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Constructing Contexts through Grammar: Cognitive Models and Conceptualisation in British Newspaper Reports of Political Protests

Abstract

In this chapter, I analyse, from the perspective of the Cognitive Linguistic Approach to CDA, representations of political protests in British newspapers and the cognitive models that these representations reflect and (re)construct in the minds of readers. The analysis focuses on the alternative image schemas which are available to construe protest events and how patterns of construal might index wider ideological discourses. A comparative analysis is undertaken of online press reports of violence in the UK student fees protests on the 10th and 24th of November 2010.

Keywords: critical discourse analysis, context, mental models, cognitive grammar, image schemas, political protests, student fees

1. Introduction

In this chapter, I investigate, from the position of the Cognitive Linguistic Approach to Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), the conceptualisation of violence in British media discourse on political protests. Specifically, I analyse the image schemata and construal operations grounded in the system of attention which contribute to the construction of event models in the student protests against higher tuition fees which were held in the UK in 2010. In doing so, I show how the Cognitive Linguistic Approach (CLA), which shifts the locus of investigation in Critical Discourse Analysis to the interpretation stage, can engage theoretically with a broader socio-cognitive perspective (e.g. Van Dijk 1998, 2002, 2010). In Section 3, I outline the Cognitive Linguistic Approach to CDA. In Section 4, I discuss the role of mental models in the discursive construction of contexts and relate the Cognitive Linguistic Approach to CDA to the Socio-Cognitive Approach. In Section 5, I briefly sketch

previous research on discourse and civil disorder. In Section 6, I introduce my data. In Section 7, I present a qualitative analysis demonstrating the ideological qualities of alternative event models. In Section 8, I present a more quantitative analysis of alternative conceptualisations of violence across online British press reports of the student fee protests. And, finally, in Section 9, I offer some conclusions.

2. Goals

The goals of this study are two-fold. Firstly, I aim to advance the Cognitive Linguistic Approach to CDA by aligning it with the Socio-Cognitive Approach and arguing that the mental models postulated in the Socio-Cognitive Approach can be theorised in terms of conceptual structures and construal operations described in Cognitive Linguistics. Specifically, I aim to show that grammar plays an important part in the discursive and ideological construction of contexts as alternative grammatical patternings invoke alternative conceptualisations of events. Secondly, I aim to conduct an empirical study of the grammatical patterns that occurred in online reports of the 2010 student fees protests in Britain and thus the way that this particular context was constructed by the press.

3. The Cognitive Linguistic Approach

As a multifarious practice consisting of several analytical traditions, including Critical Linguistics and the Discourse-Historical Approach, Critical Discourse Analysis has, over the last decade, witnessed the development of a Cognitive Linguistic Approach (CLA).[1] One major advantage of this approach is that it shifts the focus of investigation in CDA to the interpretation stage – something which, on the assumption that the discursive construction of contexts ultimately takes place in the minds of interacting members (see Section 4), provides a significant "missing link" in mainstream CDA (cf. Chilton 2005).[2]

To a very large extent, this approach has been focussed on metaphor as a site of ideological reproduction (e.g., Koller 2004; Musolff 2004). However, this approach has more recently been turned to address the role of grammatical patterns in guiding understanding of socio-political contexts (Hart 2011a/b, in press). The second major advantage of the CLA, then, is that it functions as a lens through which a broad base of linguistic (lexical and grammatical) phenomena can be analysed, at the interpretation stage, within a unified theoretical framework (cf. Widdowson 2004). The CLA can thus be characterised as addressing the

[1] The need for a Cognitive Linguistic Approach and the benefits it brings to CDA have been extensively argued for and elaborated elsewhere. I will not repeat the arguments here. For details see, e.g., Chilton (2004, 2005) and Hart (2005, 2010, 2011a)

[2] This is not to detract from the contribution of Systemic Functional Grammar in CDA which has proved particularly useful at the description-stage (e.g. Fairclough 1989; Fowler 1991)

conceptual import of various strategies in texts and in this way accounting for the discursive construction of contexts.[3] Within this framework, several construal operations are described, including metaphor but also, inter alia, schematization, focus, profiling and scanning. Construal operations are indexed in text and realise discursive strategies when they are invoked in discourse processing to constitute readers' conceptualisations.[4] Since Cognitive Linguistics assumes that language is not an autonomous faculty but is rather 'in touch' with other domains of cognition (Croft and Cruse 2004), these construal operations rely on non-linguistic cognitive abilities. The relationship between particular construal operations, discursive strategies and non-linguistic cognitive systems is shown in Figure 1.

System / Strategy		**Gestalt**	**Comparison**	**Attention**	**Perspective**
Structural Configuration	Construal operations	Schematization			
Framing			Categorization		
			Metaphor		
Identification				Focus	
				Profiling	
				Scanning	
Positioning					Deixis
					Modality

Figure 1. Typology of Construal Operations

Structural configuration is the strategy by means of which speakers (intentionally or not) impose upon the scene a particular image-schematic representation which constitutes our basic understanding of the whole event-structure. The strategy is realised through *schematisation* and grounded in an ability to analyse complex events in terms of gestalt structures. Framing strategies concern how the actors, actions, relations and process that make up events are attributed more affective qualities as alternative categories or

[3] It should be noted that in its current guise, the Cognitive Linguistic Approach offers only hypotheses as to the conceptual import of grammatical structures. The next stage in this research program would be to experimentally validate the claims being made.

[4] 'Strategy' is defined, following Reisigl and Wodak (2001) are a more or less intentional or institutionalised plan of discourse practices. See Koller (forthcoming) for an alternative definition of discursive strategy.

conceptual metaphors, which carry different evaluative connotations or entailments, are apprehended in their conceptualisation. Framing strategies are therefore grounded in a general ability to compare domains of experience.[5] Identification strategies concern which social actors are selected for conceptual representation and to what degree of salience they are represented relative to one another. Identification strategies are based in attentional abilities, then, and are realised in various construal operations which Langacker (2002) groups together as "focal adjustments". Lastly, positioning strategies are based in our ability to adopt a particular perspective in how we conceive of a given scene. Specifically, positioning strategies concern where we situate other actors and events relative to ourselves (deictic) and where we situate propositions relative to our own conceptions of reality (epistemic) and morality (deontic).[6]

In this chapter, we concentrate on schematisation and those construal operations grounded in the system of attention.[7] Based in the Gestalt system, schematisation is a construal operation which enables us to "make sense" of objects and events in the world in terms of a finite set of image schemata. According to Cognitive Linguistics, such image schemata are abstract, holistic knowledge structures which arise from repeated patterns of early experience as "theories" or "models" of the world. These models, in turn, serve to delimit experience, expression and reason.[8] As Johnson (1987: 42) puts it: "patterns of typical experiences … work their way up into our system of meaning and into the structure of our expression and communication … [T]hese image-schematic gestalt structures constrain and limit meaning as well as patterns of inference". Image schemas, then, constitute the meaningful basis of lexical items and grammatical constructions. Language is thus viewed as a system of form-meaning pairs.[9] The conceptual counter-parts in these form-meaning pairs are called up in discourse to conceptualise the objects and events described. For example, one event regularly encountered would be that of a smaller object following a path of motion to enter a larger object. The resultant schema, depicted in Figure 1, is invoked in discourse by both the lexical item *enter* and the grammatical structure [NP [VP [*into* NP]]].

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[5] It should be noted that whilst strategies of structural configuration and framing are functionally different and can be isolated for analytical purposes, they are closely connected and not easily separable in the practice of discourse. Indeed, all of these strategies can be seen to interact with one and other in the complex of discourse.

[6] The conceptual structures involved in realising such positioning strategies have been most concisely theorised, from a Cognitive Linguistic perspective, in terms of 'discourse worlds' (see Chilton 2004 and Cap 2006).

[7] These construal operations have received relatively little attention within the Cognitive Linguistic Approach. By contrast, although the relevant authors would not necessarily situate their analyses with respect to this typology or the broader Cognitive Linguistic Approach envisaged here, metaphor in particular has been much studied from a Cognitive Linguistic perspective (see, e.g., Charteris-Black 2004; Koller 2004; Musolff 2004). Deixis and modality have also been investigated within CDA from a Cognitive Linguistic perspective (e.g. Chilton 2004; Cap 2006; Marin Arrese 2011).

[8] In Cognitive Linguistics, this is known as the "embodiment thesis" (Evans and Green 2006).

[9] In Cognitive Linguistics, this is known as the "symbolic thesis" (Evans and Green 2006).

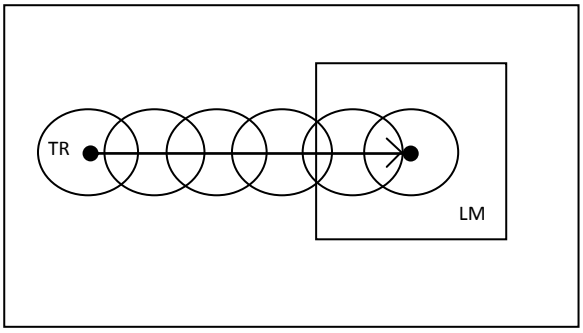

Figure 2. Image Schema for *enter* or [NP [VP [*into* NP]]]

Language has the further facility to direct attention to different aspects of the active schema. Construal operations of *focus, profiling* and *scanning* affect the distribution of attention in different ways to realise identification strategies. As Langacker states, what we actually see when we construe a scene "depends on how closely we examine it, what we chose to look at, which elements we pay most attention to and where we view it from" (2008: 55). These conceptual parameters are indexed in linguistic expressions which, in turn, serve as access points to particular facets of the evoked schema. Construal operations of focus, profiling and scanning are the conceptual reflexes of information structure, agent deletion (through ergativity or agentless passivisation) and nominalisation respectively. The agentless passive construction in (1), for example, profiles only a particular part of the schema depicted in Figure 2, namely the PATH and GOAL.

(1) The building was entered.

The rest of the schema remains active in the *scope of attention* but is conceptually less salient than the profiled portion designated by the clause.[10] The construction in (1) invites a version of the schema such as represented in Figure 3.

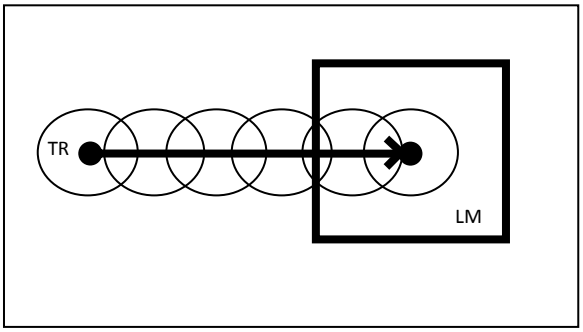

Figure 3. Image Schema for *The building was entered.*

[10] Salience is experienced on the longitudinal axis (Talmy 2000).

The argument I wish to make in this chapter is that construal operations of this kind play a fundamental part in the discursive construction of contexts. More specifically, I am suggesting that the event models made appeal to in the Socio-Cognitive Approach as necessary mediations between texts and ideologies may take the form of image schemata as theorised in Cognitive Linguistics.

4. Contexts as Mental Models

Researchers in Critical Linguistics have traditionally used Halliday's functional grammar as a lens through which patterns of belief and value (ideologies), reflected in the grammatical patterns of texts reporting on particular contexts, can be brought to bear and be systematically analysed (Fowler 1991: 67). Elements of the grammar found to be particularly significant in the expression of ideology include transitivity and grammatical metaphor. These systems allow for semantic concepts such as agency and action to be realised in different (ideologically motivated) ways within the clause. As Fowler (1996: 5) points out, however, Critical Linguistics has had a very high mileage out of a restricted set of linguistic notions such as transitivity and nominalisation (as only one particular form of grammatical metaphor). Moreover, functional grammar is a speaker-oriented and process-focussed model of text production. Consequently, it is not well-placed to serve interpretation-stage analysis in CDA, which, it has been argued, warrants a more detailed treatment (O'Halloran 2003; Chilton 2005; Hart 2010). Interpretation-stage analysis is necessary if one wants to account for the discursive construction of social and political contexts since contexts are ultimately constructed in the cognitive systems of interacting group members (Van Dijk 2010). It therefore necessarily also requires a cognitive theory of discourse processing. According to O'Halloran, however, "anything to do with cognition at the interpretation stage has not received comprehensive scrutiny" (2003: 3).

One major exception to this last observation is Van Dijk's work in the Socio-Cognitive Approach. Van Dijk (e.g. 1998, 2002, 2010) has extensively argued that any account of the discursive construction of political contexts presupposes an account which relates structures in text to structures in social cognition. These latter structures are discussed, within the Socio-Cognitive Approach, in terms of 'mental models' (Van Dijk 2011).

According to Van Dijk, mental models are the cognitive architectures stored in social cognition which enable us to understand situations or events, including as they are described in discourse (Van Dijk 2011). Van Dijk (1999) distinguishes between three types of mental model: *event models, experience models* and *context models*. Experience models represent personal, participatory experiences. Context models are a particular type of experience model which represent the communicative episodes in which we participate. Event models, by contrast, represent situational contexts not personally experienced but largely learned about through discourse. They may be constructed, however, in terms of

experience models. There are clear parallels here with the theory of image schemas in Cognitive Linguistics. As Van Dijk states:

> Model structures should be seen as the strategic schemata people use in the fast interpretation of the events in their daily lives, and it is not surprising that such schemata would also shape at least some of the structures of the discourses engaged in by speech participants when talking or writing, reading or hearing about such events. (Van Dijk 1997: 191)

For Van Dijk, "event models represent the subjective interpretation of discourse, the mental starting point of production, and what people later (correctly or falsely) remember of a discourse" (1999: 125). Information represented in event models, then, provides the basis of shared understanding and is reflected in discourse. Crucially, though, event models are also derived from discourse, as well as shared cultural norms and values, and, through generalization and abstraction, constitute sociocultural knowledge (ibid.). Such models are reflected in, and constructed by, "the characteristic semantic structure of complex propositions as well as the case structure and ordering of syntactic structures in discourse" (Van Dijk 1997: 191).

Despite rather extensive work on mental models, however, Van Dijk points out that "an explicit theoretical account of their internal structures has so far not been provided" (1998: 190). He suggests that mental models are made up of at least two components: the semantic and the affective (see also Koller 2011). "People not only build and use models of events in order to represent their knowledge about such events, but also in order to represent their opinions about them" (Van Dijk 1997: 192). Event models, then, are not only likely to contain some semantic representation of the context in question but also some reactive, evaluative information. We will leave aside the evaluative dimension of event models for present purposes and focus here on their semantic dimension.[11]

Van Dijk suggests that event models are hierarchically organised. He distinguishes between the macro-structure and the micro-structure of such models. The macro-structure of the model is more abstract whilst specific details concerning participants, process etc. are represented in the micro-structure. Thus, for any mental model of a given situation or event, we may distinguish between information characterising the generic situation- or event-type and information detailing the particular participants and circumstances involved. At the macro-level, Van Dijk argues that mental models are "probably organised by a limited number of fixed categories that make up an abstract form or 'schema', *a model schema*"

[11] The affective component may be best modelled in terms of the categories of evaluation delineated in Martin and White's (2007) Appraisal Theory (Koller 2011). Within the Cognitive Linguistic Approach to CDA, the categories of evaluation found within Appraisal Theory could be characterised as construal operations grounded in the perspectival system and realising effective positioning strategies (cf. Marin Aresse 2011).

(2010: 65, original emphasis). These categories include, at least, participants, process, and circumstance (or setting) but also more abstract concepts such as agency, intention, and causation (ibid.). Now, Van Dijk assumes, "lacking alternative formats of representation", that these schemata are propositional in form (1997: 191). As noted earlier, however, research in Cognitive Linguistics suggests that our mental models of situations and events may in fact be imagistic rather than propositional in nature. In other words, the event models which constitute our understanding of particular contexts may be theorised in terms of image schemas and construal operations grounded in the system of attention as described in Cognitive Linguistics. These image schemas, through abstractions made across repeated instantiations, contribute to the construction of superordinate *frames* for similar events. That is, models built for specific events become idealised in more general cognitive models which in conceptual clusters or networks underpin discourses or ideologies. As Van Dijk articulates it:

> Particular models represent unique information about one specific situation, for instance the one 'now' being processed. General models may combine information from several particular models about the 'same' or the same 'kind' of situation … General models that appear to be socially relevant may be transformed to frames or scripts in semantic (social) memory, for example by further abstraction, generalisation and decontextualisation. (Van Dijk 1985: 63)

In this chapter, we therefore conduct an analysis of the different image schemata and attentional distributions which alternative grammatical constructions impose on the reader's conceptualisations of particular protest events.

5. Context of Study: Political Protests

Much has been written in Critical Linguistics concerning the representation in media discourse of political protests and civil disorder. This research has demonstrated the significance of grammar as a site of ideological difference. Systematic asymmetries are found in the distribution of grammatical patterns which, upon analysis, seem to reflect the ideological frameworks in which alternative news institutions operate (Trew 1979; Montgomery 1986; Toolan 1991; van Dijk 1991; Macleod and Hertog 1992; Hacket and Zhao 1994). In the UK context, the right-wing press especially have been found to favour grammatical patternings which contribute to the construction of discourses or ideologies in which protestors are seen as violent deviants whilst authorities are seen as moral defenders of civil order (Montgomery 1986; van Dijk 1991).

Various discursive strategies have also been shown to relate to ideological positions with regard to international geopolitical contexts. For example, Lee and Craig (1992) investigated "us versus them" patterns in US press reports of labour disputes in Poland and South Korea.

They found that, through this dichotomy, in the case of Poland, a communist country at the time investigated, blame for the disputes was attributed to communism itself. By contrast, in the case of South Korea, a country whose political system is much more closely aligned with that of the US, blame was attributed to the protestors, thus constructing a discourse more in line with the domestic narrative in which civil action is seen as a deviation from normative behaviour (Hall 1973). In a similar vein, Fang (1994) analysed representations of international political protests in the Chinese state newspaper *Renmin Ribao* from the perspective of Functional Grammar. She found that patterns in both lexical and grammatical choice depended on whether the country in question was deemed hostile or sympathetic toward the People's Republic of China. Representations of political protests, however, have not been investigated at the interpretation stage or through the analytical lens of Cognitive Linguistics (though see Hart in press). Cognitive Linguistics, however, can shed light not only on the conceptual import of those grammatical choices typically dealt with in CDA but can also reveal the ideological effects of a further range of linguistic phenomena (Hart 2011a/b).

In the remainder of this chapter, we analyse representations of violence in contemporary political protests from the perspective of the CLA. We focus on differences in event-construal which are interpreted as indexical of alternative ideological positions.

6. Data

On 10th and 24th November two major student protests took place in London against rises in tuition fees for Higher education in England and Wales. The first protest was attended by between 30,000 and 52,000 people.[12] On both occasions, police used a controversial crowd control technique known as "kettling".[13] On both occasions, violent encounters between police and protestors were witnessed.

A total of 12 articles (two per paper) were collected from across the online editions of British broadsheet and mid-market newspapers. The articles were published in the immediate aftermath of the student fee protests on 10th and 24th November 2010. British newspapers can be divided on a "vertical" axis according to "quality" or a "horizontal" axis according to left or right alignment on the political spectrum. The statistics for the corpus are given in Table 1. Table 2 shows the orientation of the different newspapers.

[12] Source: http://www.guardian.co.uk/news/datablog/2011/mar/28/demonstrations-protests-uk-list. Figures unavailable for second protest.

[13] Kettling involves police partial cordoning of protestors within a designated area leaving only one route open or complete enclosure by police cordon for given periods of time, often without access to toilets and water etc.

Paper	Words
Guardian	1700
Independent	1661
Times	593
Telegraph	1096
Mail	2618
Express	996
	Total: 8664

Table 1. Protest Corpus

Guardian *Independent*	*Times*
	Telegraph *Mail*

Table 2. UK Newspapers by quality and political alignment

The data is by no means exhaustive of the discourse on political protests but is sufficiently representative to demonstrate the effects of different grammatical patternings in constructing the same situational context in alternative ways (with alternative associated axiological values).

7. Analysis

7.1 Schematization

Image schemas arise in basic domains of experience like ACTION, SPACE, MOTION and FORCE. They are derived, then, from early, embodied experiences. However, they later come to constitute experience as they are apprehended in discourse to conceptualise situations and events in particular ways.[14] Image schemas impose upon the scene a particular configuration which defines the basic event type and structure. For example, the same event can be construed in terms of an ACTION schema or a MOTION schema. Within each of these domains there then exists a "grammar" which can be exploited in different ways to invoke alternative conceptualisations. For example, the "grammar" of ACTION allows for an

[14] It is worth noting that the domains of SPACE, MOTION and FORCE often act as source domains in metaphoric constructions of experience (Lakoff and Johnson 1999; Talmy 2000)

event to be construed in terms of an "asymmetrical" or a "reciprocal" action chain. Schemas in the domain of ACTION are especially significant to structural configuration strategies in protest reporting (though see Hart, forthcoming, on the grammar of SPACE in political protest reports; see Hart 2011b on the grammar of FORCE in immigration discourse).

Action chain schemas represent the transfer of energy between participants in an event, often resulting in a change in state to a participant "downstream" in the energy flow. There are various action chain schemas available to construe the same event and in selecting one over the other we necessarily close down alternative conceptualisations. There are options, for example, in how many participants are covered within the *scope of attention* and which are in turn focussed on or *profiled* (see below). However, one fundamental distinction concerns whether we conceive of an event in terms of an asymmetrical or a reciprocal action chain.

In an asymmetrical action chain the event is construed in terms of a unidirectional flow of energy from an AGENT to a PATIENT (sometimes via an instrument or theme which for present purposes we will gloss over). By contrast, a reciprocal action chain construes the event in terms of a bidirectional flow of energy so that one participant cannot be ascribed the status of AGENT and the other PATIENT but rather both entities are active participants in the event. By way of example, consider the difference between (1a) and (1b):

(1a) A number of police officers were injured after they **came under attack from** youths, some wearing scarves to hide their faces. (*Telegraph* 10th November)

(1b) Activists who had masked their faces with scarves **traded punches with** police *(Guardian*, 10th November)

The construction in (1a) construes the event in terms of the action chain schema modelled in Figure 4 whereas the construction in (1b) construes the event through the schematization modelled in Figure 5.

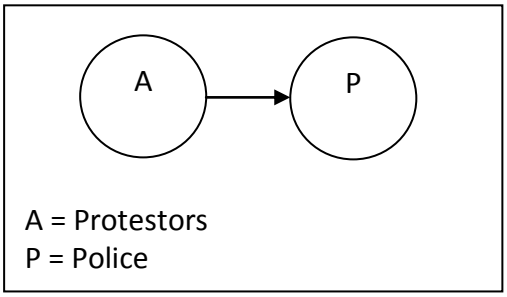

Figure 4. Asymmetrical action chain

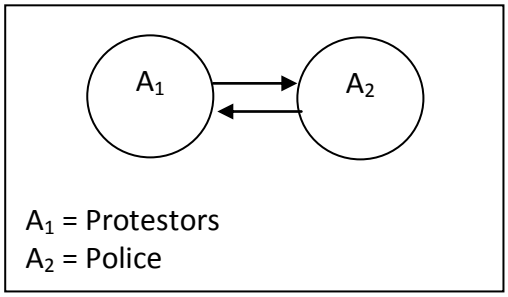

Figure 5. Reciprocal action chain

The alternative conceptualisations invoked by (1a) and (1b) carry significant ideological consequences. In schematizing the event in terms of an asymmetrical action chain, as in

(1a), responsibility for the violent action is attributed to only one participant, the sole source of energy flow in the event, in this case the protestors. In schematizing it in terms of a reciprocal action chain as in (1b), by contrast, responsibility for the violence is shared.

Alternatively, the same kind of events may be construed in terms of FORCE or MOTION. Construing the event in terms of force reduces the intensity of the process so that the event becomes one of "balance" (and its modulation) rather than violence. That is, an event is understood as a force event rather than an action event when it is an entity's location or freedom to move that is at issue. Of course, it is impossible to clearly delineate with absolute confidence the distinction between action, motion and force domains.

In exploiting the grammar of FORCE, the event can be further subject to construal as it is "viewed" from the perspective of the AGONIST or the ANTAGONIST depending on deixis.[15] In this way, structural configuration strategies interact with identification and positioning strategies. In (3), for example, there is a shift in viewpoint from protestors (AGONIST) to police (ANTAGONIST). Notice, however, that in both clauses the protesters are cast in the role of AGONIST whereas police are the ANTAGONIST attempting to maintain the "equilibrium". Although there is a difference in perspective, then, force schemas applied in this way serve to legitimise the role of the police as defenders of civil order.

(3) Pockets of demonstrators **pushed forward** and were **held back** by police (*Independent*, 24th November)

The same kind of event can further be conceived as one in which the "equilibrium" is successfully maintained as the AGONIST is prevented from realising their force tendency or one in which the "balance" shifts in favour of the AGONIST who is able to overcome the ANTAGONIST and realise their force tendency.[16] Consider (4) compared to (3):

(4) [P]rotesters **burst through** police lines to storm the Conservative party headquarters. (*Guardian,* 24th November)

The contrast between (3) and (4) can be modelled in terms of two types of FORCE schema: a steady-state schema versus a shift-in-state schema respectively. The schema in Figure 6 depicts an interaction between ANT and AGO in which the AGONIST has a tendency toward force (>) but is kept "in check" by the stronger (+) ANTAGONIST resulting in equilibrium (⊖). The schema in Figure 7 depicts an interaction in which the balance of strength shifts onto the AGONIST previously kept in check by a stronger ANTAGONIST but now able to express their force tendency (→) as in example (4).

[15] In the grammar of FORCE, the AGONIST is "the entity whose circumstance is at issue" and is determined by the relative "strength" of the ANTAGONIST (Talmy 2000: 415). Note that these participant categories are distinct from AGENT and PATIENT.

[16] See Hart (2011b) for a detailed treatment of FORCE schemas.

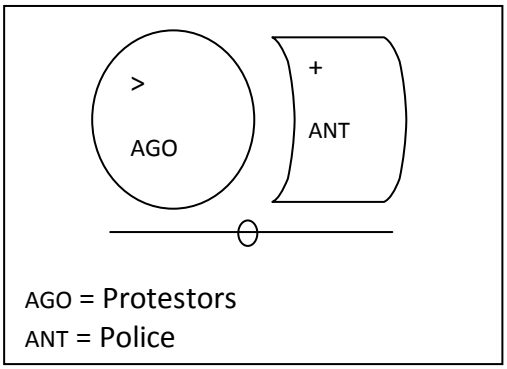

Figure 6. Steady-state schema

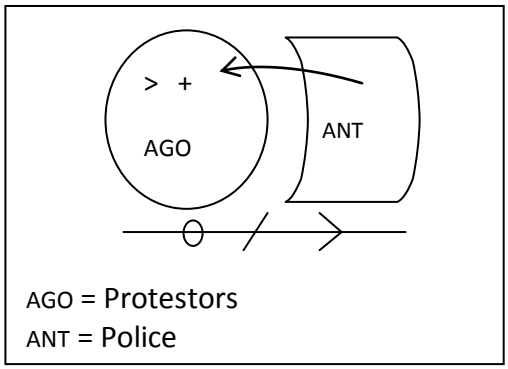

Figure 7. Shift-in-state schema

Construing the event in terms of MOTION still further reduces the intensity of the process and serves in framing strategies of euphemisation. Crucially, in MOTION schemas the process is not a transactive one. There is no transmission of energy between entities but rather a motion path of one entity (the TRAJECTOR) is delineated relative to another entity (the LANDMARK). The "vector" in the process represents the *trajectory* of the TRAJECTOR (in this case also an AGENT) rather than a *transfer of energy*, with the "endpoint" a LOCATION rather than a PARTICIPANT. Consider (5) as an example. The schema it invokes is the one modelled earlier in Figure 2.

(5) About 50 riot police **moved in** [to the area] just after 5pm. (*Independent,* 10th November)

The alternative schemas, as well as the further construal operations we deal with in section 7.2, constitute cognitive grammars of ACTION, FORCE and MOTION exploited in different ways in discourse on political protests. The lexical and grammatical forms that these meanings are paired with can be inventoried to serve as search-words in a similar, future, larger-scale corpus study. Table 3 is illustrative of such an attempt.

Action		**Force**		**Motion**
Reciprocal	**Asymmetrical**	**Steady-State**	**Shift-in-State**	
scuffle	*attack*	*push*	*break through*	*move*
clash	*hit*	*hold*	*burst through*	*charge*
confrontation	*punch*	*contain*	*overcome*	*surge*
encounter	*strike*	*detain*	*penetrate*	*enter*
trade	*throw*	*corral*	*breach*	*lead*
exchange	*launch*	*enclose*	*escape*	*go*
	hurl	*block*		

Table 3. Semantic inventory

7.2 Focus and Profiling

Within RECIPROCAL ACTION and FORCE schemas there are further means by which alternative, ideologically vested conceptualisations may be invoked. Here the strategy of structural configuration overlaps with identification strategies grounded in the cognitive system of attention as different participants can be in and out of *focus* relative to one and other. Identification strategies group together strategies of topicalisation (van Dijk 1991) and exclusion (van Leeuwen 1996).

Focus pertains to the degree of attention afforded those entities explicitly selected for representation, relative to one and other. It is a fundamental feature of cognition that in perceiving any scene one entity, the FIGURE, stands out relative to another, the GROUND. The FIGURE is perceptually more prominent than the GROUND, which serves as a point of reference for the FIGURE. FIGURE/GROUND alignment features in several aspects of discourse, including descriptions of spatial relations, metaphor and presupposition (Talmy 2000; Langacker 2008). However, one important dimension of discourse which can be said to manifest a FIGURE/GROUND construal is *information structure,* where entities introduced earlier in the clause are conceptually more salient, and thus function as FIGURE, relative to entities subsequently introduced, which function as GROUND. According to Talmy (2000: 12), for example, "the entity that functions as the figure of situations attracts focal attention and is the entity whose characteristics and fate are of concern". Focus is therefore the conceptual process involved in realising topicalisation strategies as it, experientially, accentuates the role of one particular participant in the event. This can be most clearly seen in reciprocal actions chains.[17] Consider the contrast between (6a) and (6b):

(6a) There were some minor **scuffles between protesters** and **police** in Bristol (*Express*, 24th November)

(6b) **[P]olice** wielding batons **clashed with a crowd** hurling placard sticks, eggs and bottles (*Guardian*, 10th November)

Conceptually, this contrast can be modelled as in Figures 9 and 10 where the bolder lines represent the foregrounded entity within the schema.[18]

[17] It can also, of course, be seen in active versus passive constructions for asymmetrical action chains.

[18] Notice that laterality is irrelevant here. Figure/ground alignment operates on salience, which we tend to experience on the longitudinal axis (Talmy 2000)

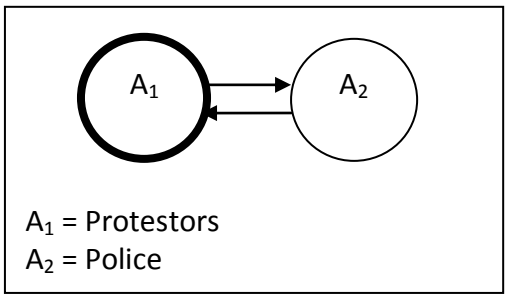

Figure 9. Focus (6a)

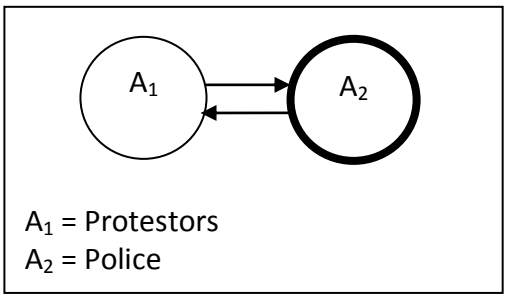

Figure 10. Focus (6b)

Profiling can be seen as an extension of focus (Langacker 2008). The distinction between them is that in the case of focus both entities receive linguistic representation. In profiling, one entity is left implicit. Conceptually, they are both based on the same cognitive principles but are distinguished according to difference in degree of attention. Focus is a matter of "fine-tuning" one's attention whereas profiling involves a starker contrast. Profiling is the conceptual reflex of exclusion in discourse (van Leeuwen 1996). Exclusion can be seen in a range of linguistic phenomena, including ergativity/metonymy, nominalisation and agentless passivisation. Exclusion, it is argued, allows speakers to obfuscate participants in actions which are incommensurate with the normative system in which the speaker operates. According to Reisigl and Wodak, exclusions in discourse "enable speakers to conjure away responsible, involved or affected actors (whether victims or perpetrators), or to keep them in the semantic background" (2001: 58). It has been questioned, however, whether absences at the level of text necessarily result in any mystification at the level of cognition (Billig 2008; O'Halloran 2003; Widdowson 2004). Cognitive Grammar, though, in which language is seen to be based on known principles in other domains of cognition, suggests that exclusions in discourse can at least keep actors in the "semantic background", experienced conceptually in terms of salience. Consider the examples in (7a) and (7b):

(7a) London Ambulance Service confirmed that eight people had been **injured** during the demonstrations in the capital (*Telegraph,* 24th November)

(7b) Eight people were taken to hospital with **injuries** after the violence flared at Millbank Tower. (*Telegraph,* 10th November)

In (7a) "injured" is used in the agentless passive voice with no mention of the manner in which the injuries were sustained or who caused the injuries. The valence of the verb dictates that there must have been some CAUSE(R) and so it remains within the *scope of attention* but conceptually backgrounded relative to the PATIENT. As Langacker (2008: 384) puts it, "when one participant is left unspecified, the other becomes more salient just through the absence of competition. On the other hand, augmenting the salience of one participant diminishes that of others (in relative terms)". To the extent to which salience

and relevance are related (see Maillat and Oswald 2011), readers are likely not to attend to the backgrounded element in the action chain in sufficient detail to critically question (ibid.) how the injuries were sustained or who caused them.[19] The schema invoked by (7a) is modelled in Figure 12 where only part of the schema is profiled. This can be seen in contrast to the schema in Figure 11 where, invoked by the canonical transactive clause, the whole structure is profiled. The stepped arrow indicates a change in state to the PATIENT.

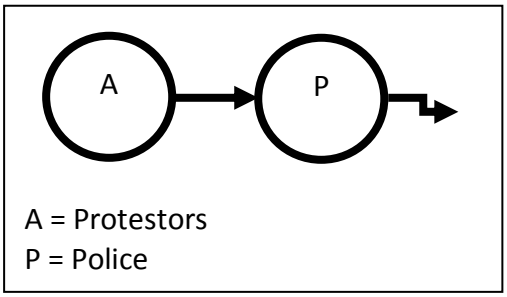

Figure 11. Full action chain

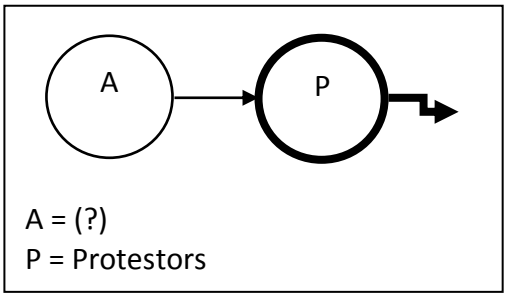

Figure 12. Profiling

(7a) at least designates a process. In (7b), "injuries" excludes agency through nominalisation. Conceptually, nominalisation invokes a *summary scanning* of the scene which again precludes hearers from properly attending to details such as PLACE, MANNER and CAUSE.[20] According to Cognitive Grammar, we conceptualise events by mentally scanning the series of relations obtaining between participants at different (continuous) stages in the process that constitutes an event. However, there are two different modes of scanning: sequential and summary. In sequential scanning, "the various phases of an evolving situation are examined serially, in noncumulative fashion" (Langacker 2002: 78-79). Thus, sequential scanning lends itself to the conceptualisation of complex events and is the mode of scanning indexed in and invoked by a transactive clause. In summary scanning, by contrast, the various facets of an event are examined cumulatively so that the whole complex comes to cohere as a single gestalt (ibid.). That is, we see an event as an OBJECT or THING rather than as a series of INTERACTIONS or PROCESSES. And since "things do not pertain to time, we do not scan their internal component states sequentially but see all of them accumulated" (Radden and Dirven 2007: 80). The two alternative conceptualisations can be modelled as in Figure 13 and 14. In sequential scanning it is the relationships held between entities at different moments in the evolving event that is profiled. In summary scanning, it is the event as a whole, atemporal thing that is profiled and its internal structure thus backgrounded.

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[19] This is not to say that readers are not capable of such critical analysis (see Chilton 2005) but that in normal conditions to do so would exceed the "resource-bound efficiency constraint balancing cognitive effort and contextual effects" (Maillat and Oswald 2011: 69) which operates on information processing.

[20] The abstract, metaphorical agent in "violence flared up" would presumably invoke a similar conceptualisation.

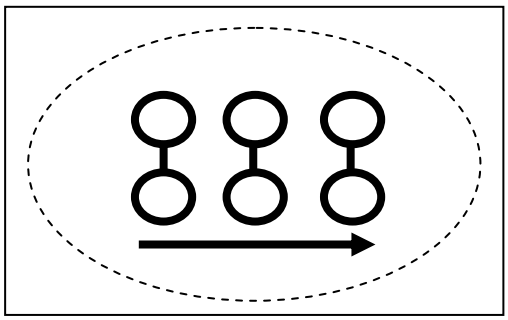

Figure 13. Sequential scanning

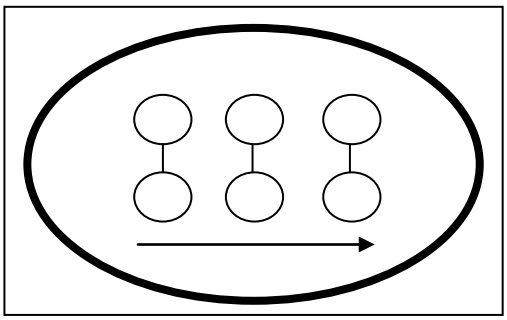

Figure 14. Summary scanning

Crucially, the selection of alternative patterns across the grammars of ACTION, FORCE and MOTION construct for readers alternative conceptualisations of the same situational context. Indeed, for Langacker (1991: 295), "it is precisely because of their conceptual import – the contrasting images they impose – that alternate grammatical devices are commonly available to code the same situation". In the final section, then, we investigate how the context of the student fees protests in the UK was constructed across the British press.

8. Findings

The twelve articles which formed the data for this study were closely read and all "hard news" instances of interaction between police and protestors were extracted. The analysis therefore excludes actions directed at buildings and other material objects. Rather, it focuses specifically on conceptualisations of violence between two opposing groups – those empowered by the state and those protesting against the state (see also Fang 1994). The analysis also excludes any commentary or reported clauses in the article as well as reports of interactions at previous protests such as the G20 protests in 2009. The extracted data was then manually compared for grammatical differences within the parameters discussed above in Section 7.

Tables 4 and 5 show the total number of interactions in which police and protestors are agentive. Results are expressed both in absolute numbers and as a function of the total number of transactive processes extracted from the relevant sub-corpus. The total number of interactions in which police and protestors are agentive is then broken down into event type – action, force or motion. Results in these columns are expressed both in absolute numbers and as a function of the total number of interactions in which the relevant participant is agentive.

	ACTION	FORCE	MOTION	Total
Guardian	6 (0.55)	3 (0.27)	2 (0.18)	11 (0.58)
Independent	3 (0.18)	12 (0.71)	2 (0.12)	17 (0.68)
Times	1 (0.2)	4 (0.8)	-	5 (0.36)
Telegraph	4 (1)	-	-	4 (0.36)
Express	1 (0.5)	1 (0.5)	-	2 (0.25)
Mail	2 (0.12)	10 (0.59)	5 (0.29)	17 (0.71)

Table 4. Police as agentive

	ACTION	FORCE	MOTION	Total
Guardian	6 (0.75)	1 (0.125)	1 (0.125)	8 (0.42)
Independent	7 (0.875)	1 (0.125)	-	8 (0.32)
Times	7 (0.78)	2 (0.22)	-	9 (0.64)
Telegraph	7 (1)	-	-	7 (0.64)
Express	6 (1)	-	-	6 (0.75)
Mail	5 (0.71)	2 (0.29)	-	7 (0.29)

Table 5. Protestors as agentive

Several things can be garnered from these results. Comparing the total number of interactions in which police versus protestors are agentive in Tables 4 and 5 shows that *The Times, The Telegraph* and *The Express* code protestors as agentive more frequently than they do the police and more frequently than do *The Guardian, The Independent* or *The Mail,* in which the opposite is seen. On first glance, then, it might be tempting to conclude that *The Guardian, The Independent* and *The Mail* all construct the context in a way which pays heed to police violence and deligitimises the authorities' handling of the events. However, comparing across event types reveals that both *The Independent* and *The Mail* construe events in which the police are agentive as FORCE interactions or MOTION events significantly more frequently than ACTION events. The same is not seen in Table 5 in which all papers conceptualise events in which protestors are agentive more frequently as ACTION events.

Schematizing events in which police are agentive as a MOTION event, as in examples (8a-c), invokes a conceptualisation of the event in which no physical effect is felt by another participant and therefore legitimises police actions as largely peaceful.

(8a) The volatile situation started to calm down at about 4.30pm when the Metropolitan Police **sent in** hundreds of riot officers (*Daily Mail*, 10th November)

(8b) Officers **led** them [protestors] down from various floors of the seven-storey building (*Daily Mail,* 10th November)

(8c) By mid-afternoon, police had given up trying to **disperse** the crowds (*Daily Mail,* 24th November)

Schematizing events as FORCE interactions in which the police are the ANTAGONIST and protestors the AGONIST, as in (9a-c), further legitimises police action by presenting the police not as perpetrators of violence but as moral upholders of civil order – the last barrier between normality and chaos.

(9a) The 20 officers lining the route at Millbank faced an impossible task of trying to **hold back** thousands of demonstrators (*Daily Mail,* 10th November)

(9b) About 25 students remained **detained** inside a police cordon (*Independent,* 10th November)

(9c) The police slowly **forced** the remaining protesters out of the courtyard of Millbank Tower (*Independent,* 10th November)

By the same token, schematizing events as FORCE interactions in which protestors are the AGONIST delegitimises their actions by presenting them as instigators of force interactions, bent on bringing chaos and therefore in need of controlling. Force schemas also have an inherent topology which construes the event as a conflict between two opposing sides. The conceptualisation particularly lends itself to metaphorical extension framing the event as a 'battle', as in (10). This metaphorical extension further serves to legitimise police action and delegitimise protestors' actions through counterpart correspondences in a conceptual blend (see Hart 2008, 2010) between the valiant soldier and the police on the one hand and the defiant aggressor and protestors on the other.

(10) One constable suffered a broken arm and a second officer was knocked unconscious as he **battled** to contain protesters outside the Foreign Office … Huge crowds had attempted to break the security cordon outside the building but the line of police was quickly bolstered to ensure the **barricades** were not **breached** (*Daily Mail,* 24th November)

With the exception of *The Telegraph,* all papers are more likely to frame police processes in terms of FORCE or MOTION than protestor processes. Again, however, a closer look reveals further ideological qualities. ACTION events in which the police are agentive in *The Telegraph* are always conceived as either reciprocal or retaliatory, whereas protestor actions are construed as reciprocal in only three out of seven instances and never as retaliatory. Consider (11a-c).

(11a) The Metropolitan Police confirmed that three protestors have been arrested in London for violent disorder and theft, while a further two arrests were made during **scuffles** with the police in Cambridge (*Telegraph,* 24th November)

(11b) A number of police officers were injured after they came under **attack** from youths (*Telegraph*, 10th November)

(11c) Rocks, wooden banners, eggs, rotten fruit and shards of glass were **thrown** at police officers trying to **beat back** the crowd with metal batons and riot shields. (*Telegraph,* 10th November)

In (11a), the event is construed in terms of a reciprocal action chain in which both police and protestors are agentive. In (11b), the protestors alone are designated as agentive. In (11c), the police are construed as agentive but only *in response to* protestors' unprovoked actions.

By contrast, *The Guardian* designates a higher degree of agency to police as in (12) compared to (11c). And although five out of six events in which police are agentive are construed as reciprocal action events, protestors' actions are also construed in terms of reciprocal action schemas an equal five out of six times.

(12) [P]olice **wielding** batons clashed with a crowd hurling placard sticks, eggs and bottles. (*Guardian*, 10th November)

A similar pattern to that found for *The Telegraph* is repeated across the rest of the corpus. Table 6 shows the total number of reciprocal action schemas in each paper as a function of the total number of ACTION events in which the police versus protestors are agentive (see Tables 4 and 5). Overall, then, *The Guardian* construes the violence as more two-sided than the other papers in the corpus.

	Reciprocal Action Schemas		
	% police action events	**% protestor action events**	**total**
Guardian	83	83	5
Independent	67	29	2
Times	100	14	1
Telegraph	75	43	3
Express	100	17	1
Mail	50	20	1

Table 6. Reciprocal action schemas

There is also a difference in focus of attention between newspapers when construing events in terms of a reciprocal action schema. In (11a) compared to (12), for example, the protestors versus the police are in focus respectively. Table 7 shows the total number of reciprocal action schemas across the corpus broken down into police-in-focus, protestors-in-focus and nominalisations in which no particular entity is in focus. Here, although the numbers are small, we can see that when the clause structure permits one entity to be in focus relative to the other, it is more frequently protestors.

	Reciprocal Action Schemas			
	Police Focussed	**Protestor Focussed**	**Unknown**	**Total**
Guardian	1 (0.2)	2 (0.4)	2 (0.4)	5
Independent	-	-	2 (1)	2
Times	-	-	1 (1)	1
Telegraph	1 (0.33)	1 (0.33)	1 (0.33)	3
Express	-	1 (1)	-	1
Mail	-	1 (1)	-	1

Table 7. Focus in reciprocal action schemas

Profiling, recall, is an extension of focus, and is involved in the conceptualisation of agentless passive constructions and, through summary scanning, nominalisations. It has the effect of obscuring cause or agency in action events. Focussing specifically on injuries sustained by police and protestors, we can glean from Table 8 that there is a general tendency toward grammatical patternings which invoke alternative mental models for events in which police or protestors receive injuries. *The Guardian* is the exception whereby the causes of injuries to both parties are obscured. When police are reported as receiving injuries, then, the full action chain is profiled as in (13a-b).[21] By contrast, when protestors are reported as sustaining injuries, only the resultant of the interaction or a reification of the process is profiled, thus precluding attention to the causes of injuries as in (14a-b).

(13a) A number of **police officers** were **injured** as they came under attack from the **protesters** (*Times*, 10th November)

(13b) A number of **police officers** were **injured** after they came under attack from **youths** (*Telegraph*, 10th November)

(14a) The demonstration followed a day of action two weeks ago that saw 60 arrested and dozens **injured** when a riot broke out at the Conservative Party headquarters (*Telegraph*, 24th November)

(14b) At least 14 people were treated for their **injuries** in hospital and 32 arrested (*Times*, 10th November)

[21] Note that causal information in an adverbial clause is represented in the event-structure (though it is defocussed relative to information in the main clause).

	Police Injured		Protestors Injured		Total
	Cause Specified	Cause Mystified	Cause Specified	Cause Mystified	
Guardian	-	2	-	2	4
Independent	1	-	-	1	2
Times	1	1	-	1	3
Telegraph	3	-	-	5	8
Express	2	-	-	2	4
Mail	3	-	-	1	4

Table 8. Causes of injuries

9. Conclusion

Cognitive Linguistics, I have argued, has the potential to account for the conceptual import of various lexical and grammatical constructions. Cognitive Linguistics is pattern-focussed and hearer-oriented (Nuyts 2007) and therefore, in fact, perfectly positioned to provide an analytical lens on the conceptual processes involved in ideological reproduction. The analyses of schematisation and attentional distribution given in this chapter further support the claim that grammar is a locus of ideology. However, they go beyond description of the text to address the interpretive dimension of discourse and demonstrate that grammar not only encodes ideology but enacts it as alternative patternings evoke alternative mental models of the context described. In this way, grammar constructs contexts. These event-models, I have further suggested, feed into more general frames or discourses.

In the chapter, I have had both theoretical and empirical goals. Empirically, the results of this case study point to *The Guardian* being the only newspaper which draws any significant, explicit attention to police violence and calls into question police actions in the student fees protests. The other newspapers, by contrast, promote 'preferred models' (Van Dijk 1998) of events in which, through strategies of structural configuration and identification, police actions are legitimated whilst protestors' actions are delegitimated. This ultimately constructs for readers a frame in which civil action is seen as a deviation from normative behaviour and therefore associated with moral wrong-doing (Hall 1973), which state authorities are there to defend against.

Theoretically, I have tried to further develop both the Socio-Cognitive and the Cognitive Linguistic approaches to CDA by suggesting a synergy between them. Specifically, I have suggested that the mental models necessarily predicated in the Socio-Cognitive Approach may be best theorised in terms of the conceptual structures and construal operations described in Cognitive Linguistics.

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