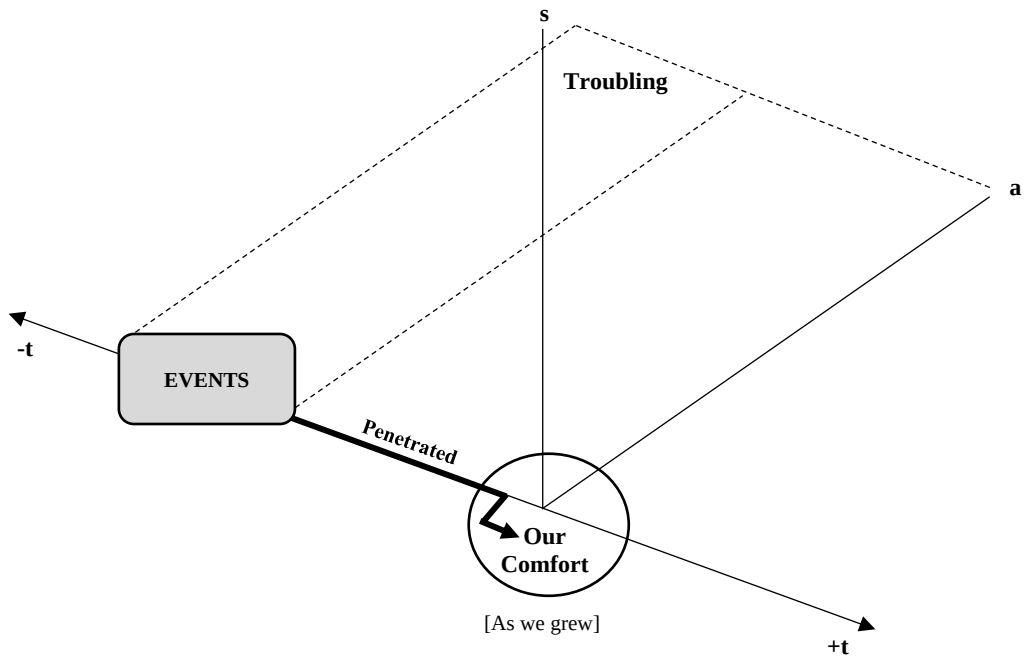


Figure 4.6 Port Huron manifesto sentence (4): Temporal narrative proximization in deictic space.

(5) First, the permeating and victimizing fact of [human degradation **antagonist**], symbolized by the [Southern struggle against racial bigotry **counterforce**], [compelled **motion**] most of [us **protagonist**] [from silence to activism **result**].

In sentence (5), the reader finds there has been a change in the referent of the antagonist as the first 'troubling event' is revealed to be 'human degradation' and 'racial bigotry'. In Figure 4.8 the event 'Southern struggle' is located on the -t-axis in imagistic COUNTERFORCE relations conflicting with 'racial bigotry' and 'human degradation', which are located at a distal position on the a-axis. This continuous conflict of 'Southern struggle' moves the collective identity 'us' into the future structured by a COMPULSION schema. In this case, the future entails adopting a new ethical stance, where the ingroup moves from 'silence' to 'activism'. After being propelled forward by the impact of this event, the students are compelled to take on an ethical outlook that demands action.

(6) Second, the [enclosing **motion**] fact of [the Cold War **antagonist**], symbolized by the presence of the Bomb, brought awareness that [we ourselves **protagonist**], and our friends, and millions of abstract "others" we knew more directly because of our common peril, might [die at any time **result**].

In sentence (6), the second troubling event is revealed to be the 'Cold War', yet in contrast to 'Southern struggle' this negative event does not work to move the ingroup forward but is construed as 'enclosing' them. Here 'Cold War' is conceptualised as a shrinking CONTAINER surrounding the university students. This state of being trapped inside a CONTAINER of potential global destruction places the students in a position where the international political reality seems so constraining to them that they are compelled to escape. The simultaneous motions of being thrust forward by the 'Southern struggle' and constrained by the 'Cold War' indicates how hard it is for the students to chart a clear political path in the face of such global uncertainties. On the a-axis, the ingroup staying at their present location means 'silence' instead of 'activism' and potential 'death' instead of, by implication, a better chance at life.

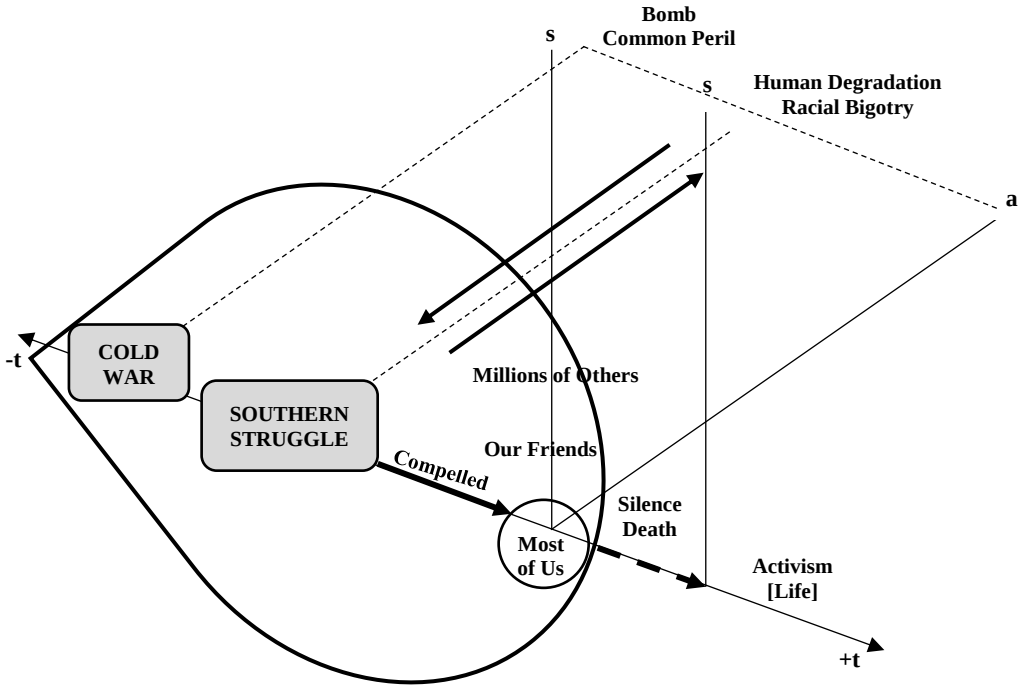


Figure 4.7 Port Huron manifesto sentences (5-6): Temporal narrative proximization in deictic space.

(7) [We **protagonist**] might deliberately ignore, or avoid, or fail to feel all other human problems, but not [these two **antagonist**], for these were too [immediate and crushing **motion**] in their [impact **result**], too [challenging in the demand **motion**] that we as individuals take the responsibility for [encounter and resolution **result**].

In sentence (7), the manifesto writers reinforce the construal of the situation originally encountered in sentence (4) as 'events', are now referred to as 'human problems' (Figure 4.9). The two events 'Cold War' and 'Southern struggle', are now re-construed not as compelling or constraining but as 'immediate and crushing'. They are conceptualised as impacting the deictic centre causing a change-of-state in the protagonists. Here, the struggle against racial bigotry and the Cold War mentality are encroaching upon the students' deictic centre, experiencing them as 'immediate' and 'crushing'. This construes the situation as one where the students' container of comfort is currently being pressed so hard that it breaks, shatters and eventually loses its original protective shape. This 'impact' presupposes an instrument strong enough to breech the protective shell provided by the American state for its upper class children. In addition, sentence (7) contains another proximization operation echoing the construal first encountered in sentence (5), where the struggle against racial bigotry and the Cold War 'demand' that the students move from a place of non-responsibility to one of being responsible for approaching these issues and remaining vigilant in solving them. As the COMPULSION schema is evoked, the reader imagines the ingroup moving further into a strategic space along the +t-axis where they intentionally 'encounter' both racist and militaristic mindsets. The dashed line along the +t-axis indicates this potential for action. After this 'encounter' the ingroup is expected to come to a 'resolution', which moves them even further along toward a goal located at a more distal location along the +t-axis.

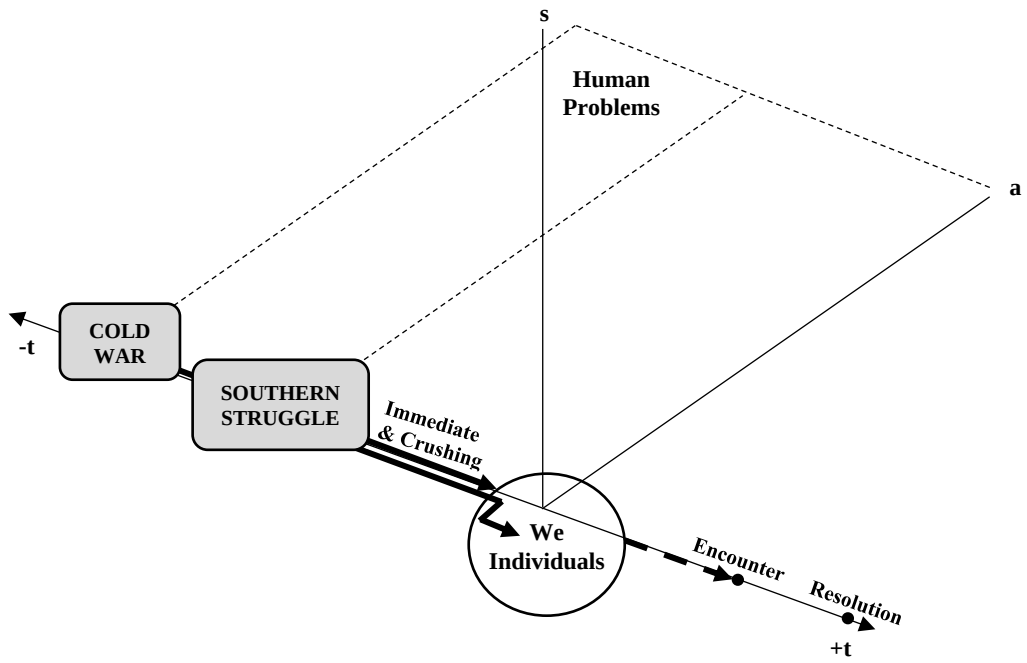


Figure 4.8 Port Huron manifesto sentence (7): Temporal narrative proximization in deictic space.

In cognitive discourse studies, we have seen how Chilton proposes a geometric model as the fundamental grounding for the representation of conceptual spaces occurring during sentence level text processing. Also I have discussed how Chilton's model has been usefully extended to take account of proximization in considering the legitimation of political action. In the next section, I discuss how this basic three-dimensional model has been applied at discursive levels of processing, able to trace construal operations over entire sections of text.

4.2.4 Discourse approach for measuring spatio-temporal scope and attention

Currently, the only discourse approach moving the analysis of deictic space from construal operations to more long term categorical structures is Kaal's (2012, 2015, 2017) proposed 'time-space-attitude model'. Similar to Chilton, she treats worldview as a discursive construction arranged around a spatio-temporal ingroup deictic centre. Her method involves 'annotating spatial, temporal and modal expressions and clustering them in degrees of proximity to a deictic centre' within a larger discourse space (Kaal 2012: 12). Through an investigation of Dutch election manifestos, Kaal's primary focus is 'scope of attention and point of view' in spatio-temporal frames (2015: 330). She argues that election manifestos are prime material for this kind of worldview analysis, because they outline a political party's normative perspective on the current state of affairs.[18] Taking manifestos as data, Kaal enacts a comparative approach distinguishing between party profiles. The aim of her deictic methodology is to enable the analyst to find variation within party positions through a comparison of geometric coordinate systems of manifesto texts. Relative positions of discourse entities can be visualised on the deictic

18 Kaal (2012: 10) lists six advantages of using election manifestos as comparative data: (1) Manifestos are set within the same space and time periods with explicitly stated goals. (2) The genre helps to form an epistemic community around a political cause. (3) These texts have communal authority as they are approved in a general assembly. (4) Manifestos can be used to hold party members accountable. (5) They reflect a time-specific attitude of a party community. (6) The ongoing reformation of these texts make them useful for diachronic analysis.

coordinate system, showing differences in the 'scope and attention' given to spatial and temporal regions within party worldviews.

After reviewing multiple manifestos, Kaal (2012) reports how their introductions show differences in the scope and distribution of attention. Broadly, she found that Progressive Parties encode a wide spatial scope where the world abroad is conceived as less threatening than for Conservative Parties who maintain a more narrow spatial scope. Later work (Kaal 2015: 342), confirms this hypothesis that temporal and spatial worldview scope acts as an indicator of conservative (limited scope) and progressive (wide scope) attitudes. For instance, concerning the issue of immigration, Kaal found that multiple parties' differing stances and scopes suggests a 'rational connection between their ingroup spatial orientation and their motivation for action' (ibid.). Her discourse space model adaptation for structures stored in LTM complements earlier deictic space approaches by revealing the underlying spatio-temporal coordinate systems built up and indexed by manifesto texts. Similar to Kaal, in Section 5.2, I move from theorizing online construal operations to offline coherence relations stored in mental models.

As discussed in the literature review, one can see that there is wide disagreement over the structure of mental models, and therefore how to best approach them. This literature review has examined contemporary representational formats suggested for mental models. Also, it has created a space for my own deictically grounded scenes-and-episodes approach to modelling, which I will outline in the remainder of the thesis. Building on these previous representational formats, in Chapter 5, I introduce a cognitive discourse grammar for taking account of the role image schemas play in mental model construction. Additionally, I discuss how these image schemas metaphorically project scenes and episodes into a geometric space during conceptualisation (see Section 5.1.3). My main interest is in exploring how cognitive discourse grammar cues the simulation of coherent situations in deictic mental space. Taking a cognitive linguistic perspective, I consider how grammar operates over content words in order to bring about spatial boundaries, temporal movements and degrees of focus to the mental simulation.

Applying the framework discussed in Chapter 5, in Chapter 6 I perform a deictic mental space analysis taking as my main components the topological nature of image schemas and the geometric design of conceptual space. My assumption is that as text unfolds these embodied aspects of meaning creation join together to create a simulation of discourse contents within mental space. Afterwards, in Chapter 7, I extend deictic space theory further in order to account for category structures stored in LTM by introducing a frame space model. Moving from mental space to frame space modelling, I intend to demonstrate how image schemas are continuously working to build up LTM category structure within a geometric coordinate system. With this frame space approach to category structure, I model global coherence relations existing within the introductory section of the Weatherman manifesto. In Chapter 8, I argue that a stabilized category structure, being continuously built and stored in deictic space, provides members of a common political discourse community with a shared and accessible geopolitical worldview.

Chapter 5: Toward a Scenes-and-Episodes Approach

5.1 A method for simulation semantics

In this framework chapter, I am first concerned to provide a cognitive discourse approach for tracing the simulation of contents in mental space driven by image-schematic configurations. Afterwards, I turn to theorizing how the same semantic categories and imagistic structures active in construing situations in STM may also be active in the construction of category structure in LTM. Throughout I will be giving illustrations of how ontological domains, semantic categories, image-schematic arrangements and deictic spaces converge.

In order to determine which linguistic elements trigger the movements of discourse contents in conceptual space, one must first recognize that word classes consist of two varieties: open classes and closed classes. Open class words, also referred to as *content words*, are 'those belonging to the major part-of-speech classes', which include adjectives, adverbs, nouns and verbs (Akmajian, Demers, Farmer and Harnish 2001: 22-23). These content words proliferate and are 'open-ended', meaning that within this open class new words can be created and added endlessly. Closed class words, also known as *function words*, supply the structure of the sentence by signalling how the content words fit together in context. These words are highly limited in number and new words fitting into this category are not easily added to the lexicon. This way of separating out content words from function words is not new in cognitive linguistics research. Similarly, Talmy (2007: 481) makes a distinction between the two when he says 'the grammatical elements of a sentence determine the majority of the structure of the CR [cognitive representation], while the lexical items together contribute the majority of its content'. From a cognitive linguistic perspective, grammar provides the conceptual structure that acts as an imagistic skeleton for the lexical items. In my exploration of mental models in the Weatherman manifesto (see Chapters 6 and 7), both content and function words are key in constructing scenes and episodes for the reader. In practice, both content and function words will be examined to see what part they play during construal of the situation.[19]

5.1.1 Image schemas as simulation devices in mental space

In Chapter 4, I discussed how during conceptualisation image schemas are one part of the architecture that is involved in the process of constructing mental models. The architecture of text world theory consists of 'world building elements' and 'function advancing elements' (see Section 4.1.2). And mental space theory discusses various 'vital relations' in conceptual space which connect elements across spaces (e.g. conditionals, negations, metaphors). Both of the representational formats for conceptual structure offered by these modelling approaches take into consideration both scenic (time, place, identity) and episodic (relations, descriptions, states, events, processes) elements. Despite the advances in detailing some imagistic structures present in mental models, so far simulation grammars have not provided a comprehensive account of how image schemas are active in conceptualisation through the opening and closing of mental spaces, how they move discourse contents throughout different spaces and how they direct the reader's attention to a particular location within a conceptual space. In this

[19] Cognitive linguistic approaches take as fundamental that both open and closed class words should not be seen as separate meaning systems, but that each consist of symbolic structures with a 'form-meaning pairing' (Langacker 2008).

chapter, my intention is to provide a framework for exploring how images schemas are active in these ways. In consultation with contemporary formats for conceptual structure, I am interested in which image schemas, cued by lexical and grammatical constructions, act as:

- Space builders: Image schemas that create new scenes in mental space. These schemas form the setting and provide the conceptual background for discourse contents.

- Content movers: Image schemas that create new episodes in mental space. These schemas drive the action sequences by determining the direction and magnitude of traveling discourse contents and their final locations.

- Attention pointers: Image schemas that direct the reader's attention within mental space. These schemas modify existing discourse contents and attract observation to certain locations within the constructed space.

With these three components making up a cognitive discourse grammar, I move forward understanding online simulation in mental space to consist of content words realising grammatical configurations.

Before exploring how various image schemas fit together to provide a coherent mental simulation, I first want to examine the most frequently occurring schemas and discuss how they are conventionally used in the Weatherman manifesto. In Tables 5.1-5.10, I provide an image schema, a part of speech that evokes the schema, selective linguistic cues from the Weatherman manifesto and a topological depiction. I have followed Johnson's (1987) suggested topological format for the representation of image schemas, as he provides highly approachable diagrams for modelling these spatial, motion and force templates. However, Johnson (1987: 29) warns that diagrams of image schemas can be misleading because they tend to 'identify embodied schemata with particular rich images or mental pictures', when in fact these imagistic structures 'operate at one level of generality and abstraction above concrete rich images'.

5.1.1.1 Space Builders

Fauconnier (1985: 16) defines space builders as 'expressions that may establish a new space or refer back to one already introduced in the discourse'. Werth (1999: 75) defines them as expressions that 'construct the mental spaces within which the speaker is conceptually operating, and in terms of which the listener will optimally be able to interpret'. The actual space builder will always be a linguistic prompt, which cues a particular schematic interaction between discourse contents. During infancy, the CONTAINER schema is in use as early as three months (Mandler and Cánovas 2014). This fundamental schema goes on to remain infinitely productive in constraining inferences during reading comprehension (Núñez-Perucha 2011). Based on these findings, I theorise that a scene in mental space is most often evoked by the presence of the spatial image schema of CONTAINER. If this schema is not explicitly evoked by the text, the reader must then infer its presence based on an unacknowledged change of setting (time, location) or circumstance (conditions, participants). As a new mental space is built, it will take on a CONTAINER as the base space upon which all other image schemas are superimposed during mental space construction.

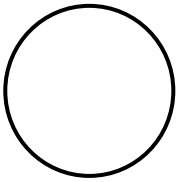
Image Schema	Part of Speech	Lexical Cues	Topological Depiction
CONTAINER	Preposition in within into	in terms of US workers enslaved masses within US borders in considering every force every empire is in the long run channel labor into the US	

Table 5.1 CONTAINER schema.

The CONTAINER schema, shown in Table 5.1, possesses three main gestalt elements including an interior, boundary and exterior, from which emerges the basic logic that any particular discourse entity can be either inside or outside a container. Because of these unchanging elements, the CONTAINER schema is able to consistently project a number of entailments during discourse processing. Based on our physical experience, we understand that 'in-out orientation involves separation, differentiation, and enclosure, which implies restriction and limitation' (Johnson 1987: 22). In the Weatherman manifesto, the CONTAINER schema is evoked by prepositions (e.g. 'in', 'within' or 'into'). These prepositions are involved in the construal of various internal scenes and external scenarios. During model creation, topological properties of the CONTAINER schema are projected around concrete discourse contents (e.g. humans and geographical areas). For instance, at times Weatherman construe the boundedness of a situation by encoding the image-schematic form of a CONTAINER around the discourse content PEOPLE GROUP, which creates the topological fusion of PEOPLE GROUP AS A CONTAINER. In one instance, this occurs when Weatherman negatively comment on the stance of their ideological rivals (Progressive Labour), because they conceived of socialist revolution strictly 'in terms of the working people of the US'. More often, Weatherman construe GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS AS CONTAINERS. This topological fusion of a land mass with a CONTAINER enable the manifesto writers to apply the inference constraints of the schema. For instance, a phrase like 'people in this country' gives the reader a sense of fixity for the identity 'people' as constrained to the interior of the nation. People groups and geographical areas fused with a CONTAINER schema is quite common in political discourse, and are considered conventional metaphors (Núñez-Perucha 2011).[20] The writer can also draw attention to different gestalt elements within the overall structure of the CONTAINER. For instance, the phrase 'enslaved masses within the US borders' directs the reader's attention to the boundary portion of the structure.[21] The CONTAINER schema is also utilized in conjunction with more abstract content like states-of-being. With a STATES-OF-BEING AS CONTAINERS topological projection, Weatherman are able to invoke internal consideration spaces like

20 Núñez-Perucha (2011:102) uses a cognitive discourse approach in showing how gender inequality is understood in spatial terms, as men and women occupy different positions in society. The unequal social position of the genders 'can be interpreted on the basis of the metaphor SOCIETY IS A CONTAINER'. Applying this logic of the CONTAINER schema one gets a sense of the entailments of the gestalt structure. For instance, some people are inside and some excluded, there are social norms providing limits to those inside the container and people are placed in different locations within the container. Núñez-Perucha (2011:113) concludes that 'the propositional content of the ideological categories of position, which describe the in-group's representation of gender inequality, is basically grounded in the image schema of CONTAINER'.

21 Croft and Cruse (2004: 15) term this conceptual phenomena 'profiling' saying, 'The profile refers to the concept symbolized by the word in question. The base is that knowledge or conceptual structure that is presupposed in the profiled concept'. For instance, one can understand the concept radius only against the background of understanding the concept circle. So the concept of radius profiles a particular line segment in the circle as base.

a decision space (e.g. ‘in answering these questions’), a definition space (e.g. ‘in defining political matters’) or an empathetic space (e.g. ‘in the interests of the vast majority’).

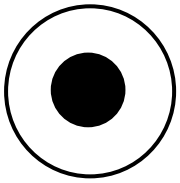
Image Schema	Part of Speech	Lexical Cues	Topological Depiction
PART-WHOLE	Preposition of Noun everyone part Adjective whole piecemeal Determiner every	people of the whole world primary task of rev. struggle everyone vital part of this process part of the movement whole world being defeated piecemeal every other	

Table 5.2 PART-WHOLE schema.

I consider the PART-WHOLE schema as a space builder as well because it is able to add to a space, making it more complex and articulated (Table 5.2). The PART-WHOLE schema is involved in mental space construction, but is prompted by linguistic cues in discourse. In the Weatherman text, lexical cues evoking the PART-WHOLE schema include prepositions (e.g. ‘of’), nouns (e.g. ‘everyone’, ‘part’), adjectives (e.g. ‘whole’, ‘piecemeal’) and a determiner (e.g. ‘every’). With this schema, discourse contents are conceptualised as being parts of a larger whole or as the whole in its entirety. Concerning most instances in the Weatherman manifesto, this schema is invoked to conceptualise some people group as being PART of the WHOLE of a much larger group (e.g. ‘people of the whole world’). However, this schema can also be used more abstractly as in ‘primary task of revolutionary struggle’, which construes ‘revolutionary struggle’ as the WHOLE and ‘primary task’ as PART of a larger political strategy. The noun ‘everyone’, adjective ‘whole’ and determiner ‘every’ construe discourse contents as a WHOLE in its entirety. In contrast, the noun ‘part’ and adjective ‘piecemeal’ construe discourse contents as PART of some larger phenomenon.

5.1.1.2 Content Movers

Image Schema	Part of Speech	Lexical Cues	Topological Depiction
PATH	Verb	ask unified, allied, defended, control and use worldwide plunder further the preservation	

Table 5.3 PATH schema.

Moving from schemas that are active in setting the scene, I now move to schemas used for simulating episodes in mental space. The primary content mover is the PATH schema

(Table 5.3), which is considered the first schema that arises during infancy from our bodily experience (Haith 1980; Simion, Regolin and Bulf 2008). This schematic structure is apparent 'in our felt sense of our own bodily movement and also in our tracking of objects through our perceptual field' (Johnson 1999: 94). Any time that motion occurs, we perceive 'a direction, a starting point, an ending point, a sequence of contiguous locations connecting the starting and ending points' (Lakoff 1987: 275). Thus, participants or objects that are in motion, are structured by four main gestalt elements. These elements include a starting point (SOURCE) for discourse entities that move in a specific direction (MOMENTUM) along a series of locations (PATH) toward a destination (GOAL). When modelling the topological properties of the PATH schema in manifesto texts, discourse contents are shown as being in motion while possessing a distinct direction and momentum. The PATH schema also provides the conceptual basis of more abstract grammatical constructions, whether those involve actual motion (e.g. Waker went to the forest.), action processes (e.g. Waker chopped a log.), visual processes (e.g. Waker saw a bear.) or verbal processes (e.g. Waker yelled for help.). I think this is also the case for abstract intransitive sentences (e.g. Waker slept.) and for future desires (e.g. Waker wants to go home.).

In manifesto texts, the gestalt structure of SOURCE-PATH-GOAL is construed more often as an AGENT-PATH-GOAL schema in order to produce a more in/outgroup focused discourse. In political discourse, many times an AGENT is understood to be the SOURCE of a political action. Usually, this action will move along a strategic PATH toward a predetermined GOAL. As the ingroup moves from the present circumstance toward a future goal, the chosen strategic action has a temporal dimension mapped onto it. In the Weatherman manifesto, the majority of PATH simulations come as a combination of the topological form with the contents of STRATEGIC ACTIONS. For instance, Weatherman write about helping US imperialism as a PATH to perpetuating empire, and fighting against US imperialism as a PATH to defeating it. Weatherman also utilize the PATH schema in more abstract conceptualisations in order to simulate STATES-OF-BEING AS PATHS and UTOPIAN STRIVINGS AS PATHS.[22] In one instance, Weatherman quote a popular utopian slogan from the Chinese Red Guard movement: 'Long live the victory of people's war'. Here 'people's war' is the AGENT and 'long live' is construed as the PATH to a GOAL of a never-ending 'victory'.

Image Schema	Part of Speech	Lexical Cues	Topological Depiction
GOAL	Noun	long live victory friends and enemies world people classless world	

Table 5.4 GOAL schema.

The GOAL schema (Table 5.4) is conceptualised as the terminal point of a PATH. The PATH schema construes an identity or object as moving from the protagonists towards others, or towards the protagonists themselves. Progressing to the GOAL portion of the A-P-G gestalt often indicates movement into a novel existential state. In discourse processing, GOALS

[22] In conceptual metaphor theory (Lakoff 1993), this particular conceptualisation may be understood as DESIRES ARE DESTINATIONS.

can be construed in terms of HUMANS, INSTITUTIONS, STATES OF BEING, STRATEGIC ACTIONS or UTOPIAN SOLUTIONS. For instance, in the topological and content fusion of HUMANS AS GOALS, Weatherman declare 'we will determine who are our friends and enemies'. 'We' are construed as AGENTS, 'determine' is the abstract PATH and 'friends and enemies' are the proposed GOAL of this internal act. In another instance, where Weatherman construe a STATE OF BEING AS GOAL, they indicate that their intention in revolutionary struggle is to 'control and use wealth in the interests of the oppressed'. The actionable PATH of 'control and use' ends with the GOAL of being 'in the interests of the oppressed', which is an inner state of empathetic consideration of others. In the Weatherman manifesto, GOAL slots are often filled with the discourse contents of UTOPIAN SOLUTIONS (e.g. 'achievement of a classless world').

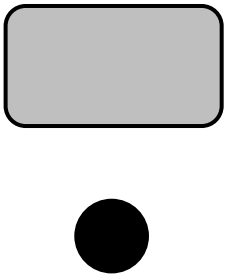
Image Schema	Part of Speech	Lexical Cues	Topological Depiction
AGENT	Noun Ingroup Mindsets or Events	people's war US imperialism revolutionary struggle dangerous ideology	
	Noun Protagonists or Antagonists	people a country US empire we US military people of whole world	

Table 5.5 AGENT schema.

Discourse contents paired with an AGENT schema (Table 5.5) are conceptualised as either ideological mindsets or social actors set to exert energy. In conceptualisation different social groups, institutions, geopolitical regions, ideological mindsets, past events and objects can all be construed as AGENTS. For example, consider the sentence, 'When the revolution triumphs in the US it will have been made by the people of the whole world'. Here the fusion of the noun phrase 'people of the whole world' with the AGENT slot construes the situation where an AGENT is moving toward the GOAL of revolutionary victory. Since the AGENT slot of the A-P-G schema is flexible, it is able to be filled with more abstract discourse contents like INSTITUTIONS (e.g. 'US military…overextending around the world'), GEOPOLITICAL AREAS (e.g. 'a country so rich from its worldwide plunder') and IDEOLOGICAL MINDSETS (e.g. 'US imperialism…has unified, allied with, and defended').

Like the PATH schema in the motion domain, various schemas also drive the movement of discourse contents in the force domain. This is why some schemas from the force domain (e.g. ENABLEMENT) will also be represented topologically as a vector in the mental model reconstructions in Chapters 6 and 7. Hart (2011: 273) notes, 'Unlike other construal operations, which are grounded in visual modality, the force dynamic system is grounded in somesthesia and kinaesthesia'. This means that force is experienced through physical interaction, and that we become aware of force as it 'affects us or some object in our perceptual field' (Johnson 1987: 43). A number of common features typically play a role in our sense of force. First, our experience of force usually involves the movement of an

entity through space as a vector in some direction. In force construals, there is typically a single path of motion, which is tied to the vector quality of forceful movement. In addition, forces have origins, and because they are directional, agents can direct them to targets with particular degrees of intensity (ibid.). Because we experience force via interaction, there is always a sequence of causality involved.

Image Schema	Part of Speech	Lexical Cues	Topological Depiction
COUNTERFORCE	Noun contradiction (kind of) struggle war force Verb struggle fight	development of this contradiction revolutionary struggle worker's struggle people's war imperial force struggle within the US struggle against US Imp. fight to defeat US Imp. fight for…privileged interest	

Table 5.6 COUNTERFORCE schema.

When reading the text, COUNTERFORCE is conceptualised as directing attention to the space in between two opposing forces. This is why the COUNTERFORCE schema in Table 5.6 is depicted as two vectors moving in opposite directions. In the Weatherman text, COUNTERFORCE is evoked by nouns, usually in the form of a title for revolutionary activity like 'revolutionary struggle' or 'people's war'. This schema is also evoked by verbs indicating a 'struggle' or 'fight' between in/outgroup members, and by the preposition 'against' (Talmy 1988). Other fundamental force schemas worth considering are ENABLEMENT, COMPULSION, BLOCKAGE and REMOVAL OF RESTRAINT.

5.1.1.3 Attention Pointers

I consider attention pointers as secondary schemas in that they are superimposed over the top of more fundamental spatial and motion schemas. These schemas are active in augmenting mental spaces established by space builders and driven by content movers. In mental space, these more fundamental schemas (e.g. CONTAINER and PATH) provide the conceptual background upon which all other schemas are added in order to modify the established space. Image schemas that act as attention pointers help to construe the situation by directing the reader's attention within mental space (Hart 2015; Langacker 1987). These schemas also serve to link discourse contents filling the established ontological spaces. Image-schematic patterns in the Weatherman manifesto reveal that the CONTAINER schema is often augmented by other spatial schemas (e.g. SURFACE, PART-WHOLE, FULL-EMPTY, CENTRE-PERIPHERY and NEAR-FAR), while AGENT-PATH-GOAL schemas are often paired with other movement schemas (e.g. LINK, PROCESS and CYCLE) or force interaction schemas (e.g. ENABLEMENT, COUNTERFORCE and BLOCKAGE).

Image Schema	Part of Speech	Lexical Cues	Topological Depiction
CENTRE-PERIPHERY	Noun heartland full scope Adjective main essential vital	heartland of a worldwide monster recognize full scope of interests main struggle This is essential in defining will be a vital part of this process	

Table 5.7 CENTRE-PERIPHERY schema.

The first attention pointer, shown in Table 5.7, is the CENTRE-PERIPHERY schema. From an embodied perspective, we experience ourselves as having centres (e.g. internal organs) and peripheries (e.g. fingernails). There are three gestalt elements necessary for invoking a CENTRE-PERIPHERY schema: an entity, a central location and a peripheral location (Lakoff 1987: 274). In conceptualisation, the centrality of concrete entities, events or groups in our lives is extended to abstract reasoning when determining the centrally important contents in political discourse. During cognitive construction of a mental space, linguistic cues evoke the CENTRE-PERIPHERY schema, which in turn serves to focus our attention on some facet of the currently active main schema. In the Weatherman text, this schema is prompted by nouns where, for instance, 'heartland of a worldwide monster' draws the reader's attention to the CENTRE of a beast by pointing to a vital internal organ. Adjectives can also cue the CENTRE-PERIPHERY pointing function. For instance, 'main struggle' directs the reader to view a specific struggle as the most central of all potential struggles happening at the moment. .

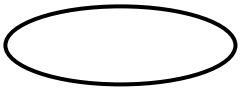
Image Schema	Part of Speech	Lexical Cues	Topological Depiction
SURFACE	Preposition upon throughout around on	empires & dictators dependent upon people throughout the world overextending around the world chauvinism on the part of the mov.	

Table 5.8 SURFACE schema.

The SURFACE schema (Table 5.8) is a bit more complex than other schemas in that it exists as a combination of multiple spatial primitives including CONTAINER, CONTACT, OVER and ON (Mandler 2012). In the Weatherman text, it is usually the preposition 'on' that serves as the lexical prompt for simulating the SURFACE schema. For an abstract example, Weatherman portray 'empires and dictators' as being 'dependent upon' the outgroup mindset 'US imperialism'. This prompts the reader to construe the IDEOLOGICAL MINDSET as a SURFACE. Here the success of outgroup identities rest upon the SURFACE of an ideological worldview.

Image Schema	Part of Speech	Lexical Cues	Topological Depiction
SCALE	Verb headed by Adverb very so most vast majority Noun lackeys affluence degree Adjective principal overriding primary extreme	headed by the United States very first question so rich most oppressed vast majority of Americans US imperialism and its lackeys relative affluence large degree principal contradiction overriding consideration primary task so extreme…an oppressor nation	

Table 5.9 SCALE schema.

The SCALE schema exists as a combination of PATH and UP-DOWN motion primitives (Table 5.9). SCALE has a quantification effect, which is able to construe situations, social groups or tasks as being more or less important (Johnson 1987). During conceptualisation, the SCALE schema directs the reader's attention UP and DOWN within mental space. Out of all the schemas in the Weatherman manifesto, SCALE is cued by the most diverse parts-of-speech including verbs, adverbs, nouns and adjectives. Adverbs usually direct the reader's attention to the UP portion of the gestalt structure in order to express degree of power (e.g. 'most powerful'), extent of wealth (e.g. 'so rich') or amount of people (e.g. 'vast majority'). Adjectives continue this preference for highlighting the UP region of the SCALE to represent the importance of the topic (e.g. 'overriding consideration') or the degree to which social group can be represented as oppressing others (e.g. 'so extreme'). In contrast, nouns are used for pointing to both UP and DOWN portions of the gestalt. For example, calling nations that benefit from US imperialism 'lackeys' construes these nations as being further DOWN a geopolitical hierarchy of nations.

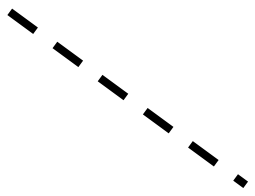
Image Schema	Part of Speech	Lexical Cues	Topological Depiction
LINK	Prepositional Phrase in relation to	in relation to the United States in relation to the masses of people	

Table 5.10 LINK schema.

Based on a more complex understanding of the PATH schema, the LINK schema directs the reader's attention to a relationship between two entities (Table 5.10). I have only found one explicit usage of this schema cued by the prepositional phrase 'in relation to'. In this passage, Weatherman are asking the reader to decide where they stand 'in relation to' an

oppressive outgroup and an exploited ingroup, providing the topological construal SOCIAL STANCE AS LINK.

In terms of cognitive discourse grammar, meaning comes as the result of both discourse contents and imagistic structures. Content words give the necessary ingredients for filling the mental space and function words cue image schemas, which structure the contents as they interact within mental space. Superimposition of multiple schemas enables the writer to direct the reader's attention throughout the particular mental space 'open' at the moment of conceptualisation. This means that content words are continuously being construed as within distinct spatial boundaries (e.g. CONTAINER), as moving in particular directions (e.g. PATH) and as engaged in dynamic activities (e.g. COUNTERFORCE). These image-schematic simulations in STM organize an unlimited number of situations that we encounter in discourse each day. What cognitive discourse grammar reflects is a small number of general frames in LTM and various interacting image schemas in STM (Fauconnier 1997). The few space builders, content movers and attention pointers discussed in this section have been shown to be explicitly cued by lexical and grammatical elements in the text. Moving forward, I understand image schema simulation to come as the result of key lexical and grammatical items prompting the reader to construe the textual situation in a set configuration within mental space. Having now considered the role of image schemas in mental model construction, in the next section I move on to discuss the function of schema-based metaphor in the conceptualisation process.

In Table 5.11, I provide a detailed breakdown of the various units of analyses that are active in setting up and simulating concepts in mental space, which include lexical, syntactical and phrasal variations. Lexical units are most common in the manifesto texts under consideration, where nouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs prompt the reader to visualize people, places, entities, actions and descriptions. Nouns tend to prompt for AGENTS, GOALS, PROCESSES and SOURCES during discourse processing. For instance, the AGENT schema will be prompted by the person or people group initiating the action sequence, whereas the GOAL schema will be the resulting state of the action sequence. During image schema analysis, the analyst will need to keep in mind the syntactical properties of the sentence. Verbs are mainly concerned with actions, which cue schematic movements in the mental model in the form of PATHS, COUNTERFORCES and, at times, SCALES. When determining the difference between the various schemas evoked by verbs in the text, the analyst will have to decide whether the lexical item cues for a motion or force schema. For instance, the verb 'fight' cues for the reader to visualise a force schema where two paths move in opposite directions and come to collide at some point, while the verb 'plunder' indicates a motion schema where action is going in one direction. Adjectives lend additional information to the scene being described in the text by prompting for SCALES, CENTRE-PERIPHERIES, ENABLEMENTS, PART-WHOLES and SURFACES. The syntactical units of analysis usually come in the form of prepositions, which are necessary for construction of the visual scene. Most often encountered in the manifestos is some variation of the preposition 'in', cueing the reader to visualize a CONTAINER schema. Also, the preposition 'on' is instrumental in instantiating the SURFACE schema. Although much inner model construction can be captured with lexical and syntactic units alone, phrasal units also come into play and should not be ignored. Noun phrases are especially used when cuing for the AGENT and GOAL portions of the A-P-G schema. Verb phrases are utilized prompting for PATHS, SCALES and COUNTERFORCE movements of discourse entities. Adjectival phrases are also important as attention

pointers, where the reader is directed to a particular place within the mental space. For example, CENTRE-PERIPHERY, PART-WHOLE and SURFACE schemas are often cued by adjectival phrases.

Units of Analysis				
Image Schema	**Part of Speech**	**Lexical**	**Syntactical**	**Phrasal**
AGENT	Noun Pronoun	people, we, United States, who, it, dictator, they, country, Empire, military forces, revolution		revolutionary peoples, US imperialism, national liberation struggles, revolutionary struggle, military forces
GOAL	Noun Pronoun	goals, friends, enemies, it, question, United States, people, empire, goal, wealth, rich, masses, material existence, people, world, oppression, war, genocide, triumphs		US imperialism, reactionary forces, class society, classless world, world communism, state power, nature of the revolution
PROCESS	Noun	system, process		
SOURCE	Noun	conception, start		
COUNTER FORCE	Noun Pronoun Verb	contradiction, struggle, it, fight		contradiction between, struggle…between, revolutionary struggle
PATH	Verb	ask, talk, made, unified, defended, determine, help, solve, created, control, use, examine, plunder, provide, channels, destruction, winning, overextending		allied with doled out, belong to, further the preservation, will have been made by
SCALE	Verb Adverb Noun Adjective	headed, principal, petty, most, very		overriding consideration, most powerful, very first, primary task, so rich, very much above, relative affluence, large degree, so extreme
CENTRE-PERIPHERY	Adjective Noun	main, essential, heartland, vital		full scope
ENABLEMENT	Adjective	oppressor, oppressed, enslaved		
PART-WHOLE	Adjective Preposition	whole, all, complete, piecemeal, part, everyone	of	every other, all of, rest of, rest of the, any conception of, vast majority of, part of
SURFACE	Adjective Preposition	worldwide	on, throughout, around	dependent on, based upon, directly dependent upon, not clear
CONTAINER	Preposition		in, within, into	
LINK	Preposition			stand in relation to
BALANCE	Preposition			on the side of

Table 5.11 Units of analysis.

In the mental space and frame space analyses in chapters six and seven, not all line numbers will contain explicit coding of image schemas. Each line number that does not contain image schematic codes are either singular common nouns, proper nouns or noun phrases. I found it necessary to assign each of these political groups, events and mindsets an individual line number to clearly diagram the locations they occupy within the inner

structure of the deictic mental model. To clarify, there are three main reasons why some line numbers do not have an image schema label attached. The first reason is that I need to take account of passive people groups, those who are not the main actors in the text. These are political identities located along the s-axis for whom the ingroup are seeking to act on their behalf (e.g. masses of people, Vietnamese). The next reason some lines go without an image schema label is that political groups are often augmented by adjectival modifiers. In order to show both the spatial and axiological locations simultaneously within the deictic space diagrams, both the evaluation (e.g. working) and the identity designation (e.g. peoples) are given individual line numbers. Lastly, I assign social groups (e.g. Empire, the movement) and ideological mindsets (e.g. Israeli imperialism, socialism) individual line numbers, because the authors are pointing to particular locations along the s- or t-axes in order to set the scene. These social roles and mindsets are notated in the diagrams in order to better diagram the spatio-temporal location encoded in the manifesto text.

5.1.2 Schema-based metaphorical mapping of scenes and episodes

As in the early months when an infant begins to conceptualise a physical scene (Mandler 2004), through analysis I have found spatial and motion schemas are the most productive schemas when conceptualising abstract political scenes described in discourse. By considering the role of image schemas and metaphorical projection in manifesto analysis, I have found that each image schema contributes to setting up different scenes and episodes construed within mental space (see Chapter 6). CONTAINER schemas are cued by prepositions in order to set the scene. Imagistically, setting the scene involves placing socio-political participant categories within a particular time and location that has a specific set of circumstances. Verbs cue PATH schemas that initiate new episodes in mental space as temporal causal sequences. Ideological mindsets and group identities are construed as AGENTS moving along PATHS into upcoming strategic actions and future goals. In construal, the reader's attention can be directed to various points of the action sequence depending upon the writer's intention to highlight a particular stage (e.g. motivation, aim, intention, decision, preparation, execution or result). Evaluation is expressed in episodes where the reader encounters values, emotions and opinions about the status of other in/outgroups.

Image schemas, as topological configurations and recurring movements, occupy the SOURCE DOMAIN in schema-based metaphorical mapping. Image schemas metaphorically mapped from the SOURCE DOMAIN enable the reader to construct coherent scenes and episodes in the TARGET DOMAIN. Metaphorically mapping image schemas onto this abstract political space provides the reader with crucial imagistic relations existing conceptually between discourse contents. In order to create an unlimited number of mental models, image schemas are infinitely flexible and reusable in this kind of metaphorical mapping. For instance, the CONTAINER schema can be mapped onto an infinite number of entities such as a geopolitical region (e.g. in the country), an internal mindset (e.g. in anguish) or social group (e.g. in the Green Party). Thus, mapping at the schematic level consists of linking these organizing spatial structures with various ingroup settings and actions, which results in a mental simulation of various scenes and episodes. Hence, I understand metaphorical mappings of image schema to be employed at the level of constructing conceptual structure in mental models. All the contents representing identities, evaluations, events, actions and goals are present in the TARGET DOMAIN and fundamental spatial and motion image schemas are in the SOURCE DOMAIN.

Schema-based metaphorical mapping involves mapping image-schematic structure onto discourse contents in order to construct the scenes and episodes necessary for conceptualisation.

Recall from Section 4.1.4 that the distinction between schema-based and frame-based metaphorical mapping is that schema-based mapping links concepts from distinct domains in piecemeal fashion, whereas frame-based mapping links entire domains. In Figure 5.1, the boxes on the left-hand side represent the SOURCE DOMAIN, which is occupied by interacting image schemas. In schema-based metaphorical mapping these schemas are linked in one-to-one correspondence relations with scenes and episodes. The boxes on the right-hand side represent the TARGET DOMAIN, which is made up of the scenes and episodes necessary to process the ongoing situation. To demonstrate, I have selected sentence (13) of the Weatherman manifesto. To get a sense of the lexical and grammatical constructions that are responsible for cueing the image schema simulations (SOURCE) of scenes and episodes (TARGET), I provide a coding of relevant image schemas.

> We are within <**CONTAINER**> the heartland <**CENTRE-PERIPHERY**> of a worldwide <**SURFACE**> monster. A country <**AGENT**> so <**SCALE**> rich <**GOAL**> from its worldwide plunder <**PATH/FULL-EMPTY**> that even the crumbs doled out to <**PATH**> the enslaved <**ENABLEMENT**> masses within its borders <**CONTAINER**> provide for material existence very much above <**SCALE**> the conditions <**GOAL**> of the masses of people of the world <**PART-WHOLE**>.

Through analysis of two New Left manifestos (see Appendices A and B), I have found that the CONTAINER schema is the most productive in scene setting, while the PATH schema is the most productive in simulating episodes. Taken together, scenes and episodes, make up the key imagistic components in the simulation of a complete geopolitical situation. These spatial and motion schemas are infinitely flexible and reusable in mental space, which guarantees that ever-novel situations can be constructed with only a few structural ingredients.

As an online simulation in STM, mental spaces are built by a series of interacting schemas. There is an ongoing sequence of schema mapping within one mental space until that space is finished being built and closes to make way for a new space. When moving into a new mental space, the previous space does not always automatically disappear but can be recalled through direct referencing or inference (Fauconnier 1997). Paying close attention to the role image schemas play in mental space based simulations, analysts can begin to answer the question: How does one know when mental spaces open or close? Specifically, how does one mental space close to allow for the creation of another?

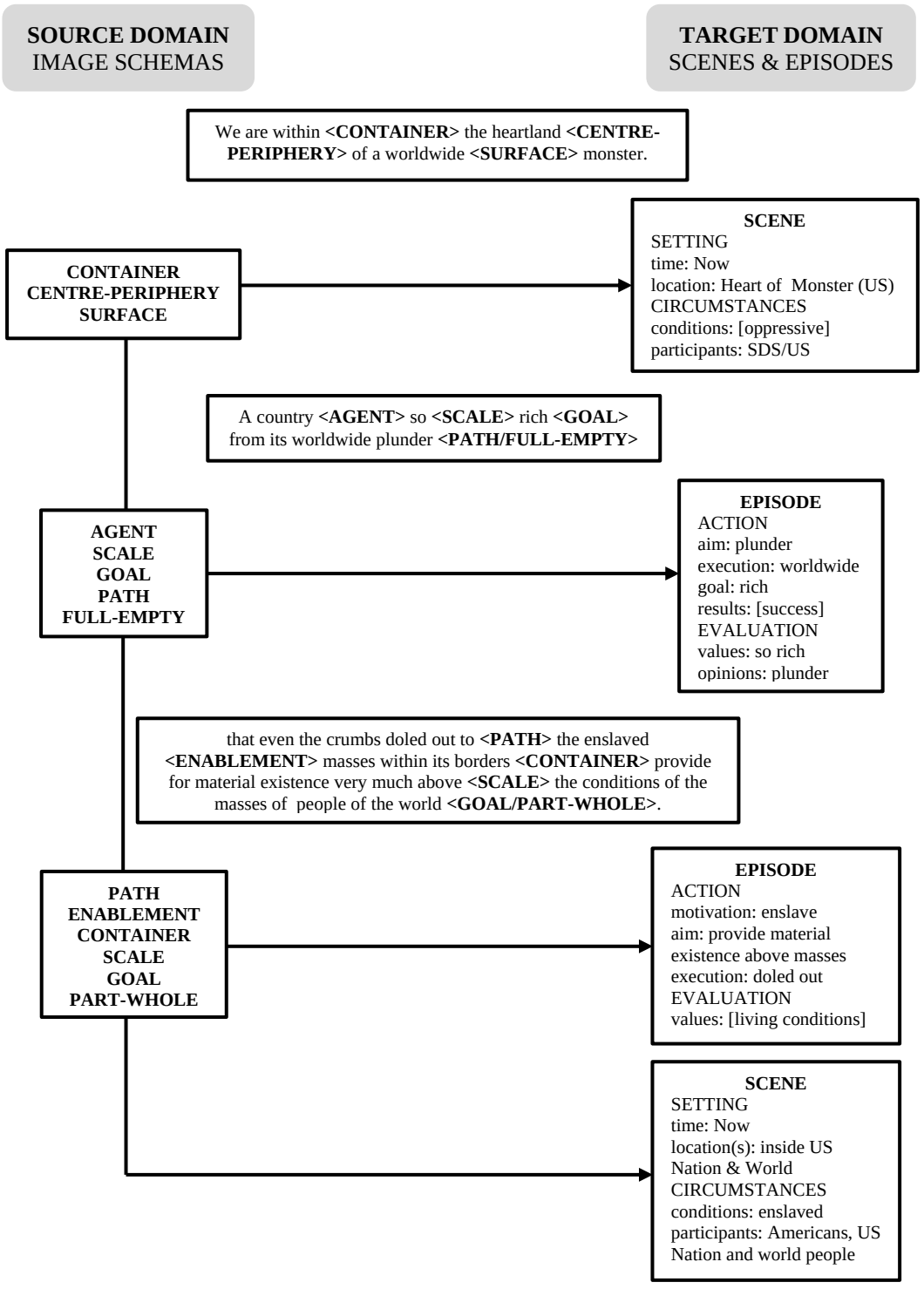


Figure 5.1 Schema-based metaphorical mapping in mental space: Image schemas as SOURCE DOMAIN and situation as TARGET DOMAIN.

Key to the analysis in Chapter 6, scenes and episodes in mental space are also important for knowing when one mental space closes and another opens. Cognitive psychology holds a number of theories about when online models in STM update offline models held in LTM (Zacks and Tversky 2001). Event segmentation theory is one approach in this field that focuses upon ‘global updating’ (Zacks et al. 2007). Global updating of mental models occurs when one situation ends and another begins, which is often called an ‘event boundary’. Event segmentation theory claims that event boundaries are applied

when the ‘dynamic activity in the model is changing and future activity comes less predictable’ (Bailey and Zacks 2015: 233). It is at these situational transitions that the entire mental model is updated, in a process which mainly consists of scene, time and character changes. Based on this understanding of model updating, I infer the opening and closing function of mental spaces in manifesto texts to be occurring at these ‘event boundaries’, which are prompted by major situational changes of political identities, temporal locations and spatial scenes. Considering the inner-relation of various mental spaces through analysis, I have observed that multiple scenes and episodes can be set up in a solitary sentence (see Section 6.5) or be spread out amongst two to three sentences (see Section 6.1) before the imagistic simulation of one mental space is completed. This leads me to conclude that the opening and closing of mental space is not directly tied to syntactic signals as much as it is the changing of scenes (e.g. location, time, characters, objects, and circumstances) and episodes (e.g. actions, evaluations, goals and results).

By analyzing the introductory section of the Weatherman manifesto from beginning to end I am able to model the opening and closing of each mental space as I progress. Mental spaces close in order to make way for new situations about to be opened. By analogy, this occurs similarly to the way we experience the closing and opening of a curtain in between scenes at a theatrical production. When the mental space opens back up we potentially find new actors, stories and events, which can be infinitely rearranged in new schematic configurations. This allows the flexible and productive nature of image-schematic arrangements to be continuously re-used in order to construe the newly opened mental space in an unending variety of ways. Hence, conceptualisation is constrained by a set of a few experiential structuring devices that can be infinitely repositioned in order to create any setting and execute any episode. From more spatially concrete types of discourse (e.g. sports, weather and crime reporting) to more culturally abstract discourses (e.g. religion, politics and art), schematic structures are present in connecting together entities in mental space, providing coherence relations vital for discourse processing.

5.1.3 Topological projection in mental space

I have considered how schema-based metaphorical mapping is crucial in the mental construction of scenes and episodes. Now I move from the metaphor of ‘mapping’ as a way of describing conceptual structure to exploring the metaphor of ‘projection’. Like ‘mapping’, schematic metaphorical ‘projection’ is a way of describing how image schemas are behind the multiple ways discourse contents may be construed in mental space. In cognitive linguistics, the ‘invariance principle’ is the claim that ‘image schema project a topological structure, and that this structure is always preserved by metaphor’ (Lakoff 1993: 229). Taking into account the topological nature of image schemas, abstract inferences are thought to be metaphorical versions of spatial inferences. In other words, ‘propositional inferences arise from the inherent topological structure of the image schemas projected by metaphor onto concepts like times, states, changes, actions, causes, purposes, means, quantity and categories’ (ibid.). This means that abstract reasoning is a special kind of imagistic reasoning, where schema topologies are metaphorically projected onto abstract domains. Topological properties are active in discourse processing through metaphorical projection of image schemas in the SOURCE DOMAIN onto the TARGET DOMAIN for the construction of scenes and the execution of episodes. Metaphorical projections preserve the cognitive topology (i.e. image schema structure) of the SOURCE DOMAIN, in a way that is consistent with the inherent structure of

the TARGET DOMAIN. Adhering to the invariance principle, I understand the topology of image schemas to be active in construing contents during discourse processing.

In cognitive discourse studies, image schemas are understood to 'impose a topological and relational structure on the scene under conception' (Hart 2013: 405). As previously stated, topological 'projection' goes unconsidered in the mapping diagrams of cognitive metaphor theory, but is currently being explored within alternative representational formats (cf. Chilton 2014; Hart 2014a). Moving forward, I begin to describe a representational format that poses a spatial background upon which metaphorical projections can occur. Any representational format of mental space must take into consideration the topological properties and relations arising from image schema projection. In the spatial modelling options discussed below, I first explore a strictly topological approach for modelling mental space. Afterwards, I look for ways to combine both topological and deictic features of mental models. I do so by adapting Chilton's deictic space model (see Section 4.2), which assumes a three-dimensional conceptual background upon which discourse contents interact during conceptualisation. To first demonstrate a non-geometric way of modelling, consider this fictional example showing a strictly topological method for representing image schema projection.[23]

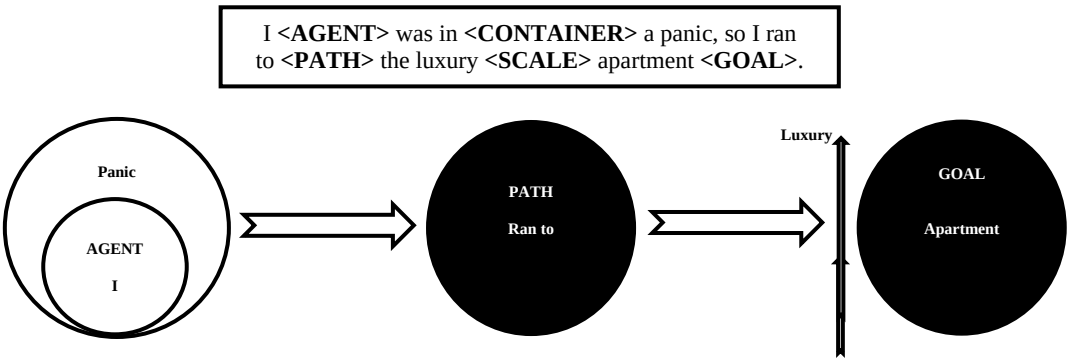


Figure 5.2 Topological projection of image schemas in example sentence.

In discourse processing, the identity 'I' invoked in STM as AGENT is the first concept to be located amongst all other contextually significant identities in LTM. In this example, once this identity is located and given subjective meaning, the identity category is metaphorically placed in a state-of-being CONTAINER, in this case a state of 'panic'. The SOURCE from which the AGENT moves is a non-specified location and must either be inferred or signaled elsewhere in the text. Notice that the AGENT and CONTAINER schemas are co-present at this particular point in construing the scene within mental space. Leaving the scene, the reader moves to an episode with the PATH schema prompted by the verb 'ran', which stipulates motion towards the 'apartment'. When moving to the GOAL space, the word 'luxury' cues the superimposition of a SCALE schema, directing the reader's attention UP. Figure 5.2 illustrates how, within the span of a sentence, the reader imagistically moves from AGENT and CONTAINER schemas interacting in constructing the scene. Then, once the scene is set, the reader encounters a PATH schema where the agent moves to a new location of interacting SCALE and GOAL schemas, which are all involved in constructing the episode. This fictional example helps to demonstrate how image

23 Garnham (1999: 47) states, 'It is a reasonable that much of people's reasoning about space can be explained by postulating non-Euclidean mental representations'. Many in the psycholinguistic community do not impose a geometric conception of space on abstract domains, reserving this for representations derived directly from our immediate perceptual experience (Freska and Barkowsky 1999).

schemas are involved in topological projection of situational structure. To further demonstrate the topological projection of image schemas occurring during online processing (Figure 5.3), I provide a breakdown of sentence (13) of Weatherman manifesto visited twice before (see Sections 4.1.6 and 5.1.2).

> We are within **<CONTAINER>** the heartland **<CENTRE-PERIPHERY>** of a worldwide **<SURFACE>** monster. A country **<AGENT>** so **<SCALE>** rich **<GOAL>** from its worldwide plunder **<PATH/FULL-EMPTY>** that even the crumbs doled out to **<PATH>** the enslaved **<ENABLEMENT>** masses within its borders **<CONTAINER>** provide for material existence very much above **<SCALE>** the conditions **<GOAL>** of the masses of people of the world **<PART-WHOLE>**.

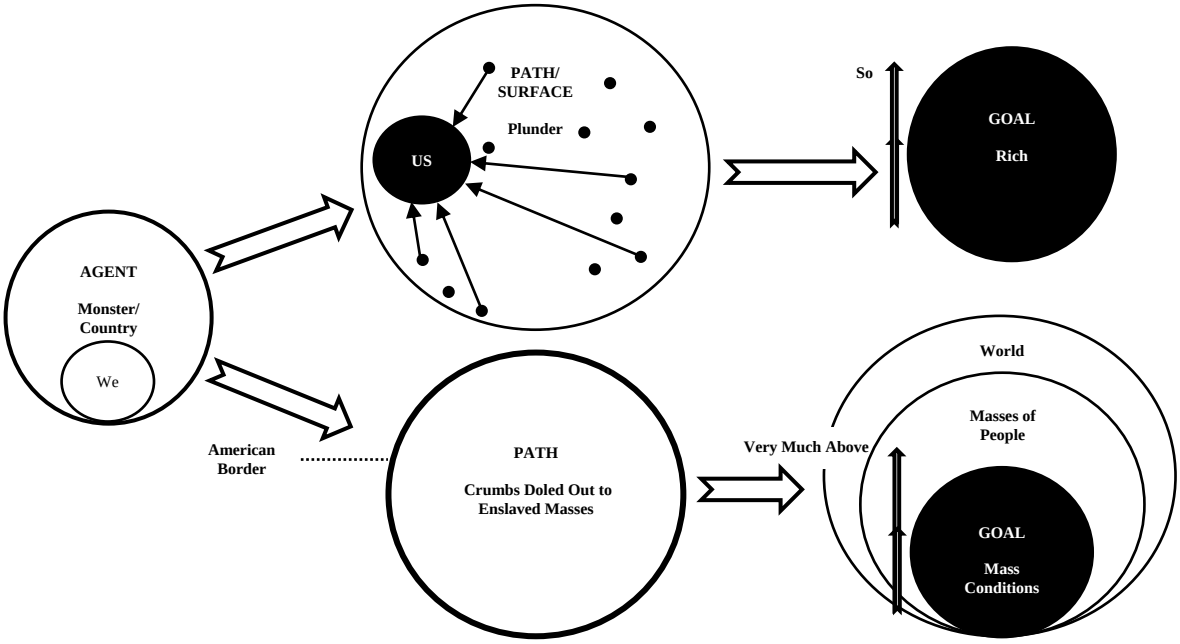


Figure 5.3 Schema-based metaphorical projection of topological relations in Weatherman manifesto.

In this exert, the protagonists are located inside of a 'worldwide monster' CONTAINER, specifically in the part of the monster that is of central importance ('the heartland'). Here, America is described as a large, frightening creature that is able to extend its reach throughout the globe. In the passage, the monster is transformed into 'a country' as AGENT. The PATH of this monster-country is to take advantage of international disorder by plundering raw materials from underprivileged countries abroad. In doing so, the monster reaches its GOAL of possessing an abundance of material wealth, which is construed as an excess with the help of the SCALE-UP schema. Moving to the next proposition, the AGENT space is still in play but moves now from the international to domestic theatre, where the monster's PATH is rationing crumbs to 'enslaved masses'. This conjures up an image of the giant monster sparsely distributing bread crumbs to its unfortunate captives contained within US borders. The noun 'borders' construes the situation where the reader's attention is guided to a specific portion of the CONTAINER topology. With the lexical cue 'borders', the boundary line of the CONTAINER is foregrounded instead of the space either in or outside. Moving to the GOAL portion, one encounters the superimposition of both SCALE and PART-WHOLE schemas, which enables the reader to conceptualise a material state of being that is 'very much above' that of the world masses.

Now that I have briefly considered a strictly topological description of schema-based metaphorical projection, I revisit the previous example sentence, 'I was in a panic, so I

ran to the luxury apartment', while also paying attention to deictic space. I re-examine it with the intention of exploring topological relations within geometric conceptual space. Remember, this is a conceptual space which in discourse is co-constructed by writer and reader such that it forms a momentary intersubjective mental space for purposes of communication and coordination of action (see Section 4.2.1). Using the basic deictic space configuration, in Figure 5.4 I model the protagonist ('I') as an entity existing within a negatively evaluated CONTAINER ('in a panic'). Within deictic space the reader places the protagonist in the past upon the -t-axis, moving along a PATH from the past into the present by taking account of the tense of the verb phrase ('ran to'). The destination reached ('apartment') is construed as the GOAL of the AGENT, which is modified by a superimposed SCALE schema ('luxury') at the end of the A-P-G schema. The reader can infer that instead of remaining in a state of 'panic', the protagonist has reached a new evaluative state of safety within the confines of a 'luxury' (SCALE-HI) 'apartment' (CONTAINER).

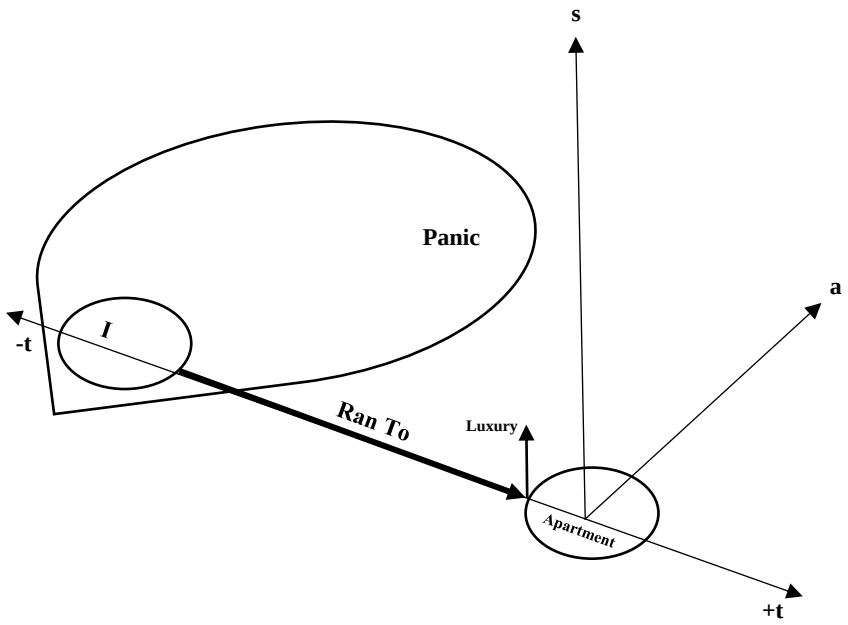


Figure 5.4 Topological and deictic projections of image schemas in example sentence.

The apartment is located at the deictic centre as, in this example, I am presuming that the speaker is recounting the event from the apartment. In deictic space modelling, one must take account of the speaker's current 'ground', which requires some knowledge of the context in which the text was produced. If this same story were recounted from another location later on, that would have to be taken into consideration in the model. With this example, I am attempting to model meaning construction within topological and geometric configurations as they occur in the minds of text-consumers. With this representational format, discourse analysts can take account of where imagistic constraints appear within a space, time and evaluation coordinate system (see Section 4.2.2).

5.2 Proposal for a Deictic Frame Space Model

In Section 4.2, I considered the literature proposing representational formats for mental space in cognitive linguistic critical discourse studies (Cap 2013; Chilton 2014; Hart 2014b). Despite recent advances in spelling out the interworking elements of the mental model, up to this point, there have been few attempts to understand how online schematic

processes in STM may relate to offline category structures in LTM (see Section 4.2.4). In this section, I extend the cognitive principles of image schemas, metaphorical mappings, topological projections, prototype structures and deictic space to theorize about the building and recall of LTM category structure as encoded in manifesto texts.

5.2.1 Shared semantic categories and image-schematic forms

Image schemas are not only actively construing discourse contents within STM, but go on to be utilized in the recall and storage of semantic information in LTM. As Mandler (2004: 85) points out when discussing infants, 'It is the image schemas that constitute their conceptualisation of what is being observed and that then enable access for recall and thought at a later time'. When reviewing the socio-cognitive approach to discourse analysis (see Section 3.2), I discussed how situation models and context models, for the most part, are made up of the same semantic categories. Moving forward, I explore how these shared categories may be arranged in such a way as to accommodate the flow of information currently being construed in STM into a much larger schematic structure. This larger structure is stored in LTM and helps to provide the reader with the necessary context for coming to a coherent interpretation of the text. Specifically, I am concerned with the question: How is LTM organized so that the online simulation of mental spaces are able to be comprehended so quickly?

Based on the 'spatialization of form hypothesis' (Johnson 1987), where conceptual structure exists as the result of image schemas plus a metaphorical projection (see Section 4.1.3), my assumption is that situation and context models share not only common ontological domains and semantic categories, but imagistic arrangements as well. In conceptualisation, humans utilize image schemas, as conceptual primitives for simulating concepts (see Section 4.1.1). I am exploring how this kind of process may also be the case for what occurs between the ongoing retrieval from (and storage in) LTM category structure and the construal processes occurring in STM. I am claiming that in order for a concept to gain meaning in STM, the reader must find the exact location at which the concept rests in the particular LTM categorical structure. Once the right location for the concept is found and activated in LTM, the wider meaning then becomes apparent in online processing. This activity of construal in STM and categorical location in LTM is happening all at once. In order for the recall/storage function to happen within 'fractions of a second' there must be a close commonality between both the STM construal and LTM categorization (Van Dijk 2008: 17-18). Moving beyond understanding that STM and LTM models share semantic categories, my contention is that the same image-schematic forms, those that are continuously recurring in STM when reading, are also part of the categorical structures in LTM. Since discourse processing occurs so quickly, probably only a few image schemas are in play at any given moment. Thus, collective meaning making is not merely a matter of common semantic categories and ontological domains, but is also a matter of shared image-schematic configurations.

5.2.2 Definition of frame space

Based on insights from previously considered representational formats of conceptual structure (see Chapters 3 & 4), I propose a scenes-and-episodes approach for LTM as well. Like models in mental space, models in *frame space* consists of a few ontological domains (Johnson-Laird 1983), a set number of semantic categories (Van Dijk 1998), a

limited number of imagistic structuring devices (Johnson 1987) and a metaphorically projected deictic space-time (Chilton 2014) all working together as a functional unit. Thus, Van Dijk's (1999) propositional 'context model' is conceived here as also being imagistic in nature. Drawing on both propositional and imagistic approaches, I understand the manifesto text to be inviting readers to share a particular mental model. Each of these four model aspects (ontological domains, semantic categories, image schemas and metaphorical projections) work together in order to provide the reader with a cohesive interpretation of the communicative situation. Spatial cognition provides the layout and potential locations for concepts. Cultural elites supply the pertinent discourse contents that fill the spatio-temporal area. These categorical contents take on certain locations in the spatial structure based on recurring image-schematic relations, which are continuously projected within an ongoing discursive geometry. Considering all four aspects at once, a frame space model can be defined as a semi-stable-yet-pliable long term conceptual structure. Social cognition occurs when a conceptual structure is held in common by a politically oriented discourse community. This common conceptual structure becomes essential for providing the ingroup with a shared interpretive design of the ongoing geopolitical situation (Kaal 2017).

In order to reconstruct the categorical structure held in LTM, I conceive the interworking of frame space as a distinctly imagistic area, where concepts contain a specific meaning only in relation to other concepts. In a way, I understand frame space as being similar to what in cognitive psychology has traditionally been termed 'semantic fields' (Nerlich and Clarke 2000: 135). In early psychological accounts, semantic fields are defined as 'cognitive structures able to reveal the external boundaries of the field as well as the internal structure of the field' (ibid.). Grandy (1992: 109) defines a semantic field as 'a set of conceptual relations that make up a structured totality, where meaning is supposed to emerge from the relationships between concepts'. Similar to this notion of the semantic field, frame space is understood here as consisting of distinct conceptual fields wherein all concepts hold in common a core categorical aspect. Following Van Dijk (1987), I focus on the semantic model categories of identities, values, cultural mindsets, actions and goals. Based on the polarizing nature of ideological texts, I suspect that these fields of meaning are organized in relationships between ingroup 'concepts' and outgroup 'counter-concepts' (Koselleck 1985).

Accomplishing a deictic mental space analysis (see Chapter 6) contributes to a deictic frame space analysis (see Chapter 7), because discourse contents construed within mental space come to have repetitive relations amongst one another and hold distinctive locations relative to the deictic centre. This occurrence of repetitive construal relations in mental space gives the analyst clues as to where each concept is located within a more detailed categorical structure in frame space. Within this adapted deictic space model, an organized category structure exists along each space, time and axiological axis. Each incoming concept is located proximally or distally amongst all other concepts encountered in the text relative to the deictic centre of the ingroup. Therefore, in frame space analysis, I intend to make explicit how imagistic schemas come to order these conceptual inter-relations within a more filled-in deictic space. By providing a frame space model of the Weatherman manifesto in Chapter 7, I intend to reconstruct ontological dimensions and semantic categories arranged from a collectively embodied perspective.

5.2.3 Schema-based metaphorical mapping of geopolitical worldview

Lakoff (1987) advances the view that image schemas themselves may be the most important structuring elements of mental models by virtue of the fact that each gestalt structure represents a simplified idealised abstraction of some pattern in our bodily experience. As discussed in Section 5.1.2, readers employ metaphorical mappings to link image schemas arising from concrete experience to abstract political scenes and episodes during the construction of mental models. This may occur in frame space as well, where LTM models are constructed by a metaphorical mapping of imagistic structure from a spatial SOURCE DOMAIN to a more abstract TARGET DOMAIN. During model construction, all conceptual categories are either metaphorically mapped directly onto a space domain or mapped onto a temporal domain. Considering embodied states as crucial for conceptual arrangement, I infer that spatial image schemas (e.g. CONTAINER and OPPOSITION) are fundamental for the internal structuring of identity and evaluation categories. In contrast, motion and force schemas (e.g. PATH and COUNTERFORCE) serve as fundamental structuring devices for ideological mindset, action and goal categories. Metaphorical mapping in frame space occurs where image schemas are in the SOURCE DOMAIN acting as spatial structuring devices for the TARGET DOMAIN consisting of a geopolitical worldview (Figure 5.5). In this process a shared ideological stance is achieved by mapping imagistic structures onto abstract political elements.

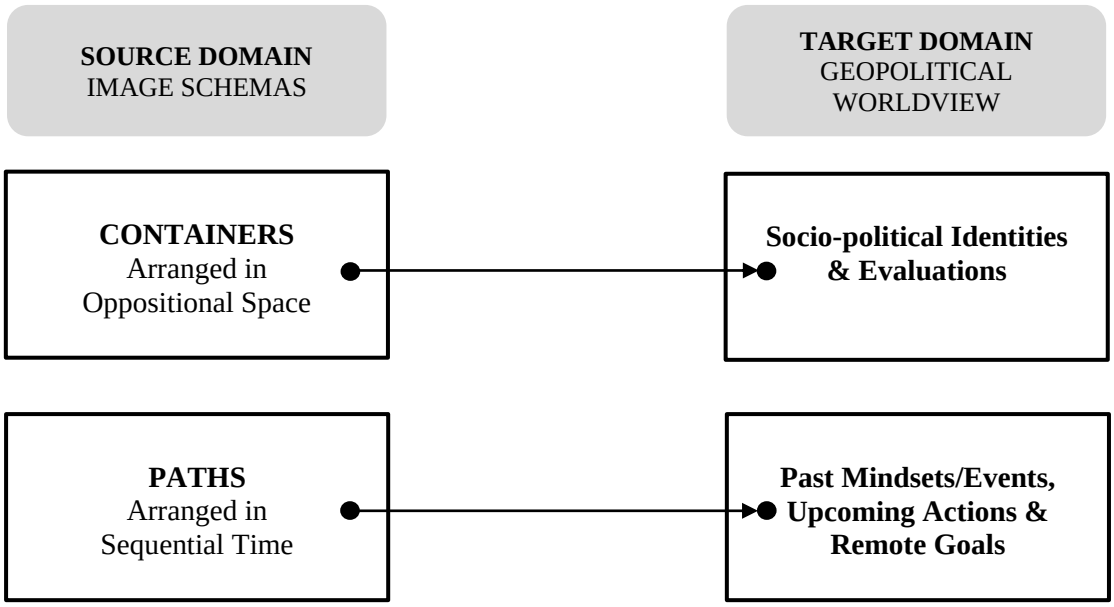


Figure 5.5 Schema-based metaphorical mapping in frame space: Image schemas as SOURCE DOMAIN and worldview as TARGET DOMAIN.

In Section 4.1.1, I discussed how the embodiment thesis holds that, 'structures of our bodily experience work their way up into abstract meanings and patterns of inference' (Johnson 1987: xix). Within critical stylistics, Jeffries (2010a: 15) carries forward the embodiment thesis by proposing that OPPOSITION serves as a sort of 'master schema', positing that 'there is a strong physiological reason behind our ease of acquisition and use of opposites, and that this is carried over from our bodily experience into our conceptualising of the world'.[24] Crucial to the frame space modelling effort in Chapter 7

[24] Employing an oppositional analytic is still a very popular technique in literary criticism, critical stylistics and cultural studies (Jeffries, 2010b). A key assumption behind earlier analyses of opposition is that one lexical item cannot be completely understood

is the contention of Jeffries (2010b: 52) that 'texts have the capacity, frequently used, to set up *new* synonymies and oppositions, sometimes between words that we would *never* relate to each other out of context, and sometimes between phrases or clauses, or even whole paragraphs' (e.g. It was car-maintenance, not cake-decorating). For this cognitive phenomena, she coins the term 'constructed opposition'.[25] In order to account for the space domain of manifesto texts identity and evaluation categories are arranged in schematic orderings of OPPOSITION. Employing Jeffries (2010a) suggested OPPOSITION schema, content categories are arranged in antonymic relations in order to reveal their unique spatial positioning within a synchronic frame structure. Therefore, in frame space modelling an oppositional space acts as the SOURCE DOMAIN, onto which socio-political identities and evaluations as TARGET DOMAIN are mapped. To be clear, I am saying that political identity and evaluation categories in LTM may be positioned amongst one another in a spatial domain based on an OPPOSITION schema. In frame space, a stabilized timeline acts as the SOURCE DOMAIN onto which past events, upcoming actions and goals as TARGET DOMAIN are metaphorically mapped.[26] This creates and maintains a sense of continuity between historical events in the past and proposed actions for the future. Interpretation of an event is determined by locating its place on the timeline, and by determining its relation to other past events, current plans and future intentions. In contrast to identity and evaluative category structures being primarily comprehended via spatial relations within a global OPPOSITIONAL-CONTAINER schema, categories located in the time domain are structured primarily by a SEQUENTIAL-PATH schema.

5.2.4 Deixis and axis system

In contrast to the hierarchal structure of mental models assumed by cognitive psychology, Van Dijk (2008: 20) hints at another possible solution for the internal structure of LTM models when he states that 'contexts are crucially egocentric'. Since Van Dijk (2008: 76) places 'self as the central, orienting category' of mental models, the proposal from cognitive linguistics that meaning comes as a result of embodied experiences has interesting implications.[27] To have a model based on the egocentric self would entail raising the importance of deixis in the text to the level of a cognitive structuring device. When coming to the manifesto text, the reader takes on the point of view of the culturally elite writing collective, which are seeking to represent their current geopolitical surroundings. Giving prominence to the egocentric (or ingroup) perspective as a central organizing principle enables the analyst to organize relations between the ingroup and the other political participants. When construing contents in mental space during online discourse processing, the offline egocentric structure of frame space is

without consideration of its opposite, so that meaning comes as a result of mutually oppositional features. Currently, both literary and cultural structuralists view binary opposition as an 'elementary logic operating in the mind reaching toward the production of meaning' (Barker and Galasinski 2001: 9).

25 Specifically, she looks at constructed opposition on a sentence level in the forms of negation, parallel structures, coordination and comparatives. Yet, she contends that a discourse approach that focuses on constructed opposition would be beneficial for any kind of conceptual approach towards the study of semantic relations, and that opposites are one of the 'most important of the linguistic-cognitive structures by which we categorize and organize our world' (Jeffries 2010a: 26-27).

26 Similarly, Lakoff (1993: 220) details what he terms an 'event metaphor'. This is a metaphorical scenario in which states, changes, processes, actions, causes, purposes, and means, are characterized cognitively in terms of space, motion, and force**.** In the event metaphor, states are locations, changes are movements, causes are forces, purposes are destinations and difficulties are impediments to motion.

27 Paul Werth (1999:20), in his exploration of the 'text world', also poses the self as the orienting principle of conceptualisation when he describes it as 'a deictic space, defined initially by the discourse itself, and specifically by the deictic and referential elements in it'.

informing the production of deictic expressions such as demonstratives (here/there), adverbs (near/far, now/later), personal pronouns (I/they) and prepositions (on/in).

In what follows, I extend deixis to function as a central organizing principle for understanding the internal structure of LTM models. Similar to other deictic space model adaptations, I take up the concept of deixis as a central structuring device by placing the social movement leadership collective at the deictic centre. Yet, I expand its usage as an ordering concept beyond tracing construal operations active in STM, to the level of categorical structure in LTM. Deictic expressions on the syntactic level are usually thought of as referring to entities in the immediate utterance situation. However, I employ deixis on the discursive level, where the concept has the potential to capture the conceptual inter-relations of an entire text. Jeffries (2010b: 156) points out that what may be most important for advancing a collective ideological position is 'the ability of a text producer to create a deictic centre that causes the reader to place him/herself mentally at that point in the deictic field created by the text'. Taking the deictic structuring principle to the level of frame space means understanding LTM category structure as a fairly stable coordinate system. Thus, in Chapter 7, I model frame space as a relatively fixed cognitive template from the writing collective's ingroup point of view. In this way, frame space modelling assumes a synchronic perspective, where imagistic relations are able to be represented as a conceptual totality.

Frame space is built out of a series of mental spaces that accumulate (see Section 7.1) and become stored in LTM (see Section 7.2) so that the multiple identities, evaluations, events, actions and goals encountered during discourse processing receive a stable conceptual location. Adopting the principles of Chilton's (2005) deictic space theory, categories in frame space are deictically positioned as either conceptually proximal, medial or distal from the writing collective's point of view. The position of a particular category in frame space is determined by the position of all the other categories to which it is interconnected. This strict interconnection of categories may explain how a commonly recalled frame space maintains a semi-stable structure. Also this categorical interrelatedness enables almost instantaneous processing of the particular mental space under consideration, while allowing for infinite tinkering and updating of the long term conceptual design. This stabilized category structure in LTM acts as a discourse community's ingroup coordinate system.

This frame space adaptation of deictic modelling moves beyond visualizing fleeting acts of construal, and attempts to reveal something much less transitory in nature. Moving from topological and deictic conceptual structures being simulated in STM, this model is intended to provide an embodied representational format for the imagistic design of these same types of structures stored in LTM (Figure 5.6). Following other deictic space model adaptations (Cap 2013), I assume that conceptual structure of a text is made up of a socio-spatial (s), temporal (t) and axiological (a) matrix with a deictic centre located at the writing collective's here, now and right. As discussed in the previous section, conceptual relations along each axis are motivated either by relative spatial-oppositional or temporal-sequential psychological 'distancing'. Thus, the conceptual structure of a manifesto text is apprehended once categorical positions are arranged and set in distinct imagistic orderings. Arrangement of categorical relations is accomplished by modelling geopolitical identities along the s-axis, evaluations along the a-axis, mindsets and events in time past (-t) with actions and goals in time future (+t). Locating these semantic

categories upon the three geometric axes of frame space makes conspicuous their conceptual interrelations.

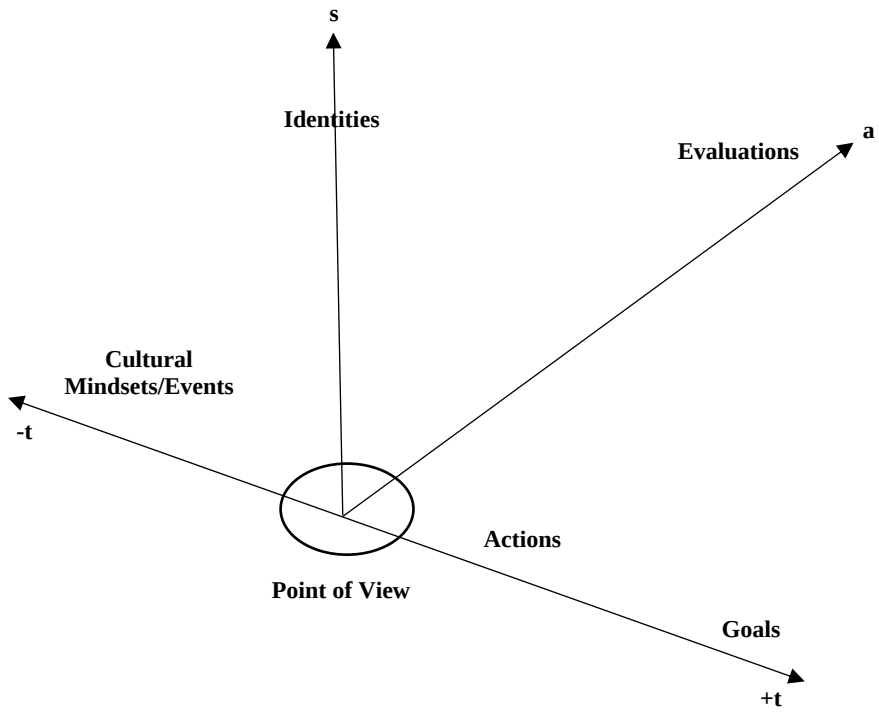


Figure 5.6 Deictic frame space model: Long term conceptual structure as encoded in manifesto texts.

5.2.5 Radial category structure

One early avenue Lakoff (1987: 56) pursued for determining the inner structures of mental models was looking to cognitive psychology for a plausible theory of categorisation. Lakoff posits that prototype category structures arise as the result of mental models in LTM (ibid.). Categorisation is defined as 'the ability to identify perceived similarities and differences between entities and group them together' (Evans and Green 2006: 248). Experimental research conducted by Rosch (1975, 1978) found that humans categorise discourse contents in radial prototype configurations. These radial prototype categories consist of a CENTRE-PERIPHERY structure, where category members are determined as more or less central based on shared attributes. From research affiliated with 'prototype theory', we know that categories are not formed of strict hierarchical relations, but bear family resemblances which cluster around a central meaning (Lakoff 1987: 95). The most central category member is the one that shares the most family resemblances amongst all members. Prototypical members of a category exhibit a large number of attributes common to many members of the category, while less prototypical members exhibit fewer attributes common to other members of the category. Lakoff (1987: 287) points out that a 'radial category is represented structurally as a container, and its subcategories are containers inside it'.

When it comes to family resemblance relations for categories there are no attributes common to all members, yet there is sufficient similarity between members that they can be said to resemble one another to varying degrees. Rosch and Mervis (1975) suggest that the way to assess categorical prototype structure is by establishing the set of attributes that a particular entity has. The more category-relevant attributes a particular entity possesses, the more representative it is of the central category member. For

instance, in the case of the concept BIRD, they found that a robin is highly prototypical because it possesses a large number of attributes contained within the BIRD category, while an ostrich contains less attributes normally associated with birds and is therefore less prototypical. In general, less central subcategories are understood as 'variants of more central categories' (Lakoff 1987: 95). Thus, category members located on the periphery of the prototype structure are not understood purely on their own terms, but are comprehended via their relationship to the core categorical member. The claim that family resemblance relations relate category members entails that categories are predicted to have fuzzy boundaries out on the periphery of the structure. To summarize, categories consist of radial structures that have inherent degrees of membership, central members and fuzzy boundaries.

Van Dijk's (2011) five general mental model categories (identities, values, cultural mindsets, actions and goals) correspond to three axes making up any deictic space model (see Section 4.2.2). After performing an imagistic mental space analysis of the manifesto text, categorical members are more easily identified and can be rearranged deictically. Once arranged on the three axes, homogeneous category members are sorted and given distinct positions within radial prototype structures as more central or peripheral members. Following prototype theory, central category members are those that possess many family resemblance relations, while those having less overlapping relations are on the periphery. In this expansive deictic category structure, all category members surround its most central member, which I understand as the prototypical categorical representative. Each axis in frame space will consist of a set number of categorical relations. The exact coordinates of prototype categories in the three-dimensional space are located by taking all the category members along a particular axis (e.g. s-axis), finding all the similar referents and arranging them around one central category member that contains the most shared attributes of all potential members. For instance, in Figure 5.7, every referent of the most distal outgroup identity in the Weatherman text (e.g. 'imperialists', 'empire' and 'oppressor nation') clusters around the central prototype category 'US Empire'. Once the internal relations of each identity prototype category is reconstructed, then the analyst must determine the location of this particular prototype category amongst all other categorical relations along the s-axis.

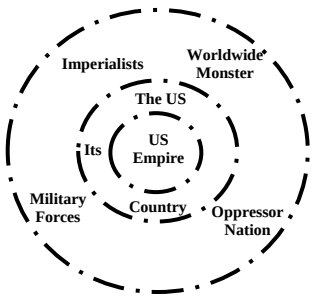


Figure 5.7 Radial category structure of an outgroup identity prototype.

5.2.6 Topological projection of frame space

In Figure 5.8 the central category members emerging from the discourse contents must be understood in relation to other central category members that articulate a given axis in frame space. These radial category structures stand in affinity and contrast to one another, and since categories possess fuzzy boundary lines, they tend to merge and overlap with one another. These CENTRE-PERIPHERY structures exist in relation to one another and it is this interrelation of prototypes that makes up the conceptual relations along the three geometric axes. Taking this into consideration, frame space analysis of a manifesto text is accomplished by accounting for all the discourse contents and the construal relations investigated during the mental space analysis, and then positioning recurring category members deictically according to ingroup-oriented relations.

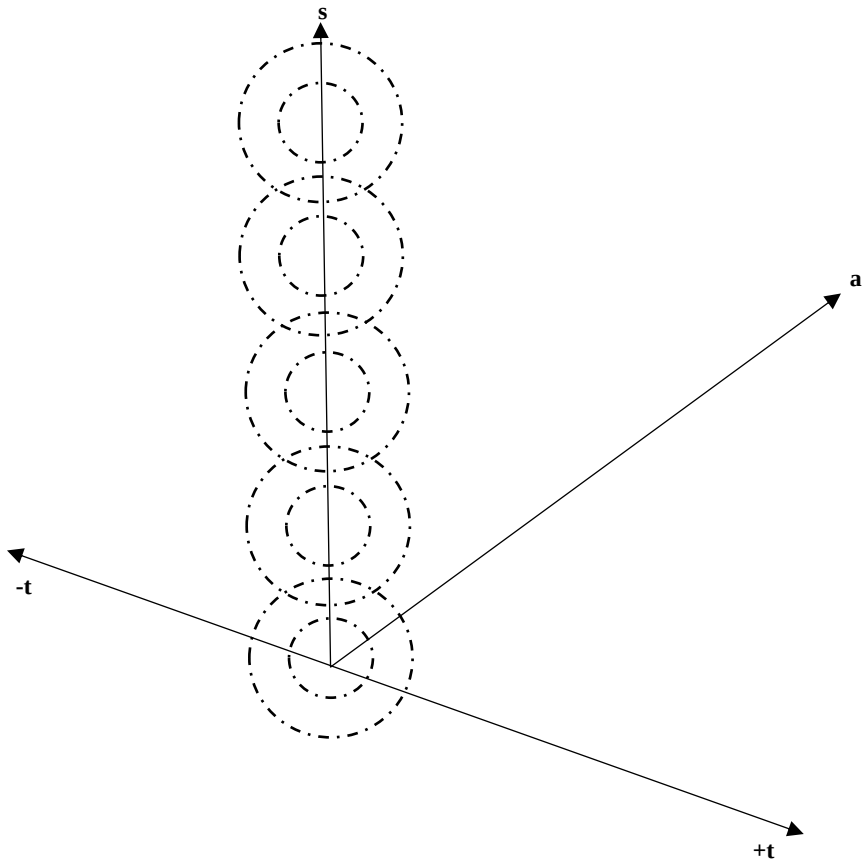


Figure 5.8 Deictic projection of identity prototype categories.

Similar to the mental space version of deictic space modelling (see Section 4.2.2), this frame space version views each axis as a scale representing ‘distance’ in the direction pointing away from the deictic centre. Along these coordinates, there are three relative distances from the deictic centre (proximal, medial and distal). Along the s, t and a-axes, radial category structures are understood as a series of anchor points plotted along three graduated scales. Taking into account the embodied aspect of meaning construction, central category members act as relatively fixed coordinates as they receive their specific coordinate locations according to recurring image-schematic relations. To be clear, the space is not an absolute coordinate system with elements actually assigned numerical values. The coordinate locations are driven by the topological designs of image schemas, where meaning comes as the result of the sequential and proximity relations between the elements in the space. In addition to centrality relations within radial category structure,

the analyst must also keep in mind that these prototypes also possess a particular position within the larger category structure of oppositional and sequential axis relations. This points to the fact that frame space modelling is an attempt to view radial CENTRE-PERIPHERY relations within a single categorical structure, while simultaneously considering the more expansive PART-WHOLE relations holding between multiple radial categories within deictic space. Considered together, the deictic arrangement of these radial prototype categories establishes a coordinate structure along each axis. In practice, social movement elites and activists adopt a particular frame space by psychologically positioning themselves at varying conceptual distances to other relevant groups, values, legitimating mindsets, activities and aims. By arranging prototype categories within this geometrical framework, the analyst is able to pinpoint the location each category member occupies in relation to the overall coordinate structure.

In cognitive linguistics, categories are thought to be conceptualised in terms of a CONTAINER schema in STM (Lakoff 1993). I infer they also possess this same image-schematic form in LTM. This means, for instance, that all political identity categories exist as divisible and distinct CONTAINERS. However, in frame space these identity CONTAINERS are more-or-less expansive based on the size of the identity category being conceptualised (e.g. university students vs. all Americans). The distance between the surface structure of the text and the imagistic structure of mental models can then be shortened by translating radial category structures into coordinates falling along a graduated scale of oppositional or sequential relations. When, for instance, identity and evaluative coordinate relations are displayed as a totality, the analyst is able to perceive the spatial domain of the imagistic LTM structure. Within the spatial domain, I am claiming that group identities and evaluations are co-contained. This is why in Figure 5.9 I represent evaluations as being co-contained with the appropriate identities within a series of larger graduated containers. In imagistic LTM structure, movement activists store and recall relevant political identities and evaluations within this co-contained space.

In Section 4.1.2, I discussed the 'access principle' in mental space theory (Fauconnier 1997: 41). In this frame space model, the access principle is extended. I conceive of the access principle to be not only valid for tracking identity referents, but also for evaluations about identities as well. I am claiming since political identities and evaluations share the same oppositional space in LTM structure, they are able to act as each other's semantic counterparts during construal in STM. This extension of the access principle is in play at all times for both the identity and evaluation categories. Practically, this means that when an identity is mentioned, an evaluation is already inferred in the naming of the identity category. Conversely, if an evaluation is mentioned an identity is implicitly linked as its counterpart. In either case, mentioning one element automatically brings with it the corresponding element so that a more complete meaning can be deduced. The interconnected nature of frame space comes into play here as the identity and evaluative spaces are linked by being co-contained in the same domain of oppositional space.[28]

[28] Similarly, Lakoff (2008: 93) has found that moral narratives guiding interpretation and decision-making have two interconnected parts. The first part consists of an identity structure made up of social roles like hero (e.g. Students for a Democratic Society, Weatherman), villains (e.g. Imperialists, Ruling Class), victims (e.g. Third World workers, the Colonized), helpers (e.g. New Left Activists), and others (e.g. People in the US) all of which are performing actions and undergoing effects. The second part consists of an evaluative structure assessable through affective markers in the text, which link identity structure to positive and negative emotional circuitry. Since they are neurally bound, the evaluative structure of the worldview (e.g. struggle, privilege, oppression) is inseparable from the identity structure (e.g. Weatherman, Movement, US Empire).

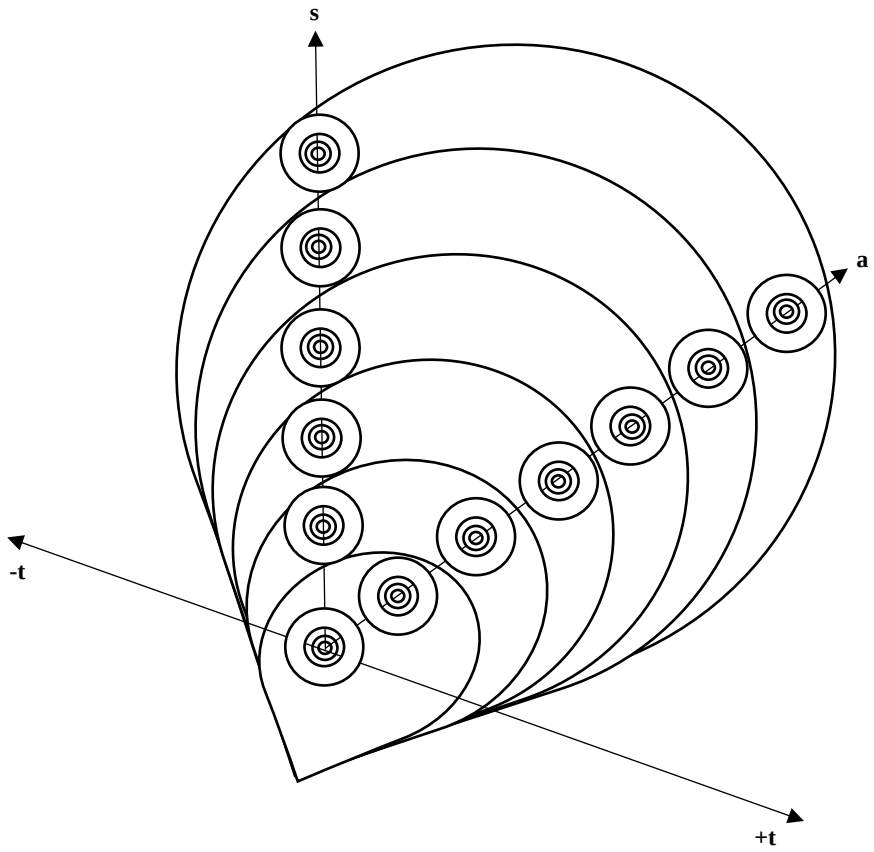


Figure 5.9 Deictic projection of identity and evaluative prototypes co-structured in a graduated CONTAINER schema.

Moving beyond a conception of proximization whereby discourse entities and actions are always moving towards the ingroup (Cap 2008), I present the collective actors and evaluations co-contained in oppositional space as moving forward through sequential time. In frame space, past mindsets and events are situated along the -t axis. In manifesto writing, movement elites activate references from past texts, which are then connected to conditions and perspectives in the present. Figure 5.10 models the forward propulsion of mindsets and events up to the present political situation. The -t axis involves the reconstruction of past events in order to explain presently proposed actions and to lend support to future goals. Cap (2014: 20) notes that an ingroup writing collective will evoke 'ideological representations of the remote past, which are "proximized" to underline the continuity and steadfastness of purpose, thus linking with and sanctioning current acts as acts of faithfulness to long accepted principles and values'. In temporal proximization, time is experienced as contracted as Cap (2013: 85) suggests, 'Events in the past are made salient on the t-axis to inform, by comparison, the reader's present context'. These orienting mindsets and past events are brought into the present to legitimize the arrangement of current ingroup identities and evaluations in the space domain, and to provide a sense of continuity for acting in the future of the temporal domain. So the -t axis is ordered as a progressive series of past episodes, and is activated in order to provide a rationale for the oppositional orderings along the s- and a-axes. For instance, Lin Piao is quoted at the beginning of the Weatherman manifesto, where he endorses the event of 'people's war'. The semantic usage of this quote is not to point back in time per se, but to recall a particular ideological stance and project it into the present in order to bring legitimacy to the overall coordinate system making up Weatherman's proposed geopolitical worldview. Along the +t-axis the radial categories

are arranged as a series of strategic acts coming in the near future and utopian goals that will be encountered at some point further down the timeline.

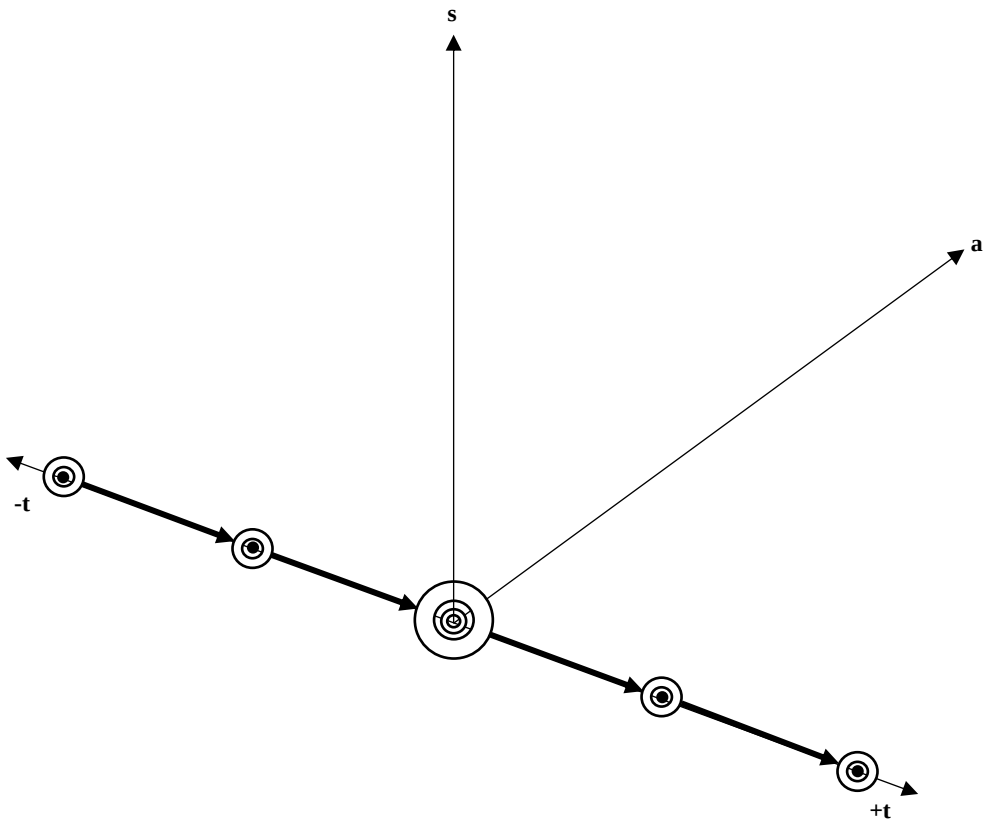


Figure 5.10 Deictic projection of event/mindset, action and goal prototypes structured in a sequential PATH schema.

In summary, frame space, as an egocentric, ontological and imagistic categorical arrangement, contains an interaction between two domains. In the space domain, identities and evaluations exist as radial category structures ordered as a series of overlapping CONTAINER schemas. Identities and evaluations gain ingroup meaning in reference to the exact location at which the proto-category is positioned within an OPPOSITIONAL spatial arrangement of US-THEM group members and evaluations. In the time domain, ideological mindsets, upcoming actions and future goals also consist of radial category structures. The meaning of different mindsets and events are understood within a series of temporal-sequential relationships. When readers move through the manifesto text, category structure is built up simultaneously in both space and time domains. Each radial category configuration takes on a semi-fixed location within an expansive, interacting structure. Meaning arrives to the reader of the text partly as a result of being able to pinpoint the exact location that each semantic category occupies within the structure relative to all other categories. This means that if the reader is not able to situate the incoming discourse contents within a stabilized category structure, then the full meaning of the temporary model being built in mental space cannot be fully comprehended. Without being able to accurately position the incoming category members within an expansive deictic coordinate system in LTM, the reader will be left with an incomplete interpretation of the geopolitical situation.

The frame space model, as a representational format for conceptual modelling, is a complex structured whole, which depends upon four kinds of structuring principles:

- a discrete number of ontological domains
- invariant semantic categories
- topological projections of imagistic structure
- deictic configurations of transitory mental spaces building up into more stabilized global coherence relations

Displayed in Table 5.11, I have found that identities and evaluations are best modelled as conjoined axes within a graduated CONTAINER schema in the spatial domain, while past mindsets/events, actions and goals occupy the temporal domain. In deictic frame space, ingroup identities and values occupy proximal conceptual relations, while outgroup identities and values are located distally along the s-axis. Ideological mindsets and past events are positioned on the -t axis, while strategic actions and utopian goals are both arranged on the +t axis. In manifesto texts, actions on the +t axis escalate to ever more risky scenarios, where the ingroup will find outgroup counter-strategies and counter-utopias.

Ontological Domains	**Semantic Categories**	**Topological Configuration**	**Deictic Configuration**
SPACE Entities	Identities	CONTAINER NEAR-FAR	OPPOSITIONAL In/outgroup Identities
SPACE Permissibility	Values	CONTAINER NEAR-FAR	OPPOSITIONAL In/outgroup Evaluations
TIME Causation	Mindsets Events	PATH MOTION	SEQUENTIAL Past to Future
TIME Possibility	Actions	PATH MOTION	SEQUENTIAL Present to Future
TIME Intention	Goals	PATH-GOAL MOTION	SEQUENTIAL Present to Future

Table 5.12 Conceptual structure in frame space.

When considering frame space as a PART-WHOLE structure, the WHOLE is the amount of text already processed by the reader up to the point s/he is at in reading the manifesto text. The PART is the specific category member being activated at the moment of reading for the purposes of recall and updating. Discourse contents being construed in mental space receive meaning through spatial-oppositional and temporal-sequential relations within the WHOLE category structure as it is being built in frame space. Interacting image-schematic structures are responsible for both the transitory positioning of contents in STM and for the more fixed locations of radial categories in LTM. This ongoing schematic interaction between mental and frame space enables both local and global coherence during discourse processing. To summarize, frame space modelling explores the conceptual structure of a manifesto text within a three-dimensional presentation of ontological domains relative to an ingroup writing collective's deictic centre. In this deictic space adaptation, discourse contents are mapped out across three axes representing socio-spatial (s), temporal (t) and axiological (a) psychological distance. Not constrained to an analysis of a few sentences or successive paragraphs, as with other deictic space model adaptations, this proposed frame space version has the potential to capture the imagistic relations of an entire document. The aim of frame space modelling is to reveal conceptual inter-connections making up global coherence relations, and to consider how this cognitive coordinate system sets in place a semi-stable and comprehensive geopolitical worldview for social movement activists.

In Chapter 6, I consider a scenes-and-episodes model first for mental space. This representational format is meant to display online construal operations, taking into consideration both topological and deictic structures active in STM. Then, in Chapter 7, I seek to utilize the same methodological principles in accomplishing a frame space analysis, exploring how categories are stored in LTM amongst a more complete and stabilized coordinate system. In Chapter 8, I close with a discussion about the role manifesto texts and mental models play in building a shared worldview between members of political groups. Through the ongoing simulation of familiar mental models, worldviews can become entrenched in group members and come to act as the logical 'ground' from which to make decisions about the future (Kaal 2017).

Chapter 6: Deictic Mental Space Analysis

In Chapter 5, I outlined a scenes-and-episodes model of text processing for both STM and LTM. In this chapter, I illustrate the dimensions of this model using the manifesto text of the Weatherman as data (see Section 2.3). The goal of this analysis is to utilize the geometric design of the deictic space model while taking into consideration topological projection in order to show how image schemas interact in mental space. I am claiming that this topological and deictic interaction of concepts is necessary to create coherent representations of scenes and episodes encountered in manifesto texts (see Section 5.1.3). In the analysis below, I intend to show how image-schematic construal operations are able to build mental spaces, set in motion discourse contents and direct the reader's attention within these spaces. Building on Johnson's (1987) suggested pictorial diagrams for representing image schemas, my intention is to demonstrate how these concrete spatio-motor schemas are active within abstract reasoning when constructing a geopolitical worldview. The main evidence given for embodied imagistic patterns being the primary means of structure in abstract reasoning will be a demonstration of the way in which they guide interpretation and constrain inference. This will be shown by considering the cognitive construction of abstract political spaces in the Weatherman manifesto, which was distributed by cultural elites with the intent to solidify a shared political worldview.

In the version of deictic space analysis offered below, my assumption is that image schemas are topologically superimposed on top of one another within a geometric mental space. I have traced thirteen fundamental schemas in the Weatherman manifesto active in establishing local coherence relations. To clarify the purpose of each particular schema's function in the construction of mental space, I follow Van Dijk's (1987) distinction between semantic categories that are active in setting scenes and those that are active in enacting episodes. In the analysis, I view those schemas opening up a new setting (see Section 5.1.1.1) or those that direct attention to particular locations (see Section 5.1.1.3) as involved in scene setting. These scenes are constructed by spatial schemas, which include CONTAINER, PART-WHOLE, CENTRE-PERIPHERY, SCALE, SURFACE and LINK. The image schemas used in constructing episodes (see Section 5.1.1.2) are those indicating movement of contents through space, so that an identity, mindset or event moves in a particular direction. These episodes are invoked by motion and force schemas including PATH-GOAL, ENABLEMENT, COUNTERFORCE, BALANCE, CYCLE and PROCESS.

During the analysis I will also be keeping track of the opening and closing of mental spaces, what cognitive psychologists have termed 'event boundaries' (see Section 5.1.2).. Based on experimental research (Bailey and Zacks 2015), I understand the opening and closing function of mental spaces in manifesto texts to be occurring at major situational changes of political identities, temporal locations and spatial scenes. This means the opening and closing of mental space is not directly tied to syntactic signals as much as it is the changing of scenes (e.g. location, time, characters, objects and circumstances) and episodes (e.g. actions, evaluations, goals and results). During conceptualisation in deictic space, discourse entities are set in particular locations within a coordinate system relative to all the other entities in each 'opened' space. As I move through the mental spaces of the Weatherman manifesto's introductory section, a few distinct patterns will emerge concerning the relations between discourse contents and imagistic structures in the building of scenes and episodes. In the most conventional deictic mental space, Weatherman utilize the beginning of the sentence to set the scene and the end for

executing the episode. For instance, a spatial CONTAINER schema indicating a politically bounded region (e.g. in France) or a hypothetical space of questioning (e.g. in answering questions) will open up and build the space for the discourse contents to occupy. Then the episode will occur where actions are represented by motion and force relations. Most often, a PATH schema will cue the movement of characters and objects within the opened space.

When consulting the mental space diagrams note that I have assigned numeral values to both contents and image schemas, which correspond to numbers in the textual coding. Each mental space, for the duration of its 'opening and closing', will receive its own number as well (e.g. mental space 1). For clarity in the modelling process, I extend some of these 'opened spaces' over a number of diagrams (e.g. 1a, 1b, 1c) so that the diagrams will not become overcrowded and indecipherable. This means that within one mental space the diagrams a, b and c are all part of the same space and are meant to be read as overlain. Also, I should not fail to mention that in deictic space theory, any element (person, place, event, etc.) simultaneously holds a coordinate in all three dimensions (space, time and evaluation). In practice, this is impossible to represent and analysts tend to focus on an element's position in the one dimension that is of most interest rhetorically.

6.1 Mental space one

6.1.1 One a

(1) "The contradiction between **<COUNTERFORCE>**
(2) the revolutionary peoples **<AGENT>**
(3) of Asia, Africa and Latin America **<PART-WHOLE>**
(4) and the imperialists **<AGENT>**
(5) headed by **<SCALE>**
(6) the United States **<AGENT>**
(7) is the principal **<SCALE>** contradiction **<COUNTERFORCE>**
(8) in the contemporary world. **<CONTAINER>**

Weatherman open their manifesto with a quote by Lin Piao, chief propagandist of the Chinese Cultural Revolution, which sets the revolutionary tone for the remainder of the document. They begin with this quote because it introduces the main actors and key imagistic relations between these actors that they wish to continually re-emphasize in their attempt at worldview creation. Weatherman's selected quote opens the geopolitical scene with a COUNTERFORCE schema on the s-axis, cued by the noun and preposition 'contradiction between'. This schema directs the reader's attention to the point where two opposing forces are meeting in the middle, the space existing between 'revolutionary peoples' and 'imperialists'. Therefore, the mental space opens with two key opposing forces, topologically depicted as vectors, moving in equal but opposite directions. The choice to open with a COUNTERFORCE schema serves Weatherman's pragmatic purpose to introduce an adversary that will spur democratic reformation of the education system, incite massive resistance to the Vietnam draft and institute a new Communist Party in the US (see Section 2.3).

After opening with a construal via COUNTERFORCE, the reader is introduced to the most important political entities, those identities attributed the maximum agency in the rest of the manifesto. On one side of this COUNTERFORCE relation are 'revolutionary peoples',

who are PART of the WHOLE nations of 'Asia, Africa and Latin America'. In the mental space diagrams, I draw this PART-WHOLE construal as a solitary point (e.g. 'revolutionary peoples') inside of a larger circle, indicating the WHOLE (e.g. the nations) of which they are a PART. 'Revolutionary peoples' is the first of many PART-WHOLE schemas that are cued by the preposition 'of'. During conceptualisation, the preposition 'of' evokes a PART-WHOLE construal operation, which is mentally visualized in order to arrive at a distinction between the particular group being pointed to in the midst of a much larger population.

'Imperialists' are the first outgroup members introduced and are located at the remote end of the s-axis. Immediately following, the reader encounters a SCALE schema, where 'imperialists' are 'headed by the United States'. The SCALE schema is evoked with the verb 'headed' so that the 'United States' is conceptualised as occupying a status position at the very top of an imperial hierarchy. This indicates that the 'United States' will occupy the most distal point of all the socio-political identities which will come to populate the s-axis throughout the duration of the manifesto's first section. Much of Weatherman's verbiage from this point forward will utilize SCALE schemas pointing to the UP position in order to accentuate the importance and urgency of their worldview.

Moving to the second half of sentence (1), Weatherman reiterate the initial COUNTERFORCE schema. They indicate that this COUNTERFORCE relation is first in order of importance with use of a SCALE schema cued by the adjective 'principle'. This top 'contradiction' is then placed within a large time-space CONTAINER, being 'in the contemporary world'. Sentence (1) ends with the first CONTAINER schema appearing in the manifesto, where all previous discourse referents, content moving schemas and attention directing schemas are encapsulated within spatially global and temporally present dimensions. In this scenes-and-episodes adaptation of deictic space modelling, the CONTAINER schema is depicted as topologically encompassing all previous schemas and contents.

Within the first sentence of the manifesto Weatherman open the first scene in mental space, which includes a location, time, main actors and primary schematic relations. Simulating the episode, both in/outgroup identities are moving toward one another with the intention of counteracting the other. In the Weatherman worldview, 'revolutionary peoples' must confront and eventually overwhelm this imperial COUNTERFORCE so that potential ingroup actions can move forward unimpeded.

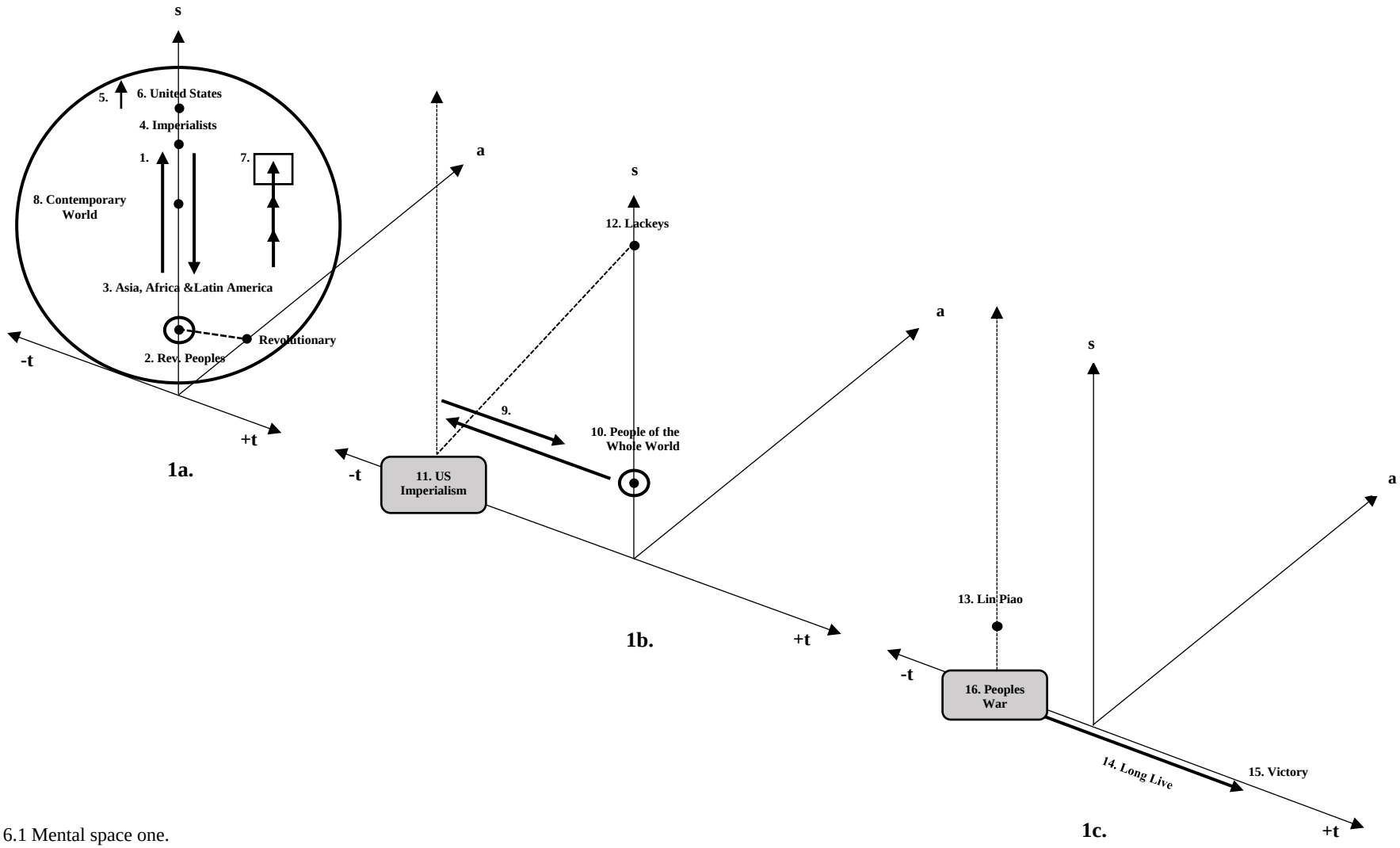


Figure 6.1 Mental space one.

6.1.2 One b

(9) The development of this contradiction **<COUNTERFORCE>** is promoting the struggle **<ENABLEMENT/PATH>**
(10) of the people of the whole **<PART-WHOLE>** world **<GOAL/AGENT>**
(11) against US imperialism **<AGENT>**
(12) and its lackeys." **<AGENT>**

Sentence (2) continues to construe the geopolitical situation with the use of the COUNTERFORCE schema. With the verb 'promoting', the writing collective cue an ENABLEMENT schema, indicating that the force on the side of the ingroup is moving further (or faster) than that of the outgroup. In order to capture the construal of 'promoting the struggle', I depict the force vector starting from the ingroup location on the s-axis as being more expansive and moving further toward the outgroup mindset 'US imperialism'. In contrast, the outgroup vector is represented as shorter, not quite able to reach the ingroup. This 'development' of the COUNTERFORCE relation comes through a promotion of global revolutionary struggle, where revolutionary youth in the US actively take up the concerns of international people. Therefore, 'promoting' construes the episode as ingroup movement achieving the most distance and thereby coming to impact the outgroup ideology. When coming across the word 'struggle' or 'revolution' in the text, if it is identified as a proper noun naming a particular social movement or people group it is located on the s-axis as an identity and the force schema is ignored (e.g. 'National Liberation Struggle', 'reactionary forces' or 'revolution'). Hence, these terms will be located along the s-axis when they are found to reside in the subject position. However, if these same words are used as predicates they will be represented with vectors to indicate movement of actors or objects through conceptual space.

In 1b 'revolutionary peoples' on the s-axis have been expanded in the PART-WHOLE construal to include 'people of the whole world'. This construal of a WHOLE indicates that the entirety of world peoples are involved in this forceful exchange, not just a select few radicals. However, the COUNTERFORCE schema swivels from the s-axis (1a) to the t-axis (1b), so that the world's people on the spatial axis are conceptualised as struggling against an ideological mindset located on the -t-axis. The ingroup noun phrase indicates a spatial origin ('the people of the whole world'), while the outgroup 'US imperialism' (as an ideological mindset or series of events) indicates a temporal origin. In construal, the reader must temporarily leave the COUNTERFORCE relation occurring along the socio-spatial axis and move to the very same schematic relation along the temporal axis. Since the worldview of 'US imperialism' originated in time past, I model the COUNTERFORCE relation in mental space as being projected from the past into the present, where global masses are currently engaged in a struggle with a systematic body of First World doctrines.

Weatherman introduce another socio-spatial outgroup relation in 1b, which is linked to the ideological worldview 'US imperialism', calling its willing adherents 'lackeys'. Hence, allies of American imperialists are represented as servants or footmen who act in a servile manner and are regarded as lower on a SCALE of social status. 'Lackeys' being construed at a lower social position (DOWN) reinforces the SCALE schema encountered in 1a where the US is positioned at a higher level (UP). Here, the Weatherman collective are establishing a social hierarchy from their relative deictic centre. 'Lackeys' are connected

to ‘US imperialism’ with a dashed line indicating attributive relations between an outgroup mindset located on the -t-axis and an outgroup social role occupying a distal relation along the s-axis. Again, the ingroup ‘people of the whole world’ are construed with the use of a PART-WHOLE schema and locked in COUNTERFORCE opposition, while outgroup members are represented via a SCALE schema within a strict hierarchy of political relations.

6.1.3 One c

(13) --Lin Piao,
(14) Long Live **<PATH>**
(15) the Victory of **<GOAL>**
(16) People's War! **<AGENT>**

Sentence (3) indicates that the preceding text is a quote, attributing it to Lin Piao. Weatherman end this opening paragraph with a slogan of the Red Guard Movement, which, at the time, were still highly active during their manifesto’s distribution at the 1969 SDS convention. At the end of this introductory quote, the reader encounters the first PATH schema in the text, which is captured in a protest slogan acting here as a revolutionary salutation. However, the A-P-G gestalt structure is not presented in sequential order to the reader. Instead of being arranged in a conventional schematic ordering, we find that the PATH (‘long live’) is encountered first, the GOAL (‘victory’) next and the AGENT (‘people’s war’) last. This indicates that different portions of the gestalt structure can be processed in differing orders and yet the basic meaning is preserved. The verb ‘live’ cueing the PATH schema may come first in this slogan in order to emphasize the action, foregrounding the middle portion of the gestalt. After this rather abstract PATH is conceptualised, the ingroup mindset ‘people’s war’ is positioned as the AGENT, which moves forward through time. In the mental space diagram, I have drawn the tail of the vector as originating at the mindset ‘peoples war’ along the -t-axis moving toward a utopian space of ‘victory’ along the +t-axis.

A concept inspired by Marxist revolutionaries throughout the 20th century, a ‘people’s war’ is any war in which the common people understand themselves as fighting against their own ruling classes, who are often being funded by foreign aggressors. More specifically, a ‘people’s war’ is particular kind of ground war, where the civilian population decide to provide aid to their own civilian-soldiers on the grounds of national liberation. Fresh on the minds of the Weatherman collective would have been the successful Chinese (1949) and Cuban (1959) versions of ‘people’s war’, and the then still unfinished version happening in Vietnam (1975). In the Chinese context, this quote had the added implication of overthrowing any traditional institutions (e.g. religious, educational or governmental) that may be preserving traces of ideology sympathetic to capitalist class relations. The Red Guard Movement, made up mainly of Chinese youth, were demanding a temporary dictatorship of the working class. Therefore, the ingroup mindset ‘people’s war’ is placed in the location of AGENT, which moves along an inferred timeline toward the utopian GOAL of never-ending triumph.

Reviewing the imagistic configuration within mental space 1, the reader encounters three episodes simulated by COUNTERFORCE and PATH schemas all set within one consistent scenic CONTAINER (‘in the contemporary world’). Each of these local coherence relations occur within the duration of the opening and closing of one mental space, as all of these

schematic simulations are built in direct reference to one another. After this initial scene and episode sequence of the Lin Piao quote, mental space 1 closes and mental space 2 opens with a clean spatio-temporal background.

6.2 Mental space two

6.2.1 Two a

(17) People **<AGENT>**
(18) ask **<PATH>**,
(19) what is the nature of the revolution **<GOAL>**
(20) that we **<AGENT>**
(21) talk about? **<PATH-GOAL>**

Having introduced their geopolitical worldview with Lin Piao's description of global contradiction, Weatherman now speak in their own voice. They begin by posing a few fundamental questions to a bourgeoning-yet-ideologically-divided radical student movement. Not concerned with explicit scene setting, they move directly to episodic PATH sequences, leaving the reader to construct the surrounding scene implicitly. Moving from mental space 1 to 2 we find a shift in the main characters, leaving the international relations of 'revolutionaries' and 'imperialists' for domestic relations between the Weatherman faction of SDS ('we') and other American youths ('people'). Based on the abrupt character change between sentences (3) and (4), the reader realizes the scene has changed from an explicitly stated global time-space ('contemporary world') to an implicitly inferred internal America. In this new scene, episodic sequences have moved from the expansive COUNTERFORCE relations in mental space 1 to a series of short PATHS. Since no explicit scene is set at the opening of sentence (4), the reader must infer from participant information that the scene is set in the present, somewhere in the United States.

In mental space 2, Weatherman simulate a series of short PATH vectors in relation to an ingroup mindset ('revolution') situated at a medial location along the +t-axis. The first identity encountered is a medial relation on the s-axis ('people'). Based on the introduction of new local characters with questions relevant to the immediate US context, the reader can infer that these are American 'people'.With the A-P-G gestalt, now occurring in a conventional order this time, Weatherman position 'people' as AGENTS moving down a verbal PATH of asking what are the basic ingredients of this proposed home-grown 'revolution'. Using another PATH schema, Weatherman represent themselves in a verbal process as those who 'talk about' revolution. As the text unfolds, it becomes increasingly clear that this 'revolution' is a distinctly American revolution, one that has not yet been initiated. This is why 'revolution' is located along the +t-axis as an upcoming event. While 'people ask', the ingroup collective 'talk' revolution. Both of these present tense verbs are represented as PATHS moving from the temporal staring point of now into the immediate future. The implicit assumption is that these are American 'people' encountering the revolutionary 'we', and that this brand of domestic 'revolution' must in some way be connected to the global 'revolutionary peoples' and 'people's war' previously mentioned.

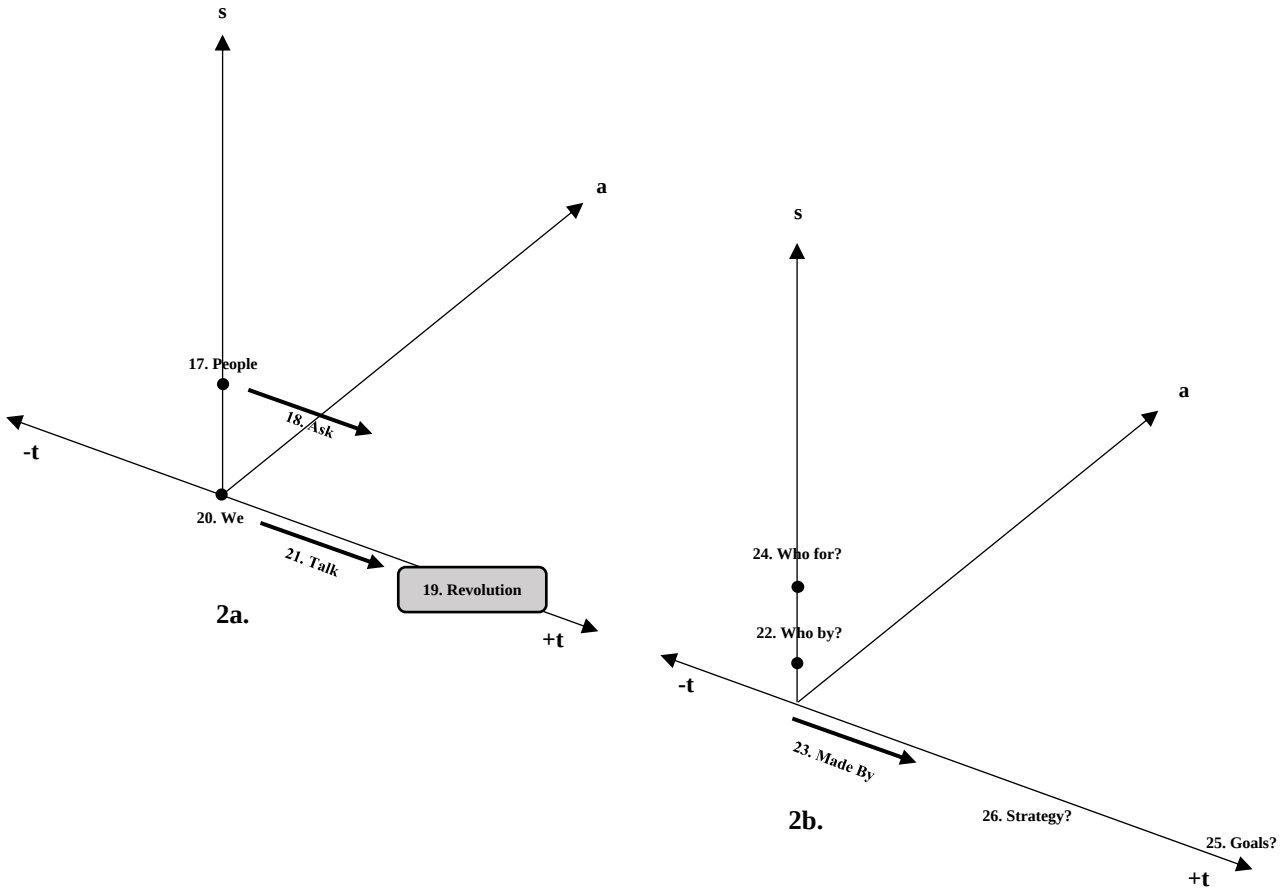


Figure 6.2 Mental space two.

6.2.2 Two b

(22) Who will it <**AGENT/GOAL**>
(23) be made by, <**PATH**>
(24) and for,
(25) and what are its goals <**AGENT/GOAL**>
(26) and strategy <**PATH**>?

In sentence (5), the reader finds a second series of questions posed. These are the main four questions Weatherman intend to answer quite straightforwardly in the remainder of the manifesto, which they place here in the mouths of a curious 'people'. Modeling these ontological questions, I place them at the appropriate locations within the geometric model. The ingroup is asking which political groups will come to fill the key coordinate locations on the s-axis. The questions 'Who by?' and 'Who for?' are pointing to vacant regions along the s-axis. The 'Who by?' question points to a location closer to the ingroup deictic centre as the answer to that question is, to some degree, Weatherman themselves. Remember, at the time Weatherman are organizing to lead a youth rebellion drawn primarily from lower working class high school and community college recruits. The question 'Who for?' points to a location on the s-axis further out relative to the ingroup centre, yet only slightly as they understood revolutionary action to be 'for' oppressed peoples. With unknown agent and recipient identities on the s-axis and unknown goals and strategies on the +t-axis, the writing collective is creating a mental space of unknowns. Those who will make the revolution must be located close to the deictic centre as Weatherman conceive of themselves as a revolutionary vanguard in waiting. The beneficiaries of future revolutionary activities are positioned at a proximal location along the s-axis. 'Who will it be made by?' indicates motion into an undetermined future evoking a PATH schema. This motion leads toward two unfilled locations on the +t-axis. The first location is an unknown 'strategy' location, which leads further down the timeline to an unknown 'goals' location. At this point in the text, the writers are simply pointing the reader to these coordinate locations as they are not yet occupied with contents. Pointing to locations along the +t-axis in mental space 2, Weatherman indicate that they intend to fill in the details of both short-term actions and long-range visions for a revolutionary student movement. Although there is no explicit scene setting in this mental space, the reader encounters three distinct episodes and is directed to different coordinate locations along the s and t-axes.

6.3 Mental space three

6.3.1 Three a

(27) The overriding consideration <**SCALE**>
(28) in answering these questions <**CONTAINER**>
(29) is that the main <**CENTRE-PERIPHERY**>
(30) struggle going on <**COUNTERFORCE**>
(31) in the world today <**CONTAINER**>
(32) is between US imperialism <**AGENT**>
(33) and the national liberation struggles <**AGENT**>
(34) against it. <**AGENT**>

At the beginning of sentence (6), Weatherman return to explicit scene setting. In contrast to mental space 1 where the episodic relations come first, mental space 3 opens with a CONTAINER schema setting the scene. By superimposing the SCALE schema (‘overriding consideration’) over the CONTAINER schema (‘in answering questions’), the reader is invited to ponder the previous questions posed in mental space 2 within a CONTAINER of contemplation. The SCALE schema, cued by the adjective ‘overriding’, indicates that this consideration is of uppermost importance.

Moving forward, the scene building in mental space 3 is accomplished through construing various discourse contents as being located within a series of four different CONTAINERS all in the span of one and a half sentences. As noted, the first CONTAINER comprises a space of ‘answering questions’. This can be understood as a consideration space, where the reader enters an enclosed region specifically designed for answering geopolitical questions international in scope. Reiterating schemas from the force domain involved in the first mental space, COUNTERFORCE, once again, becomes the relational focus between discourse entities. Recall the interactional relation the reader first encountered in mental space 1b between the outgroup mindset ‘US imperialism’ on the -t-axis and the ingroup identity ‘people of the whole world’ on the s-axis. Here in mental space 3a, the ingroup element is also located on the -t-axis, where ‘people of the whole world’ are now replaced with the ingroup mindset of ‘national liberation struggles’. With the adjective ‘main’, Weatherman evoke a CENTRE-PERIPHERY schema directing the reader’s attention to the CENTRE of the mental space in between two combating mindsets. After setting the initial in/outgroup relations, they are both positioned along the -t-axis inside of a second CONTAINER (‘in the world today’). In the mental space diagram, I have modelled the ‘world today’ CONTAINER as encompassed by the aforementioned ‘answering questions’ CONTAINER as this entire spatio-temporal location is encased within a more expansive consideration space. Within this secondary CONTAINER, the mindsets ‘US imperialism’ and ‘national liberation struggles’ are represented as a clash of ideological mindsets.

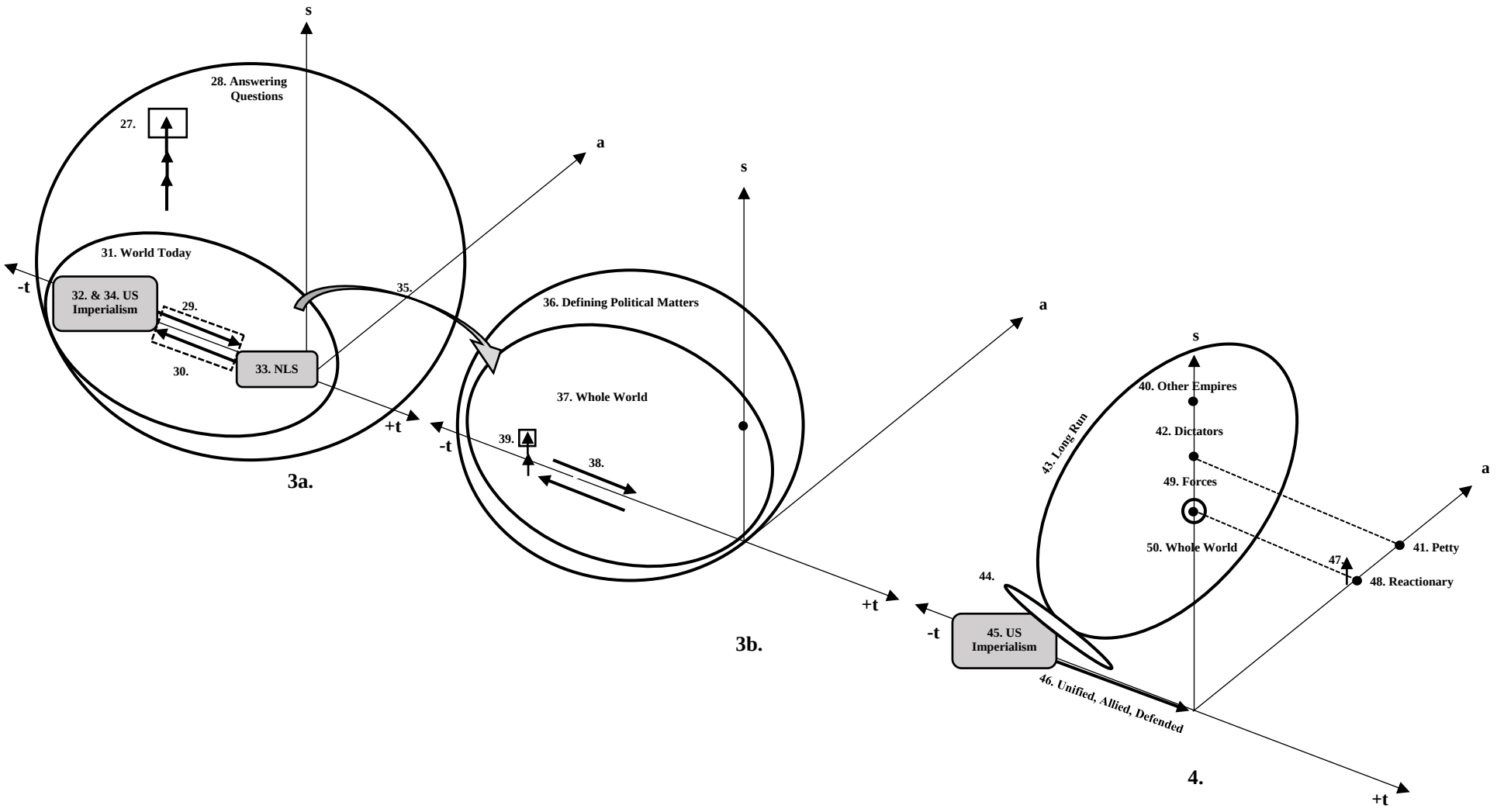


Figure 6.3 Mental spaces three and four.

6.3.2 Three b

(35) This is essential <**CENTRE-PERIPHERY**>
(36) in defining political matters <**CONTAINER**>
(37) in the whole world: <**CONTAINER/PART-WHOLE**>
(38) because it <**COUNTERFORCE**>
(39) is by far the most powerful, <**SCALE**>

Remember from Section 4.1 that every incoming mental space is being processed online as lexical and grammatical phrases are decoded and (re)constructed as an imagistic conceptualisation. In contrast to what the reader has witnessed so far, where mental space openings and closings have been consistent with the syntactical beginnings and endings of sentences, the beginning of sentence (7) leaves open the mental space from the previous sentence by directly referencing it ('this is essential'). The space building CONTAINERS from sentence (6), which are explicitly linked through the demonstrative 'this', demands immediate recall of what has just been conceptualised. With this rhetorical move, the writers place mental space 3a within a new CONTAINER of definition in 3b ('in defining political matters'). In the deictic modelling, I have indicated this spatial transition with a curved vector indicating that the previous consideration space is superimposed over this incoming definitional space. Therefore, the arched arrow moving from 3a to 3b indicates that the CENTRE-PERIPHERY schema evoked by the noun 'essential', places the previous two CONTAINERS in a central location within the new definition space. Similar to 3a, the conceptualisation in 3b positions the PERIPHERY of the space as a region of internal decision, while the geopolitical struggle is still located at the CENTRE of attention. Afterwards, the last geo-spatial CONTAINER opens up ('in the whole world'), construed as an inner bounded region represented as a WHOLE.

To review, in mental space 3 the reader experiences four contained spaces beginning with a consideration space ('in answering questions') and a geo-temporal space ('in world today'). Then the reader moves back to a more internal reasoning space ('in defining political matters'), and eventually back to being contained in a vast geographical space ('in whole world'). Weatherman end mental space 3b directing the reader's attention to the CENTRE of the space by referring back to the COUNTERFORCE schema in 3a. The writers point back to this previous notion of struggle by saying that 'it [the main struggle] is by far the most powerful'. In so doing, the reader is invited to end this particular scene by conceptualising a SCALE schema in the UP position. In total, mental space 3 is simulated as an internal scene of questioning, to an external spatio-temporal scene, to an episode of opposing relations, back to an internal scene of definition and lastly to a spatially external scene.

6.4 Mental space four

(40) every other empire <**PART-WHOLE**>
(41) and petty <**SCALE**>
(42) dictator <**AGENT**>
(43) is in the long run <**CONTAINER/PATH**>
(44) dependent on <**SURFACE**>
(45) US imperialism <**GOAL/AGENT**>
(46) which has unified, allied with, and defended <**PATH**>
(47) all of the <**PART-WHOLE**>

(48) reactionary
(49) forces <**GOAL**>
(50) of the whole world. <**PART-WHOLE**>

In the second half of sentence (7), mental space 3 closes and the reader departs with a mixture of internal and global scenes conceptualised within multiple CONTAINERS. Opening mental space 4, the authors' introduce a new CONTAINER entitled 'the long run'. 'Long run', an informal expression, is meant to indicate something happening over a long period of time. Another indicator that a new scene is being opened is the introduction of the new characters 'other empires' and 'petty dictators', which are placed directly in the explicitly metaphorical 'long run' CONTAINER. Evaluations are located on the a-axis coming in the form of adjectival modifiers of outgroup identities, as can be seen with the labels 'petty' and 'reactionary'. The s and a-axes are closely related and the further distance away from the ingroup deictic centre the outgroup identity is located, the worse subjective evaluation they receive.

The setting of this new scene is accomplished by superimposing a PATH schema ('long run') over a CONTAINER ('in') schema. This combination of fundamental schemas construes the scene as being located in the midst of an action, where various outgroup identities are placed within a CONTAINER schema acting as a bounded region along the -t-axis. Being 'in' the long run must mean that these outgroup identities are actually moving along a PATH to the destination of having to be continually 'dependent on US imperialism'. Being dependent 'on' indicates that outgroup members are not only traveling within this CONTAINER/PATH topological fusion, but are also resting on the SURFACE of 'US imperialism'. With this construal, the reader infers that this SURFACE must be the boundary of 'US imperialism' as a CONTAINED categorical entity. In the deictic model, this outgroup mindset is positioned distally on the -t-axis augmented by a SURFACE schema, upon which the CONTAINER/PATH ('in long run') is resting.

The next PATH of action, cued by a series of past tense verbs 'unified, allied and defended', construes the entire episode as a number of outgroups hitching a ride on top of the US imperialist mindset from time past into the present.[29] Coming to a PART-WHOLE schema, 'all' indicates that the US is responsible for carrying every single 'reactionary force' into the future. Specifically, Weatherman are speaking of 'reactionaries' as those foreign governments who are seeking to resist local revolutionaries. Thus, mental space 4 is a scene of dependence by opportunistic dictators, who are being carried along by US imperial ideology.

To review, in mental space 1a, the reader encounters the opening scene ('contemporary world') and in 1b and 1c episodes are superimposed within the scene. In mental space 2, the scene was implied (a university somewhere in North America) with the execution of three (verbal) action vectors. Mental spaces 3a and 3b are explicitly connected syntactically, yet the scene continuously moves in between internal deliberation spaces and geopolitical spaces. There is a complex arrangement here in setting the scene as mental space 3a is placed within 3b. Mental space 3b contains no trace of independent episodic action or evaluation, and actually relies on the previous episodic action

29 I want to acknowledge the fact that all three of these verbs simulating the PATH of the outgroup possess important motion and force schematic structures themselves ('unified'- ATTRACTION schema, 'allied'- MERGING schema and 'defended'- BLOCKAGE schema). All of these schemas work together to provide conceptual structure as the reader seeks to comprehend the situation. However, since I am most concerned to show local coherence relations between discourse contents in socio-spatial, temporal and evaluative space, I opt to depict these actions as one compact vector.

encountered in 3a (COUNTERFORCE). Mental space 4 construes the scene as a temporal CONTAINER ('in the long run') resting upon an outgroup ideological worldview ('US imperialism') intent to move a cohort of outgroup members into the future. Considering the inner-relations of the various mental spaces so far, it seems that multiple scenes and episodes can be set up in a solitary sentence or be spread out amongst two to three sentences before the image-schematic simulation of one mental space is completed. This means that the opening and closing of mental spaces may be directly tied to the changing of scenes (e.g. location, time, characters, objects and circumstances) and episodes (e.g. actions, evaluations, goals and results) within a stretch of discourse. After considering mental spaces 1 through 4, a conventional pattern of mental space construction is beginning to emerge. At the beginning of a sentence a scene is set, and as the sentence progresses an episode is superimposed as being within (or in direct reference to) the constructed scene. Usually after the scenic background is established, episodic relations are unleashed, where action along the t-axis occurs.

6.5 Mental space five

6.5.1 Five a

(51) Thus, in considering **<CONTAINER>**
(52) every other force or phenomenon **< PART-WHOLE/ENABLEMENT>**,
(53) from Soviet imperialism
(54) or Israeli imperialism
(55) to "workers struggle"
(56) in France or Czechoslovakia **<CONTAINER>**

Sentence (8) begins with a space builder CONTAINER encapsulating the reader inside another internal thinking space. This is a CONTAINER of consideration, where the reader is invited to think carefully about both imperial and revolutionary situations before making a decision about taking sides. This consideration CONTAINER prompts the reader to recall previous mental spaces that construe the United States as high on a social SCALE of power, in constant COUNTERFORCE relations with revolutionaries, and carrying all other imperialist-minded groups on the SURFACE of its ideological agenda. Thus mental space 5 opens with setting an internal scene, where the time of consideration is occurring in the midst of Third World revolutionary activity against imperialism.

The first episode in mental space 5 is cued by the lexis 'force' evoking an ENABLEMENT schema. The ENABLEMENT schema is understood as a force vector with a current absence of BLOCKAGE or COUNTERFORCE reactions from opposing groups. At this point in the text, the reader is introduced to three new ideological mindsets on the -t-axis that move from distal to proximal locations relative to the ingroup deictic centre. The ENABLEMENT schema, evoked just before the naming of these three mindsets ('Soviet imperialism', 'Israeli imperialism' and 'worker's struggle'), construes these three ideological systems as moving forward through time. In the mental space diagram, this is represented as a motion vector traveling from the past into the present. Moving sequentially from the most distal ideological system to the most proximal, the reader at last approaches 'workers struggle'. However, in contrast to the outgroup ideologies, which are simulated in forward motion, the last ideology 'workers struggle' is construed as being CONTAINED within the nation-states of 'France' and 'Czechoslovakia' along the s-axis.

6.5.2 Five b

(57) we **<AGENT>**
(58) determine **<PATH>**
(59) who are our friends **<GOAL>**
(60) and who are our enemies **<GOAL>**

After setting up a new scene in mental space 5a, the authors begin simulating movement between discourse contents in order to construe four consecutive episodes. Mental space 5 opens with bounded spaces of consideration and geographical regions providing the setting for social identities, relevant mindsets and for the relations holding between them. Now the reader is brought into an episode where the central ingroup declare their first strategic action. Moving from the three ideological mindsets located on the -t-axis, the action of determining 'friends' and 'enemies' is happening in the present. The mental process vectors, cued by the present tense verb 'determine', are placed in the immediate future with the ingroup as AGENT ('we'). This AGENT moves along a PATH of decision toward the GOAL of determining which political groups should be located in more proximal or distal locations along the identity coordinates of the s-axis. So in 5b, the reader's attention is drawn to particular regions on the s-axis, starting from the ingroup deictic centre with those socially close ('friends') and moving toward the distal end of the scale ('enemies'). Here a crucial determination is being made about where Weatherman will conceptually locate other relevant socio-political groups in relation to their own deictic centre.

6.5.3 Five c

(61) according to whether they **<AGENT>**
(62) help **<PATH>**
(63) US imperialism **<GOAL>**
(64) or fight **<COUNTERFORCE/PATH>**
(65) to defeat it. **<GOAL>**

Weatherman is inviting the reader to join with them in determining which social groups will be considered 'friends' or 'enemies' based on their stance toward contemporary colonial rebellions. The prepositional phrase 'according to' sets up the next action sequence in which proximal and distal geopolitical relations will be determined. Enemies are located first as those who 'help' imperialist ideology. Here, the world population is strictly divided into two types of people. There are those who take the PATH of helping US imperialism to succeed and those who take part in a struggle to defeat it. The GOAL of the imperial helpers does not appear in the text and therefore must be implied as something like those who help imperialism *to succeed*. In contrast, the GOAL of those who 'fight' imperialism is explicitly 'to defeat' it. Those social identities who Weatherman consider proximal now become explicitly associated with the COUNTERFORCE schema. So far, COUNTERFORCE has been the primary schema employed in setting up social relations as a highly polarised in/outgroup dynamic. Here in 5c, a COUNTERFORCE schema cued by the verb 'fight' is superimposed over the PATH slot and moves the reader to consider who will be included in a broader ingroup coalition.

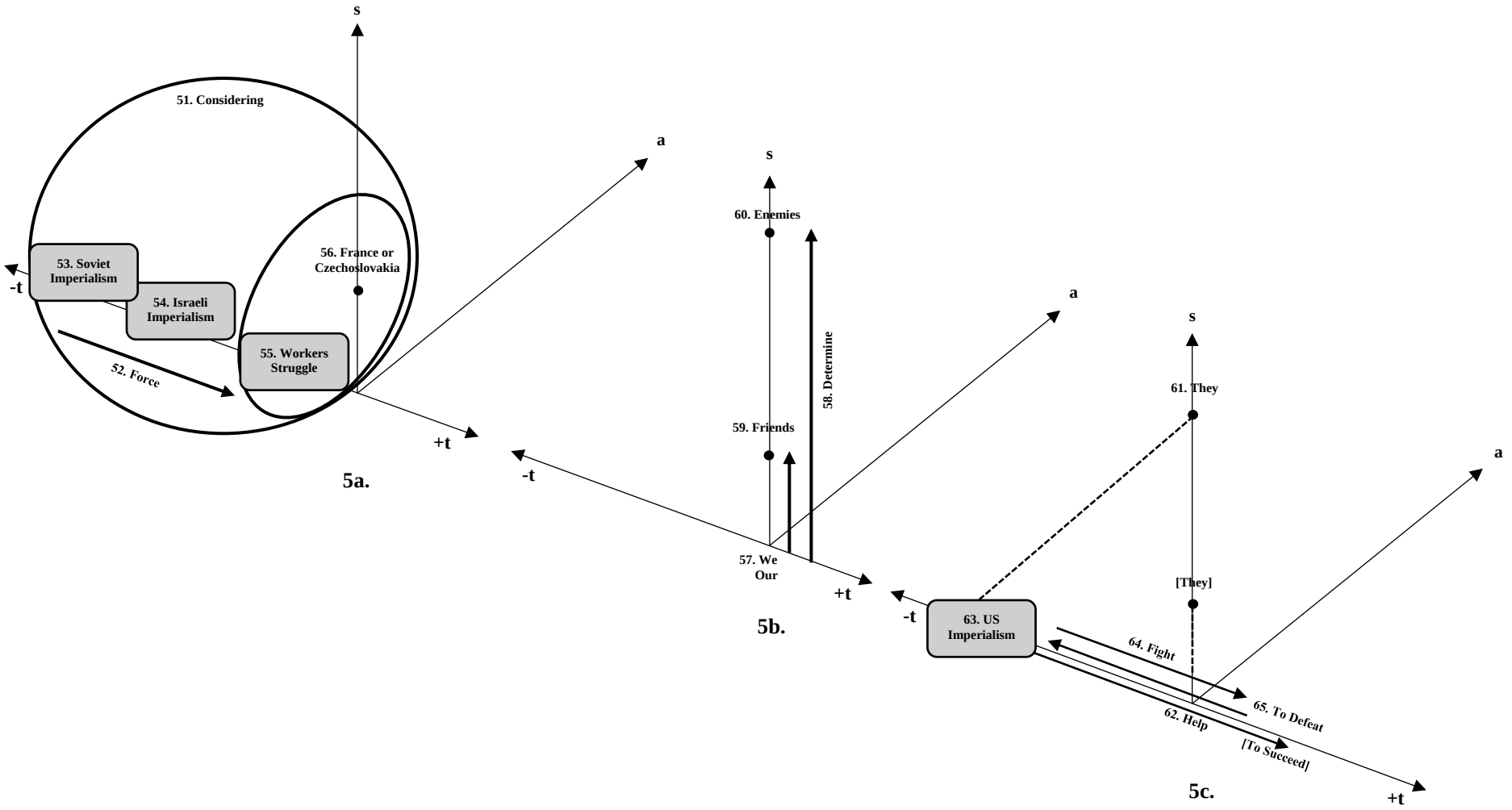


Figure 6.4 Mental space five.

The GOAL is ‘to defeat’ this powerful outgroup ideological mindset. To review, mental space 5 begins by setting the scene as an internal consideration space, which holds various ideological systems and particular geographic regions of revolutionary resistance. After the scene is set, the authors’ execute a series of four episodes with decisions being made about social relationships and future actions toward relevant political groups.

6.6 Mental space six

6.6.1 Six a

(66) So the very first question **<SCALE/GOAL>**
(67) people **<AGENT>**
(68) in this country **<CONTAINER>**
(69) must ask **<PATH>**
(70) in considering the question **<CONTAINER>**
(71) of revolution

With continuous use of the SCALE schema (already encountered in the UP position five times), the rhetoric of Weatherman is infused with a sense of urgency as everything the reader must consider doing is of utmost importance. In mental space 6, the SCALE schema opens up sentence (9) with the adjective ‘first’. Again, Weatherman utilize the generic ‘people’, first introduced in mental space 2 (‘people ask’), to indicate the American public in general. ‘People’ are here CONTAINED in a geopolitical region (‘in this country’). Since Weatherman are writing mainly to American college students, ‘this country’ is automatically assumed to be referring to the United States. In this instance, the ‘people’ CONTAINED in the United States on the s-axis are called upon to act. This call to action is conceptualised with the use of a PATH schema prompted by the deontic verb phrase ‘must ask’. Weatherman’s ‘question’ is to be pondered in a CONTAINER of consideration (‘in considering’). The ideological mindset of a potential American ‘revolution’ is positioned on the +t-axis, as the question concerns whether or not to begin hyper-subversive activity against the government at some point in the future.

6.6.2 Six b

(72) is where they **<AGENT>**
(73) stand in relation to **<LINK>**
(74) the United States **<GOAL>**
(75) as an oppressor **<ENABLEMENT>**
(76) nation, **<GOAL>**

In mental space 6b, ‘they’, the American people CONTAINED in both geopolitical and consideration spaces, are invited to actively ponder proximal and distal identities on the s-axis. This is accomplished with the use of two LINK schemas, where the undecided American reader should consider his or her ideological position in comparison to other

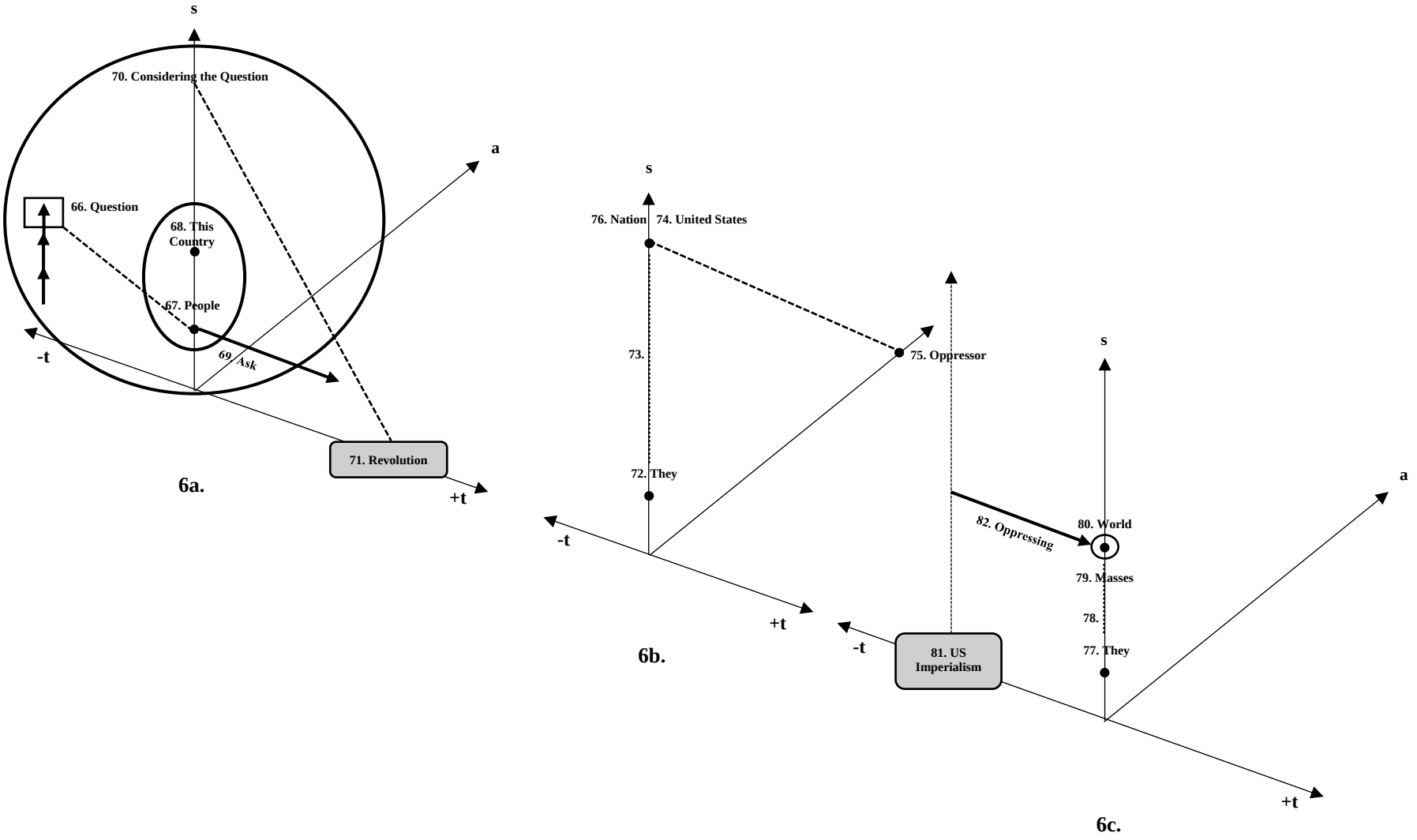


Figure 6.5 Mental space six.

groups. The LINK schema, evoked by the prepositional phrase ‘in relation to’, simulates an embodied understanding of either being connected to or disconnected from the proposed in/outgroup identities. Directly following this question, both socio-spatial and axiological axes are co-activated, when the ‘United States’ receives the evaluation of being an ‘oppressor nation’. According to Weatherman, it is the outgroup role ‘US imperialists’ or the ideological mindset ‘US imperialism’ that is carrying out a programmatic oppression of the world. Weatherman are intent to point out that this oppression is being accomplished without any ingroup strategies creating barriers in order to stop this unethical activity from continuing.

6.6.3 Six c

(77) and where they **<AGENT>**
(78) stand in relation to **<LINK>**
(79) the masses of people **<GOAL>**
(80) throughout the world **<SURFACE>**
(81) whom US imperialism **<AGENT>**
(82) is oppressing **<PATH>**.

The second half of the question, in mental space 6c, cues the LINK schema once more as Americans must also determine where they are located ‘in relation to’ world masses. The preposition ‘throughout’ prompts the reader to simulate a SURFACE schema, where world masses are construed as being scattered around the globe. The social category indicated by the noun phrase ‘masses of people’ is passive and is mainly defined by what actions are being taken against it. Weatherman construe the ideological mindset ‘US imperialism’ on the -t-axis as moving toward the ingroup (‘oppressing’). Here, Weatherman are drawing binary lines in the sand, where, as an American, you can choose either to be on the side of ‘US imperialism’ or on the side of ‘the masses of people’ who are being oppressed.

In summary, mental space 6 opens with two CONTAINERS, a nation-state scene which becomes engulfed by an internal consideration scene. There are two PATH sequences indicating movement of verbal (‘ask’) and material (‘oppressing’) episodes, while usage of the LINK schema directs the reader’s attention to different coordinate locations along the s-axis.

6.7 Mental space seven

6.7.1 Seven a

(83) The primary task **<SCALE>**
(84) of revolutionary struggle **<COUNTERFORCE/AGENT>**

Leaving the consideration space of mental space 6, in sentence (10) the reader encounters a situation with no explicit scene given similar to mental space 2. In 7a, the ingroup collective are ready to spell out the ‘primary task of revolutionary struggle’. By opening mental space 7 with ‘revolutionary struggle’, the appropriate scenic background is recalled from mental space 1, where the writers make use of the same force relations between key political identities. Mental space 1 contains the exact same topological combination of SCALE (‘principle’) and COUNTERFORCE schemas (‘contradiction’). In

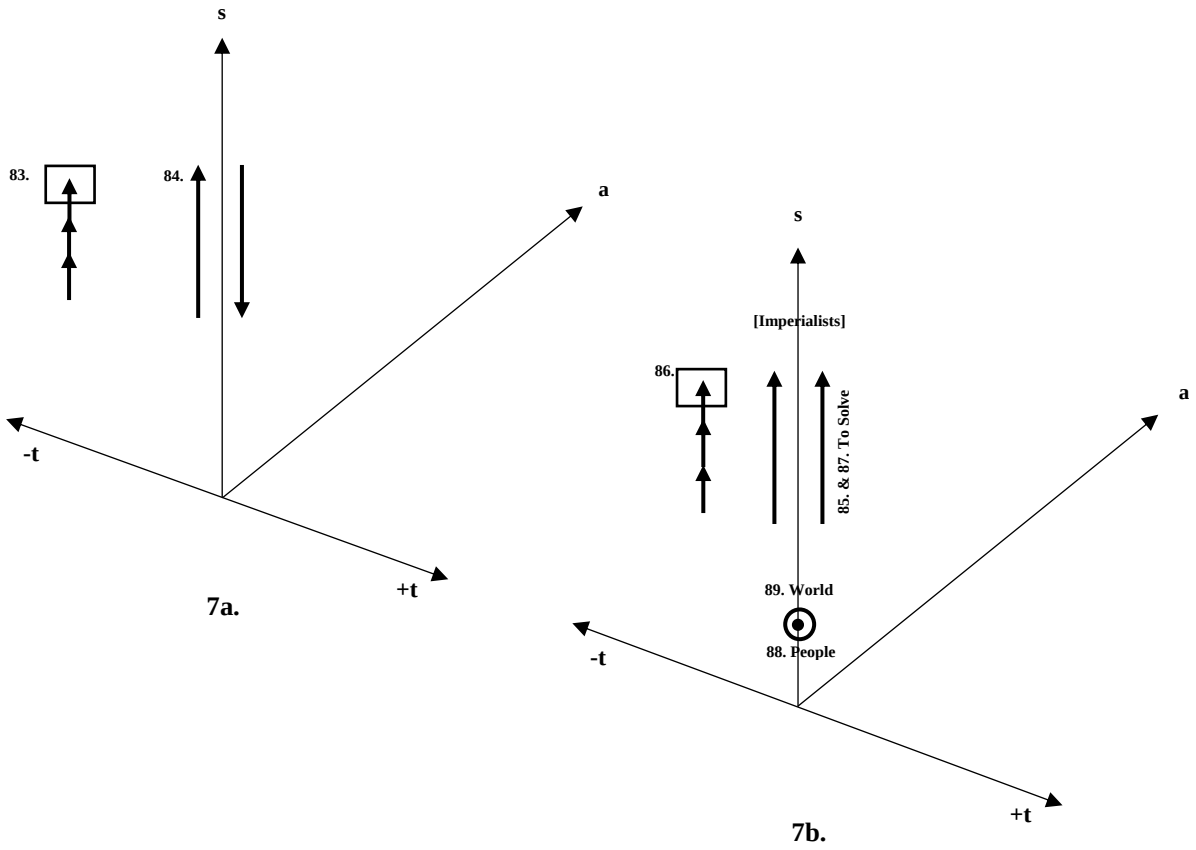


Figure 6.6 Mental space seven.

mental space 1, this 'principle contradiction' is placed in the expansive spatio-temporal CONTAINER 'contemporary world'. Here in both mental spaces 7 and 8, this CONTAINER may be recalled from mental space 1 by way of pointing back with the same topological relations. To be clear, I am saying that the force-dynamic relations between geopolitical identities in mental space 7 were first encountered in mental space 1 and that the memory of this repetitive structure may also recall the original space builder of where and when this schematic relation was first encountered in the text.

6.7.2 Seven b

(85) is to solve **<PATH>**
(86) this principal contradiction **<SCALE/COUNTERFORCE>**
(87) on the side of **<BALANCE>**
(88) the people **<GOAL>**
(89) of the world. **<PART-WHOLE>**

In the Weatherman text, the purpose of continually introducing COUNTERFORCE schemas is to construe the geopolitical situation as one where no one side is able to gain a complete advantage over the other. In 7b, this constant 'contradiction' becomes resolved with the help of both a PATH and a BALANCE schema. Weatherman mean to intensify this COUNTERFORCE relation between imperialists and world peoples, where the present tense verb 'solve' indicates movement along a PATH. A BALANCE schema, prompted by the prepositional phrase 'on the side of', augments this PATH so that the projected mental image is of American revolutionaries joining world peoples by positioning themselves on their side of the s-axis. The PATH is to forcefully tilt this two-way BALANCE to the ingroup's advantage, where the people end up on top and where imperial sympathizers decline. The outgroup goes unmentioned, but based on the scene being recalled from mental space 1, the reader may also infer the distal identity relation to be 'imperialists'.

The configuration of construal relations make it necessary to draw 7b separately from 7a, despite the fact sentence (10) has a comparatively low number of interacting schemas. During the simulation, the PATH ('to solve') is understood in light of a BALANCE schema ('on the side of'), so that the PATH leads to tipping the equilibrium previously maintained by roughly equal amounts of conflicting force indicated by the COUNTERFORCE schema. I model this schematic movement with two opposing vectors conflicting in 7a, yet in 7b I depict the vectors as moving in the same direction. This is meant to indicate that the BALANCE is now in favour of the proximal relations ('people of the world'). In mental space 7 the scene is inferred, with two episodic relations including a COUNTERFORCE tension between global social identities and a PATH/BALANCE topological combination construing an episode beneficial to Weatherman allies.

6.8 Mental space eight

6.8.1 Eight a

(90) It is the oppressed **<ENABLEMENT>**
(91) peoples **<AGENT>**
(92) of the world **<PART-WHOLE>**
(93) who have created <**PATH**>
(94) the wealth of this empire **<GOAL>**
(95) and it is to them that it belongs **<PATH/GOAL>**

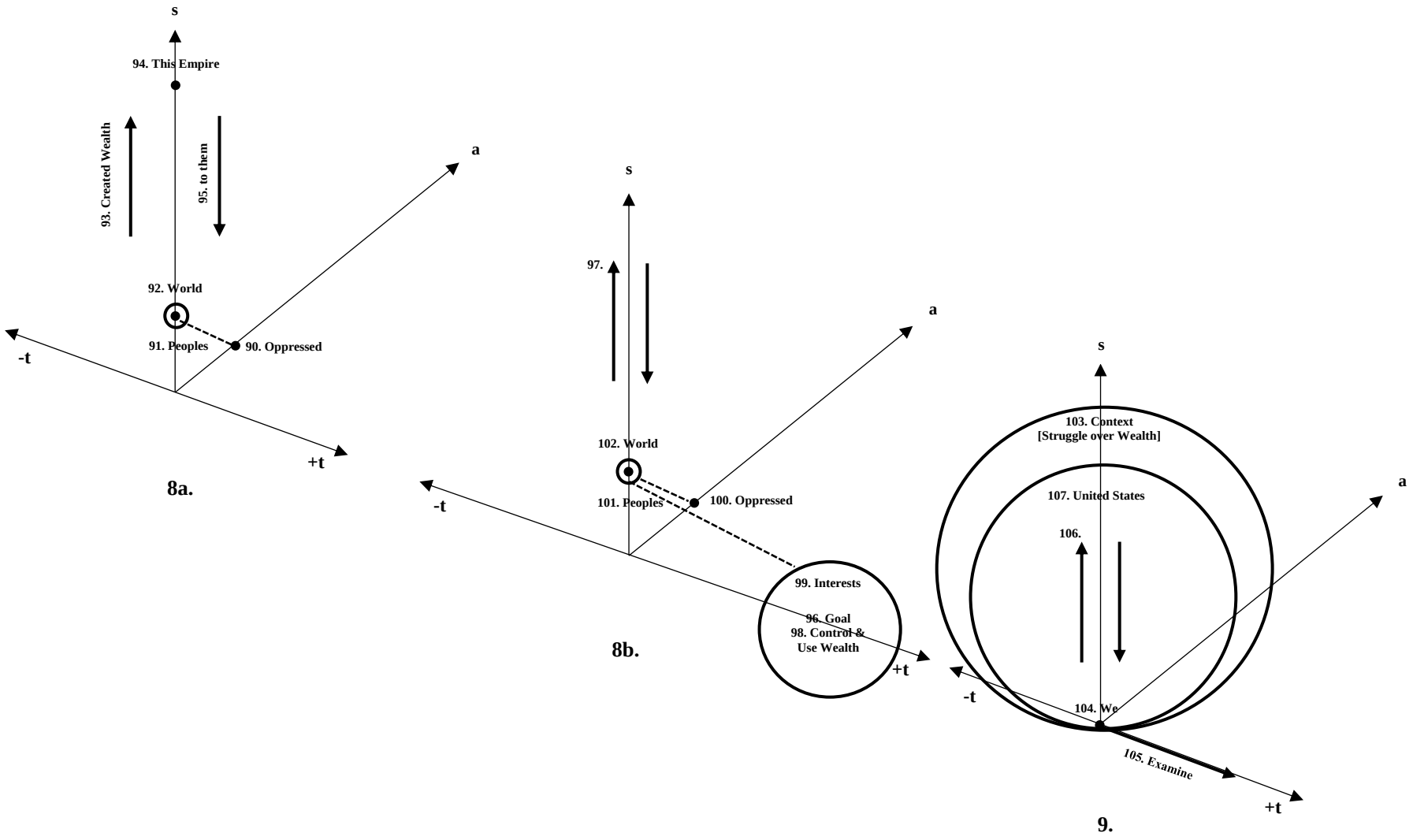


Figure 6.7 Mental spaces eight and nine.

Mental space 8 continues expanding upon the inferred scene in mental space 7, which assumes a global arena of activity. Although this global scene has not explicitly changed between mental space 7 and 8, I still understand the mental spaces to have closed and opened anew because novel actors and episodic relations come to fill the commonly inferred time-space between the two mental spaces. Mental space 8 opens up with an evaluation proximal to the deictic centre cued by the adjective 'oppressed', where 'oppressed peoples of the world' are construed in an ENABLEMENT/ AGENT/ PART-WHOLE topological combination. In the AGENT slot are 'oppressed peoples' represented as creators. Again, the Weatherman collective are taking cues from young revolutionaries in China known as the Red Guard. In the Red Guard manifesto, colloquially known as the 'Little Red Book', one of the main themes about 'the masses' is their unlimited creative potential. This manifesto claimed that if the upper classes would remove material constraints on the working class, boundless energy could be unleashed and harnessed for greatness. The same assumptions about the masses are in play in the Weatherman text. Like their Chinese counter-parts, Weatherman understood themselves as a Marxist-Leninist cadre, who were destined to redistribute wealth to the lower classes.

There is a continuity between the inferred scenes in mental spaces 7 and 8, and to some degree the actors correspond as well (e.g. 'world people' to 'oppressed people'). However, there are completely novel episodic relations holding between political identities, which calls for the opening of a new mental space. Assuming the 'contemporary world' scene from mental space 1 (and 7), mental space 8 is first concerned to construe two episodes. The first episode has occurred in the recent past where 'created wealth' moves away from the axiological-spatial referent 'oppressed peoples' toward 'this empire'. Hence, 'oppressed peoples' energies are being used up in generating an abundance of valuable possessions for the beneficiaries of empire positioned as GOAL. 'Created' is a past tense verb locating the vector along the -t-axis, and is moving toward distal relations on the s-axis indicating the transference of 'wealth' from one social group to another. Immediately after evoking a PATH of wealth moving toward the outgroup, Weatherman construe the monetary object with the prepositional phrase 'to them that it belongs' (PATH) as hypothetically moving back down the s-axis to its original starting point at 'oppressed people' (GOAL).

6.8.2 Eight b

(96) the goal of **<GOAL>**
(97) the revolutionary struggle **<COUNTERFORCE>**
(98) must be the control and use of this wealth **<PATH-GOAL>**
(99) in the interests **<CONTAINER>**
(100) of the oppressed **<ENABLEMENT>**
(101) peoples
(102) of the world. **<PART-WHOLE>**

In 8b, Weatherman begin to answer some of the questions they posed at the beginning of the manifesto in mental space 2, explicitly stating that the GOAL of the revolutionary struggle 'must be the control and use of this wealth…[for] the oppressed'. In this case, the PATH and GOAL portions of the A-P-G gestalt are present without the AGENT portion. In the mental space diagram, I represent this long term GOAL as being placed inside a CONTAINER of 'interests', which is an internally bounded region where international monetary needs are elevated over strictly nationalistic concerns. From Weatherman's

perspective, international ‘struggle’ is propelling a new breed of American revolutionaries to seize control of economic processes. ‘Oppressed peoples of the world’ is repeated again as a PART-WHOLE identification and is connected to the far away GOAL position along the +t-axis. This utopian GOAL is an aspirational state-of-being, in which local revolutionaries seize control of the US economic system and use it in the interest of Third World peoples. Mental space 8, while taking on the scene first inferred in mental space 7, presents three new episodes where an object (‘wealth’) is moving between political identities along the s-axis.

6.9 Mental space nine

(103) It is in this context **<CONTAINER>**
(104) that we **<AGENT>**
(105) must examine **<PATH>**
(106) the revolutionary struggles **<COUNTERFORCE>**
(107) in the United States. **<CONTAINER/GOAL>**

The scene in mental space 9 opens up with the use of two CONTAINER schemas. Beginning sentence (12), Weatherman employ a contextual CONTAINER (‘in this context’), causing the reader to recall the global revolutionary struggle, the need to organize within America and the intention to seize control of imperial ‘wealth’ in order to accomplish a generous global redistribution scheme. The prepositional phrase ‘in this context’ is a way to quickly recall and reinforce previous mental spaces encoded in the text thus far. These previous mental spaces act as the circumstances forming the broader setting for upcoming mental spaces, which are about to switch from an international to a domestic arena. Hence, the phrase ‘in this context’ expresses something that is always implicitly assumed, which is the immediately preceding series of mental spaces provide the most constricting terms for comprehending the space currently being construed.

The discreet AGENT ‘people’, used previously in mental space 2 to set up a hypothetical character who is curious to learn about revolutionary ideology, is now replaced with the more inclusive ‘we’. This invites American readers to consider themselves as occupying the deictic centre with Weatherman. Drawing the reader away from the international stage to the domestic political arena, Weatherman insist ‘we must examine revolutionary struggles in the US’. In this geopolitical CONTAINER the reader is forcefully demanded by the deontic modal (‘must’) to examine COUNTERFORCE relations currently underway within the US. With the phrase ‘revolutionary struggles’, Weatherman are referencing both the progress of the civil rights movement in the southern states and national protests over America’s war in Vietnam. Many activists participating in the New Left were convinced that Vietnam was no war, but a colonial project perpetuated in order to establish dominance over the region under the guise of fighting communism (see Section 2.2).

All considered, mental space 9 opens with the scene of a previous ‘context’ of global struggle over wealth, then directs the reader’s attention into a CONTAINER of local struggles within the US. A COUNTERFORCE schema sets the oppositional relations between unnamed in/outgroups, while the reader is exhorted to go down the mental PATH of examining the merit of domestic protest activities.

6.10 Mental space ten

6.10.1 Ten a

(108) We are within **<CONTAINER>**
(109) the heartland **<CENTRE-PERIPHERY>**
(110) of a worldwide **<SURFACE>**
(111) monster,

Mental space 9 was a transitional mental space in terms of moving the scene from a global to a domestic one. The opening scene in mental space 10 builds on the scene encountered in mental space 9 where the reader is in the US, yet points to an even more specific location. This more precise setting involves a frame-based metaphor, where America is described as a large, frightening creature able to extend its reach throughout the globe. However, instead of considering metaphorical mappings of one entire domain (SOURCE: a physical monster) onto another (TARGET: macroeconomics), in this schematic analysis I am interested in one-to-one mappings of image schema and how they build coherent situations in the reader's mind. In Section 5.1.2, I discussed how individual image schemas are involved in constructing scenes and episodes during construal. With the analysis here, I am mainly interested in exploring how these cognitive operations build, move content throughout and direct attention within mental spaces.

In mental space 10, Weatherman describe the internal relations of the US government and its people. The scene opens with the ingroup positioned in the CENTRE of a 'worldwide monster'. Again, Weatherman utilize the inclusive 'we', indicating that all Americans are in this situation together. The ingroup are construed as being CONTAINED 'within' the most vital organ ('heart') of the American body politic. In the deictic space model, I depict the CENTRE-PERIPHERY schema as a dashed box to highlight the location of the ingroup in relation to this monster's most important internal systems. If the students are located in the most essential part of the monster's body, the implication is that they are in the best position to bring it down.

6.10.2 Ten b

(112) a country **<AGENT>**
(113) so rich **<SCALE/GOAL>**
(114) from its worldwide **<SURFACE>**
(115) plunder **<PATH>**

In 10b, through co-reference the monster is transformed into 'a country' construed as an AGENT. The PATH of this monster/country is to 'plunder' raw materials from underprivileged countries abroad. In doing so, the monster has become 'so rich'. The SCALE schema, evoked by the adverb 'so', is used here as a sub-modifier for emphasis to mean to such a great extent. In 10b, the A-P-G schema comes to the reader in the sequence of A-G-P. Accordingly, the reader encounters the GOAL before knowing the PATH from which this excessive good fortune comes. This ordering of gestalt slots lends to the statement's impact as the excessiveness of the GOAL ('so rich') is compounded by the deplorable means of attainment ('plunder') as PATH. In episodic terms, the reader is led to focus on the successful result of the action, and then led backwards to the act itself. The

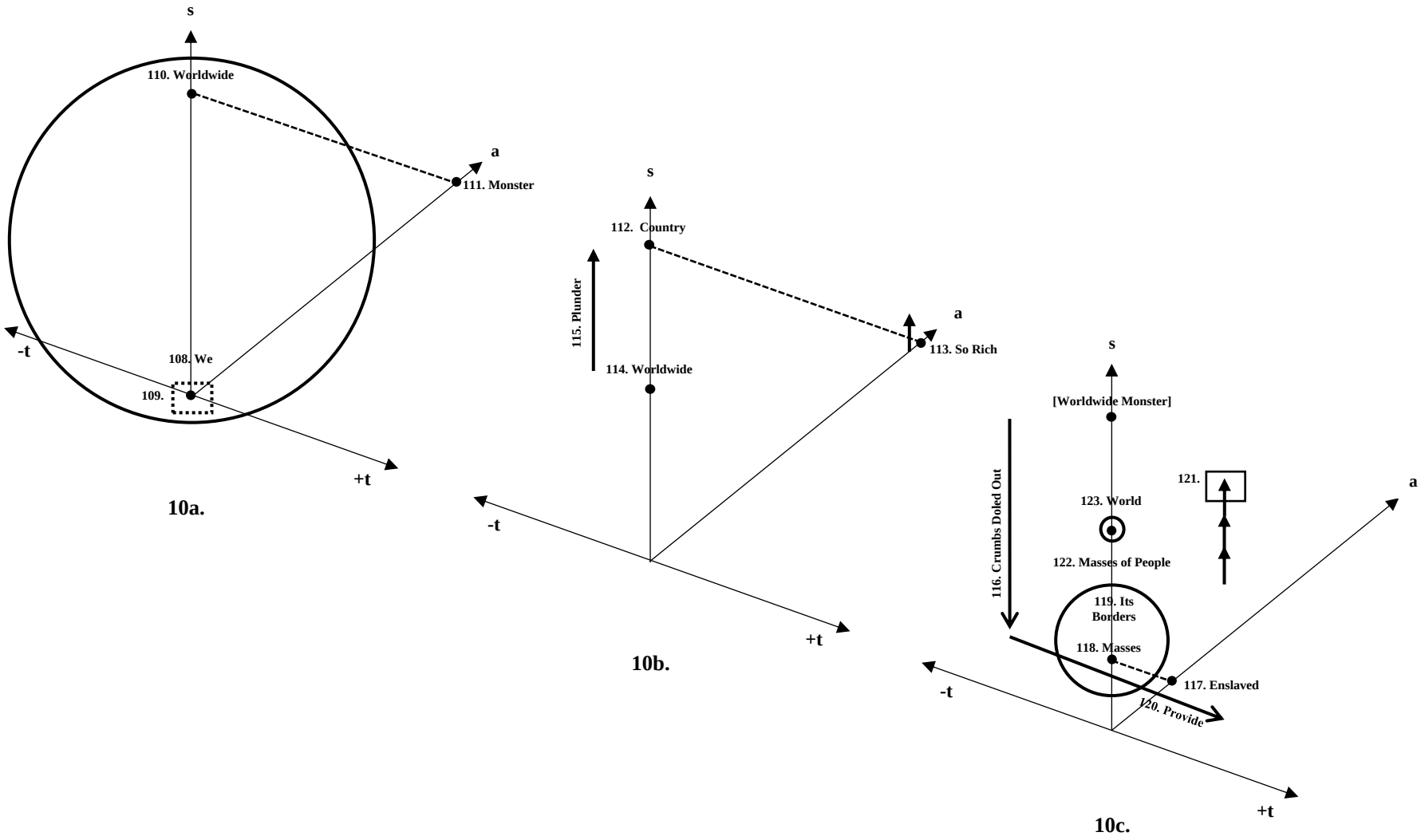


Figure 6.8 Mental space ten.

choice of the verb ‘plunder’ instead of something like ‘international trade deal’ obviously has an evaluative stance attached. While this evaluation is sure to hold truth-value by some on the New Left, one should recognize that ‘plunder’ is an opinionated construal.

6.10.3 Ten c

(116) that even the crumbs doled out to **<PATH>**
(117) the enslaved **<ENABLEMENT>**
(118) masses **<GOAL>**
(119) within its borders **<CONTAINER>**
(120) provide for material existence **<PATH/GOAL>**
(121) very much above **<SCALE>**
(122) the conditions of the masses of people
(123) of the world. **<PART-WHOLE>**

Moving to 10c, the AGENT (‘a country’) is still in play but moves from the international to domestic theatre, where the monster takes the PATH of doling out crumbs to ‘enslaved masses’ of Americans. This conjures up an image of a giant beast sparsely distributing bread crumbs to its unfortunate captives CONTAINED within US ‘borders’. The American people are positioned on the a-axis as ‘enslaved’ while located on the s-axis as ‘masses’. These trampled down masses are then placed within the American nation-state CONTAINER. With the prepositional phrase ‘within its borders’, Weatherman direct the reader’s attention to the boundary portion of the CONTAINER gestalt. The past tense verb phrase ‘crumbs doled out’ is depicted as vector in the past moving along the s-axis. Directly after, a PATH, cued by the present tense verb ‘provide’, moves the action from the s-axis to the t-axis, where Americans are the current beneficiaries of the monster’s actions. Moving to the GOAL slot, the reader encounters the superimposition of both SCALE (‘very much above’) and PART-WHOLE schemas (‘masses of people of the world’).

To review, in mental space 10, the scene moves from a global to a domestic situation. The first CONTAINER construing the scene (‘within…worldwide monster’) covers all the potential geopolitical identity relations involved, while the second CONTAINER directs the reader’s attention to American border. Episodically, America is represented as a monster-country acting as the AGENT of three distinct actions. The first two actions occur as transactions between social identities along the s-axis (‘plunder’ and ‘crumbs doled out’), while the third action (‘provide’) is construed as a vector moving from the past into the present along the t-axis.

6.11 Mental space eleven

6.11.1 Eleven a

(124) The US Empire, **<AGENT>**
(125) as a worldwide **<SURFACE>**
(126) system **<PROCESS>**

Encountering sentence (14), the scene is set on the s-axis with medial and distal identity relations. The ‘US Empire’ is represented as a ‘worldwide system’, which instantiates a PROCESS schema where objects have a certain pattern of movement. Similar to the way

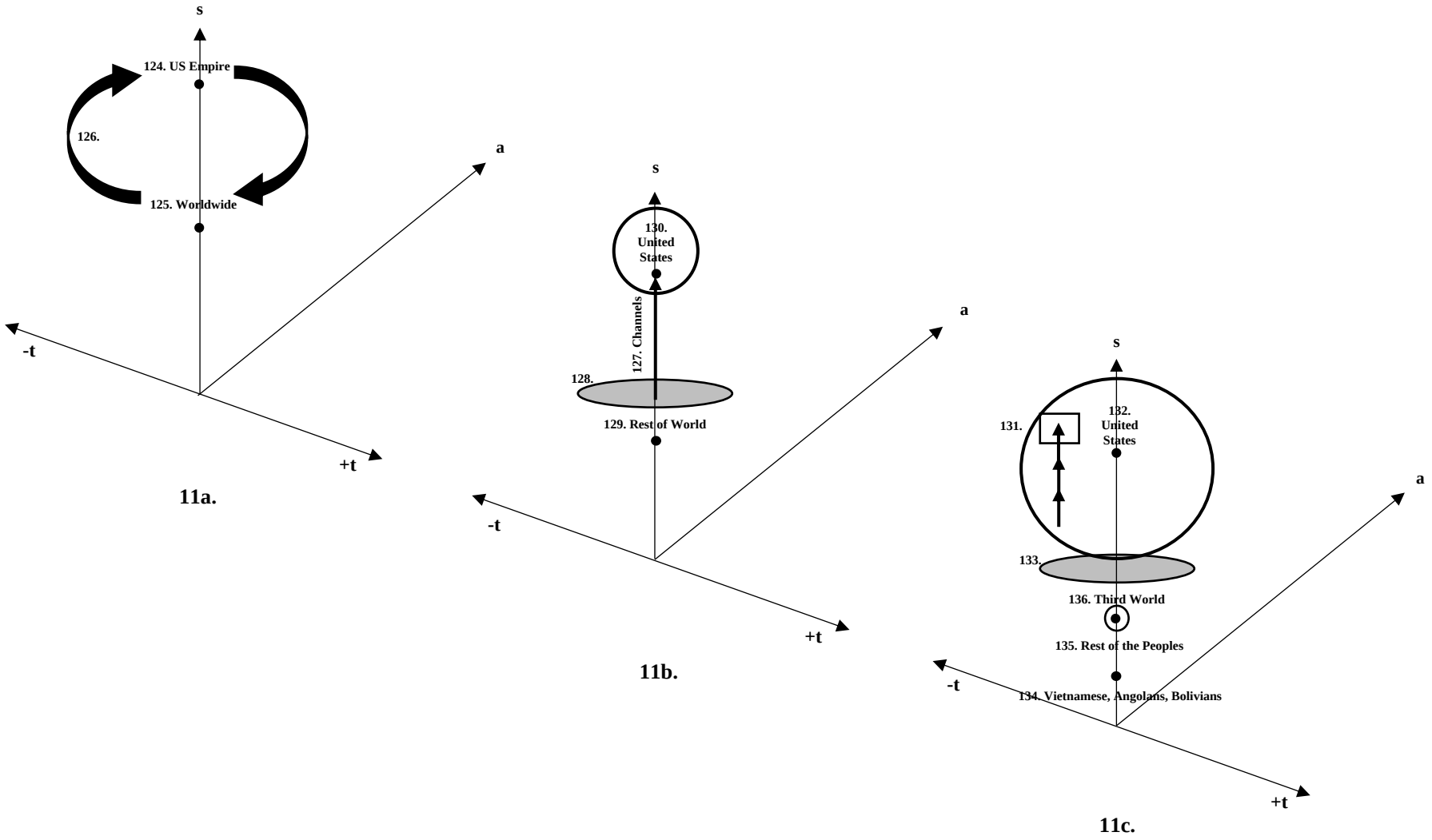


Figure 6.9 Mental space eleven.

Weatherman construct the scene in mental spaces 9 and 10, in mental space 11 they move from an international to a domestic scene.

6.11.2 Eleven b

(127) channels wealth, **<PATH>**
(128) based upon the labor and resources of **<SURFACE>**
(129) the rest of the world, **<PART-WHOLE>**
(130) into the United States. **<CONTAINER/GOAL>**

After the 'US Empire' is set as both the AGENT and scene ('worldwide') in 11a, the reader encounters a PATH vector cued by the verb 'channels' in 11b. This PATH indicates a transference of resources from proximal to distal identity relations. A SURFACE schema is then employed, where the US Empire's good fortune is construed as resting on top of the work and material goods of world people. The 'labor and resources' of others is construed as a SURFACE evoked by the preposition 'upon'. The imperial GOAL is to transmit this wealth into the CONTAINER of the United States. Therefore, the reader conceptualises 'channels wealth…into the United States' as a transference of wealth into the 'United States' CONTAINER.

6.11.3 Eleven c

(131) The relative affluence **<SCALE>**
(132) existing in the United States **<CONTAINER>**
(133) is directly dependent upon the labor and natural resources **<SURFACE>**
(134) of the Vietnamese, the Angolans, the Bolivians
(135) and the rest of the peoples
(136) of the Third World. **<PART-WHOLE>**

In 11c, a CONTAINER space builder reemphasizes the geopolitical area ('in the United States'), but is modified by a SCALE schema ('relative affluence'), which guides the reader to infer that the economic status of rest of the world is being compared to the US. The noun 'affluence' directs the reader's attention to the outgroup's existential state of luxury. 11c continues with the SURFACE schema being the crucial simulation of the economic relations between in/outgroups. Because of the previous episodic PATHS of 'plunder' (10b) and 'channelling' (11b), the reader can infer the reason for the current economic 'affluence' (SCALE-UP) existing in the United States.

Here, in 11c, the nation-state CONTAINER is construed as being 'directly dependent upon' the SURFACE of Third World peoples' energies and materials. The adverb 'directly' denotes that there are no intermediaries between the 'United States' and 'peoples of the Third World'. Now the outgroup is construed as not only 'based upon' as in 11b, but 'directly dependent upon' the productivity of the Third World. In deictic mental space, I model the US CONTAINER as resting on top of the SURFACE of 'labor and natural resources'. Although Weatherman mention particular geopolitical identities ('Vietnamese, Angolans and Bolivians'), they do make explicit that they are talking about the Third World as a WHOLE.

In contrast to mental spaces opening and closing with the introduction and ending of sentences, mental space 11 remains open over the course of two sentences. The imagistic

simulation construes resources as being transferred up the s-axis into the US nation-state CONTAINER. Afterwards, this US CONTAINER expands and comes to rest directly on the SURFACE of the more proximal identities positioned along the s-axis.

6.12 Mental space twelve

(137) All of the United Airlines Astrojets, all of the Holiday Inns, all of Hertz's automobiles, your television set, car and wardrobe **<PART-WHOLE>**
(138) already belong, **<PATH>**
(139) to a large degree **<SCALE>**
(140) to the people **<GOAL>**
(141) of the rest of the world. **<PART-WHOLE>**

Mental space 12 continues the scene from the previous space representing a state of economic affluence within the US national CONTAINER. Closing a moral argument against economic exploitation of Third World resources, the authors provide a list of common American goods and services. Using corporate products as exemplars ('United Airlines Astrojets', 'Holiday Inns' and 'Hertz automobiles'), Weatherman suggest this privileged lifestyle should be available to those making it possible for people in the West. These various goods and services are repetitively modified by the determiner 'all', activating a WHOLE schema three times in a row.

As for episodic relations, mental space 12 recalls mental space 8, where a PATH vector moves from inside the US CONTAINER toward the more proximal identity ('world people'). This movement of resources from the outgroup to the ingroup is not present in the previous two mental spaces, indicating that the introduction of mental space 12 has closed the previous two spaces concerned with the US plundering wealth abroad and redistributing it amongst its own citizens. In mental space 12, the PATH vector, cued by the present tense verb 'belongs', moves past the medial relations of 'US people' and goes directly to world peoples. A SCALE schema, cued by the adjective 'large', is superimposed over the PATH gestalt slot, where the goods and services enjoyed by Americans are not their rightful property. The GOAL of Weatherman, as an organization of revolutionary communists, is to redistribute these displaced goods and services back to those vital in their creation. Mental space 12 provides the reader with an episode of objects moving from distal to proximal relations on the world stage.

6.13 Mental space thirteen

6.13.1 Thirteen a

(142) Therefore, any conception of "socialist revolution" **<PART-WHOLE>**
(143) simply in terms of the working **<CONTAINER>**
(144) people
(145) of the United States, **<PART-WHOLE>**
(146) failing to recognize the full scope of interests **<CENTRE-PERIPHERY>**
(147) of the most **<SCALE>**
(148) oppressed **<ENABLEMENT>**
(149) peoples
(150) of the world, **<PART-WHOLE>**

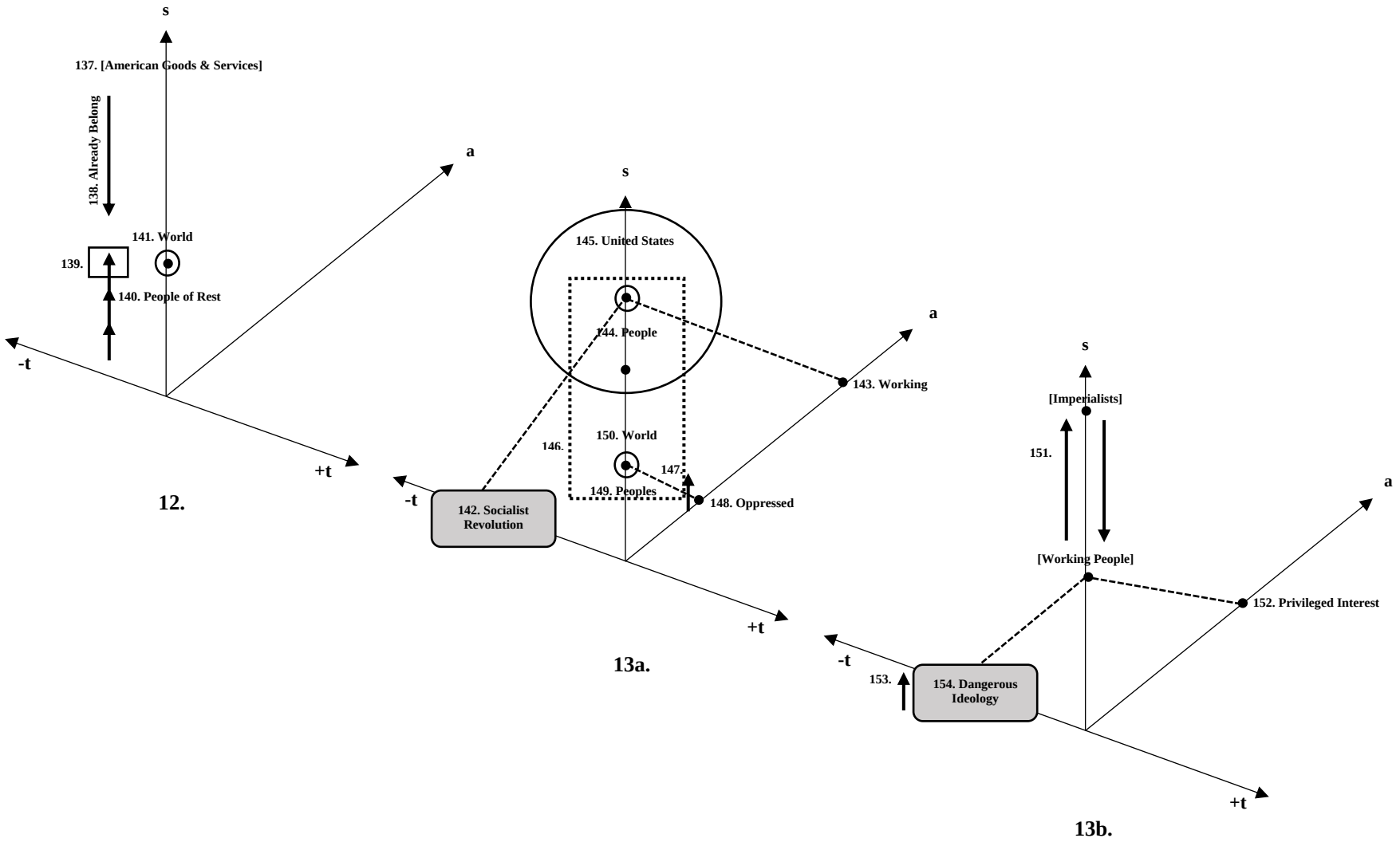


Figure 6.10 Mental spaces twelve and thirteen.

Mental space 13 opens with the adverb ‘therefore’, assuming that the reader has followed Weatherman’s argument about America maintaining a global system of industrial robbery. In mental space 12, Weatherman insinuate that all the modern conveniences (e.g. media, transportation and clothing) enjoyed by First World peoples are stolen commodities. Now the reader is directed to the -t-axis, where the ideological mindset ‘socialist revolution’ stands for a broad conception of Marxist historical materialism. Mental space 13 moves the reader back into an internal scene (‘in terms’), while the PART-WHOLE schema cued by the adverb ‘any’ directs the reader to think of all possible conceptions of ‘socialist revolution’.

The first half of sentence (17) is construed in the spatial domain, while the second half of the sentence is structured by force and motion domains. Recall from Section 2.3 that at the time of writing the manifesto Weatherman are engaged in an ideological feud with rival leadership potentials from the Progressive Labour (PL) wing of SDS. Hence, they are concerned to address PL’s interpretation of ‘socialist revolution’ in the American context. The ‘socialist’ mindset is placed in a CONTAINER located along the s-axis with the prepositional phrase ‘in terms of working people’, which excludes more internationalist definitions of revolution. The adjective ‘working’ acts as a positive evaluation of the American people, falling amongst the medial relations along the a-axis.[30]

Weatherman are accusing PL of trying to devise an organizational plan without considering the ‘full scope of interests’ (CENTRE-PERIPHERY) outside the US. The noun phrase ‘full scope’ draws the reader’s attention to the entire socio-spatial axis, expanding the area of conceptualisation. With the use of a PERIPHERY schema, Weatherman draw the reader’s attention to the edges of the mental space under inspection in order to recognize the interests of Third World peoples. Next the reader encounters a SCALE schema, cued by the pronoun ‘most’, drawing attention to the degree of oppression suffered by world peoples. The adjective ‘oppressed’ stands as an evaluation located proximally to the ingroup along the a-axis. Weatherman construe PL’s more traditionally labour union focused message as failing to discern the extent to which revolution is desperately needed internationally. Therefore, the CONTAINER (‘in terms of the working people of the United States’), is decidedly a self-imposed mental restraint excluding more broad conceptions of revolution.

6.13.2 Thirteen b

(151) is a conception of a fight **<SOURCE/COUNTERFORCE>**
(152) for a particular privileged interest **<GOAL>**
(153) and is a very **<SCALE>**
(154) dangerous ideology.

Mental space 13 ends by defining any ‘socialist revolution’ only interested in benefiting American workers to be a ‘dangerous ideology’. In 13b, a nationalist version of socialist revolution is construed with a COUNTERFORCE schema, prompted by the noun ‘fight’. This is a domestic conflict that is occurring between an inferred imperialist outgroup and

30In the American context, ‘working people’ are considered ethically good in both left and right-wing ideologies. This is true even in the contemporary Tea Party ideology active in the grass roots of the Republican Party. In the Tea Party worldview, ‘working people’ are set in opposition to ‘young people’, immigrants’, etc. (Homer-Dixon et al. 2013). In the Weatherman text, American workers are considered virtuous but are set in antonymic relations with all other laboring peoples throughout the world, who also deserve to receive a fair quality of life.

American ‘working people’. That the Weatherman collective leave the American working class out of the ingroup deictic centre is clear, as they receive the negative evaluation of being ‘privileged’. They are located as the most distant medial relation along the a-axis. If the working class had been included within the more proximate identity relations, as is usually the case in left-wing social movements, a COUNTERFORCE schema simulating them alone against the imperialists would be considered a legitimate struggle. However, Weatherman distance themselves from an exclusive fight between the US Empire and its workers. Socialist revolution, conceived exclusively as a domestic labour struggle that does not consider the plight of world peoples, does not activate the most proximal ingroup value (‘revolutionary’).

However, ‘working people’ of the US are not considered part of the extreme outgroup who value ‘oppression’ either. Instead, their evaluation of being ‘privileged’ falls somewhere between in/outgroup moralities. In fact, Weatherman consider the industrial working class, whom classical Marxists assumed would lead a worldwide uprising, to be of little use in the modern American context. They viewed American ‘working people’ to be well-paid skilled labourers who have no immediate interest in destabilizing their comfortable lives. Therefore, an exclusively nationalistic conception of ‘socialist revolution’ is deemed a ‘very dangerous ideology’, which becomes an evaluation-laden referent for PL’s version of ‘socialist revolution’. The ultimate GOAL for PL in Weatherman’s estimation, is having special rights, advantages and immunities over other nations. Overall, mental space 13 opens with a national scene that becomes more expansive with the use of a CENTRE-PERIPHERY schema to include the entire world. The only episode occurs between working class Americans and an implied imperialistic order locked in COUNTERFORCE relations along the s-axis.

6.14 Mental space fourteen

6.14.1 Fourteen a

(155) While the control and use of the wealth **<PATH>**
(156) of the Empire
(157) for the people
(158) of the whole world **<PART-WHOLE/GOAL>**
(159) is also in the interests **<CONTAINER>**
(160) of the vast majority **<PART-WHOLE>**
(161) of the people
(162) in this country, **<CONTAINER>**

Recall the ‘socialist revolution’ mentioned in mental space 13a, that of an American worker’s revolution not considerate of international ramifications. In mental space 14, Weatherman move from this broad geopolitical space, where the reader is directed to consider those economically disadvantaged on the outskirts, to focusing on the internal relations within ‘this country’. Mental space 14 closes the previous space evoking two CONTAINER schemas with the prepositional phrases ‘in the interests’ and ‘in this country’. While international relations are still relevant, the scene has transitioned to the nation-state CONTAINER.

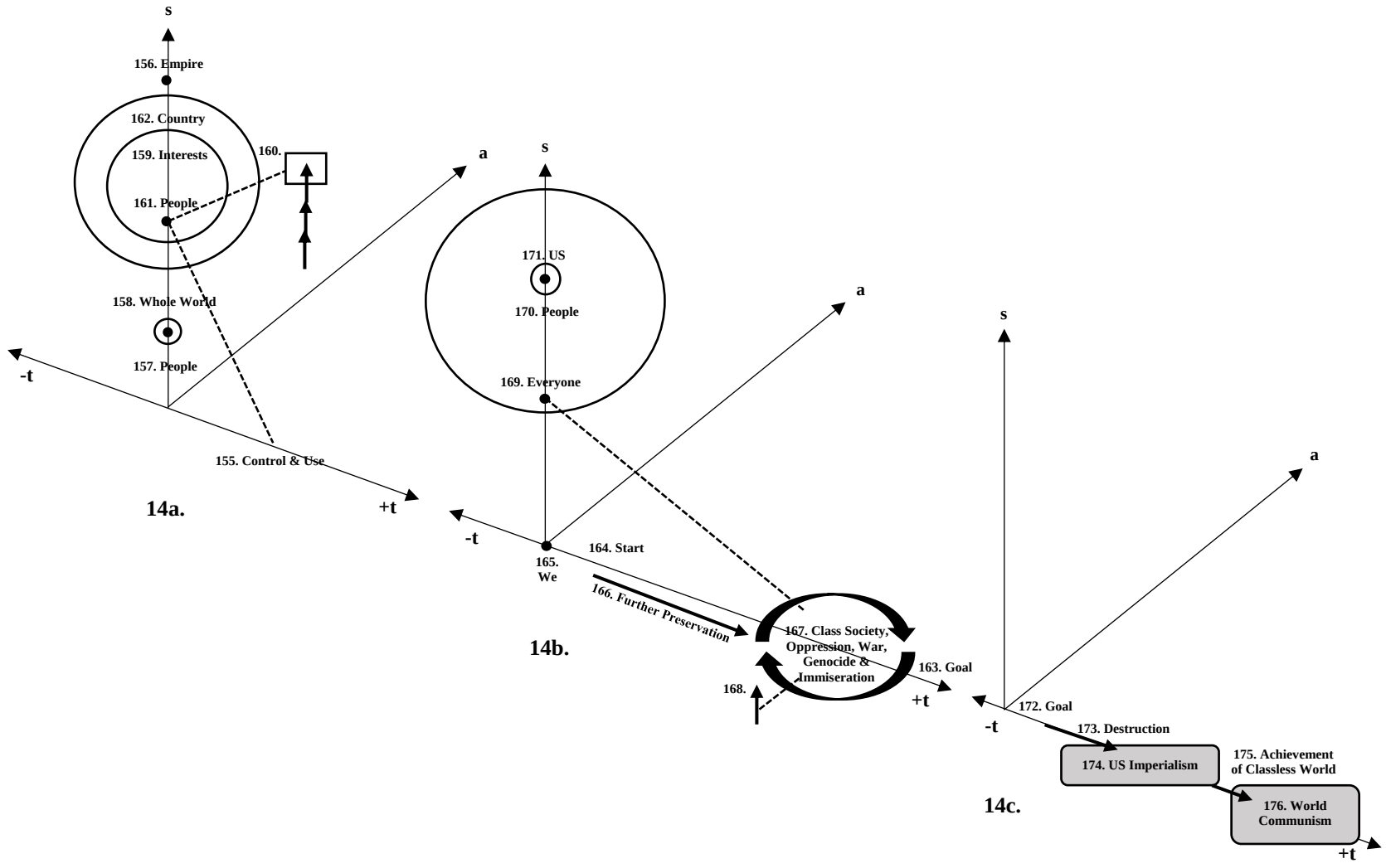


Figure 6.11 Mental space fourteen.

Mental space 14 recalls 8b, the place in the text where the reader encounters the first GOAL of the new revolution ('control and use of wealth'). In the first mention, found in sentence (11), wealth was to be used in the 'interests of oppressed peoples of the world'. Here in sentence (18), Weatherman point to the possibility that this global redistribution scheme is 'also in the interests of the vast majority of people in this country'. This is an attempt to deepen the appeal of a newly proposed economic order that Weatherman consider to be in most people's interests. The CONTAINER, cued by 'in this country', appears as a geo-spatial region on the s-axis, which from this point forward is the most commonly encountered geographical scene for the remainder of the manifesto's introductory section.

6.14.2 Fourteen b

(163) if the goal is not clear **<GOAL/SURFACE>**
(164) from the start **<SOURCE>**
(165) we **<AGENT>**
(166) will further the preservation of **<PATH>**
(167) class society, oppression, war, genocide **<CYCLE/GOAL>**
(168) and the complete immiseration **<PART-WHOLE/PATH>**
(169) of everyone, **<PART-WHOLE/GOAL>**
(170) including the people
(171) of the US. **<PART-WHOLE>**

As in mental space 2, here in mental space 14, Weatherman point to particular locations on the +t-axis ('start' and 'goal'). Finishing sentence (18) with an if-then conditional, Weatherman point the reader's attention to the distal end of the +t-axis prompted by the noun 'goal', and then immediately direct the reader's mental gaze back to a potential SOURCE location for some action prompted by the noun 'start'. The authors represent the GOAL as 'not clear' construing a SURFACE schema, where the contents inside a future time GOAL/CONTAINER cannot be clearly seen. Weatherman intend to discuss what happens as the result of not having viable contents filling these vacant GOAL and SOURCE gestalt slots.

The core ingroup is placed in a hypothetical A-P-G schema where they are construed as a mass AGENT ('we') going forward on a PATH of 'preservation'. The GOAL position of the episodic action is, I contend, shared by a CYCLE schema. I am understanding 'class society, oppression, war and genocide' to be construed as a string of counter-strategies not occurring sequentially one after the other, but occurring over and again as a recurring vicious CYCLE.[31] As long as ingroup goals remain unclear, Weatherman envision a dismal route into a dystopian future. In Weatherman's view, 'class' necessitates 'oppression', which causes 'war', which perpetuates 'genocide', ending in making everyone's life miserable. A PART-WHOLE schema, cued by the adjectival phrase 'complete immiseration', is superimposed over the PATH. Also the noun 'everyone' is used to simulate the WHOLE world population as becoming economically destitute. At the end of sentence (18), the American people are added to the scene with use of a PART-WHOLE schema being construed as PART of 'everyone' who will become impoverished.

[31] It is worth pointing out that each of these counter-strategies are conceptualised with use of their own particular schematic format: class society (GOAL), oppression (ENABLEMENT), war (COUNTERFORCE), genocide (ENABLEMENT) and immiseration (ENABLEMENT). I have drawn these five social dynamics, driven by force schemas, as a CYCLE proximal to the deictic centre along the +t–axis.

A negative assessment of this CYCLE of violent forces is not purely theoretical for college students in 1969 as American youth were dodging the military draft by hiding in sympathetic communities of resisters (see Section 2.2). The stark reality of the Vietnam War, with no foreseeable end in sight, led Weatherman to believe that 'genocide' was being used as an imperial strategy necessary in order to preserve 'class society'. Without a clear strategic plan, Weatherman were concerned that the larger SDS ingroup would be swept down a dismal PATH of perpetuating empire.

6.14.3 Fourteen c

(172) The goal is
(173) the destruction **<PATH>**
(174) of US imperialism **<GOAL>**
(175) and the achievement of a classless world: **<PATH/GOAL>**
(176) world communism.

Mental space 14c continues unbroken from sentence (18) into (19), where Weatherman fill in the vacant GOAL slots in 14b. In order to avoid the aforementioned fate of the ingroup without-a-coherent-plan, Weatherman now construe two PATH-GOAL spaces. The first GOAL provided is the 'destruction of US imperialism', which envisions the outgroup ideological mindset being broken apart. The second GOAL mentioned is the 'achievement of a classless world', which banishes hierarchical social relations. The first ingroup GOAL, encountered earlier in mental space 8b ('control and use wealth'), may occur sequentially sometime in between these two new GOALS introduced here in mental space 14. Weatherman finally reveal their own ideological mindset preference as 'world communism'. The writing collective's preferential ideological system being placed after a colon indicates to the reader that the 'destruction of US imperialism' and 'achievement of a classless world' are together considered as equivalents to attaining 'world communism'.

To recap, mental space 14 explicitly sets the scene with two CONTAINER schemas including an internal thinking space of 'interests' and one geographical region ('in this country'). The reader is led to a variety of locations within the geometric space via lexis pointing to different coordinate locations ('start' and 'goal'), while three episodes are simulated. The first episode occurs when the ingroup, lacking alternative plans, furthers the current CYCLE of imperialist political relations. The last two episodes have an inferred AGENT, who is able to make great strides ('destruction' and 'achievement') in the revolutionary struggle.

6.15 Mental space fifteen

6.15.1 Fifteen a

(177) Winning state power **<PATH/GOAL>**
(178) in the US will occur **<CONTAINER>**
(179) as a result of the military forces of the US **<AGENT/PART-WHOLE>**
(180) overextending themselves **<PATH>**
(181) around **<SURFACE>**
(182) the world **<GOAL>**
(183) and being defeated piecemeal **<PATH/PART-WHOLE>**

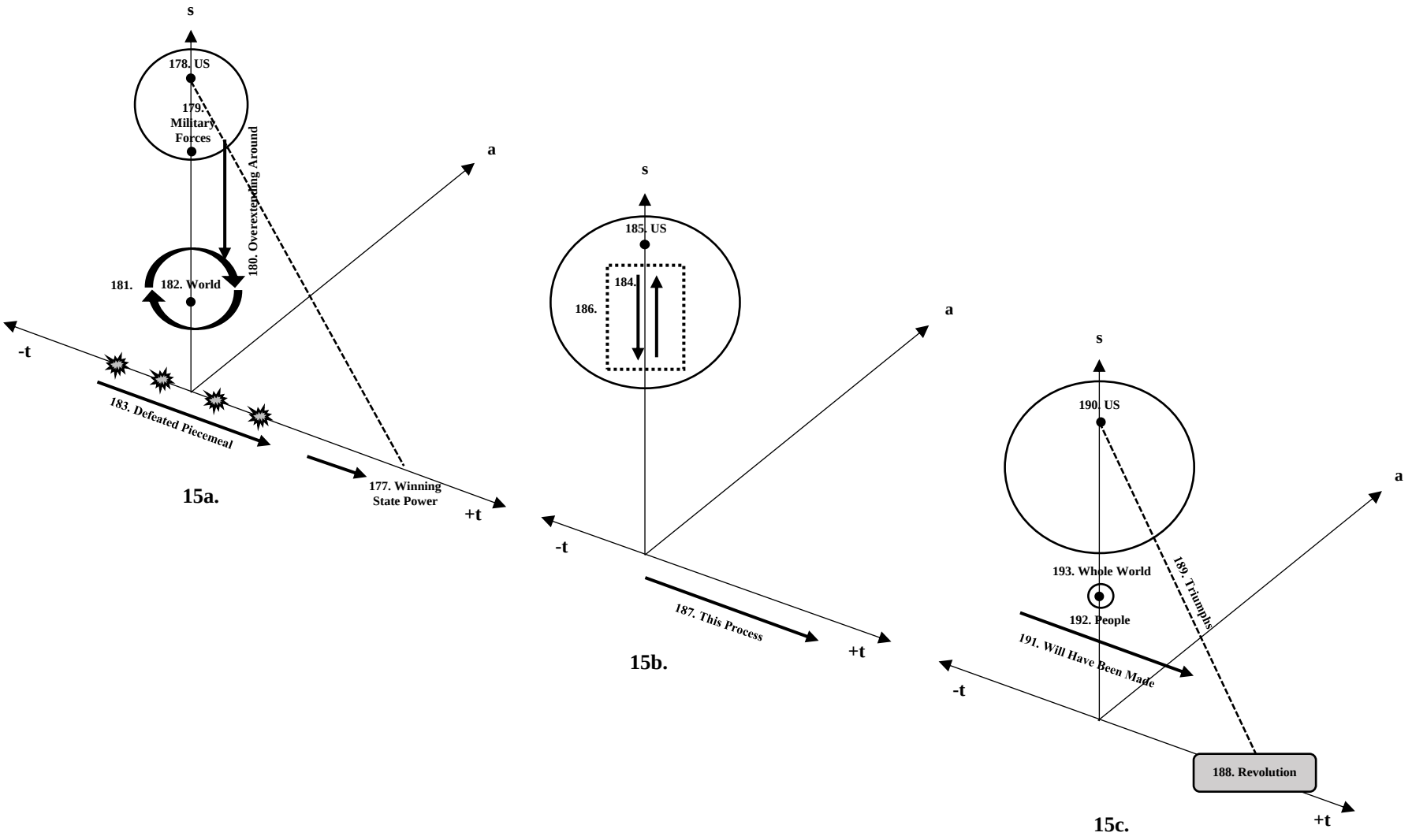


Figure 6.12 Mental space fifteen.

Mental space 15 begins on the +t-axis with a utopian PATH-GOAL of 'winning state power', topologically constrained within the CONTAINER of the 'US'. Notice, the ingroup AGENT is missing from the A-P-G schema and must be inferred by the reader. Prompted by prepositional phrase 'around the world', Weatherman construe the geopolitical scene with the SURFACE schema. Simulating an episode, the US military are moving out of the nation state CONTAINER ('overextending themselves') and spreading out across the SURFACE ('around') of the globe, where US troops are construed as being spread too thin. The present tense verb 'overextending' is depicted as an action vector moving along the s-axis in the direction of the medial relation 'world'. In this hypothetical scenario, American military forces will meet intense resistance and be 'defeated piecemeal' at some indeterminate point in the future. Thus, I have modelled this PATH of imperial defeat, cued by the verb 'defeated', as a series of incremental PART-WHOLE successes ('piecemeal') by revolutionary peoples along the t-axis.

6.15.2 Fifteen b

(184) struggle **<COUNTERFORCE>**
(185) within the US **<CONTAINER>**
(186) will be a vital part <**CENTRE-PERIPHERY/PART-WHOLE>**
(187) of this process **<PROCESS>**,

15b should be understood as a direct continuation of the last episode, simply filling in more details. Moving back into the US CONTAINER, Weatherman utilize a COUNTERFORCE schema while superimposing CENTRE-PERIPHERY and PART-WHOLE schemas to construct intergroup relations within the scenario. Evoking CENTRE-PERIPHERY and PART-WHOLE schemas with the adjectival phrase 'vital part', the writing collective are emphasizing that COUNTERFORCE within the US will be an essential element in procuring revolutionary victory. The COUNTERFORCE, occurring in the US along the s-axis, is vital to 'this process' of fighting the US military around the world. According to Weatherman, after the US military suffer a series of major defeats, the American Left will have an opportunity to seize power and refashion the state. Therefore, with this CENTRE-PERIPHERY schema, they heighten the importance of their proposed revolutionary youth movement by placing it at the CENTRE of imperial subversion.

6.15.3 Fifteen c

(188) but when the revolution **<AGENT>**
(189) triumphs **<GOAL>**
(190) in the US **<CONTAINER>**
(191) it will have been made **<PATH>**
(192) by the people **<AGENT>**
(193) of the whole world. **<PART-WHOLE>**

In 15c, Weatherman evoke the ideological mindset 'revolution', with the confident 'when the revolution triumphs in the US'. In deictic mental space, I have located 'revolution' along the +t-axis, and have drawn a connecter with the GOAL ('triumphs') to the United States located on the s-axis in order to indicate their interconnection. In an episodic action, the writing collective present a PATH ('made') as being travelled by those positioned in the AGENT gestalt slot ('people of the whole world'). Although Weatherman emphasize the central role of contradiction within the US, they are quick to give credit to

international peoples for their contribution to potential revolutionary success. The verb phrase ‘will have been made’, in the future perfect tense, indicates that this revolutionary action began in the past but is yet to be completed in the future. This is represented in the mental space diagram as a material vector starting in the past and moving into the future along the t-axis.

Overall, mental space 15 opens with a global scene containing two episodes. The first episode simulated is of the US military overextending themselves around the world, and the second episode is their incremental defeat. This is followed by two more explicitly set scenes within the US nation CONTAINER, which is housing a vital internal struggle. In the last episode, world peoples share in the credit for any success of an American revolution.

6.16 Mental space sixteen

(194) For socialism
(195) to be defined in national terms **<CONTAINER>**
(196) within **<CONTAINER>**
(197) so extreme and historical **<SCALE>**
(198) an oppressor **<ENABLEMENT>**
(199) nation
(200) as this is only imperialist national chauvinism
(201) on the part of **<SURFACE/PART-WHOLE>**
(202) the “movement”.

Sentence (21) closes the first section of the Weatherman manifesto, construing the ideology of ‘socialism’ as being unduly CONTAINED within an exclusive region labelled ‘national terms’. Mental space 16 recalls the construal of ‘socialist revolution’ in mental space 13 (‘in terms of working people in the US’). This more narrow conception was previously evaluated negatively as a ‘dangerous ideology’. Now, instead of ‘in terms of working people’, socialism is defined ‘in national terms’, which is simply another way to construe the scene as an exclusive CONTAINER. However, in this current space, Weatherman are prepared to name the culprits who are pushing such a ‘dangerous ideology’, which turns out to be the New Left ‘movement’ itself.

Afterwards, this space of strictly national concern is further CONTAINED within a geographical space (‘within so extreme…an oppressor nation’). Notice that both SCALE (‘so extreme’) and ENABLEMENT schemas (‘oppressor’) are superimposed to bring more meaning to the contained space. The medial social relation of the New Left ‘movement’ is placed within both CONTAINERS, setting up an overall scene where any acceptable socialism must take into account the history of extreme oppression that has occurred in the US. Weatherman negatively evaluate this activity of defining socialism strictly ‘in national terms’ as a form of ‘imperialist national chauvinism’. This chauvinistic attitude is construed with the superimposition of SURFACE and PART-WHOLE schemas, where it is resting upon the identity of the ‘movement’ itself. In the context of factional struggles within SDS, the accusation of ‘national chauvinism’ is an outright indictment of rival leadership factions. Weatherman deem these other SDS factions as eager to take advantage of an atmosphere of aggressive patriotism within the US. To summarize mental space 16, the reader does not encounter any episodes, but experiences the construal of two scenes. First, the reader is placed within an internal thinking space

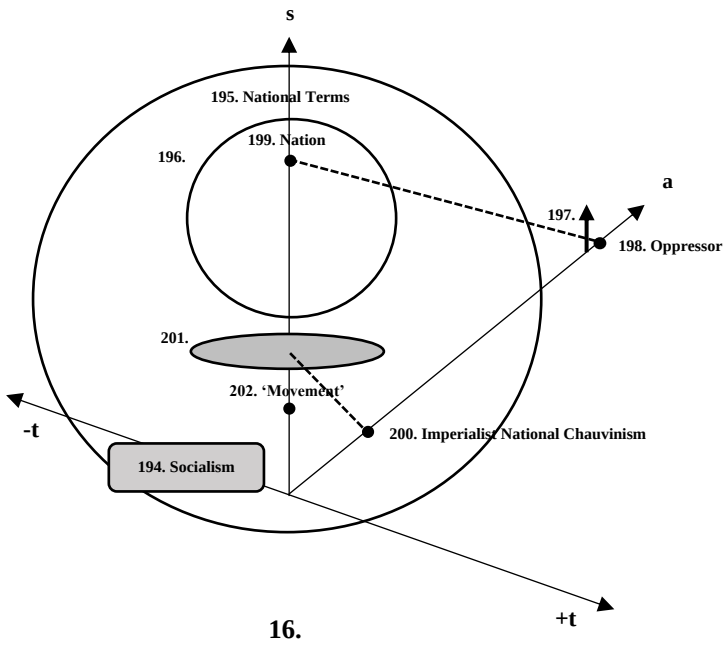


Figure 6.13 Mental space sixteen.

entitled ‘national terms’ and then led into a negatively evaluated geographical space (‘oppressor nation’). Lastly, the reader’s attention is directed to a SURFACE, where a nationalistic mindset rests on top of the New Left ‘movement’ as a political identity.

In this deictic mental space analysis, I have paid attention to thirteen fundamental schemas that are explicitly invoked by lexical and grammatical constructions in the text. My goal in this analysis has been to demonstrate how metaphorical projections of image schema are employed at the level of constructing conceptual structure in mental models. Recall from Section 5.1.2 that all the discourse entities representing identities, evaluations, mindsets, actions and goals are present in the TARGET DOMAIN of the situation, while fundamental spatial, motion and force image schemas are in the SOURCE DOMAIN of bodily awareness. This type of metaphorical projection involves mapping image-schematic structure onto discourse contents in order to construct the scenes and episodes necessary for conceptualisation. By considering the role of topological and deictic structures in the Weatherman manifesto, I have found that each image schema contributes to constructing multiple scenes and episodes simulated within mental models.

Imagistically, setting the scene involves placing identity categories within a particular spatio-temporal location that has a specific set of circumstances. Image schemas responsible for setting the scene are known as space builders (see Section 5.1.1.1). In the Weatherman introduction the reader encounters space builders in the form of 25 CONTAINER and 29 PART-WHOLE schemas. For example, I have discussed how the CONTAINER schema is active in construing scenes as geographic regions, social groups and hypothetical scenarios. Image schemas responsible for simulating episodes are called content movers in this framework (see Section 5.1.1.2). In the analysis, I have discussed how verbs cue PATH schemas, which initiate new episodes as temporal causal sequences including verbal, material and mental processes. As for content movers, those in the motion domain are most common, where PATH has 23 appearances followed closely by GOAL 21 and AGENT 14. The rest of the content movers, mostly stemming from the force domain, are present considerably less with COUNTERFORCE at 12, ENABLEMENT 10, CYCLE 2 and SOURCE 1. Image schemas responsible for directing the reader’s attention to various locations throughout the mental space are called attention pointers (see Section 5.1.1.3). For instance, I discussed in the analysis how the CENTRE-PERIPHERY schema is able to direct the reader’s attention to locations at the middle of an entity or to its edges. Attention pointers in the Weatherman manifesto, are led by the SCALE schema 16 with all others distant in comparison, SURFACE 7, CENTRE-PERIPHERY 5, LINK 2 and BALANCE 1.

During the deictic mental space analysis, I have also attempted to keep track of the opening and closing of mental spaces. In Section 5.1.2 I theorized that mental spaces open and close based on the changing of scenes (e.g. location, time, characters, objects and circumstances) and episodes (e.g. actions, evaluations, goals and results) within a stretch of discourse. Considering the inner-relations of mental spaces in the manifesto, it seems that multiple scenes and episodes can be set up in a solitary sentence or be spread out amongst two to three sentences before the imagistic simulation of one mental space is completed. Mental space 1 is a good example of multiple scenes and episodes being simulated within one consistent mental space over the span of three sentences. In mental space 1, the reader encounters three episodes simulated by COUNTERFORCE (‘contradiction’) and PATH (‘live’) schemas all set within one consistent scene (‘in the contemporary world’). Each of these imagistic relations occur within the duration of the opening and closing of one mental space. While mental space 5 provides an example of

the opening and closing of a mental space being consistent with the duration of just one sentence. Within the span of one sentence mental space 5 sets the scene as an internal consideration space (‘in consideration), which holds various ideological systems (‘Soviet imperialism’) and particular geographic regions of revolutionary resistance (‘France’). After the scene is set, the authors’ execute a series of four episodes (‘determine’, ‘fight’ and ‘help’) with decisions being made about social relationships and future actions toward particular groups. Overall, I have attempted to be consistent with the theory that mental spaces open and close based on scenic and episodic transitions within the unfolding of discourse.

This scenes-and-episodes approach to conceptual structure will go on to be utilized in Chapter 7 to reconstruct frame space models. My intention is to consider how these topological and deictic interactions involved in construing mental space may also be involved in setting categorical relations in frame space (see Section 5.2). Accomplishing an analysis of the construal of discourse contents in mental space contributes to a frame space analysis, because these contents come to have repetitive relations amongst one another relative to the ingroup deictic centre. This occurrence of repetitive construal relations in mental space gives the analyst clues as to where each concept is located within a more detailed categorical structure in frame space (see Section 5.2.6). Each incoming concept is located proximally or distally amongst all other concepts encountered in the text. An organized category structure gets built and stored along each geometric axis (space, time and axiological). Therefore, my intention in providing a frame space model of the Weatherman manifesto introduction is to show how interacting image-schematic structures may be responsible for the categorical locations of discourse contents within a deictic LTM structure. In Chapter 8, I move to consider how this cognitive coordinate system may contribute to setting in place a semi-stable and comprehensive geopolitical worldview for political groups.

Chapter 7: Deictic Frame Space Analysis

In the deictic mental space analysis (see Chapter 6), I sought to show how image schemas are responsible for establishing spaces, simulating the direction of contents and guiding the reader's attention throughout construal. As discussed in Section 5.2, when mental spaces open and close they are stored in LTM and build up a frame space of the global communicative situation. At the same time, mental spaces come to be structured by a frame space recalled from LTM. On this view, mental spaces operate in STM but are built partly by activating categorical structures available in LTM. At the same time as discourse contents are construed in mental space, frame space is being continuously built into a more encompassing structure.

When a reader moves from the first to the second section of any political manifesto, the most salient context available for interpreting the upcoming section of the manifesto is the context just built up by the immediately preceding series of mental spaces. While lexical and grammatical constructions are crucial for construal of contents within mental space, they are also simultaneously active in building frame space (see Section 5.2.1). After the initial simulation has occurred, much of the information involved in construal is lost and the discourse contents move from the level of local understanding to take on a location in a more global category structure. When a reader moves away from the immediate construal of scenes and episodes, what stays with him or her in LTM may be how discourse contents have been continuously located in relation to one another. My contention is that this repetitive construal in deictic mental space sets the coordinate locations for the creation of a coherent deictic frame space. The solidifying of this frame space may come to represent a geopolitical worldview in the minds of committed activists. As prototype categories are created through repetitive construals of discourse contents in mental space (see Section 5.2.5), they come to take on stable coordinate locations. The category structure of frame space is built up as category members receive semi-stable coordinate locations within a more deictic structure. This geometric axis system in LTM enables the reader to comprehend precise meanings in deictic orders of spatial-oppositions and temporal-sequences (see Section 5.2.6). However, a frame space is more than the sum of textual mental spaces, as some of the information in LTM could also be sourced from 'general background knowledge' (Van Dijk 1998). Also, not all of the information attained in mental spaces is stored in frame space, but rather the most relevant or frequently repeated information is retained (Ziem 2014).

As Van Dijk (2014) has indicated, the context model in LTM is built during discourse processing. Bringing in recent developments in cognitive discourse studies, I am theorizing that the propositional context model also consists of a conceptual space. As mental spaces are continuously being introduced in STM, these spaces are interacting with a much larger and stable coordinate system in LTM. In order to explore the building of frame space, my intention is to model how mental spaces accumulate and are stored in LTM. Once a frame space is built and becomes 'entrenched', it aids the reader in coming to speedy ingroup interpretations of the geopolitical context (Langacker 2008). My claim is that the construal of discourse contents in STM is also simultaneously constructing a categorical structure stored in LTM. In the socio-cognitive approach to discourse analysis, conceptualisation is the result of STM and LTM possessing shared semantic categories (Van Dijk 1987; 1999). However, shared semantic categories alone do not account for the rapid processing speed between STM construal and LTM categorical

structure. For a more complete understanding of cognitive economy, analysts must begin to explore how image schemas active in construal are also active in the categorisation process. This may mean that any image schema currently activated in STM is simultaneously being activated in LTM. If this is so, then discursive meaning comes as a result of commonly shared categorical and schematic structures holding between mental and frame space.

To demonstrate how frame space is built during conceptualisation, in this chapter I model the accumulation of one or two mental spaces at a time. As mental spaces unfold, frame space is filled in with contents that come to occupy stable locations within the LTM deictic coordinate structure. Adding together a few mental spaces at a time enables the analyst to represent the image-schematic relations active in those mental spaces and how they are simultaneously active in constructing frame space. My goal is to provide a frame analysis by showing the accumulative effect of mental spaces. When moving from one frame space diagram to the next, the image-schematic construal operations invoked in previous mental spaces will fade away and be replaced by schemas currently being assimilated into frame space. This modelling practice is based on the assumption that in frame space the particular construal of information may fade, while contents will come to reside in relatively permenant locations.

Crucially important for determining where these categorical relations are located amongst one another in frame space is the starting location from which a discourse entity moves during construal. For instance, if the concept 'US imperialism' is always construed with a COUNTERFORCE schema, the initial location of the outgroup mindset is distal and moving towards the ingroup while meeting resistance. Subsequently, when the reader comes upon 'US imperialism' s/he will automatically infer a spatial meaning about that discourse entity based on the reoccurring construal operation placing it initially at a distal location. Therefore, by continually construing in/outgroup discourse contents in a reoccurring manner, I suggest that the initial starting point of the content in a construal operation is just as important for categorical interrelations as the point at which it comes to rest. Repetitive construal processes enable category members to build up into category prototypes, which take on fixed proximal, medial or distal coordinate locations within the frame space axis system (see Section 5.2.4).

As mental spaces incrementally build up into frame space, the incoming discourse contents of identities, evaluations, past mindsets, upcoming group actions and future goals become stabilised in relatively fixed locations within the deictic coordinates. Over the span of the opening section of the Weatherman manifesto, these category members and their oppositional and sequential locations build up into a detailed category structure in the mind of the reader. A much more expansive deictic space will be shown to exist as a result of mental spaces being introduced, and by showing how discourse contents within those mental spaces come to take on consistent locations within frame space. As the geometric axis system becomes populated with a set amount of contents, the reader begins to make faster interpretations of the incoming text based on the conceptual locations of the content s/he has encountered in previous mental spaces. As the reader moves through the manifesto text, the categorical structure of each axis becomes more crowded and therefore more nuanced. As similar political contexts are encountered in the daily life of social movement discourse, categorical locations will more likely become culturally conventionalized in frame space. In this way, continually encountering a collectively agreed upon geopolitical point of view becomes an entrenched ingroup

mindset. This process of stabilising in/outgroup categorical locations in frame space, through offering public manifesto texts, is essential for any group who require members to come to shared interpretations of a geopolitical situation. A stabilized frame space supplies ingroup members with an accessible coordinate system for embracing common identities, modes of conduct, orienting mindsets, actionable responses and long-term visions.

In the deictic frame space analysis below, I will first demonstrate how frame space is built piece-by-piece as mental spaces accumulate. During the analysis, I provide key information at the beginning of each frame space by detailing how many mental spaces and sentences have accumulated thus far. For instance, (MS 1-10, 13 sentences) means that the reader is now at the point in the manifesto text where ten mental spaces have accrued over the span of thirteen sentences. While technically there is really only one Weatherman 'frame space', for modelling purposes I will show the frame space being built incrementally and label each instance as frame space one, two, three, etc. To be clear the Weatherman frame space is articulated in their manifesto text and is acquired through an accumulation of mental spaces built by the reader. After considering its incremental building, I examine the entire frame space built by the first section of the manifesto as a complete, interconnected structure. I do so by arranging the radial prototype categories in deictic orderings of an embodied framework. In Chapter 8, this will open up into a discussion about how manifesto texts may provide a stabilized geopolitical worldview through topological and deictic projection within an expansive conceptual space.

7.1 Frame space built up as discourse unfolds

7.1.1 Frame space one (MS1, 3 sentences)

Mental space one:
"The contradiction between **<COUNTERFORCE>** the revolutionary peoples **<AGENT>** of Asia, Africa and Latin America **<PART-WHOLE>** and the imperialists **<AGENT>** headed by **<SCALE>** the United States is the principal **<SCALE>** contradiction **<COUNTERFORCE>** in the contemporary world. **<CONTAINER>** The development of this contradiction **<COUNTERFORCE>** is promoting the struggle **<ENABLEMENT/PATH>** of the people of the whole **<PART-WHOLE>** world **<GOAL/AGENT>** against US imperialism **<AGENT>** and its lackeys." **<AGENT>** --Lin Piao, Long Live **<PATH>** the Victory of **<GOAL>** People's War! **<AGENT>**

In the first mental space, the COUNTERFORCE schema is evoked four times by the lexis 'contradiction' (3x) and 'struggle' (1x). In determining the schematic relations between discourse contents in the opening scene, COUNTERFORCE is the most frequently used in setting locations of geopolitical identities along the s-axis and ideological mindsets on the -t-axis. The most active in/outgroup political identities come first in the manifesto. By construing these political relationships in a reoccurring manner throughout the first section, 'revolutionary peoples' come to occupy a proximal categorical location and 'imperialists' take on a distal location relative to the core ingroup's deictic centre. The 'United States' is represented as the most distal political identity being modified by a SCALE schema ('headed by') over other imperial actors. The SCALE schema indicates that the United States is in a position of authority, which means they are more responsible for driving this in/outgroup COUNTERFORCE relation.

The scene of this ongoing COUNTERFORCE construal is located as being 'in the contemporary world', which encompasses all political identities involved on the s-axis. While cueing the scene, 'contemporary world' is also located as the most medial identity

relation in the Weatherman manifesto, being the most neutral relation between in/outgroups. At the end of mental space 1, Weatherman move from exclusively setting locations on the s-axis to pitting an outgroup ideological mindset on the -t-axis against the most proximal identity relation. Similar to the identity relations located on the s-axis, the oppositional mindset 'US imperialism' is construed with the same imagistic COUNTERFORCE relation along the -t-axis against a much larger socio-political group on the s-axis ('revolutionary people of the whole world'). The social identity of 'lackeys' (SCALE-DOWN) is explicitly connected to the 'US imperialism' mindset on the -t-axis, indicating a hierarchal positioning of distal relations on the s-axis. In Weatherman's frame space, the further up the imperialist hierarchy a particular outgroup attains the further away from the ingroup's deictic centre it becomes. Closing mental space 1, Lin Piao is indicated to be the authorial source of the opening quotation. Ending this quote with a revolutionary slogan of the Chinese Red Guard Movement, the reader encounters the first vague GOAL ('victory'). Weatherman seem intent to keep the ideological mindset of 'people's war' alive and moving into the future. 'Long live' is the first episodic PATH of the manifesto, indicating movement of an entity along the temporal axis from a near past time into the indeterminate future.

In the span of the opening and closing of one mental space, the reader encounters six identity category members. These six categorical members make up four distinct regions on the s-axis. In modelling the spatial-oppositional axes, I have placed four large containers on the s and a-axes to indicate that, thus far, the reader has been introduced to four distinct identity categories. On the distal end of the s-axis, the 'United States' receives the most remote location, while 'imperialists' and 'lackeys' are also distal category members. These outgroup titles are so vague that the reader must infer that they are referring to all those world leaders who benefit from an imperialist worldview. 'Contemporary world' is set as the scenic backdrop to mental space 1, where 'people of the world' are construed as being engaged in COUNTERFORCE relations against an outgroup ideological mindset. Category members belonging to the prototype category of the 'world' in general receive the most medial location between the in/outgroups along the s-axis. In the Weatherman text, any category member of 'the world' prototype acts as a neutral relationship between the more active political groups on both sides. 'Revolutionary peoples' are set as the most proximal relationship on the s-axis, and receive the most positive evaluations for the remainder of the manifesto. 'US imperialism' occupies the most distal location along the -t axis amongst all the ideological mindsets that will come to be mentioned, while 'people's war' falls nearest to the temporal deictic centre but is later replaced by more contemporary mindsets nearer to ingroup concerns.

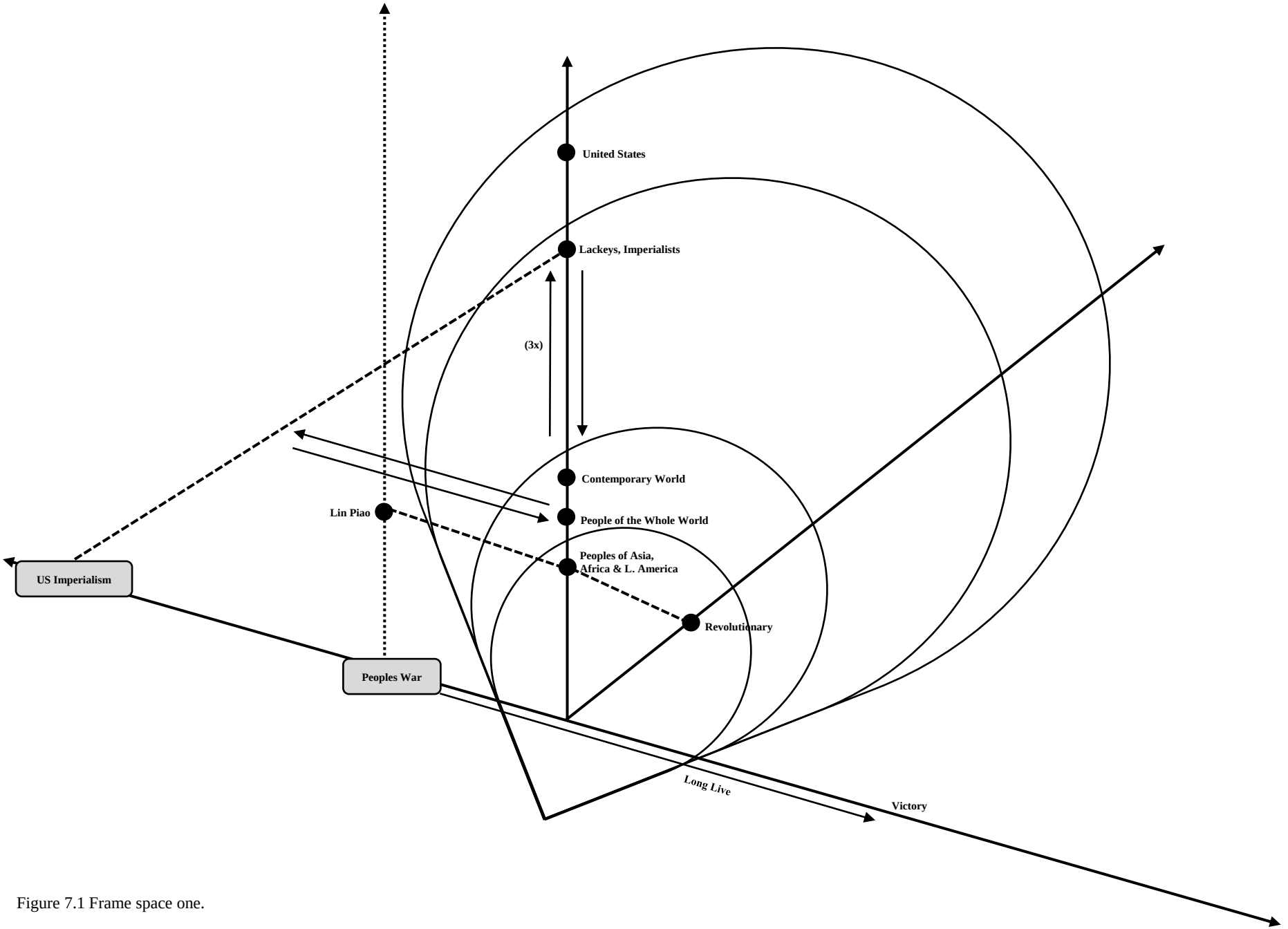


Figure 7.1 Frame space one.

7.1.2 Frame space two (MS 1-2, 5 sentences)

Mental space two:
People **<AGENT>** ask **<PATH>**, what is the nature of the revolution **<GOAL>** that we **<AGENT>** talk about? **<PATH-GOAL>** Who will it **<AGENT>** be made by, **<PATH>** and for, and what are its goals **<GOAL>** and strategy **<PATH>**?

In mental space 2, the reader encounters a change of scene. Lacking obvious guideposts indicating a scene shift, the reader must infer that s/he is being invited into a new scene based on the identities of new characters and their interactions within this opening mental space. The reader first encounters the generic identity 'people'. Based on the novelty of this group to the previous identities mentioned and based on their action of asking questions to the manifesto writers, the reader infers that the scene has changed from a global setting to inner America. This opens up the fifth radial categorical prototype positioned along the s-axis, which will harbour all upcoming category members related to the American 'people'. This identity is located as the outermost category of all medial relations along the s-axis.

Also along the s-axis, the reader finds the first instance of self-reference by the Weatherman collective ('we'), locating themselves at the deictic centre of the model. The ingroup's self-reference is introduced as the sixth major prototype identity category. All core ingroup category members will accumulate around this deictic zero point for the remainder of the simulation. The identity 'people' are represented as acting in a benign manner, being inquisitive, having not yet taken sides on the aforementioned global COUNTERFORCE relation. In contrast, the ingroup 'we' is represented as having agency, as those doing the talking. What the reader finds throughout the rest of the opening section of the manifesto is that group identities located at the most proximal or the most distal regions of the s-axis are represented as the main actors. This has implications for the medial identity relations, who are represented as those the outgroup is acting negatively upon.

Weatherman then pose a series of questions regarding a suggested American revolution: 'Who by?', 'Who for?', 'What goals?' and 'What strategy?' These questions direct the reader to different points within the frame space. The questions 'Who by?' and 'Who for?' direct the reader to scan the s-axis for what social identities could fill the roles of protagonist and beneficiary. The mention of 'What goals?' directs the reader's attention further ahead along the +t-axis. 'What strategy?' draws the reader's attention back closer to the temporal deictic centre. The ideological mindset 'revolution', which we must assume is a domestic revolution of the American Left, is the first located on the +t-axis.

Within the span of two mental spaces, Weatherman have primarily been concerned to build up identity relations in the frame space with six major identity prototype categories under development ('United States', other 'imperialists', American 'people', 'the world', 'revolutionary peoples' and 'we'). The writers have also projected three ideological mindset categories in both past ('US imperialism' & 'people's war') and future time ('revolution'). By repeatedly invoking construals of intergroup relations with the COUNTERFORCE schema, Weatherman come to stabilize the coordinate locations of the in/out group category members in frame space. In mental space 2, the reader finds significant pointing about the frame space with a series of questions, along with a few preliminary verbal actions by medial ('people ask') and proximal ('we talk') identity relations.

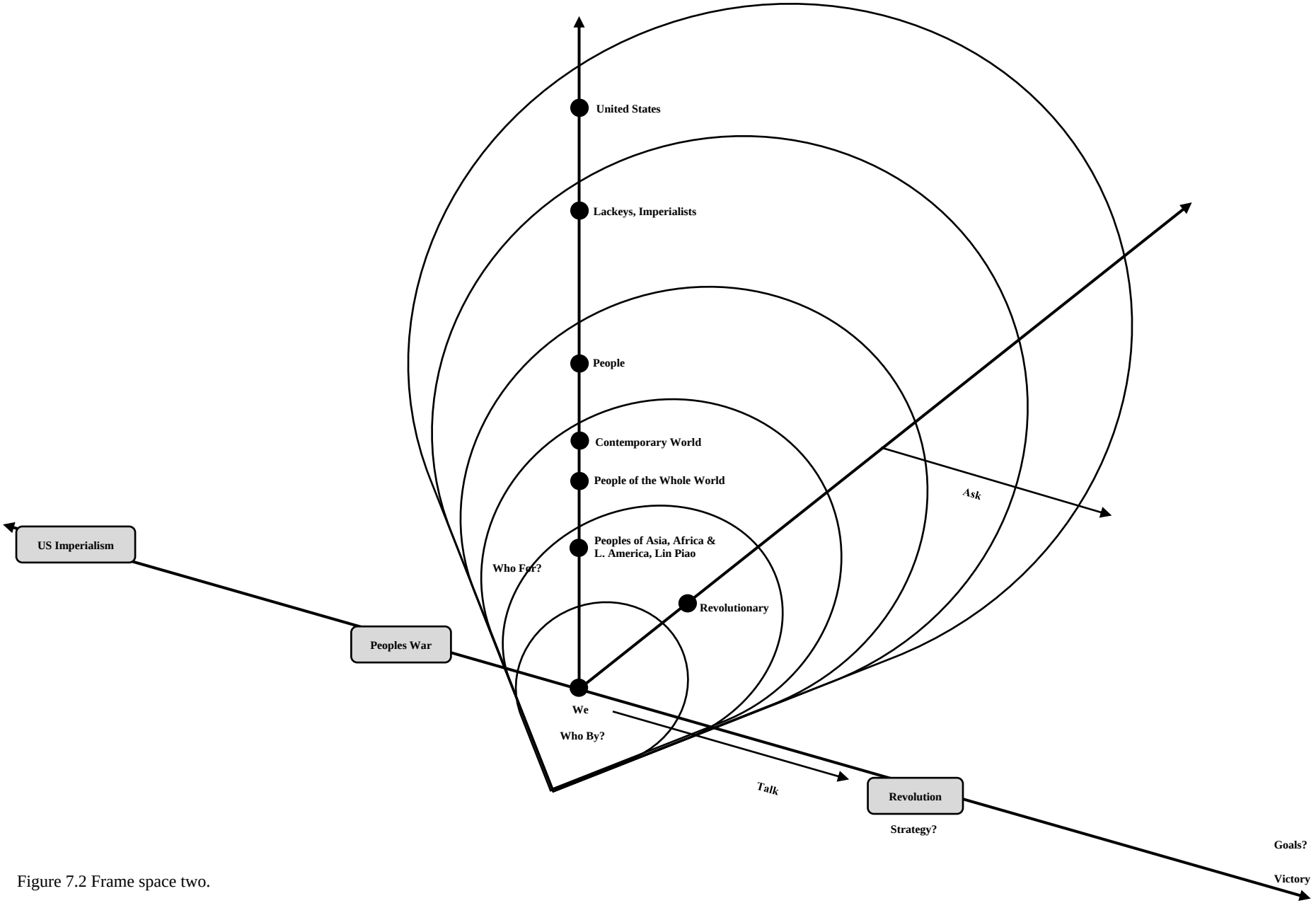


Figure 7.2 Frame space two.

7.1.3 Frame space three (MS 1-4, 7 sentences)

Mental space three:
The overriding consideration **<SCALE>** in answering these questions **<CONTAINER>** is that the main **<CENTRE-PERIPHERY>** struggle going on **<COUNTERFORCE>** in the world today **<CONTAINER>** is between US imperialism **<AGENT>** and the national liberation struggles **<AGENT>** against it. This is essential **<CENTRE-PERIPHERY>** in defining political matters **<CONTAINER>** in the whole world: **<CONTAINER/PART-WHOLE>** because it is by far the most powerful, **<SCALE>**

Mental space four:
every other empire **<PART-WHOLE>** and petty dictator **<AGENT>** is in the long run **<CONTAINER/PATH>** dependent on **<SURFACE>** US imperialism **<GOAL/AGENT>** which has unified, allied with, and defended **<PATH>** all of the **<PART-WHOLE>** reactionary forces **<GOAL>** of the whole world. **<PART-WHOLE>**

At the opening of mental space 3, the manifesto writers utilize previously mentioned ideological mindsets located on the -t axis. Here they invoke the COUNTERFORCE schema for the fifth time (second time in -t). In this instance, the contradiction lies between 'US imperialism' and 'national liberation struggles'. The term 'people's war', encountered in mental space 1, and 'national liberation struggles' encountered here in mental space 3 both metonymically stand for the same nationalist uprisings in the Third World that were seeking to drive out foreign economic interference. For this reason, these mindsets are both considered to be category members of the same prototype. I understand 'national liberation struggle' as being the central member as it covers more of the potential categorical meaning, whereas 'people's war' is less central referring to a specific tactical agreement between guerrilla militias and civilians. In mental space 4, the reader comes to the first two explicit evaluations of the outgroup in the form of the adjectival modifiers 'petty' and 'reactionary', which occupy distal locations on the a-axis. 'US imperialism' is portrayed as moving from time past into the present as it has 'unified, allied with, and defended all reactionary forces' presumably up to the current moment.

With the accumulation of four mental spaces total, the s-axis harbours the most intricate category structure of the three axes so far with six prototypical areas. Mental space 4 added two evaluations to the a-axis with 'petty' and 'reactionary' describing outgroup moral qualities. 'US imperialism' is construed this time as in conflict with an ingroup mindset, while also acting as the main AGENT in sustaining a political alliance of outgroups. In this incremental cognitive building of the frame space, mental spaces 3 and 4 reaffirm the locations of previously encountered identities on the s-axis, while adding to the -t-axis with action occurring in time past moving into the present. These latter mental spaces also introduce the first categorical positions for evaluations of the outgroup in distal axiological space.

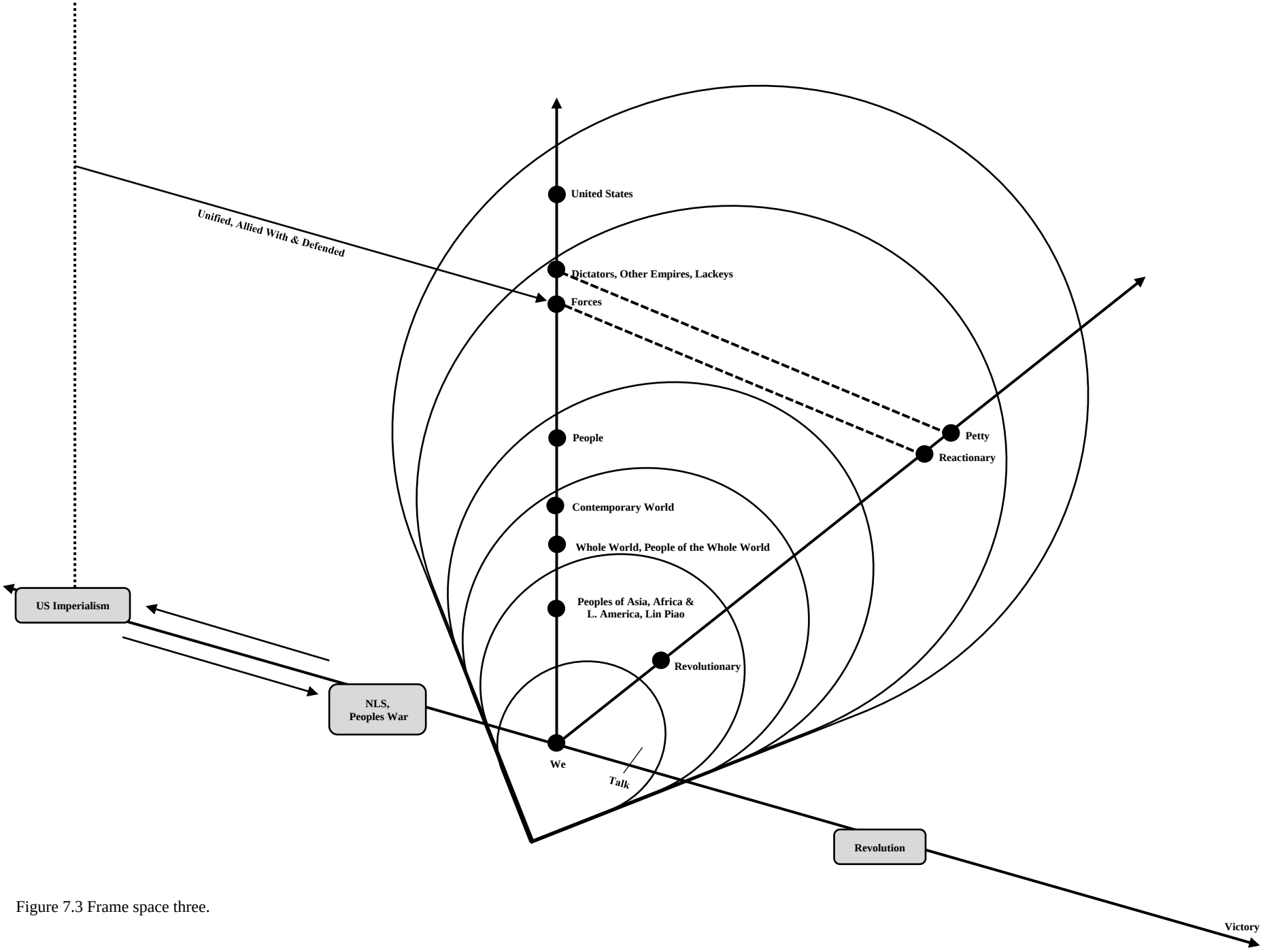


Figure 7.3 Frame space three.

7.1.4 Frame space four (MS 1-5, 8 sentences)

Mental space five:
Thus, in considering **<CONTAINER>** every other force or phenomenon **< PART-WHOLE/ENABLEMENT>**, from Soviet imperialism or Israeli imperialism to "workers struggle" in France or Czechoslovakia **<CONTAINER>** we **<AGENT>** determine **<PATH>** who are our friends **<GOAL>** and who are our enemies **<GOAL>** according to whether they **<AGENT>** help **<PATH>** US imperialism **<GOAL>** or fight **<COUNTERFORCE/PATH>** to defeat it. **<GOAL>**

In mental space 5, the reader encounters three ideological mindsets construed with the use of a FORCE schema ('every other force'). This gives the reader the impression of thought systems thrusting themselves from the past into the present. Relating ideological mindsets to forces could also imply COMPULSION, where potent mindsets compel movements of people into political action. Since 'US imperialism' was previously construed with a SCALE schema ('headed by') to be the leader of all other forms of imperialism, it receives the most distal location on the -t-axis. By implication, 'Soviet imperialism' must be the second most dangerous and therefore distal, with 'Israeli imperialism' coming next, being less powerful and more heavily dependent on US military aid. While the various imperialisms are presented as ideological systems moving into the present, the ingroup mindset 'worker's struggle' is construed as being located within two nation state CONTAINERS ('France' and 'Czechoslovakia'). Weatherman felt a strong affinity to the 'worker's struggle' in these countries, viewing themselves as a similar type of New Left movement protesting in a Western democracy.

Weatherman evoke the deictic centre again with the pronoun 'we'. In frame space, the action 'determine' in mental space 5 is located in relation to the strategic action mentioned earlier, which was 'talking' about revolution in mental space 2. Here the ingroup move further along the +t-axis in 'determining' who are 'friends' and 'enemies', which points to those broad regions of proximal and distal identity relations along the s-axis. Weatherman are telling the reader that the proximity of each identity relation will be determined by the actions of each group, whether they 'help US imperialism' or fight 'to defeat it'. Defeating US imperialism is the second utopian GOAL mentioned in the manifesto and takes its place on the +t-axis after the mindset category of 'revolutionary struggle'.

At this point in the manifesto, with the accumulation of mental spaces 1-5, the reader has acquired six major identity and three evaluative prototype categories along the s and a-axes. Within mental space 5 alone, the reader's attention is directed to the broad regions of proximal ('friends') and distal ('enemies') relations along the s-axis. This causes the reader to consider who may be occupying these regions already or who could potentially come to fill these identity locations within a revolutionary worldview. The -t-axis has become more populated with two new outgroup ('Soviet imperialism' and 'Israeli imperialism') and one ingroup mindset ('worker's struggle'). Also, a goal is added to the +t-axis ('defeat US imperialism'), which must come sometime after the 'revolutionary struggle' mindset and before a complete 'victory'.

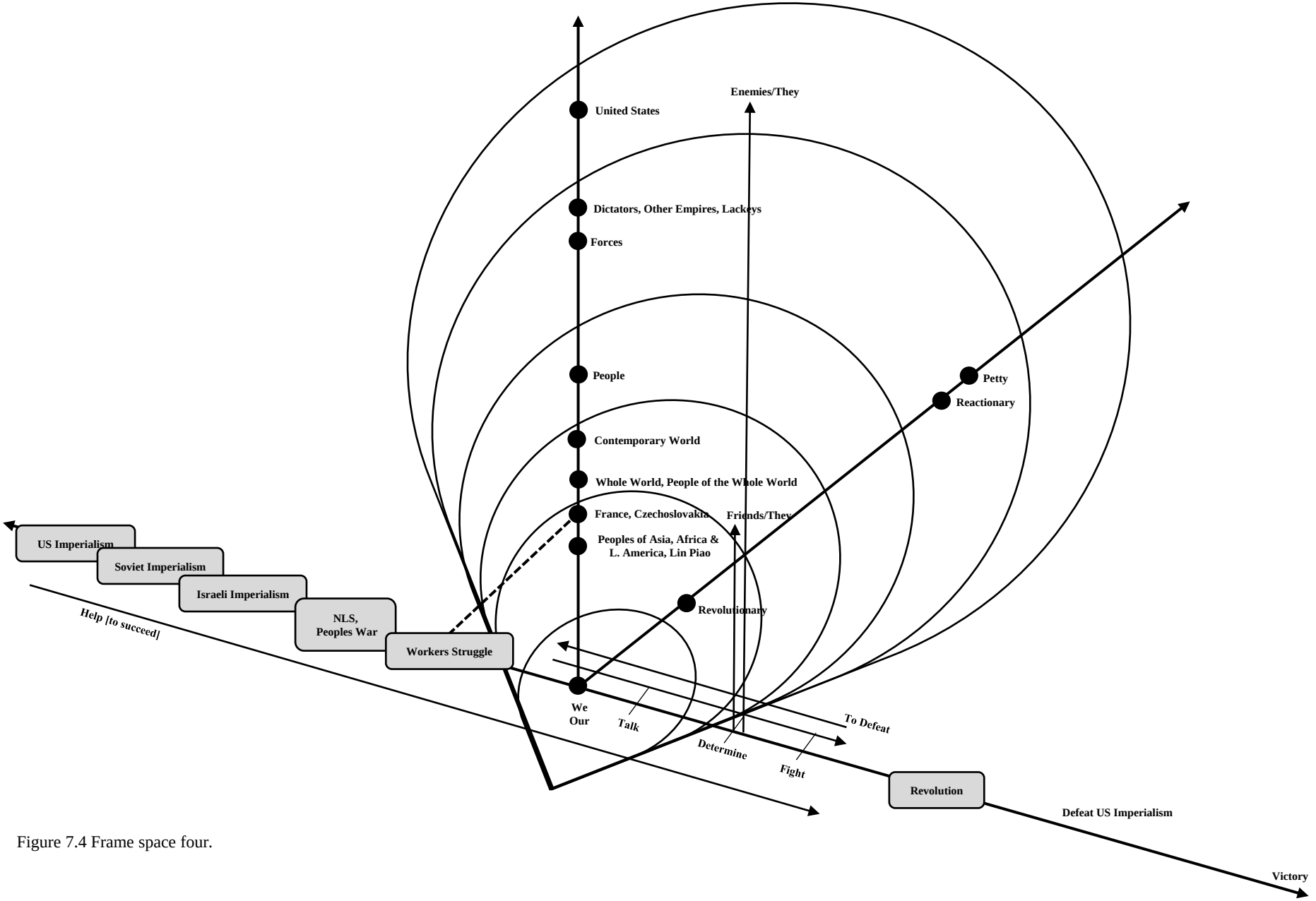


Figure 7.4 Frame space four.

7.1.5 Frame space five (MS 1-6, 9 sentences)

Mental space six:
So the very first question **<SCALE/GOAL>** people **<AGENT>** in this country **<CONTAINER>** must ask **<PATH>** in considering the question **<CONTAINER>** of revolution is where they **<AGENT>** stand in relation to **<LINK>** the United States **<GOAL>** as an oppressor **<ENABLEMENT>** nation, and where they **<AGENT>** stand in relation to **<LINK>** the masses of people **<GOAL>** throughout the world **<SURFACE>** whom US imperialism **<AGENT>** is oppressing **<PATH-GOAL>**.

In mental space 6, Weatherman begin with a question for the 'people in the US'. Asking Americans to consider where they 'stand in relation to' other geopolitical identities stationed along the s-axis. Since this is a revolutionary worldview, the US is positioned as the most distal relation along the s-axis. This gravitates the American people closer to the outgroup side of the medial identity relations. However, Weatherman do differentiate between the 'people in the US' from the US as an 'empire'. Located at a medial position on the s-axis, American people have the potential to deny imperial exploitation via the coming American Revolution, and become part of the more proximal identity category of 'revolutionary peoples'. Of course, the people in the US could also choose to relate more closely with their own national interests.

For Weatherman, the problem with the United States is ethical in nature, receiving the most distal axiological relation—existing as an 'oppressor nation'. Similar to mental space 5, in 6 'US imperialism' is metaphorically projected as moving from a distal location on the -t-axis into the present with the verb phrase 'is oppressing'. So an ideological mindset is the AGENT, using unimpeded force to crush the identity 'masses throughout the world', which I have located on the s-axis just beneath the more broad 'contemporary world'. Although 'masses throughout the world' is a highly ambiguous identity label, the PART-WHOLE schema does direct the reader's attention to a PART ('masses') within a larger WHOLE of a global space ('world'). With the addition of mental space 6 to the frame space model, the outgroup evaluation of 'oppressor', located at the distal end of the a-axis, is the only novel prototype category added to the LTM coordinate system. Most of this space is spent adding new category members to existing identity prototypes, and simulating actions of already established ideological mindsets or political identities.

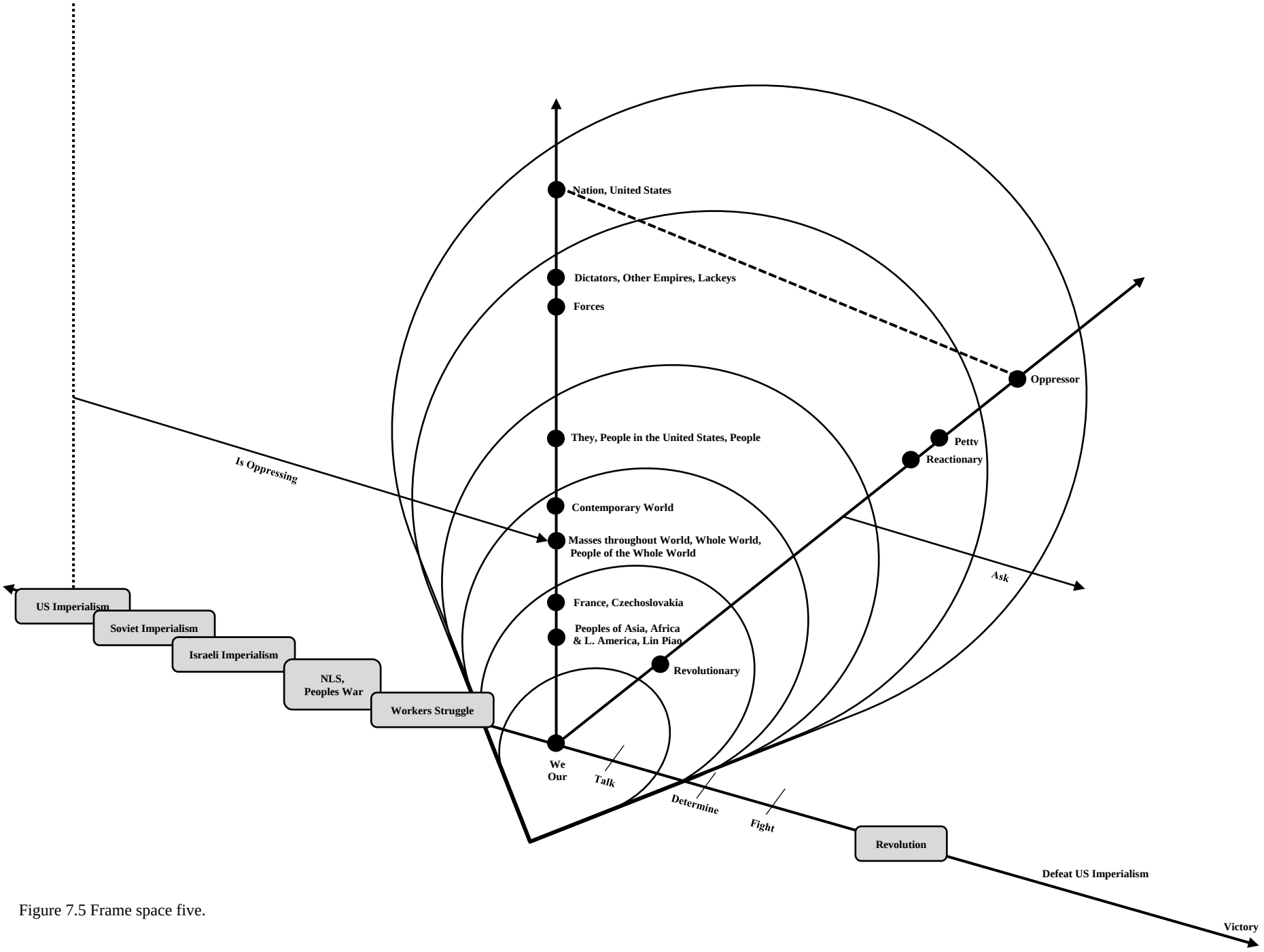


Figure 7.5 Frame space five.

7.1.6 Frame space six (MS 1-7, 10 sentences)

Mental space seven:
The primary task **<SCALE>** of revolutionary struggle **<COUNTERFORCE/AGENT>** is to solve **<PATH>** this principal contradiction **<SCALE/COUNTERFORCE>** on the side of **<BALANCE>** the people **<GOAL>** of the world. **<PART-WHOLE>**

In mental space 7, COUNTERFORCE is invoked for the sixth time as the Weatherman proclaim that the 'contradiction' should be solved on the side of world peoples. In this space, which recalls the schematic relations first built in mental space 1, the outgroup 'imperialists' must be inferred. The prepositional phrase 'on the side of' construes this two-way struggle within a BALANCE schema. In this scene, Weatherman represent the constant COUNTERFORCE relations holding between two geopolitical groups as breaking down, where the outgroup is forced off balance. This indicates that the ingroup 'side' is being elevated, while the outgroup 'side' is submerged. In Weatherman's view, a more equitable balancing of the economic scales would end with world peoples resolving the current COUNTERFORCE relation in their favour. This BALANCE schema, representing economic justice, is an example of an image schema working its way up from a concrete physical domain of standing upright without falling into a more abstract legal domain that requires moral reasoning. With the addition of mental space 7, there are no new prototype category members added. However, the relationship between mindsets along the +t-axis and identities on the s-axis are developed, where 'people of the world' are explicitly connected to the coming 'revolutionary struggle' mindset. The BALANCE schema construes a power shift on the side of the proximal identity relations against the distal relations. By connecting an ingroup identity ('people of the world') with an ingroup mindset ('revolutionary struggle'), and by moving the ingroup toward the outgroup, Weatherman further stabilize the location of these prototype categories during the manifesto's unfolding.

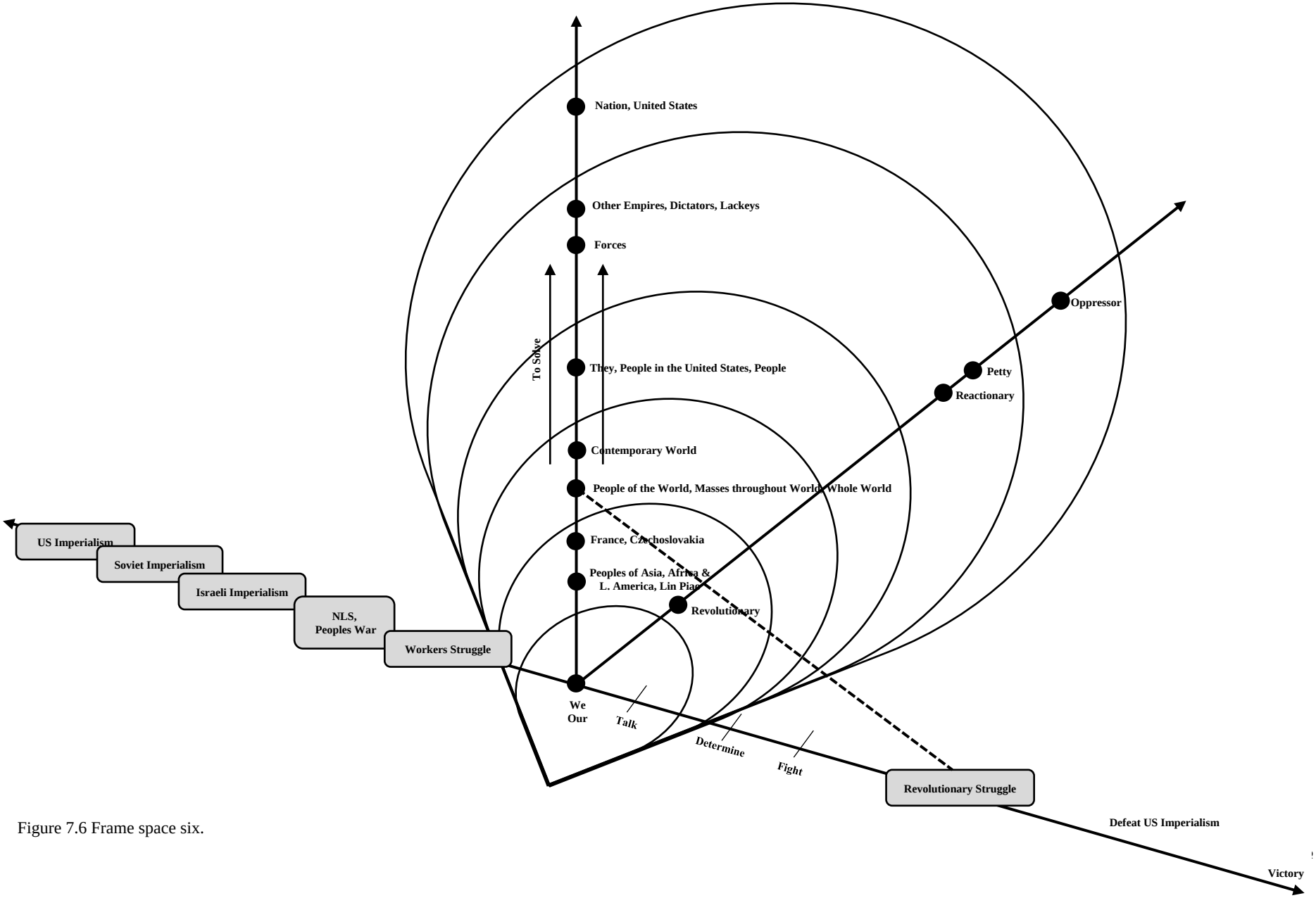


Figure 7.6 Frame space six.

7.1.7 Frame space seven (MS 1-9, 12 sentences)

Mental space eight:
It is the oppressed **<ENABLEMENT>** peoples **<AGENT>** of the world **<PART-WHOLE>** who have created **<PATH>** the wealth of this empire **<GOAL>** and it is to them that it belongs **<PATH/GOAL>** the goal of **<GOAL>** the revolutionary struggle **<COUNTERFORCE>** must be the control and use of this wealth **<PATH-GOAL>** in the interests **<CONTAINER>** of the oppressed **<ENABLEMENT>** peoples of the world. **<PART-WHOLE>**

Mental space nine:
It is in this context **<CONTAINER>** that we **<AGENT>** must examine **<PATH>** the revolutionary struggles **<COUNTERFORCE>** in the United States. **<CONTAINER>**

Mental space 8 opens with an evaluative statement about Third World peoples. This identity stands as the second most proximal relation in frame space to the deictic centre, and here receives the evaluation of 'oppressed' because of negative actions happening to it. In contrast, the most proximal identity relation receives the evaluation 'revolutionary' based on actions they are performing themselves. The past action of 'oppressed peoples...who have created the wealth' simulates wealth as an object moving from proximal geopolitical relations towards 'this empire', another category member added to the most distal identity prototype. Then, once the 'wealth' is brought to the most remote end of the s-axis, it is then taken right back to the ingroup relation ('belongs to them'). Therefore, wealth as an object is being transferred to different identity locations along the s-axis. Mental space 8 also points to a location further down the +t axis where the GOAL is to 'control and use wealth in the interests of the oppressed peoples'. With the noun phrase 'oppressed peoples', Weatherman are invoking proximal relations on both s and a-axes simultaneously.

Mental space 9 refers back to the context previously simulated in mental space 8: that of transferring wealth back to Third World peoples. Here the manifesto writers employ the imperative 'must examine' to get the reader to seriously consider the potential of the ingroup mindset 'revolutionary struggle'. By mental space 9, this ingroup mindset is located along the +t-axis after the strategic actions of 'talk', 'examine', 'determine' and 'fight' within the sequential categorical structure. This examination of revolution is constrained within the CONTAINED region of the 'US'. This nation-state CONTAINER schema is the first of ten explicit construals of the political situation as exclusively occurring within the geographical boundaries of the US. After the accumulation of twelve sentences, making up roughly half of the first section of the manifesto, this is the frame space built so far. With mental spaces 8 and 9 contributing to the overall design of geometric space, the reader adds another prototype category to the a-axis ('oppressed'), situates a new goal along the +t-axis ('control and use wealth...[for] the oppressed') and finds back and forth exchanges of objects along the s-axis ('wealth') between proximal ('oppressed peoples') and distal ('empire') identities.

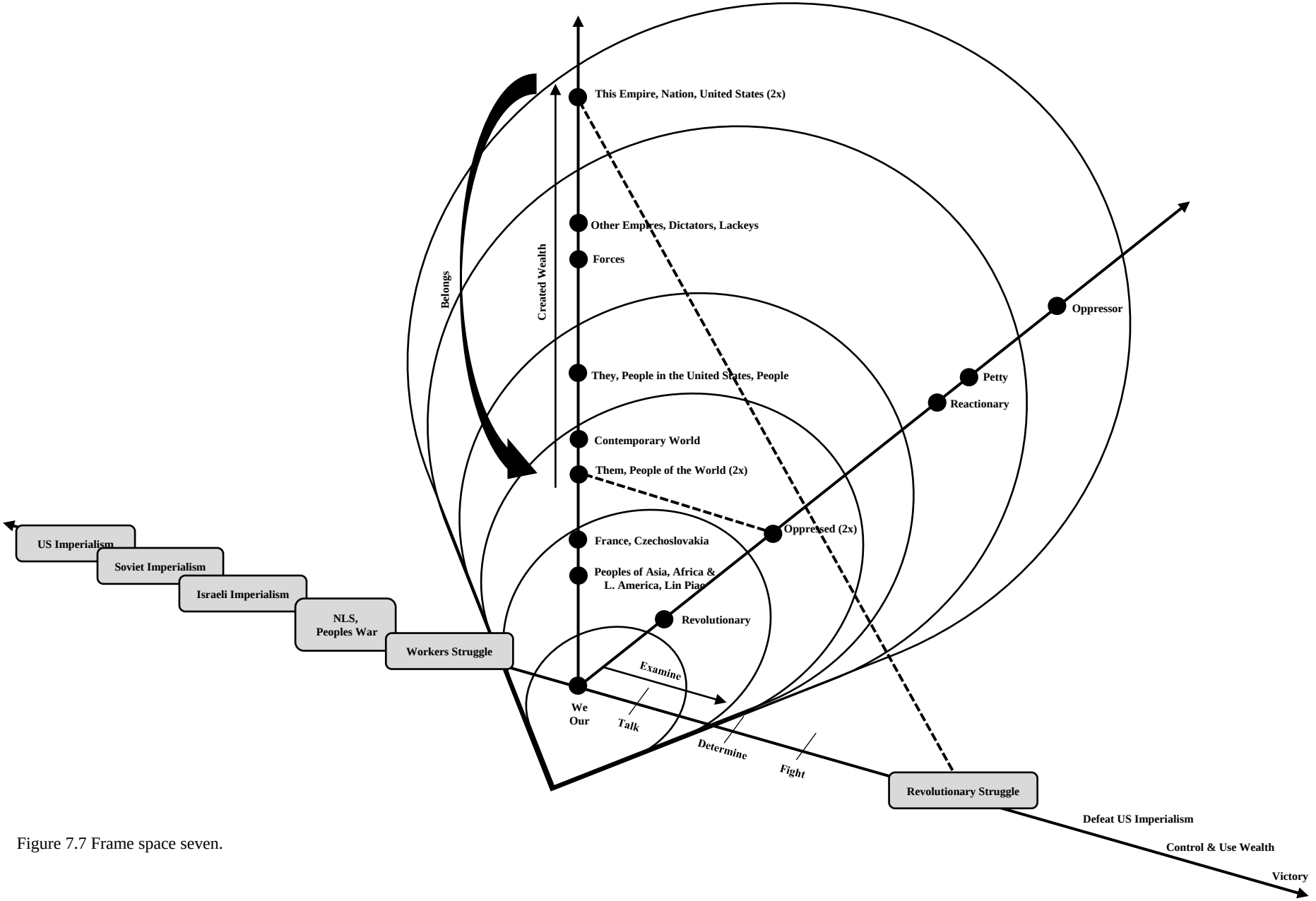


Figure 7.7 Frame space seven.

7.1.8 Frame space eight (MS 1-10, 13 sentences)

Mental space ten:
We are within **<CONTAINER>** the heartland **<CENTRE-PERIPHERY>** of a worldwide **<SURFACE>** monster, a country **<AGENT>** so rich **<SCALE/GOAL>** from its worldwide **<SURFACE>** plunder **<PATH>** that even the crumbs doled out to **<PATH>** the enslaved **<ENABLEMENT>** masses **<GOAL>** within its borders **<CONTAINER>** provide for material existence **<PATH/GOAL>** very much above **<SCALE>** the conditions of the masses of people of the world. **<PART-WHOLE>**

In mental space 10, Weatherman construe all American people as within a 'worldwide monster'. Note that the evaluation 'monster' is located in the same axiological prototype category as 'oppressor'. Considering all the distal category members on the a-axis, the accumulative evaluation of the outgroup is of a greedy, violent beast. A PATH of 'plunder' again moves wealth from more proximal to distal identities along the s-axis, only to have this wealth return back down the s-axis to proximal relations. However, in contrast to mental spaces 8 and 9, in 10 the wealth does not travel as far back down the s-axis to 'oppressed peoples', stopping at the American people ('enslaved masses') within the nation-state CONTAINER. The American people are positioned on the a-axis in a sympathetic light as 'enslaved. 'Providing material existence' to the American public above the world masses, is a counter-strategy of the American Empire. Being 'enslaved' gives the American people the choice to relate to the more proximal evaluative category of 'oppressed'. However, Weatherman admit that many Americans working in modern society are well provided for, and have no immediate interest in overthrowing the current economic state of affairs.

With the addition of mental space 10, the a-axis gains a new medial evaluative prototype category ('enslaved') and the most distal evaluative prototype is further developed ('monster'). At this point in the manifesto, the reader has accumulated a total of ten mental spaces. As the reader progresses though the text, the categorical structure of frame space is continuously becoming more filled in. So far, the reader has encountered six identity, five evaluative, six mindset, three strategy and three goal prototype categories occupying deictic frame space. These prototype categories will continue to accrue category members as the reader moves through the text.

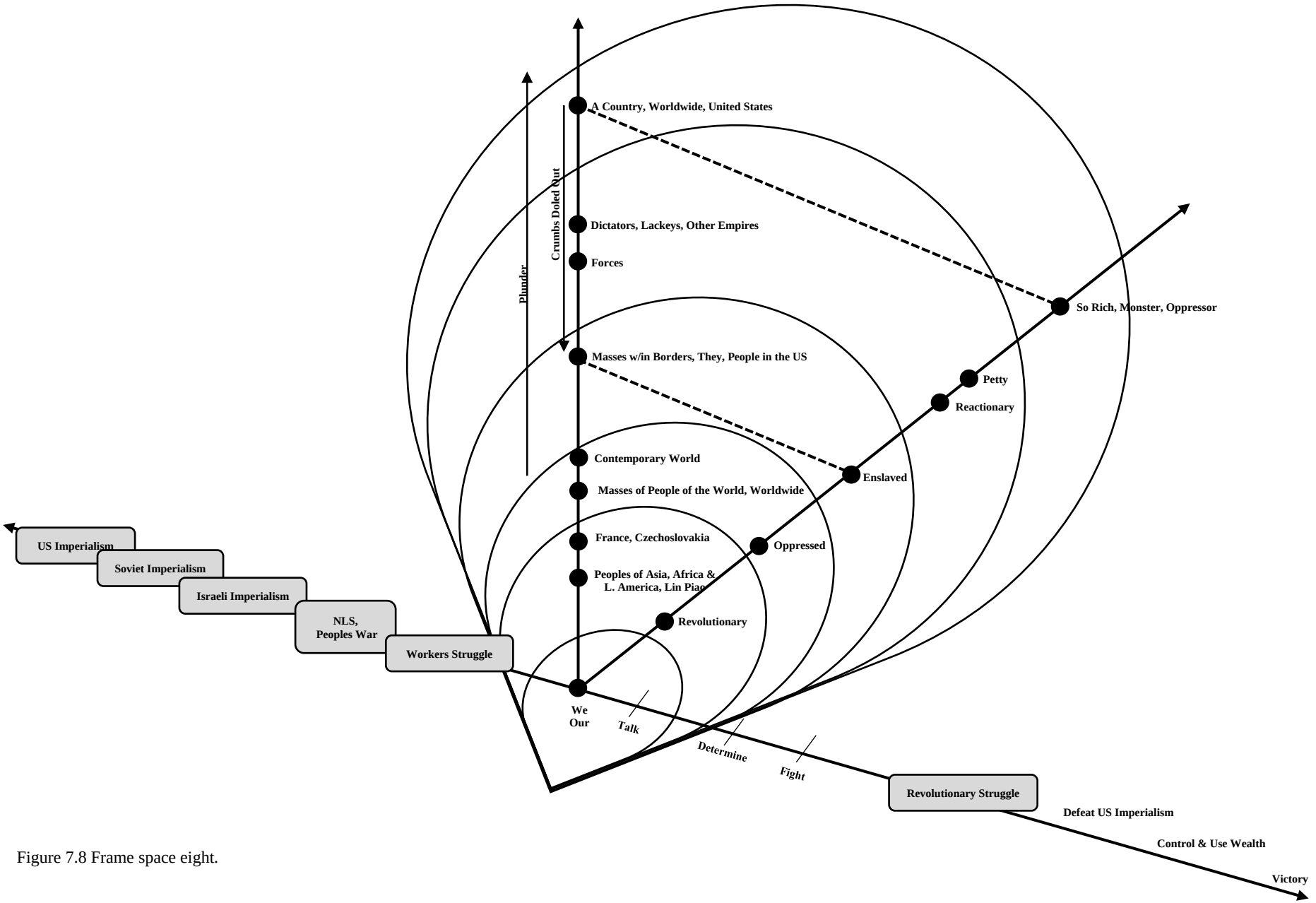


Figure 7.8 Frame space eight.

7.1.9 Frame space nine (MS 1-11, 15 sentences)

Mental space eleven:
The US Empire, **<AGENT>** as a worldwide **<SURFACE>** system **<PROCESS>** channels wealth, **<PATH>** based upon the labor and resources of **<SURFACE>** the rest of the world, **<PART-WHOLE>** into the United States. **<CONTAINER/GOAL>** The relative affluence **<SCALE>** existing in the United States **<CONTAINER>** is directly dependent upon the labor and natural resources **<SURFACE>** of the Vietnamese, the Angolans, the Bolivians and the rest of the peoples of the Third World. **<PART-WHOLE>**

In mental space 11, as in the previous two mental spaces, again we find the same PATH vector moving from proximal to distal relations on the s-axis. This time the referent is 'US Empire', who is channelling the objects of 'labor and resources' away from the medial identity relation 'rest of the world'. The exalted status of the 'US Empire' having a plenitude of wealth is construed as a US CONTAINER resting on the SURFACE of Third World revolutionary peoples. Explicitly mentioning 'Vietnamese, Angolan and Bolivian peoples', these proper nouns become category members of the most proximal identity prototype in relation to Weatherman's deictic centre. Adding mental space 11 to the rest of the accumulated frame space does not bring with it any new prototype categories. However, this space does add category members to already established prototypes, especially to the proximal ingroup identities along the s-axis.

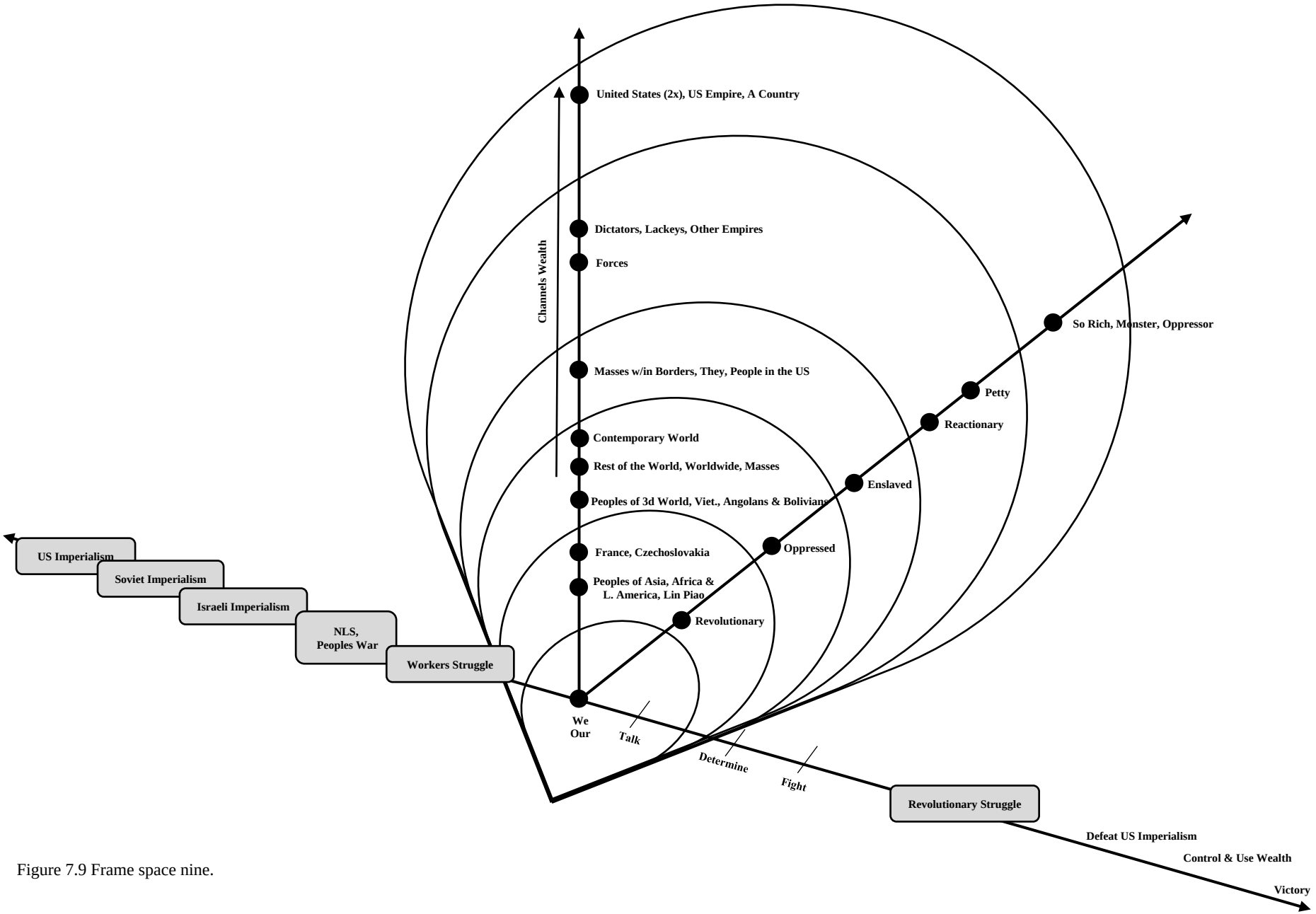


Figure 7.9 Frame space nine.

7.1.10 Frame space ten (MS 1-13, 17 sentences)

Mental space twelve:
All of the United Airlines Astrojets, all of the Holiday Inns, all of Hertz's automobiles, your television set, car and wardrobe **<PART-WHOLE>** already belong, **<PATH>** to a large degree **<SCALE>** to the people **<GOAL>** of the rest of the world. **<PART-WHOLE>**

Mental space thirteen:
Therefore, any conception of "socialist revolution" **<SCALE>** simply in terms of the working **<CONTAINER>** people of the United States, **<PART-WHOLE>** failing to recognize the full scope of interests **<CENTRE-PERIPHERY>** of the most **<SCALE>** oppressed **<ENABLEMENT>** peoples of the world, **<PART-WHOLE>** is a conception of a fight **<SOURCE/COUNTERFORCE/PATH >** for a particular privileged interest **<GOAL>** and is a very **<SCALE>** dangerous ideology.

In contrast to mental space 11, mental space 12 construes a PATH of American goods and services (e.g. 'Astrojets') as moving from distal to proximal identity relations. The verb 'belong' indicates to the reader that the proper location of these services is with those who have created them. This constant movement of material objects between three major political groups in the first section of the manifesto simplifies the identity coordinates along the s-axis to a large degree. From Weatherman's point of view, there are three highly clear-cut sides with the 'imperialists' as distal, the 'people of the US' and 'world' as medial and 'revolutionary peoples' as proximal. This tripartite categorization of identity groups is confirmed by the movement of objects along the s-axis. The reader encounters this construal between the three main actors mainly in the schematic forms of COUNTERFORCE as an ongoing conflict or PATH as a monetary exchange between two groups.

Mental space 13 adds a new prototype category to the -t axis with 'socialist revolution'. This ideological mindset is located nearest to the ingroup's temporal deictic centre. The meaning of this mindset is of utmost importance to Weatherman, as rival factions within SDS desired a strictly nationalist version of socialist revolution. The Progressive Labour (PL) faction of SDS connected their rival version of 'socialist revolution' exclusively to the 'working people of the US' (see Section 2.3). 'Working', as a positive evaluative prototype category, falls along the a-axis after 'enslaved'. Weatherman was not opposed to mobilizing 'working people' into their revolution, they simply believed it was a waste of time because of their enjoyment of 'privileged interests'. Notice that the evaluations of the American people now range from 'enslaved' to 'working' to 'privileged'. This speaks to the fact that the American people have the option to choose to relate more closely to 'oppressed peoples', being similarly 'enslaved', or choose to relate with 'reactionary forces', being similarly 'privileged'. Thus, the evaluations surrounding the American people are mixed, giving further assurance that this group should occupy a medial relation in socio-spatial and axiological frame space. In contrast to rival SDS factions, Weatherman push for a more international version of 'socialist revolution', which includes Third World peoples in a global redistribution of wealth. For this reason, any version of an American 'socialist revolution' limited to national concerns alone is considered more distally along the a-axis as 'privileged' and upon the t-axis as a 'dangerous ideology'. With the addition of mental spaces 12 and 13, the evaluations surrounding the medial identity 'people of the US' become more complex. Also, a new ideological mindset is added, the mindset residing nearest to Weatherman's temporal deictic centre.

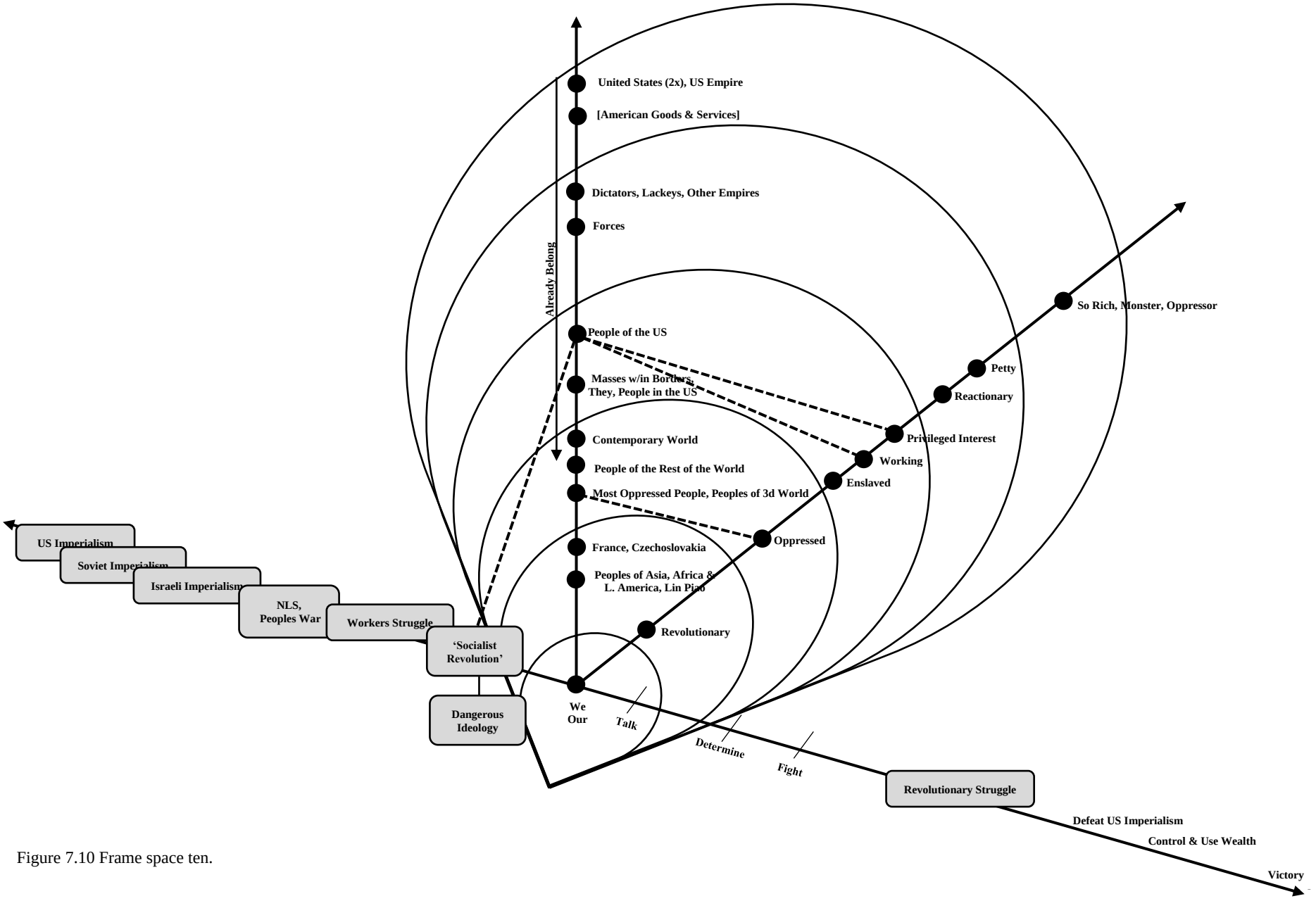


Figure 7.10 Frame space ten.

7.1.11 Frame space eleven (MS 1-14, 19 sentences)

Mental space fourteen:
While the control and use of the wealth **<PATH>** of the Empire for the people of the whole world **<PART-WHOLE/GOAL>** is also in the interests **<CONTAINER>** of the vast majority **<SCALE>** of the people in this country, **<CONTAINER>** if the goal is not clear **<GOAL/SURFACE>** from the start **<SOURCE>** we **<AGENT>** will further the preservation of **<PATH>** class society **<SCALE>**, oppression **<ENABLEMENT>**, war **<COUNTERFORCE>**, genocide **<ENABLEMENT>** **<CYCLE/GOAL>** and the complete immiseration **<PART-WHOLE>** of everyone, **<PART-WHOLE>** including the people of the US. **<PART-WHOLE>** The goal is the destruction **<PATH>** of US imperialism **<GOAL>** and the achievement of a classless world: **<PATH/GOAL>** world communism.

In mental space 14 distal locations along the +t-axis become more filled out. The GOAL of Weatherman to 'control and use wealth', first mentioned in mental space 9, is reinforced here by a PATH vector simulating movement of 'wealth' from the 'Empire' toward the proximal 'people of the world'. Without spelling out how, Weatherman are certain that this transference of wealth is in the interests of the 'vast majority of the people' in the US. Weatherman then direct the reader's attention back to the distal relations along the +t-axis, with the lexis 'goal', and immediately afterwards directs attention back to a proximal location along the +t-axis with 'start'. If these SOURCE and GOAL coordinates are not filled with real alternatives, Weatherman predict the American people will inevitably become part of 'preserving' an objectionable state of affairs, including both harmful actions and dystopian realities. I have located these outgroup strategies of 'class society, oppression, war and genocide' as currently impeding ingroup success. I infer that these dystopian states and counteractions, taken together, constitute a CYCLE schema which acts as a BLOCKAGE between Weatherman's current temporal location and the aspired to event of 'revolutionary struggle' positioned as a medial relation on the +t-axis. This sequence of outgroup strategies moves from the most abstract concept 'class society' to a general action of 'oppression', which echoes the most distal evaluative relation on the a-axis 'oppressor'. These abstract signifiers then move into the more concrete actions of 'war' and 'genocide'. In this statement, Weatherman are claiming that military interventions in Third World countries are propping up a highly polarized class system within the United States.

Weatherman end mental space 14 by providing two contents for future GOALS. On the +t-axis 'destruction of US imperialism' adds a category member to the GOAL prototype category first conceptualised in mental space 5 ('defeat US imperialism'). This category is located in frame space just after the mindset 'revolutionary struggle'. The GOAL to 'control and use wealth' must obviously occur after the outgroup has largely been defeated and is therefore located further down the +t-axis. Then, Weatherman supply a GOAL that occupies the most distal location on the +t-axis for the remainder of the manifesto—'achieving a classless world'. Weatherman give a title to this utopian sentiment of living in a completely classless society, labelling it 'world communism'. This is the only other ideological mindset placed along the +t-axis, so that the opening section contains eight ideological mindsets in total moving from the past into the future. While six mindsets reside along the -t-axis and move into the present, the two mindsets that reside along the +t-axis have not yet been reached by the ingroup.

With the addition of mental space 14, Weatherman primarily focus on filling in the category structure of the +t-axis. Outgroup strategies are located proximally to the temporal deictic centre acting as an unbroken CYCLE of systemic actions and existential states, which are blocking the forward progress of the ingroup. Further along the +t-axis,

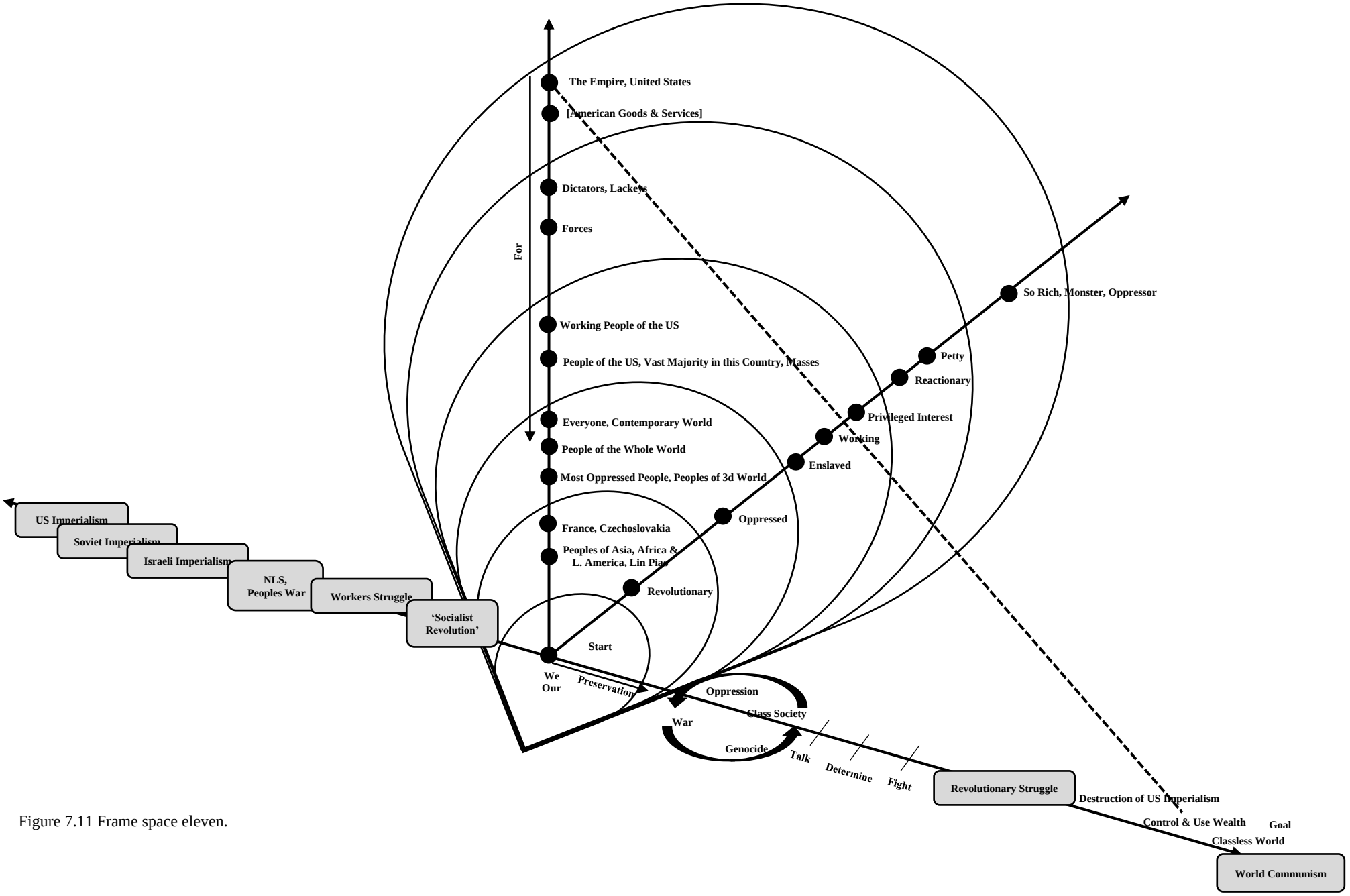


Figure 7.11 Frame space eleven.

Weatherman reinforce previous GOALS of ‘destroying US imperialism’ and ‘controlling wealth for the oppressed’, but also add the ultimate GOAL of ‘achieving a classless world’.

7.1.12 Frame space twelve (MS 1-15, 20 sentences)

Mental space fifteen:
Winning state power **<PATH/GOAL>** in the US will occur **<CONTAINER>** as a result of the military forces of the US **<AGENT/PART-WHOLE>** overextending themselves **<PATH>** around **<SURFACE>** the world **<GOAL>** and being defeated piecemeal **<PATH/PART-WHOLE>** struggle **<COUNTERFORCE>** within the US **<CONTAINER>** will be a vital part <**CENTRE-PERIPHERY/PART-WHOLE>** of this process **<PATH>**, but when the revolution **<AGENT>** triumphs **<GOAL>** in the US **<CONTAINER>** it will have been made **<PATH>** by the people **<AGENT>** of the whole world. **<PART-WHOLE>**

Mental space 15 opens by filling in more goals along the +t-axis with ‘winning state power’. Within the coordinate system, this new GOAL is located after ‘destruction of US imperialism’ and before ‘control and use of wealth’. Also in this space the military forces of the US are represented as moving from a distal to proximal location along the s-axis, where the vector prompted by ‘overextending’ moves toward the medial relation ‘world’. As the US military overextend themselves spatially, temporally they are being ‘defeated piecemeal’. The COUNTERFORCE schema is invoked as moving inside the US CONTAINER, and is presented as central to ‘this process’—referring to the overextension and piecemeal defeat of the US military.

Mental space 15 ends with the first and only instance of agency being attributed to ‘people of the whole world’ or any medial relation on the s-axis, where the success of ‘revolutionary struggle’ is dependent on global action. Similar to mental space 14, mental space 15 is primarily concerned to fill in categorical relations between political identities along the s-axis, and to add goals located distally along the +t-axis. So while no new prototype categories are added to the s or a-axes, on the +t-axis ‘winning state power’ and ‘triumph in the US’ introduce new categorical relations amongst an increasingly more intricate sequential category structure.

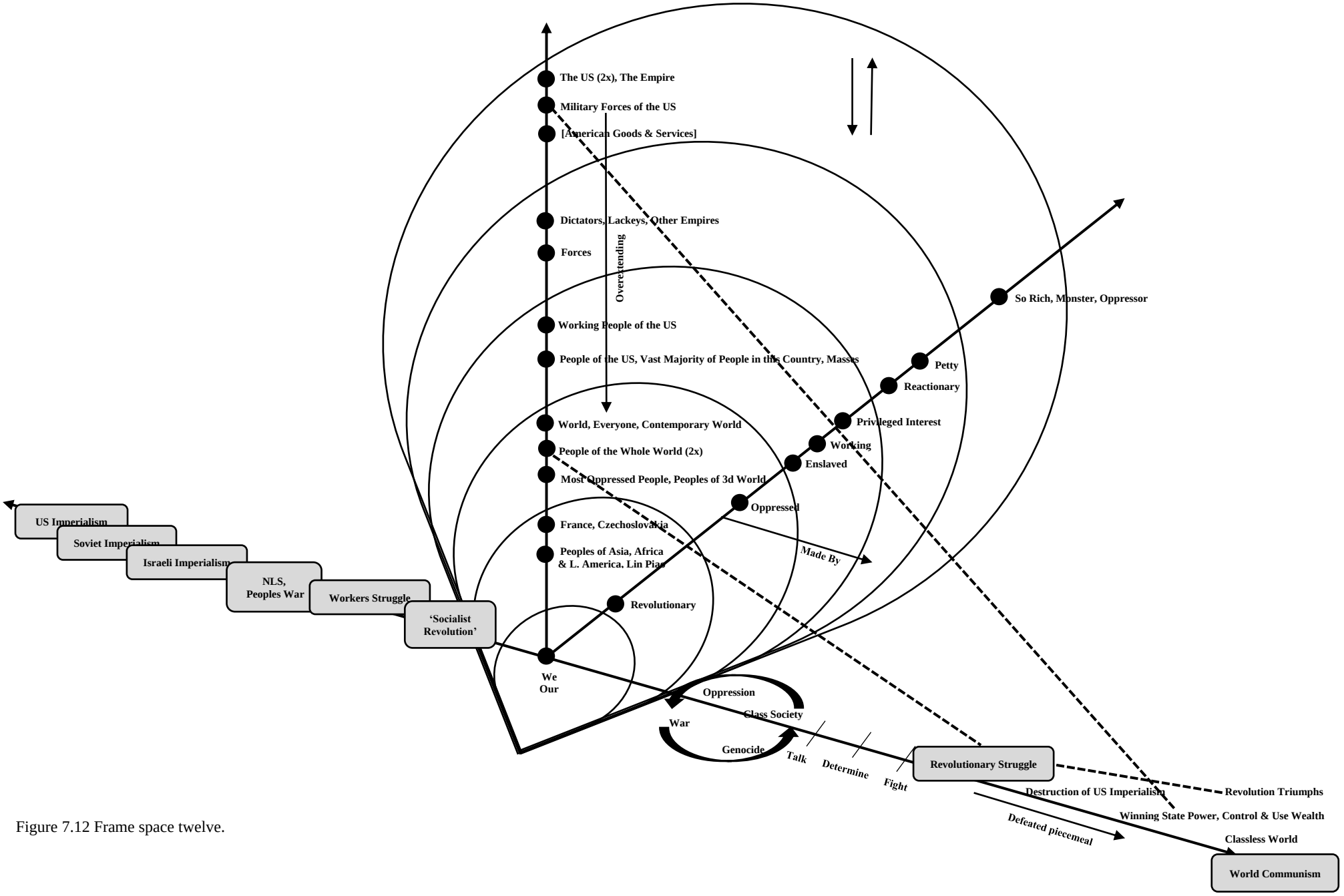


Figure 7.12 Frame space twelve.

7.1.13 Frame space thirteen (MS 1-16, 21 sentences)

Mental space sixteen:
For socialism to be defined in national terms **<CONTAINER>** within **<CONTAINER>** so extreme and historical **<SCALE>** an oppressor **<ENABLEMENT>** nation as this is only imperialist national chauvinism on the part of **<SURFACE/PART-WHOLE>** the "movement".

At the conclusion of the manifesto's introduction, Weatherman attempt to convince the reader to define 'socialism' broadly to include all world peoples. With a double CONTAINER ('in national terms' and 'within…oppressor nation'), Weatherman reinforce their scenic construal of university students living in the US, while invoking the most distal spatial and axiological elements of the outgroup with 'oppressor nation'. As for the contemporary New Left 'movement', from which Weatherman has emerged, they do not receive as harsh an evaluative condemnation as other outgroup identities ('petty' or 'reactionary'). However, the evaluation given of 'imperialist national chauvinism' does share affinities with the 'privileged interests' evaluation given to some Americans earlier in mental space 13. Weatherman reason that to define socialism in such an exclusive manner, without taking into consideration a history of extreme oppression, earns the New Left movement the negative judgement of being chauvinistic. Therefore, 'chauvinism' and 'privilege' has not only influenced the American people in general, but also those involved in the movement for social change as well. With the addition of mental space 16, Weatherman add their last identity prototype category. Placement of the 'movement' just on the other side of the medial identity relations is reinforced by the harsh evaluation they receive from the ingroup collective as being chauvinistic.

In summary, this final mental space is dedicated to adding both new identity ('movement') and evaluative ('chauvinism') prototype categories. This leaves the reader with seven identity and six evaluative regions along the spatial-oppositional axes. While categories along the +t-axis go unmentioned in mental space 16, the most proximal mindset on the -t-axis ('socialism') becomes more clearly delineated. As for the temporal-sequential axis the first section ends where the reader has encountered eight mindset, four action and five goal prototypes.

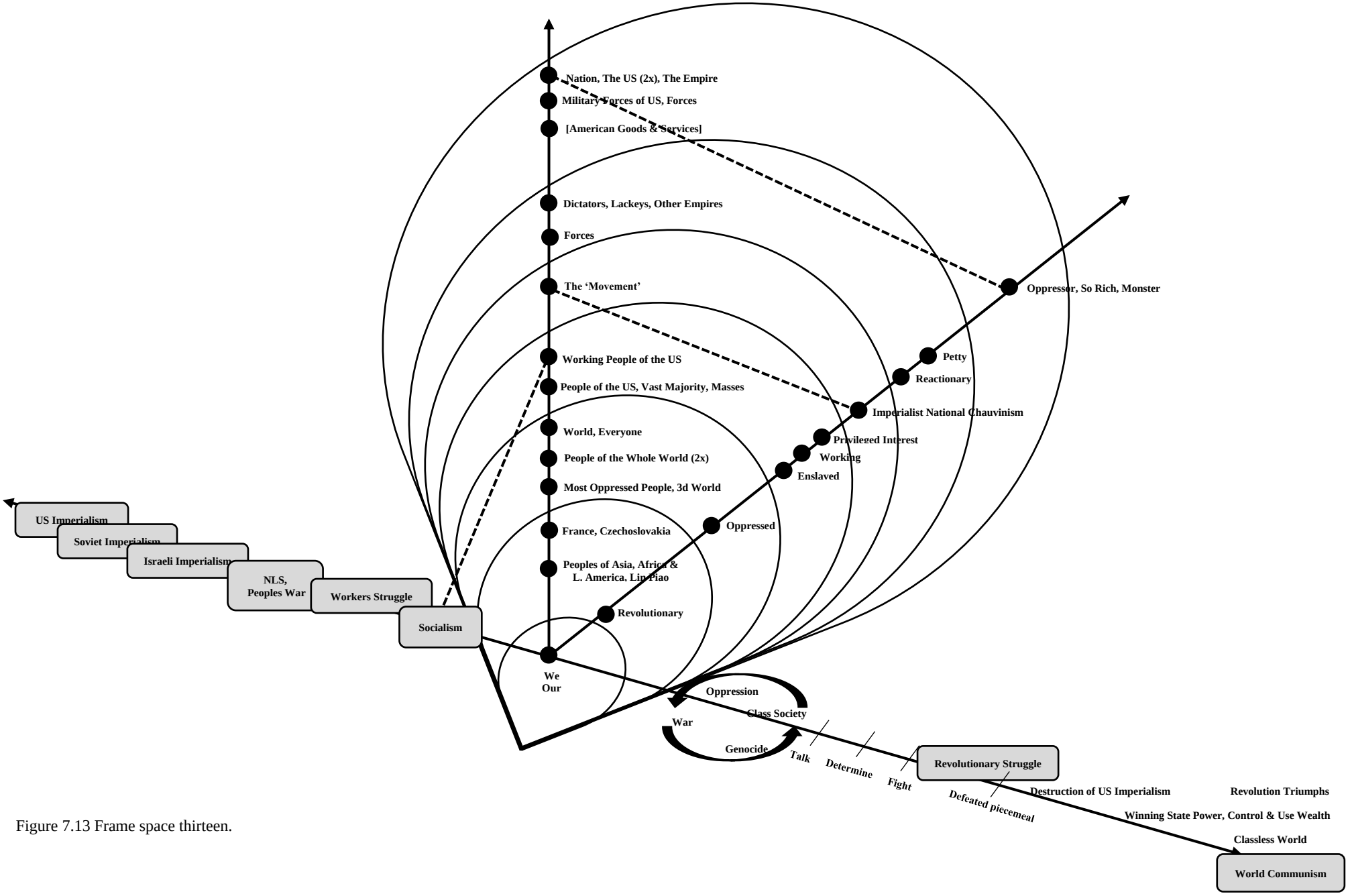


Figure 7.13 Frame space thirteen.

Building on the deictic mental space analysis in Chapter 6, I have modelled how the accumulation of mental spaces 1-16 build up into a more complete conceptual structure in frame space. As the reader processes these mental spaces and is about to move into the next section of the manifesto, s/he has built up a comprehensive geometric projection of a geopolitical worldview. Observing the accumulation of mental spaces, I have shown how discourse contents are positioned and construed in a repetitive fashion. Considering how multiple mental spaces in STM incrementally accumulate into a more detailed deictic frame space in LTM I have observed how:

- in/outgroup identities are located at opposing ends of the socio-spatial axis and repeatedly construed as moving toward one another;

- in/outgroup evaluations are intimately connected to political identities being co-contained in oppositional space;

- in/outgroup ideological mindsets often share a COUNTERFORCE tension along the -t-axis, while some move from past to present and others are projected into the future;

- in/outgroup identity and evaluative relations move along the +t-axis in tandem into upcoming strategic outcomes and future goals;

- the outgroup CYCLE of 'class society'-'oppression'-'war'-'genocide' represents the counter-strategy status quo along the +t-axis that must be overcome if the ingroup collective is to move forward into their most immediately aspired to ideological mindset of 'revolutionary struggle'.

The stability of frame space is dependent on the semi-fixed locations of prototype categories being built as radial CENTRE-PERIPHERY structures over the course of reading the opening section of the manifesto. I say 'semi-fixed' because the next section of the manifesto may introduce new identities, evaluations, mindsets, actions or goals not previously mentioned. The introduction of any new category along the three geometric axes does not completely rearrange all previously set categorical relations, but must be located within the greater category structure to receive a particular meaning. So when the reader comes to section two of the manifesto, this expansive coordinate system is augmented by adding newly introduced contents upon the existing structure already provided by the first section of the manifesto.[32] The analyst can be confident when determining the exact location of a newly introduced prototype category based on the deictic nature of conceptual space. By placing the ingroup at the deictic centre of LTM category structure, the analyst is able to determine the group's ideological point of view. The repetitive construal of discourse contents in certain locations within mental space helps the analyst to determine the categorical relations being built in frame space.

[32] For instance, later in the Weatherman manifesto, the strategy of 'passing out literature' at high schools is mentioned. In this case, the reader does not have to completely rearrange all the strategic actions present along the +t-axis, but instead searches for the exact location for this action to occur in relation to all the other categories already encountered. Considering the completed frame space of section one, this new category would likely be located somewhere between the action of determining one's stance toward Third World peoples and the action of actively fighting against an imperial worldview.

7.2 Frame space as a stored structure available for recall

Having considered how frame space is built from an accumulation of stored mental spaces, I now examine frame space as an inter-connected totality. Having been built up to represent the world as espoused by the text, once complete, the frame space could be accepted by the reader and become entrenched in LTM as part of the reader's worldview. After initial construal, frame space exists as an arrangement of radial prototype categories with central and peripheral members and fuzzy boundary relations (see Section 5.2.5). I proceed understanding that no category in deictic space is completely isolated, but gains meaning from the categories surrounding it. Based on prototype theory, I assume these categories merge into one another and overlap to some degree. In Figures 7.14-7.18, central category members are modelled as being located in the middle of radial containers, while less representative category members occupy more peripheral positions within the prototype structure. Employing an embodied approach to conceptual structure, I model the identity and evaluation categories in spatial-oppositional arrangements along the s and a-axes with the ingroup located at the deictic centre. In a temporal-sequential arrangement, I model prototype categories on the t-axis with the deictic centre to the right of the past ideological mindsets and to the left of future mindsets, actions and goals (see Section 5.2.6). Analysing the coordinates within the spatial domain, I move from proximal to distal conceptual relations from the writing collective's point of view.

By looking at the expansive categorical structure built by 16 interacting mental spaces, I am able to explore the conceptual relations existing between participants, evaluations, mindsets, strategic actions and utopian goals. I begin the analysis by first examining identity and evaluation oppositional orderings in the space domain. My intention is to explore how a 'master opposition schema' is involved in locating category members along the s and a-axes (see Section 5.2.3). Afterwards, I move to mindsets, strategic actions and utopian goal categories in the domain of time. My aim is to consider how these discourse phenomena exist as a series of sequential relations arranged along the t-axis from past to future. In this analysis of frame space as a stored conceptual structure, prototype category names are **bold-faced** corresponding to the central category member within the radial CENTRE-PERIPHERY structure. This enables easier connections to be made between the prototype diagrams and the category names mentioned while reading through the analysis.

7.2.1 Political identities

In Figure 7.14 I have modelled seven prototype categories located along the s-axis. Two categories represent ingroup identities that are revolutionary in nature, two categories represent large masses of people that are mainly passive, and three categories represent outgroup identities who mean to keep imperial relations in tact to some degree. In the analysis of each frame space, I begin at the deictic centre with the most proximal conceptual relations and move outward to more distal relations. On the s-axis, identity relations move from the most proximal prototype category members (e.g. 'revolutionary people') to the medial relations (e.g. 'world people') into more distal relations (e.g. 'reactionary forces').

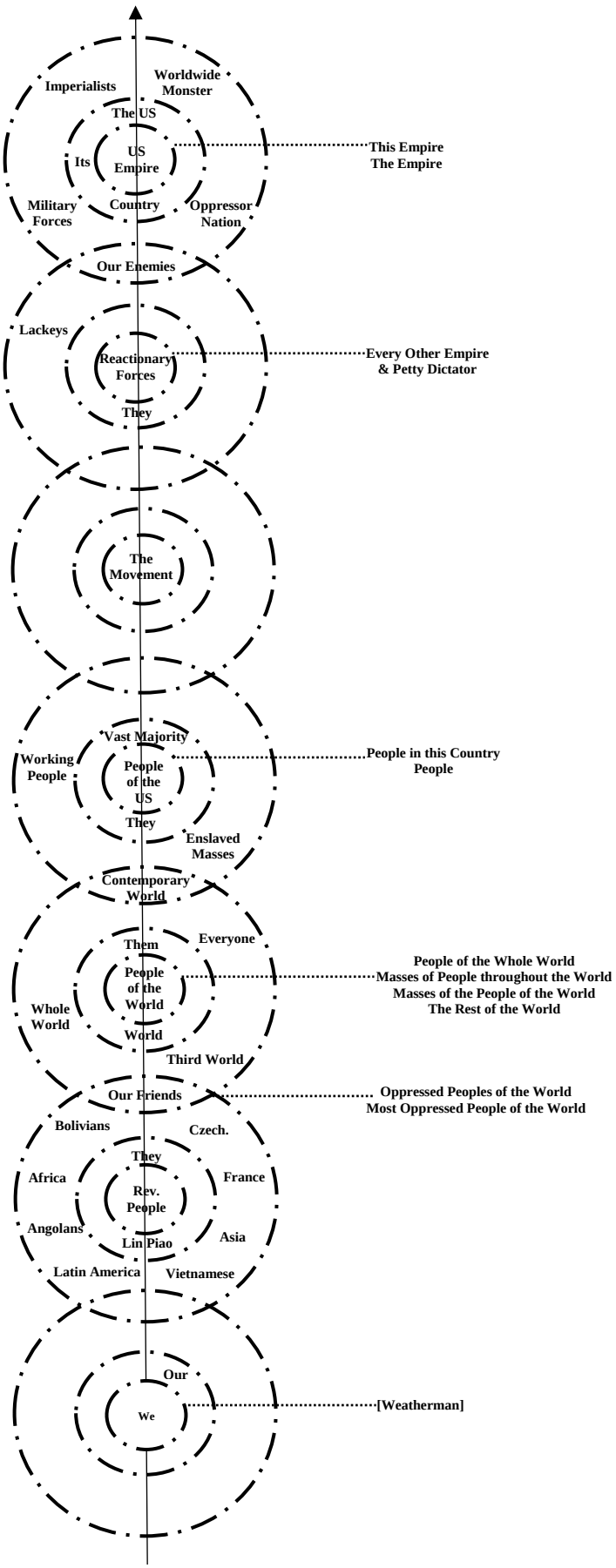


Figure 7.14 Deictic ordering of identity categories along the s-axis.

Moving from the ingroup's deictic centre along the s-axis, one encounters proximal prototype categories of three ingroup identities: **Weatherman, Revolutionary People** and **People of the Whole World**. **Weatherman**, although never mentioned by name, are positioned at the deictic zero point of 'we' and 'our'. **Weatherman** are represented as those who are talking about revolution, determining political allies and enemies, examining the merit of domestic protest movements and setting goals for building a new Communist Party in the US. **Revolutionary People** are those radical groups spread throughout 'Asia, Africa and Latin America' and are considered Weatherman's closest 'friends'. Perhaps the most striking feature of Weatherman's frame space is their choice to place Third World revolutionaries as the most proximal identity relation. Other SDS factions, following traditional Marxist theory, placed the domestic industrial working class as their closest allies. In contrast, Weatherman, even though they admit American workers are 'enslaved', locate them as a medial relation along the s-axis. By placing **Revolutionary People** as the most proximal relation to the deictic centre, Weatherman are indicating to all competing factions within SDS that they will not be satisfied with standard, non-violent protest actions. By relating so closely to people engaged in warfare against the US and to those overturning capitalist institutions, Weatherman use this socio-spatial positioning strategy to define their own collective identity.

Coming to medial conceptual relations, we find **People in the United States** and **The Movement**. **People in the US** are presented as 'enslaved masses' who are forced to live off the table scraps of imperial plunder. However, **People in the US** are also implicated as greedy because they benefit from the Empire's prosperity. **The Movement** is only mentioned briefly at the end of the first section. This category is made up of all those on the American Left who are similarly interested in revolutionary progress. **The Movement** are positioned at this medial location because they conceive of 'socialist revolution' as only needing to benefit American workers, which largely ignores Weatherman's international fidelity to the **People of the Whole World**. The **People of the Whole World** prototype contains the most category members along the s-axis. **People of the Whole World** are represented as those who are most often represented in a passive manner compared to other political actors. In general, identity prototypes positioned in the middle of the s-axis seem to lack the agency attributed to the identities located at both ends of the spatial-oppositional spectrum. For instance, even though **People of the Whole World** are physically active in the creation of wealth, Weatherman present them as being stolen from and not politically effective.

Reactionary Forces and **US Empire** mark the most distal identity relations from **Weatherman's** point of view. Mentioned only in the first two paragraphs, **Reactionary Forces** are presented as 'lackeys', because they are national rulers who are complicit in colonial deal-making. They are seen as 'dependent' upon the imperial system, and since they side with the **US Empire**, they are considered 'enemies'. The **US Empire** category, the most distal outlier on the s-axis, is represented as a group of 'imperialists' who are actively seeking to oppress the majority of the **People of the Whole World**. In this introductory section of the manifesto, the outgroup **US Empire** is given the metaphorical nickname 'worldwide monster' which is fitting for an 'oppressor nation' extremely rich from 'worldwide plunder'.

7.2.2 Evaluations

The a-axis contains moral ideals ordered in a scale of antonymic relations (Figure 7.15). Hence, this axis is evaluative in nature acting as an arrangement of positive versus negative judgment values. If considered from a deictic centre point concerned with spatial-oppositional relations, the a-axis is arranged from the most virtuous ingroup values to the most morally bankrupt outgroup values. After ordering the evaluative prototype categories in a scale of opposition, the analyst encounters six prototype categories. Two categories represent ingroup norms concerned with having a correct stance toward Third World peoples, two categories are medial relations that represent questionable ethical positions, and two categories are outgroup values subscribed to by American corporate and governmental institutions.

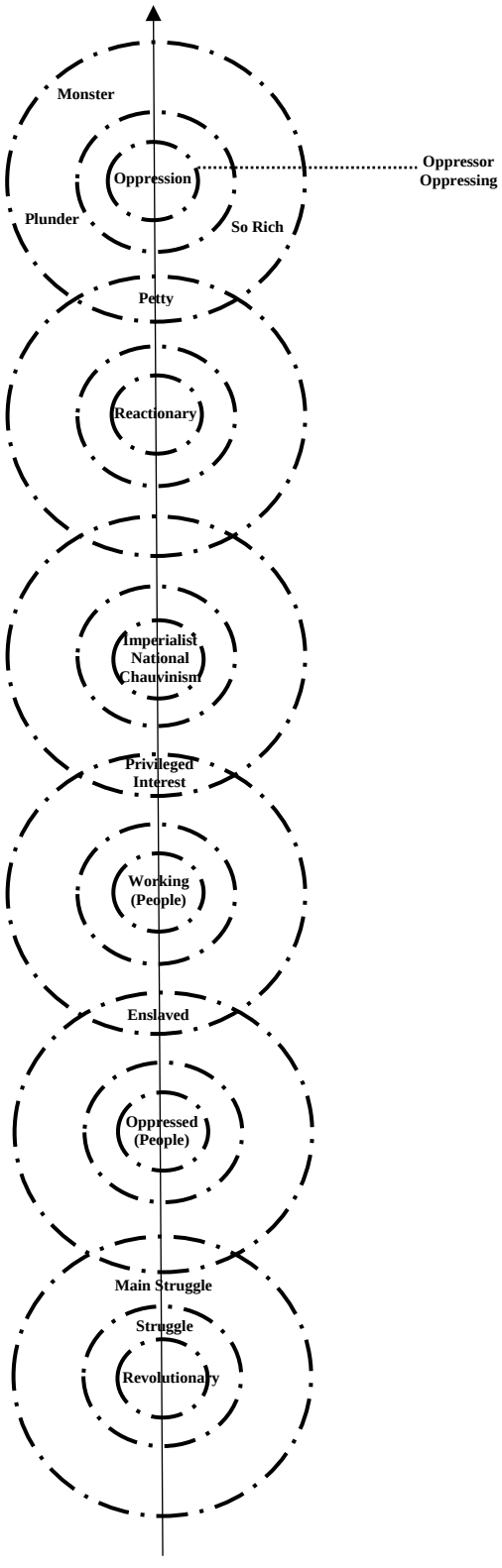


Figure 7.15 Deictic ordering of evaluative categories along the a-axis.

The category **Revolutionary** serves as the most proximate prototype on the positive side of the evaluative spectrum and is understood as an ethic of non-stop hostility to oppressive institutional systems. This serves as the most personal evaluative space for Weatherman. For the New Left in general, being **Revolutionary** was understood as a way of life necessary in order to achieve a high level of humanistic consciousness (see Section 2.1). Moving outward from the deictic centre along the a-axis one finds **Oppressed** as an evaluation for Third World peoples. Weatherman suggest that since 'oppressed peoples' have 'created the wealth of this empire', people in the US should recognize this fact and be willing to give some of it back.

Coming to medial relations along the a-axis, the American people are given the evaluation of **Working**, yet are also represented as being 'enslaved'. These judgements are not negative, where being 'enslaved' indicates that the people have no choice but to labour. Despite a labour and wealth imbalance within the US, American workers are deemed to possess **Privileged Interest**. So even though they may be exploited by the outgroup, their quality of life is still much better than many other groups around the world. This **Privileged Interest** keeps most Americans morally distant from Weatherman's closest value of being **Revolutionary**. From Weatherman's perspective, the majority of American workers are privileged, and as a result will not demand rapid economic and social change. Moving outward, one finds an evaluative stance that is critical of movement contemporaries. The 'movement' category is the furthest away of the medial identity relations. Although ideologically closer to Weatherman's geopolitical worldview, they are positioned as a medial relation receiving the harsh condemnation of **Imperialist National Chauvinism**, which amounts to a kind of hyper-nationalism. This type of chauvinism would be familiar to Weatherman leaders, as most of them came from ivy-league universities in the northern region of the US. In their manifesto, they reserve the critique of possessing **Imperialist National Chauvinism** for other elite socialist-minded groups in the US. Instead of embracing an internationalist perspective, these other American socialists were content to lobby the powerful for their own, more narrow national interests.

Moving from medial to distal evaluations, one encounters prototype categories primarily concerned with economic exploitation. At the distal end of the axiological axis the first category encountered is **Reactionary**, which is attributed to the abstract identity 'forces'. These are military forces throughout the world who are considered **Reactionary** in the sense that they react against an international movement for the end of colonialism, instead of choosing to join in and replace it with a series of Third World democracies. These 'reactionary forces' are guided by 'petty dictators' who benefit from and seek to maintain a global hierarchy of imperial relations. Weatherman's binary evaluative category to the proximal **Revolutionary** is **Oppression**. The US are referred to as the 'oppressor nation' and 'worldwide monster', both of which bring together a negative appraisal with a geopolitical designation. Moving beyond the domestic situation, Weatherman are concerned to create a much more expansive framing of the political situation, which diagnostically frames the US Empire as teaming up with other governments in order to plunder abroad (see Section 3.1.2). Throughout the manifesto, Weatherman present the US Empire as forced to continue stealing because if the imperialists relent in wealth accumulation, they could no longer maintain the steady stream of quality goods and services available to the American people. Hence, **Oppression** becomes a necessity to sustaining the system as a whole.

7.2.3 Ideological mindsets

The conceptual ordering of ideological mindsets along the t-axis reveals the various intertexts employed by Weatherman in order to ensure their manifesto text's cultural significance. They alternately weave domestic and global revolutionary discourses throughout the text. The sequential order of this storied space consists of seven prototypes, with five in time past and two located in the future (Figure 7.16). Weatherman's most pressing strategic concern was to rapidly raise revolutionary consciousness in American youth culture. This temporal axis is populated with past examples of both imperial systems and successful revolutionary uprisings all arranged around a temporal centre. Positioning these seven ideological mindsets together along the t-axis, Weatherman are attempting to persuade the collegiate anti-war movement that revolutionary nationalist fighters should be taken as heroes and that students should join in a much more broadly internationalist-minded movement.

Moving now from left (-t) to right (+t) in the temporal-sequential domain, I discuss prototype categories as upon a timeline from past to future. Starting with the distal relations along the -t-axis, one encounters **US Imperialism** and **Other Imperialisms**. In the manifesto, **US Imperialism** serves as the most efficient label for a national system that institutionalizes racist, classist and genocidal behaviours. The writing collective did not have to be too creative to pose **US Imperialism** as the mindset to defeat, snatching subversive narrative strands from popular Third World revolutionary texts (Varon 2004). The **Other Imperialisms** element concerns both a 'Soviet' and 'Israeli' version. **US Imperialism** is represented as 'by far the most powerful' version of imperialism, and the **Other Imperialisms** are seen as being complicit in and acting as beneficiaries of an oppressive world order. **US Imperialism** is often portrayed as an actor either locked in COUNTERFORCE relations with protagonists or causing other antagonistic actors to move. **Other Imperialisms** are only mentioned in passing, but are represented as possessing the same force relations as the US version.

Dependent upon Weatherman's view of history, **US Imperialism** and **Other Imperialisms** are temporally well established before the more proximal mindsets of **National Liberation Struggle**, **Worker's Struggle** and **Socialism** arise. **National Liberation Struggles**, wildly successful in China, Cuba and Vietnam all pre-date the **Worker's Struggle** in France. **Socialism** is the most proximal ideological mindset on the -t-axis. To comprehend its positioning one should take into consideration that Weatherman's greatest inner-organizational threat was rival SDS faction Progressive Labour (PL). In fact, the introductory sections of the manifesto are littered with arguments against PL's more traditionally labour movement oriented solutions. Weatherman label PL's version of socialism a 'dangerous ideology' because it was only concerned with the working classes in the US, largely ignoring the economic exploitation of youth, minority communities and international peoples. Weatherman viewed this brand of **Socialism** as a highly insular ideology, which leads to a kind of nationalistic chauvinism.

Revolutionary Struggle is a concept that Weatherman is attempting to define and apply in the North American context. Taking inspiration from contemporary struggles that were successful in driving out imperial occupiers, **Revolutionary Struggle** becomes Weatherman's most immediate concern along the +t-axis. In fact, within a few months of the manifesto's release, Weatherman strive to start-up their own domestic rebellion in

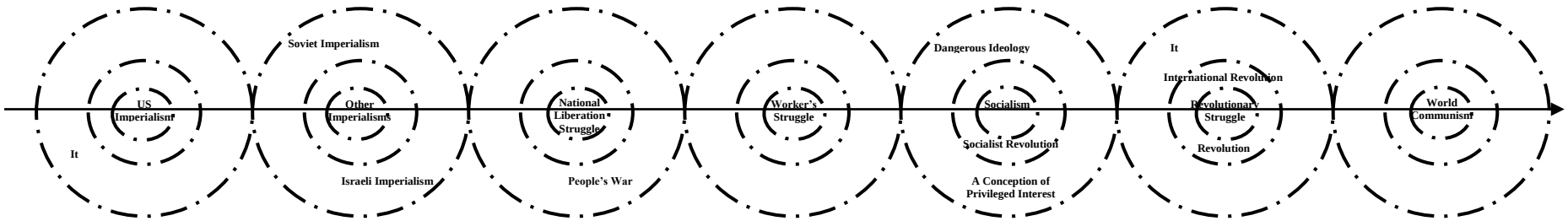


Figure 7.16 Deictic ordering of ideological mindset categories along the t-axis.

urban centres throughout the US looking to further the contradiction between global US hegemony and Third World nationalisms (see Section 2.3). The most distal mindset on the +t axis is **World Communism**. Even though Weatherman are interested in debating what may be the most virtuous form of socialism, their favoured ideological mindset moves beyond **Socialism** to **World Communism**. For Weatherman, **World Communism** comes to stand as the antithesis of all imperial forms of government, including exclusively focused nationalistic socialisms. Mentioned only in the last paragraph of the introduction, the 'achievement of a classless world' is defined as being equal to **World Communism**. This is obviously Weatherman's most utopian and therefore temporally distal mindset category, which stands more as an aspiration than an actual state-of-being they are presently seeking to implement. **World Communism** represents the binary mindset relation to **US Imperialism** situated on the opposite side of the timeline. With this contrast, **US Imperialism** represents a hyper-nationalist, exclusive economic system, while **World Communism** represents a hyper-internationalist, inclusive system.

7.2.4 Strategic actions

Strategic actions are arranged on the +t-axis, moving from the deictic centre in the present forward along the timeline (Figure 7.17). In the Weatherman manifesto, more modest strategic ambitions are positioned immediately ahead of the ingroup on the timeline. However, as the ingroup moves further along actions become more challenging and dangerous due to state repression. In the introductory section, Weatherman provide overarching actions in order to inform the reader of their general stance toward direct-action (e.g. 'decide', 'fight', 'defeat').

Proximal categorical relations making up the strategic actions are not very revealing as to what Weatherman are actually asking revolutionary students to accomplish. Sequentially, the positive strategic actions move from the prototype category **Develop Contradiction** to the **Defeat Piecemeal** category. **Developing this Contradiction** consists of 'promoting the [revolutionary] struggle' already underway in many countries around the world at the time. Weatherman's actions are constrained to **Developing the Contradiction** by 'talking' about revolution and trying to get others to **Determine [a clear political] Stance** regarding the rise of Third World nationalisms. Adopting the ideological stance of the ingroup means that the activist is ready to take a stand against all US occupation troops and to perceive anyone supporting US imperialism as an enemy.

More than that, once convinced of the merit of world revolution, Weatherman want activists to participate in street fighting with the police, vandalism of corporate properties and bombing government institutions involved in war crimes. They perceived an American political stalemate to be standing in the way of youth rising up against 'the system'. After the **Fight** has begun, the reader can assume that the mindset/event of a domestic 'revolutionary struggle' arrives soon after. Moving to the most distal strategic action on the +t-axis, Weatherman consider **Defeating [the Empire] piecemeal** as the main task of the revolution and is the end point of the limited actions mentioned in the introductory section of the manifesto.[33]

[33] As the manifesto progresses there are many strategic actions that fill up the category structure of the +t-axis. Some of these activities include bringing people to events, attending anti-war fights, starting self-defence groups, focusing on police forces, targeting youth, going to high schools and passing out literature.

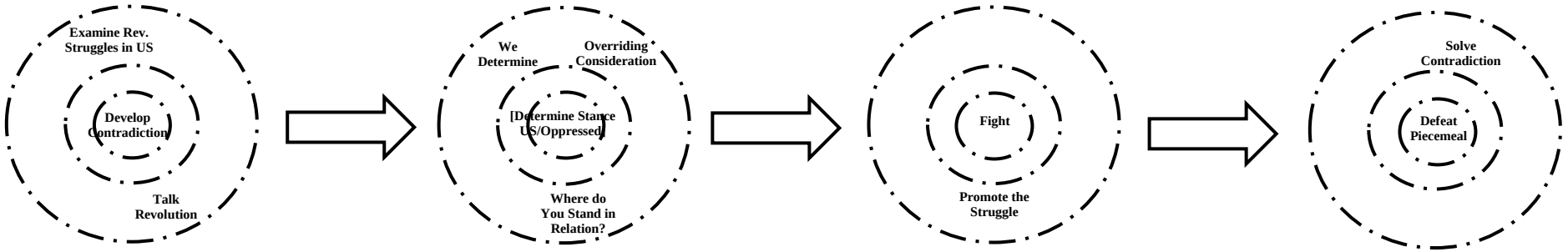


Figure 7.17 Deictic ordering of strategic action categories along the +t-axis.

7.2.5 Utopian goals

As Weatherman progress through proximal action coordinate locations along +t-axis, given that they are able to move through their first three proposed actions, they will eventually reach their first goal. Hence, strategic actions and utopian goals share the same temporal axis. However, unlike the proposed strategic actions, utopian goals are positioned at such a remote location along the timeline that it is questionable as to whether they will be realized within the lifespan of anyone currently part of the ingroup. Utopian goals are inherently teleological in nature because the ingroup must constantly appeal to an idealized future state of harmony. Along the +t-axis goal categories are arranged sequentially, starting from the most proximal goal of **Destroying US Imperialism**, through successive stages of revolutionary successes, to the much-anticipated end of completely restructuring the global economic paradigm into a **Classless World** (Figure 7.18). Thus, the sequence involved in this conceptual ordering is from the most proximal goal to the temporal deictic centre moving distally to the ultimate solution. As for the utopian goal categories, the contradiction being worked out is between preserving a class society and **Achieving a Classless World**. Weatherman understand preserving a class society to consist of keeping in place the current geopolitical status-quo, where 'oppression, war, genocide, and the complete evisceration of everyone' are the expected results. However, in order to **Achieve a Classless World**, Weatherman outline a few goals that must be fulfilled along the way. Starting from **Destroy US Imperialism** as the most proximal categorical relation and moving forward toward Weatherman's preferred state of institutional relations, one can view the sequential ordering of proposed goals.

The +t-axis is filled with utopian goals to be reached after the coming American 'revolution' has already, somehow, been won. The goals move in sequential order from the presumed end of 'revolutionary struggle' in the US starting with the temporal location **Destroy US Imperialism**. After destroying the imperial system, Weatherman intend to **Win State Power**. This means that Weatherman and other American communists will have to seize power until genuine democratic elections can be held. In Marxist jargon, this stage of revolution is known as the 'dictatorship of the proletariat'. Although not clearly spelled out, **Winning State Power** occurs when US military forces are disbanded due to being overextended and overwhelmed by revolutionaries globally. Next, in a successful future, Weatherman will **Control and Use Wealth** for Third World redistribution purposes. This category comes third in sequential order of proposed goals, but the reader actually encounters it first when reading the manifesto. This utopian goal is perhaps mentioned first (and later reiterated) because it provides the primary justification for Weatherman to act against the US state. In essence, they are saying: When we become rulers of the US, we will be more benevolent and just than the current administration perpetuating imperialism. After an international redistribution of wealth and a renegotiation of trade deals, the ingroup are projected to reach their desired destination of **Achieving a Classless World**. From Weatherman's perspective, the revolution will only truly triumph if complete economic equality between all world peoples can be reached.

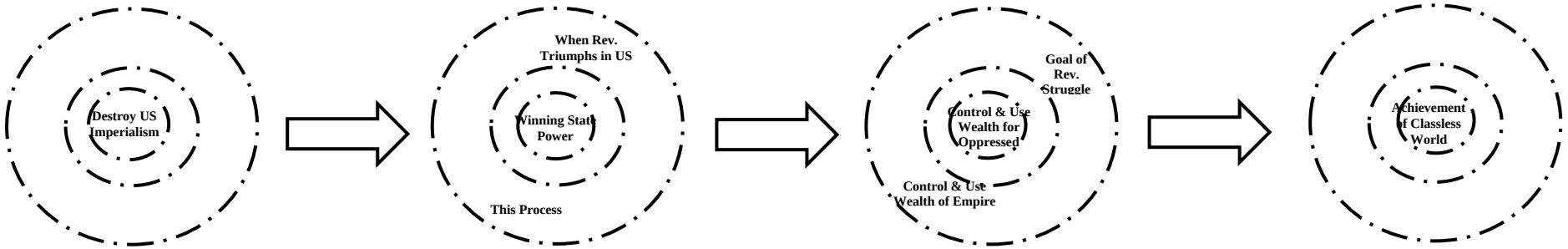


Figure 7.18 Deictic ordering of utopian goal categories along the +t-axis.

In this chapter my intention has been to demonstrate how frame space is built during conceptualisation and becomes a stabilized structure stored in LTM. To demonstrate the building of frame space, I modelled the accumulation of sixteen mental spaces as they are processed and stored in LTM structure (see Section 7.1). As mental spaces unfold, frame space is filled in with contents that come to occupy stable locations within a LTM coordinate system. As mental spaces incrementally build up into frame space, the incoming discourse contents of group identities, evaluations, mindsets/events, actions and goals become stabilised in relatively fixed coordinate locations for categorization purposes. For this reason, in the latter half of this chapter, I examined frame space as an inter-connected totality (see Section 7.2). If the coordinate structure of frame space is accepted by the reader, it may contribute to stabilizing a shared political worldview within political groups. In the introduction of the Weatherman manifesto, these semantic category members and their spatial-oppositional and temporal-sequential arrangements build up into a detailed category structure. A stabilized frame space, as provided by a collectively agreed upon manifesto text, supplies ingroup members with an accessible coordinate system for embracing shared political identities, evaluations, past mindsets, strategic actions and utopian goals. In Chapter 8, I reflect on the merits and limitations of both propositional and imagistic approaches for reconstructing mental models. Learning from these previous approaches to modelling conceptual structure, I have begun to formalize a scenes-and-episodes approach for conceptual space. By providing a framework for discourse analysis that reflects an embodied form of cognition, I intend to contribute to the beginnings of a comparative studies programme for reconstructing mental models in manifesto texts. I end discussing how political parties utilize language to construct mobilizing mental models and appeal to conceptually entrenched worldviews.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

8.1 A representational format for exploring the inner structure of mental models

A cognitively oriented linguistic theory can set itself the goal of identifying, based on the empirical materials under investigation, those cognitive principles that govern the human conceptual system. On the other hand, it can also investigate conceptual structures themselves. I have taken the latter route via text analysis, with the intention of harnessing established cognitive principles in order to inform my own proposed scenes-and-episodes approach for modelling conceptual structure. I have sought to place emphasis on those universal cognitive principles, which govern the conceptual system as a whole, in order to explore how they may provide a format for reconstructing imagistic representations of situations. In searching for a suitable representational format for modelling the inner structure of mental models, Ziem (2014: 334-35) points out:

> It is important to attempt to explain the different cognitive phenomena within a unified model. Such a model could unify various representational formats (like scripts, scenes, frames, domains, mental space, etc.)… [and] provide a general format that can encompass various cognitive phenomena. At this point in time, the development of an integrative-holistic model is still only a distant goal in linguistic research.

Being concerned with how the conceptual system is communicating between STM and LTM mental models, my intention has been to develop a 'general format' for the conceptual structure of manifesto texts. Demonstrating how topological and deictic structures are involved in construal and category structure, I have provided a representational format that takes into consideration other notable attempts at model construction in sociological, psychological and linguistic literatures. What I think may become a unifying feature of all proposed cognitive-linguistic models in the future is the attempt to capture the image-schematic configurations that are involved in constructing a coherent mental simulation. As shown in Chapter 6, image schemas are involved in discourse simulation in the form of space building, content moving and attention pointing. Although, earlier representational formats do acknowledge that image schemas are crucially important, they usually explore schemas in isolation or in a disjointed manner (Fauconnier 1997; Werth 1999). This means that previous attempts at modelling conceptual structure within the confines of the mental model have neglected the fact that these schemas are instrumental in building scenes and episodes in mental space, and are crucial in setting the semi-stable locations of prototype categories in frame space. My deictic mental and frame space models are offered as embodied models of conceptual structure, intending to account for both construal operations and categorical arrangements.

One may note that throughout Chapters 6 and 7, I am selective as to which lexical and grammatical constructions are included as a cognitive discourse grammar. For instance, concerning the locations of ideological mindsets on the -t-axis, their titles alone involve schematic activity that has been overlooked. The 'people's war' mindset is conceptualised with use of a COUNTERFORCE schema, while the mindset 'imperialism' may be construed as PROCESS indicative of an exploitative system. While all of these mindset titles cue image schemas in order for the reader to conceptualise them, I have treated them in the deictic modelling merely as discourse referents. I point this out to say

that all discourse contents are symbolic assemblies that are conceptualised, to some degree, with use of image-schematic renderings (Langacker 1987). Acknowledging this fact about meaning construction means that seeking to notate each and every image schema within a mental or frame space may be counterproductive, as this exercise could go on indefinitely. Instead, what I have attempted to show is the key role of a few fundamental image schemas in constructing scenes and episodes in mental space, while tracing how these transient situations build up into a larger geopolitical worldview. By paying attention to thirteen fundamental schemas explicitly evoked by lexical and grammatical constructions, I have attempted to model local coherence relations holding between contents in mental space and global coherence relations holding between prototype categories in frame space.

Field of Research	**Social Movement Studies**	**Socio-cognitive Discourse**	**Frame Semantics**	**Cognitive-CDA**	**Cognitive-CDA**	**Cognitive-CDA**	**Cognitive-CDA**
Key Contributors	Johnston 1995, 2005	Van Dijk 1987, 2005	Fillmore 1968, 1982	Chilton 2004, 2014	Cap 2013 Hart 2014a	Kaal 2015, 2017	Holland
Mental Models	Collective Action Frame	Situation & Context Models	Case Frame	Deictic Space Model	Proximity Model	Time, Space & Attitude Model	Scenes & Episodes Model
Internal Structure	**Argument-Causal** Hierarchical Propositional	**Topical-Layout** Hierarchical Propositional	**Syntactic** Propositional Slot-Filler	**Syntactic** Deictic Imagistic	**Phrasal** Deictic Imagistic Topological	**Space-Time Expressions** Deictic Imagistic	**Syntactic** Deictic Imagistic Topological
Semantic Domains	Cause Effect	Space Time Location	Space Time Location	Space Time Location	Space Time Location	Ontology	Space Time Point of View
Discourse Contents	Social Roles Problems Solutions	Participants Evaluations Circumstances Actions Goals	Agents Patients Actions Instruments Results	Identities Evaluations Past Events Actions Goals	Identities Evaluations Knowledge Motions Results	Axiology Epistemology Explanation Praxeology Predication	Identities Evaluations Mindsets Actions Goals
Image Schemas	N/A	N/A	Prototypes CENTRE-PERIPHERY	SPACE MOTION FORCE	SPACE MOTION FORCE	SPACE TIME SPACE-TIME	SPACE MOTION FORCE

Table 8.1 Recap of representational formats for conceptual structure.

Overall, the aim of this thesis has been to provide a theoretical framework combining both propositional and imagistic representational formats in order to model construal relations in mental space and categorical structure in frame space. Interrelations between mental and frame space have been examined in order to arrive at a better understanding about how multiple imagistic spaces work together to provide a semi-stable and coherent political worldview. Building on previous approaches, I understand mental models to consist of both propositional and imagistic structures. This combination of the propositional and imagistic enables the analyst to systematically explore the relationships that exist between discourse contents and imagistic structures (Table 8.1). While I agree with Lakoff (1987: 284) that there are 'different types of mental models', I maintain that these different representational formats should not be strictly separated as they are all simultaneously active in construing discourse contents in STM and building category structure in LTM.

Drawing on different theoretical perspectives concerning the internal structure of mental models, I will summarize the basic ingredients for modelling conceptual structure in manifesto texts. For mobilization purposes, social movement theorists have identified diagnostic and prognostic components in discourse that are essential pragmatic functions of political mental models. These functions cannot be overlooked for their importance in capitalizing on the political angst and social imaginations of ingroup members and potential adherents. However, the proposed argument structure is based on an analysis of

causal relations, and while informative in itself, has nothing to offer in the quest for a model format that can display interconnections between ontological domains and categorical relations active during discourse processing. Van Dijk's (1987) consolidation of mental model theory in his socio-cognitive discourse approach has identified key categorical ingredients (participants, evaluations, mindsets, actions and goals) that must be present in any mental model. He claims these semantic categories are active in both local models being constructed in STM and in global models built up in LTM. The shared categorical nature of situation and context models is important to discourse processing, helping provide the reader with meaning within fractions of a second (see Section 3.2.2).

In the cognitive linguistic theory of Lakoff and Johnson (1999), they emphasize that 'image schemas plus a metaphorical mapping' are the primary devices for structuring conceptual relations. Building on this 'spatialization of form hypothesis' (Johnson 1987), I understand mental models to not only share the same categorical elements discussed by Van Dijk, but also image-schematic arrangements in the form of space builders, content movers and attention pointers (see Section 5.1.1). Following the 'invariance principle' (Lakoff 1993), I assume that imagistic simulation occurs as the result of topological projection. Lexical and grammatical constructions cue topological projections that act as the fundamental structures in creating the scenes and episodes in mental space. These topological projections also go on to be utilized in creating the prototype structure of categorization in frame space. Chilton (2014) formalises metaphorical projection of imagistic relations in his deictic space model. What Chilton's format takes into consideration that other proposed representational formats neglect is that discourse contents exist as a series of interconnected relations within a geometric conceptual space. Putting together Lakoff's spatialization of form hypothesis and Chilton's deictic design for mental models, mental space consists of topological and deictic structures working together to provide local coherence relations (see Section 5.1.3). This is why I have modelled conceptual space as a three-dimensional area (space, time and evaluation), in which various topological structures are moving about and interacting relative to a fixed ingroup deictic centre.

Moving from online processing in mental space to offline storage in frame space, I assume the same topological and geometric configurations are active in mental models for global coherence relations as well. This means that mental space and frame space share key group oriented categories as well as image-schematic configurations. During the conceptualisation process, categorical contents and image-schematic templates are co-occurring in both mental and frame space. I hypothesize that without these shared categorical and imagistic relations, proper communication between the construal operations happening in STM and the building of semi-stable categorical relations occurring in LTM could not occur (see Section 5.2.1). Once fundamental lexical and grammatical constructions cuing imagistic simulations are identified in mental space analysis, the analyst is then able to use this information and locate coordinate positions of prototype categories revealing the underlying LTM structure of the manifesto text. In frame space analysis, the analyst places reoccurring category members into interrelated oppositional and sequential fields of meaning (see Section 5.2.6). This topological-deictic conceptual arrangement is meant to model how thinking within the frame occurs. In Chapters 6 and 7, I have sought to show how each geometric axis (s, a and t) employs its own unique imagistic logic, yet works in combinations with the other two axes to produce coherent schematic orderings. The combination of topological and deictic

arrangements construed in the minds of manifesto readers is part of the process of providing entire political groups with coherent and relatively stable framings of geopolitical reality. All perspectives considered, I define the mental model as a combination of three ontological domains (space, time and evaluation) containing invariant semantic categories (identities, values, mindsets, actions and goals) imagistically arranged (image schemas) as an interconnected coordinate system (deictic space).

In this thesis, I have discussed how language utilizes both image schemas and deictic spaces in order to construe discourse contents during text processing. I have demonstrated how mental models not only share invariant categorical elements (i.e. identities, values, cultural mindsets, actions and goals), but image schematic designs as well (i.e. space builders, content movers and attention pointers). Hence, Van Dijk's mental model theory that makes the distinction between short-term memory models (situation models) and long-term memory models (context models) along with the fundamental semantic categories that must be present in both types of models is crucial to the theoretical underpinnings of this thesis. I have also discussed how readers pull from the surface structure of the text in order to create an imagistic simulation of situations. The theoretical concepts of image schemas and topological projection stem from Johnson's (1987) philosophical reflections on the overlapping connections between findings in cognitive science and linguistic communication. Utilizing his way of diagramming schematic interactions within mental models, I have attempted to diagram the way in which lexical, syntactical and phrasal constructions cue topological projections that act as fundamental gestalt structures in creating the scenes and episodes in conceptual space. Building on the embodiment thesis in cognitive linguistics, Chilton moves formal semantic modelling into a stage of three-dimensional, geometric design. His novel way of considering the body in the meaning making process is meant to reveal ontological relations between space, time and evaluation within group reasoning processes. What Chilton's format for conceptual structure takes into consideration that other proposed formats neglect is that discourse elements exist as a series of interconnected deictic relations within geometric space. By offering a deictic space model, Chilton formalises the metaphorical projection of topological and deictic structures working together to provide local coherence relations during text processing. Later research in cognitive discourse studies builds directly upon Chilton's framework, which attempts to move the modelling effort from strictly sentence level examples to include narratives within multiple paragraphs and larger sections of discourse. So Van Dijk's model theory, Johnson's insights on image schematic interactions and Chilton's move to place these schemas within an embodied format are necessary components making up the scenes-and-episodes adaptation demonstrated with the SDS and Weatherman texts.

There were a few approaches mentioned in Chapter 3 that did inform my thinking on how to uncover the inter-workings of mental models, but did not end up being essential components to the framework outlined in the thesis. For instance, the most popular methodology in social movement theory to date is Johnston's collective action frame model. This approach is able to trace both diagnostic and prognostic argument structures through textual analysis, yet follows the traditional view in psychology where researchers understand memory networks to be stored in a hierarchical fashion. Hence, this method does not take into account the imagistic nature of schematic simulation, and has nothing to offer a linguistic approach that intends to explore the embodied nature of meaning

creation. Fillmore's case frame approach moves more in a linguistic direction, focusing on the importance of verbs and the other lexical slots (AGENT, PATIENT, GOAL, etc.) necessary in order for scenes to be created when reading texts. His methodology posits that there are a certain number of lexical and grammatical slots that remain relatively constant, while the fillers for these slots can be widely variable. The advantage of this approach to the 'frame' is that it does begin to code individual words and phrases, and seeks to understand them as a complete system. However, parsing the semantic surface structure of the text does not move the reader into an understanding of how a text gets stored in LTM and creates for the reader a discourse ontology. Also, in the discussion about deictic space modelling adaptations at the end of Chapter 4, I reviewed the main points of Kaal's space, time and evaluation model meant for analysing worldview construction. Although, I see the benefit of the way this deictic model is set up to handle language above the sentence level, I arrange the social roles on the s-axis in a different manner due to theoretical assumptions. In Kaal's methodology the s-axis is arranged by spatial distance (e.g. here, local area, regional area, state, global), whereas in my suggested methodology for worldview storage in LTM the s-axis is arranged in an oppositional manner (e.g. ingroup, similar groups, neutral groups, dissimilar groups, outgroup). I made this decision following the insight of Jeffries (2010a: 26-27) that an OPPOSITION schema is active in sentence level phenomena like negation, parallel structures and comparatives, but is also active in the discourse level as well in setting up semantic relations within the text. Thus, in pursuing a scenes-and-episodes adaptation to deictic space modelling, I have been selective in exploring how meanings are constructed in social movement discourse.

8.2 A comparative method for conceptual structure in manifesto texts

When seeking to display the rudimentary ideological constitution of a text, what matters are the methods employed for accurately identifying the organization of content and conceptual structure. Ideological language is diverse and in order to get behind the social construction of reality, textual material setting the political agenda of various groups must come under a common scheme of classification. A standardized manner of classification is imperative for any comparative studies program. At bottom, comparability between ideological elements within rival and friendly political texts depends upon the replicability of the classificatory divisions to which the analyst adheres. Lack of a clear shared scheme for the annotation of ideological structures is obvious as Van Dijk (2011: 385) notes, 'little attention has been paid to the precise nature, the socio-cognitive structures, as well as the discursive reproduction, of ideologies'. Detailing discourse contents and conceptual structures in manifesto texts enables synchronic comparisons among different movements, or diachronic comparisons within the same movement. Synchronically exploring mental models in manifesto texts enables the analyst to freeze cognitive processing at one point in time, which enables him or her to consider the entire structure all at once. A diachronic comparison is also possible by comparing conceptual structures between different groups or at different points in time within one group. The scenes-and-episodes approach offered here can be used for comparative studies of political texts as it provides a framework for taking an inventory of shared cognitive orientations.

In regard to frame analysis in social movement studies, Johnston (2005: 522) reports 'a common methodological terrain is yet to be established'. Frame analyses in social movement studies are usually based on case studies and focus on different pragmatic

dimensions in isolation rather than on mental models as complex interconnected cognitive systems. Snow (2004: 386) points out the 'scanty literature' available for frame analysts concerning methodological issues and techniques. This indicates that the most persistent problems yet to be resolved in frame analysis relate to how to do it in a 'systematic manner', where ideological content can be captured and relations between contents in a frame can be identified and explored (Johnston 1995: 217).

In response to Johnston's call for a cognitively oriented analysis, earlier frame analysts Snow and Benford (2005: 207) state, 'The…misunderstanding is the authors' location of the essence of frames in cognition. Certainly collective action frames are, in part, cognitive entities that aid interpretation and social action, but their essence, sociologically, resides in situated social interaction'. These frame theorists go on to explain that Johnston has wrongly supposed the essence of frames to reside in cognition rather than in 'dialogical interaction' (ibid.). Yet to insist on promoting emergent processes of framing over the cognitive structure of the frame itself seems like a misguided attempt to limit all future research to descriptions of organizational process.

This is why it is important to acknowledge a division of labour within the frame analysis community. Some analysts will utilize a snapshot approach, freezing the frame at one moment in time in order to represent the structure of cognitive frames. While other frame analysts will continue to unpack the contingent and contested quality of frames as they are constantly shaped by interaction. This division of labour acknowledgement will bring textual framing studies in social movement theory past understanding framing strictly as an interpersonal behaviour being co-constructed by the text and the reader. With the addition of methodological tools from cognitive discourse studies, analysts are now able to move into research that takes serious Goffman's (1974) original proposal that frames are made up of various interworking mental schemas active in STM and stored in LTM. Therefore, frame analysis must move from purely descriptive analyses of intergroup behavioural processes to the exploration of cognitive processes in mental models. With very few exceptions, the analysis of conceptual structure is not attempted in social movement literature (Gerhards and Rucht 1992; Johnston 1995; Johnston 2005), and is just beginning to be seriously explored in the cognitive linguistic strands of critical discourse studies (Filardo-Llamas, Hart and Kaal 2015; Tseng 2007). Exploring the inner structure of mental models, as a series of imagistic simulations, enables the cultural analysis of political movements to become more systematic and reproducible. Demonstrating how one can reconstruct mental models through analysis of political manifestos makes their inner structure openly available to discussion and debate.

8.3 Implications for geopolitical worldview construction

Consultation with a manifesto text is necessary for any discourse analyst who wants to know if activists in a social movement are acting within the geopolitical worldview as set up by cultural elites. For social movement entrepreneurs, like Weatherman, the act of assembling various interpretations into an overall logical framework serves as an act of co-optation and modification of dominant frameworks already in play. Piecing together a novel-yet-comprehensive worldview is one way Weatherman leaders sought to transform the overall discourse formation of the New Left. These newly emerging mental and frame spaces appear to the potential activist as a kind of practical knowledge useful for negotiating specific contextual relations with external groups and within the organization itself. Subject positions, what can be hoped for, the means for reaching goals and the

stories that underpin the current ingroup mindset have been preselected and presented as a stable conceptual package in the manifesto text. This preselection of contents, and schematic interactions between, them make up the interpretative grid imposed by movement leadership. Thus, a manifesto text exists as a predetermined assemblage of lexical and grammatical units pieced together to produce a semi-stable, logically coherent and collectively shared worldview. In creating their internationalist manifesto, Weatherman sought to modify the essential structure of knowledge within the entire New Left movement. Their manifesto text contributed in creating a radically polarized worldview. This extreme Left ideology caused all but around two hundred activists to reject direct participation with the Weatherman faction within only a few months, while keeping others hidden underground for up to a decade (see Section 2.3). My intention in this thesis has been to limit my conclusions to the construction of mental models in social movement texts, particularly those of the white New Left movement in the 1960s. However, based on the fact that many other textual genres are written with the express intent to clearly draw in and outgroup boundaries, this exploratory model of text processing could potentially be extended. For instance, future work may focus on religious, corporate or more conventional political texts, where collective identity, ethical norms, past mindsets, strategic plans and utopian goals are presented as a system of beliefs, attitudes and ideas.

One way the construction of mental models directly contributes to the building of a coherent worldview is through construal of discourse contents within imagistic spaces. Depending on the intent of the writer, s/he is able to impose constraints on the way scenes and episodes are conceptualised. As demonstrated with the Weatherman text, lexical and grammatical constructions are 'paired at the conceptual level with variants of different image schemas and their selection in discourse imposes upon the scene a specific structural configuration and distribution of attention' (Hart 2013: 404). My goal has been to demonstrate how a cognitive discourse grammar is able to simulate scenes and episodes within STM and, through accumulation, build up into a LTM category structure. Meanings being constructed in political speech are richly imaginative with schematizations, categorizations, metaphorical projections and deictic spaces being fundamental. As the reader takes up the manifesto text, s/he begins to engage in an intersubjective process of meaning making, where lexical and grammatical constructions cue a simulation of discourse contents from the writer's perspective. This simulation, occurring inside mental models, is imagistic and dynamic in nature as meanings come as the result of conceptual contents being construed in a set manner to produce a specific situation (Langacker 2008: 43). This process of construal can become ideological in nature when the a writer chooses one construal of a situation over an alternative in order to guide the reader's thought processes in understanding the political situation from a particular point of view. Thus, the critical task when employing cognitive discourse grammar is to determine the construal of discourse contents via the imagistic structures that ideologically-loaded linguistic constructions impose.

Jeffries (2010a) discusses how encountering the same conceptual structures on a consistent basis in STM may lead to conceptual entrenchment of worldview in LTM. Based on the 'principle of minimal departure', readers construe the situation being read about as being the closest possible to their actual reality (ibid.). This means that when reading through any text, the reader assumes everything to correspond to his or her own interpretation of how the world works, only making adjustments when the text necessitates. This position assumes that the experience of reading requires a suspension

of one's view of the actual world for the duration of the reading. Through unconscious use of the minimal departure principle, readers are able to form comprehensive representations of situations encountered in text by drawing 'pragmatic inferences based on previous knowledge' (Ryan 1991: 52). Jeffries (2010a: 126) hypothesizes that this principle may play a key role in the 'conceptualisation of political texts'. Applying the logic of the minimal departure principle to non-literary texts, Jeffries claims that the reader will assume that the situation encountered in the text will be 'as similar to the reader's actual world as possible unless something explicitly challenges this assumption' (ibid.).

If the reader picks up the Weatherman manifesto and reads about a domestic youth revolution and the principle of minimal departure applies, then we have a potential explanation for the ideological effects of this text. For instance, when the reader finds an opposition between 'imperialists' and 'revolutionaries', then s/he must conclude that the political identities in the world of the text are divided as such. As Ryan (1991: 53) states, 'reading involves suspending our normal egocentric assumptions about deictic terms of reference, and assuming that the deictic centre is somewhere within the story world of the text'. In the case of manifesto texts, this shifting out of one's own world into the reality as encoded by the text may be crucially important. For instance, if a devoted activist reads all the movement literature and is repeatedly presented with a world in which conservative political policies are the opposite of all that is moral, this worldview becomes more familiar and eventually becomes the dominant worldview through which to view geopolitical relations. This process occurs for the reader as s/he is continuously shifting out of the actual world into the world created by the writer of the text. Over time, repeatedly shifting into the deictic centre of a political writing collective may become increasingly less a conscious process as deictic shifting becomes more fluid. Eventually, the reader comes to take on the continuously encountered conceptual structures as their own perspective.

Since deictic points of view are social in nature in these imagistic models, they can be understood as 'mental representations and processes of group members' (Hart 2008: 122). This form of socially shared cognition can become entrenched among group members as commonly shared conceptual networks.[34] In cognitive grammatical approaches, entrenchment of conceptual structure is thought to occur as the result of 'automatization'. Automatization is the process learned through constant repetition, where a complex structure is so familiar that using it is 'virtually automatic and requires little conscious monitoring' (Langacker 2008: 16). For instance, in the case of learning the alphabet or running a race, a repetitive structure undergoes progressive entrenchment and eventually becomes unconscious. These repetitive configurations appearing during 'usage events' eventually become established as cognitive routines (Langacker 2008: 220). Similarly, conventionalized patterns of language use result in unconscious patterns of imagistic simulation. Once formed in this way, these reoccurring simulations, such as SCENES AS CONTAINERS and EPISODES AS PATHS, act as templates for the interpretation of more abstract discourse expressions (see Section 5.1.1). Hart (2014b: 108) describes conventionalized mental operations being simulated by the text as 'entrenched conceptual structures' and hypothesizes: 'Where the discursive constitution of the social

34 Cognitive neuroscience teaches us that people define their identity in constant conference with a coherent worldview. We know that narratives are necessary for understanding the socio-political situation, and that these narratives are 'fixed in the neural circuits of our brains' (Lakoff 2008: 38). A narrative identity is hard to shake, and it is very hard to persuade someone into a new worldview, because the worldview itself is 'physically part of the brain' (Lakoff 2008: 59). In order to change a person's worldview, actual brain structure would have to change as well, which is 'highly unlikely' (ibid.).

situation depends on the (re)production of social cognitions, then, entrenchment is (re)production'. I have sought to show how deictic space models built in STM are active in building and recalling relevant information from LTM structure. If both mental space and frame space are made up of the same ontological domains, semantic categories and image-schematic arrangements, this provides insight into how the online construal of discourse contents is conferring with a much more expansive offline category structure. My contention is that ongoing and repetitive construal of discourse contents in mental space leads to the stabilization of categorical structure in frame space. However, the reader is free to disregard the contents and evaluations encountered in mental space, especially if they are in conflict with dominant frame spaces already held in LTM. Alternatively, the temporarily constructed mental space may be used to strengthen or update existing frame spaces in LTM or construct new ones.

A manifesto text is essential in that it exists as an open and often conferred with text. For this reason, it is ripe for conceptual entrenchment within the ingroup. The main goal of this type of text is to set in place a geopolitical worldview, so that members of a group can come to common interpretations in a rapid manner. Since revisionary changes to the content of a political manifesto are usually only accomplished by group consensus and since worldviews are not often in a state of continual conceptual upheaval, a manifesto text is able to serve as a fixed point of reference. As a fixed point of reference for political worldview, the conceptual structures of the manifesto become part of a default structure by which group members come to interpret a never-ending sequence of geopolitical world events.

At the conclusion of this thesis it has become increasingly clear to me that any radical democratic movement, in order to compete with much more entrenched dominant worldviews, will by necessity have to formulate an effective language policy. Not just any language policy with the standard chants, flyers, slogans, speeches and insider-speak. But one that seriously takes into consideration the conceptual structure making up political mental models. Having awareness of this unconscious process of model creation could be a very useful tool in deciding upon the messaging of a movement group. Speaking to left-wing political movements, Wodak (2015: 187) urges them not to imitate the divisive tactics of the currently surging Right in Western nations. In contrast to a politics of fear, she advocates for a more inclusive politics, emphasizing the integration of all peoples. Similarly, Lakoff (2008) warns against simply reacting to right-wing media stunts, which he argues causes the Left to lose the chance to frame the political debate. Wodak (2015: 188) challenges the Left to 'set their own themes and retain their egalitarian position', which involves 'disseminating alternative concepts, such as equality, diversity and solidarity'. For me, this agenda of the Left setting their own political themes should begin by exploring texts that have historically been successful in mass mobilization campaigns. By considering how mental models are constructed and stored, I think the Left could also become more conscious as to how they are locating identities, evaluations, mindsets, actions and goals with respect to their own worldview constructing efforts.

On the other side of the political divide, strategist Frank Luntz has also taken language strategy seriously, helping the Republican Party to gain seats in congress and get laws passed. To keep the Conservatives on message, he created a document entitled the *New*

American Lexicon (2006).[35] This document provides set talking points about crucial topics (e.g. immigration), and in some cases tells politicians exact phrases to be constantly repeating (e.g. instead of 'estate tax' say 'death tax'). He understands that language matters and that through sustained reiteration of his carefully selected words, the party will ensure that particular language structures with become conceptually entrenched over time. Considered from an imagistic perspective, this repetitive language use cues the hearer to simulate the same scenic backgrounds with the same episodic movements running through mental space, which potentially becomes stored and available for recall in frame space. This helps us to understand how this strict stay-on-message mandate within the Republican Party is so effective. Every time a political situation is construed in the same manner, the hearer (or reader) is prompted to visualize the exact same scene and episode structure. Encountering the same situational construals over a particular time period (e.g. a lifetime, after 9/11), these images come to constitute the scenic representations people rely upon for sense-making purposes. If people are continuously encountering the same scenes and episodes in political rhetoric, they may come to think that politicians are representing some objective state-of-affairs. Having mentally constructed the same scenes and episodes continuously within a political group, when a person hears (or reads) an unfamiliar construal it may violate more commonly encountered simulations and seem unsettling.

If anything, contemporary social movements can learn from the historical lessons of the New Left in order to avoid common political traps and dead ends. Based on the trajectory of Students for a Democratic Society from a community-based civil rights organization to an internationally-minded revolutionary organization, one can observe how strict ideological purity leads to destruction, how a politics based on fear and resentment is corrosive, how denial of mainstream politics leads to organizational instability, how lack of activists running for office keeps movement ideals on the fringe and how rhetorical vanguardism leads to irreconcilable factional disputes. Lasch (1969: 202) critiques the New Left's emphasis on university students as the main agents of social change because they are not 'devoted to democratic planning'. Instead, Lasch (1969: 200) suggests American history teaches us that the object of a radical democratic party should be to 'introduce socialist perspectives into political debate, to create a broad consciousness of alternatives not embraced by the present system, to show both by teaching and by its own example that life under socialism would be preferable to life under corporate capitalism, and thus *in the long run* to fashion a new political majority'. The lessons of the New Left teach us that radicals on the fringe are not sufficient to place a truly democratic government in the halls of power. The contemporary Left must seek to create a much more inclusive worldview that activists can hold in common and work to make a reality.

In my future work I intend to progress further into cognitive discourse analysis by analysing corporate, religious and political texts. I will continue to draw on contemporary developments in the fields of cognitive linguistics and critical discourse analysis in order to better cultivate a theoretical model concerned to lay bare schematic structures active in discourse processing. My goal is to start making comparisons between different genres in order to analyse the unique ways internal scenes and episodes of cultural texts are simulated by schematic structures within a formalised geometrical format. Like other deictic space model adaptations, my scenes-and-episodes version seeks to move beyond the surface structure of the text in order to consider the role of the body in the meaning

[35] Additionally, a document entitled the *Global Language Dictionary* (2009) has been leaked, in which he advises Israeli politicians how to address Western media outlets over the conflict with Palestine.

making process. Through this development in the field of cognitive discourse analysis, I intend to keep exploring how image schemas are involved in providing spatial boundaries, setting discourse contents in motion and directing the reader's attention within conceptual space. Specifically, my intention is to continue developing a scenes-and-episodes framework for deictic space modelling.

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APPENDIX A
PORT HURON MANIFESTO
SECTION ONE

(1) We are the people of this generation, bred in at least modest comfort, housed now in universities, looking uncomfortably to the world we inherit.

(2) When we were kids the United States was the wealthiest and strongest country in the world: the only one with the atom bomb, the least scarred by modern war, an initiator of the United Nations that we thought would distribute Western influence throughout the world.

(3) Freedom and equality for each individual, government of, by, and for the people -- these American values we found good, principles by which we could live as men. Many of us began maturing in complacency.

(4) As we grew, however, our comfort was penetrated by events too troubling to dismiss.

(5) First, the permeating and victimizing fact of human degradation, symbolized by the Southern struggle against racial bigotry, compelled most of us from silence to activism.

(6) Second, the enclosing fact of the Cold War, symbolized by the presence of the Bomb, brought awareness that we ourselves, and our friends, and millions of abstract "others" we knew more directly because of our common peril, might die at any time.

(7) We might deliberately ignore, or avoid, or fail to feel all other human problems, but not these two, for these were too immediate and crushing in their impact, too challenging in the demand that we as individuals take the responsibility for encounter and resolution.

(8) While these and other problems either directly oppressed us or rankled our consciences and became our own subjective concerns, we began to see complicated and disturbing paradoxes in our surrounding America.

(9) The declaration “all men are created equal”. . . rang hollow before the facts of Negro life in the South and the big cities of the North.

(10) The proclaimed peaceful intentions of the United States contradicted its economic and military investments in the Cold War status quo.

(11) We witnessed, and continue to witness, other paradoxes.

(12) With nuclear energy whole cities can easily be powered, yet the dominant nation-states seem more likely to unleash destruction greater than that incurred in all wars of human history.

(13) Although our own technology is destroying old and creating new forms of social organization, men still tolerate meaningless work and idleness.

(14) While two-thirds of mankind suffers undernourishment, our own upper classes revel amidst superfluous abundance.

(15) Although world population is expected to double in forty years, the nations still tolerate anarchy as a major principle of international conduct and uncontrolled exploitation governs the sapping of the earth's physical resources.

(16) Although mankind desperately needs revolutionary leadership, America rests in national stalemate, its goals ambiguous and tradition-bound instead of informed and clear, its democratic system apathetic and manipulated rather than "of, by, and for the people."

(17) Not only did tarnish appear on our image of American virtue, not only did disillusion occur when the hypocrisy of American ideals was discovered, but we began to sense that what we had originally seen as the American Golden Age was actually the decline of an era.

(18) The worldwide outbreak of revolution against colonialism and imperialism, the entrenchment of totalitarian states, the menace of war, overpopulation, international disorder, super-technology -- these trends were testing the tenacity of our own commitment to democracy and freedom and our abilities to visualize their application to a world in upheaval.

(19) Our work is guided by the sense that we may be the last generation in the experiment with the living.

(20) But we are a minority -- the vast majority of our people regard the temporary equilibriums of our society and world as eternally-functional parts.

(21) In this is perhaps the outstanding paradox: we ourselves are imbued with urgency, yet the message of our society is that there is no viable alternative to the present.

(22) Beneath the reassuring tones of the politicians, beneath the common opinion that America will "muddle through", beneath the stagnation of those who have closed their minds to the future, is the pervading feeling that there simply are no alternatives, that our times have witnessed the exhaustion not only of utopias, but of any new departures as well.

(23) Feeling the press of complexity upon the emptiness of life, people are fearful of the thought that at any moment things might thrust out of control.

(24) They fear change itself, since change might smash whatever invisible framework seems to hold back chaos for them now.

(25) For most Americans, all crusades are suspect, threatening.

(26) The fact that each individual sees apathy in his fellows perpetuates the common reluctance to organize for change.

(27) The dominant institutions are complex enough to blunt the minds of their potential critics, and entrenched enough to swiftly dissipate or entirely repel the energies of protest and reform, thus limiting human expectancies.

(28) Then, too, we are a materially improved society, and by our own improvements we seem to have weakened the case for further change.

(29) Some would have us believe that Americans feel contentment amidst prosperity -- but might it not better be called a glaze above deeply felt anxieties about their role in the new world?

(30) And if these anxieties produce a developed indifference to human affairs, do they not as well produce a yearning to believe there is an alternative to the present, that something can be done to change circumstances in the school, the workplaces, the bureaucracies, the government?

(31) It is to this latter yearning, at once the spark and engine of change, that we direct our present appeal.

(32) The search for truly democratic alternatives to the present, and a commitment to social experimentation with them, is a worthy and fulfilling human enterprise, one which moves us and, we hope, others today.

(33) On such a basis do we offer this document of our convictions and analysis: as an effort in understanding and changing the conditions of humanity in the late twentieth century, an effort rooted in the ancient, still unfulfilled conception of man attaining determining influence over his circumstances of life.

APPENDIX B
WEATHERMAN MANIFESTO
SECTION ONE

(1) The contradiction between the revolutionary peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America and the imperialists headed by the United States is the principal contradiction in the contemporary world.

(2) The development of this contradiction is promoting the struggle of the people of the whole world against US imperialism and its lackeys.

(3) Lin Piao, Long Live the Victory of People's War!

(4) People ask, what is the nature of the revolution that we talk about?

(5) Who will it be made by, and for, and what are its goals and strategy?

(6) The overriding consideration in answering these questions is that the main struggle going on in the world today is between US imperialism and the national liberation struggles against it.

(7) This is essential in defining political matters in the whole world: because it is by far the most powerful, every other empire and petty dictator is in the long run dependent on US imperialism, which has unified, allied with, and defended all of the reactionary forces of the whole world.

(8) Thus, in considering every other force or phenomenon, from Soviet imperialism or Israeli imperialism to 'workers struggle' in France or Czechoslovakia, we determine who are our friends and who are our enemies according to whether they help US imperialism or fight to defeat it.

(9) So the very first question people in this country must ask in considering the question of revolution is where they stand in relation to the United States as an oppressor nation, and where they stand in relation to the masses of people throughout the world whom US imperialism is oppressing.

(10) The primary task of revolutionary struggle is to solve this principal contradiction on the side of the people of the world.

(11) It is the oppressed peoples of the world who have created the wealth of this empire and it is to them that it belongs; the goal of the revolutionary struggle must be the control and use of this wealth in the interests of the oppressed peoples of the world.

(12) It is in this context that we must examine the revolutionary struggles in the United States.

(13) We are within the heartland of a worldwide monster, a country so rich from its worldwide plunder that even the crumbs doled out to the enslaved masses within

its borders provide for material existence very much above the conditions of the masses of people of the world.

(14) The US Empire, as a worldwide system, channels wealth, based upon the labor and resources of the rest of the world, into the United States.

(15) The relative affluence existing in the United States is directly dependent upon the labor and natural resources of the Vietnamese, the Angolans, the Bolivians and the rest of the peoples of the Third World.

(16) All of the United Airlines Astrojets, all of the Holiday Inns, all of Hertz's automobiles, your television set, car and wardrobe already belong, to a large degree to the people of the rest of the world.

(17) Therefore, any conception of ‘socialist revolution’ simply in terms of the working people of the United States, failing to recognize the full scope of interests of the most oppressed peoples of the world, is a conception of a fight for a particular privileged interest, and is a very dangerous ideology.

(18) While the control and use of the wealth of the Empire for the people of the whole world is also in the interests of the vast majority of the people in this country, if the goal is not clear from the start we will further the preservation of class society, oppression, war, genocide, and the complete immiseration of everyone, including the people of the US.

(19) The goal is the destruction of US imperialism and the achievement of a classless world: world communism.

(20) Winning state power in the US will occur as a result of the military forces of the US overextending themselves around the world and being defeated piecemeal; struggle within the US will be a vital part of this process, but when the revolution triumphs in the US it will have been made by the people of the whole world.

(21) For socialism to be defined in national terms within so extreme and historical an oppressor nation, as this is only imperialist national chauvinism on the part of the ‘movement’.