

Representations of the ‘Refugee Crisis’ in British and Spanish Newspapers: A Multimodal Cognitive-linguistic Analysis

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ABSTRACT

Representations of the ‘Refugee Crisis’ in British and Spanish Newspapers: A Multimodal Cognitive-linguistic Analysis. A thesis submitted by Javier Mármol Queraltó in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the Department of Linguistics and English Language, Lancaster University, in March 2022.

With the (European) Refugee Crisis (RC) still ongoing, the dynamics of representation in media coverage of refugees, asylum-seekers and migrants (RASIM) remains a pressing issue. While much has been written about linguistic representations of migration in the media (e.g., Baker et al., 2008), comparatively little has been written about the visual/multimodal depictions of RASIM (cf. Catalano & Musolff, 2019). This is despite a wealth of literature which highlights the role that pictures play in communicating values and thus in creating and sustaining social identities and inequalities more generally (Bednarek & Caple, 2012). In this thesis I (1) critically analyse online newspapers’ patterns of conceptualisations of events within the RC in both language and image; (2) assess the interactions between patterns of conceptualisation across these modes and their potential ideological import; and (3) account for the variation in patterns of conceptualisation across countries and news sources of contrasting ideology.

This research develops and operationalises a cognitive-linguistic approach to Critical Discourse Studies (i.e., Hart, 2014). The theoretical-methodological apparatus is designed to critically examine the visual and linguistic enactors of construal operations of schematisation, spatial viewpoint and conceptual metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Hart, 2015; Talmy, 2000; Forceville, 2009). This includes examining Language-Image relations from an intersemiotic convergence perspective (Hart & Mármol Queraltó, 2021).

Patterns of conceptualisation in three semantic domains were analysed: MOTION, ACTION and FORCE (Hart, 2011a/b). The data for this project comprised 385 news reports extracted and sampled adapting the method in Baker et al. (2008). Four Spanish and British newspapers of contrasting ideological persuasions were examined: *El País* and *The Guardian* as ‘liberal’ newspapers, and *El Mundo* and *The Telegraph* as ‘conservative’

newspapers. Data coding and analysis employed UAM Corpus Tool, also in its version for image analysis.

Substantial but subtle variation across countries and newspapers was found in both language and image across all three semantic domains. The national context of newspapers and their ideological inclinations are also relevant. Expanding on previous findings (cf., Moore et al, 2018), Spanish newspapers display more convergent, humanitarian depictions of events during the RC, while British newspapers display a high degree of polarization. Spanish newspapers coincide in primarily representing RASIM as entities arriving to European countries, as passive collectives being acted upon, and as weaker entities being impinged upon by various governmental forces. *The Guardian* displays relatively similar patterns of conceptualisation, where *The Telegraph* stands out as the newspaper which depicts RASIM events as inherently negative. Alongside these empirical findings, this thesis makes several theoretical and methodological contributions, including (1) setting out a protocol for text-annotation within a cognitive linguistic paradigm, and (2) advancing our understanding of intersemiotic relations from a critical cognitive linguistic perspective.

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A mis padres, Pilar y Rafael. A mis hermanos, Rafa y Esther. Vosotros mejor que nadie sabéis lo que significa para mi todo esto, y en cada uno de vosotros he encontrado un ejemplo que me ha ayudado y conducido a ser cómo y quién soy ahora. Y más que viene.

Alyssa, my love, mi luna y mis estrellas, mi roca. What can be said that could reflect the things that have made you the most important pillar of my life. I am yours forever, at least in body and soul. Now it's time.

To all of you, and many others, *gracias*.

AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is my own work, and has not been submitted in substantially the same form for the award of a higher degree elsewhere.

PART I

Chapter 1. Introduction

1.0. Chapter overview

This chapter contextualises the data for the thesis. Alongside a general introduction to the Refugee Crisis (RC henceforth), I provide an overview of the British and Spanish contexts focusing on their sociopolitical and media responses. This chapter enunciates the research questions for this thesis, and its structure.

1.1. The Refugee Crisis

Since early 2011, more than five million people have been forcibly displaced from Syria and other Middle-East countries, constituting the biggest humanitarian crisis since WWII (Deardorff, 2017; UNHCR, 2017). Europe's responses have oscillated between generosity and threats to refugees', asylum-seekers' and migrants' rights, with "images of Europeans welcoming refugees with open arms, food and toys, as well as photos of violent border police, barbed wire, fences and abuse of desperate people" (Deardorff, 2017, p. 78). The status of the EU in relation to the rightful application of Human Rights conventions saw a historical low in March 2016, when the EU signed a highly controversial treaty with Turkey (CEAR, 2017, p. 39), which 'outsourced' the EU's humanitarian obligations. Such moral conflict is highlighted in the CEAR¹ report: "an ample majority of citizens demands that Europe be considered sanctuary [...] we cannot allow more people to drown in the Mediterranean [...] and with them, our values" (2017, p. 11; my translation).

1.1.1. *Defining refugees, asylum-seekers and migrants*

People in transit face different legal realities across Europe. Those groups of people are formed by refugees, asylum-seekers and migrants more generally (*RASIM*² henceforth)

¹ Spanish Commission for Refugee Help.

² The term RASIM is extracted from Baker et al.'s (2008) study. These were, among others, the search query terms employed in that corpus linguistic study. I employ it to comprise in one form those collectives whose representation this project focuses on. See Chapter 4.

(Arango et al, 2016). The working definitions ‘refugee’, ‘asylum-seeker’ and ‘(e/im)migrant’ (Amnesty International, 2022), are:

- **Refugee:** A person who has fled their own country because they are at risk of serious human rights violations and persecution there. The risks to their safety and life were so great that they felt they had no choice but to leave and seek safety outside their country because their own government cannot or will not protect them from those dangers. Refugees have a right to international protection.
- **Asylum-seeker:** A person who has left their country and is seeking protection from persecution and serious human rights violations in another country, but who hasn’t yet been legally recognized as a refugee and is waiting to receive a decision on their asylum claim. Seeking asylum is a human right. This means everyone should be allowed to enter another country to seek asylum.
- **(E/Im)migrant:** There is no internationally accepted legal definition of a migrant. Amnesty International understands migrants to be people staying outside their country of origin, who are not asylum-seekers or refugees.

These labels are often misallocated and conflated by the press (Baker et al., 2008), with possible extensive effects on the legal and social situations of RASIM. Next, I outline relevant aspects of the RC.

1.1.2. The RC in Europe: General background and main routes

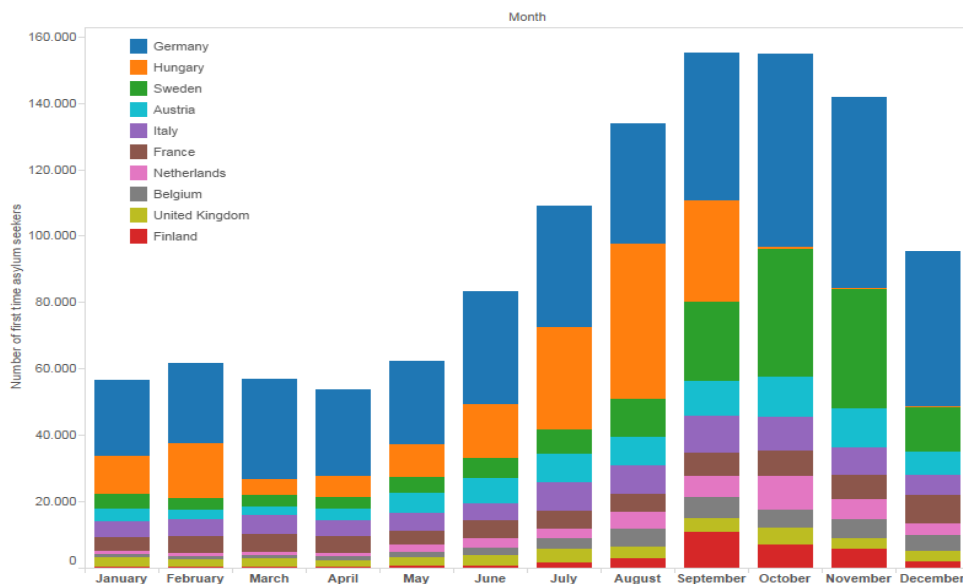
Almost 2M people were forcibly displaced during 2015-16 (UNHCR, 2016). The RC in Europe is understood to have started in 2015, and it remains an ongoing migratory process. The RC is the convergence of several conflicts that became aggravated in 2015 (Deardorff, 2017; CEAR, 2017, p. 25). These include the Syrian Civil War, the Afghanistan War, and the Iraqi Conflict (Deardorff, 2017). This is reflected in the main countries of origin accounting for the displaced population, with Syria (23%), Afghanistan (12%) and Iraq (8%) in the top five (UNHCR, 2017).

While 2015 saw the highest peak in arrivals, 2016 witnessed the highest record of deaths (5,096; UNHCR, 2021, 2022). By December 2016 Germany had granted 456,525 asylum applications, Sweden 110,060, with Britain and Spain far behind with 10,145 and 9,605

applications respectively (UNHCR, 2017). The number of applications received by European countries indicate both the main destinations of applicants and the most salient countries of transit where RASIM applied for asylum before the EU conceded that RASIM would not need to apply for asylum in the first country they arrived in, contravening the Dublin Agreement (Deardorff, 2017, p. 8).³ Figure 1.1 reflects the volume of applications and highlights the main destinations during 2015.⁴ From August 2015 Eastern European countries opposed the Dublin Agreement, creating a difficult climate for the quota system established in September 2015. The EU aimed at resettling over 120,000 refugees (expanded to 200,000 in 2016) located in Greece and countries on the Western Balkans route (Deardorff, 2017, p. 108).

Figure 1.1.

Asylum applications per country and month in 2015 (Eurostat, 2016).



Financially, Britain was the first contributor with more than \$924M by December 2016, with Spain having contributed \$25M (Eurostat, 2016). Importantly, the differences in the responses among countries were extremely large, as well as the (in)direct impacts of the

³ The Dublin Agreement (adopted in 2003 and modified in 2008) “operates on the assumption that, as the asylum laws and practices of the EU States are based on the same common standards, they allow asylum seekers to enjoy similar levels of protection in all EU Member States” (UNHCR, n.d.). This includes that people should have the right to a suspensive appeal, that they should be detained as a last resource, and that the best interest of children should be respected. The Dublin Agreement allowed countries to return refugees to the first EU country they arrived to.

⁴ France overtook Hungary since October.

RC on countries. Migration during the RC involved journeys across the Mediterranean Sea, with Greece, Italy, and to a lesser extent, Spain as destinations. RASIM died or went missing primarily undertaking these journeys (UNHCR, 2017). Table 1.1 summarises the main events for the period June 2015 – June 2016.⁵

Table 1.1.

Main events during the Refugee crisis (May 2015-June 2016). (Adapted from Deardorff, 2017, pp. 8-9; and *Transitory Lives*, <https://transitorylives.net/resources/refugee-crisis-timeline/>)

Month/Year	Events
June 2015	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Operation Sophia is launched to tackle people-smugglers in the Mediterranean • Britain announces building of high-security fence in Channel Tunnel port in Calais
July 2015	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hungary starts building a fence along its border with Serbia • Relocation scheme agreed to start from October
August 2015	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More than 400 deaths in shipwrecks • Bulgaria begin finishing the last section of the border fence with Turkey • Macedonia closes border with Greece and declares the state of emergency • Dublin Agreement put on hold by Germany
September 2015	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Keleti station (Hungary) incident • Death of Alan Kurdi in Lesbos (Greece) • Munich (Germany) receives 13,000 migrants and refugees in one day • Incidents in Hungary's border with Serbia • Hungary closes its border with Serbia and declares the state of emergency • Croatia closes its border with Serbia • Relocation of 40000 people • Relocation proposal of 120,000 people from Italy, Greece and Hungary
October 2015	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Start of EU – Turkey negotiations • 48,000 refugees arrive in Greece in five days • Hungary finishes border fence with Croatia and closes border • 12,600 refugees arrive in Slovenia in one day • Leader's meeting on Western Balkans agrees on border intensification • Afghan migrant shot dead by Bulgarian police
November 2015	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Paris attacks by IS with 130 killed • Austria starts building fence with Slovenia • Slovenia starts building fence with Croatia • Macedonia starts building fence with Greece • Sweden imposes temporary border controls • EU – Turkey agreement finalised
December 2015	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shipwrecks in the Aegean Sea • Demonstration in Germany against admitting refugees • European Council meeting agrees border intensification and relocations and returns
January 2016	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New Year's sex assaults in Germany • At least 100 people die in shipwrecks in the Mediterranean Sea • PEGIDA demonstration against refugees in Cologne (Germany)

⁵ This period is selected due to the increased reporting periods observed in the data (see Chapter 4).

February 2016	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Macedonia fences off large sections of its border • Bulgaria, Austria and Belgium introduce temporary border checks • Greece migration system under Schengen rules under review • Riots in Calais camp (France)
March 2016	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia and Macedonia restrict access • Hungary closes borders and declares state of emergency • Closure of Western Balkans route • EU-Turkey deal to tackle immigration enacted from 20 March • NATO ships patrol the Aegean between Greece and Turkey
April 2016	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • First returns to Turkey from Greece • Demonstrations in the Italy-Austria border • Demonstration at Piraeus port in Greece • Protest at Idomeni migrant camp (Greece-Macedonia border) • Pope Francisco returns from Lesbos with 12 Syrian refugees • Austria begins building a fence and a registration centre in the Italy-Austria border
May 2016	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Protest at the Italy-Austria border • Syrian migrant shot on the Slovakia-Hungary border • Gradual evacuation of makeshift camp in Idomeni • More than 700 migrants die in the Mediterranean
June 2016	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More than 300 people died in a shipwreck near Crete • Leave Campaign wins the Brexit referendum

Table 1.1 summarises the main events affecting RASIM’s journey, indicating the main measures that countries employed until the 20th March 2016, when the EU-Turkey deal came into effect. Several routes were used during the RC (UNHCR, 2016).

Table 1.2.

Illegal border crossings into Europe. (Adapted from Frontex, 2022).

Main entry Route	Illegal border crossings (land and sea)						
	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Western African route	200	340	170	250	245	874	671
Western Mediterranean route	5000	8450	6400	6800	7840	7164	10231
Central Mediterranean route	4500	64300	15900	40000			
Apulia and Calabria route	2788	5259	4772	5000			
Circular Albania–Greece route	35300	5300	5500	8700	8840	8932	5121
Western Balkan route	2370	4650	6390	19950	43,360	764,038	130,261
Eastern Mediterranean route	55700	57000	37200	24800	50,830	885,386	182,277
Eastern Borders route	1050	1050	1600	1300	1270	1920	1349
Totals	106,908	146,349	77,932	106,800	283,175	1,822,260	500,248

Figure 1.2.

Main migratory routes during the RC (Dörrbecker, 2016).

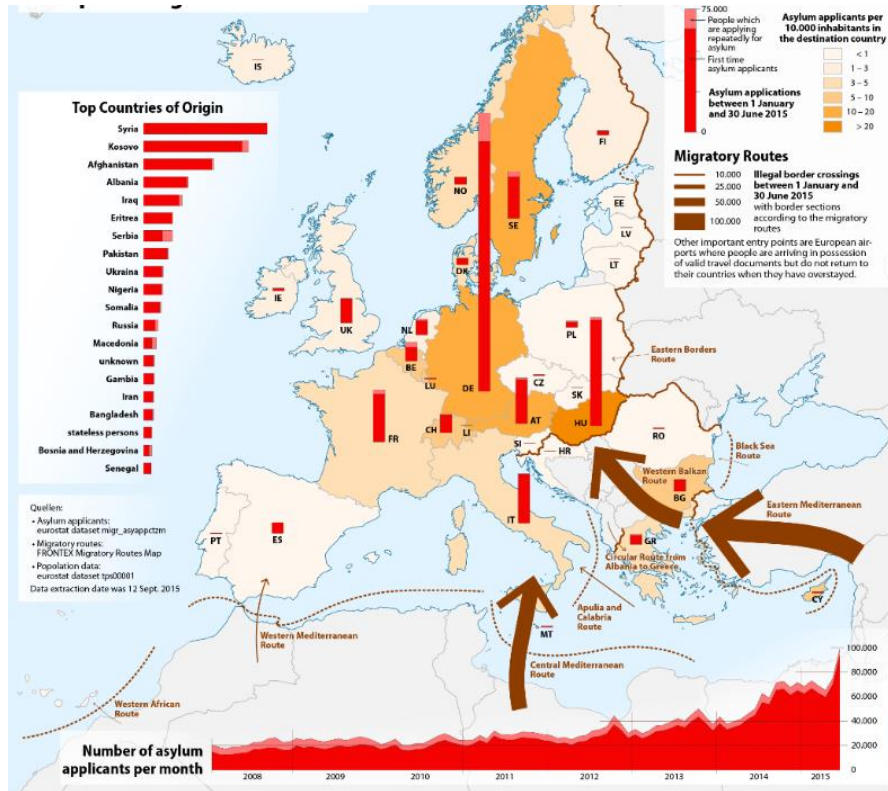


Figure 1.2. indicates the routes, while Table 1.2 shows that the Central Mediterranean, the Western Balkans and the Eastern Mediterranean routes were the most frequented during 2015 and 2016. The biggest increases occurred in the Western Balkans and Eastern Mediterranean routes between 2015 and 2016, with an unprecedented 16.5-fold increase in number of crossings.

Despite the fact that Britain was not on any route and processed a relatively low number of asylum applications in 2015, media outlets focused significantly on the RC, contributing to its mediatized politization (Krzyżanowski et al., 2018). Conversely, Spain constituted entry points for the Western African and Western Mediterranean routes. In comparison to countries on the Western Balkans and Eastern Mediterranean routes, Spain was not significantly impacted by the arrivals (Deardorff, 2017, p. 94).⁶ The decrease in arrivals in 2016 reflects the consequences of the EU-Turkey deal.

⁶ The combined total of people crossing to Spain during 2015 and 2016 was under 20,000 people, while the combined total of people using the Western Balkans and Easter European routes during 2015 and 2016 amounted to almost 2.5M people.

1.1.3. The RC in the UK

The UK seemingly “walked the middle ground on Syrian refugees” (Deardorff, 2017, p. 94) and pledged over £1.5B in aid to Syria (McGuinness, 2017). The UK held the ‘Supporting Syria and the Region’ conference in February 2016 raising almost £8B (Deardorff, 2017, p. 68). While Britain was not as negative towards refugees as others (e.g., Hungary), in terms of resettlement Britain responded with hesitancy and was not “vocal on collective responsibility-sharing, human rights, and following EU asylum laws” (Deardorff, 2017, p. 94), the latter connected to debates around EU membership and European (im)migration.

As for humanitarian response, Britain collaborated with the UNHCR and committed to resettle 20,000 refugees between September 2015 and May 2020 (NAO, 2016, p. 4). Other programmes include the (Syrian) Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme ((S)VPRS) (established in January 2014; Deardorff, 2017, p. 7), which by the end of 2015 had resettled 216 people (ibid); and the Mandate and Gateway Protection programmes. A last scheme is the Vulnerable Children Resettlement Scheme (VCRS), which combined with the (S)VPRS and affected by the SARS-COVID-19 pandemic, resettled 104 refugees by June 2020 (UNHCR, 2021). Once the UK resumes resettlement processes and completes its target of 20,000 refugees (still not achieved), it intends to resettle 5,000 refugees per year under the new UK Resettlement Scheme (UKSR), which will consolidate several programmes into one global scheme (UNHCR, 2021).

The political context for Britain during the RC was a tumultuous one.⁷ During the RC, the Conservative Party was ruling after the May 2015 General Election. It was since the start of the Brexit Referendum Campaign that the RC, and (mainly European) migration in their relation with sovereignty, along with trade, became the political drivers for the Leave campaign (Zappettini, 2019).

As for media responses to the RC, which would have important repercussions for social and governmental responses to the crisis (Basedow & Doyle, 2016), British newspapers focused on four themes: (1) immigration figures/levels, (2) search and rescue/aid, (3) political responses/policy and (4) humanitarian issues (Moore et al., 2018). These themes were significantly disconnected, constituting “an unsettled discourse reflecting shifting

⁷ See Koller et al. (2019) for an up-to-date collection of works on the Brexit vote.

anxieties between humanitarian concern to save refugees, and a securitising fortress mentality to better police European and national borders” (Moore et al., 2018, p. 66). These discourses are reflected in the dichotomy liberal vs. conservative newspapers, which more often attended to humanitarian concerns and migrant threat themes respectively (Moore et al., 2018, p. 75). Newspapers focused on ‘immigration figures/levels’ (foregrounded in 65% of the data), and the policy discussion was far more negative covering sub-themes such as ‘receiving and rejecting’ unwanted migrants (38.9%), also emphasising concerns about ‘welfare/benefits/resources’ (19.7%) (Moore et al., 2018, p. 74). These patterns also reflect news coverage focusing on those seeking to reach Britain from Calais (ibid). Importantly, the focus of the most widely read newspapers was on

the pressures faced at UK borders, crime and violence allegedly committed by migrant groups in Calais [...] and the potential exploitation by migrants of scant social resources should UK policymakers concede too liberally to those drawn to ‘El Dorado’ Britain (Moore et al., 2018, p. 75).

Ultimately, in Europe, the UK press presented the most aggressive reporting on the RC (Moore et al., 2016; Basedow & Doyle, 2016). Next, I turn to Spain’s response.

1.1.4. The RC in Spain

Spain’s approach was significantly different due to its geographical location, and despite not being significantly affected, Spain has received increasing numbers of RASIM since the early 1970s (CEAR, 2016). In 2015 Spain ranked 14th among European countries with 1500 people granted refugee status (CEAR, 2015, p. 5). Note also that Spain contributed just \$25M in aid in 2016 (Eurostat, 2016).

Spain’s legal obligations towards RASIM are directly tied to the EU’s. By 2015 the European Asylum system elaborated in 1999 was still being adapted to Spanish legislation (Valles Ferrero, 2016, p. 231). Such delay left important issues unresolved while ‘going backwards’ in a variety of topics (Garpalsoro, 2010). Two events may illustrate this climate. Spain possesses two enclaves in the Northern coast of Morocco, Ceuta and Melilla. In 2014 fifteen people were killed while swimming towards El Tarajal beach (Ceuta), and sixteen civil guards were prosecuted for allegedly killing several of

them. In 2016 the guards were absolved in what NGOs described as a prototypical case of victim-blaming in which migrants were made fully responsible for their attempt (CEAR, 2016, p. 10). Second, the amendment of the Public Security Act by the then ruling conservative Popular Party legalized unlawful push backs ('hot returns') to Morocco of RASIM irregularly entering Spain (ibid). This practice has been condemned by NGOs and by the Council of Europe Commissioner for Human Rights on numerous occasions (Martínez Escamilla, 2014).

As for refugees' resettlement under the EU's Quota System, in 2016 Spain agreed to resettle 17,337 refugees (Deardorff, 2017, p. 124). By November 2018, only 2,892 refugees had been resettled (*La Vanguardia*, 2018). In sum, while Spain's situation was not as critical as other countries', the legislative and political contexts in Spain during the RC obstructed the arrival of RASIM (Deardorff, 2017). Rajoy's Popular government further decreased the funding for migration observatories (Álvarez, 2015), and reinforced Ceuta and Melilla's border fences with state-of-the-art technology (Martínez Escamilla, 2014; *La Vanguardia*, 2014; ECRI, 2018).

Spanish media responses to the RC also presented significant disconnections "between causal interpretation and treatment recommendation framing" (Moore et al., 2018, p. 66). The themes covered were similar to those in Britain. Moore et al. (2018, p. 72) report a dual focus: (a) events in Spain's territories, and (b) events in the Mediterranean. Both the UK and Spanish press 'domesticated' and simplified the RC for their readers (García-Blanco, 2016). Spanish coverage stood out among other European countries in that it

emphasised 'search and rescue/aid' (64.5 %) and 'mortality/mortality figures' (35.8 %), themes that coloured the 'policy responses/political discussions' upon which the press were reporting (64.5 % of news articles) and reflected political debate in Spain about responsibility for border control, the humanitarian consequences for migrants, and the issue of responsibility for sea patrols (More et al., 2018, p. 72).

In sum, Spain's media reaction was relatively humanitarian, however Spain lacked in sociopolitical response and the number of refugees resettled in comparison with other European countries partially reflects Spanish authorities' compromise with RASIM.

1.1.5. Mediatized representations and media responsibility

This thesis conducts a critical discourse analysis of the multimodal representations circulated by the British and Spanish online press during the RC, due to their pivotal role in providing ‘substance’ to social understandings of migratory processes. Van Dijk (2005, pp. 5-6) argues that mass media (i.e., newspapers) reproduce the most influential forms of institutionalized racism. The issue examined here is the reproduction of potentially discriminatory representations of RASIM in news discourse. I critically unpack contextualised discursive patterns to better understand the underlying ideologies of newspapers, their role in reproducing discriminatory representations, and the potential effects of these representations on audiences, and subsequently on RASIM’s situations.

Such critical examination is essential for several reasons. News discourse can be said to be “productive of the ‘material realities’ of migration” (Moore et al., 2018, p. 68). These realities include: the constitution of social identities and organising the social relations of RASIM within receiving societies; the definition of the overall ‘context’ in which events occur and which provides the ideological backdrop for group representation (e.g., ‘Refugee Crisis’ vs. ‘European Migrant Crisis’); and overall news discourse can establish what realities are considered meaningful and even morally acceptable (van Dijk, 1998; Moore et al., 2018, p. 69). News agencies signify a situation to be newsworthy and routinely frame events as realistic, coherent and relevant by emphasising particular aspects of a given event over others. Such framing will “promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described” (Entman, 1993, p. 52). While some scholars have identified sympathetic and/or humanitarian news frames in the representation of migration, typically conditioned by national social imaginaries imbued with more hospitable ethics (Chouliaraki et al., 2017; cited in Moore et al., 2018, p. 69), migration is more commonly represented through economising, neoliberal and/or securitising ‘frames’ (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001). RASIM can be then identified as systemic threats to national security, economic predatory migrants, usually as near-synonyms of social or political crisis (Moore, 2013; Gross et al., 2007). Numerous organizations demand to re-examine and challenge the role and responsibility of the media in reproducing and perpetuating (negative) stereotypes of RASIM (SOS Racismo, 2015; CEAR, 2017; ECRI, 2018). These representations can become socially-shared understandings of migration processes,

and are essential for the adequate integration of RASIM and for the resolution of their individual situations.

1.2. Research questions

This thesis provides a critical analysis and interpretation of the patterns of conceptualisation enacted by British and Spanish online newspapers, in language and images, with regards the RC for the period June 2015 – June 2016. The research questions addressed in this project are:

1. What patterns of conceptualisation of RASIM, and migratory processes within the RC, are observable in language?
2. What patterns of conceptualisation of RASIM, and migratory processes within the RC, are observable in images?
3. How do patterns of conceptualisation, in language and images, relate to each other, and what ideological implications can these relations have in the context of the RC?
4. How do patterns of conceptualisation, in language and image, work together, compare and contrast, both within and across British versus Spanish online newspapers?
5. How do these patterns of conceptualisation, in language and image, contribute to the discursive construction of RASIM and migratory processes, and what potential impact can they have on public attitudes towards the RC, and migration more generally?

Such formulation aims at exposing the most ideologically relevant discursive nuances contributing to the overall representation of RASIM and migration in the context of the RC. This includes examining actors other than RASIM involved in migratory processes (e.g. the EU) routinely encoded in event-construal.

This thesis advocates a cognitive-linguistic approach to multimodal online news discourse. I explore the potential conceptualisations invoked in the minds of readers through linguistic and imagistic enactors in news reports. That is, I examine the conceptual representations evoked by language usages and images in newspaper discourse concerning the RC. This project crucially acknowledges news discourse as an inherently multimodal phenomenon. Accordingly, among the different elements within news reports, I focus on language and photographs. This is reflected in RQs 1 and 2. RQ 3 introduces the focus on the potential ideological implications that the observable Language-Image relations might bear.

RQ 4 explores the contrast between Spanish and British newspapers, and between liberal and conservative newspapers. Consequently, the design of the research allows me to compare and contrast conceptualisation patterns enacted in news discourse across countries (UK vs. Spain) and purported ideological leanings (liberal vs. conservative). The newspapers analysed are *The Guardian* and *The Telegraph* from Britain, and *El País* and *El Mundo* from Spain (see Chapter 4). Last, RQ 5 aims at providing an encompassing, critical ‘reading’ of the patterns of conceptualisation observed, discussing the significance of the general findings and their implications for the research of discourses of migration, and the social understandings of migratory processes more generally.

1.3. Thesis structure

This thesis is structured around three parts. Part I contains chapters one and two and introduces the sociopolitical context of the RC alongside essential concepts and findings in the field of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDS). Part II includes chapters three and four and focuses on the analytical framework, data collection and methods for this research. Last, Part III contains three analytical chapters and a conclusion.

Part I starts with this chapter, which has contextualised the project and indicated the research questions and their operationalisation. Chapter 2 establishes the theoretical-methodological background and reports relevant findings from previous CDS studies on migration discourses. Chapter 2 spells out key concepts in CDS, its encompassing tenets, it outlines relevant approaches within the field, and ends reporting the advancements of CDS into multimodal applications.

Part II contains chapters 3 and 4. Chapter 3 outlines a cognitive-linguistic approach to multimodal news discourse. The chapter starts with foundational concepts in Cognitive Linguistics (CL) and their consonance with CDS, and cues a detailed account of the construal operations whose linguistic and imagistic enactors are objects of analysis in this project. Chapter 3 ends anchoring the approach towards Language-Image relations. Chapter 4 presents in detail the data collection and sampling processes for this project. There I describe the data under analysis and the ideological orientations of the newspapers examined.

Part III contains chapters 5 to 7 and presents the analysis. The principle of organisation for the analytical chapters responds to the conceptual domains explored (see Chapter 3): Chapter 5 reports findings with regards to MOTION,⁸ Chapter 6 with regards to ACTION, and Chapter 7 in relation to FORCE. The thesis ends with a conclusion in Chapter 8, where I report the most relevant findings of the research, their implications for the field(s), and discuss future areas of research.

⁸ Concepts and conceptual domains are expressed in small capital letter as per convention.

Chapter 2. Critical Discourse Studies and Discourses of Migration

2.0. Chapter overview

This chapter outlines general notions relevant for the thesis. Section 2.1 introduces fundamental concepts in Critical Discourse Studies (CDS), and outlines its main tenets. Section 2.2 provides an overview of the main approaches in CDS. Section 2.3 introduces the cognitive-linguistic approach to CDS in particular. Last, section 2.4 focuses on media ecologies and Multimodal CDS (MCDS). These approaches are discussed with reference to discourses of migration throughout.

2.1. Key concepts in CDS

2.1.1. *Discourse and Text*

In CDS, *discourse* has (at least) three interrelated senses: (1) ‘language in use in any form’, (2) ‘verbal performance as a social action/practice’, and (3) “a social construction of reality, a form of knowledge,” which represents a social practice from a particular perspective (Fairclough, 1995b, pp. 18, 56; cited in O’Halloran, 2011, p. 446). The third sense is associated with the French post-structuralist philosopher Michel Foucault, who describes discourses as “ways of talking about the world which are tightly connected to ways of seeing and comprehending it” (O’Halloran, 2011, p. 446). Kress (1985, p. 6) states that “a discourse provides a set of possible statements about a given area, and organises and gives structure to the manner in which a particular topic, object, process is to be talked about,” and so ‘discourse’ in sense (3) constrains ‘discourse’ in senses (1) and (2). Consequently, defining discourse heavily depends on the theoretical underpinnings of the paradigm in which that definition lies (Widdowson, 1995a, p. 169). Discourses provide structure to domains of social reality through textual practice, and those structures are conceived as dynamic by nature, where participants negotiate how they are established and maintained by means of discursive interaction.

Discourse as social practice is *socially constitutive* as well as *socially conditioned* (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). Discourse is socially conditioned in that it is shaped by the social structures, situations, and institutions which surround it, and it is socially constitutive in that it is *through* discourse that the social identities and relationships between the participants within a context are negotiated, sustained and reproduced (Fairclough &

Wodak, 1997, p. 258). Fairclough & Wodak (1997, p. 258) indicate that in this dimension discourse “gives rise to important issues of power,” and KhosraviNik (2010, p. 75) highlights how the *elites*⁹ that control discourse production and distribution processes can potentially “re/define, re/shape, transform or even create what comes to be believed as truth.” Discourse is thus inextricably related to the creation, preservation and/or transformation of the *status quo* (Wodak & Meyer, 2009a).

A *text* is a specific, contextualised, purposeful instantiation of discourse in sense (1) within specific socio-cultural and spatial-temporal coordinates (Lemke, 1995), and thus texts may contain and blend several discourses in sense (3). Texts, then, are a ‘trace’ (or product) of a discourse event (process) (Brown & Yule, 1983, pp. 6, 25). Wodak and Meyer (2009, p. 10) consider texts as “sites of struggles in that they show traces of differing discourses and ideologies contending and struggling for dominance”, however here ‘traces’ refer to different areas of knowledge in a Foucauldian sense (discourse in sense (3)). Texts are inherently multimodal so that discourses can be expressed in multiple, co-occurring modes (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996), including language, gesture, layout, images, etc. (see 2.4).

2.1.2. Critique, Ideology and Media Ecology

A focal point in CDS is the relationship between language, power and ideology (O’Halloran, 2011). *Critique* is a central notion in CDS alternatively conceptualised depending on the philosophical background of the theoretical framework (and the political impetus) underlying discourse-analytical practice. Fairclough (1995b, p. 54), after Bourdieu (1977), indicates that the term ‘critical’ in CDS recognises that social practices are sites for the exercise (and/or abuse) of power of which the general public are often unaware.

Hart and Cap indicate (2014, p. 2) that “critique presupposes a particular political stance on the part of the researcher and is intended to be instrumental in bringing about social change.” In van Dijk’s approach what is considered (un)ethical and/or (il)legitimate is dictated by *norms*, in his case the Human Rights (van Dijk, 2009).

⁹ Wodak (after Jäger & Maier, 2009, and Wodak, 2011) indicates that “in the knowledge-based economy, experts of various kinds, journalists, and intellectuals, scholars and teachers are labelled as *elites*, governing regimes of knowledge” (2017, p. 7).

Text choices may work ideologically to promote one particular *worldview* (Hart, 2014, p. 2). Ideologies are representations of aspects of the world which contribute to establishing and maintaining relations of power, domination and exploitation (O’Halloran, 2011, p. 445). From a socio-cognitive perspective, ideologies are a type of *shared social knowledge* which form the basis for the representation of social practices (including discourses) and its members (van Dijk, 2001, p. 12). Further, ideologies are socially-shared groupings of beliefs in the mind, which are abstract and context-independent (van Dijk, 1998, 2004).¹⁰ Discourses, as multidimensional forms of knowledge, can be considered to be inherently ideologized. Although I openly hold left-wing political views, I do not align myself with a specific political nor philosophical perspective. My stance is, like van Dijk’s (2009), within the lines of the Human Rights, and I advocate a cognitive approach to unveil unjust uses of language.

Texts are often *loci* of conflict in that they signal discourses and ideologies that strive to acquire/maintain a position of power (van Dijk, 2003, p. 210). *Symbolic elites* play a crucial role in the reproduction of dominant ideologies (van Dijk, 1993, 2005). For news discourse, “media play a central role in the reproduction of racism, both because of their relation to other elite institutions and because of their structural influence in shaping and changing the social mind” (van Dijk, 1993, p. 243). Here I take newspapers as *elite social actors* (Wodak, 2017) who participate in more or less explicit ideologies that can (re)produce discriminatory practices and prejudices towards RASIM and migration (van Dijk, 1993, 2005).

Last, *Media Ecology* is a systemic meta-discipline within Communication Studies that examines the relationship between technology, social life and individuals’ perceptions and values (Islas & Bernal, 2016). Logan’s definition (2010, pp. 33-34) is illustrative:

A media ecosystem is [...] a system consisting of human beings and the media and technology through which they interact and communicate with each other. It also includes the languages with which they express and code their communication [...]. Media and technologies are languages of expression. [...] the ecological study of media [...] must also include technology and language and the interactions of these.

¹⁰ See Koller (2014) for a discussion on the genesis and structure of ideologies.

The concept ‘ecosystem’ emphasises the ‘organic’ nature of discourse practices. Newspaper discourse and its effects cannot be insightfully interpreted without a general grasp of how the ecosystem ‘works’. Islas and Bernal (2016, pp. 191-193) assert that the relation with the media is one of the defining aspects of societies, where media are an ‘extension’ of the human senses and provide environments that “avoid the easy perception of people.” Importantly, “systems are less complex than their environments and their limits are [...] of meaning” (Islas & Bernal, 2016, p. 196), which for online newspapers entails that this perceptual reduction will mostly index (financially) dominant and increasingly converging ideologies. This hegemonic convergence (broadly understood) in the context of the RC is highlighted by Krzyżanowski et al. (2018, p. 2) in that discourses on the RC were not innovative and relied on “both national and cross-national recontextualisation of historical patterns of talking about ‘the other’.”

A media ecology perspective is beyond the scope of this thesis. However, the fundamental effects of technology mean analyses need to be inter/multidisciplinary (Islas & Bernal, 2016, p. 197). Here I specifically focus on the configuration that the four newspapers examined here adhere to in their respective ‘ecosystems’ (see Chapter 4).

2.1.3. *CDS tenets*

CDS is a text-analytical, transdisciplinary approach to social research (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001). CDS is inherently multifaceted and is methodologically plural. It deals with a varied array of data as it is developed in social and cognitive sciences, and critically ‘unpacks’ discourse realisations in relation to different contextual dimensions (linguistic, cultural, social, situational, emotional and cognitive) (Alba-Juez & Mackenzie, 2016, p. 8). CDS is a problem-oriented research programme which subsumes a range of approaches, each with different underlying theoretical assumptions, research methods and agendas (Wodak, 2013, p. xix). A working definition of CDS¹¹ for this thesis is van Dijk’s (2001, p. 352):

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are

¹¹ Van Dijk (2009, p. 62) states the use of CDS over CDA “suggests that such a critical approach not only involves critical analysis, but also critical theory, as well as critical applications. [Using CDS] may also avoid the misconception that a critical approach is a method of discourse analysis.” See Catalano and Waugh (2020).

enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context. [...] critical discourse analysts take explicit position, and thus want to understand, expose, and ultimately resist social inequality.

Van Dijk (2001, pp. 352-53) asserts that CDS practitioners are explicitly aware of their role in society; they acknowledge scholarly work is also embedded in a discourse-practice world, and thus CDS practice is socio-politically situated “whether we like it or not.”

Fairclough and Wodak (1997, pp. 271-280) summarise the central tenets of CDS as follows:

- 1- CDS addresses social problems;
- 2- Power relations are discursive;
- 3- Discourse constitutes society and culture;
- 4- Discourse does ideological work;
- 5- Discourse is historical;
- 6- The link between text and society is mediated;
- 7- Discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory;
- 8- Discourse is a form of social action.

Systemic-Functional Grammar is the predominant theory of language in CDS (e.g., Fairclough, 1995a). Despite SFG lacks in several aspects (a theory of speech acts, an underdeveloped theory of metaphor and of context, etc.), it has enabled researchers to explore, among other things, transitivity patterns and appraisal meanings (Chilton, 2011). SFG approaches have also facilitated the ‘multimodal turn’ and the critical examination of other semiotic resources within multimodal texts (Machin & Mayr, 2012). However, the theory of language employed here is Cognitive Linguistics, which has recently come to be extensively applied in CDS (Chilton, 2004, Charteris-Black, 2004; Santa Ana, 1999; Musolff, 2011, 2015; Romano, 2019; Romano & Porto, 2022; Hart, 2008, 2010, 2011a/b/c, 2021). Next, I introduce the main approaches in CDS.

2.2. Approaches in CDS and discourses of migration

CDS is methodologically plural, drawing on different models in linguistics and from across the social sciences. This gives rise to identifiable schools or ‘approaches’ (which may also be partly defined by the type of data they analyse).

Figure 2.1.

CDS approaches and methodological attractors (Hart & Cap, 2014, p. 7).

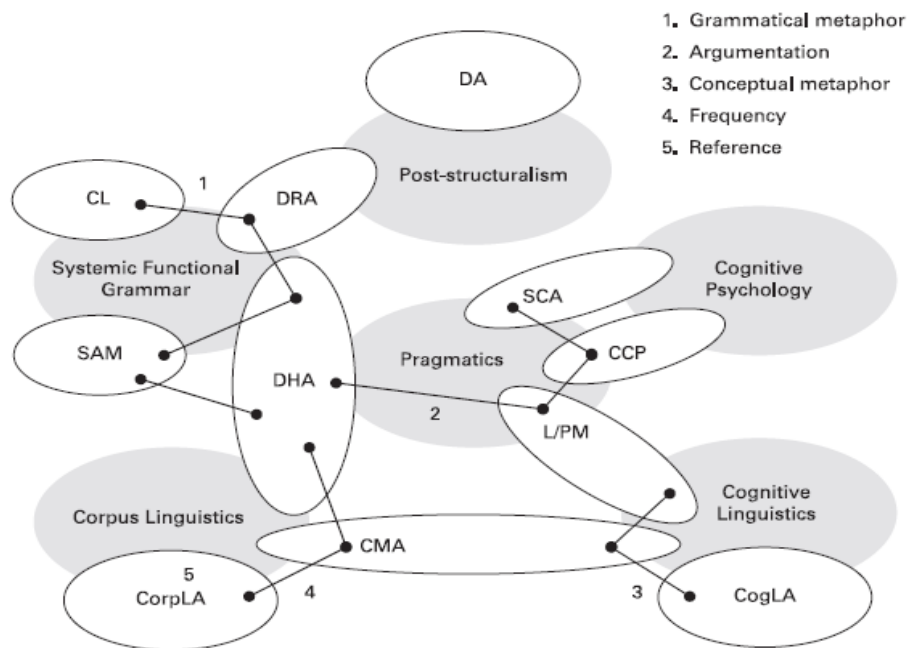


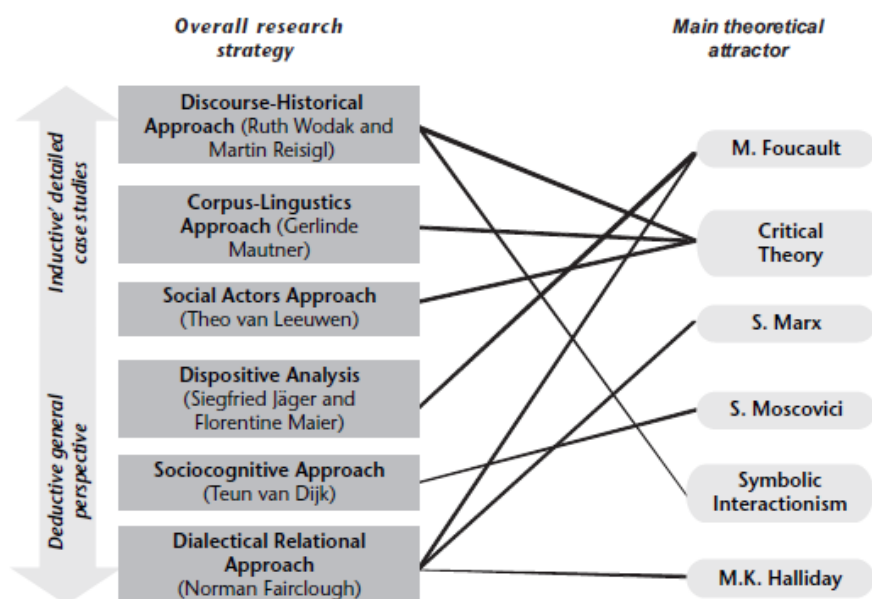
FIGURE 0.3 *Contemporary CDS: Approaches and methodological attractors.*

CL: Critical linguistics; DRA: Dialectical-relational approach; DA: Dispositional analysis; SAM: Social actor model; DHA: Discourse-historical approach; SCA: Socio-cognitive approach; CCP: Critical cognitive pragmatics; L/PM: Legitimization-proximization model; CogLA: Cognitive linguistics approach; CMA: Critical metaphor analysis; CorpLA: Corpus linguistics approach.

Several attempts have been made to survey the landscape of CDS. Hart and Cap (2014), reproduced in Figure 2.1, focused on the different methodological attractors within the field to complement Wodak’s and Meyer’s overview (2009; Figure 2.2), which focused on the main theoretical attractors. Both overviews highlight that the approaches depend on how philosophically and/or politically-oriented they might be, and also on their linguistic theoretical underpinnings and micro-level linguistic-analytical attractors (Wodak & Meyer, 2009).

Figure 2.2.

CDS approaches and theoretical attractors (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 18).



Hart (2009) identifies four mainstream approaches: the seminal Critical Linguistics, including Van Leeuwen's Social Actor Model (1996, 2008; Fowler et al., 1979; Fowler 1991; Kress, 1985); the Dialectical-Relational Approach (DRA; Fairclough, 1989, 1992, 1995a/b, 2003); the Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA; Wodak, 1996; Reisigl & Wodak, 2001); and the Socio-Cognitive Approach (SCA; van Dijk, 1995a, 1998). Here I focus exclusively on the SCA, the Social Actors Model, and the DHA and I examine some of the findings from across these three approaches with respect to discourses of migration.

2.2.1. Socio-Cognitive approach and ideological polarization

The Socio-Cognitive Approach (SCA; van Dijk, 2009) draws heavily on social cognition theory (Moscovici, 2000), and is situated within the socio-psychological dimension of CDS (Wodak & Meyer 2009, p. 25). Djonov and Zhao (2013, p. 6) indicate that one distinguishing feature of the approach, after van Dijk (2008a, p. 71), is "the argument that discourse structures cannot be related to social structures directly but only through the "mental model[s] of everyday experience of individual language users." The concept of discourse is only different in that it is "based on and shapes cognition" (Koller, 2014, p. 151). Socio-cognitive representations (SCRs) are acquired, shared and presupposed by

members of a group and constitute coherent cognitive structures, which can form the basis for ideologies in as much as SCRs “establish relations of power within and between groups” (Koller, 2014, p. 153). The SCA focuses on unveiling the linguistic devices used to express these SCRs. From a critical standpoint the repeated exposure of text-consumers “to certain SCRs transported in texts, under similar conditions of reception, may help to align recipients’ cognition with that of the text producer and thereby build an advantage for the latter’s In-group” (Koller, 2014, p. 152).

An aspect that characterises the SCA is the Discourse-Cognition-Society triangle (van Dijk, 2009). The SCA claims that the relations between discourse and society are cognitively mediated:

[...] social interaction, social situations and social structures can only influence text and talk through people’s interpretations of such social environments. And conversely, discourse can only influence social interaction and social structures through the same cognitive interface of mental models, knowledge, attitudes and ideologies (van Dijk, 2009, p. 64).

Van Dijk establishes a variety of cognitive and social structures in the macro- or microlevel of either component. This approach has been insightfully applied to discourses of racism and migration (e.g., van Dijk, 2005; Zapata-Barrero & van Dijk, 2007).

Table 2.1.

The organization of the SCA of discourse (van Dijk, 2009, p. 71).

Level of structure	Cognition	Society
Macro	Socially shared knowledge, Attitudes, ideologies, norms, values	Communities, groups, organizations
Micro	Personal mental models of (experiences of) social members	Interaction/discourse of social members

2.2.1.1. Ideological polarization

One cardinal pattern of representation that van Dijk observes in media coverage of migration (i.e., 2005) is what he terms ‘ideological square’. This pattern of representation is one in which the positive characteristics of the ‘In-group’ are accentuated at the expense of their negative ones while, simultaneously, the negative attributes of the ‘Out-group’

are highlighted at the expense of their positive ones. For van Dijk and Zapata-Barrero (2007, p. 10), public discourses of migration mostly focus on the ‘Other’ and not on ‘Us’, understanding ‘Us’ as those social organizations receiving RASIM. Discursive strategies are defined as a more or less institutionalized plans of discursive practices deployed to achieve particular linguistic, sociopolitical or psychological effects (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001, p. 44). The ideological square relies on four macro-strategies (van Dijk & Zapata-Barrero, 2007, p. 11; van Dijk, 1999, 2003):

- Emphasis on negative topics concerning ‘Them’: criminality, violence, terrorism, their illegal status, lack of cultural adaptation, etc.
- Mitigation of negative topics concerning ‘Us’: prejudices, discrimination, etc.
- Emphasis on positive topics concerning ‘Us’: ‘We’ are modern, democratic, tolerant, ‘We’ help ‘Them’, etc.
- Mitigation of positive topics about ‘Them’: there is no (or scarce) mention of the contributions of ‘Them’.

Van Dijk and Zapata-Barrero (2007) argue that ideological polarization can be realised through a variety of strategies at the micro- and macro-levels, these achieved by deploying different semiotic resources.¹² In scenarios predicated on the ideological square, RASIM are sole responsible of their problematic situations, which in turn exonerates host societies, commonly represented as an attractive destination, and blaming the ‘Other’ for the multitude of problems that engulf it – immigrants can be utilised as ‘scapegoats’ to maintain an unequal *status quo* (Casero Ripollés, 2005, p. 142).

2.2.2. *Social actor representation*

The analysis of RASIM’s representation is essential in outlining the ideological import of linguistic formulations employed by the press. Van Leeuwen’s Social Actor Model (1996, 2008) has been extensively employed to examine RASIM representation, and comprises a *sociosemantic* inventory better understood as functional labels expressing the

¹² See van Dijk and Zapata-Barrero (2007, pp. 11-12) for a discussion of the realisations of such strategies and their semiotic realisations.

main means of textual social actor representation. Importantly, meanings belong to a given culture and thus can be expressed across modes, where this inventory is better understood as *pan-semiotic*. Van Leeuwen's main argument is that "[r]epresentations can reallocate roles or rearrange the social relations between the participants" (2008, p. 32).

The first distinction concerns the *inclusion/exclusion* of actors in texts (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 28):

Representations include or exclude social actors to suit their interests and purposes in relation to the readers for whom they are intended. Some of the exclusions may be "innocent," [...]; others tie in closely to the propaganda strategies of creating fear and of setting up immigrants as enemies of "our" interests.

The exclusion of social actors can be realised either fully or partially, and therefore actors can be *suppressed*, where there is no reference to them, or *backgrounded*, if they are mentioned in the text or they are inferable. Van Leeuwen (2008, pp. 29-30) indicates key realisations of exclusionary strategies which involve shifts in grammatical voice (passive (agentless) voice constructions) and nominalisations. In Systemic-Functional Grammar (SFG, Halliday, 2007) nominalisations are a type of 'grammatical metaphor', which here is understood as involving the reification of a process. Hart (2014, p. 33) contends that when complex processes are reduced to 'things', "there is no room for information relating to participants or circumstance." The employment of nominalisations, then, serves to conceal ideologically relevant participants.

The SAM distinguishes between *activated* or *passivated* actors. Activated actors are depicted as the active dynamic force carrying out an activity, while passivated actors undergo the activity or are "at the receiving end of it" (2008, p. 33). Hart (2014, pp. 34-37) indicates that several categories for *activated* actors relate to the 'referential scope' of the representation. In its widest, actors can be represented as a general class "realised in plurals without an article [...] or singulars with an article" ('migrants', 'the migrant'), where the nominal encompasses all entities within the denotation (Hart, 2014, p. 34). 'Zooming in' a bit closer, speakers can refer to specific groups of actors using plural forms ('immigrants') and also mass nouns denoting specific groups of people ('the immigrant community'). These two strategies, labelled *genericization* and *collectivization* respectively "can impersonalize social actors and perpetuate social

stereotypes” (ibid). When the referential scope closes in on a specific individual, van Leeuwen (2008) contends that newspapers tend to individualize powerful people while collectivizing ‘ordinary’ social actors. Groups of people can be *aggregated* and treated like figures/statistics, providing a homogeneous picture where individual properties are subsumed by the features of a given category (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 37).

In *categorisation*, those functions or identities of social actors are highlighted. Two major types are *functionalisation* and *identification* (van Leeuwen, 2008, pp. 42-45). Functionalisation refers to strategies in which actors are represented in terms of something they do (e.g. ‘migrants’, ‘workers’), implying a potentially temporary characteristic of actors. Identification deals with social actors being represented “in terms of something they more or less permanently *are*” (Hart, 2014, p. 35; his italics). This category can be broken down into classification, relational or physical identification. *Classification* concerns “the major categories by means of which a given society or institution differentiates between classes of people” (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 42), including social and legal status, ethnicity, religion, race, gender and age. Relational identification deals with actor representation in terms of personal or kinship relations, where Hart (2014, p. 36) asserts that this is often used to “manoeuvre the reader into a position of empathy or sympathy”; in discourses of migration, however, it is employed for ‘perceived victims of immigration policy’.

(1) *The Daily Telegraph*, 5 June 2004.

An illegal immigrant was convicted yesterday of killing a father of two...

In (1) (from Hart, 2014, p. 36), the passivated actor is *functionalised* as ‘immigrant’ and *classified* as ‘illegal’, whereas the victim of the killing is *identified* in kinship terms, inviting the reader to emotionally self-align with him.

Discourses of migration in the Spanish and British media have been extensively examined: RASIM representation in the Spanish free press (Martínez Lirola, 2008, 2010, 2014a, 2017; Crespo Fernández & Martínez Lirola, 2012), the Spanish press more generally (van Dijk, 2005; Bañón Hernández, 2010; Xiró, 2010), in *El País* before 2003 (Casero Ripollés, 2005, 2007), longitudinal studies of the British press (Baker et al., 2008; Gabrielatos & Baker, 2008; KhosraviNik et al. 2012; KhosraviNik, 2010; Allen & Blinder, 2013; Allen, 2016); and, more recently, RASIM representation during the RC

(Koca-Helvaci, 2019). Scholars found that RASIM are frequently represented as problematic, as invaders, as a threat, usually depicted as a *generic, impersonalized aggregated collective* that tends to be *passivated* and *functionalised* (van Leeuwen, 2008). RASIM's attributes become blurred; individuals become part of generic collectives which tend to be functionalised, for instance as '(in)migrants' or 'illegal workers'. This can vary, however, depending on the quality and political inclinations of newspapers (Baker et al., 2008; Berry et al., 2015).

In the Spanish press these genericizing processes are mainly articulated across three dimensions: RASIM as (il)legal people, as workers, and as conflict generators (Casero Ripollés, 2005, 2007). Alcaraz Mármol and Soto Almela (2015, p. 154) indicate that similar findings are recently reported in (also multimodal) studies such as Martínez Lirola's (2008) and Crespo Fernández's and Martínez Lirola's (2010). Casero Ripollés (2005, 2007) and Alcaraz Mármol and Soto Almela (2015, p. 159) highlight a focus on the (il)legal status of RASIM, which can legitimize policies targeting their removal and privation of access to basic services, this premised on RASIM's inadequacy for opting for these services and on the potential abuse their use might entail.

KhosraviNik et al. (2012, p.289) and KhosraviNik (2010) report similar findings for the British press. The 'picture' of the prototypical RASIM is "that of different looking, healthy [...], adult [...], young, single male with no or little education or professional skills" (KhosraviNik et al. 2012, p. 290). Koca-Helvaci (2019) employed the SCA (van Dijk, 1991) in combination with the SAM, and examined two key events in the RC: Aylan Kurdi's death, and the Cologne sex attacks. Their study corroborates and extends into the near present the findings discussed above, and reflects that regardless of media outlet and news content, RASIM are associated consistently with large quantities of people, natural disasters and illegal activities (Koca-Helvaci, 2019, p. 109).

From a quantitative perspective, Alcaraz Mármol and Soto Almela (2015, 2020) confirm the above for the Spanish press, while Baker et al. (2008, p. 33) show that the recurrent use and conflation of terms, along with lexical items indexing negative *topoi* (see below), indicate that the British press is instrumental in (re)producing a 'moral panic' around RASIM. Baker et al.'s study (2008) also found that quality newspapers 'produce' discriminatory representations of RASIM, while tabloids 'reproduce' them. Furthermore, Allen's (2016) study found that there were two main areas of reporting, (a) European

migration (focusing on its scale) and (b) extra-EU migration (focusing on how ineffective laws are), therefore establishing a big contrast between ‘(im)migrant’ and ‘refugee’.

In sum, previous research on the British and Spanish press indicates that in the media RASIM are routinely portrayed negatively, as a *generic aggregated collective* commonly *passivated* and *functionalised* (van Leeuwen, 2008). This lays the groundwork for a racist rhetoric that legitimates hostile policies against RASIM. However, the type and valence of representations are contextually dependent (Berry et al., 2015, p. 10), and in the case of the UK, the Brexit referendum played an important role in the shift between the second part of 2015 and the first half of 2016, while in Spain the reporting seemed to be more convergent on the whole (Moore et al., 2018).

2.2.3. Argumentation

The Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA; Reisigl & Wodak, 2001) is philosophically influenced by the Critical Theory of the Frankfurt School and focuses on discourses of racism, anti-Semitism, immigration, and nationalism (Djonov & Zhao, 2013, p. 6). Theoretically, the DHA establishes “a theory of discourse by linking *fields of action* (Girnth, 1996), *genres*, *discourses* and *texts*” (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 26). The DHA emphasises that context is *historical* (ibid), and relies on van Eemeren and Grotendoorst (1992) pragma-dialectics theory, focusing on the notions of ‘fallacy’ and *topoi* (Hart & Cap, 2014, p. 5). This approach is methodologically pragmatic, and suggests the creation of conceptual tools for critical research, along with the synergy with other approaches.¹³ The DHA also borrows heavily from the SAM (Hart & Cap, 2014, p. 4), and makes extensive use of argumentation theory (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 26), an aspect shared with van Dijk’s approach (Hart & Cap, 2014, p. 3). Next, I focus on *topoi*.

2.2.3.1. Topoi

Topoi are implicit argumentative schemes discernible from migration (and other) discourses where a predication can function as a premise in an argument whose conclusion is self-evident. In the DHA, ‘argumentation’ is one of five strategies that in

¹³ Baker et al.’s (2008) project is a prominent example of synergy between methodologies in CDS.

migration discourses are involved in the positive-‘Self’ and negative-‘Other’ representation (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001). Wodak (2006, p. 74) states that

topoi [...] can be described as parts of argumentation which belong to the obligatory, either explicit or inferable premises. They are the content-related warrants or ‘conclusion rules’ which connect the argument or arguments with the conclusion, the claim. [...] they justify the transition from the argument or arguments to the conclusion.

Topoi are key in the analysis of persuasive arguments widely reproduced in migration discourses (Kienpointner, 1996, p. 562; cited in Richardson & Wodak, 2013, p. 48). Richardson and Wodak (2013) note that *topoi* appear in anti-discriminatory discourses that appeal to justice and human rights, potentially signalling the prevalence of these schemes along the ideological spectrum, albeit not necessarily their theoretical validity. Richardson and Wodak (2013, p. 49) listed *topoi* commonly employed when representing the ‘Other’:

- | | |
|------------------------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Usefulness, advantage | 9. Finances |
| 2. Uselessness, disadvantage | 10. Reality |
| 3. Definition, name-interpretation | 11. Numbers |
| 4. Danger and threat | 12. Law and right |
| 5. Humanitarianism | 13. History |
| 6. Justice | 14. Culture |
| 7. Responsibility | 15. Abuse |
| 8. Burdening, weighting | |

The strategic use of *topoi* can justify the discrimination of RASIM aided by ‘quasi-rational arguments’: ‘They are a burden’; ‘They are a threat; ‘They cost too much’; ‘Their culture is too dissimilar’; ‘They abuse Our welfare system’ (Richardson & Wodak, 2013, p. 49); these are all premises leading to the conclusion (implicit, but automatic) that (im)migration should be stopped.

Scholars have examined *topoi* in the European media and political discourses. Within the RAS/RASIM project conducted in Lancaster University (i.e., Baker et al., 2008), scholars examined argumentative schemes in the British press during 1996-2005 in combination with Corpus Linguistic methods. The main *topoi* found include the *topos of numbers* (alongside relevant metaphors such as of ‘floods’ or ‘disease’), *of economic burden* (e.g., abuse of welfare system), *of threat* (threat to cultural identity, to community values, and violence), *of danger*, and *topos of law* (KhosraviNik et al., 2012, p. 290; KhosraviNik, 2010).

Scholars have examined the role of *topoi* in the representations of the RC. Vollmer and Karakayali (2018) investigated German public discourses about the RC and observed three main stages of discursive events, each marked by events that were cornerstones in shifting public discourses about RASIM: events related to *borders*, to the *arrival* RASIM, and to their *presence* in Germany. These scholars contend that framing the RC as a humanitarian crisis provided the backdrop for *ad hoc* emergency policies such as the consolidation of Frontex. They argue that in the latter stage (the *presence* of RASIM) the discursive shift focused on “the re-demonizing process of refugees and their labelling as undeserving migrants or ‘economic migrant’” (2018, p. 133). Rheindorf and Wodak (2018) employed a similar, corpus-assisted methodology as in Baker et al. (2008). They report a parallel discursive shift in the representation of RASIM in the Austrian media which in this case the authors link to spatial proximization (2018, p. 130): from “the label ‘Flüchtling’ [‘refugee’] to ‘Migrant’ as the political debate begins to focus on closing the border and numerically limiting the right to asylum.”

Overall, representations of RASIM articulated by means of *topoi* can construe an encompassing, negative discursive scenario of ‘moral’ panic about RASIM (Zappettini, 2019, KhosraviNik, 2010; KhosraviNik et al., 2012). Next, I focus on the cognitive-linguistic approach to CDA.

2.3. Cognitive-linguistic CDA and discourses of migration

The cognitive-linguistic approach to CDA (CL-CDA; Hart, 2011a/b/c) acknowledges the advancements achieved by critical examination of metaphorical expressions indexing conceptual metaphors (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980), and considers “the ideological import

of other linguistic (lexical and grammatical) structures in terms of the conceptual processes they invoke” (Hart & Cap, 2014, p. 6). Following cognitive-linguistic theories, these processes are instantiations of (non-linguistic) domain-general cognitive processes (Croft & Cruse, 2004). CL-CDA provides a typology of conceptual processes (e.g. metaphor, deixis) whose realisation bring into effect ideological discursive strategies (e.g. framing, positioning). In CL-CDA discourse *ultimately* unfolds in experiencers’ minds, and a refined account of the mental processes involved in discourse processing, specified in a combined cognitive framework, is provided to account for this. CL-CDA also addresses important issues in CDS in that the study of linguistic enactors of discursive strategies “allows us to address the conceptual import of transitivity choices at the interpretation stage of CDA” (Hart, 2011b, 283). Thus, CL-CDA has the potential to show (1) how linguistic constructions *reflect* ideology and, subsequently, (2) how they *reproduce* ideology, constituting “a necessary move for any complete account of the dialectic between discourse and society” (Hart, 2013b, p. 406). Next, I focus on metaphor and Force-dynamics within studies that have examined discourses of migration.

2.3.1. Metaphor

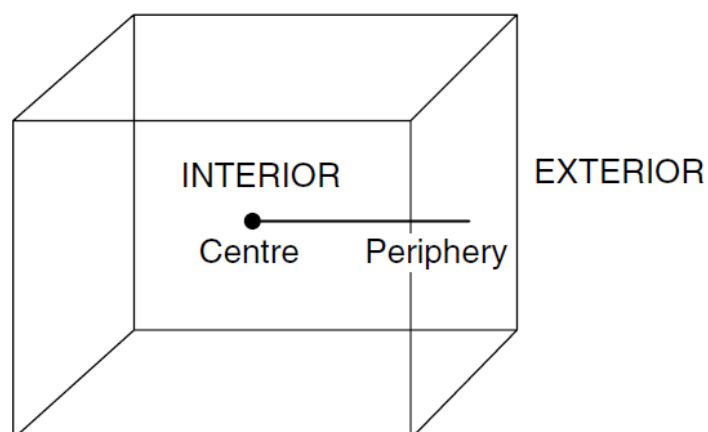
Studying the linguistic instantiations of conceptual metaphor (CM; Lakoff, 1987) is key to the unpacking of ideologies (Goatly, 2007). CMs are relatively stable associations between conceptual domains routinely enacted through metaphorical expressions reproduced in discourse; CMs “enable speakers to structure and construe [usually more] abstract ideas of knowledge and experience [target domains] in more concrete experiential terms [source domains]” (Hurford et al., 2008, p.331). Ideologically, metaphor can be exploited in discourse to promote one version of reality over another, framing events alternatively, subsequently structuring our understanding of socio-political phenomena differently (Hart, 2014, p. 137), and potentially legitimating socio-political (re)actions.

Scholars have identified metaphorical patterns central in discourses of migration. These include conceptualising countries/nations as ‘containers’, RASIM as ‘natural disasters’ (mainly related to ‘water’) or as ‘enemies/invaders’ trying to ‘force their way’ into the country, however once in the country they can be conceptualised as ‘criminals’ that need to be removed to protect the national integrity; and, of course, those metaphors that render

RASIM as animals or objects (El Refaie, 2001, 2003; Charteris-Black, 2006a; Mussolf, 2015, Hart, 2008, 2010, 2014; Saiz de Lobado, 2018; Stenvall, 2018; Cap, 2019; Chilton, 1996; Santa Ana, 2002). These patterns have been extensively found in various text-types: the British press (Chilton, 1996; Hart, 2008, 2010, Mussolf, 2015); the Spanish press and immigration policies (Saiz de Lobado, 2018; Mukhortikova, 2018; Montagut & Moragas-Fernández, 2020); British online discussion fora and blogs (Mussolf, 2015); British general election campaigns and the Brexit campaigns (Charteris-Black, 2006a; Cap, 2019; Zappettini, 2019); the Austrian print press (El Refaie, 2001, 2003); world-leading news agencies (Stenwall, 2018); the Hungarian online press (Csatár & Tóth, 2018); and American public discourse more generally (Santa Ana, 2002), just to name a few.

Figure 2.3.

CONTAINER schema (Hart, 2010, p. 131).



Hart (2010), Chilton (1994) and Charteris-Black (2006a), among others (i.e., Stenvall, 2018; Cap, 2019) present evidence that the COUNTRY AS CONTAINER¹⁴ metaphor is a central conventional feature of discourses of (im)migration. The CONTAINER schema (Figure 2.3) includes three basic structural elements: an ‘interior’, and an ‘exterior’ defined by a ‘boundary’ (Hart, 2010, p. 131). A basic entailment of this schema is its internal CENTRE-PERIPHERY structure, where its centre also functions as deictic centre. Additionally, the volume of the CONTAINER can be expressed in a FULL-EMPTY structure (ibid). Chilton (1996, p. 64) indicates that the schema entails ‘permanence and stability’.

¹⁴ Conceptual metaphors, schemas and domains are indicated in small capital letters as per convention.

Hart (2010), after Johnson (1987, pp 22, 39), indicates that two significant implications of the schema is that a given entity can be in or out of the CONTAINER, and that the experience of containment routinely involves the resistance to or the protection against external forces. Musolff (2015, p. 45) argues that the CONTAINER schema is foundational of the SPACE-CONTAINER scenario¹⁵ in discourses of migration: “Britain is seen as having limited capacity [...] [RASIM] can constitute a uniform mass that increases the pressure inside the container, driving it to a potential bursting point, which can be avoided by the erection of barriers.” Saiz Lobado (2018) studied metaphors in the Spanish Immigration Law and their reflection in Spanish newspapers, and found that a common elaboration of the schema was SPAIN IS A REFUGE/HOME. It establishes an ideological square predicated on the ‘inside-outside’ dimensions of the container, encoding a representation of migration as primarily negative (Saiz de Lobado, 2018, p. 70). Hart (2010, p. 137) highlights that “it realises a de-spatialisation strategy by distinguishing those who rightfully and permanently ‘reside’ in the ‘house’ from those who do not [therefore] ‘residents’ have the right to determine who they ‘let in’.”

The COUNTRY/NATION AS CONTAINER metaphor and its instantiations¹⁶ tend to cohere with metaphors for RASIM and (im)migration. RASIM are routinely metaphorized in terms of WAR and WATER (Hart, 2010; Charteris-Black, 2006a; El Refaie, 2001, 2003; Csatár & Tóth, 2018; Stenwall, 2018; Mukhortikova, 2018; Montagut & Moragas-Fernández, 2020). Hart illustrates how British newspapers employ metaphors that recruit the WAR frame in conceptual blending processes (Fauconnier & Turner, 2008) to represent (im)migrants and (im)migration, hence deploying a militarisation strategy and representing RASIM as ‘invaders’ (2010, p. 144). The logical entailment of these representations, which construe Britain engaged in a battle against (im)migration, is enacting measures to protect the national integrity in order to ‘defend oneself’ (El Refaie, 2001).

Another dimension of the WAR frame is that of the opposition between Europe–RASIM as one of ‘war between cultures’ (El Refaie, 2001, p. 365). Saiz Lobado (2018) argues that the WAR frame can be invoked alongside the (IM)MIGRANTS ARE ENEMIES metaphor, potentially triggering emotional associations legitimating actions to contain

¹⁵ Metaphor ‘scenarios’ are framing devices that merge snippets of encyclopaedic knowledge to arrive at default conclusions based on common sense experience (Musolff, 2015, p. 44).

¹⁶ See Cap (2019) for a case-study.

(im)migration. Example (2) from Csátár and Tóth (2018; emphasis in the original), exemplify the WAR frame in Hungarian news discourse, where Hungary needs ‘protection’ against RASIM, who rather than arriving to the borders, are ‘occupying’ them:

(2)

(a) [...] a magyar embereket és Magyarország területét megvédje az illegális migránsok tömegeitől [...]

[...] to **protect** Hungarian people and Hungary’s territory against the crowds of illegal migrants


(b) A migránsok **megszállták** a déli határainkat [...]

The migrants **have occupied** our Southern borders [...]

RASIM are more often conceptualised as ‘(moving) bodies of water’ (Hart, 2010; Stenwall, 2018; Mukhortikova, 2018; Montagut & Moragas-Fernández, 2020), shaped as a ‘flood’, an ‘influx’, etc. Csátár and Tóth (2018) conducted a Corpus Linguistic study of RASIM conceptualisations in the Hungarian press and found that WATER metaphors accounted for 34% of occurrences, in contrast with the 20% of WAR metaphors.

El Refaie (2001), Hart (2010) and Charteris-Black (2006a), among others, indicate several ideological implications of WATER metaphors. Most obviously, WATER metaphors construe RASIM as inanimate, volition-deprived entities; they dehumanise RASIM by attributing them properties of water (Hart, 2010 p. 149; El Refaie, 2001). Hart (ibid) adds that this metaphor realises a dissimilation strategy that distinguishes them as inherently different from the in-group. Second, WATER metaphors can also trigger conceptualisations of RASIM as a continuous or recurrent water phenomena, which in combination with the COUNTRY/NATION AS CONTAINER metaphor, implies that the container might ‘overflow’, presupposing that one “should ‘stem the flow’, the counterpart of which in [...] is [...] to enforce restrictive immigration policy” (Hart, 2010, p 150). A final implication relates to the relationship between the ‘scale’ of WATER metaphors and their emotional import. Scalar adjustments, in CL terms, impose a scale schema that “provides a gradable dimension to a domain” (Croft & Cruse, 2004, p. 65).

In WATER metaphors, lexical items that describe the movement of water are represented along a 'gradable antonymic scale' (Hart, 2010, p. 52):

(+) flood–pour–stream–flow–trickle–seep (–)


Charteris-Black (2006a, p. 571) indicates that the argumentative potential of this scale resides in the fact that it implies both the possibility of increase and decrease; “the metaphor calls for restrictive immigration policy in order to reduce the potential ‘damage’” (Hart, 2010, p. 153; also Santa Ana, 1999). Subsequently, these conceptualisations can legitimise actions against (im)migration, or actions meant to reinforce the migration system in place.

2.3.2. Schematisation

Within CL-CDS, Chilton (2004) and others (cf. Cap, 2014, 2019; Hart, 2008, 2010) have explored patterns of conceptualisation instantiated in language beyond metaphor. One such area is the study of patterns of conceptualisation related to the construal operation of schematisation¹⁷ (Hart, 2020), which is responsible for establishing the basic structure an event (Croft & Cruse, 2004). One type of schematisation is Force-dynamics (Talmy, 2000), which deals with the physical impingement of force and, crucially for CL-CDS, its metaphorical extensions to psychological relationships, discursive and social interactions; it is also viewed as a generalisation over the notion of ‘causation’ (de Mulder, 2007, p. 295). MOTION schemas (e.g., ‘Migrants travel to Greece’) construe events such as self-directed and unimpeded motion, whereas FORCE schemas include the presence of some ‘causative force’ and/or some hindrance to ongoing processes (Hart, 2011a/b). Force-dynamic schemas include BLOCKAGE, COUNTERFORCE, RESTRAINT-REMOVAL, among others (see Chapter 3). Force-dynamic schemas are not inherently necessary in newspaper representations of migration, as alternative representations are possible. Hart (2011b, p. 275) suggests that any force-dynamic representation in discourse on immigration is ideologically vested.

¹⁷ Schematisation is introduced in detail in Chapter 3.

Force-dynamics (Talmy, 2000) fundamentally distinguishes between the Agonist, the entity whose situation is at stake, and the Antagonist, the entity opposing the Agonist.

(3) *The Sun*, 31 June 2001.

[About 20,000 illegal immigrants]_{AGO} **remain** in Britain **despite** [a Government pledge to crack down on them]_{ANT}.

In (3) (from Hart, 2011b) the Agonist succeeds in fulfilling their intrinsic tendency towards rest, encoded in the verb form ‘remain’, in opposition to government’s measures enacting the semantic role of Antagonist. RASIM are thus negatively represented as *resisting* government actions. Hart (2011b) found that in discourse of immigration RASIM are routinely cast in the role of Agonist and governments and governmental forces in the role of Antagonist. Crucially for this project, Hart (2011b, p. 276) spells out several implications of framing (im)migration within the domain of FORCE:

The structural configuration strategy of force-dynamics in immigration discourse entails that (i) immigration is framed as a physical, perhaps violent, interaction invoking a ‘struggle’ and (ii) that the actors encoded as Ant and Ago are positioned in opposition to one and other. [...] immigrants and asylum seekers are, of course, routinely cast in the role of Agonist. This has the consequent effect of framing immigrants and asylum seekers as instigators of force interactions.

In the context of the RC, recent contributions examining schematisation patterns (including PATH and FORCE schemas) in newspapers include Romano (2019) and Romano and Porto (2022). Both works focused on *El País* and *The Guardian* newspapers and combined quantitative and qualitative analysis; additionally, Romano and Porto also operationalised photograph analysis. Romano (2019) focused on the MIGRANTS ARE WATER IN MOTION metaphor and found that in both newspapers it tends to cohere with FORCE schemas, which are the most common in her data, with PATH schemas in second position. Similar findings are reported in Romano and Porto (2022). In both Romano (2019) and Romano and Porto (2022) PATH schemas focus on the GOAL stage (see 3.2.2.2), therefore more frequently depicting RASIM in processes of arrival. Romano and Porto (2022) examined FORCE schemas expressed in headlines and photographs and found that in headlines BLOCKAGE schemas are the most common; however, in photographs RESTRAINT-REMOVAL, BLOCKAGE and COUNTERFORCE are the most

frequent schemas in both newspapers, “characterising refugees as agonists, being rescued, receiving food or medical aid in the first case, or crammed in camps or ports unable to move forward or turn back, or just blocked by wire fences, walls or police squads” (Romano & Porto, 2022, p. 163). Sustaining Hart’s (2011b) theory, Romano and Portoles (2022) found that RASIM were routinely cast in the role of Agonist and the EU as Antagonist across newspapers and semiotic modes. Despite their importance, both works focused exclusively on left-wing newspapers and on headlines and photographs, where this thesis expands by examining other textual elements also in *El Mundo* and *The Telegraph*, also incorporating a robust framework which integrates ACTION schemas analysis and Viewpoint alongside metaphor (see next chapter).

The study of FORCE (and other) schemas in social discourses (also multimodally) is essential for CDS, as it can enable researchers to systematically examine discourse structures that deal with the representation of power dynamics in socially-situated texts. Hart (2011b, p. 283) concludes that “force-interactive patterns feature in discourse on immigration to structure our conceptualisations of both physical and political/legal interactions in this domain”, and come to constitute, alongside other cognitive resources the discourse of immigration (cf., Hart, 2010). More generally, schematisation analysis is essential due to its power in shaping public opinion because of their covert and pre-conceptual nature (Romano, 2019, p. 55). Next, I address Multimodal CDS and media ecologies.

2.4. Changing media ecologies and Multimodal CDS

2.4.1. Media ecologies and (online) newspapers

The influence of emerging media in the ‘news cycle’ is meaningful inasmuch as these technologies enable a ‘digital agora’ (Johansson, 2017). While the growing role and influence of social media in the news cycle is evident, the potential provided by the Internet ‘revolution’ (Labio & Pineda, 2016) is far from achieving the utopian democratization of politics (Curran et al., 2013). Social media poses both theoretical and methodological challenges for CDS that need to be addressed (KhosraviNik & Unger, 2016).

Seaton (2018) studied the relationship between the Internet revolution, social media and UK newspapers and asserts that social media “are reengineering the boundaries between

our personal and public lives in a vast sociological and psychological experiment” (2018, p. 395). Seaton (2018, p. 403) sees the relation between social media and newspapers as ‘rightfully parasitic’ and indicates that social media perceive states as enemies that prevents them from monetizing ‘the public of everywhere’. Nielsen and Schröder (2014) studied the main ways of finding news among online users. They found (2014, p. 483) that “in all countries with strong legacy media organizations well-established online-branded news websites are more frequently named as one of the main ways of finding news online than are social media.” These findings indicate the growing relative importance of online newspapers: digital newspapers are steadily replacing their print versions, and users increasingly rely on social media to access news contents. Benaissa Pedriza (2018) conducted a study, including *El Mundo* and *El País*, which analysed the penetration of social media information and sources in the legacy online media. They conclude (2018, p. 38) that journalists make a restrictive use of social media as the volume is relatively low, with less than 25% of news containing social media content. This indicates an asymmetrical relationship in which online newspapers still stand as relatively independent entities (see Chapter 4).

Scholars highlight the need for addressing the changing environments enabled by the Internet revolution. The print newspapers market is declining benefiting their digital counterparts, and social media is increasingly used for news retrieval and interaction (KhosraviNik & Unger, 2016, p. 216). These technologies have significantly altered the traditional unidirectional flow of information/content from (privileged) producers to (powerless) consumers (ibid). However, this change has only been partial and the prominent status of traditional media is largely preserved (Nielsen & Schröder, 2014; Seaton, 2018). Simultaneously, social media platforms have enabled a ‘reconnection’ between apolitical areas of the population and the political debate (Castells, 2012), and CDS can contribute by trying “to situate and view media performance in relation to the preceding ‘structures of state power, the role(s) of the military and also the organization of political opposition in and across the different societies concerned” (Cottle, 2011, p. 657; cited in KhosraviNik & Unger, 2016, p. 222). A broad orientation given by these scholars (2016, p. 226) is pivotal for the conceptualisation of online newspapers in this thesis:

[...] we view the participatory web as part of a media apparatus that is used by individuals in society, hence we do not treat digitally mediated texts as part of a

‘virtual’ world that is separate from the physical world and ‘reality’, despite acknowledging that digitally mediated contexts have specific features that may affect our analyses.

Communicative practices via social media platforms present specific features instrumental in disseminating certain ideologies over others. Above, I stated that media are technologies which affect individuals’ perceptions and understandings (Islas & Bernal, 2016). Social media platforms (e.g., Facebook), and comments sections in increasing numbers of newspaper websites, enable readers/users to participate in the discursive constructions of social realities in what has been termed ‘participatory media’, but these technologies can also blur the social distinctions between fact and opinion. Some studies signal the potential of social media to build counter-hegemonic discourse, where Fozdar and Pedersen (2013) examined blog websites and found that these are useful sites to challenge racism in the public sphere, although the reach of those discourses was limited by the accessibility and reach of blogs.

Social media platforms can enhance participation in news processes, however the architecture of platforms can limit users’ exposure to varied perspectives and enable the formation of “groups of like-minded users framing and reinforcing a shared narrative” (Cinelli et al., 2021, p.1); the so-called ‘echo chambers’. Social media can also attract users/readers who distrust mainstream media (Harlow & Harp, 2013), potentially contributing to the increasing use of social media to access news. The algorithmic functioning of social media platforms is (partially) responsible for this:

[...] feed algorithms mediate and influence the content promotion accounting for users’ preferences and attitudes. Such a paradigm shift affected the construction of social perceptions and the framing of narratives; it may influence policy making, political communication, and the evolution of public debate, especially on polarizing topics (Cinelli et al., 2021, p. 8).

Echo chambers can flesh out in comment sections of news websites, however the interactive possibilities afforded by online newspapers remain largely underutilized (Richardson & Stanyer, 2011), partly because of the conventional uses of social media platforms vs. newspaper websites. The former are premised on interconnections between users and access to content via algorithmic feed; the latter have been ‘mapped’ from legacy media, and the genre conventions around newspaper discourse and processes

(production-distribution-reception) largely remain. On the whole, it can be said that the interactive affordances of newspapers' websites allow (but constrain) interaction between readers, where the focus is on accessing and reading news discourse, and secondarily, on interaction.

In sum, media ecologies are experiencing changes forcing newspapers to digitize, where consumers' behaviour data confirms the tendency of the audience to move towards their digital versions. Social media's popularity is growing and is an important means of access to news, however newspapers succeed in holding their *symbolic elite status*. These factors underpin the choice of data in this thesis: newspapers' relative power is largely maintained in their respective ecosystems – they are salient opinion-leaders and still remain prominent in agenda-setting processes. It is necessary to acknowledge the evolving media environments in which audiences participate, and which are transforming the way in which we understand discourse processes. However, for the period of the RC examined here, we can assume that (online) newspapers were still the major driver of public opinions.

2.4.2. Changing semiotic landscapes

This project specifically examines *online* newspapers, which calls for some adjustments. New information technologies have a tremendous impact on communicative practices (Gruber, 2008), of which news discourse is an integral part. In the context of online news as multimodal discourse, the *hypertext*¹⁸ stands out as a distinct communicative form (Gruber, 2008). Hypertexts are texts displayed on electronic device screens, instantiated in websites, which are interlinked with other texts that readers can access immediately (Gruber, 2008). Hypertexts are: “[asynchronous] conceptually written, multimodal, monological one-to-many forms of communication with a high degree of persistence” (Gruber, 2008, pp. 365-66).

To a certain extent, hypertexts ‘resemble’ traditional textual communication where the text mediates interaction between text-producers and -consumers distanced in space and time (Gruber, 2008, p. 366). A major difference is their accessibility. Online newspapers can be instantly consulted by readers on the screen of any mobile device. Newspapers can

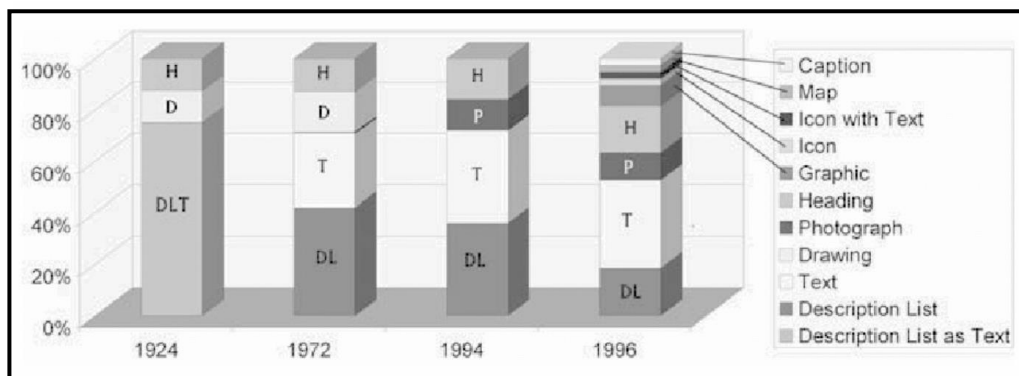
¹⁸ See Lemke (2002) for a detailed discussion of the concept of *hypermodality* in relation to the hypertext.

also own a dedicated platform through which readers get access to the media company’s content. Regardless of the type of technology, the properties of hypertexts pose challenges to linguistic analysis and theory. One such challenge is identifying the constitutive parts (or *functional regions*; see Chapter 4) of hypertexts: Gruber (2008; after Henriquez, 2000; and Storrer, 1999, 2002) indicates that hypertexts are composed by *modules* (sections of websites as the encompassing unit) and *hyperlinks* between them and other modules and websites, creating complex *hypertextual networks* (Lemke, 2005). Importantly, hypertexts challenge traditional notions of ‘coherence’. Text-producers design hypertexts with an array of possibilities for ‘traversing’ the text (Gruber, 2008, p. 367; Lemke, 2005), and the specific ways in which users ‘travel’ through hypertexts can have specific, pervasive, social consequences (Lemke, 2005). Inasmuch as online news reports are hypertexts by definition, they have been ‘mapped’, up to a certain extent, from the traditional genre conventions established and maintained for traditional news reports (Bateman et al, 2007). This means that the conventions stated above for newspaper discourse largely remain, despite relative differences.

Above I have referred to the rise of participatory media within evolving media ecologies. This emphasis on participation and interconnection has also seen its effect on dedicated spaces within social media platforms and webpages/websites built on hypertext technology. These changes reflect not only that technologies afford emerging ways of communicating, but also that the nature of mediated communication has changed (Knox, 2009). Baldry and Thibault (2006, p. 58) contend that “[w]hat was essentially a linguistic unit 100 years ago has now become primarily a visual unit,” where the Internet revolution and the decline of the power of legacy media have accelerated this process (van Leeuwen, 2006).

Figure 2.4.

Modes distribution across time in the gannet entry (Bateman, 2008, p. 239).



Longitudinal studies inform of the ‘rise of the visual’ in online newspapers and multimodal documents more generally. Greer and Mensing (2004) conducted a content analysis of over 80 online newspapers in the US from 1997 to 2003 and found that they “are offering more of everything - content, multimedia, interactivity and revenue-generating features” (2004, p. 108). Bateman’s (2008) approach to multimodal documents and genres has been applied to the evolution of several text-types to better understand the deployment of presentational modes across time. Figure 2.4 shows the evolution of an encyclopaedia entry on the gannet. Bateman (2008) tracked the distribution of modes across time in the entry finding that four modes were employed in 1924, and by 1996 the number of modes employed had more than doubled to nine.

Figure 2.5.

The Guardian *frontpages* 1952 (left), 2016 (right).



A parallel evolution can be appreciated for print newspapers in Figure 2.5. Both frontpages belong to *The Guardian* (formerly *Manchester Guardian*). Figure 2.5 illustrates the evolving outlook of newspapers, and hence the changes in communicative practices within news discourse. A combination of modes is the prototypical ‘make-up’ of newspaper texts, to which I return in chapters 3 and 4.

2.4.3. Multimodal CDS

It is widely acknowledged but relatively marginally incorporated into CDS theorising and practice that every communicative event takes place through more than one mode (van

Leeuwen, 2014): *all* texts are *essentially* multimodal (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 25). Research in multimodality, as a field of inquiry, is concerned with the development of theories, methodologies and analytical tools for the study of multimodal communication (Adami, 2016). As a communicative phenomenon, multimodality is defined as “the use of several semiotic modes in the design of a semiotic product or event, together with the particular way in which these modes are combined” (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2001, p. 20). In short, multimodality is conceptualised as a field of empirical research, and as a theoretical endeavour (Djonov & Zhao, 2013, p. 2).

2.4.3.1. Multimodal texts, modes and affordances

Defining a *mode* is ‘a slippery question’ (Gibbons, 2012, p. 9). From a socio-semiotic perspective, modes are systems of semiotic resources which have a meaning-potential (Jewitt, 2009c). Modes are ‘merged’ (Lemke, 1998) in communicative events, and include, among others, typography, layout, static and moving image, speech, proxemics, gesture, sound, and music (Forceville, 2009, p. 23). Bateman (2014, p. 18) defines a semiotic mode as “some organised bundle of properties held in common by some material that [...] provides some community of users with a distinctive way of making meanings with that material.” A multimodal text is the realisation of processes of selection from those resources that crystallizes in a specific, contextualised, purposeful and coherent textual *whole*. Scholars agree that the materialisation of a mode in discourse is always more than the sum of its parts (Stöckl, 2004; Lemke, 1995).

Modes can be understood to be constituted by a material and a semiotic side; the material side determines “the kinds of manipulation any semiotic use of that material may draw on,” whereas the semiotic side determines which types of distinctions “in that material are actually meaningful in and for what mode” (Bateman et al., 2017, pp. 113-14). Forceville (2009, p. 22) resorts to our embodied perceptual systems for categorisation and connects modes to each of the five senses. This is problematic, however, as it is “too generalising and overlooks crucial differences between signifying systems” (Gibbons, 2012, p. 9). The ‘visual mode’, then, includes both written and pictorial communication, which evidently do not convey meaning by the same means. Gibbons’ definition (2012, p. 10), after Page (2009a) and Forceville (2006, 2009), incorporates the notion of *fluidity*,

which refers to the open-ended (and overlapping) nature of modes, and the role of *context* to determine what counts as a mode in a usage event. Importantly for a cognitive perspective, we need to consider the ways in which “different signifying systems are perceived, cognised, and interpreted” (Gibbons, 2012, p. 10).

While in socio-semiotic approaches to multimodality there is a distinction between a given mode’s material and semiotic sides (Bateman, 2014), Stöckl (2004) offers some clarity from a cognitive perspective in his theorising of Language-Image relations in print media (see Chapter 3). In terms of their inherent *affordances* (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2001), modes can be quite distinct, and greatly vary in their adequacy to express similar conceptual content. Modal affordance refers to the constraints and potentialities of modes, both connected to the mode’s material properties, and more broadly to social convention (Kress, 2010). For instance, El Refaie’s (2003) investigation on visual metaphor in newspaper cartoons indicates that language lends itself more naturally to sequential/temporal representation of events, while spatial and relational representation is more amenable to representation via images, a fact echoed by Stöckl (2004) and Kress (1998). It is worth noting that language and images are likely to metaphorically express those meanings they are less suitable to convey (El Refaie, 2003). After Stöckl (2004, p. 9), I understand the formulation and processing of multimodal texts as an inherently dynamic process where modes ‘blend and mix’ in communicative events.

2.4.3.2. Tenets in MCDS

Although there exist several traditions that inform multimodal studies - interaction analysis (e.g. Norris, 2004) and cognitive theory (e.g. Forceville & Urios-Aparisi, 2009) being two of them - the dominant trend in CDS stems from social-semiotic approaches to language (van Leeuwen, 2014). This has involved the application of SFL theories to the analysis of multimodal artefacts (Wang, 2014, p. 265). Works from this perspective often work with Halliday’s metafunctional theory, where discourse “co-deploys resources for making ideational, interpersonal and textual meaning, and therefore should be analysed at each of these levels” (van Leeuwen, 2014, p. 286).

Machin (2013, p. 348) argues that Kress and van Leeuwen’s focus in their seminal book *Reading Images* (1996) was the extraction and systematic understanding of the meaning

potentials that constitute the ‘visual grammar’ of multimodal artefacts. Comparable to CDS’ methodological stance, Jewitt et al. (2016, p. 49) argue that steps in multimodal investigations include:

1. Developing metafunctionally organized systems;
2. Analysing the text according to the selected choices;
3. Interpreting choice combinations according to register and genre.

Van Leeuwen (2014, p. 290) highlights that recently scholars tentatively incorporate *critique* into their works, and he concludes that MCDS needs to *fully engage* with the theoretical/methodological assumptions outlined above for CDS.

Social semiotics is considered to infuse the field of multimodality with an essentially well-situated theoretical point of departure, and taking Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) as some of the most prominent contributors, scholars have extended the possibility of employing the power of description to draw out latent ideologies in linguistic-based CDS to a plethora of modes (Machin, 2013, pp. 348-49). MCDS commits to the tenets indicated above, however the direct ‘translation’ of theoretical and analytical tools from SFL to other modes can lead to misleading interpretations (Machin, 2013, p. 349). Initially, we must assume that research into multimodality is necessarily multidisciplinary, there is a need to explore those fields (i.e., visual design, media studies) that know more as to avoid ‘reinventing the wheel’ (Machin, 2013, p. 347). Additionally, we not only have modes that ‘communicate together’, but complex multimodal relationships in socially-situated artefacts, with meanings potentially emerging from the combination of modes that need to be accounted for (Lemke, 1998).

Last, in its analytical applications, the field of multimodality covers a large array of epistemological perspectives (O’Halloran, 2016, p. 17). From an SFL perspective, some representatives are Kress and van Leeuwen (2001, 2006), Lemke (1998), Martinec and Salway (2005), Royce (2006, 2007), Liu and O’Halloran (2009) and Bateman (2008, 2014). In relation to the analysis of migration discourse, scholars tend to include Visual Grammar and CDS applications of SFL to the representation of social actors (van Leeuwen, 1996, 2008) as well as visual euphemism and dysphemism (van Leeuwen, 2000). Examples include Richardson and Wodak (2013), Martínez-Lirola (2010, 2014, 2017), Crespo Fernández and Martínez-Lirola (2010, 2012), Martínez-Lirola and Zammit

(2017), among others. Similarly, Economou (2009, 2013) and Fawzy (2019) integrate Appraisal Theory (Martin and White, 2005) to critically analyse the role of language and image in the representation of RASIM in Australian and Greek press.

From a cognitive perspective, scholars of multimodality explore “the way in which conceptualisation guides communicators toward the appropriate choice from amongst various modes, so as to enable coherent communication” (Wang, 2014, p. 265). Studies in this vein include cognitive approaches to multimodal metaphor and metonymy (Forceville, 2006, 2008, 2013), which have investigated discourses of migration (El Refaie, 2003, 2005; Catalano & Waugh, 2013; Catalano & Musolff, 2019); and also, Stöckl’s (2004) approach to L-I relations. These approaches, along with CL-CDS approaches to multimodal discourse (i.e. Hart, 2015, 2016, 2017a/b; Hart & Mármol Queraltó, 2021; Mármol Queraltó, 2021a/b), form the theoretical-methodological basis for multimodal analysis in this thesis, more specifically for a foundation of Language-Image relationship conceptualisation (see Chapter 3). The underlying model of language in this thesis is therefore CL, including its multimodal applications. Next, I report on studies relevant for this project that have examined discourses of migration from a multimodal perspective.

2.4.4. Relevant findings in MCDS

Scholars agree on the crucial role of images and of their relations with verbiage in the representation of social practices (Bednarek & Caple, 2012, 2017; Caple, 2013; Martinec & Salway, 2005; Jewitt et al., 2016; Iedema, 2003; Le, 2012; Economou, 2009, 2013; Richardson & Wodak, 2013). The representation of migration and RASIM by mass media tends to combine linguistic text and images in a variety of designs (Martínez Lirola, 2014). The next sub-sections indicate relevant findings for this project.

2.4.4.1. Social actor representation

Van Leeuwen and Wodak (2009, p. 52) argue that it is possible to employ visuals in argumentation¹⁹ “if the meaning of an image can be reconstructed as advancing or defending a standpoint.” From a MCDS perspective, what is of foremost importance is understanding how different kinds of semiotic resources are deployed systematically (Machin, 2013, p. 352) in the recontextualisation of the RC.

Figure 2.6.

‘A policeman tries to stop a migrant from boarding a train through a window at Gevgelija train station in Macedonia, close to the border with Greece,’ Reuters, 15 Aug. 2015. (Fawzy, 2019, p. 76).



The visual representation of RASIM as social actors does not differ conceptually from what has been indicated above for language. Scholars have studied visual representations of RASIM in several dimensions: RASIM in the Spanish free press (Martínez Lirola, 2008, 2010, 2014a; Crespo Fernández & Martínez Lirola 2010); young RASIM and RASIM more generally in Spanish newspapers (Crespo Fernández & Martínez Lirola, 2012; Martínez Lirola, 2014b/c); female RASIM in the Spanish and Australian press

¹⁹ This is not to say that images *are* arguments within multimodal texts. Images can serve to support arguments advanced linguistically, but the interpretative, ambiguous nature of photographs prevents them from embodying specific arguments; photographs do not hold propositional content (Blair, 2004, p. 46). Conversely, photographs can *invoke* a range of arguments by means of contextual association, however this relationship emerges from the interplay between verbiage and image within a multimodal text, not exclusively from the argumentative potential of the image.

(Martínez Lirola & Zammit, 2017); the French press representation of the deportations and evictions of Roma migrants from France (Breazu & Machin, 2018); asylum-seekers and RASIM more generally in the UK press (Banks, 2012; Hart, 2014); the Slovenian public broadcasters' online news during the RC (Vezovnik & Šarić, 2020); and Pulitzer winning photos on the RC (see Figure 2.6; Fawzy, 2019), to name a few. Overall, the visual representation of RASIM as social actors is negative or very negative (Martínez Lirola, 2008, 2010, 2014a; Crespo Fernández & Martínez Lirola 2010, 2012; Breazu & Machin, 2018; Banks, 2012; Vezovnik & Šarić, 2020), however female RASIM can be positively represented as integrated, contributing and empowered members of society in the Australian press (Martínez Lirola & Zammit, 2017). Martínez Lirola (2008, 2010) found that Spanish free newspapers tend to represent RASIM in a passive role, they become an 'object of scrutiny' which serves to collectivize and stereotype their figure (2008, p. 152). In a majority of news articles, Martínez Lirola (2008, 2010) found that RASIM do not visually interact with the purported reader by means of 'gaze acts' (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006), which contributes to their 'Othering' by representing RASIM as distant, passive individuals.

Alternatively, RASIM can be depicted migrating to the Spanish territories of Ceuta and Melilla.²⁰ RASIM in this context are assimilated and collectivized (van Leeuwen, 2008), they are 'wild and dangerous' healthy males, therefore legitimating policies to control their entry and regulate their expulsion or return to Morocco (Figure 2.7). In this case RASIM are depicted as threatening, active individuals using violence against governmental forces; RASIM are portrayed as active actors fighting their way into Spain (Martínez Lirola, 2017, p. 31) and thus reinforcing the association between immigration and delinquency discussed above. Similar visual representations were also found by Fawzy in the context of the RC (2019; Figure 2.6).

²⁰ See Chapter 1.

Figure 2.7.

'On the right, Moroccan officers get sub-Saharanans off the fence, beating them back'. El País, 18 June 2014. (Martínez Lirola, 2017, p. 31).



In the UK RASIM tend to be depicted as the ‘deviant stranger’ or ‘criminal immigrant’, therefore construing a ‘moral panic’ that legitimises their social exclusion (Banks, 2012, p. 308). Hart (2014, pp. 76-79) indicates that RASIM tend to be depicted in groups and this de-individuates and impersonalizes RASIM, a depiction reinforced by the physical orientation of photographs; RASIM are often photographed with their back to the viewer, which anonymizes RASIM and “prevents any personal affiliation with them” (2014, p. 78). Hart (2014, p. 79) indicates that RASIM tend to be represented in static existential processes (e.g., queuing) in combination with elevated visual angles. This combinations often prevent viewers from seeing the end of the line of people, suggesting, by means of visual implicature, that substantial numbers of idle migrants are claiming benefits. This was also found by Casero Ripollés (2005, 2007) and Martínez Lirola (2014a/b) in the Spanish press

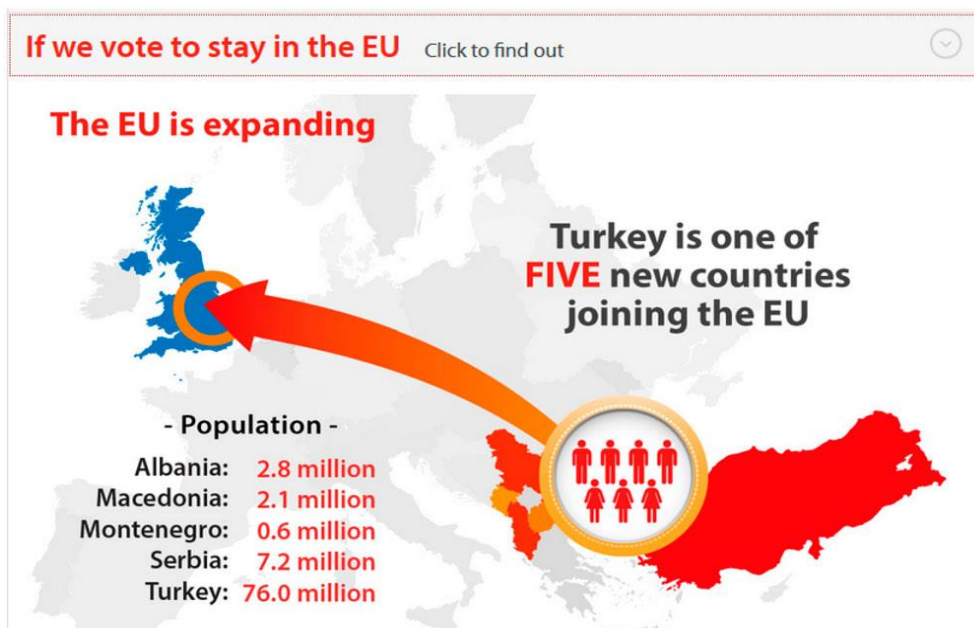
2.4.4.2. Topoi

RASIM’s visual representation can also enact *topoi* with important ideological implications. In the visual mode and the Language-Image interface, scholars have examined, posters and brochures produced by Austrian and British right-wing Parties

(Richardson & Wodak, 2013), posters produced by the Italian right-wing party Lega Nord (Richardson & Colombo, 2014), political discourse in the websites of the official campaigns for the ‘Leave’ and ‘Remain’ vote in the Brexit referendum of 2016 (Zappettini, 2019), and the Greek press representation of the RC (Serafis et al., 2019), to name a few.

Figure 2.8.

Misrepresentation of mass migration from EU candidate countries. Source: Why vote leave? The Facts. Retrieved 5 May 2016, from http://www.voteleavetakecontrol.org/our_case.html.



The most common *topoi* identified include the *topoi of risk avoidance, security, numbers*, (Zappettini, 2019), of *law and order, justice, burden, and abuse* (Richardson & Wodak, 2013; Serafis et al., 2019; Richardson & Colombo, 2014), and of *culture and usefulness* (Richardson & Wodak, 2013; Richardson & Colombo, 2014). Figure 2.8 exemplifies the *topos of risk avoidance* and of *numbers* in the context of the ‘Vote Leave’ campaign prior to the Brexit referendum (Zappettini, 2019). This visual argument hinges upon the so-called ‘secret plan’ according to which the EU was planning to give Turkey visa-free access to Europe after Turkey helped the EU control the number of RASIM entering Europe (Zappettini, 2019, p. 414). The diagram implies that staying in the EU is a ‘risky’ option because Britain could be the target of over 80 million people resting on the premise that mass migration will come from those countries when they are admitted to the EU.

By articulating ‘possible’ immigration processes in such manner, Vote Leave perspectivized immigration in terms of numbers (over 80 million people) that constitute a risk that needs to be avoided, or at least those actions (e.g. staying in the EU) that constrain Britain to counter immigration.

Last, Serafis et al. (2019) examined the multimodal representations of RASIM using the SAM (van Leeuwen, 2008) in combination with the examination of *topoi* in the Greek press, with a focus on the argumentative relationships between headlines and photo captions in news articles. Their analysis mirrors previous findings: RASIM are visually and linguistically aggregated and reified as a natural disaster conceptualised as a unified moving body of water that needs to be stopped (*topos of danger/threat*); or as an obstacle (*topos of burden*) that impinges on Greek society and needs to be rid of (Serafis et al., 2019, pp. 551-56).

Figure 2.9.

Kathimerini, 10 July 2015 (Serafis et al., 2019, p. 552).



According to Serafis et al. (2019, p. 552), Figure 2.9 represents RASIM as an ‘assimilated’ social entity without major cultural differences, as a mass that does not permit to see its full extension. RASIM are represented as ‘static’, potentially depicting RASIM’s presence as an extensive, permanent ‘invasion’ (ibid). Figure 2.10, conversely, objectifies RASIM (van Leeuwen, 2008) by means of visual metonymy.

In Figure 2.10, the tents stand metonymically for RASIM and due to the colours, composition and framing of the photo, alongside the headline of the news item (‘More

than 5,700 refugees at Piraeus port'), which employs quantification and aggregation, construes RASIM as an obstacle for Greece's economy (*topos of burden*), therefore legitimating policies to control their intake and their removal (Serafis et al., 2019).

Figure 2.10.

Ta Nea, 30 March 2016 (Serafis et al., 2019, p. 555).



2.4.4.3. Metaphor and metonymy

From a cognitive perspective, the analysis of the multimodal/visual representations of RASIM has pre-eminently focused on visual/multimodal metaphor, and more recently on metonymy and other construal operations. Visual/multimodal metaphors²¹ (Forceville, 2008), narrowly defined, are “the representation of an image or idea through a visual image that bears a particular similarity or resemblance” (Özdemir & Özdemir, 2017, p. 39). In contrast, in metonymy “(an X for Y relation) two entities belonging to the same conceptual domain are brought into a relation” (Vezovnik & Saric, 2020, p. 173). Catalano and Vaugh (2013) argue that critical metonymy analysis is equally important as metonymies also contribute to the public's conceptualisation of social issues.

Visual/multimodal metaphors in discourses of migration have been examined in political cartoons (El Refaie, 2003, 2009; Martí Domínguez et al., 2014; Hart, 2014; Özdemir &

²¹ Cognitive approaches take conceptual metaphor to be a domain-general cognitive mechanism which can be instantiated across modes (see next chapter).

Özdemir, 2017; Vezovnik & Saric, 2020), and more generally in images present in news articles and their relations with the linguistic text (Silaski & Durovic, 2019), not only observing metaphor but also metonymy (Catalano & Waugh, 2013; Catalano & Mussolf, 2019; Vezovnik & Saric, 2020; Serafis et al., 2019; Catalano, 2017; Catalano & McCollough, 2019). Overall, the visual/multimodal representation of RASIM by means of metaphor/metonymy is negative, and occasionally ‘neutral’, although the neutrality of visual depictions needs to be contextually interpreted (Vezovnik & Saric, 2020; Catalano & Vaugh, 2013; Mussolf & Catalano, 2019; Silaski & Durovic, 2019). These representations can legitimise the deployment of discursive militarisation strategies to control/counter the intake of RASIM, who tend to be metaphorically and/or metonymically framed in terms of WAR, CRIME and WATER (Catalano, 2017; Mussolf & Catalano, 2019; Silaski & Durovic, 2019; Vezovnik & Saric, 2020; Catalano, 2017; Catalano & McCollough, 2019).

In the context of the RC, Özdemir and Özdemir (2017) found that RASIM, and the RC overall, tend to be conceptualised in terms of WATER, where RASIM constitute ‘an influx’ into border countries subsequently conceptualised as CONTAINERS, and thus perspectivizing the migratory process from ‘inside’ the container, potentially invoking negative emotional entailments (see 2.3.1 above).

Figure 2.11.

Syrian Refugees, Nath, 2013 (Özdemir & Özdemir, 2017, p. 42).



Figure 2.11 instantiates a multimodal metaphor in which refugees are depicted as an irrepressible ‘wave’, which represents the danger of the Syrian refugee ‘flow’ (Özdemir & Özdemir, 2017, p. 42). The wall symbolises the borders of Syria, and the ‘men in black’ stand as representatives of the bordering countries, who are in knee-deep water (encoding the EMPTY-FULL distinction inherent to the CONTAINER schema) and lifting their hands, suggesting their restrictions and potentially their lack of power to handle the situation (ibid). A similar framing is found in Vezovnik and Saric (2020) (Figure 2.12). This type of photograph, which represents RASIM as a homogeneous and continuous flux of water, taken from far distance, imposing a ‘bird’s eye’ angle, was frequently employed by Slovenian and Croatian and media outlets (also used by the British newspapers under study), it depicts RASIM as a ‘river’, a metaphorical thought possibly provoked by the contrast in colours, the photograph’s visual arrangement, and the shape of the caravan of RASIM (Vezovnik & Saric, 2020, p. 183). This depiction visually abstracts the group of RASIM and therefore prevents the audience’s engagement with their situation. This type of visual form indicates “absolute anonymization and de-subjectivation” (ibid) of RASIM.

Figure 2.12.

Migrant caravan, Ergo Zjeci/MMC RTV SLO (Vezovnik & Saric, 2020, p. 182).



In contrast, RASIM and their individual circumstances can also be abstracted by means of metonymy, a construal operation that in this context is applied to RASIM's behaviour or practices (negatively construed), which become the 'signifier' for RASIM and can serve to "stigmatiz[e] migrants as a group by, for example, constructing them as disturbing elements and potential cultural threats in an otherwise clean, neat environment" (Vezovnik & Saric, 2020, p. 184).

Figure 2.13.

Muddy feet (Vezovnik & Saric, 2020, p. 181).



Images such as Figure 2.13 reduce RASIM's situation to 'neutral' activities which hide their identity and the complexity of their migratory journey (Vezovnik & Saric, 2020, p. 184). Despite metonymical depictions are not very frequent, they have the potential for the ideologically motivated recontextualisation of events involving RASIM (Catalano & Vaughn, 2013). After Vezovnik and Saric (2020, p. 181), the face is the most metonymically salient part of the human body and is used to identify individuals. However, Figure 2.13 zooms on the muddy shoes of a migrant (connoting dirt and associated negative emotions), further metonymically relating to the action of walking; this abstracts the complex reality faced by RASIM and narrows the scope of interpretations to RASIM being reduced to enacting everyday activities that are non-transactive, RASIM do not require power neither they affect others or the world (ibid). Photographers, then, can choose to "take away human individuality [...] and replace it

with an emphasis on ‘objective’ circumstances that make the journey of deindividuated persons difficult” (Vezovnik & Saric, 2020, p. 182).

Conclusively, cognitive approaches to CDS understand metaphors (and increasingly other construal operations) as central cognitively rooted rhetorical devices. Metaphor and metonymy are routinely employed in migration discourses. This entails conceptualising countries and social organizations as CONTAINERS, and conceptualising RASIM in such ways that actions and policies against them (or immigration more broadly) become legitimised as a necessary step in the self-preservation of the receiving countries.

2.5. Chapter summary

This chapter has introduced the most relevant concepts in CDS for the conceptualisation of the analytical process in this thesis, mainstream approaches within CDS and findings relevant for this thesis, and it has also discussed the changing media ecologies within which discourses of migration are articulated.

Sections 2.1 to 2.3 have focused on essential concepts in CDS such as text, discourse and ideology, have introduced seminal approaches in CDS that have examined in detail the linguistic representation of RASIM, and have also introduced the starting points of CL-CDA, which is detailed in Chapter 3.

Section 2.4 focused on Media Ecologies and Multimodal CDS, discussing the evolution of media landscapes and indicating essential concepts such as ‘mode’ and ‘affordance’ instrumental for the analytical framework of this thesis. Section 2.4 has also presented relevant findings from several approaches within MCDS relevant for the analysis below. The next chapter details the analytical frameworks for this thesis.

PART II

Chapter 3. Analytical framework: Cognitive-linguistic-CDS

3.0. Chapter overview

A multitude of works on discourses of migration have employed SFL-inspired approaches for linguistic and multimodal analysis. Such approaches tend to ignore a crucial aspect of discourse: its cognitive²² dimensions (Chilton, 2005). Cognitive Linguistics (CL) has emerged as an alternative that affords insights into these dimensions (c.f., El Refaie, 2003; Chilton, 2004; Hart, 2010; Cap, 2019). Section 3.1 outlines CL as a framework for linguistic description and critical analysis. Section 3.2 outlines the relation between construal operations and discursive strategies. Section 3.3 anchors the analysis of online news discourse.

3.1. Cognitive Linguistics and CDS

Cognitive Linguistics (CL) is a research paradigm constituted as an interrelated group of theories based upon a set of common assumptions. CL emerged in the mid-1970s as a theoretical perspective that would infuse linguistic research with the input of cognitive psychology (Ungerer & Schmid, 2006). Next, I present CL's main assumptions.

3.1.1. *Embodiment and integration*

One pivotal tenet in CL is the *embodiment* of the language capacity and its *integration* with other cognitive capacities. The central premise is that the language capacity is integrated within cognition more generally, predicating a position in direct opposition to the Generative principle of modularity (c.f. Chomsky, 1957). Precisely, the focus should be on the connections between the linguistic and other cognitive capacities (e.g., perception, attention, memory and categorisation), and on how these capacities function in order to provide explanations about how language 'really works' (Ibarretxe-Antuñano & Valenzuela, 2012, p.12).

²² Van Dijk's Socio-Cognitive Approach is cognitively inspired but does not assume the characteristics of the language capacity in its relation with cognition more generally.

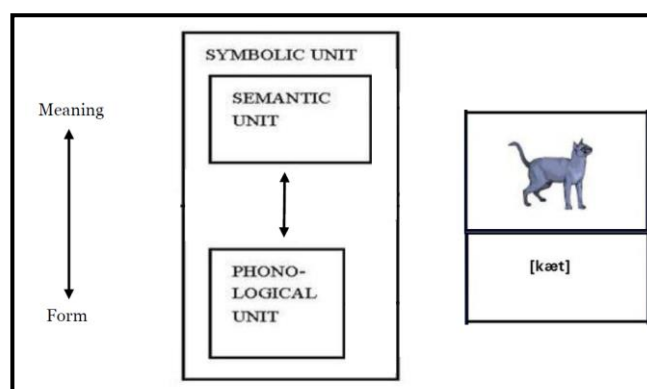
Meaning is grounded in both cultural and embodied experience, and “meaning is conceptualisation” (Langacker, 2007, p. 421). CL-CDS emphasises the relationship between text and conceptualisation in socio-political discursive contexts (Hart, 2014, p. 109). *Conceptualisation* is a dynamic, integral cognitive process by which discursive input invokes and interconnects with other conceptual structures (domains, frames, image schemas, and conceptual metaphors) to generate local mental representations (Evans & Green, 2006, p. 162). In the pre-linguistic developmental stage, mental representations evoked by our experience of the world are initially bodily experienced (visual, sound, somaesthetic and kinaesthetic perception), and are conceptually abstracted through dynamic processes in the mind (Lakoff, 1987). The categories that emerge in the mind, and thus the meanings attached to linguistic expressions, depend directly on our sensory-motor apparatus, where our body configurations determine how and what categories our mind establishes (Ibarretxe-Antuñano & Valenzuela, 2012, p. 17).

3.1.2. Language structure and content

Another concern in CL refers to the relation between grammar, the lexicon and the mind. In Cognitive Grammar (CG),²³ linguistic structure is ultimately reduced to conceptual activity in the mind (Langacker, 1987).

Figure 3.1.

Symbolic unit (adapted from Langacker, 1987, p. 77).



Langacker (2008) defines three types of units: (a) semantic units; (b) phonological units; and (c) symbolic assemblies or units, which associate (a) with (b). These units give rise

²³ See also Talmy's (2000) cognitive-semantic account.

to (a) semantic structures, (b) phonological structures, and (c) symbolic structures, and between these three types of structures there can be *categorical relationships* as well as different levels of abstraction-specification within them (Ibarretxe-Antuñano & Valenzuela, 2012, p. 22).

Lexicon and grammar “form a continuum of assemblies of symbolic units” (Langacker, 2007, p. 438), where the main difference is the degree of abstraction/specification found of semantic units. Both lexical units and constructions “function as prompts for an array of conceptual operations which, in turn, serve to constitute our understanding and experience of phenomena in the world” (Hart, 2014, p. 110). The fact that both grammar and lexicon carry meaning has important implications for CDS, as ideology potentially permeates the whole array of symbolic structures. The ideological purport of words and constructions may very well reveal the potential ideological effects of contextualised usage events at the cognitive level, potentially accounting for elusive and subtle discursive phenomena (Chilton, 2005, 2011), also at the level of grammar.

3.1.3. A usage-based model

Meaning is the essence of language, and in CL language is considered to be usage-based: linguistic knowledge is based on the abstraction of symbolic units which are extracted and systematized exclusively from the regular use of and exposure to language (Ibarretxe-Antuñano & Valenzuela, 2012, p. 23). In this model, grammar is defined as the conceptual, individual organisation of a given language system in the speaker’s mind (Bybee, 2006). Speakers routinely encounter context-specific symbolic assemblies, and through emergent processes based on frequency and the perceived relevance of units in context, speakers construct the grammar of a language through usage (Ibarretxe-Antuñano & Valenzuela, 2012, p. 18). The term ‘construction’ in CL stands for a given syntactic template, with different degrees of abstraction-specification,²⁴ which is conventionally paired with pragmatic and semantic content (Goldberg, 1995). Crucially, linguistic competence and performance are not separate: speakers’ knowledge of a

²⁴ Within partially schematic constructions there are slots or elaboration-sites (‘E-sites’, Langacker, 2008), while in substantive constructions (e.g. idioms) there is little or no room for elaboration. The archetypical transitive clause construction [NP[VP]NP] exemplifies a schematic construction, where each component needs further specification, while the idiom [NP[kick-TENSE]the bucket] only admits elaboration in the first NP slot and in the tense component of the verb form ‘kick’.

language emerges from the individual and collective use of it (Ibarretxe-Antuñano & Valenzuela, 2012, p. 19).

3.1.4. *Construal*

Crucially for CDS, *language encodes construal*: the same material or imagined situation can be conceptualised diversely, indexed by alternative linguistic formulations (Croft & Cruse, 2004). Alternative discursive representations can potentially position readers/viewers in particular ways (Hart, 2014). *Construal*, defined as “the conceptual structuring of a mental representation evoked by discursive input,” is achieved mobilising several cognitive capacities (Valenzuela et al., 2012, p. 51). The selection of linguistic devices (or other semiotics) can be instrumental in the (re)production of socially-situated understandings.

One important acknowledgment for CDS is that every type of linguistic structure, in whichever level of organization, can be deployed with ideological purposes (Hart, 2014). In this thesis I exclusively focus on the dimensions of schematisation, metaphor and spatial viewpoint to explore how the enactors of these three construal operations ‘work together’ in conceptualisation. Crucially for CDS, “perspective is [...] in fact a definitional aspect of prototypical instances of construal” (Verhagen, 2007, p. 58). If ideologies are socio-politically situated *worldviews* (Hart, 2014), CL provides an ideal framework to deconstruct those worldviews. CL has been used to uncover the ideological worldviews linguistically encoded across discourse-types, including business, health, politics, and immigration (Koller, 2009; Demmen et al., 2015, Charteris-Black, 2006a; Chilton, 2004; Hart, 2010).

3.1.5. *CL and its consonance with CDS*

Several aspects of CL make it a useful model for CDS. If in CDS discourse is seen as constitutive of social relations/identities/processes, etc. (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997), this relation is *necessarily* mediated by cognition: the construction of social realities “tak[es] place in the minds of (interacting) individuals” (Chilton, 2005, p. 22). Furthermore, if CDS is meant to enhance human understanding and knowledge, the conceptual

underpinnings of discourse processes must be a principal concern (ibid). CL-based approaches can offer insightful explanations of what type of cognitive effects discursive formulations might have in the dissemination of racist/discriminatory ideologies.

CL is one framework that affords a cognitive perspective (cf. Chomsky, 1992). While the SCA (van Dijk, 2009) draws eclectically on various aspects of cognitive psychology, it emphasises the role of event and context models in text-production (Hart & Cap, 2014). CL-based approaches focus more on the mental operations involved in text-reception, whereas their theoretical-methodological attractors emanate almost exclusively from CL theories (Hart, 2017a). Hart (2017a) highlights a fundamental difference between these approaches: the SCA understands meaning in propositional terms, while in CL approaches meaning is treated as conceptual in nature. This understanding of meaning fundamentally paves the way for multimodal theory and practice (see 3.3).

If CDS applications and perspectives promote ‘conceptual pragmatism’, in that different theoretical/methodological lenses are operationalised to provide more detailed explanations of discourse processes, then a “theoretical foundation capable of reconciling sociological, cognitive and linguistic categories [is] obviously required” (Wodak, 2006, p. 181). CL-based models offer CDS a typology of cognitive effects articulated on the concept of *construal*, of how discourse affects cognition (Chilton, 2005, p. 35) (i.e., how discourse can ‘shape’ mental representations), and social cognition more broadly. In CL language usage is viewed as contextualised sets of prompts for conceptual operations by means of which meaning emerges in conceptualisation. CL-CDS approaches theorise which cognitive processes are involved in contextualised meaning construction.

Further, CL is ideal to explain the construal of socially-situated events because it is a *cognitive* and *functionalist* theory of language. CL is a social theory in that a cognitive framework can explain linguistic variation in social settings. Furthermore, CL is a powerful theory for CDS because it is functional rather than formal; language systems and variation are understood to scaffold diverse functions in social contexts, these harnessing general-domain cognitive capacities (Bybee, 2006). What is more, CL is interested in the same phenomena that are of interest in CDS. CL examines, in language and cognition, structures such as space and time, events, entities, actions and processes, intention and volition, motion and location, and force and causation (Fauconnier, 2006; cited in Hart, 2011a, p. 271).

Last, CL enables a more *readerly* account of meaning-making in discourse. This is also emphasised in Cognitive Stylistics. For instance, Stockwell (2000, p. 514) argues that “CL explains the detail of a range of interpretations, and excludes some readings which are demonstrably without cognitive basis” (also Stockwell, 1990, 2002). CL provides a theoretical basis to analyse the potential effects of textual choices (Chilton, 2005). Subsequently, the particular strength of CL is that it enables the examination of both overt and covert ideology: “[CL] relates ‘ideology in use’ to conceptual and linguistic phenomena that establish specific, though often unconscious, perspectives of the world [...] or predispose speakers to such perspectives” (Dirven et al., 2007, p. 1224). Based on an *apolitical* theory of language, CL enables analysts to model the meanings readers are likely to construct in response to texts in a way that is theoretically motivated and potentially psychologically plausible. Even more importantly for CDS is the potential for cognitive approaches to sustain experimental studies, such as Hart (2018a/b, 2021), Fuoli and Hart (2018) and Hart and Fuoli (2020). In this line of investigation, CL allows analysts to model “ideological mental representations that text-consumers are prompted to construct in response to particular structures in text” (Hart, 2011a, p. 271) and to examine their effects. CL-CDA empirical investigations have demonstrated that subtle grammatical differences prompt different responses in the audience, therefore substantiating CL-CDS approaches.

In sum, CL provides the theoretical basis for the examination of cognition as mediator in discourse processes; it offers a typology of cognitive effects invoked by linguistic phenomena; and CL enables a more readerly account of meaning in discourse. All these aspects make CL a crucial contributor to CDS. My focus is on the type and structure of mental representations that news discourse might prompt in the minds of readers/viewers, and a CL approach provides the integral theoretical basis to conduct such an investigation.

3.2. CL-CDA

3.2.1. Starting points

The CL-CDA approach (Hart, 2014) adopts all of the above (also, see Chapter 2) and provides the cognitive basis for critical analysis of socio-politically situated (multimodal) texts. Next, I outline the basic aspects of this approach by deploying an integral typology

that relates construal operations, as manifestations of our domain-general cognitive systems (Croft & Cruse, 2004), within a critical approach to discourse (Hart, 2010).

The key claim within CL for CDS is that the structuring of mental representations in conceptualisation processes necessarily involves construal (Hart, 2011a). Construal operations can “be seen to function ideologically by bringing into effect different [...] discursive strateg[ies]” (Hart, 2014, p. 110). In CL-CDA, Hart follows Wodak (2001) and defines discursive strategies as plans of discursive practices, more or less institutionalized and/or intentional, that when strategically deployed result in internally structured and coherent representations of reality which might lead, ultimately, “to the legitimation and/or mobilisation of social action” (Hart, 2014, p. 110). Thus, speakers can deploy discursive strategies (e.g., framing) which in turn motivate particular language choices that promote specific construals. Such construals (if accepted) can then motivate particular actions (i.e., mental simulations) in the hearer.

Table 3.1.

Typology of construal operations (Hart, 2014, p. 111).

System		<i>Gestalt</i>	<i>Comparison</i>	<i>Attention</i>	<i>Perspective</i>
Strategy					
<i>Structural Configuration</i>	Construal operations	Schematisation			
<i>Framing</i>			Categorisation		
			Metaphor		
<i>Identification</i>				Focus	
				Granularity	
				Viewing frame	
<i>Positioning</i>					Viewpoint
					Deixis

Different systematic typologies of construal operations have been proposed (Talmy’s ‘schematic systems’, 2000; Langacker’s ‘focal adjustments’, 1987), despite the fact there is a perspectival component underlying every typology of construal operations (Verhagen, 2007). Hart’s (2014) classification (Table 3.1) relies on Croft and Cruse’s

(2004) typology, which, unlike Talmy's or Langacker's, associates construal operations to domain-general systems. The domain-general cognitive systems that oversee conceptual structuring are *Gestalt*, *comparison*, *attention*, and *perspective* (Croft & Cruse, 2004). Hart (2014) subsequently relates these operations to four main discursive strategies: *structural configuration*, *framing*, *identification*, and *positioning*.

Next, I selectively focus on works pertaining to the underpinnings of the construal operations of schematisation, metaphor, and viewpoint. The objects of analysis in this thesis are the linguistic and visual enactors/instantiations of these construal operations in news discourses of migration within the domains of MOTION, ACTION and FORCE. These operations are selected because of their realisations' potential ideological import in conceptualisation. A description of the discursive strategy and the cognitive system it relies on is followed by a brief review of the ontology and analytical applications of each construal operation.

3.2.2. *Structural configuration*

Structural configuration is the strategy that allows speakers to impose (intentionally or not) an image-schematic representation upon an event, scene or situation to constitute our fundamental, topological understanding of the whole event-structure (Hart, 2013a, p. 406). Structural configuration is realised through *schematisation*, the construal operation grounded in our general cognitive ability of "constituting experience and giving it structure or a Gestalt [...] a single complex object from seemingly fragmented perceptual sensations" (Croft & Cruse, 2004, p. 63). Image schemas are pre-conceptual structures that support thought, language and communicative processes. These are derived from early, embodied experiences, and emerge in basic experiential domains like SPACE, MOTION, ACTION and FORCE (Mandler & Pagán-Cánovas, 2014). They behave as distillations from our recurring perceptions and sensations into abstract patterns which as templates map, among others, spatial structures onto conceptual structures (Oakley, 2007; Peña-Cervel, 2012). Image schemas, as abstracted, idealised cognitive models ('ICM', Lakoff & Johnson, 1987), can be employed as source domains in conceptual metaphors (see below), as these experiential patterns provide the means to structure abstract (i.e., 'unfamiliar' or 'intangible') domains, like emotions or complex social realities (Peña-Cervel, 2012, p. 91; Kövecses, 2000; Goatly, 2007). There are several taxonomies of

image schemas, of which I include Peña-Cervel and Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez's (2010; cited in Peña-Cervel, 2012, pp. 70-88):

Figure 3.2.

WHOLE-PART and subsidiary schemas (Peña-Cervel & Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez, 2010, p. 271).

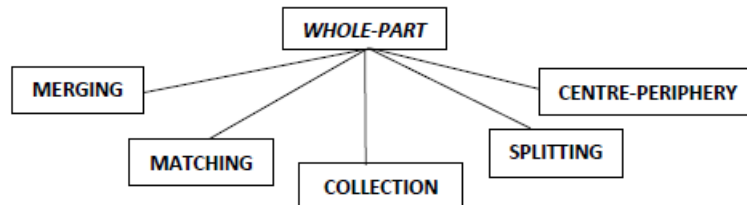


Figure 3.3.

PATH and subsidiary schemas (Peña-Cervel & Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez, 2010, p. 270).

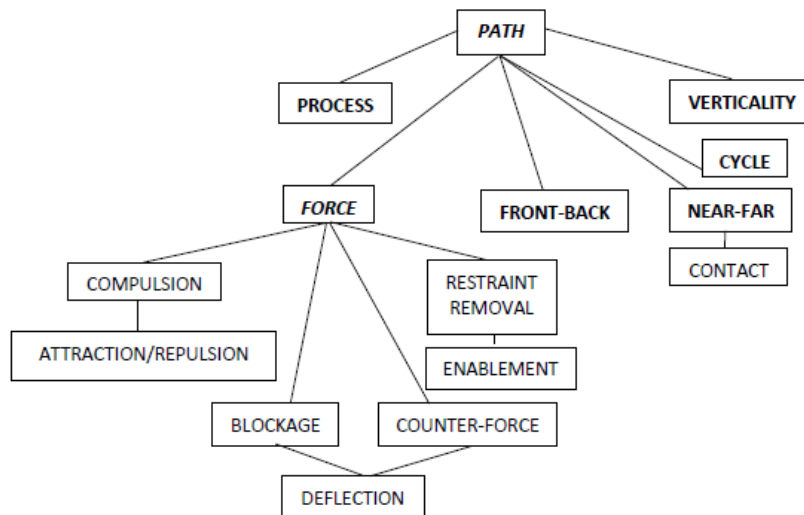
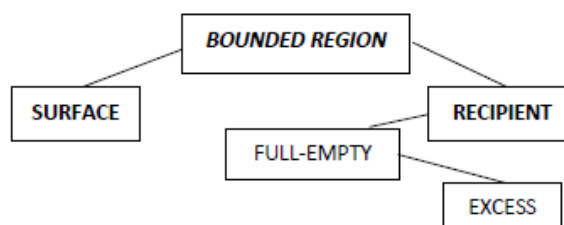


Figure 3.4.

BOUNDED REGION and subsidiary schemas (Peña-Cervel & Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez, 2010, p. 270).



Basic encompassing categories include BOUNDED REGION, PATH, PROCESS and WHOLE-PART image schemas, which Peña-Cervel (2012) elaborates into more than twenty classes.

An important sub-category of PATH image schemas for a critical perspective is FORCE²⁵ (Talmy, 2000). While other image schemas are grounded in our visual experience, FORCE schemas arise from our experience of motion and pressure (Mandler & Pagán-Cánovas, 2014).

This study takes an innovative direction as I examine and compare how newspapers represented events during the RC exploiting the ‘grammars’ of FORCE, ACTION and MOTION, in language and images. This selection is based on previous CL-CDA studies (e.g., Hart, 2011b/c, 2013a/b,) which have shown, in discourses of immigration and of political protests, that construing events within one semantic domain over another can reflect the ideological leanings of newspapers and, crucially, these choices may play a significant role in the perpetuation and recontextualisation of discriminatory practices. Illustratively, Hart (2013b) studied British newspapers representation of the 2010 student fees protests, and found that ACTION, MOTION and FORCE schemas were instrumental in reproducing newspapers’ ideologies. He found that interactions in which police were activated were more likely to be construed as MOTION or FORCE events, while events in which protesters were activated were more often schematised as ACTION. Hart (2014, p. 117) contends that such patterns can “legitimate police conduct during the protest and delegitimize the behaviour of protestors”, thus activating protesters (and passivating police) can “apportion responsibility for the violence solely on protesters.”

These findings, among many other works (mainly focusing on CM), substantiate CL as a powerful tool for CDS investigations. Events can be linguistically structured and subsequently construed diversely. MOTION construes events in which actors do not interact with each other, in FORCE events interactants’ location or freedom to move/act is impacted, while in ACTION events, interactants’ physical state is affected. It can be argued that there is a ‘cline of intensity’ (Hart, 2014), where MOTION events are less intense as they do not encode an impact upon the putative patient, however FORCE and ACTION schemas can ‘infuse’ event-construal with different degrees of ‘social intensity’, thus imposing subtle but fundamental perspectives on the events represented. The construal of events employing either ‘grammar’, along with the allocation of roles within event-structure (as well as the cognitive effects afforded by viewpoint and metaphor enactors),

²⁵ FORCE schemas in Figure 3.3 are taken from Lakoff (1987). See Forceville (2017) for an overview and a discussion of the relation between FORCE schemas and metaphor in multimodal discourse.

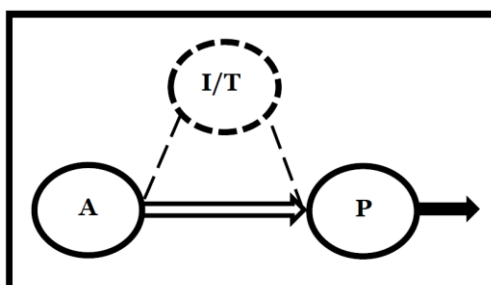
can index the ideological orientation of texts and, crucially, position readers accordingly by inviting them to share that ideologized perspective. Next, I describe the semantics of these schema-types and the elements they can instantiate in construal.

3.2.2.1. Action-Chain

The conceptualisation of Action-Chain events relies on Langacker’s Cognitive Grammar (1987, 2008) as primarily interpreted and operationalised within CDS by Hart (2011b/c, 2013a/b, 2014, 2018a/b, 2021). In event-construal, “[a]ction-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” (Hart, 2014, p. 408). Alternative configurations depend on the direction of the flow of energy, the bi- or unidirectional nature of the flow, and the lexicalisation or absence of semantic components at the sentence level; the latter is explored below in relation to viewpoint phenomena.

Figure 3.5.

Action-Chain archetypal schema.



Action-Chain schemas can be understood as conceptual clause archetypes (Langacker, 2008). A clause event archetype is “the organization of a scene into a global **setting** and any number of smaller, more mobile **participants**”, where “participants **interact** with one another” (Langacker, 2008, p. 355; his bolds). Both the participants and the interactions within Action-Chain schemas are salient conceptual archetypes commonly exploited linguistically. The Action-Chain schema forms the conceptual basis of the prototypical transitive clause (Langacker, 2008). Various types of archetypal roles are

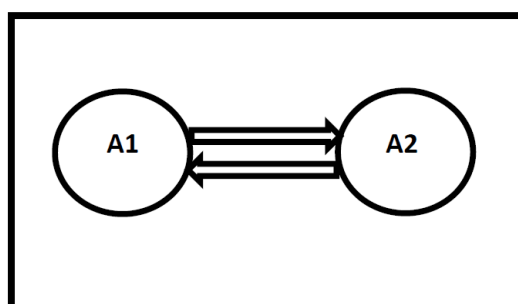
also associated with actions and events, and for Action-Chain events there are three event participants: An Agent, a Patient, and optionally an Instrument (Langacker, 2008, p. 356).

The Agent is the entity who volitionally carries out an action (typically physical) affecting other entities; it is the ‘energy source’ of the Action-Chain (Langacker, 2008, p. 356). In Figure 3.5 the Agent is symbolised as a circle from which the double arrow or vector (the flow of energy, the Action) departs. The Patient is the ‘energy sink’ and final participant in Action-Chain schemas. The Patient tends to undergo an internal change of state resulting from the impingement of external forces (symbolised by the single arrow), and is “typically inanimate and non-volitional” (ibid). Last, the Instrument/Theme²⁶ is typically an inanimate object that an Agent manipulates to affect other entity (Langacker, 2008, p. 356).

One further distinction concerns whether ACTION events are construed as unidirectional or reciprocal Action-Chains (Hart, 2014, p. 118). Both dimensions are illustrated by the verb forms ‘attack’ vs. ‘clash with’. ‘Attack’ invokes an Action-Chain schema where there is a unidirectional transfer of energy from an Agent to a Patient, while ‘clash, with’ invokes a reciprocal Action-Chain schema. Both interactants are activated as Agents, and the flow of energy is bidirectional (symbolised by the two vectors):

Figure 3.6.

Reciprocal Action-Chain schema.



While the explanatory power of this theoretical model has been shown in several works (Hart, 2013a/b, 2011b/c, 2014b, 2021), the actual effects of alternative linguistic formulations can only be assessed experimentally. Inspired by Fausey and Matlock

²⁶ The dashed line symbolises its optional/intermediary status.

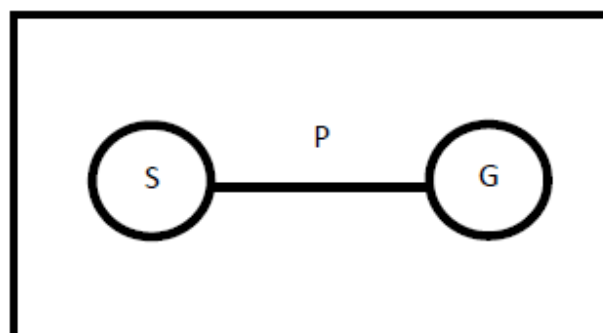
(2011) and Thibodeau and Boroditsky (2011) among others, Hart (2018a/b, 2019b) examined the effects that ACTION schemas can have in speakers. Hart (2018a) examined the role of grammatical voice and alternative Action-Chain schemas in blame allocation and social perception of aggression in media discourses on political protests. Hart's (2018a) primary finding was that blame was apportioned more evenly for reciprocal schemas than unidirectional schemas, while in reciprocal Action-Chains "actors appearing first in the linear organization of the clause and therefore on the left in the event-frame received more blame for the violent encounter and were perceived as more aggressive." Despite the brevity of this mention, such experimental studies are essential for both CL and CDS. Experimental studies demonstrate the usefulness of CL-CDS by showing that minor lexico-grammatical differences are indeed instrumental in contextualised social actor representation, and in the legitimation of social action more generally. However, these studies need to be taken cautiously, as they do not provide evidence for the functions of *every* lexico-grammatical form theorised within CL or CDS, and we must "be careful not to attribute context-independent functions and effects to particular forms" (Hart, 2018a, p. 438).

3.2.2.2. Motion

Motion schemas relate to non- transactive events, where the entities encoded do *not* interact with each other (Hart, 2014, p. 116). This is in marked contrast with Action-Chain and Force schemas, which encode different types of interactions between participants; the 'intensity' of Motion events in social discourses is then lower in comparison with Force-dynamic or Action-Chain events.

Figure 3.7.

Source-Path-Goal image schema (adapted from Johnson, 1987).



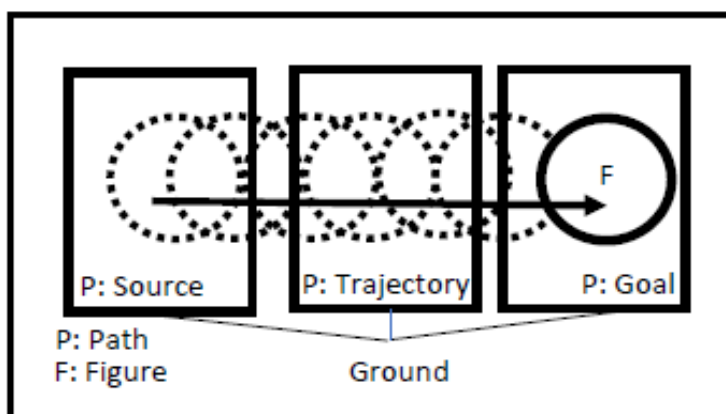
Motion events are construed on the topological structure of the ‘Source-Path-Goal’ image schema (Figure 3.7), which fundamentally contains three semantic elements: Source (starting point), Path (the route from the Source to the Goal), and Goal (intended destination). The conceptualisation of the domain of Motion relies on Talmy’s (2000) theory (cf. Langacker, 2008). Talmy’s conceptual representation of Motion events is made up of several, core/obligatory components²⁷ (2000, p. 25; his bolds):

The basic Motion event consists of one object (the **Figure**) moving or located with respect to another object (the reference object or **Ground**). [...] besides **Figure** and **Ground** there are **Path** and **Motion**. The **Path** [...] is the path followed or site occupied by the **Figure** object with respect to the **Ground** object. The component of **Motion** [...] refers to the presence per se of motion of locatedness in the event.

The Ground is the semantic component relative to which the Motion of the Figure is characterised, and it is possible for multiple Grounds to be specified. It is worth noting that the Path along which the motion event is realised is divided into three regions: Source (initial), Trajectory (medial) and Goal (final). The Ground, in relation to the Path, instantiates a location or other reference point representing one of the three regions (Hart, 2020, p. 107). The formulation of three possible regions in the Path component has implications for viewpoint (see 3.2.4.3).

Figure 3.8.

MOTION event schema comprising Path regions.



²⁷ The CAUSE component is more illustratively examined under FORCE schemas.

In Figure 3.8, Path regions are schematically demarcated by rectangles, while the Figure is symbolised by a circle. The dynamic nature of Motion events is represented by the overlapping circles symbolising the movement of the Figure along the Path regions. The vector represents a spatial trajectory and not a transfer of energy. Let us examine some illustrative examples (Spanish text is italicized with my translation underneath):

(1)

(a) *BBC*, 1 March 2020.

Migrants (F) arrive (M) on Lesbos (G) from Turkey (S)

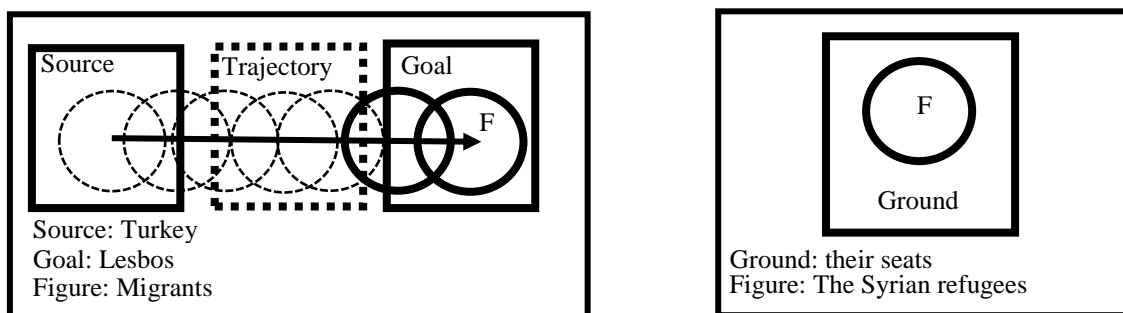
(b) *El País*, 19 Nov. 2015.

Los refugiados sirios ocupan ya sus asientos

The Syrian refugees (F) already occupy (M) their seats (G)

Figure 3.9.

Schema in (1a) (left) and schema in (1b) (right).



(1a) construes a Motion event in which the Figure ‘migrants’ are represented in the moment of their arrival to the Goal ‘Lesbos’.²⁸ The construal also encodes the Source ‘Turkey’, and the profiling of the elements encoded is represented in Figure 3.9 by the thicker lines. (1a) encodes two instantiations of Ground. Migrants are represented in their arrival to Lesbos (symbolised by the two boldened circles symbolising the Figure), while both the Source and Goal regions of the Path are invoked in conceptualisation. (1b) is schematised as a non-translational Motion event. Talmy (2000, p. 25; his bolds)

²⁸ The Goal is construed as a SURFACE invoked by the preposition ‘on’, rather than construing it as a three-dimensional CONTAINER/RECIPIENT, which can be invoked, among others, by the prepositions ‘in’ or ‘into’.

differentiates between two main instantiations of the Motion component in Motion events: it can refer to “occurrence (MOVE) or the nonoccurrence (BE_{LOC}) specifically in **translational motion**.” (1a) above is a prototypical example of MOVE, while (1b) is an instantiation of (BE_{LOC}). For clarity, I employ the terms ‘Dynamic-Motion’ for Talmy’s MOVE, and ‘Static-Motion’ for BE_{LOC}. (1b) encodes a Static-Motion event in which ‘Syrian refugees’ are construed in relation to a designated spatial region, the Ground ‘their seats’. These two main types of Motion schemas are ideologically important as they can serve to represent RASIM as active, dynamic Figures moving towards Goals within Europe, or alternatively as static Figures, typically in border controls or refugee camps.

Lastly, the Manner component (Talmy, 2000), despite typological differences between English and Spanish,²⁹ encodes further characteristics of the Motion event, describing the type of motion that unfolds. This aspect was addressed in 2.3.1 under the term ‘scalar adjustments’. In WATER metaphors, lexical items that describe the movement of water are represented along a ‘gradable antonymic scale’ (Hart, 2010, p. 52), where English verb forms conflate both Manner and Motion components:

(+) flood – pour – stream – flow – trickle – seep (–)

Manner in this scale encodes the volume of the flow of water, with potential ideological implications (see 2.3.1.). In Motion events that are not construed metaphorically, the Manner component can infuse events with variable dimensions of speed of movement and volume (among others) of the Figure,³⁰ and these can have important ideological implications. The construal of Motion events also typically involves viewpoint phenomena, by means of which the ‘viewing arrangement’ (Langacker, 2008) encoded in the clause locates the reader/viewer in relation to the Figure and the direction in which it moves towards a Goal.

²⁹ Spanish encodes the components MOTION and PATH together and MANNER separately, while English expresses MOTION and MANNER together and PATH separately (Talmy, 2000).

³⁰ RASIM can, for instance, *run* or *walk*, infusing the event with higher or lower intensity predicated on the speed of the event. Other verbs, such as *sneak into* (see Baker et al., 2008), or *burst into* encode Manner and can carry negative emotional entailments.

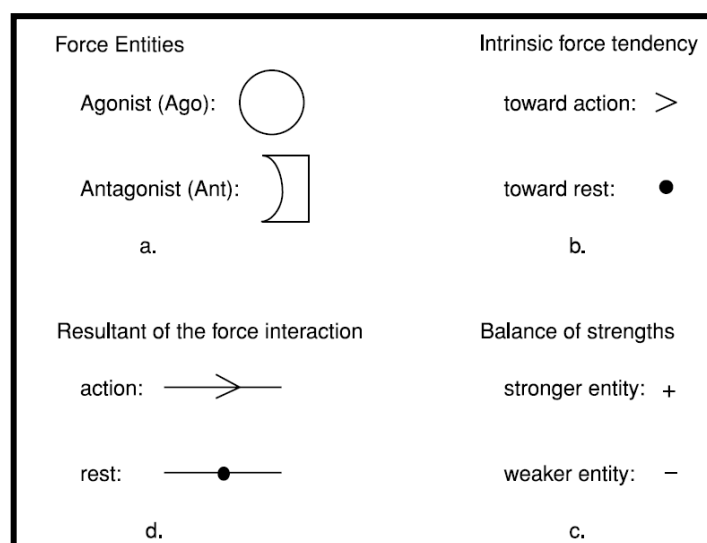
3.2.2.3. Force-dynamics

Talmy's Force-dynamics (1988, 2000) deals with of "how entities interact with respect to force, the exertion of force, resistance to such exertion and the overcoming of such resistance, blockage of a force and the removal of such blockage" (1988, p. 49). FORCE schemas arise from our somaesthetic and kinaesthetic experience (Mandler & Pagán-Cánovas, 2014).

Force-dynamics deals with the physical impingement of force and its metaphorical extensions to psychological relationships, discursive and social interactions (Talmy, 2000, pp. 409-10); it is also viewed as a generalisation over the notion of 'causation' (de Mulder, 2007). In contrast with MOTION schemas, FORCE schemas include the presence of some 'causative force' and/or some 'hindrance' to ongoing processes. Force-dynamic schemas are not inherently necessary in newspaper representations of migratory processes, as other forms of representation are possible, for instance construing migration within the domain of MOTION. Hart suggests that any force-dynamic representation in discourse on immigration is ideologically vested "because in doing so a set of 'entailments' are carried forward which can serve to realise particular discursive strategies" (Hart, 2011b, p. 275; see 2.3.2).

Figure 3.10.

Basic elements in Force-dynamic schemas. (Talmy, 2000, p. 414).

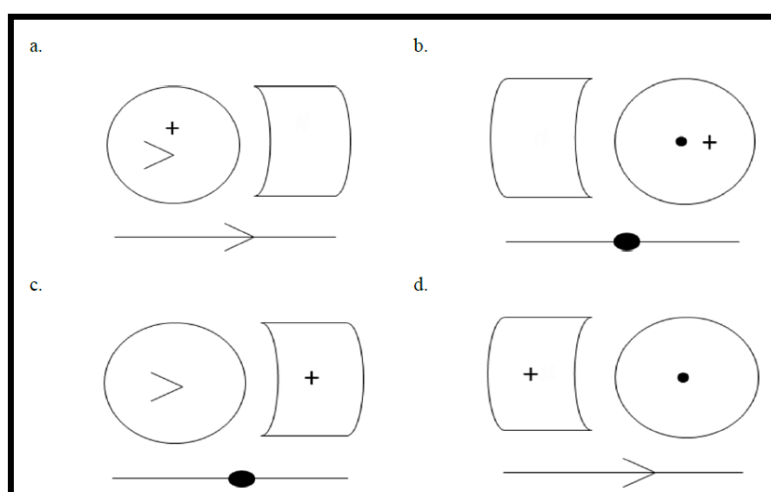


Force-dynamic construals can be invoked by closed-class grammatical elements (conjunctions, prepositions), modals in both their basic and epistemic usages (Sweetser, 1990), but also in open-class lexical items (Talmy, 2000, p. 409). The basic elements of force-dynamic schemas include an Agonist (Ago) as the focal force entity whose status is at stake, an Antagonist (Ant) as the opposing force entity, tendencies to exert force intrinsic to these entities, relative strength, and resultant of force interaction (Talmy, 2000, pp. 413-441).

This ‘grammar’ affords diverse configurations. Talmy (2000, pp. 413-420) distinguishes between STEADY-STATE schemas in opposition to SHIFT-IN-STATE schemas.³¹ STEADY-STATE schemas represent extended relationships between entities, which Talmy divides into ‘despite’ and ‘causative’ patterns.

Figure 3.11.

STEADY-STATE schemas. (adapted from Talmy, 2000, p. 415).



Schemas 3.11a-b are of a ‘despite’ type in which the Agonist realises its intrinsic stronger force tendency (symbolised by ‘+’), either by continuing to ‘move’ (3.11a) or by continuing to remain in place (3.11b), against a weaker Antagonist (Hart, 2011b, p. 277). In contrast, 3.11c-d are of the ‘causative’ type, where the Agonist cannot realise its intrinsic force tendency because the stronger Antagonist succeeds in halting it (3.11c), or because the Antagonist causes the Agonist to move (3.11d). Hart (2011b, p. 278) argues that schemas 3.11a-b are possibly the most common in anti-immigration discourse.

³¹ The potential configurations that both types can take are discussed in chapter 7.

Example (3) (from Hart, 2011b, p. 276, 279; his emphasis) illustrate schemas 3.11a-b respectively:

(2)

(a) *Daily Telegraph*, 8 Oct. 2002.

But after watching [asylum numbers]_{AGO} **continue to rise despite** [a raft of reforms]_{ANT}

(b) *The Sun*, 31 June 2001.

[About 20000 illegal immigrants]_{AGO} **remain** in Britain **despite** [a government pledge to crack down on them]_{ANT}

(2a) depicts ‘asylum seekers’ as the stronger Ago realising its intrinsic tendency toward action overcoming the obstacle posed by the ‘raft of reforms’. (2b) conversely encodes ‘resistance’; it represents ‘immigrants’ succeeding in ‘holding their ground’, who are unaffected by the ‘government’s pledge’. In (2) the weaker Antagonists are marked by the preposition ‘despite’, while the STEADY-STATE status of the event is enacted by the verb forms ‘remain’ and ‘continue’ in present tense. Hart (2011b, p. 278-80) argues that such examples construe immigration as a process out of control, construing persistent Agonists that can ‘penetrate our barriers’, or that resist their removal from the country. In this scenario immigrants are represented as ‘closing in’ on the text-consumer, or staying in a location shared with the text-consumer, despite UK’s efforts, construing immigrants as a negative-Other (Hart, 2011b, p. 280).

Schema 3.11c reflects our concept of ‘prevention’, where a stronger Ant prevents the Ago from realising its intrinsic tendency to motion. In contrast, schema 3.11d captures a continuous causative relation where the Ago is unable to fulfil its intrinsic tendency, being instead compelled towards movement. Examples (3a, c) (from Hart, 2011b, pp. 278, 280; his bolds) and (3b) illustrate both schemas respectively:

(3)

(a) *Mail on Sunday*, 22 Sep. 2002.

[About 200 people]_{AGO} have been **stopped** by [French Police]_{ANT}

(b) *El País*, 20 March 2020.

... *un millón de personas llegadas huyendo del horror*

... [a million people]_{AGO} arrived **fleeing** [the horror]_{ANT}

(c) *Daily Mail*, 21 May 2003.

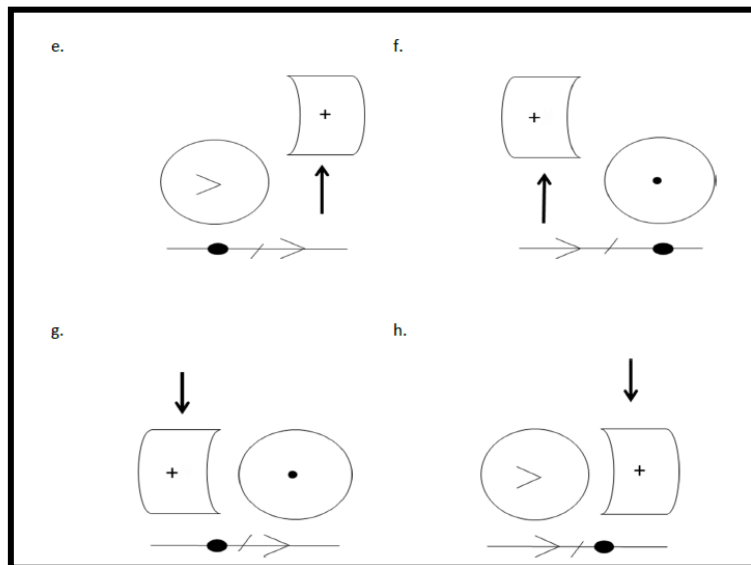
[Asylum-seekers]_{AGO} are **drawn** to the UK **because** [it is so easy to work here illegally]_{ANT}

(3a) invokes schema 3.11c and depicts an event in which the French police as the stronger Antagonist succeeds in preventing the Agonist from realising its intrinsic tendency toward motion. Examples (3b-c) are realisations of schema 3.11d. Schema 3.11d embodies our (internalized) experience of entities being drawn or driven by some external (physical) force (Hart, 2011b, p. 281). Let us remember that Force-dynamics is not restricted to the physical domain, but “extend to the intra-psychological domain incorporating drives and desires as metaphorical force interactions” (Hart, 2011b, p. 281). In discourses of migration, the causes/entities urging RASIM to migrate can be realised either as ‘push’ or ‘pull’ factors; examples (3b-c) illustrate each respectively. (3b) invokes schema 3.11d by means of the verb form ‘flee’, where a relatively weaker Agonist is encoded in an extended causative relationship with the Antagonist, which in this case embodies a psychological ‘push’ factor ‘horror’. Example (3c) invokes a similar schema, however the Antagonist in this case embodies a ‘pull factor’. The verb form ‘draw’ encodes a ‘pull’ relationship between the Agonist and the stronger Antagonist marked by the conjunction ‘because’. In short, schema 3.11c serves as the basis for conceptualisations in which the Agonist is ‘blocked’ in realising its intrinsic tendency, while schema 3.11d provides events with an inherent topology in which the weaker Agonist is moved (physically and/or psychologically) by a stronger Antagonist, usually encoding push or pull factors.

Alternatively, SHIFT-IN-STATE schemas (Talmy, 2000, pp. 417-420) express a change in the resultant of the force interaction. They construe relations of onset-causation or allowing of action, inaction, or motion. In these schemas the Antagonist leaves or enters a state of impingement with the Agonist.

Figure 3.12.

SHIFT-IN-STATE schemas (adapted from Talmy, 2000, p. 418).



Schemas 3.12e-f are of ‘onset letting’, where a stronger Antagonist leaves its previous state of impingement, enabling the Agonist to realise its intrinsic tendency to action (3.12e), or rest (3.12f). Conversely, 3.12g-h are of the ‘causative’ type, where a stronger Antagonist previously disengaged with the Agonist comes into a relationship of opposition, preventing it from realising its intrinsic force tendency by either causing it to stop (3.12h), or to move (3.12g).³² I include examples for 3.12e-g due to their ubiquity in analysis:

(4)

(a) *The Telegraph*, 11 Feb. 2016.

[Turkey]_{ANT} [will] **allow** [hundreds of thousands of refugees]_{AGO} on its soils into Europe

(b) *The Guardian*, 23 Feb. 2016.

[Greek police]_{ANT} **remove** [people]_{AGO} from the border

(4a) invokes schema 3.12e and encodes a relationship of ‘onset letting’ (temporal change is encoded by ‘will’ in its value of futurity), where the stronger Antagonist ceases its

³² See footnote 7. I operationalise FORCE schemas as potential enactors of the CAUSE component in MOTION schemas.

influence enabling the Agonist to realise its intrinsic tendency toward motion. (4b) conversely encodes a construal based on schema 3.12g. It encodes a ‘onset causation’ relationship via the verb ‘remove’, where the now stronger Antagonist impinges on the Agonist, causing it to move from its then current location, preventing it to realise its intrinsic tendency towards rest.

For events that depict a *shift in power relations*, I apply Talmy’s (2000 p. 418) ‘shift-in-balance-of-strength’ schema, where “rather than the Antagonist leaving or entering a state of impingement, the Antagonist remains in place and the shift is in its strength, such that the Agonist either realises its intrinsic tendency or is prevented from doing so” (Hart, 2010, p. 165). This sub-type of FORCE schemas construes the dynamic overcoming of hindrances and the empowerment of entities to overcome those hindrances; the focus is on “whether the Ago eventually manages to realise its intrinsic tendency or is successfully controlled and thus overpowered” (Ullman, 2017, p. 4).

In this thesis any Force-dynamic schema can be enacted in ideologically relevant contexts. This is because this project examines representations not exclusive to anti-immigration discourse (cf., Hart, 2011a/b), but to discourses of migration in the context of the RC more generally. Schematisation and (spatial) point of view are inextricably connected in event-structure representation, and this is explored in 3.2.4.

It is important to note that, despite substantiating image-schema analysis within two different but otherwise strongly related theories (i.e., Langacker, 2008, Talmy, 2000), it can be argued that there is an underlying FORCE component in most types of event construal. Arguably, both Force-dynamic and Action-Chain events are infused with a degree of conceptual FORCE, which has just been described in detail for Force-dynamic schemas. Similarly, for Action-Chain there is a transfer of energy that ultimately can also be theorised in terms of FORCE, where there is an intrinsic underlying FORCE component premised on the capacity of a given Agent to act upon a given Patient to cause some type of internal/external change or outcome. It is assumed that even for MOTION events there is an intrinsic (internal) type of self-directed (psychological/physical) FORCE that can potentially underly event-construal more generally. The distinction between MOTION, ACTION and FORCE events in this thesis is thus instrumentalised for analytical purposes. In socially-situated texts, these distinctions facilitate more fine-grained descriptions of discursive usages and of their potential cognitive effects.

3.2.3. Framing

Framing is the discursive strategy by means of which entities and processes are attributed affective qualities as “alternative categories or conceptual metaphors are apprehended in their conceptualisation” (Hart, 2014, p. 111). Framing relies on our capacity for comparing experiences (Croft & Cruse, 2004, p. 54). The function and motivation of a specific comparison operation resides in the discursive context in which it occurs (Steen, 2011, p. 585), and thus is potentially ideological (Koller & Davidson, 2008). Framing operates at a higher level as it involves (1) schematisation and (2) access to encyclopaedic knowledge structures (Hart, 2014, p.112). Metaphor is a ‘frame-activator’ in that it can ‘profile’, or provide a specific perspective on (Dirven et al., 2007, p. 1225), a certain area of a recruited *frame* (Fillmore, 1982) or *domain*. Metaphor involves construal, where “the choice of metaphor to describe a situation in a particular domain construes the structure of that domain in a particular way that differs depending on the metaphor chosen” (Croft & Cruse, 2004, p. 55). Fundamentally, metaphor is a cognitive operation performed in order to make sense of experience. This section deals specifically³³ with Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980) and its implications for this framework.

Metaphor is pervasive in discourse (Dirven et al., 2007), and its analysis has been applied to abundant domains. The study of the linguistic instantiations of conceptual metaphors is key in the de-construction of ideologies (Goatly, 2007), both at the discourse level (including their pictorial/multimodal dimensions), and at the cognitive level. Metaphor in discourse can be conceived as “a cognitive tool used to conceptualise subjective experiences and intangible social situations” (Koller, 2020). Semino’s (2009) account of CM focuses on metaphor in discourse. It relies on the notion of *motivation*, and addresses Grady’s (1999) approach, which includes *correlations in experience* and *perceived similarity* between source and target domains as an explanatory basis for metaphors. Semino (2009) suggests including *topic-* and *situationally-triggered* metaphors, discursively or pragmatically motivated respectively. Thus, in this thesis metaphor is addressed primarily as a *motivated comparison* (in the cognitive sense; see Croft & Cruse, 2004). As for metaphorical patterns in discourses of migration, I address metaphor as *discursive* (in the process of conventionalization, but open to creative interpretation),

³³ A review of Blending Theory (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002) is beyond the scope of this section.

potentially both *topic-* and *situationally-triggered*³⁴ phenomena. Comparative, cross-country studies have called attention to the crucial role of context (broadly conceived) to understand differences in the choice of conceptual metaphors (Arrese & Varas-Miguel, 2016, p. 136). I follow Hart (2014, p. 138) and contend that, in the representation of the RC, the focus needs to be on ‘discourse metaphors’ (c.f. Musolff, 2006) “as they are ‘socially construed and specific to social and political Discourses [...] which fulfil specific ideological or persuasive functions.” Such metaphorical framings motivated by ideology (e.g., IMMIGRATION IS FLOOD) are in contrast with metaphors that are part of the language and so naturally feature in political discourses too (e.g., MORE IS UP).

A conceptual metaphor as pattern of thought has its linguistic instantiation in conventional metaphorical expressions (Semino, 2009, p. 223). For example, in the specific metaphor IMMIGRATION IS FLOOD, instantiated in the headline ‘Flood of illegal migrants highlights border fiasco’ (*Sunday Express*, 11 Oct. 2017), the experiential material Source domain WATER is mapped onto the abstract Target domain MIGRATION, which inherits a selection of the properties intrinsic to the Source domain, backgrounding some features while making others more prominent (Koller & Davidson, 2008). Complex social processes, such as migration, tend to be disconnected from the reader/viewer’s direct experience and this is where metaphor is invoked as an ideal cognitive mechanism to construe and communicate such social processes (Hart, 2010, p. 126; Charteris-Black, 2006).

There are several aspects of CMT that are essential for this analytical framework:³⁵ Source and Target *domains*, the nature of the *mapping* between them, and the possible *levels* of metaphor (Kövecses, 2017; Koller, 2020). Metaphorical relations between conceptual structures are not arbitrary. Scholars have found that certain kinds of domains reoccur as Source domains, while others more often act as Target domains (Goatly, 2007). Source domains usually comprise fundamental image schemas (e.g., ‘Source-Path-Goal’) or frames, and they tend to be specific, culturally pervasive and structurally rich. Target domains tend to be more abstract, less conventional and under-structured (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). *Mappings* are the ways in which Source domains track onto and structure Target domains (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Source domains can map onto more than one

³⁴ Arguably, WATER metaphors may be *situationally* triggered by images of migrants arriving by boat.

³⁵ See Koller (2020) for a detailed account of CM.

Target domain, such as JOURNEY in its role of Source domain in CMs such as LOVE IS JOURNEY, LIFE IS JOURNEY, or POLITICS IS JOURNEY (Lakoff et al., 1991). Mappings are exclusively *unidirectional* and the relationship between domains is *invariant* (Lakoff, 1987): Source domains structure and infuse Target domains with a selection of properties, albeit constrained by the intrinsic features of the Source domain. CMs are a systematic resource in that they can give rise to a number of metaphorical expressions at the same time instantiating more specific or general metaphors, and this also happens at the conceptual level in that “specific conceptual metaphors are related if they elaborate a more general conceptual metaphor” (Koller, 2020, p. 79). Figure 3.13 illustrates such systematicity. The general CM BUSINESS IS WAR is further elaborated in specific CMs (e.g., COMPETITORS ARE ENEMIES), instantiated by expressions such as ‘brutal Internet price war’.

Figure 3.13.

Metaphor conceptual and linguistic systematicity (Koller, 2020, p. 80).



A last characteristic of metaphor related to the selective, unidirectional and invariant mapping between domains is the notion of *metaphorical entailments* (Koller, 2020), or “unconscious emotional associations” (Charteris-Black, 2004, p. 53). These mappings allow text-producers to direct text-consumers towards specific associations among those afforded by the wider frame (Koller, 2020). Subsequently, metaphor foregrounds some features and “suppresses or diverts attention away from other features, so that one set of responses [to a problem] comes to seem natural and correct and alternatives come to seem wrong and irresponsible” (Ritchie, 2013, p. 109). Returning to the CM MIGRANTS ARE

MOVING BODIES OF WATER, the metaphor recruits the frame WATER as Source domain and selectively structures the Target domain MIGRATION. Among others (see 2.3.1), the entailments afforded by this mapping include (a) migrants are non-agentive, (b) migrants are a threat in terms of natural disasters, (c) migrants constitute a unified homogeneous entity, and in turn (d) migrants are stripped of their individuality. A further implication of metaphor is that it potentially establishes what counts as ‘common sense’ and can “constrain the generation of new insights” (Tietze et al., 2003, p. 38), thus providing more or less entrenched ready-made ‘paths’ for construal. Metaphor is also inextricably connected with emotion, where researchers have found, despite significant cross-cultural variation, that metaphor enables speakers to structure emotional experiences (c.f., Kövecses, 2000). Metaphor can then cause text-consumers to establish associations “between the target domain and social or physical threat-connoting cues which could initialise anger or fear programs” (Hart, 2010, p. 128). Gregg (2004, p. 60) contends that metaphor can in fact attain important perlocutionary effects as “it induces us to act in accord with [a] set of attitudes, feelings, values and intentions.” Metaphor analysis is therefore *essential* in discourses of migration due to its multifarious implications, more importantly their potential to induce readers to speak, and potentially think and act, discriminatorily against RASIM.

3.2.4. *Perspective*

Positioning is the discursive strategy by means of which a scene or event is represented from a specific perspective for the reader/viewer (Hart, 2014, 2015). This strategy relies on our ability to locate ourselves in terms of space, time, and evaluation, and other events and entities in relation to our own ‘embodied coordinates’ (Hart, 2014, p. 112.). Viewpoint is ubiquitous in language, as it includes anything “that builds a particular individual’s mental space construal in ways specific to that individual’s cognitive and perceptual access” (Sweetser, 2012, p. 7). While other grammatical systems, such as modality and tense, can be taken to enact metaphorical ‘vantage points’ in temporal, modal and axiological spaces (Chilton, 2004; Cap, 2014). Positioning can be brought about in semantically coded expressions (e.g. deixis), primarily grounded in the spatial dimension (Hart, 2014, p. 112). It can also be achieved pragmatically, in which case a pragmatic deictic centre allows for spatial, temporal, epistemic and axiological

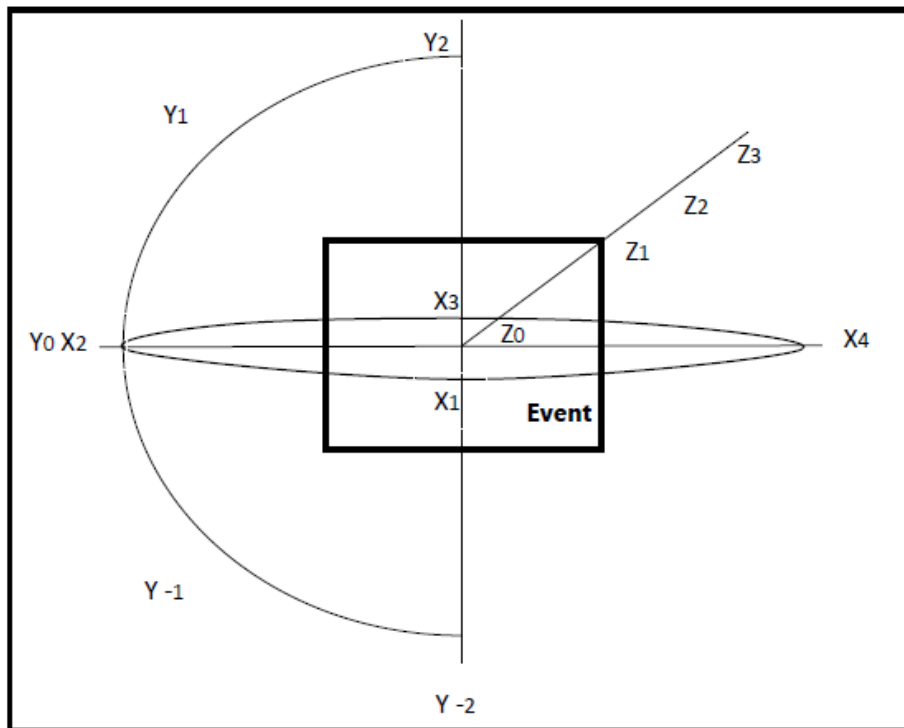
positioning (ibid). This last dimension has been developed into Deictic Space Theory (Chilton, 2004, 2017), and Proximization Theory (Cap, 2011, 2014, 2017). *Proximization* is a discursive strategy responsible for “presenting physically and temporally distant events and states of affairs [...] as increasingly and negatively consequential to the speaker and her addressee” (Cap, 2014, p. 192). Here I focus exclusively on *spatial* viewpoint in language and images and the ideological import these may have in context.

Viewpoint is essentially an intersubjective phenomenon (Sweetser, 2012; Verhagen, 2007). Discourse comprehension involves at least three components: (a) a schematic representation of the event construed (event-structure); (b) a dynamic simulation in which the reader/viewer is an immersed experiencer; and (c) an ideological evaluation (Dancygier, 2017, Dancygier & Vandelanotte, 2017a/b; Zwaan, 2004; Hart, 2015). Thus, event-structure and a point-of-view coordinate are the minimal components of event construals (Hart, 2014, p. 124). The relation between event-structure and viewpoint defines a particular *viewing arrangement* (Langacker, 2008). Different relations between the elements conceptualised via schematisation and viewpoint define diverse viewing arrangements, and these may have ideological implications.

Spatial viewpoint as a construal operation enacting the discursive strategy of Positioning is developed by Hart (2014, 2015) from analyses of visual discourse carried out from an SFL perspective (namely Lim, 2004). Lim’s (2004) visuo-grammar model formulates systems for SHAPE and COLOUR, and systems manipulating space, including DEEP SPACE (DS) and POINT OF VIEW. DS “portrays an illusion of a three-dimensional world through a two-dimensional image [...] generating a sense of illusory depth” (Lim, 2004, p. 234); it therefore affords perceptual experiences of foreground/background relations achieved by contrasting sizes, light and dark, and convergent lines. In this model, perspective is determined both by the ANGLE (operating on the vertical plane) and the DISTANCE (proximity of the viewer relative to the scene) of the shot. Hart (2014, 2015) identifies a third fundamental variable, ANCHOR, which operates on the horizontal plane.

Figure 3.14.

Idealised Cognitive Model for Viewpoint (adapted from Hart, 2014, p. 125).



Crucially for CDS, alternative spatial PoVs can also encode by extension interpersonal relations with event participants, which Hart (2015, p. 247-48) suggests are also instrumental in leading readers/viewers to alternative evaluations:

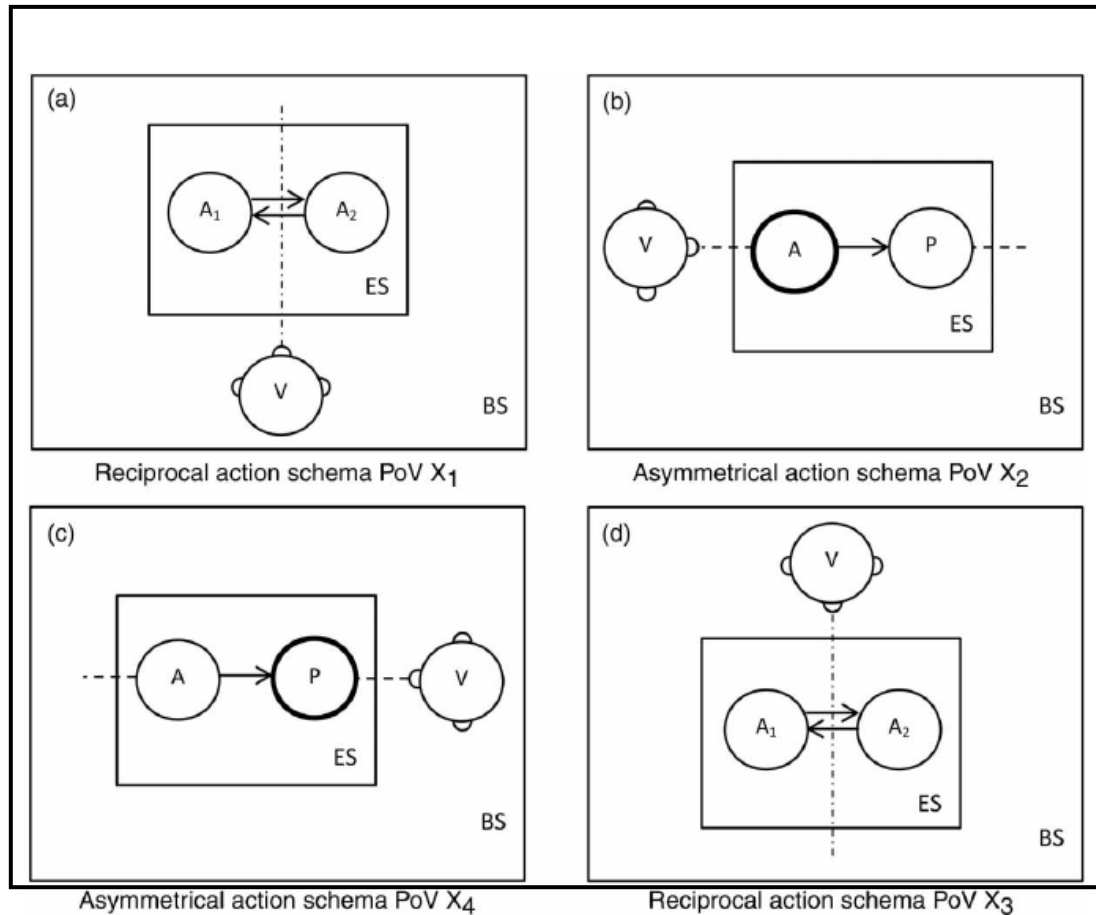
This connotative evaluative dimension [is partially] a function of the contrasting PoVs encoded in the alternate grammatical constructions and the associations, enshrined in a conceptual metaphor STANCE IS POSITION IN SPACE, which these spatial PoVs have with ideological ‘points of view’.

In short, “[t]he PoV values that language has available for exploitation in alternative grammatical forms are the set of idealised PoVs abstracted from visuo-spatial experience and reflected in a grammar of visual design” (Hart, 2015, p. 248). Accordingly, I examine three spatial viewpoint variables: ANCHOR, ANGLE, and DISTANCE (Hart, 2014; Figure 3.14).

3.2.4.1. ANCHOR

Figure 3.15.

Point of view: ANCHOR (Hart, 2015, p. 248)



Shifts in **ANCHOR** ('X' coordinate), based on the horizontal plane, are instantiated in transitive vs. reciprocal constructions (also in the domain of **FORCE**),³⁶ different distinctions in information structure, and grammatical voice (Hart, 2014, pp. 125-126; Hart, 2015, p. 248). PoV in the **ANCHOR** variable can invoke four different viewing arrangements in relation to the event: **ANCHOR:X1-X4**. Figure 3.15 visuo-schematically represents these viewing arrangements in relation to Action-Chain schemas. Regular transactive clauses ('asymmetrical action' in figure 3.5) prompt viewers to construe the event from PoVs X2 or X4, thus simulating the event from the same perspective as either event participant, "[t]he viewer is literally and metaphorically 'taking sides'" (Hart, 2015, p. 249).

³⁶ Within the domain of **FORCE**, it is possible to encounter construals invoking an 'observer's' perspective when there is a relationship of **BALANCE OF FORCES**.

Example (4b) above encodes, by means of grammatical active voice, an ANCHOR:X2 perspective, ego-aligned with the focal entity (the Antagonist ‘Greek police’) of the force-dynamic event, a PoV which Hart (2015, p. 249) contends can afford a positive legitimating evaluation of the action represented. (3a) above encodes the opposite PoV, ANCHOR:X4, from which the viewer is invited to observe the event from the perspective of the Agonist, who is impinged upon by the Antagonist ‘French police’. Hart argues (ibid) that this perspective can evoke “an affective evaluation of fear or anxiety similar to that experienced when an aggressive actor enters our personal space.”³⁷ Conversely, in PoVs X1 or X3 construe a more ‘neutral’ perspective, encoding an ‘observer’s’ experience (Hart, 2015, p. 250). The viewer’s sightline intersects with the spatial region in between participants, thus occupying, literally and metaphorically, ‘the middle ground’ (ibid). These four PoV afforded by the ANCHOR plane can operate slightly differently in MOTION events, where the *default* PoV, unless otherwise specified, is that of ANCHOR:X1, encoding therefore an ‘observer’s’ perspective, ‘viewing’ Trajectors moving along the embodied frontal axis; examples (1a, b) above illustrate such PoV.

3.2.4.2. ANGLE

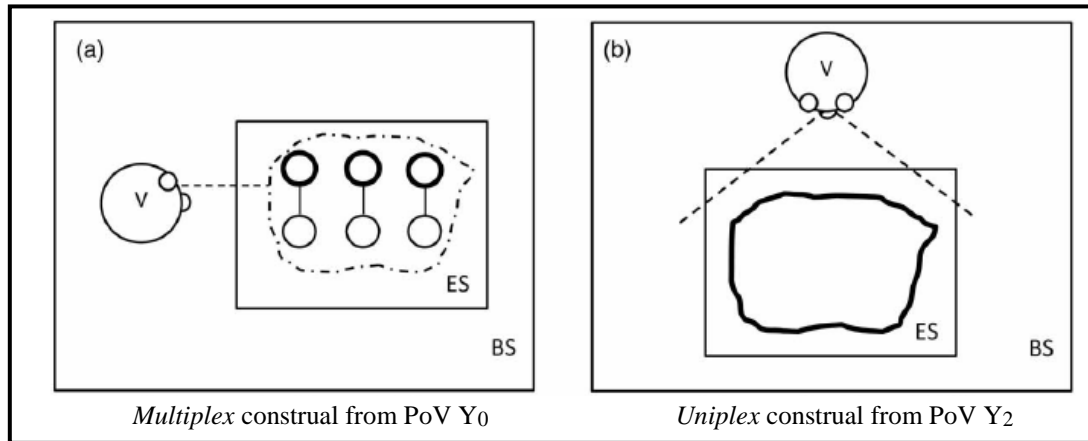
Shifts in ANGLE (‘Y’ coordinate) pertain to different viewpoints promoted by particular reference points on the vertical plane. Such viewpoints are related to the ‘resolution’ of the event evoked, rather than to relative distances between elements within the conceptualisation (Hart, 2015, p. 252). This ‘resolution’ is related to the semantic properties of Figures and the grammatical category of NUMBER (Talmy, 2000). PLEXITY concerns whether the scene is conceptualised comprising a number of distinguishable elements (multiplex structure), or whether it is construed as a homogeneous mass and therefore prompting an uniplex conceptualisation. ANGLE shifts include various types of WHOLE FOR PART metonymies and nominalisations (Hart, 2015). Nominalisations reduce a clause to a single noun, or are derived from other word classes (‘violent’->‘violence’) (Hart, 2015, p. 251). Conceptually, nominalisations can be understood as reifications (Langacker, 2008), where relational/attributive concepts are treated as an OBJECT,

³⁷ The effects of both X2,4 PoV can be also understood in terms of spatial Proximation (Cap, 2013, 2017).

possessing some kind of ontological existence (Hart, 2014, p. 130). Nominalisations prompt PoV shifts in the ANGLE variable:

Figure 3.16.

Multiplex to uniplex as PoV shift in ANGLE (Hart, 2015, p. 253).



RASIM can be conceptualised as multiplex entities, hence prompting an ANGLE:Y0 perspective at ‘eye level’ from which individuals can be apprehended (e.g. ‘Seven men, five women and eight children, first group of refugees in Spain’, *El Mundo*, 24 May 2016; my translation). Conversely, events involving RASIM may invoke ANGLE:Y1/Y2 perspectives (example (4b) above, ‘Greek police’ and ‘people’), prompting simulations “analogous to seeing an aerial shot in news footage” (Hart, 2015, p. 252), homogenising the scene and potentially creating a sense of detachment “by removing the viewer from the ground.”

3.2.4.3. DISTANCE

Shifts in the **DISTANCE** plane (‘Z’ coordinate) can co-occur at any ANGLE and from any ANCHOR point, and encode how much of a given scene is brought about in the ‘viewing frame’ (‘VF’, or ‘window of attention’; Talmy, 2000), which constitutes the conceptual content subject to the conceptualiser’s attention (Hart, 2014, p. 132; Hart, 2015, p. 254).³⁸ Shifts in DISTANCE are also related to causality. Hart (2015, p. 253) states that cognisers

³⁸ Also, Langacker’s ‘profiling’ (2008). The use of the term *viewing frame* is motivated by multimodality studies.

necessarily *select* (or ‘profile’; Langacker, 2008) a particular portion of an unfolding scene, this defined by our physical orientation and limits of our visual field. The relative distance from which the viewer witnesses a scene is instrumental in bringing into the conceptualisation more or less of it. The greater the ‘zoom’, then, the fewer elements are included in conceptualisation (Hart, 2014b, pp. 182-183). It follows that in language, constructions can encode “PoV[s] at alternative distances from the scene under conception allowing varying portions of it to be covered by the viewing frame” (Hart, 2015, p. 253).

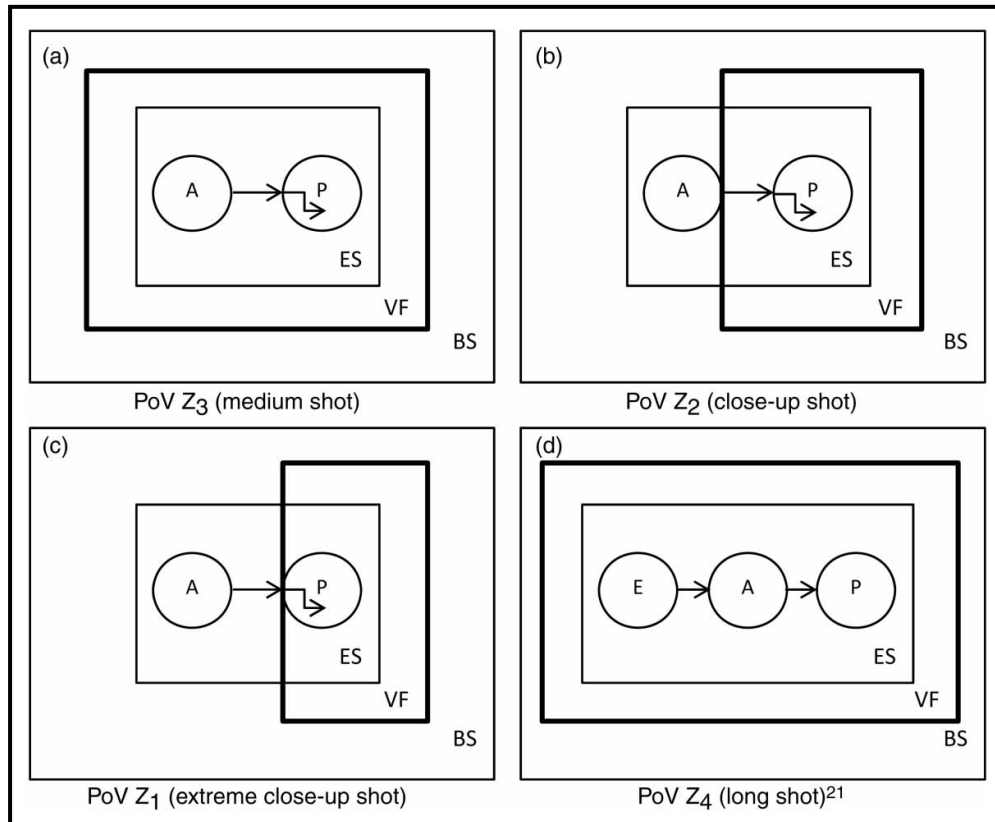
Talmy (2000, p. 258) indicates that explicit mention of a portion of an event is the most evident way in which language encodes distance and directs the VF on the given scene. I indicated above for Motion schemas that the cognitive system of attention provides us with the ability to focus (or ‘window’) on more than one ground (‘zooming out’) or a single ground (‘zooming in’). Hart (2014, p. 133) discusses those linguistic devices that restrict the VF; these include “the agentless passive voice, in the absence of a circumstantial clause expressing causation, and certain nominalisations which focus attention only on the resultant of interactions”, and several types of ergative constructions.

Figure 3.17 illustrates the four types of VFs that result from PoV shifts on the DISTANCE plane.³⁹ The portions of the schemas that are encoded are invoked in the VF, while other information can remain ‘outside’ of the focus in conceptualisation within the scope of attention (Langacker, 2002). Within the event space there may be a broader, evoked schema, but it is not “in shot’ within the [VF] and thus remains unfleshed” (Hart, 2014, p. 132).

³⁹ Discussion of examples in this section focus on *ad hoc* ACTION schemas, and by extension the conceptualisation of DISTANCE in FORCE schemas is similar.

Figure 3.17.

Viewing frames as function of PoV shift (DISTANCE) (Hart, 2015, p. 254).



Examples in (5) illustrate these PoVs:

(5)

(a) Coast guards (A) assist (Action) asylum-seekers (P) in Lesbos (Loc)

(b) Asylum-seekers (P) were assisted (Action) in Lesbos (Loc)

(c) The assistance (Nom) of asylum-seekers (P) in Lesbos (Loc)

(d) The government sent coast guards (A) to assist asylum-seekers (P) in Lesbos (Loc)

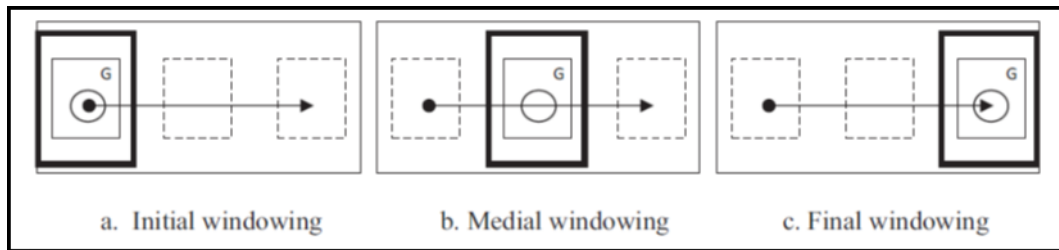
In (5a) the VF extends over the totality of the evoked schema encoding a PoV Z₃:Medium-shot. Both the Agent and the Patient are specified as multiplex entities and the result of the action is encoded in event-construal. (5b) restricts the information available in the VF by means of an agentless passive voice construction encoding a PoV Z₂:Close-Up shot. The verb form expresses the result of the ACTION event, while the

Agent of the Action remains beyond the purview of the VF and is therefore inaccessible but remains unfleshed in the scope of attention. (5c), on the other hand, encodes a PoV Z1:Extreme-Close-Up-shot. The Action in the event is rendered as a nominalised form, making circumstantial information (apart from the location) unavailable to the viewer, focusing on the result of the interaction, and constraining the possibility of retrieval of the Agent by means of conceptual reification. Last, (5d) encodes a PoV Z4:Long-shot, it expands the shot in (5a) by including a previous event ('E' in (d) in Figure 3.17) from which the cogniser learns about the cause for the coast guards to be in Lesbos to assist asylum-seekers. From a critical standpoint, DISTANCE is a key parameter due to its potential to keep in the 'semantic background' (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001, p. 58) the reasons (encoded in FORCE schemas as pull/push factors) for RASIM to leave their home countries, and subsequently can diminish and delegitimise their plight in the public eye. Conversely, PoVs on the DISTANCE plane can serve to legitimate the actions of European countries, or Europe itself, against RASIM by including information that can be deemed relevant and exculpatory by readers.

Last, there are DISTANCE adjustments that apply exclusively to MOTION schemas. While FORCE and ACTION schemas depict events that construe relations between interactants which tend to occur mainly in one spatial region, Motion events typically depict entities moving along a Path, which entails the construal operation of 'windowing of attention' (Talmy, 2000), primarily, but not exclusively, realising an Identification strategy (Hart, 2020, p. 113). Thus, readers can be presented with alternative constructions that can flesh out different portions of the Path. A 'complete' motion event for migration involves a Figure departing a country of origin (Source) moving along a Trajectory in order to arrive at a Goal (i.e. another country). Talmy (2000) indicates that when one element of the Path component instantiates the Ground, we encounter 'path-windowing', of which he identifies three types: initial (SOURCE focus), medial (TRAJECTORY focus), and final (GOAL focus). For instance, the common verb in migration discourse 'leave' encodes initial windowing, 'travel' encodes medial windowing, and 'arrive' is associated with final windowing (Hart, 2020). The conceptual counterpart to windowing is 'gapping', which "defocuses our attention on the unwindowed portion of the event" (Hart, 2020, p. 113; see (2a)). Figure 3.18 represents the three types of path-windowing. The three Path regions are necessarily invoked in conceptualisation, however those linguistically represented display a greater degree of saliency (ibid).

Figure 3.18.

Path-windowing (Hart, 2020, p. 113).



Path-windowing (and gapping), interpreted analytically as a DISTANCE phenomenon, has obvious implications for the critical perspective adopted here. Hart (2020, p. 115) contends that initial windowing potentially highlights the difficult reasons behind migratory processes, while final windowing backgrounds those reasons focusing on the potential (negative) impacts of migration, a type of representation associated with anti-migration discourses.

In sum, viewpoint is grounded in spatial cognition, and that makes it, in its interconnections with Schematisation, a readily available theoretical construct for multimodal investigations (Hart, 2017a). Different viewing arrangements can lead readers to alternative evaluations, an area of conceptual import in social context that can then be tested experimentally (i.e., Hart, 2018a/b, 2019, 2021). Next, I introduce my approach to multimodal discourse.

3.3. Cognitive Linguistics and Multimodality

Multimodality in this thesis is understood as the commitment to examining those modes employed as communicative resources in usage events, in my case news reports. Multimodality is not an approach to CDS, but rather, we should speak of (critical, cognitive, etc.) approaches to multimodal discourse (Jewitt, 2009, p. 2). The current dominant trend in multimodal studies stems from socio-semiotic approaches (Wang, 2014, p. 265), which have largely involved the application of socio-semiotic theories (e.g., Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006). Here I anchor the theoretical-methodological

approach towards multimodal data, specifically Language-Image relations,⁴⁰ within cognitive-linguistic approaches (Forceville, 2008, 2009; Littlemore, 2015; Stöckl, 2004, 2017; Hart, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017a; Koller, 2009; Hart & Mármol Queraltó, 2021). Accordingly, I analyse online news reports as socially embedded ‘multisemiotic, multisequential artefacts’ (Delin et al., 2002/3).

3.3.1. Multimodality and CL

The relationship between Multimodality and CL is mutually beneficial. From a CL perspective, since construals are modal in nature, multimodal studies can help inform analyses of the meanings of linguistic forms (Hart, 2016). At the same time, concepts like image schema and metaphor are useful for analysing the meanings of images. Coëgnarts and Kravanja (2012, p. 85) claim that it is crucial to consider the role of image-schemas in non-verbal modes, constituting an emerging field of application (see Forceville, 2016, 2017). While the design of communicative artefacts aims at achieving clarity and accessibility (Holsanova & Nord, 2010), the ideological nuances of texts go beyond the formal plane, and the content may be deliberately subtle and obscure. The intended conceptualisation is dependent on these features, and, as online newspapers are discursively constructed, any aspect of these artefacts can be ideologically relevant (Machin and & Leeuwen, 2016).

According to cognitive-linguistic theory, discursive input prompts text-consumers to run dynamic simulations in the mind (Zwaan, 2004). Schematisation, metaphor and viewpoint, then, have specific but intertwined functions and effects. Schematisation defines the basic topology of the event (Croft & Cruse, 2004). Viewpoint operations locate the experiencer and ‘force’ a specific perspective in relation to the event-structure (Sweetser, 2012). Metaphor allows the experiencer to conceptualise one abstract domain in terms of another and frame the event accordingly (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Despite the fact that semiotic modes can be materialised with varied results (Bateman, 2014), the realisations of these modes within a multimodal artefact have their effect, ultimately, at the conceptual level (Yus, 2009). This means that, regardless of the mode, the processing of discursive input lies within the constraints of readers/viewers domain-general cognitive

⁴⁰ I employ the term Language-Image (L-I) relations after Hart and Mármol Queraltó (2021) as opposed to text-image relations (Bateman, 2004) because language and image are both part of texts.

capacities. Hart and Mármol Queraltó (2021, p. 532) contend that this “opens the possibility for psychologically real parallels to be drawn in our understanding of language, images and bodily movements.” Thus, the conceptualisations evoked by linguistic input share features (e.g. spatial arrangement and perspective) with imagistic forms of representation (Hart, 2016), a fact also reflected in the use of visuo-schematic representation in CL. Stöckl (2004, p. 16) asserts that all modes co-instantiated in a multimodal text become a unified single Gestalt in perception, where our cognitive predisposition “is responsible for this kind of ease in our handling of multimodal artefacts.”

The study of social discourses necessarily includes examining patterns of visual representation, and investigating the level of congruency between language and images in multimodal texts. Modes tend to be realised concomitantly in texts, and they can co-modify each other in subtle, ideologically relevant, ways. It is essential, then, to analyse both language and images in their own right, but also the relationships between them that foster the emergence of new meanings afforded by those combinations (Lemke, 1998), also under the umbrella of genre conventions more generally.

3.3.1.1. Cognitive approaches to Multimodality

Beyond metaphor, other construal operations and phenomena have received attention by researchers in CL and CL-CDS, and also in the cognitive sciences applied to discourse and communication, which have examined newspapers visual communication from a recipient perspective (e.g. Holsanova & Nord, 2010; Holsanova, 2014a/b; Holmqvist & Wartenberg, 2005). This sub-section addresses some contributions within CL and the cognitive sciences more generally.

In one strand within CL, researchers have examined the role of gesture in its relation with language and conceptualisation in contextualised events (see Cienki, 2013), where several aspects of construal posited in CL are potentially expressed in gesture. From a CL-CDS perspective, scholars have only recently started to investigate the potential ideological effects and functions of gestures in their relation with language and cognition in politically-situated usage events (Hart & Winter, 2021). Another recent strand examines

how viewpoint can be expressed across modes and text-types (e.g. Vandelanotte & Dancygier, 2017).

From a reception studies perspective, it is worth emphasising that the initial step for online news consumers is to ‘work visually’ with the webpage/hypertext, where visual perception automatically allocates elements in related groups and “delivers a range of similarity and difference judgements” (Bateman et al., 2007, p. 156). The news report can be conceptualised as an ‘object of perception’ that readers interact with in their visual field (Bateman, 2008, p. 57). One rich source of evidence about document reception stems from psycholinguistic studies of reading comprehension, which have established design recommendations in relation to line-length, font size, font and background contrast, etc. (Bateman, 2008, p. 57). Comprehension studies also emphasise the benefits for design when both content and its organisation display compatibility between information assumed to be in memory and information presented in the document (Wright, 1980; cited in Bateman, 2008, p. 57). What is clear is that visual objects, such as online news reports, are fragmented, multimodal and multisequential—they afford various ‘reading paths’ as there is no obvious linear order in which elements should be perceived. However, functional visual designs provide coherent organisational patterns and potentially prime an intended semantic integration (Holsanova & Nord, 2010, p. 86). Strategic designs effectively cue the layout structure of a document and, importantly, can also affect the workflow of a reader or even control user behaviour (Holsanova & Nord, 2010, p. 84).

Visual perception and visual design go hand-in-hand, and the principles of perception rely on the postulates of Gestalt Psychology and its works on visual perception (Bateman, 2008, p. 58). Studies on visual perception are inherently empirical, usually employing eye-tracking techniques, and serve to inform of the audience’s actual multimodal texts processing. A reception focus entails examining recipients’ active and dynamic selection, attention and processing of information (Holsanova, 2012). The relevant claim for us is that multimodal texts are co-creative, that is, there is an intended *reading* in the mind of the text producer (who uses design principles to guide the receiver in *specific* ways), but it is ultimately the reader who plays an active, creative and dynamic role in visual perception (Holsanova & Nord, 2010) and semantic integration processes. Accordingly, the same text can be examined and semantically integrated diversely, depending on both the realisation of a text in the light of media design principles and readers’ preferences

and goals (Holsanova & Nord, 2010, p. 99). Alternative ‘readings’ of a multimodal text, then, depend on aspects including the genre conventions, design features, and very broadly, the cognitive contexts in which texts are produced and received: news reports, as cultural objects, are complex, multisemiotic, culturally-embedded objects visually designed considering (explicitly or not) the cognitive dimensions that are relevant for their intended processing.

Holsanova and Nord (2010) (cf., Holmqvist & Holsanova, 2003; Holmqvist & Wartenber, 2005; Boeriis & Holsanova, 2012) have examined cognitive and communicative aspects of media structures and media design principles. The principles include ‘signalling’, ‘spatial contiguity’ and ‘dual scripting’, and Holsanova and Nord show how the latter two “can support the user, provide attentional guidance, and facilitate information processing and semantic integration” (2010, p. 93). Crucially, spatial contiguity and dual scripting are definitory properties of image-caption relations in news reports, which further sustains an intersemiotic convergence approach.

The object of analysis in this project, the online news report, is understood as a ‘virtual artefact’ (Bateman, 2008), which encapsulates several dimensions that are important here with regard to L-I relations. The news report is a communicative act whose internal L-I relations are directed at the newspapers’ (imagined) audience, where both language and images are “*visually instantiated and intentionally co-present within a joint composition which is two-dimensional and static*” (Bateman, 2014, p. 28; his emphasis). Consequently, such L-I combination acts as a compositional unit and becomes a unified Gestalt (Stöckl, 2004), which needs to be critically unpacked to explore the possible effects of that composition in light of CL and L-I theories. Accordingly, I examine news report as objects of perception where the different elements that compose them (see next chapter) can constitute ‘entry points’ or segments of a ‘reading path’ for readers. These entry points, related to their relative degree of salience within the report, rely on the features intentionally deployed in those elements by text-producers in their role of ‘visual designers’. Next, I focus on intersemiotic relations from a cognitive perspective.

3.3.2. CL and intersemiotic relations

3.3.2.1. Visual/multimodal metaphor

As for CL approaches to intersemiotic relations, the main contributions lie in the field of multimodal applications of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Such an approach assumes the theory discussed above, where the main argument is that “reaching an interpretation of metaphors entails similar adjustments of conceptual information of texts and images and multimodal combinations, regardless of the modal quality of the input” (Yus, 2009, p. 147). This claim is supported, among other factors, by the understanding of the role of embodiment in linguistic cognition and cognition more generally (see above). Forceville (2008) has established a clear criterion for recognizing pictorial/multimodal metaphor and the clearest taxonomy of pictorial/multimodal metaphorical realisation:

- Pictorial metaphor 1: *Contextual* – in which a depicted entity is metaphorized by virtue of the visual context in which it is placed;
- Pictorial metaphor 2: *Hybrid* – in which two objects that are normally distinct are depicted merged into a single ‘gestalt’;
- Pictorial simile – in which two objects are represented as independent items but are made to look similar in some way;
- Multimodal metaphor – in which the source and target frames are cued in more than one mode.

Hart (2017b), among several others (e.g. Marín Arrese, 2019) applied this classification from a CL-CDS perspective, proposing a L-I scale of potential metaphorical activation related to the intertextuality exhibited in a given multimodal artefact (2017b, p. 25). Hart also suggested a third type of pictorial metaphor – *Holistic*, in which “the entity or event depicted is, as a whole, reminiscent of a particular image in the source frame” (2017b, p. 9). It is worth noting that these three types of pictorial metaphor and pictorial simile involve exclusively visual phenomena. The mappings between domains activated by visual items are understood to prompt similar metaphorical adjustments as those invoked by linguistic input. In multimodal metaphor (Forceville, 2008, 2009), however, metaphorical relationships between domains can occur across modes, where source and target frames are cued in more than one mode. Realisations of such kind are predicted by CL due to the characterisation of CM as a central feature of the human conceptual system

(Forceville, 2008). A paramount aspect of visual/multimodal metaphor for my analytical framework is that it paves the way for theory and analysis of communication as a primarily cognitive phenomenon. Communicative processes often unfold across co-occurring modes, and their study is thus essential in better understanding how the mind works, and from a CL-CDS perspective, in understanding how discursive input can be deployed strategically to achieve specific cognitive effects.

3.3.2.2. Visual/multimodal metonymy

Another strand within CL explores the underpinnings of metonymy (Barcelona, 2000; Littlemore, 2015; Radden & Kövecses, 1999; Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez & Mairal Usón, 2007), also in socially-situated texts (i.e., Catalano 2017; Catalano & Musolff, 2019; Catalano & McCollough, 2019). This approach entails similar conceptual-theoretical adjustments to those of pictorial/multimodal metaphor, however metonymical relations occurs *within the same domain*. Metonymy in CL refers to

a cognitive process in which one conceptual element or entity (thing, event, property), the vehicle, provides mental access to another conceptual entity (thing, event, property), the target, within the same frame, domain or idealized cognitive model (Kövecses, 2006, p. 99).

As with metaphor, my approach considers metonymy a mechanism that can be expressed across modes due to its conceptual potential for communication. The division between metaphor and metonymy is not clear-cut: “literal language, metonymy and metaphor are best viewed as sitting along a continuum ranging from literal language through to metaphor, with metonymy sitting in the middle” (Littlemore, 2015, p. 14). Littlemore’s (2015) outline of metonymy includes Radden’s and Kövecses’ (1999) fundamental distinctions between metonymy types. There are two over-arching categories, WHOLE AND PART and PART AND PART, which sanction a range of metonymy types (Littlemore, 2015, p. 20). WHOLE AND PART metonymies involve instances where part of something stands for the whole of it (‘Europe’ for all the European countries), or when the whole of something is used to refer to part of it (‘raise your hand’ for ‘stating your agreement’) (ibid). Alternatively, in PART AND PART metonymies, an entity is used to refer to a concept to which it is related; for example, ‘a *glass* of wine’ instantiates the CONTAINER FOR

CONTAINED metonymy (Radden & Kövecses, 1999; Littlemore, 2015, p. 22). Recall that metonymy is understood to be (at least partially) responsible for PoV adjustments on the ANGLE plane (see 3.2.4.1.). Theories and applications of visual/multimodal metaphor and metonymy further sustain that viewpoint and schematisation can also be examined in language and images due to their characterisation within CL, and this provides a basis or exploring L-I relations where these modes may converge.

3.3.2.3. CL and L-I relations

Theories of L-I relations usually start with Barthes' account (1977 [1964]), based on the analysis of news photographs and advertisements, where both artefacts not only share that language and image commonly co-occur, but also their combination co-determines the meanings of the text (Bateman, 2014, p. 31). Barthes (1977 [1964]) argued that such artefacts encode three types of messages: a linguistic message, and both encoded and unencoded iconic messages. While the linguistic text can be unpacked through varied lenses (i.e., CL), visual iconic messages can lead to a 'philosophical minefield' (Bateman, 2014, p. 33). Barthes argued that images are polysemous and readers are responsible for selecting some meanings and ignoring others (1977 [1964], p. 39). Although those processes can be genre-based and cognitively constrained (Hart & Mármol Queraltó, 2021), Barthes formulates three general L-I relations: *anchorage*, *relay* and *illustration* (1977 [1964]). Newspaper photographs and their captions are a prototypical example of 'anchorage': they share a L-I relation by means of which a particular denotation is "selected out of the interpretations possible for an image," where "[t]he text replies [...] to the question: what is it?" (Bateman, 2014, p. 34). However, rarely the 'whole' linguistic text is related to the 'whole' image, where often specific elements of each sub-mode structure specific L-I connections (Bateman, 2014, p. 161).

Some aspects of written language and images are fundamental to substantiate a cognitive approach to L-I relations. Stöckl (2004, pp. 9-12) makes three observations that pave the way for narrowly defining modes and their affordances from a cognitive perspective. First, echoed by Gibbons (2012), modes cut across sensory channels, thus the 'path of perception' is not enough to characterise the nature of a mode. Second, a mode can be realised in different media, thus creating *medial* variants of a mode: "speech and writing

are medial variants of the linguistic mode” (2004, p. 9). Third, modes belong in a hierarchic, networked system, and the possibilities for meaning-making stem from the whole array of differentiations within that mode, in a bottom-up rather than a top-bottom fashion (Stöckl, 2004, p. 12).

Following Stöckl (2004), I distinguish here between (1) semiotic properties, (2) cognitive orientation, and (3) semantic potential⁴¹ of static image and written language.⁴² A given mode’s ‘semiotic properties’ “refer to its internal structure and to the general ways in which users can make meaning with a mode’s signs” (2004, p. 16). Intuitively, images are analogical whereas language is symbolic. Language articulates discrete signs on the phonemic and morphemic levels which are combined to form utterances and words; this property fosters language’s boundless, recursive and flexible resourcefulness (ibid). Images, conversely, have no distinct ‘signing units’ and there are established rules on how those units might be combined. Stöckl (2004, p. 17) argues that pictorial signs are those elements that can be depicted in images and that are familiar from our visual experience of the world. Consequently, the combinatory rules for visual elements stem from the ‘natural order’ of things in imagined or real worlds. This insight is crucial—not only the iconic nature of images determines their meaning, but more importantly, it is because “pictorial signs can access the same mental models that real-world objects [do]” that we can understand images in the first place (Stöckl, 2004, p. 17). Thus, the similarity between visual perception of images and real-world vision underpins meaning-making in images. For language, speakers need to recode visual perceptions into abstract strings of sounds or visual representations of those sounds that share no similarities with the world depicted. Although writing and images share some similarities, they greatly differ in other areas: “writing utilizes two-dimensional arbitrary graphic forms to represent speech sounds, whereas pictures systematically evoke the three-dimensionality experienced in the perception of objects” (Stöckl, 2004, p. 17).

Secondly, language and images differ in their ‘cognitive orientation’. A mode’s cognitive orientation refers to the type of mental operations that the mode prompts the mind to ‘run’ in meaning-making processes (Stöckl, 2004). Schirra and Sachs-Bombach (2007, pp. 55-56) emphasise that the fundamental difference between language and images is that

⁴¹ The incorporation of the cognitive dimension for multimodal theorising is essential as it enables to abridge the space between the materiality and the semantics of modes.

⁴² Unless otherwise specified, hereafter I mean *written* language.

“verbal context-building can re-present facts merely logically, while pictorial context-building can re-present facts empirically as well.” Conceptually, one important difference is the ease of integration of afforded meanings in conceptualisation: language is a ‘linear mode’ which “calls for the integration of signs into phrases, whereas images are rather based on simultaneous and holistic gestalt-perception” (Stöckl, 2004, p. 17). Stöckl (ibid) highlights that the impact of images is underpinned by their ability to tap directly into emotions and “provide immediate sensory input.”

Last, the semiotic and cognitive properties of a mode, within usage-events, determine their ‘semantic potential’. It is generally accepted that the semantics of language are more specific and unambiguous than those of images (Bateman, 2014, p. 34). While language works within the principles of arbitrariness and double articulation, linguistic constructions have conventional meanings attached to them (Stöckl, 2004), distilled from generation upon generation of usage-events (Bybee, 2006). However, images carry meaning themselves (Machin & Mayr, 2012), but due to their inherent ambiguity stemming from their cognitive orientation and semiotic properties, they can only mean specific content “by a combination with other modes or the embedding into narrowly defined communicative situations” (Stöckl, 2004, p. 18). Both instances are characteristic of the type of relationships that are found between images and their captions in the formulation of news reports. Another semantic feature of images is their lack of a ‘speech-act repertoire’, which Stöckl (ibid) suggests underpins the usual complementation offered by language in the press. In terms of information *richness*, images are effective in connotation due to the sensory information they condense (Stöckl, 2004, p. 18). Images are less adequate in communicating self-reference and can only convey visual information, while language has unlimited capability for self-reference and can communicate all sensory modes (ibid). Images are equally restricted in communicating causality or consequence, and the utterances construed from images as ‘image acts’ often add to the linguistic meaning complementing images in contextualised texts. In sum, language is ‘good at’ depicting events unfolding in time, while images are more adequate for representing spatial relations and the physical characteristics of objects (Stöckl, 2004, p. 18).

My approach to L-I relations acknowledges all of the above, and understands news reports as prototypical sites for intersemiotic convergence (Hart & Mármol Queraltó, 2021, p. 531):

Since various dimensions of imagery may contribute to the meaning of a linguistic expression simultaneously, [...] language and image may overlap in multiple respects. That is, there are multiple sites where language and image may potentially converge with one another. Owing to the different affordances of language and image, as well as the register conventions and genre constraints operating over any text, however, language and image are unlikely to overlap in every possible respect. We therefore see any reduplication between the two modes as being multi-dimensional and scalar rather than absolute [...].

Following this logic, construal operations can be co-articulated across modes (El Refaie, 2015). Subsequently, in any usage event written language and visually apprehended modes may coincide in various conceptual dimensions (Hart & Mármol Queraltó, 2021), in our case via the enactors of the construal operations of schematisation, viewpoint, and metaphor. This approach is further supported within CL by Steen and Turner (2013, p. 13), who claim that, since news deploy text, image, and more modes “it is an obvious project to look for the ways in which these basic mental operations and phenomena are deployed in those other modalities.” This research programme is recent and this thesis contributes to its consolidation and expansion. Hart and Mármol Queraltó (2021) conclude that the conceptualisations invoked by linguistic formulations share semiotic features with visual forms of representation, and that consequently “the dimensions of conceptualisation proposed in Cognitive Linguistics exist as potential sites of intersemiotic convergence between language usages and co-text images in multimodal texts.”

In sum, language and pictures,⁴³ and the meanings that emerge from the combinations of both in online news discourse, constitute the objects for analysis within news reports. Written language and static images are medial variants of language and images as core modes experienced via the visual sensory channel (Stöckl, 2004). Their semiotic properties, cognitive orientation and semantic potential dictate the kind of meanings they can be manipulated to convey in context, the possible relations between them, and the emerging meanings afforded by those combinations. My conceptualisation of L-I

⁴³ Exclusively within the parameters indicated in 3.2 above and in the functional regions indicated in Chapter 4.

relations stems from works in pictorial/multimodal metaphor and metonymy (Forceville, 2008, 2009; Littlemore, 2015) and the concept of intersemiotic convergence (Hart & Mármol Queraltó, 2021), which includes examining the level of congruency between language and images within the parameters of schematisation, metaphor and viewpoint.

3.4. Chapter summary

Chapter 3 has outlined the analytical frameworks for this this thesis. 3.1 introduced the main assumptions in CL and CL's consonance with CDS. 3.2 detailed the construal operations whose enactors are objects of analysis in this thesis. 3.3 anchored the approach within Multimodality, specifically Language-Image relations.

Chapter 4. Data and methods

4.0. Chapter overview

This chapter contextualises the newspapers examined within their media landscapes in section 4.1, reports the data exploration and creation of a ‘corpus map’ in section 4.2, and describes the downsizing and sampling processes for this research project in section 4.3. Section 4.4 describes the management of the data. Section 4.5 indicates the functional regions within news reports analysed, and 4.6 describes the process of analysing language, images, and L-I relations. Section 4.7 indicates the main distributional patterns in the data.

4.1. Media landscapes

Chapter 2 addressed the changing media ecologies in which newspapers generally are embedded. I argued that newspapers lie within complex, evolving environments where they are transitioning towards forms of communication increasingly relying on visual/multimodal representation. ‘Legacy’ media (i.e., newspapers) are facing new challenges stemming from the impact of the Internet revolution on media landscapes (Fielden, 2016). Social media and news web services usage suggests emerging ways for audiences to find and engage with news (Nielsen & Schrøder, 2014, p. 474), where online newspapers’ readership is increasing to the detriment of their print counterparts. Importantly, online newspapers belong to the same media institutions as their print versions, where the main differences here are the mode of content delivery, and the increasing multimodal nature of reporting in online newspapers. This section explores Britain’s and Spain’s media ecologies focusing on newspapers’ ‘position’ (historical, economic and ideological) within their landscapes.

4.1.1. The UK’s media ecology. The Telegraph and The Guardian

The UK’s media ecology is historically complex and is embedded in a liberal model very close to democratic capitalist models (Hallin & Macini, 2004; cited in Nielsen & Schrøder, 2014, p. 477). While public broadcasting services are monitored and regulated, the press enjoys unrestricted freedom of speech, which accounts for its partisan

inclinations. Conversely, new media (i.e. social media platforms) are mostly unregulated (Cushion et al., 2016; Fielden, 2016). Despite the freedom the press enjoys, the UK is one of the worst ranked European countries in the 2018 press freedom index (Intel, 2018, p. 19). Next, I focus on online vs. print newspapers' status within the media sector.

Curran (2018, p. 174) documents how British print press sales have plummeted, with 2015 circulation figures having fallen by almost 50% since the 1980s. MarketLine (2018) reports that in 2017 market volume experienced a decline of -11.3% and of -7.2% in 2018. Conversely, digital subscriptions increased and alongside print newspapers subscriptions accounted in 2018 for 51% of the totality of subscriptions, indicating a move of consumers to the digital version of newspapers. Behind News Corp and Trinity Mirror, The Guardian Media Group (owner of *The Guardian*) occupies the third position in revenue and market volume (MarketLine, 2018, p. 22). *The Guardian* is regarded as having a liberal stance and has adapted efficiently to the digital age by, for instance, “enhancing interaction by giving room for readers to express their opinions by comments on most articles” (ibid). *The Guardian* tends to align itself with the Labour Party and holds pro-European views (*The Guardian*, 2020). *The Telegraph* belongs to The Telegraph Media Group, shares a similar position to *The Guardian* in terms of market value but with slightly lower volume, and openly holds conservative views and supports the Conservative Party. *The Telegraph* endorsed Boris Johnson in the 2019 Conservative leadership elections, and also supported a hard take on Brexit (*The Telegraph*, 2019).

As for online readership, while the *BBC* holds the first position with 68% of readers, *The Guardian* holds the 4th place with 17% in contrast with the 12% of *The Telegraph*, which occupies the 7th position (Intel, 2019, p. 4). While consumers prefer public broadcast services over newspapers (Curran et al, 2013), newspapers occupy the second position. It is worth noting that online newspaper sites are not social media platforms, however social media platforms allow digital content of newspapers to be found, shared, engaged with in different ways. Overall, these trends signal a move from print newspapers forms to their online versions, where social media platforms are used both for finding and engaging with the news (Nielsen & Schröder, 2014), although the power of the legacy media remains largely unchanged (Intel, 2019; MarketLine, 2018; Newman, 2017).

4.1.2. Spain's media ecology. *El Mundo* and *El País*.

Spain's media ecology follows similar trends, with some differences. AIMC (2019) reports a decrease in newspapers sales of -15% since 2013. AIMC's (2019) report emphasises a move to digital services to the detriment of other media: internet use (including news services) increased by 30% in contrast to the decrease in the time users spent watching TV (-12%), and more importantly time spent reading print newspapers (-27%) (AIMC, 2019). AIMC (2019) reports that print newspapers' market share decreased by 3.7% by December 2017, in contrast to digital newspapers who saw their share increase by 15.2%. This marks a significant transition to online forms on news delivery and consumption.

As for the relative positions of online newspapers, *El País* occupies the first place and *El Mundo* the second with regards to online visits (AIMC, 2019, p. 45). Spain's media ecology follows a polarized pluralist model, "with weaker and more politicized public service media" (Hallin & Macini, 2004; cited in Nielsen & Schrøder, 2014, p. 477). Nogales Bocio and Mancinas Chávez (2014, p. 310), in their study of the newspaper industry and political affiliations, underpin the media convergence in Spain's adaptation of the North American ultraliberal model. These scholars follow Reig (2010) and denominate this ecology a "mediatic spiderweb" in which the connections between media in corporations underlie a complex network of interests and influences over journalistic practices.

Spanish media enjoys freedom of speech and is free of regulations against media monopolies (except for public broadcasting services), which for Nogales Bocio and Mancinas Chávez (2014, p. 310) leads the way to 'dynamics of information concentration' to the detriment of informative pluralism. The ideological leanings of newspapers are connected to Spain's political system. Nogales Bocio and Mancinas Chávez (2014, pp. 316-17) indicate that *El País* was founded one year after the dictator Franco's death (1976) and embodied the emergent social-democratic thinking, representing the mediatic dimension of centre-left ideologies. *El País* is ideologically close to the Socialist Party (PSOE) and is the property of the PRISA group (Nogales Bocio & Mancinas Chávez, 2014). *El Mundo* was founded in 1989 and is part of Unidad Editorial S.A., which is in turn the property of the RCS Media Group, based in Italy (MarketLine, 2013). *El Mundo* is identified with centre-right political inclinations, siding more often with the Popular Party (PP) (Nogales Bocio & Mancinas Chávez, 2014, p.

318). These scholars conclude that this mediatic polarization reflects (at least until the entry of Podemos, and more recently, Vox, in the political arena) the hegemonic bipartidism ruling Spain.

Section 4.1 has provided a brief overview of the newspapers examined within their respective media ecologies. Despite differences, these newspapers have managed to preserve their status in society. The print content of newspapers is increasingly less consumed, while their online content is steadily more consumed and hence remains a major source of influence in how people relate to social/political topics, like (im)migration. According to previous findings (e.g., Curran, 2018; Newman, 2017), power remains with large multinational news agencies/corporations and, *despite* the advent of the internet and the space it provides for alternative news (see Chapter 2), it is still the same newsmakers who ultimately control/influence public discourse. For our current purposes the most important differences between print and online newspapers are the mode of delivery (print vs. digitally), and the move towards more visual ways of communication in online newspapers, further sustaining a multimodal approach to online news discourse. Conclusively, the critical study of newspapers construals is *still* crucial due to their prominent role as communicators of ideology. All of the above suggests that the critical examination of online newspapers is of paramount importance for the study of discourses of migration.

4.2. Data exploration and collection

The data exploration, collection and sampling for this research are adapted from Baker et al.'s (2008) and Gabrielatos and Baker's (2008) works within the RAS/RASIM project conducted at Lancaster University. That project examined the discursive representation of RASIM in the British press in the period 1996-2005. Other studies (e.g., Allen, 2016; Rheindorf & Wodak, 2018) have employed similar methodological combinations and succeeded in demonstrating their adequacy for the examination of discourses on migration. Here I adapt this methodology and implement Corpus Linguistic (CLing) methods to survey and collect the data, but I employ qualitative methods to analyse it. The analytical process is qualitative and is anchored within cognitive-linguistic approaches to CDS (see Chapter 3).

Methodologically speaking, the RAS/RASIM project was innovative (in many other aspects beyond this overview) in that it employed CLing methods to objectively obtain and analyse the data. This method used a tested algorithm to generate a ‘corpus map’ (in terms of frequency of reporting) that was analysed implementing CLing methods (e.g. frequency, keyword, and concordance analysis; Baker, 2006). A corpus map is a visual representation of the frequencies in reporting observed in newspapers for a period of time (see Figure 4.5 below). Such a map enabled researchers to identify increased reporting periods which were then analysed from a CDA perspective, in their case the DHA (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001). Baker et al’s (2008) framework is relevant here in that it combined quantitative methods to obtain the data and to provide both a general and objective picture of the discursive patterns of representation of RASIM, and a qualitative focus that aimed at unpacking the relationships of power that are enacted in news discourses (Baker et al., 2008).

In this thesis CLing methods are employed to validate data collection and sampling in order to answer the issues of news items selection and representativeness in CDS. Several dimensions of CDS methodologies have been criticised (e.g., Widdowson, 1995a/b, 1998). Other CDS critics (i.e., Stubbs, 1997, Verschueren, 2001) agree that texts can be arbitrarily selected, which leads to directly challenge the representativeness of the data collected (see Baker and Levon (2015) for a discussion on ‘cherry picking’). Sriwimon and Jimarkon (2017, p. 137), after Wodak and Meyer (2009), indicate that to ensure representativeness analysts need to strive for credibility and dependability “by being as truthful and transparent as possible in giving sufficient details about the data,” while the data needs to be extracted systematically to form a dataset big enough to provide a representative sample. CLing methods provide a solution to this issue because a large enough dataset is obtained using systematic and objective methods, thus mitigating collection and sampling biases. Qualitative methods are still needed to unveil dynamics of power within the selected texts, which quantitative approaches can only partially reveal.

This line of argument addresses the issues of reliability and internal validity in CDS investigations, which a mixed-method approach strives to increase by using complementary methods and strive for *triangulation* (Baker & Levon, 2015). In the context of this research triangulation can be defined as the combination of methods (and

data) in order to shed light on the RC from diverse viewpoints. Such mixed-methods approach is important because it further mitigates the issues of researcher's subjectivity and sampling bias. In my case, I employ CLing methods to objectively generate a corpus map and identify entry points in the shape of significant 'spikes' in reporting, I anchor the analysis of texts within the field of CDS (see Chapter 2), and I employ CL as theory of language and cognition, similarly adopting the understandings of language and the language capacity theorised in cognitive psychology (see Chapter 3). The robustness of this approach is further enhanced by the critical analysis and comparison of news reports in Spanish and British online newspapers, implementing both language (Spanish and English) and image analysis to assess the role of both in the representation of RASIM events during the RC.

Here I focus on the quantitative part of the data exploration and collection, while sections 4.3 and 4.4 focus on the qualitative downsampling processes and preparation of the data for analysis.

4.2.1. Exploration stages

The corpus exploration, following Baker et al. (2008), comprises these stages:

Figure 4.1.

Exploration stages.

- | |
|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none">a. Context-based research<ul style="list-style-type: none">1. Analysis of RASIM terms2. Relevant migration-related statistical information3. Research on readership figuresb. <i>Nexis</i> database searches using Gabrielatos and Baker's query (2008)c. Organisation of a corpus map and emergence of spikes in reporting |
|---|

The first two steps comprising stage (a) are shown in Chapter 1, while step three was addressed in 4.1 above. This sub-section focuses on stages (b) and (c). *Nexis* (www.nexis.com) is an online database dedicated to news items. *Nexis* is part of *LexisNexis*, a platform that also provides access to legal documents. Four newspapers have been selected for analysis: *The Telegraph* and *The Guardian* from Britain, and *El País* and *El Mundo* from Spain (see above).

It is crucial to highlight that the data for analysis is not extracted from *Nexis*, but from the newspapers' websites. I used the *Nexis* results to *reconstruct* the corpus based on online editions by searching for online versions of the same articles (see 4.3 below). The object of analysis for this thesis are news reports displayed on their websites, and *Nexis* does not include the images present in them, nor the layout structure. *Nexis* is used to obtain a corpus map and as the environment in which I explored the data before sampling it. Other data issues and solutions are discussed in 4.4.1 below.

4.2.2. Search queries

In the initial stage of the data exploration process, the search query employed was adapted from Gabrielatos and Baker (2008). Gabrielatos and Baker (2008, p. 5) built a corpus operationalising a specific query. Such query (Figure 4.2) was obtained by applying an algorithm derived from a previous CLing study.⁴⁴ This approach ensured that the corpus was representative, that is, that the articles retrieved were relevant to RASIM (Gabrielatos & Baker, 2008). Within the context of the RC, the use of this query ensures that the data is representative for this investigation, that is, the articles obtained, by using the query, are understood to be representative of the type of representations of RASIM that newspapers produced. Other studies have employed similar methodologies and have found that its use yields representative data (e.g. Allen, 2016; Allen & Blinder, 2013; Rheindorf & Wodak, 2018). Thus, I start off the search with robust foundations on a tested query that subsequently enables the generation of an initial corpus large enough to allow for the emergence of genuine patterns. The query used for British newspapers is the following (Gabrielatos & Baker, 2008, p. 15):

Figure 4.2.

English Nexis query.

```
refugee* OR asylum* OR deport* OR immigr* OR emigr* OR migrant* OR  
illegal alien* or illegal entry OR leave to remain AND NOT Deportivo AND  
NOT department45
```

⁴⁴ See Gabrielatos (2007) for a detailed description of the process.

⁴⁵ Regarding the inclusion of negatives in the query, Gabrielatos' (2007) CLing method for the design of the search query excluded 'deportivo' and 'deportment' (here also in Spanish) as they showed *negative relative query term relevance*. Specifically, in English *Deportivo* only exists as a football team name.

For the Spanish newspapers I translated the query myself into a close equivalent:

Figure 4.3.

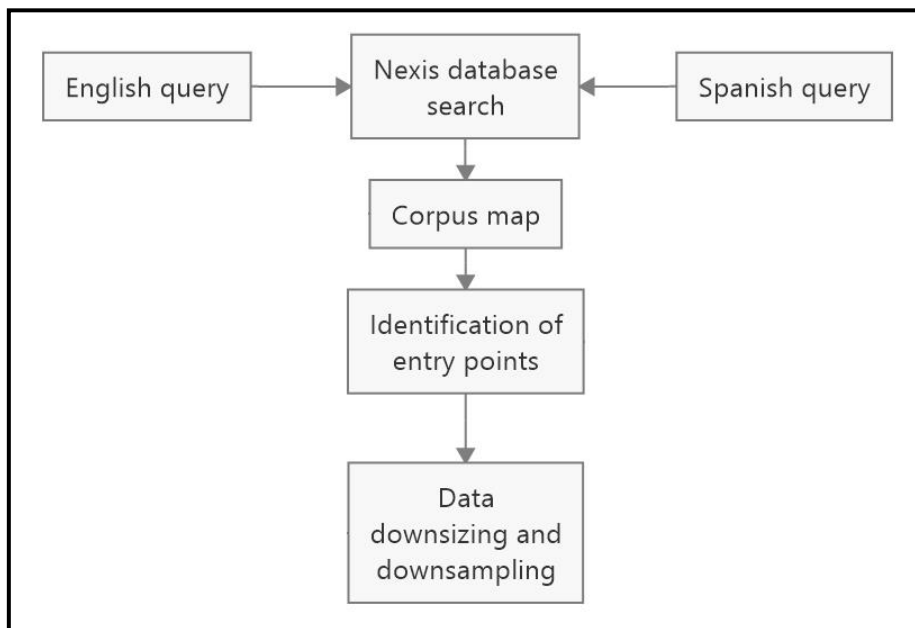
Spanish Nexis query.

refugiad* OR asil* OR deport* OR inmigr* OR emigr* OR migrant* OR
extranjero ilegal OR extranjeros ilegales de OR entrada ilegal OR derecho a
permane* AND NOT deporta* AND NOT Deportivo

The main changes are due to plural inflections (e.g., ‘extranjero/s ilegal/es’). Also, ‘leave to remain’ has been translated as ‘derecho a permane*’ so that permane* includes ‘permanencia’ (noun) and ‘permanecer’ (verb). Lastly ‘deportment’ has been omitted because it does not exist in Spanish and any senses would be included in ‘deporta*’ (‘deportar’ (verb), ‘deportación’ (noun)). Following Baker et al. (2008), every news item was considered at this stage, with a fine-grained sampling in subsequent stages.

Figure 4.4.

Data collection and sampling stages.



4.2.3. Corpus map and increased reporting periods

This investigation set out to research the period January 2015 to December 2016,⁴⁶ due to the emphasis on migration events (e.g., the Cologne attacks) that seemed to characterise both Spanish and British media. This timespan allowed for the emergence of patterns in the form of ‘spikes’ in news reporting, which constituted ‘entry points’ from which to downsize and sample the data. Once in the *Nexis* website,⁴⁷ I input the search query for each newspaper for each month for the period January 2015-December 2016 (24x independent searches). The results were then entered in a spreadsheet to generate a visual representation of the frequency of reporting, a corpus map. A clear evolution in RASIM events reporting can be appreciated, and Figure 4.5 below shows (by means of spikes) that there were several periods that gained special attention from newspapers, more significantly for British vs. Spanish newspapers.

For *The Guardian* (TG) and *The Telegraph* (TT):

1. September – October 2015: TG (1056->1761) almost quintuples in October the number of results with regards to August (336 articles); TT almost doubles the number (338 in August to 667 articles in September).

2. January – February 2016: TG almost doubles its reporting from December (857->1198->1680); TT increases the reporting in January but decreases again in February almost reaching December levels (397->547->419).

3. April – June 2016: TG finds its highest reporting period in May and then drops dramatically in July (1239->2238->1378); TT follows a different pattern and the highest number is reported in June (602->688->1544), a month later than TG. Also, TT continues reporting in July more than twice more than TG (291 vs. 707).

⁴⁶ That is not to say that the RC took place *exclusively* during this period. The RC is understood to have started in 2011 (Deardorff, 2017) and is currently ongoing.

⁴⁷ The increased reporting periods are observed in relation to the results yielded by *Nexis*, not in relation to the newspapers websites (see 4.4.1 below).

As for *El País* (EP) and *El Mundo* (EM):

1. August – September 2015. EP multiplies its coverage from July to August by more than ten (82->218->995); EM almost triples and then doubles its reporting in the same period (38->98->199).

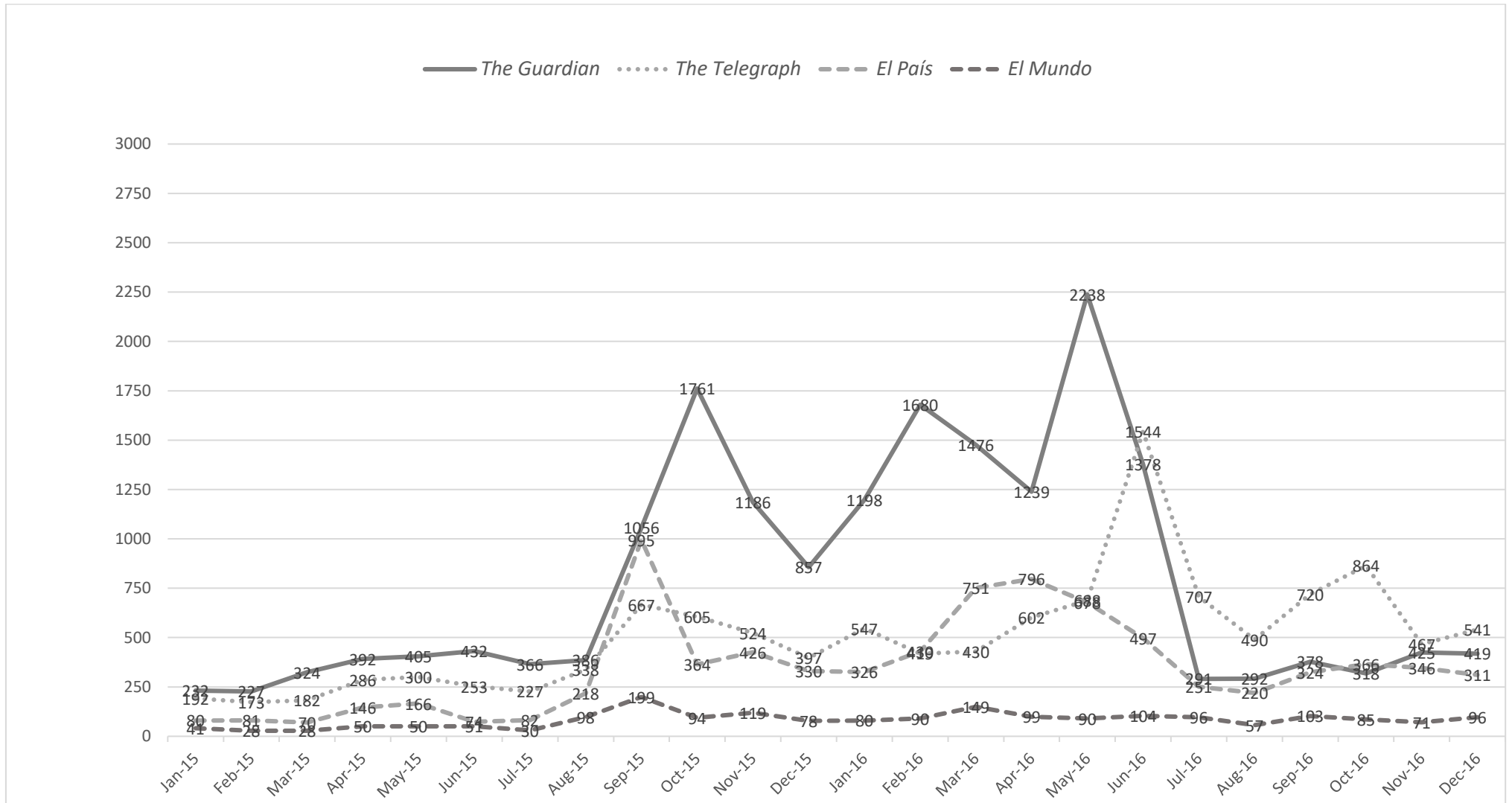
2. October – November⁴⁸ 2015. Both EP and EM show a minor spike, still very high for EP in absolute terms and above its mean (364->426); EM has both figures above its mean for that period, but the spike is about 80 articles lower than the previous period (94->119).

3. April-May 2016. After three months of steady reporting, the period February - April shows a new spike, quite minor in EM but more pronounced and longer in EP, which will continue until July to reach the levels of summer 2015.

⁴⁸ This time period was extended to cover December in *Nexis* and I collected several articles in order to ensure internal validity (see 4.4.1).

Figure 4.5.

Newspapers coverage of migration events 2015-2016.



These periods constitute the analytical foci of this project. The frequencies in reporting suggest discursive foci throughout the RC. The alternative spikes indicate specific foci possibly related to the contexts of production of newspapers within their countries, and also their underlying agendas. Due to the exploratory nature of this qualitative research, I strive for internal validity. The English and Spanish datasets differ, although it is important to note that within countries the reporting trends are rather similar (see 4.4.1 below). This approach enabled me to compare findings between newspapers within the same ecology. However, comparisons between British and Spanish newspapers need to consider different factors affecting each country during the RC (see Chapter 1). On a semantic level, despite the discrepancies between countries in relation to increased reporting periods, this approach allows me to systematically and critically compare events alternatively construed within the domains of MOTION, FORCE and/or ACTION.

4.3. Data downsizing and sampling

After generating the corpus map and identifying the entry points, the data is downsized and sampled in four steps:

1. Close-Up examination of each identified entry point for each newspaper;
2. Identification of general reporting trends for each newspaper per period;
3. In-between newspaper comparison (by country);
4. Identification of representative items.

These steps are envisioned as a conceptual ‘magnifying glass’. I implemented these steps to generate a representative dataset by means of systematic multi-level examination and comparison of reporting. While the initial data exploration relies on frequency, these steps are pre-eminently qualitative and implement content analysis.

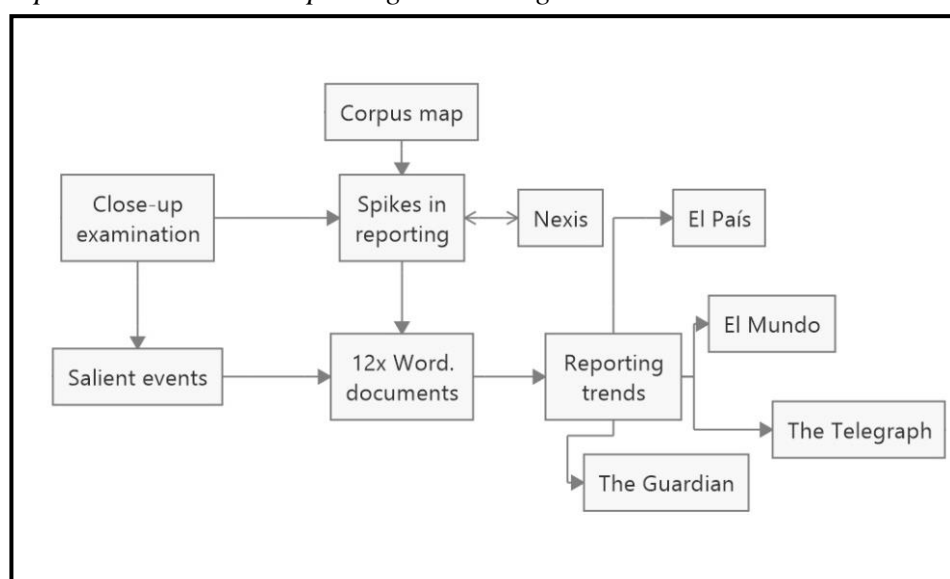
4.3.1. Close-Up examination and general patterns in reporting

These steps involved systematically examining all the results within the identified spikes in reporting. The results obtained on *Nexis* were systematically examined and I noted down those ‘salient’ events in *Word* documents for each newspaper and spike. The relative salience of reports considers several aspects: (1) that the report depicts events

unfolding during the RC;⁴⁹ (2) that events within the report are construed primarily within the domains of MOTION, ACTION and/or FORCE, (3) presence of RASIM keywords/elements within (a) headline, (b) subheading, (c) caption and/or photo/snapshot, and (d) lead paragraph (see 4.5); (4) whether the news item is a report — editorials, opinion articles and other genres were ignored at this stage; (5) presence of images in the newspapers’ websites. I only consider news reports as they purportedly *document* events, that is, report new information, and there is an expectation of distance between the news producer and the reader, unlike editorials or opinion pieces (van Dijk, 1988). *Nexis* allows to filter down different types of news texts, and this function was employed at this stage. News reports that did not contain any keywords in either functional region (see 4.5) were ignored in this stage. In a further step, (5) involves exploring newspapers’ websites to ascertain that reports included photographs depicting RASIM or other important social actors.⁵⁰ I noted down in *Word* documents all the news items which complied with the criteria above. It is also important to note that in order to generate comparable datasets across countries and newspapers, the focus was also on noting down those events that were construed within one or more of the conceptual domains indicated above (MOTION, ACTION and/or FORCE). This distinction in Close-Up examination ensured later that the events selected were comparable due to their articulation across conceptual domains.

Figure 4.6.

Close-Up examination and reporting trends stage.



⁴⁹ In British newspapers, a considerable amount of reports focused on Australia’s asylum system, and were ignored at this stage.

⁵⁰ Only a minority of news reports collected did not include images.

The result of this Close-Up examination is twelve *Word* documents containing detailed lists of RASIM events construed within the domains of MOTION, ACTION and/or FORCE during the RC for each newspaper and spike in reporting. Further, each *Word* file was examined individually to yield preliminary general patterns in reporting. This step considers relative frequencies of news items, or elaborations on reporting of the same event across conceptual domains. For example, Aylan Kurdi's death in September 2015 was a particularly salient event which newspapers reported on several times. This procedure yielded a 'thick picture' of what events newspapers reported on, and within which conceptual domain this occurred. Such patterns are understood to be an expression of newspaper's reporting trends.

With these steps I (1) examined the totality of Nexis results in each spike, (2) noted down those events that were more 'salient' according to the criteria above, and (3) I obtained a thick picture of patterns in reporting.

4.3.2. *In-between newspapers comparison and final data sampling*

The next step involved performing in-between newspaper comparisons (within countries) with two aims. First, I set out to identify which events newspapers coincided to report and in which conceptual domain this occurred, which formed the main body of items. Second, I also flagged events that only appeared in either Spanish or British newspapers, or that were construed within a different conceptual domain. These differences are essential to discuss representation patterns in newspapers. In the final data sampling, I consider both convergent and divergent trends; however, the datasets are both comparable and equivalent due to the criteria employed in the previous sampling stage.

Table 4.1.

Final datasets.

Newspaper	<i>The Guardian</i>	<i>The Telegraph</i>	<i>El País</i>	<i>El Mundo</i>	Total
Data					
Reports	93	96	98	98	385
Images	93	95	96	94	378

For this last stage I relied on the documents created during the Close-Up examination discussed stage, which contained notes both on reports, and on the general patterns in reporting in relation to the criteria outlined above. This process was implemented systematically to filter down the most representative items both in terms of topic/thematic frequency (i.e., what events were more often represented by newspapers), and conceptual domain frequency (i.e., within which conceptual domains events were more often represented by newspapers). This process resulted in (around) 30 reports per newspaper per period, amounting to 385 news reports and 378 images.

After several rounds of Close-Up examination and comparison of reporting trends between newspapers within the same ecology, no additional data beyond the reports selected was deemed necessary to ascertain the representativeness of each data sample. The quantity and features of the reports selected were understood to yield a representative dataset in relation to the frequency of events present in newspapers' reporting, and also of which conceptual domains were more frequently selected to underpin event-construal. These steps, despite enabling me to compose a representative dataset, also come with some shortcomings which are addressed in Chapter 8.

In sum, the final datasets have been sampled operating a thorough systematic multi-level process. Starting off from the identified entry points in the shape of spikes in reporting, I examined the totality of news reports in those spikes to extract those that were representative of the reporting across newspapers and countries within the boundaries of the criteria outlined above. An initial in-depth examination ensured the identification of general patterns in reporting, which in turn allowed me to sample representative datasets of digital content that are effectively *equivalent* and *comparable*. This process encountered several issues that required solution (see 4.4.1 and Chapter 8). However, these stages ensured the internal validity of the sampling process, and the representativeness of the data both within newspapers and countries and conceptual domains.

4.4. Data management

Once the news reports were sampled, I extracted them from their websites and input them in suitable corpus tools. This project employs UAM Corpus Tool,⁵¹ both in its version for language and image analysis. UAM Corpus and Image Tools have been developed at the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid by Mick O'Donnell,⁵² and constitute the most suitable software packages for data management and analysis for this project due to its adaptability and the possibility for intra- and inter-modal analysis, and also for in-between newspapers comparison. The data extraction and inputting procedure is as follows:

Figure 4.7.

Data extraction and inputting process.

1. Access *Nexis* and locate the specific news report;
2. Copy either headline, subheading, caption, or first sentence of the lead paragraph;
3. *Google* search and access to newspaper link containing the news report;
4. Screenshot(s) of the multimodal text on the newspaper's website and save it in a specified *Word* document;
5. Divide the data creating two content files: *txt.* for language, *jpeg.* for images;
6. Label systematically both files and file them in a designated folder;
7. Creation of files in UAM Corpus and Image Tools, along with tagged folders;
8. Input of both images and language files in their respective software packages.

Recall that news reports were extracted from their websites, with steps 1 and 2 being conducted in *Nexis*, but with the rest of the process performed in the newspapers' websites after a *Google* search to simplify retrieval (step 3); that is, *Nexis* is employed as a data exploration tool in every previous data exploration and sampling stage, while the actual data collection only considers newspapers' websites. The outcome of this sequence is the creation of two project files (e.g., *The Telegraph* for the period September-October 2015, both for language and image analysis) with around 30 items ready for analysis each. These processes result in twelve files: six for the English newspapers (two files per newspaper

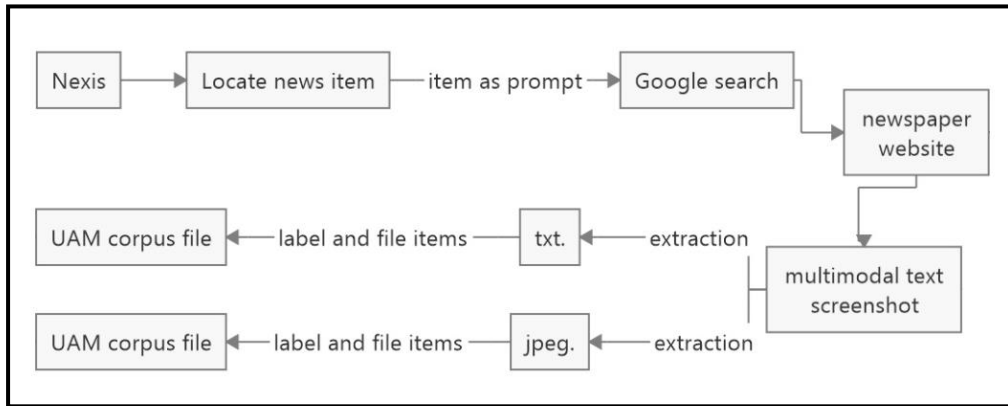
⁵¹ Available at <http://www.corpustool.com/>

⁵² <http://www.wagsoft.com/mick/Contact.html>

per increased reporting period), and six for the Spanish newspapers counterpart. Figure 4.8 visually represents these processes.

Figure 4.8.

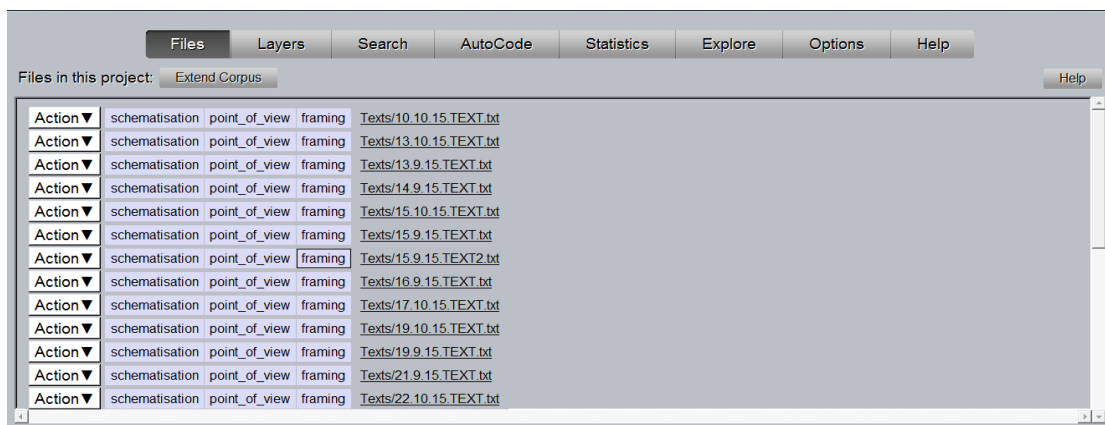
Data management process.



As can be seen in Figure 4.9, in UAM Corpus Tool each text, systematically labelled, appears next to three tabs (*schematisation*, *point of view*, *framing*, see below), which constitute the layers for analysis. By clicking on either tab, a window opens where analysis of the news report is performed.

Figure 4.9.

The Telegraph Sept.- Oct. 2015 file in UAM Corpus Tool.



4.4.1. Data issues and solutions

As indicated above, texts were not downloaded from *Nexis* but, instead, I explored the periods observed in Figure 4.5 using the database interface. I took screenshots from the

original newspapers' websites, and thus the data analysed are the texts available on the newspapers' websites. I proceeded by examining the database while I noted the patterns and search results in *Word* and *Excel* documents. In the final data extraction, the texts accessed in *Nexis* were used as prompts for *Google* searches that gave access to the actual news item in its respective setting. I operated this way for several reasons.

First, while *Nexis* provides the language in the news item, the rest of the data (i.e. images) is missing. Also, in some cases the text available in *Nexis* is not exactly the text available on the newspaper website, with different underlying factors creating a split between British and Spanish newspapers. Because the objects for analysis in this thesis are the multimodal texts available in the newspapers' unrestricted access websites (subject to editorial changes after its uploading to *Nexis*), the texts available in *Nexis* do not constitute a public discourse.

Due to the way *Nexis* processes news items, texts uploaded to *Nexis* are those produced on the day of the publication of a given news item. Importantly, the articles available for *The Guardian* and *The Telegraph* are uploaded from their websites, while the articles from Spanish newspapers are transcribed and uploaded from their print versions. The frequencies in reporting appreciated in Figure 4.5 above reflect other factors involved: *The Guardian* and *The Telegraph* use one online news genre/format denominated 'rolling coverage' in which the same news item can be updated and uploaded to *Nexis* several times in one day. The cumulative effect of this reporting format explains the much higher number of reports for *The Guardian* and *The Telegraph*, due to the fact that for Spanish newspapers news items are only uploaded once, while for British newspapers the same news item can be repeated (due to updates) on *Nexis* hundreds of times.

The fact that Spanish news items are uploaded from their print versions required further actions to ensure internal validity and hence the robustness of sampling and analytical processes. One main issue is the reliability of the articles that appear on *Nexis*. I also employed the newspapers' websites integrated search tools and examined the results for the semantic tags 'refugiados', 'crisis de refugiados europea' and 'inmigración'.⁵³ This process enabled me to locate news reports that did not appear on *Nexis*. Importantly, for the month of November *Nexis* results discriminated important events that were only

⁵³ I arrived to these semantic tags by means of examining reports covering central events in the RC (e.g., Aylan Kurdi's death). Other tags (e.g. 'emigración') were tested but results were subsumed under the tag 'inmigración'.

available by means of these further searches. In the month of November, once I examined the results in the newspapers' websites, I noticed that a majority of news items on *Nexis* actually belonged to October, which led me to extend the search to the month of December in *Nexis*. This process yielded further missing items. These issues affected both *El Mundo* and *El País* due to their uploading procedures.

Consequently, this meant that the reliability of *Nexis* results only applies to British newspapers, while the actual reporting of Spanish newspapers can only be appreciated by comparing *Nexis* results with further queries in the newspapers' websites. This made the sampling process more laborious and dependent on my systematic examination. Despite this, the patterns observed in the shape of spikes in Figure 4.5 above *do* indicate the foci of attention of newspapers, only that the sampling process differs to ensure internal validity.

When comparing results between Spanish and British newspapers in terms of frequency, however, these factors do not allow me to establish direct comparisons. This method enables me to analyse and compare patterns in terms of event-construal, but it does not aim at this stage to establish relationships beyond this that would require normalised data. Consequently, this sampling process does not allow me to discuss representation patterns with the reliability that CLing methods would. Due to the qualitative, exploratory and comparative nature of this project, in as much as the newspapers within the same country can be compared under the same circumstances and parameters (conceptual domains and construal operations), the reliability of the findings and the internal validity of the research remains unaffected. Despite differences in sampling, the process detailed above ensured the internal validity of the design and the reliability of the findings of this investigation.

4.5. Functional regions for analysis

The analysis focuses on specific regions/areas within news reports (Figure 4.10). This project examines the linguistic and imagistic realisations/enactors of viewpoint, metaphor and schematisation exclusively in the (a) headline, (b) subheading, (c) image, (d) caption, and (e) lead paragraph of news reports. These regions are designed as typical loci of attention for readers/viewers (Holsanova & Nord, 2010) and are displayed in newspapers

following the principles of dual scripting and spatial contiguity, not only attracting reader/viewer's attention but also promoting longer and deeper processing of these elements (Holsanova et al. 2005). This is also strongly related to the relatively large size of these elements and their position within the layout of news reports (Holmqvist & Wartenberg, 2005, p. 15). Headlines and images are especially salient elements as they constitute potential entry points to news reports, providing a condensation of informative and evaluative features, and activating relevant knowledge structures for news processing (van Dijk, 2012). Subheadings and lead paragraphs are focal points as they tend to elaborate the information in the headings, and lead paragraphs provide an overview of the content of the report overall (Bell, 1996).

Figure 4.10.

Elements for analysis in The Guardian, 10 Sept. 2015.

Record number of refugees enter Hungary amid border crackdown fears A

Hungarian police say 3,221 people entered country from Serbia on Wednesday in advance of new border controls expected next week B

 C

▲ Refugees pass a barbed wire fence in Röszke, Hungary. Photograph: Laszlo Balogh/Reuters D

A record number of migrants and refugees crossed into Hungary on Wednesday, according to official figures, amid fears that Viktor Orbán's government is preparing a sweeping border crackdown. E

Key: A = Headline B = Subheading C = Image D = Caption E = Lead paragraph

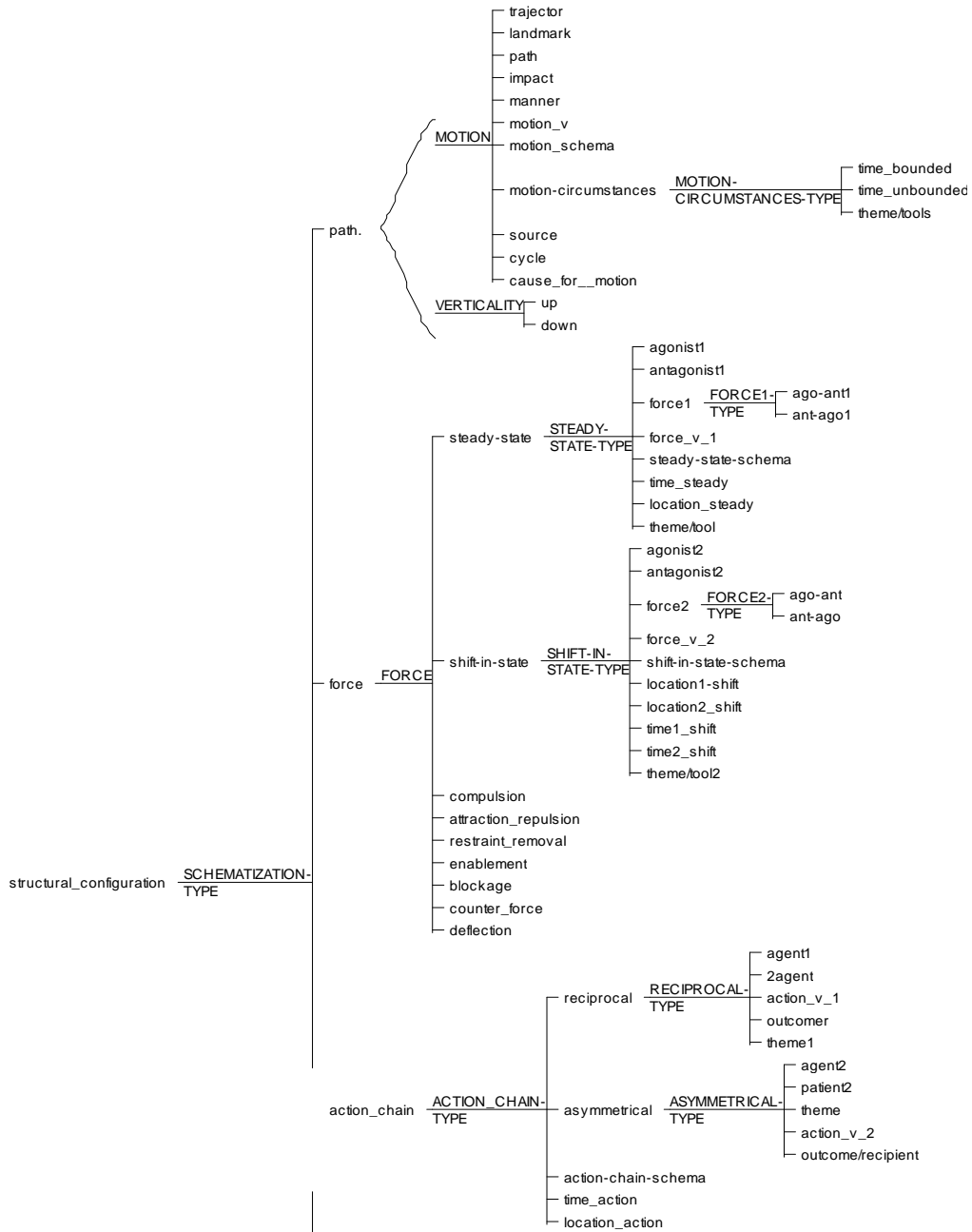
This selection also reflects design principles and multimedia affordances. These regions (along with other excluded from analysis, i.e. adverts) are readily available when visualising online newspapers in any given standard PC screen. In Systemic Functional-Multimodal Discourse Analysis, *lexia* stands for the scrollable webpage (Kok Kum Chiew, 2004), which is constituted by *items* (the *functional regions* under study here). In my approach *screen* stands for the section of a *lexia* available on a physical PC screen, where the five regions indicated above are typically available to the reader/viewer in the first two screens.

4.6. Data analysis

Once the data has been input in the software packages, the layers for analysis are created or transferred from another project file. UAM Annotation Corpus/Image Tools provides layers based on SFL categories (e.g., Appraisal Theory), but due to my CL-based approach I created the layers myself. Stemming from the SFL-oriented nature of the annotation tools, the appearance of the layers is that of a system network (Figure 4.11). Both language and image annotation tools employ the same layers, reflecting the theoretical stance detailed in Chapter 3.

Figure 4.11.

Schematisation layer in UAM Corpus Annotation Tool.



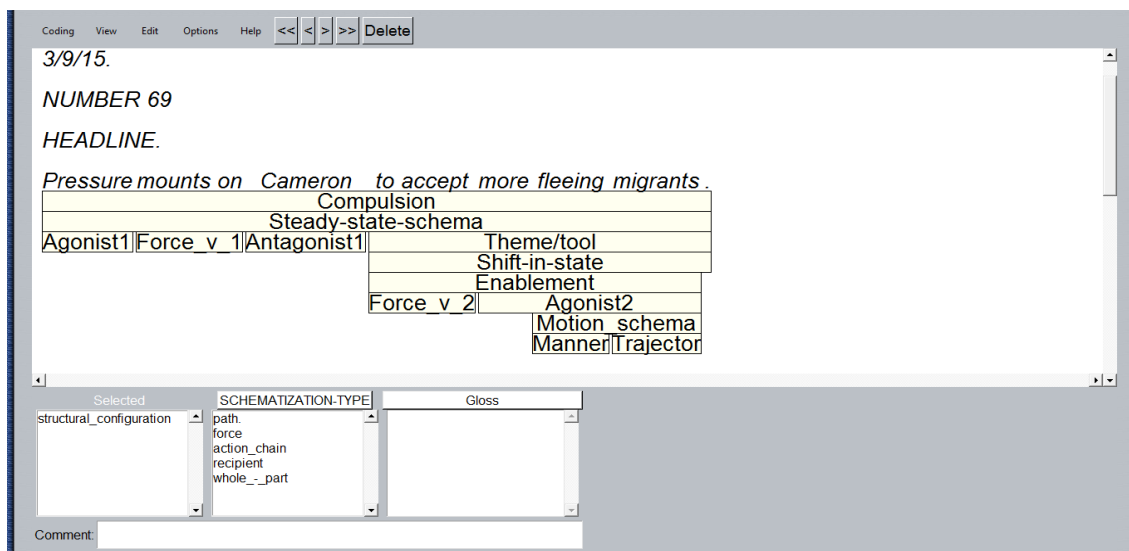
4.6.1. Language analysis

UAM Corpus Tool allows for different visualisations of the data and its coding, of which I used a ‘box’ format. The first step is opening a file under a specific layer. Once clicked on, a window opens where the analysis can be performed. Using the mouse pointer, I enclose the section of the sentence I want to code, and the coding scheme appears in

‘boxes’ at the bottom of the window. The sentence elements highlighted generate a box underneath them in a cumulative fashion, with the coding category inside such box.

Figure 4.12.

Schematisation tagging in The Telegraph, 3 Sept. 2015.



One advantage of UAM annotation tools is that it can run both descriptive and inferential statistics. The coding performed by the analyst accumulates and is then available for further analysis, although in this thesis I only employ descriptive statistics to describe general patterns in reporting as enacted through the realisation of the construal operations identified (see 4.7).

The coding performed on texts identifies instances of the strategies of structural configuration, framing and perspective. The linguistic devices deploying such strategies are denominated ‘enactors’ throughout. CL categories provide the means to arrive to the *basic semantic description* of the events. These schematic categories index the different mental processes potentially required for the processing of the news report. These categories are by no means exhaustive, and are designed to provide enough refinement for subsequent analytical moves. In a second stage, I arrive to a *situated interpretation*, considering different contextual levels (Fairclough, 1995a). Once I reach a basic semantic description of the text, I intend to find a relation between the conceptual intake of the event representation and its potential ideological effect(s) in the audience.

For **schematisation**, the analytical process of any given sentence/clause complex follows this sequence:

- (1) Identification of potential enactors, primarily a verb form, and segmentation of clause complexes;
- (2) Formulation of hypotheses about the event-structure invoked by the verb form(s);
- (3) Initial coding of the elements *profiled* in the event responding to its image-schematic topological structure;
- (4) Interpretation of the semantic description in the light of its immediate discursive context;
- (5) Evaluation of the process and reformulation of (2) (if necessary).

The systematic coding of a news report constitutes a semantic description of the events as they are represented in the text, and is interpreted conjointly and in a cumulative fashion. I consider the report constructed *as a whole*, as an informed interpretation relies not only on the conceptual base of the events depicted within its immediate context, but also on the implicit or explicit relations between the different elements that emerge in the interpretation process of a multimodal text.

For **viewpoint**:

- (1) Identification of potential enactors, such as spatial deictic forms;
- (2) Formulation of hypotheses about the viewpoint(s) invoked by the elements/constructions identified;
- (3) Initial coding of the elements/constructions perspectivizing the event in relation to its image-schematic topological structure;
- (4) Interpretation of the semantic description in the light of its immediate linguistic context;
- (5) Evaluation of the process and reformulation of (2) (if necessary).

It is important to emphasise that schematisation analysis precedes viewpoint analysis, as step (3) implies. Schematisation analysis establishes the basic semantic description of the event represented, with viewpoint analysis followed by it, because schematisation inherently comes with a point of view (see Chapter 3). Schematisation analysis broadly responds to the question ‘what type of event is represented, and how?’, while viewpoint

analysis answers to the question ‘how is the event perspectivized?’ Viewpoint analysis employs the categories of the layer for viewpoint, which contains the coding schemes for the three categories DISTANCE, ANGLE and ANCHORING.

Last, identifying **metaphor** is not particularly straightforward as it is not enacted by specific grammatical elements but is rather instantiated in whole expressions in a particular context (Lakoff, 1987). The metaphorical sense of a word in a given context can only be considered metaphorical if that effect is a function “of the other denotations and referents in the phrase or expression in which it occurs” (Hart, 2010, p. 129).

Several protocols for metaphor identification have been proposed, among them the Metaphor Identification Procedure (*MIP*, Pragglejaz Group, 2007), further refined as the MIPVU (Steen et al., 2010). In this project I employ Charteris-Black’s (2004) identification method due to its ease of application to discourse representation. Charteris-Black (2004, pp. 20–22) indicates three levels of criteria for defining metaphor: linguistic, pragmatic and cognitive. At the linguistic level, a metaphor is a word or combination of words that generates semantic strain through (1) reification, (2) personification or (3) depersonification. Reification occurs when an abstract entity, relation, situation, event or process is referred to “using a word or phrase that in other contexts refers to something that is concrete” (Charteris-Black, 2004, p. 21). Personification occurs when inanimate objects are referred to with words or phrases which tend to refer to human beings. In depersonification, human beings are referred to by “using a word or phrase that in other contexts refers to something that is inanimate” (ibid). At the pragmatic level, Charteris-Black (2004, p. 21) defines metaphor as “an incongruous linguistic representation that has the underlying purpose of influencing opinions and judgements.” At the cognitive level, metaphor is a complex phenomenon illustratively discussed in the previous paragraphs. This way, in this thesis I identify metaphor due to the perceived semantic tension of linguistic expressions in context, and I combine the three levels of criteria to justify my analytical choices. Note that in this thesis I only examine metaphorical expressions of CMs that construe RASIM with the (potential) purpose of swaying readers’ views on the RC overall, and on migration more specifically. Those metaphors that are not deemed ideologically relevant are not included in analysis.

The analysis of metaphor is built on the CMs already identified in the literature (Chapter 3, sub-section 3.4.3), however it was assumed that other CMs might be ideologically

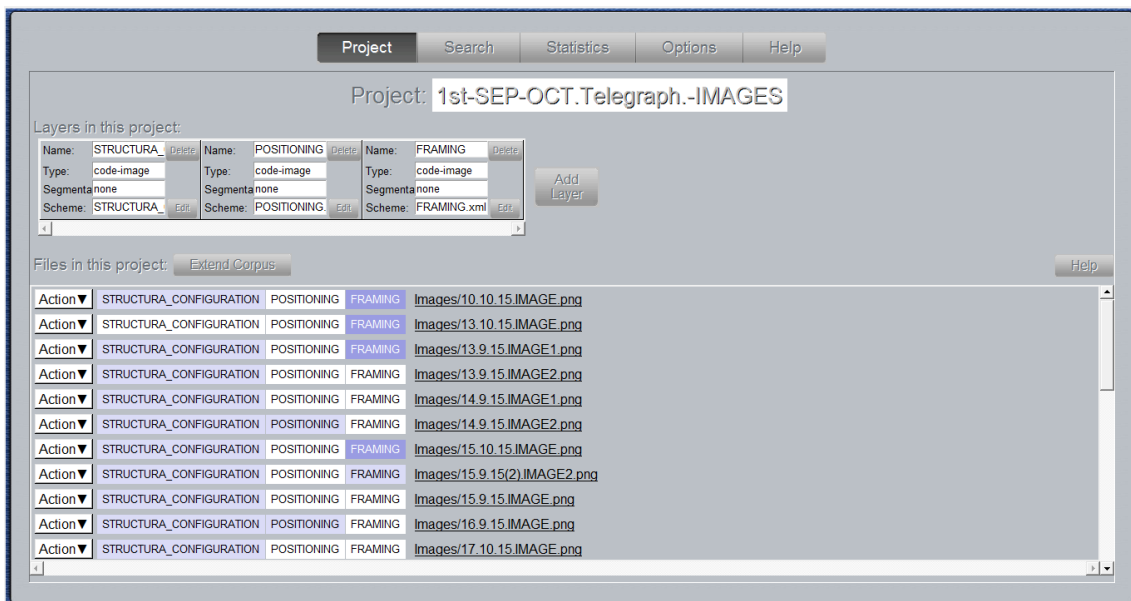
important and common. Consequently, the layer for metaphor was expanded and refined. This expansion was performed by adding to the layer further CMs whose expressions were found in a pilot study in the early stages of this project.⁵⁴ The CMs added were extracted from the second edition of the *Master Metaphor List* (Lakoff et al., 1991).

4.6.2. Image analysis

The layers employed for analysis in UAM Image Tool are identical to those used for language, reflecting the theoretical perspective explained in Chapter 3. The analysis of images is similar albeit with some modifications. As for similarities, the software appearance and procedures are virtually the same (Figure 4.13). The use of statistics follows the same rationale as for language: the coding progressively accumulates and allows for the discussion of patterns of representation extracted via descriptive statistics.

Figure 4.13.

The Telegraph *Sept.-Oct. 2015* project in UAM Image Tool.

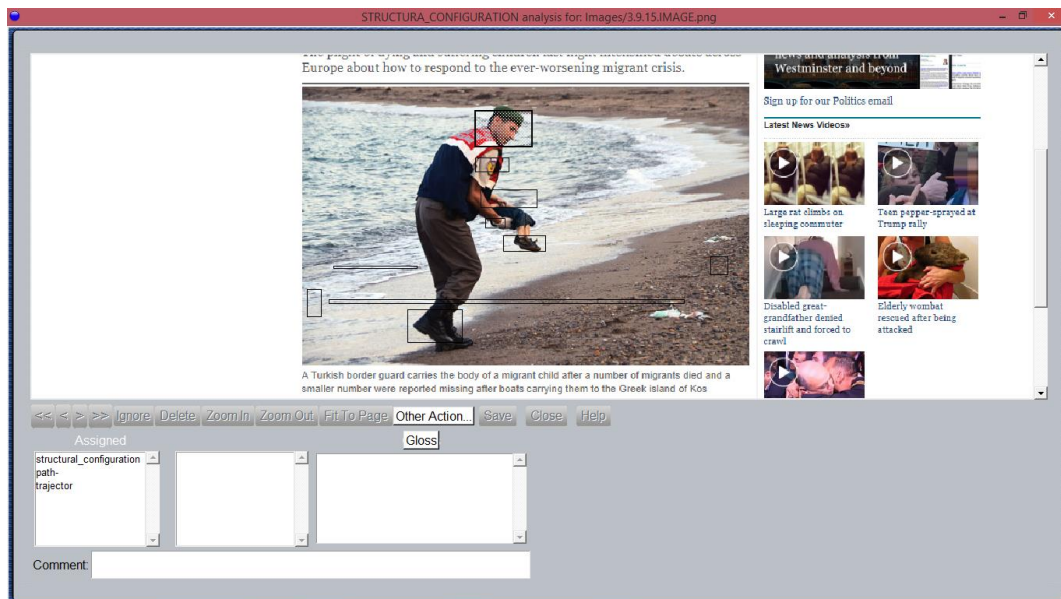


As for differences, the coding is realised here on images rather than on written language. The interface is similar (Figure 4.14), however the analyst encloses areas of an image rather than words/constructions.

⁵⁴ I conducted a pilot study of *The Telegraph* and *The Guardian* for the period September–October 2015. That pilot study enabled me to reconceptualise and refine the layers for analysis, including the expansion of the CMs initially available for analysis.

Figure 4.14.

Schematisation image coding for The Telegraph, 3 Sept. 2015.



As for the conceptualisation of the analytical process itself, I follow similar steps as with language, with some modifications.

For **schematisation**:

- (1) Identification of potential event(s) depicted in the photograph,⁵⁵
- (2) Identification of visual elements potentially construing the event(s) structure identified;
- (3) Initial coding of elements;
- (4) Interpretation of the semantic description in the light of its immediate visual context;
- (5) Evaluation of the process and reformulation of (2) and/or (3) (if necessary).

In Figure 4.14, a CAUSED-MOTION event can be identified in which a border guard (Antagonist) carries Aylan Kurdi's body (Agonist). The different 'boxes' on the image encapsulate event-structure elements. The main difference in relation to language analysis is the visual mode and its affordances (Chapter 3, sub-section 3.3.3). While analysing language entails the description of linguistic realisations sustained by and invoking

⁵⁵ This applies to visuals including graphics, or to compositions of images.

different cognitive capacities, which constitute the event's semantic description, image analysis lends itself to a somewhat 'more direct' analysis. In analysing images, the analyst directly describes, in CL terminology, the event(s) represented in a given scene. So, for example, in the CAUSED-MOTION event identified in Figure 4.14, an Antagonist is depicted in the process of moving an Agonist.

On a theoretical note, while language necessarily *construes* events, images are often taken to perform a more documentary function in capturing events *as they happened*. However, images still present a particular version of events in the content they 'choose' to depict, the angles and distance etc. from which it is depicted, and the way it is framed (anchored) by language. Such construal can, of course, be ideologically biased, and thus construes a specific representation of a specific episode from a specific viewpoint within a complex event (Machin, 2007; Bednarek & Caple, 2012). Methodologically, while there might be room for disagreement on what viewpoints are linguistically enacted, this is not the case for visual viewpoint as it is an inherent feature. This in turn is inextricably connected to images and their affordances (Stöckl, 2004; Chapter 3, sub-section 3.3.3), the iconic nature of images and their affordances are responsible for this ease in analysis. Image analysis does not specifically require high level hypothesising: the event (and its perspectivization) are readily available and, crucially, in most occasions specified (or *anchored*, Barthes, 1977) in its accompanying caption.

For **viewpoint**:

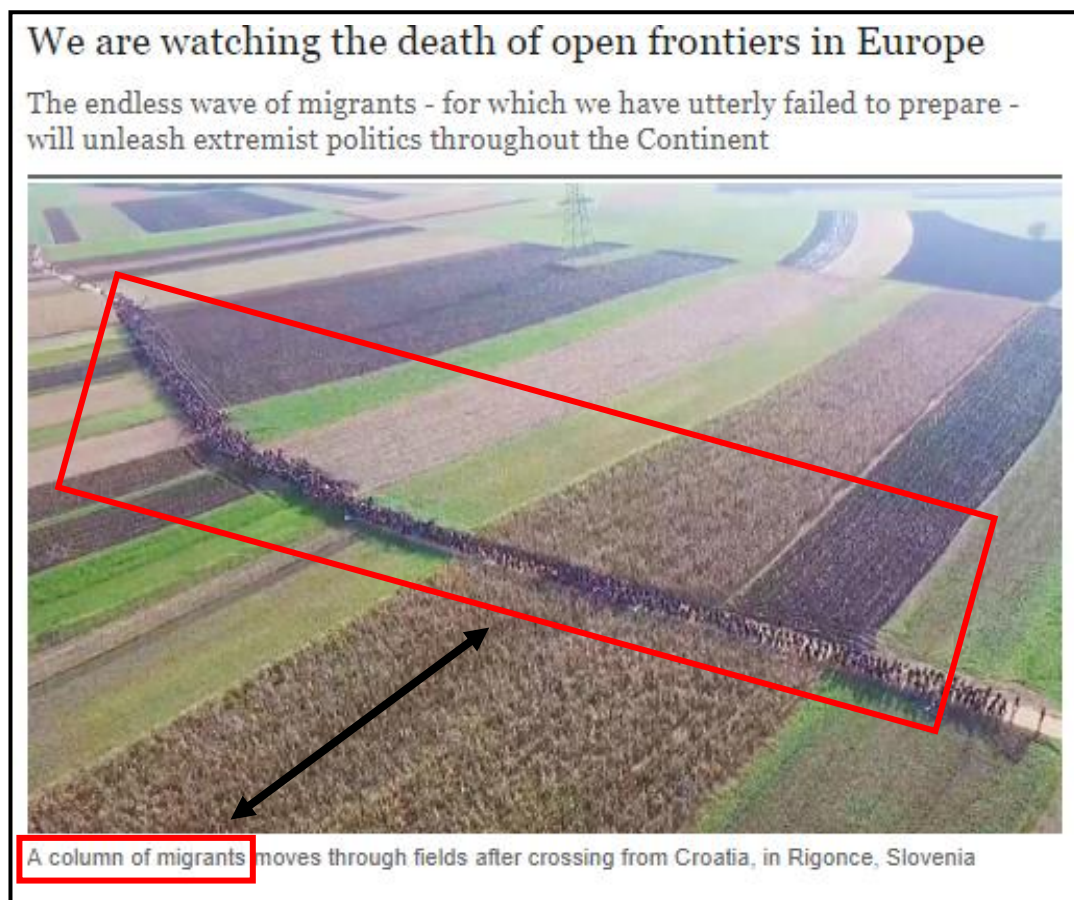
- (1) Identification of potential visual elements perspectivizing the event (e.g social actors' orientation with respect to the visual framing);
- (2) Initial coding of the elements perspectivizing the event in relation to its image-schematic topological structure;
- (3) Interpretation of the semantic description in the light of its immediate visual context;
- (4) Evaluation of the process and reformulation of (2) (if necessary).

Viewpoint analysis is somewhat direct: there is categorically a viewpoint presented by an image and that viewpoint is discernible by the analyst without much room for disagreement. The analyst is presented with a visual point of view (in the three parameters examined) and the analysis involves describing the viewpoint enacted in the image.

Metaphor analysis is more complex and requires higher-level hypothesizing. Due to the genre under analysis, news reports, I do not expect to find hybrid metaphors (Forceville, 2008), but rather I expect to find contextual visual metaphors, holistic visual metaphors, and situationally triggered multimodal metaphors (see Chapter 3, sub-section 3.3.2.1). When analysing potential visual/multimodal metaphors, I focus on those visual elements that can be understood to be represented in terms of another, or that can invoke alternative readings in the visual context in which they appear.

Figure 4.15.

The Telegraph, 26 Oct. 2015.



For instance, Figure 4.15⁵⁶ can be seen to instantiate a multimodal metaphor (Forceville, 2008). The expression ‘a column of migrants’ in the caption is consistent (expressed by the double arrow) with the visual depiction of the group of RASIM, and it is potentially consistent, by means of *structural resemblance* (Hart & Mármol Queraltó, 2021), with

⁵⁶ See Hart and Mármol Queraltó (2021) for a discussion.

the CM IMMIGRANTS ARE SOLDIERS (Santa Ana, 1999). The analysis of possible⁵⁷ multimodal metaphors demands expanding the scope of immediate analysis to identify linguistic elements/expressions potentially invoking a metaphorical L-I relation, considering the caption to the image but also the headline, subheading and lead paragraph of the news report.

4.6.3. *Language-Image relations*

Multimodal analysis considers news reports as multi-layered semiotic artefacts (Bateman, 2008) exhibiting genre-constrained L-I relations (Bateman, 2014; Stöckl, 2004). This stage critically unpacks the (potentially convergent) patterns available within the multimodal text. This stage comprises three steps: (1) analysis and description of the linguistic text and images within a given news report; (2) analysis of possible image-caption relations, including visual/multimodal metaphor (Forceville, 2008), metonymy (Littlemore, 2015), and intersemiotic convergence (Hart & Mármol Queraltó, 2021); and (3) interpretation and discussion of such relations within the multimodal text. Steps (2) and (3) are devised to explore in detail the possible levels of L-I relations within news reports; step (2) focuses on image-caption relations, while (3) incorporates the other functional regions (see 4.5).

In multimodal analysis, the semantic descriptions and situated interpretations of language and image feed into the overall structural and rhetorical configuration of the report. The extraction of these features, along with the application of the principles pointed out in Chapter 3, allow me to discover new ways of identifying instances of L-I relations. The focus of this thesis at this stage is on L-I relations, more specifically on the relations between images and their captions.

As a starting point, the coding from previous analytical stages enables me to account for the level of *congruency* between these two elements. The semantic description of the linguistic and imagistic devices enacting positioning, framing, and structural configuration discourse strategies are critically compared. This stage involves

⁵⁷ Not all readers may find visual representations as metaphorical, as visual/multimodal metaphors often rely for their recognition on certain background knowledge, including intertextual references made in the image.

investigating if there are (in)congruent relationships between image and caption. Consequently, I discuss potential relationships relying on the frameworks mentioned above and expand the interpretation including the other regions analysed.

An overarching goal of this thesis is the operationalisation of L-I relations analysis from a cognitive perspective, whose outcome would constitute a typology of L-I relations with different levels of intersemiotic convergence (Hart & Mármol Queralto, 2021). However, the primary intended outcomes are: (a) a description of the possible relations available for the audience in the multimodal text, more specifically image-caption relations, and (b) a critical interpretation of the role of those relations within the actual news report and in relation to the representation of RASIM.

4.7. General frequencies and distribution in the data

This research examines patterns of event-construal during the RC instantiated in the domains of MOTION, ACTION and FORCE. Every clause and image in news reports were analysed and coded as belonging to either domain (see 4.6), while those events that were schematised in other domains, or that were not directly related to events unfolding during the RC were ignored in the coding stage. This means that the coding of the data exclusively includes patterns of representation within these three domains.

Figure 4.16.

Frequency and distribution of schematisation in language.

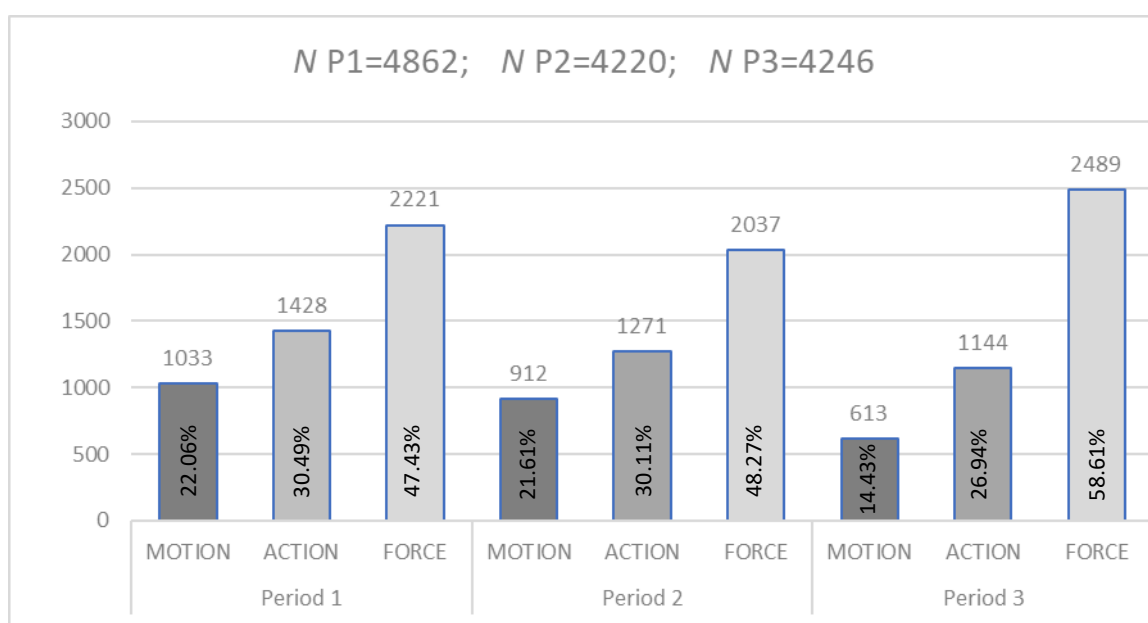


Figure 4.16 shows the relative frequencies of schematisation coding in language across periods, in relation to the total of units coded per period. These frequencies are explored for each domain in the next three chapters. It can be seen that Force-dynamic schemas are the most frequent in the data, with Action-Chain and Motion behind them. The relative frequency of Action-Chain schemas is rather steady, only decreasing by less than 4% in period 3, but Motion schemas display a more marked decrease of almost 8% in comparison with period 1. Force-dynamic schemas display in period 3 an increase of more than 10% in relation to period 1, making it the most common domain employed to construe events during the RC across periods and newspapers.

Figure 4.17.

Frequency and distribution of schematisation in images.

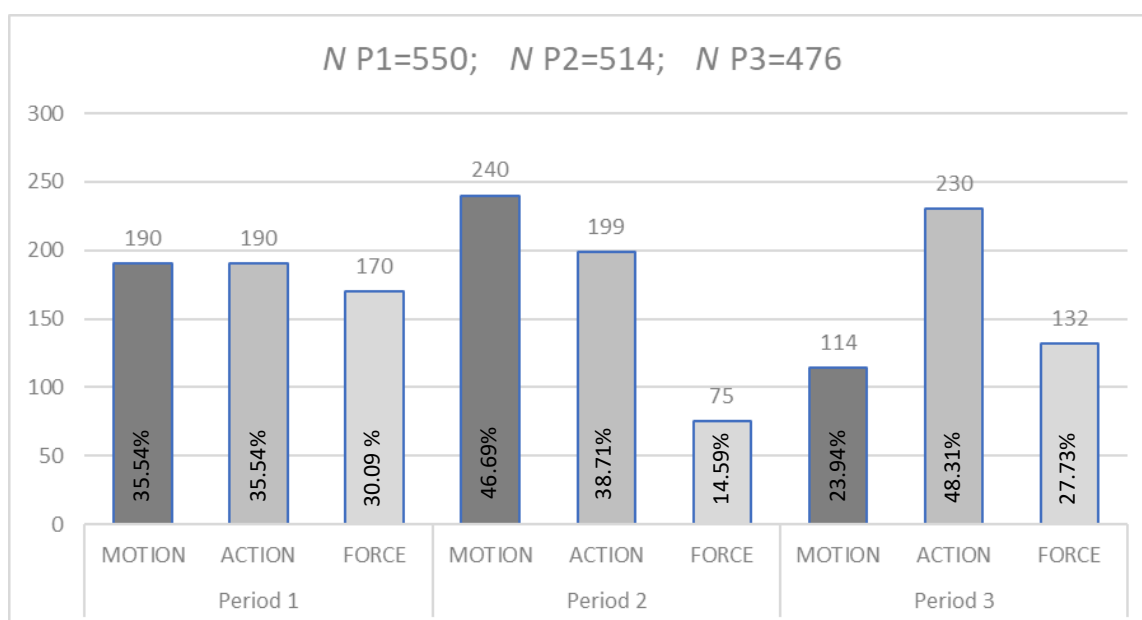


Figure 4.17 shows the relative frequencies of schematisation coding in images across periods, in relation to the total of units coded per period. The relative frequencies are rather different to those found in language, with important fluctuations explored in chapters 5-7, where events schematised within the domain of ACTION are the most common, followed by the domain of MOTION. Interestingly, FORCE is the domain within which events were construed the least, in contrast with the patterns found in language. Such patterns index, at least at a general level, a marked degree of intersemiotic incongruity (Hart & Märmol Queraltó, 2021). This is examined in detail in each chapter due to the ideological ramifications that such incongruity might entail.

4.8. Chapter summary

This chapter has described the data collection, downsizing and sampling, and analytical processes conducted in this thesis. Section 4.1 located the newspapers under examination within their respective ecologies to provide the necessary background for further analytical moves. Sections 4.2 and 4.3 described the data exploration, collection, downsizing and sampling processes. Section 4.4 focused on data management, describing the final data extraction and its inputting in software packages, alongside a discussion of data issues and solutions. Section 4.5 indicated the functional regions in news reports selected for close analysis. The sub-sections in 4.6. detailed the analytical processes of language (4.6.1), images (4.6.2) and L-I relations (4.6.3). Last, Section 4.7 indicated the general distribution patterns in the data

These methods and processes are designed to extract the most relevant ideological patterns observed in the representation of RASIM events during the RC. I employ CLing methods (Baker et al., 2008) to generate a corpus map and identify significant increased reporting periods, I anchor the analysis of socially-situated texts within the field of CDS, and I employ CL as theory of language and cognition. The robustness of this approach is further enhanced by the critical analysis and comparison of news reports in both the Spanish and British media, implementing both linguistic and image analysis to assess the role of both in the representation of RASIM events during the RC.

PART III

Chapter 5. MOTION in the Refugee Crisis

5.0. Chapter overview

This chapter presents the findings of the Motion patterns observed in the representation of the Refugee Crisis (RC henceforth). In section 5.1, the main distributional patterns of Motion schemas are compared across modes, newspapers and countries. Section 5.2 presents relevant Motion patterns observed in language, focusing on how the elements in Motion schemas can be instantiated in ideologically vested ways. Section 5.3 mirrors section 5.2 with a focus on images, while section 5.4 discusses Language-Image (L-I) configurations and their potential ideological import.

5.1. Motion schemas distribution across the data

Motion schemas in the data represent, mainly,⁵⁸ events in which RASIM move between locations, or Static-Motion (BE_{LOC}, Talmy, 2000) events in which people are represented in terms of where they are located. Arguably, Motion schemas draw readers' attention to the 'journey' aspect of the RC, and this may be associated with more humanitarian discourses. It is therefore expected that newspapers with a more liberal editorial line will make greater use of Motion schemas. Enactors of schematisation, viewpoint and metaphor are (partially) responsible for the mental representations of Motion events invoked in the minds of readers, and are examined concomitantly. This is because event conceptualisations come with a point of view value and because Figures and Manners of Motion, for instance, may be construed metaphorically. Also, I highlight both converging and diverging patterns across modes and newspapers, as they potentially carry ideological implications.

5.1.1. Motion schemas in language and images

Due to the inherent nature of the RC as *fundamentally* a migratory process, it was expected to find a relatively high number of events schematised as Motion. However, the results paint a different picture. The variation between newspapers and countries can be

⁵⁸ The Caused-Motion construction is interpreted from a Force-dynamics perspective, see Chapter 7.

explained by different interrelated factors (see 5.1.2), but let us examine overall frequency and distributional patterns first.

Table 5.1 indicates the relative frequency of Motion schemas in relation to the selected increased reporting periods and newspapers. The percentages are calculated against the overall results that include Motion, Action-Chain and Force schemas (see Chapter 4). The overlaps/discrepancies in time periods are ignored to compare findings within the whole Motion dataset, which is comprised of all instances of Motion schemas in the corpora.

Table 5.1.

Relative frequencies of Motion schemas compared to Action and Force.

Corpus	Period 1: Total N Language=4682 Total N Images=550				Period 2: Total N Language=4220 Total N Images=514				Period 3: Total N Language=4246 Total N Images=476			
MOTION	N	Language	N	Images	N	Language	N	Images	N	Language	N	Images
<i>The Telegraph</i>	273	20.43%	76	39.37%	183	16.97%	47	37.3%	93	9.54%	30	25.86%
<i>The Guardian</i>	276	25.36%	41	57.75%	145	14.22%	59	56.19%	136	14.7%	27	32.14%
<i>El Mundo</i>	224	22.41%	29	22.13%	276	28.9%	67	51.14%	212	16.91%	32	21.47%
<i>El País</i>	260	22.98%	44	28.2%	308	26.36%	67	44.07%	172	15.72%	25	19.68%
Total N	1033		190		912		240		613		114	
Average %		22.06%		35.54%		21.61%		46.69%		14.43%		23.94%

In period 1, where Spanish and British newspapers' reporting periods overlap in September, *The Guardian*, with just over 25% of events linguistically schematised as Motion, displays the highest proportion of Motion schemas, also in images with just under 58% of photographs construing events in terms of Motion. *The Telegraph*'s proportion of Motion schemas is proportionally lower, with 20.43% of events linguistically schematised as Motion, and with almost 40% of images encoding Motion. *The Telegraph* construes Motion events in images 25% less than *The Guardian*, which entails that overall *The Telegraph* encoded in the majority of images included in news reports for that period Action-Chain and Force construals. This pattern also indicates that there is a positive correlation between Motion in language and Motion in images:⁵⁹ the higher the percentage of events schematised as Motion in language, the higher the percentage of events schematised as Motion in images. At this level, these patterns indicate a tendency

⁵⁹ Except for *El Mundo*, which does not display this relationship in the first period.

toward intersemiotic convergence (Hart & Marmol Queralto, 2021). That trend is constant throughout the three periods, although *The Guardian* in the first period and *El Mundo* in the second period stand out as the newspapers with the highest number of events schematised as Motion in both language and images.

In period 2,⁶⁰ Spanish newspapers display the highest frequency of Motion schemas, with both newspapers linguistically schematising events as Motion in more than 27% of occurrences. The same applies to images, where *El Mundo* schematises almost half of the events depicted in photos as Motion, and *El País* does so in over 40% of the images for that period.

Last, in period 3 we observe a sharp decrease in the relative frequency of events schematised as Motion. Spanish newspapers' schematisations of Motion decrease more than 10% in language, with a sharper in images; the frequency in *El País* decreases by 20%, and by 28% in *El Mundo*. Conversely, in British newspapers this decrease is not as sharp in language (8% decrease for *The Telegraph* and none for *The Guardian*), however the frequency of events schematised as Motion in images does display steeper decrease, especially in *The Guardian* where the decrease is over 15%.

It emerges that the second increased reporting period is in relative terms the period that gathered the highest proportion of Motion events. *The Guardian* stands out as the newspaper most often schematising events both linguistically and visually in terms of Motion, in contrast with *The Telegraph*. This focus on the 'journey' aspect of the RC may reflect a more humanitarian and/or sympathetic depiction of RASIM, in contrast with *The Telegraph* that chose to construe events in terms of Force-dynamics and Action much more frequently, hence representing RASIM in a majority of cases in situations other than travelling to/through Europe.

5.1.2. Motion in British vs. Spanish newspapers

Table 5.1 requires further examination. Within British newspapers, a decreasing trend is observed in the proportion of representations involving Motion: *The Telegraph*'s reporting in terms of Motion decreases from 19.6% in language and 35% in images in the

⁶⁰ Period 2 for Spanish newspapers overlaps with Period 1 for British newspapers.

first period, to 9.7% in language and 25.6% in images in the third period. *The Guardian*, except for a slightly higher proportion of Motion in language in the third period in comparison to the second, follows a parallel distribution. Conversely, Spanish newspapers find the highest proportion of events schematised as Motion in the second period. Let us remember that the second increased reporting period for Spanish newspaper includes October, November and December, where October overlaps with the first increased reporting period selected for British newspapers. This explains the relative frequencies as the month of October encompasses a high proportion of events schematised as Motion.

Table 5.2.

Motion schemas frequency in British vs. Spanish newspapers.

Corpus	Domain			
	<i>Mode</i>			
	MOTION			
	<i>Language</i>		<i>Images</i>	
	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>
<i>British newspapers</i>	1106	16.77%	280	34.03%
<i>Spanish newspapers</i>	1452	21.78%	264	31.14%
Total N	2558		544	
Average %	19.28%		32.58%	

Table 5.2 displays the average frequency of events schematised as Motion in British vs. Spanish newspapers in language and images. Considering the whole dataset in relation to Action-Chain and Force-dynamic schemas, Motion events account for almost 20% of cases in language, while they account for almost 33% of events in images. Thus, marginally under a fifth of the linguistic data for this project has been coded as Motion, while the proportion is much higher in images reaching just under a third of occurrences.

These proportions are important because they indicate the newspapers' tendencies to represent the RC as primarily a migratory process, or conversely, as the patterns indicate,

more often as complex Force-dynamics and Action-Chain event-sequences that background up to a certain point the fundamental, motion-oriented nature of the RC.

There are further differences between the patterns found in Spanish vs. British newspapers. The average total of Motion in language is 16.77% for British newspapers and 21.78% for the Spanish newspapers, while in images the average total is 34.03% and 31.14% respectively. This indicates that average representational patterns are reversed when comparing Motion in language vs. images in Spanish vs. British newspapers. British newspapers display the lowest proportion of Motion events in language and the highest proportion in images, whereas Spanish newspapers present the opposite pattern. Overall, Spanish newspapers schematise linguistically events as Motion more often (5% more than British newspapers), while British newspapers display a higher proportion of images representing Motion (3% more than Spanish newspapers). These patterns indicate that there is a higher degree of intersemiotic convergence between linguistic and imagistic representations in Spanish newspapers, and thus British newspapers display a relative higher degree of incongruency. Such differences in the British dataset indicate that while visually the RC was often construed as Motion, linguistically the RC was much more frequently construed within the domains of FORCE and ACTION. Next, I report findings on the patterns found in language.

5.2. Motion in language

The semantic elements in Motion schemas include (1) Figure, (2) Ground, (3) Motion, (4) Path (and its portions; Source, Trajectory and Goal) and (5) Manner (Talmy, 2000). The findings are presented discussing the instantiations of (1)-(5) in Motion construals. The discussion is enriched by viewpoint and metaphor analysis, which are reported concomitantly.

5.2.1. Motion events and routes in focus

In Chapter 1 I indicated the main migratory routes during the RC (UNHCR, 2017):

- a) The Eastern Mediterranean route (Turkey to Greece);

- b) The Western Balkans route (Greece to Austria and Germany, through North Macedonia, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Slovenia and Hungary);
- c) Central Mediterranean route (North Africa to Italy);
- d) Western Mediterranean route (North Africa to Spain);
- e) Western African route (North-West Africa to Canary Islands, Spain).

The routes newspapers covered were generally (a) the Eastern Mediterranean route (with a focus on arrivals to the Greek islands), and (b) the Western Balkans route, on which newspapers reported the difficulties for RASIM to reach Northern European countries.

The relative focus of newspapers evolves, partially reflecting the migratory process. During August-December 2015, newspapers focus on arrivals to Greece and on the increasing amount of people using the Western Balkans route trying to reach North European countries (namely Germany) before winter. Due to the political events in relation to migratory processes (e.g., the Brexit referendum campaign), including the establishment of the EU quota system for the sharing of duties of care towards RASIM, and the EU-Turkey agreement for the ‘control’ of the number of RASIM entering Europe, the reporting analysed for 2016 exposes a change in the foci of attention, in which the ‘Jungle’ refugee camp in Calais (North-West of France) and different camps in Greece and North Macedonia gain more attention, the latter as points of departure for RASIM being deported. Overall, in the representation of the RC in terms of Motion, newspapers focus on:

(a) August-December 2015:

- The arrivals to Greece from Turkey, and events at the border (including the Aegean Sea) between both countries;
- The Western Balkans route, with specific refugee camps, border fence controls and train stations as Ground for both Dynamic and Static-Motion events;
- Austria and Germany, and more generally the North of Europe, as final Goals for RASIM.

(b) January-June 2016:⁶¹

- Refugee camps and shelters in European countries, mainly Greece and North Macedonia (mainly Static-Motion events)

⁶¹ The periods observed in 2016 do not include March.

- Calais refugee camp in France and the English Channel, and their potential unfolding situations in relation to Britain in a Brexit scenario
- RASIM's status in Greek and North Macedonian camps, and deportations from Greece to Turkey after the EU-Turkey deal

One notable, relative absence is Syria. Inasmuch as the country is mentioned (e.g., as a classifier preceding RASIM terms), and is an enactor of Path-Source in some Motion events, Syria does not receive the same attention that Turkey, or Greece, receive in their role as 'entry points' to Europe. This indicates a relatively restricted vision of the migratory process. This focus serves to partially remove from the public eye the source and origin of the RC: the Syrian civil war, and other armed conflicts and humanitarian crises in the Middle East more generally. The focus of the reporting is on RASIM's movement, with European countries generally reacting to an overwhelming crisis that is perceived as being inherently 'carried' by RASIM, instead of a more humanitarian representation in which RASIM are forcibly displaced from their homes by war, and ideological repression more generally.

5.2.1.1. Motion events and routes in Spanish vs. British newspapers

Several events came into focus specifically in either Spanish or British newspapers. There are notable exceptions in Spanish newspapers, which include the Western Mediterranean route. There is a focus on the autonomous Spanish cities of Ceuta and Melilla, which constitute enclaves on the north coast of Morocco. The Spanish peninsular territory, which is mostly instantiated as Ground, is also encoded as Path-Trajectory, which RASIM can use to reach Northern European countries. Conversely, when Britain is instantiated in Motion events it is encoded exclusively as Path-Goal, mainly because of the discursive shift observed in reporting which includes the discussion of EU citizens' rights in a, then, looming Brexit referendum. More generally, while Spanish newspapers report Motion in the RC in relation to the political and practical measures that the EU (and several European countries) put in place to, mostly, mitigate the effects of the RC on Europe's economy and societies, British reporting of the RC is, in the first half of 2016, intrinsically connected with the Brexit referendum campaign and EU citizens' migration (cf. Zappettini, 2019).

Rheindorf and Wodak (2018) and Volmer and Karayaki (2018), for the Austrian and German press respectively, document an evolution RASIM representation during the RC, which they link to their respective national contexts through processes of domestication in the mediatization of the RC. It is observed that between British and Spanish newspapers there is substantial variation in reporting that responds both to specific events (including political events external to the RC) affecting either country, and to the perceived salience of some events over others (e.g., the Cologne attacks) that can be related more generally to the changing attitudes towards the RC in each country. This variation is addressed in the next two chapters for both Action-Chain and Force representation, and more generally in the final chapter of this thesis.

Next, the exposition of results and discussion focus on the enactors of Motion elements, while I highlight some of the conceptual dimensions along which alternative construals of a Motion event may vary.

5.2.2. Instantiations of Figure

Figures in the RC embody those entities who are construed as self-directed entities moving between locations, or occupying Grounds in Static-Motion events. The constructions employed, regardless of the period examined and the newspaper, include:

Figure 5.1.

Main enactors of Figure in the data.

- | |
|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Refugees AND/OR migrants- A [COLLECTIVISATION] of [NUMBER] of migrants/refugees- More than [NUMBER] of migrants/refugees/asylum seekers- [WATER METAPHOR] of refugees/migrants- [ILLEGAL] immigrants- [NATIONALITY] migrants/refugees- [A] [REFUGEE/MIGRANT] family/families/child/children |
|---|

Recall that Figures can be construed as bounded vs. unbounded and as uniplex vs. multiplex. Boundedness relates to the referential limit of entities, while PLEXITY concerns whether the scene is conceptualised comprising a number of distinguishable elements (multiplex structure), or whether it is construed as a homogenized mass (uniplex structure; Talmy, 2000). RASIM as Figures tend to be construed as unbounded, multiplex

entities. This is grammatically achieved by deploying nouns with plural inflections without modifiers, where the common instantiations are ‘refugees’ and ‘migrants’. After van Leeuwen (2008), RASIM are functionalised as ‘refugees’, ‘migrants’ or ‘asylum seekers’, who can be collectivised and/or aggregated, and also classified in terms of their country of origin, or in kinship terms. Figures can also be metaphorized (Charteris-Black, 2006), most commonly in term of WATER, where this metaphorical framing, usually imposing uniplex conceptualisations, often co-occurs with countries schematised as Ground and further metaphorized as a CONTAINER.

In the 385 news reports analysed for this project, RASIM are encoded as Figures in a restricted number of ways. The constructions in Figure 5.1 are substantive or partially schematic of the most representative cases. These realisations vary in their degree of schematicity. Those configurations that include elements between brackets indicate Elaboration-Sites (E-sites; Langacker 2002).⁶² Figure 5.1 collects enactors in both Spanish and English. The term ‘immigrants’, modified by the adjective ‘illegal’, has been found in *El País* and in *The Telegraph*, in the latter specifically when representing RASIM in their transit to Britain through the English Channel. I discuss the next illustrative examples⁶³ and their purported cognitive effects aided by visual-schematic representations.

(1)

a) *Inmigrantes y refugiados guardan cola para una taza de té en un campo de Idomeni* (EP, 12.4.16)

Immigrants and refugees (F) queue (Static-Motion) for a cup of tea in an Idomeni camp (G)

b) **An influx of refugees and migrants** (F) arrive (Motion) in Greece (G) (TT, 23.10.15)

c) **Migrants** (F) arrive (Motion) at the camp in Spielfeld (G), Austria (G) (TT, 29.10.15)

d) *Los refugiados llegados a Europa en 2015* (EM, 22.12.15)

The refugees (F) arrived (Motion) to Europe (G) in 2015

⁶² Figure 5.1 combines semantic domains (e.g. [NUMBER]) with sociosemantic labels such as [COLLECTIVIZATION]. These constructions are abstracted from the data and formulated *post hoc* to provide schematic examples that serve as a formalization of the most common construal patterns observed.

⁶³ Spanish examples are shown in italics with my translation underneath.

e) **More than 850000 asylum seekers** (F) landing (Motion) on its shores (G) (TG, 25.1.16)

f) *Más de diez mil sirios han entrado a España por Melilla* (EP, 30.4.16)

More than ten thousand Syrians (F) have entered (Motion) Spain (G) through Melilla (Path)

g) *Entremezclados en la marea de migrantes, decenas de miles de adolescentes y niños [...] llegan solos a Europa* (EP, 18.4.16)

Mingled together in **the tide of migrants** (F1), **tens of thousands of teenagers and children** (F2) [...] arrive (Motion) to Europe (G) alone

h) **Refugee children** (F) travelling (Motion) alone in Europe (G) (TG, 4.5.16)

i) *Una mujer camina con sus hijos por el campo de refugiados de Idomeni* (EP, 6.4.16)

A woman (F) walks (Motion+Manner) **with her children** (F) in Idomeni refugee camp (G)

Figures in (1a-i) are boldened. (1a) construes ‘immigrants’ and ‘refugees’ as a multiplex unbounded entity made up of two distinct kinds of individuals. This construal is ideologically important because it creates a fundamental distinction, separating refugees from immigrants. In Figures 5.2/3 unboundedness is indicated by the discontinuous line. The plural inflections invoke unbounded multiplex entities with a level of detail that prevents individuation (indicated in discontinuous vs. continuous lines), invoking a conceptualisation of ‘immigrants’ and ‘refugees’ (indicated by the two types of circles) in which they constitute a multiplex, unbounded collective.

Figure 5.2.

Construal in (1a).

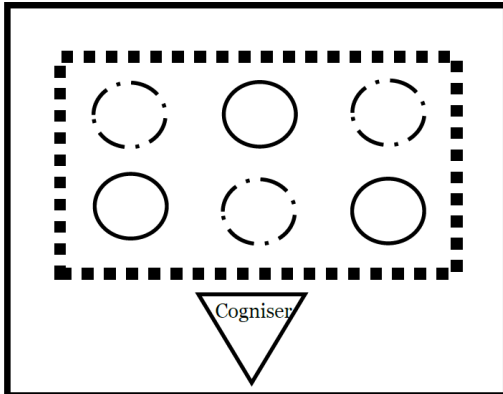
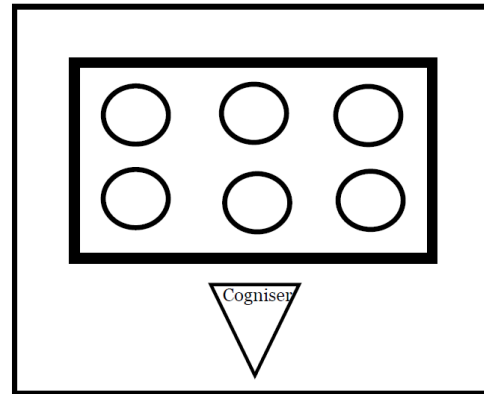


Figure 5.3.

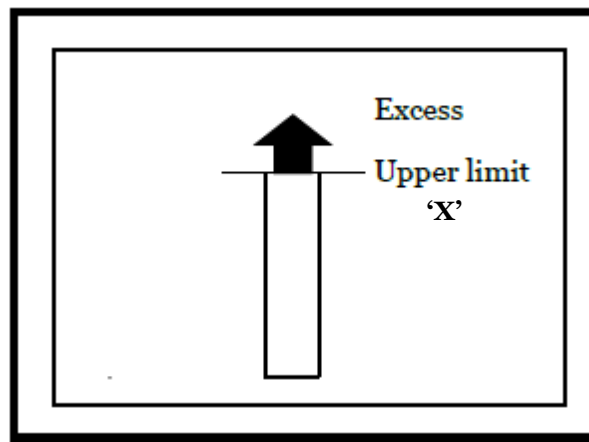
Construal in (1d).



Examples (1c/d) construe Figures similarly, albeit ‘migrants’ and ‘refugees’ are the sole type of entity invoked. They are construed as homogeneous masses whose members share and are defined by those qualities. In (1d) (Figure 5.3), the determinative article ‘the’ construes ‘refugees’ as a specific group (those arrived to Europe), bounded as well by the temporal scope of the predication. (1b) evokes a conceptualisation in which RASIM are metaphorized in terms of WATER, further imposing conceptual adjustments. Specifically, we encounter a metaphorical expression indexing the conceptual metaphor PEOPLE ARE BODIES OF WATER (see Chapter 2). RASIM are metaphorized as a ‘an influx’, invoking a uniplex conceptualisation in which a single body of water is constituted by both refugees and migrants. The plural inflections construe the entities as unbounded, paired with the metaphorical framing to construe a uniplex mass of people whose members are undistinguishable. The metaphorical framing strips RASIM of their individuality and qualities as rational sentient beings and potentially invokes negative associations connected to, but not exclusive to, the role of water in natural disasters.

Figure 5.4.

EXCESS construal in (1e/f).



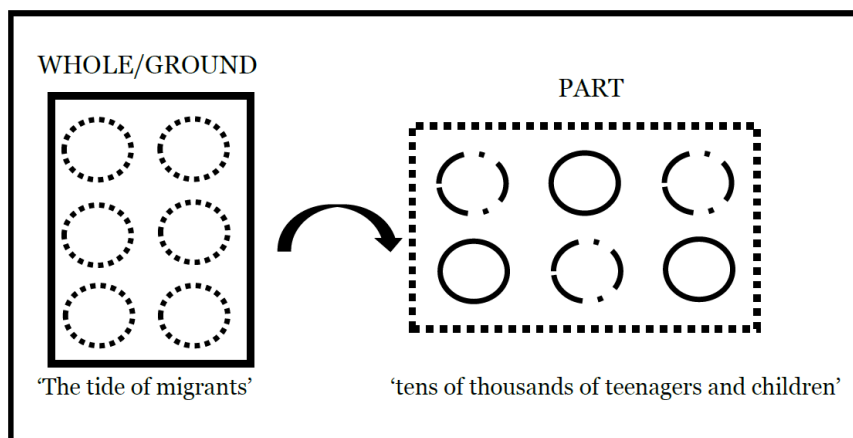
(1e/f) instantiate the [More than [NUMBER] of RASIM] construction. Both instantiate an EXCESS schema (Figure 5.4). The figure encoded (more than 'X') instantiates the upper threshold 'X' of a given category of interactants, which is surpassed by the number of RASIM encoded in the clause. This construal is ideologically relevant in that the number of RASIM exceeds the threshold, thus providing a sense of 'overflow' that extends to the social domain potentially carrying negative connotations. The Figures are functionalised in (1e) as 'asylum-seekers', a social actor representation invoked by means of the suffix '-er'; conversely (1f) identifies RASIM in terms of their origin ('Syrians').

(1g/h) construe RASIM as heterogenous groups of people, albeit the construals are ideologically relevant due to their internal structure. (1h) construes the Figure as 'children', which can be pre-modified by the functionalisation 'refugee', restricting the construal to an unbounded group of individuals also classified in terms of their age. The absence of determinative articles in combination with the plural inflection '-en' construes RASIM in this context as an unbounded multiplex entity as in (1a/c) above. (1g) is interesting in that the uniplex conceptualisation invoked by the metaphorical framing in terms in WATER reifies RASIM as a 'tide'. This construal serves as the Ground against which the 'teenagers and children' are profiled against in a WHOLE-PART relationship. This construes migrants as a bounded uniplex entity from which 'teenagers and 'children' are extracted. These in turn are aggregated and identified (van Leeuwen, 2008) in terms of their age. The PART of the WHOLE is constituted by the uniplex 'tide of migrants',

whereas ‘teenagers and children’ are construed as unbounded multiplex entities by means of plural inflections:

Figure 5.5.

Construal in (1g).



Last, (1i) encompasses those representations of RASIM that enable the reader to distinguish a definite number of entities. These tend to occur in captions. (1i) construes Figures as a bounded multiplex entity identified by their gender (‘a woman’) and in kinship terms (‘her children’). An alternative construal would be invoked by ‘family’, encoding a bounded uniplex conceptualisation in kinship terms of a heterogenous group of people, also potentially enriched by positive associations.

Overall, RASIM tend to be construed as unbounded multiplex (or uniplex when reified as WATER) entities which are frequently ‘observed’ from a ‘detached’ perspective. These construals entail that the actors presented to readers are homogenised, functionalised groups of people whose individual characteristics are backgrounded, therefore minimising the possibilities for the reader to engage and empathize with them. Alternatively, RASIM can be conceptualised as individuated entities, which contributes to a higher degree of ‘resolution’ or granularity (Langacker, 2008), enhancing the possibilities for engagement with the reader.

5.2.3. Instantiations of Ground and Path

The instantiations of these elements are directly linked to the main events and routes in focus, and their inclusion or absence, along with the level of detail provided in construal, greatly depend on viewpoint and identification phenomena, mostly in terms of windowing of attention (Talmy, 2000). ANCHORING is additionally instrumental in conveying ideological meanings (e.g., ANCHORING:Patient encodes a viewpoint from which the reader ‘views’ RASIM ‘coming’ towards them), along with the metaphorical conceptualisation of either Ground or Path elements. The volume and frequency of enactors of each Path element is indicative of the overall focus on Goals indicated above: Motion events tend to include Path-Goals, where Path-Source and Path-Trajectories are less common.⁶⁴ This resonates with newspapers’ focus on arrivals of RASIM to European countries, and with an overarching narrative that portrays RASIM on their way to Northern European countries. Overall, Motion schemas in the RC depict movement between countries, which are the common enactors of Source and Goal. However, RASIM often arrive to (or depart from) border controls between countries on the Balkans Route. Further, instantiations of Goals (and Source in a much lesser scale) include refugee camps in countries in the Balkans and the Aegean Route. Example (2), in combination with the examples below, offer illustrative realisations reflecting this overarching narrative:

(2)

a) *Refugiados que llegan a las fronteras de Europa* (EM, 12.9.15)

Refugees arriving **to Europe’s borders** (G)

b) Migrant encampments like the Calais Jungle could spring up **in Kent (G1) and other parts of the south-east of England (G2)** (TG, 8.2.16)

c) *Los refugiados sirios [...] dejado atrás Líbano, Egipto, Argelia, Marruecos y Melilla* (EP, 19.11.15)

The Syrian refugees [...] have left behind **Lebanon, Egypt, Argelia, Morocco and Melilla** (Path)

d) Refugees and migrants disembark **from a ferry (Source) at the Greek port of Piraeus (G)** having crossed **the Aegean (Trajectory) sea from Turkey (Source)** (TG, 10.2.16)

⁶⁴ A discussion of Path elements frequency is beyond this chapter.

(2a) instantiates ‘Europe’s borders’ as Ground, and by selecting the external boundary of the continent, it encodes the Goal portion of the Path element (see Figure 5.6). This construal reinforces the idea of Europe as a uniplex entity in its response to the crisis, a representation similarly construed in (1d, g, h). (2b) construes the Ground as a bounded area in England (Kent) perspectivizing the ‘scene’ from a DISTANCE:Long-Shot perspective (Figure 5.7), as this construal includes further geographical information.

Figure 5.6.

Construal in (2a).

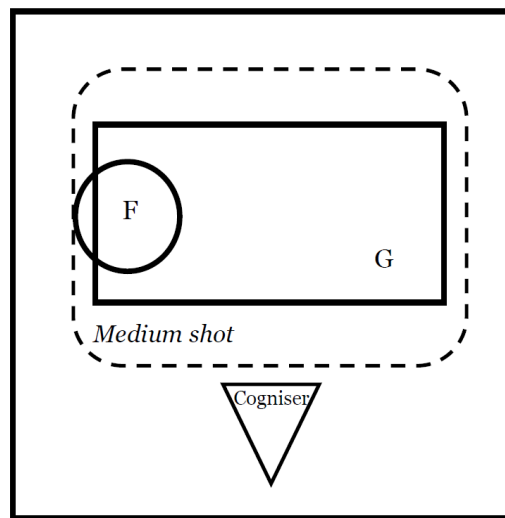
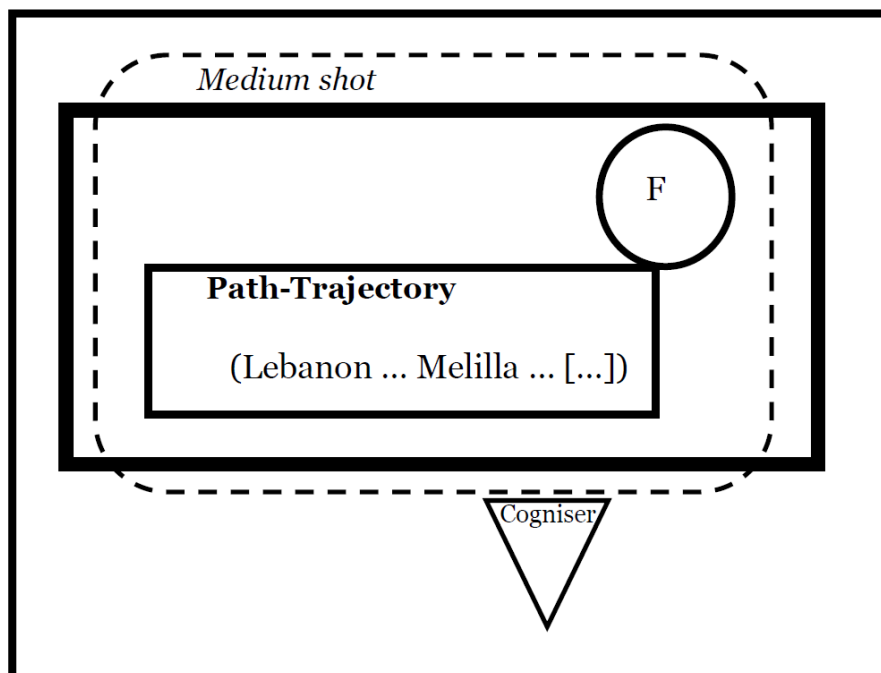


Figure 5.7.

Construal in (2b).



(2c) construes a PoV whose resolution differentiates the different countries that make up the route. In as much as the Path is detailed, RASIM are construed in transit, restricting the access to both Source and Goal, imposing medial Path-windowing:

Figure 5.8.

Construal in (2c).

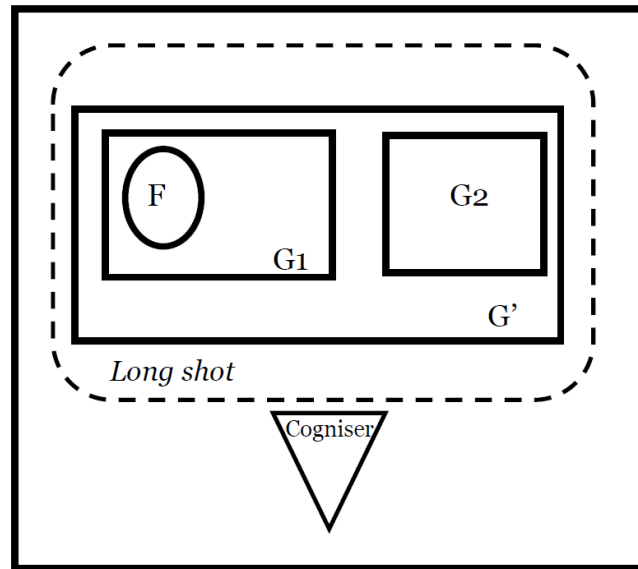
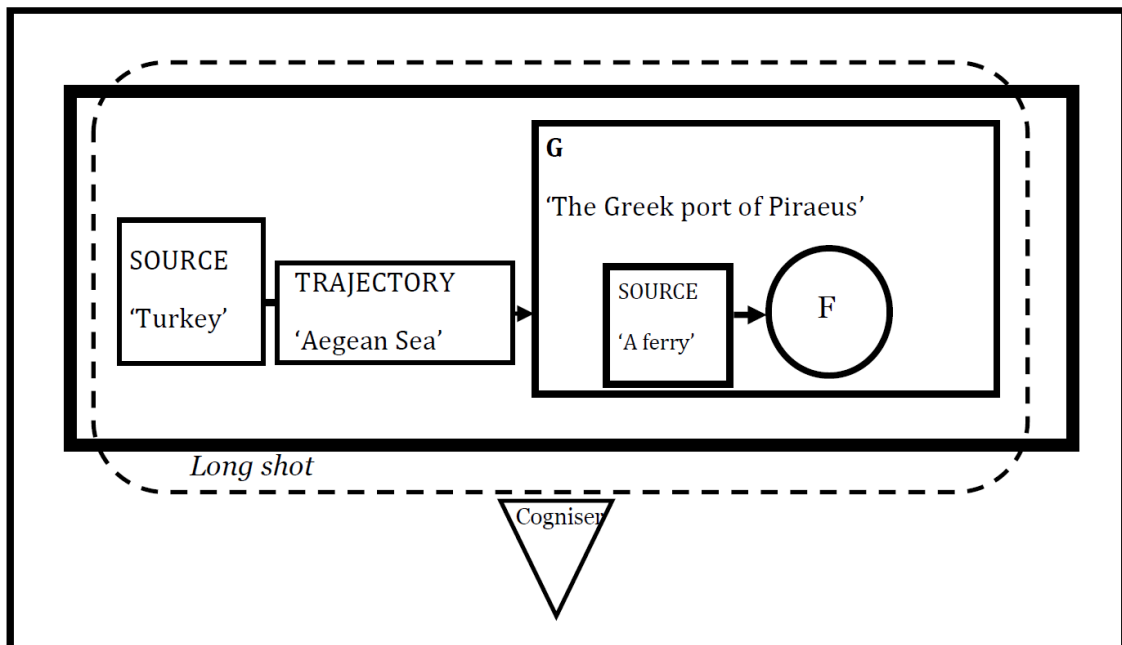


Figure 5.9.

Construal in (2d).



(2d) is an example of caption. (2d) profiles RASIM's arrival to Piraeus port, invoking a maximal viewing frame with the inclusion of the Trajectory (encoded by the preposition

‘across’) and the Source of the main Motion event, as RASIM disembarking in Piraeus is the last sub-event (see Figure 5.9). (2d) encodes a PoV in that the unbounded multiplex entity ‘refugees and migrants’ arrive to a specific Goal (Piraeus) within a larger Ground (Greece).

Last, (3) offers event-construals worth-discussing:

(3)

a) *El Vía Crucis de los refugiados hacia Europa* (EM, 27.8.15)

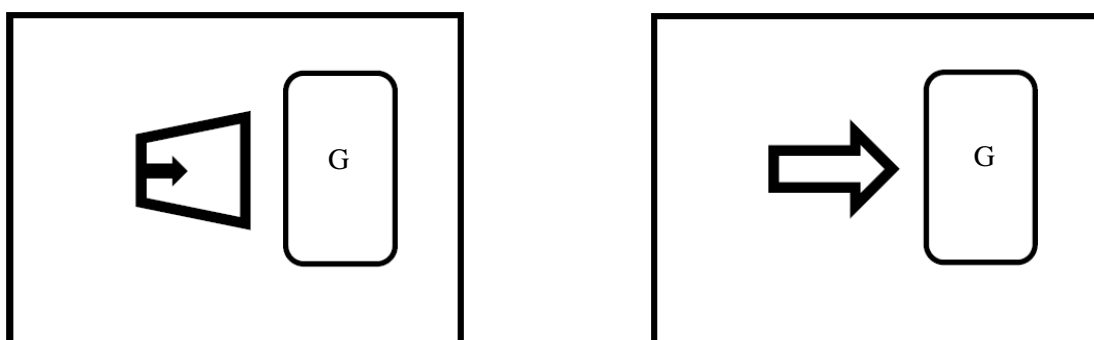
The *via crucis* (Trajectory) of refugees (F) towards Europe (G)

b) Thousands of refugees (F) rush (Motion+Manner) into Croatia (G) after days (Time) in 'no man's land' (Source) (TG, 19.10.15)

El Mundo employs a metaphorical extension invoked by the Trajectory enactor ‘Via Crucis’ (the Way of Sorrows), which refers to Jesus’ path to crucifixion. Refugees ‘replace’ Jesus and stand for faithful, legitimate individuals that suffer because of their beliefs. This construal potentially resonates with a Catholic audience (recall that *El Mundo* is a conservative newspaper, which in Spain can mean religious), therefore legitimising RASIM’s plight and deploying a subtle yet potentially powerful humanitarian strategy. The Ground is invoked by the prepositional phrase ‘towards Europe’, which does not establish a definite Goal but rather a range of orientation, potentially resonating with the evolving dimension of RASIM’s trek. This is visually-schematic represented (in bold) in contrast to the preposition ‘to’, which encodes a defined orientation to the Ground:

Figure 5.10.

Path-Goal construal of ‘towards’ (left) vs. ‘to’ (right).



Last, (3b) metaphorically construes the Ground (Croatia) as a CONTAINER, invoked by the preposition ‘into’. The preposition fosters conceptual adjustments invoking a conceptualisation of Croatia as a three-dimensional Ground, while the maximal viewing frame includes temporal circumstances of the event, alongside the Source portion of the Path element. *The Guardian* inserts the Source between inverted commas to indicate its potential figurative meaning. However, this enactor frames the event in a (IM)MIGRATION IS INVASION metaphor. In this scenario, RASIM ‘rushing into Croatia’ are an invading force that had been waiting in ‘no man’s land’, which in military contexts designates the unoccupied land between two confronted armies. This negative construal of RASIM as an ‘invading force’ (along with metaphorical enactors of WATER) is common in *The Guardian*. This is contrary to expectation, as *The Guardian*, a progressive left-wing newspaper, was expected to deploy an overall humanitarian strategy.

5.2.4. Instantiations of Motion

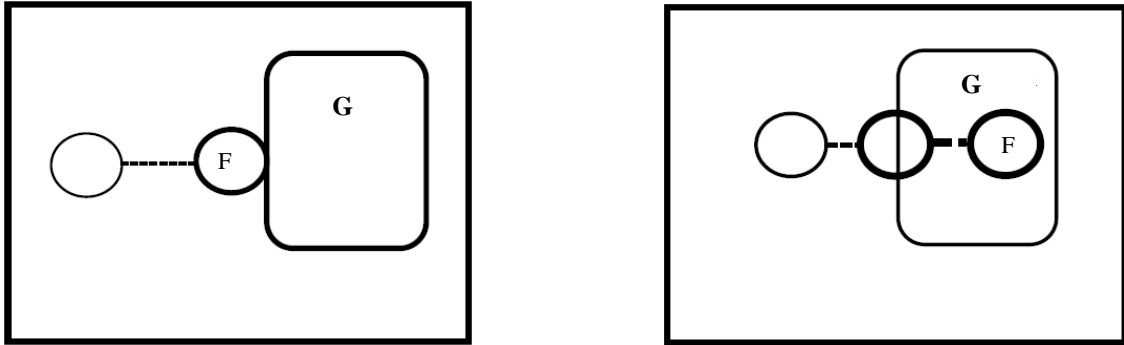
‘Motion’ refers to the semantic element in Motion events that encodes, mainly through verbal forms, physical movement of entities. Despite typological differences between English and Spanish (see Talmy, 2000), instantiations of Motion are conceptually similar across the data. Dynamic-Motion events are encoded by those verbal forms that depict unimpeded movement (e.g., ‘walk’, ‘land’, ‘arrive’, ‘depart’, ‘travel’), while Static-Motion construe events where Figures are simply ‘located’ within a Ground, usually engaged in behavioural processes (e.g., ‘queue’, ‘wait’, ‘stand’, ‘lay’, ‘sit’). I discuss both types in turn.

5.2.4.1. Dynamic-Motion

Dynamic-Motion events can profile diverse elements in construal, achieving different cognitive effects. The verb ‘arrive’ (see (1b-d)) encodes the moment in which the Figure reaches the Ground, while ‘enter’ (see (1f)) profiles the moment in which the Figure crosses the external boundary of the Ground:

Figure 5.11.

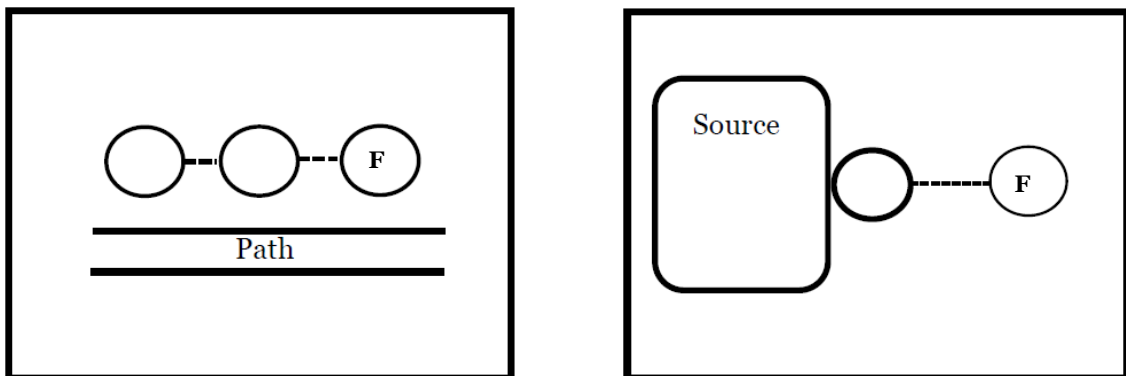
Construal of 'arrive' (left) vs. 'enter' (right).



In (3b), 'rush into' identifies the transition between the external boundary of the Ground and its interior, importantly adding a component of Manner (namely the speed and unplanned nature of action) conveyed by the form 'rush'. While Motion events can depict RASIM 'arriving to' and 'entering'⁶⁵ social organizations (namely countries and refugee camps), they are also represented moving between locations, or departing from a Source. (3c) above encodes medial Path-windowing and construes RASIM moving alongside a three-dimensional Trajectory that is invoked by the preposition 'through' ('tramping **through** the fields of Slovenia'). Conversely, RASIM can be profiled in the moment of their departure from a Source, such in (2d) ('migrants **disembark** from a ferry'):

Figure 5.12.

Path- (left) vs. Source- (right) windowing in Motion construal.



⁶⁵ Or 'pouring into', when RASIM are framed in terms of WATER and adding negative connotations predicated on the Manner component.

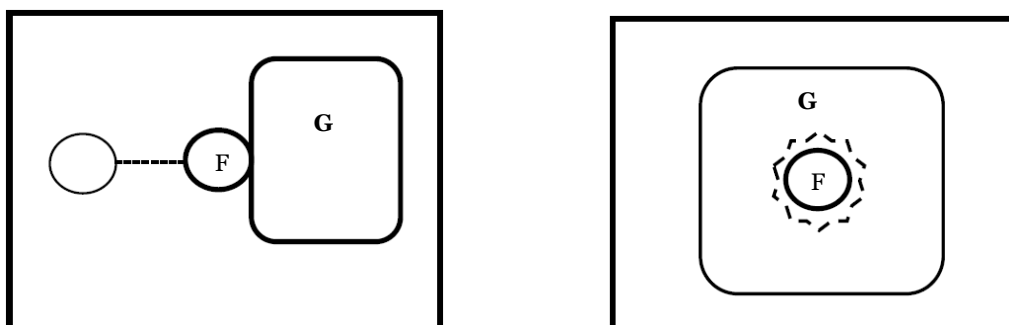
5.4.2.2. Static-Motion

Static-Motion events tend to be construed in captions due to their common function in anchoring the potentially ambiguous nature of photographs. In (1a) RASIM are construed as ‘queueing’, continuously occupying a Ground. This is common in captions, as photographs can often depict RASIM ‘waiting’ in border controls, in front of governmental buildings, or ‘occupying’ refugee camps. These L-I construals might reinforce negative connotations of RASIM as idle, passive individuals (see 5.4).

A related Static-Motion construal is one that encodes the ‘spontaneous’ change in location of Figures within a designated Ground. (4b) below is an illustrative example in which ‘corpses’ as Figure, rather than dynamically going along a Trajectory to reach a Goal, spontaneously ‘appear’ at the beach. This kind of construal is ideologically important because it occludes altogether the Dynamic-Motion (or Caused-Motion) event that possibly meant the arrival of corpses to that beach. This construal foregrounds the Figure while it suppresses any background information that might populate a more objective and accurate representation of the event, namely that after a shipwreck, corpses ‘have arrived/being transported’ to a beach in Greece. Such final windowing hides the actual event. The spontaneity of the Static-Motion event construal is symbolised by the star-shaped, discontinuous line around the Figure:

Figure 5.13.

Dynamic- vs Spontaneous Static-Motion construal.



5.2.5. Variation across newspapers

The construal of Figures presents a substantial degree of variation across newspapers and constitutes the focus of this sub-section. This is more salient when RASIM are metaphorized. Besides those common metaphorical realisations that involve a PEOPLE ARE MOVING BODIES OF WATER metaphor (1b, g), both (IM)MIGRATION IS INVASION and (IM)MIGRANT IS ANIMAL CMs have been observed. Let us examine first two cases that involve metonymical adjustments:

(4)

a) *Trenes de la vergüenza hacia ninguna parte* (EM, 4.9.15)

Trains of shame (F) towards nowhere (G)

b) *Cada día aparecen cadáveres en la Skala, la playa de los ahogados* (EM, 4.11.15)

Each day (Time) corpses (F) appear (Static-Motion) in Skala, the beach of the drowned (G)

El Mundo stands out as the only newspaper that construes Figures with strong emotional entailments, deploying both metaphor and metonymy. Examples (4a/b) and (3a) above are illustrative of this. (4a) construes the Figure in terms of the means of transport that RASIM, once in European territory, most often could use to arrive to their destinations. This construal needs to be contextualised to observe its full ideological potential. *El Mundo* was generally rather critical with the EU's handling of the RC and pushed a humanitarian agenda; in example (2a) we witness *El Mundo*'s evaluation about the role of European countries in the mobilisation of RASIM in September 2015. During that month, RASIM used trains to leave Hungary (a highly controversial actor; see next chapters) in their trek towards Northern Europe. I argue that in (4a), the generated implicature (Sperber & Wilson, 1995) is that countries are getting rid of the 'problem' instantiated by RASIM's stay in those countries, an action evaluated as shameful, where the trains are instrumental in 'removing that shame'. Crucially, the trains do not transport RASIM, but they carry the reified negative emotion 'shame'. This 'shame' stands for the feeling that potentially countries are exporting; the train 'carries the shame' that *El Mundo* attributes to those countries that do not fulfil their humanitarian duties. The Ground of this event, additionally, is *ninguna parte* ('nowhere'), which reinforces the evaluative negative meanings underlying this construal.

While the Figure ‘corpse’ (or ‘body’) is not exclusively used by *El Mundo*, the construal in (4b) is especially relevant. The lexical units ‘corpse/body’ strip the victims of any agency and become objectified (in a majority of cases, albeit in (4b) ‘corpse’ occurs alone) as belonging to refugees or migrants (e.g., ‘the bodies of [NUMBER] RASIM’). This Figure construal is objective as it depicts the natural state of an organism after its decease, and crude in that it presents the audience with the bleak reality that RASIM face in their treks, a binary ‘success vs. death’.

The next examples index metaphorical framings with negative associations:

(5)

a) *El puerto de atraque de un ejército de pateras* (EP, 5.9.15)

The berth (G) of **an army of dinghies** (F)

b) *Una kilométrica columna humana se dirige a pie hasta Alemania* (EM, 5.9.15)

A kilometric human column (F) heads on foot (Motion+Manner) to Germany (G)

c) **A column of refugees and migrants** (F) tramping (Motion+Manner) through the fields of Slovenia (Path) (TT, 26.10.15)

d) A Trojan horse (TT, 26.1.16)

e) The growing flock of Muslim refugees (F) (TG, 5.6.16)

Examples (5a-c) frame RASIM in Motion events within an (IM)MIGRATION IS INVASION metaphor, while (5d/e) do so within an (IM)MIGRANT IS ANIMAL metaphor. (5a) is clear due to the inclusion of the lexical item ‘army’, which in turn is postmodified clarifying its nature, in this case composed by the sailboats used by RASIM, which activates a metonymic inference by means of which the dinghies stand for the people using them. This construal invokes a uniplex conceptualisation populated by an undetermined number of sailboats, where the dinghies are collectivized to form an ‘army’, further establishing a relation of similarity between dinghies. This framing realises a militarisation strategy, by means of which the beaches where RASIM arrive to become ‘battlegrounds’, and the receiving countries are ‘victims’ of a military, planned ‘attack’. A similar framing is enacted in (5b/c). In these examples, the lexical unit ‘column’ invokes a uniplex conceptualisation, which is further categorised in terms of its composition; (5b) refers to the ‘human’ quality of those composing the ‘column’, while (5c) further specifies the

bounded uniplex entity as made up of an indefinite number of RASIM. I consider ‘column’ to frame the Figure in a (IM)MIGRATION IS INVASION CM due to the association of the word with the military formation,⁶⁶ which in turn is associated with the building element, rather than understanding this type of framing as an objectifying metaphor. An important difference between (5b) and (5c) is the Manner component: (5b) construes the event neutrally (‘on foot’), while (5c) adds a sense of ‘resistance’ encoded in the phrasal verb ‘tramp through’, connoting a long period of slow walking, potentially attributing the Motion of the Figure with negative connotations.

(5d) presents a culturally enriched metaphorical extension found in *El País* and *The Telegraph*. In this case, RASIM within the RC are represented as a ‘Trojan horse’, which in this context stands for ‘a seemingly harmless, yet invading force’. The context of this report includes the headline “Isil is taking advantage of the EU's incompetence.” This metaphor is imbued by the Trojan War myth, according to which, in the siege of the city of Troy, the Greek army used a wooden horse full of soldiers to enter Troy; the Greeks rightly assumed that the horse would be taken in as it was an offering to the gods. This way, the Trojans were taken advantage of in their good faith and Greece succeeded in invading their Kingdom. In this construal, the Horse stands for RASIM in the RC, while the content of the horse stands for the potential threats associated with immigration, more specifically that terrorists could infiltrate Europe posing as RASIM. This construal virtually removes RASIM from the conceptualisation and taps into cultural knowledge that is assumed to resonate with the audience, invoking negative associations and therefore potentially positioning them against RASIM.⁶⁷

Last, (5e) construe RASIM within a (IM)MIGRANT IS ANIMAL CM, with divergent implications. (5e) taps into the cultural domain of religious beliefs and construes Muslim refugees as incorporating to the ‘growing flock’ of converted Christians. The mass noun ‘flock’ prompts an uniplex, bounded conceptualisation in which refugees become ‘fused’ within the flock, which in turn blurs the individuality of refugees. The fact that in religious terms the word ‘flock’ can have positive connotations does not prevent the potentially negative association of RASIM with, for example, ‘sheep’, as the prototypical entity

⁶⁶ This association can be further metaphorically extended to ‘column of ants’ (Hart & Mármol Queraltó, 2021).

⁶⁷ The ‘Trojan Horse’ can also be associated with previous *Telegraph* coverage in 2014-15 of the ‘Trojan Horse affair’, a scandal involving an alleged conspiracy in which an ‘Islamist’ ethos was supposed to be introduced in several schools in the city of Birmingham.

making a ‘Christian flock’. In that context ‘sheep’ can map onto RASIM negative associations initially attributed to sheep, such as docility, lack of decision, and the so-called ‘herd mentality’, prompting further negative connotations. Next, I discuss Motion patterns in images.

5.3. Motion in images

5.3.1. Motion events and routes in focus

Images display patterns similar to those indicated in 5.2.1, however the manner in which readers arrive to where events take place, or to what type of Motion event is depicted, depends on the relations between the images and captions (see 5.4). While the Ground of the Motion event tends to be visually accessible (e.g., in Static-Motion events in which RASIM sit around a fire in a refugee camp), the caption tends to specify the actual location (e.g., ‘Refugees sitting around a fire in an Idomeni refugee camp’).

Figure 5.14.

‘Immigrants wait in the border access between Macedonia and Greece...’. El País, 31 Aug. 2015.



Inmigrantes esperan en el paso fronterizo de Macedonia y Grecia cerca de Gevgelija, el 28 de agosto de

Figure 5.14 is a clear case where the caption specifies the location of this border access.⁶⁸ Due to the impossibility of locating the events depicted in the photographs only by

⁶⁸ However, the schematisation patterns are contradictory. The image depicts RASIM engaged in a Dynamic-Motion event, while the caption describes them in a Static-Motion event ‘waiting’. See 5.4.

analysing the structure of the image, I have relied on captions (see 5.3.4.1). The main locations and events in focus were:

(a) August-December 2015

- The Eastern Mediterranean route, with an emphasis on Dynamic Motion events where RASIM arrive to the Greek islands by sea;
- The Western Balkans route, with an emphasis on RASIM's transit between countries, and on the different stops (at border controls and train stations) on their way, depicted in terms of Static-Motion events;
- Calais refugee camp in France
- Germany, Austria and other countries as Goals

(b) January-June 2016⁶⁹

- Refugee camps at border fences between Macedonia and Greece; Piraeus harbour in Greece after the EU-Turkey deal;
- Turkey as Goal after the EU-Turkey deal;
- Calais refugee camp in France
- Spain and Britain as Goals for children and RASIM families respectively.

There is an evolution in foci of attention that, as in language, reflects first the different stages of the RC and, second, specific events that were more prominent in either the British or Spanish press. A clear case is British newspapers' emphasis on Calais refugee camp, which was prominent due to its geographical proximity to Britain and its socio-political role in the representation of migration within the context of the Brexit campaigns. Next, I report findings in a similar fashion to 5.2 above.

5.3.2. *Instantiations of Figure*

Depictions of RASIM broadly mirror in images those linguistic representations of RASIM discussed above. Figures in visual Motion events tend to be realised by heterogenous groups of people (including families), who are usually photographed walking towards the camera, standing/queuing in border controls or camps, and on boats

⁶⁹ The periods observed in 2016 do not include March.

in their trip to coastal locations, or disembarking in harbours and beaches. Alternatively, RASIM can be represented from a bird's eye perspective, therefore detaching the viewer from the ground and imposing uniplex conceptualisations, homogenising their characteristics and hindering readers' engagement with RASIM's situation. While we find images of groups of people that can be identified as families or children, there are also multitude of images exclusively depicting males in large numbers, which can perpetuate migrant stereotypes, such as that only men travel to procure for their families who remained in their countries of origin, when in the context of the RC people were forcibly displaced regardless of age, sex or gender. Next, I focus on the PLEXITY of Figures, their (un)boundedness, and their potential social actor classification.

5.3.2.1. Multiplex vs. uniplex Figures

Figure 5.15.

The Telegraph 26 Oct. 2015.



A column of migrants moves through fields after crossing from Croatia, in Rigonce, Slovenia

Figure 5.15 depicts RASIM transiting along fields in Slovenia (specified in the caption). They are observed from a detached perspective instantiating a viewpoint combining an elevated ANGLE and DISTANCE:Long-Shot. This construes RASIM as an uniplex entity examined from a far distance that prevents readers' engagement with individual actors. In contrast, Figure 5.16 depicts a family (schematised in the caption) walking alongside railways. Figure 5.16 instantiates a multiplex visual depiction of RASIM, where individual entities are clearly distinguished. When families are involved, it is common to

observe parents carrying their children, implying a kin relationship that is not always explicit in the captions.

Figure 5.16.

'A family walks on the railway...' El Mundo, 27 Sept. 2015.



Figure 5.16 depicts a family from a medium distance and at eye level, maximizing the possibilities for readers to engage with them, although the direction of gaze (down to the ground) seems to preclude really ‘knowing’ them. This aspect is reinforced by depicting the family using a perspective from which readers ‘see’ them walking towards them.

5.3.2.2. Bounded vs. unbounded Figures

Figures in images can depict bounded groups of people when the extension of the group can be appreciated within the viewing frame, or unbounded when RASIM extend beyond the shot of the photograph. Figure 5.17 from *El País* depicts RASIM on arrival. Such depiction topicalizes one specific Figure; the older man wearing the head cover is closer to the camera, while the rest of RASIM in the background (including women) are slightly blurred:

Figure 5.17.

'An Iraqi disembarks alongside other refugees...' El País, 23 Dec. 2015.



Un iraquí desembarca junto a otros refugiados en la isla griega de Lesbos el 18 de diciembre. SANTI PALACIOS (AP)

This, in combination with the (slightly elevated) eye-level ANGLE and Patient⁷⁰ viewpoint and rather saturated colours, depicts the scene with the older man as protagonist, suggesting that the bounded, multiplex group he is leading is closing in on readers, and hence potentially enacting a *spatial* Proximation strategy (Cap, 2014) which renders a situation unfolding in Greece as negative and consequential to readers. The deictic PoV is internal to the shoreline, which further enables such conceptualisation. Figure 5.21 below displays similar boundedness.

Alternatively, RASIM can be depicted as unbounded multiplex entities when the boundaries of the group are beyond the viewing frame. Figures 5.18 and 5.19 depict male RASIM as individuated entities that due to the composition values and the proximity between individuals convey a high degree of homogeneity. This is even clearer in *The Guardian's* photo below due to its colour palette which relies on dark shades of brown and grey.

⁷⁰ The ANCHOR:Agent/Patient distinction is taken from Hart (2014) for Action schemas and in this context it means that viewers are ego-aligned with Trajectors (Agent perspective) or they see Trajectors 'coming towards them' (Patient perspective).

Figure 5.18.

The Telegraph, 5 June 2016.



Refugees and migrants gather for a demonstration at a makeshift camp in Idomeni, Greece, on April 3, 2016. CREDIT: AFP

Figure 5.19.

The Guardian, 6 Feb. 2016.



▲ Syrians gather at the Bab al-Salam border gate with Turkey. Photograph: Bunyamin Aygun/AP

While in both images RASIM are depicted in Static-Motion events, the ANGLE of the photos and the spatial orientation of RASIM are important. Figure 5.18 depicts RASIM at eye-level, which can enable readers to engage with RASIM, who in this case are facing the camera but are not engaging directly with it by means of ‘offer gaze acts’ (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006), with RASIM’s body language reinforcing this idea (the male with his arms folded in the foreground). This angle enables the photographer to include in the

shot the RASIM on top of the container at the back, conveying a sense of over crowdedness.

Figure 5.19 depicts a similar event. However, the ANGLE is instrumental in realising a similar sense of crowdedness. Further, the ANGLE in *The Guardian*'s image can convey a sense of vulnerability (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p. 100), inviting pity in a way that *The Telegraph*'s photo does not. In these two images RASIM are, then, represented as multiplex, unbounded, and homogenous male RASIM, while ANGLE adjustments can invite alternative emotional connotations.

5.3.2.3. Social actor classification

Social actor representation can be realised visually (van Leeuwen, 2008), where the visual composition of images and the elements within them can index alternative classifications. Figure 5.17 above schematises in the caption the man in the foreground as an 'Iraqi and a 'refugee': both aspects can be traced in the image, where the headcover can connote a religious background potentially associated with his nationality, and the life-vest metonymically functionalises him, along with the other RASIM in the photo, as refugees. The latter is potentially enriched by frequent depictions of RASIM wearing life-vests (Figures 5.17 and 5.21) when they are depicted sailing or arriving to diverse locations. Figures 5.18 and 5.19 depict homogenous groups of male RASIM, who are linguistically functionalised as 'refugees and migrants' or classified in relation to their nationality ('Syrians', Figure 5.19). This is not available in the images, where the colour palettes and the proximity between entities mainly connotes homogeneity. Such representations are therefore multimodal rather than visual, with further, specifying qualities instantiated in the caption. RASIM can also be classified in kinship terms, such as in Figures 5.16 and 5.25. In those cases, the classification is also present in the captions, where the Figures are classified as 'a family' or 'a father' with 'his son'. This is visually expressed by the contact between the individuals (parents carrying their children) and the visual proximity between them, as in Figure 5.16. Such classifications are important due to their emotional connotations. Figures 5.18, 5.19 and 5.23, exclusively focusing on male RASIM, can reinforce negative understandings of migration by reinforcing negative stereotypes (e.g., that only males migrate), while Figures 5.16 and 5.25 depict RASIM from a more

humanitarian perspective in that they invite readers to engage with family groupings, with evident positive emotional implications. Alternatively, life-vests can metonymically functionalise individuals and groups of RASIM (see below).

In sum, similar to their linguistic counterparts, visual representations of RASIM as Figures include RASIM as homogenous unbounded uniplex entities, and varied multiplex groups of individuals such as groups of male RASIM and family groupings. These choices, in combination with ANGLE and ANCHOR phenomena, represent RASIM as fairly homogenous groups of people, unless specific groups or individuals are included and accordingly made prominent by means of composition, as in Figure 5.17. There are further effects afforded by L-I relations which are explored in 5.4 below.

5.3.3. *Instantiations of Motion*

5.3.3.1. Dynamic- vs. Static-Motion

Dynamic-Motion events represent RASIM in transit or on arrival, while Static-Motion events visually depict RASIM as continuously occupying a Ground (e.g., ‘waiting’).

Figure 5.20.

El Mundo, 20 Oct. 2015.



■ Eslovenia, desbordada por la crisis de los refugiados | VIDEO: ATLAS // IMAGEN: SRDJAN ZIVULOVIC REUTERS

Figure 5.20 depicts an unbounded, multiplex group of RASIM in a Dynamic-Motion event, walking towards the camera alongside a road. The image visually implies by means

of viewpoint adjustments the seemingly endless group of RASIM that is closing in on readers. This ANGLE is in contrast with Figure 5.15, which does not allow readers to distinguish individual entities. Due to ANGLE and DISTANCE adjustments, only the first few lines of people are distinguishable and male-dominated. The first line of individuals is functionalised (van Leeuwen, 2008) as riot police as they are wearing related garments (hats, helmets, bullet-proof vests).

Figure 5.21.

The Telegraph, *13 June 2016.*



Migrants arrive on the island of Lesbos last October

Alternatively, RASIM in transit/arrival can be depicted from an observer's perspective. In Figure 5.21 the person jumping off the boat and the traces in the water further convey a sense of dynamicity. RASIM are depicted as bounded multiplex entities, subtly homogenized by their use of life vests.

Figure 5.22.

The Guardian, *18 May 2016.*



▲ Migrants and refugees wait in line under the rain for food distribution at the makeshift camp in the northern border village of Idomeni, Greece. Photograph: Bulent Kilic/AFP/Getty Images

RASIM in Static-Motion events tend to occupy various more or less contextually retrievable Grounds. Figure 5.22 depicts a group of people, mainly children, queuing up in a makeshift camp in Idomeni (the caption reads), while Figure 5.23 depicts numerous male RASIM waiting in a border fence between Greece and North Macedonia.

Figure 5.23.

The Guardian, 9 Sept. 2015.



▲ Refugees wait to make their way to Macedonia after being let through by Greek Police. Photograph: Antonio Olmos for the Observer

This type of representations tends to be framed from an observer's viewpoint. Figure 5.22 is taken from a close distance at eye level. The visual frame crops the adult in the centre holding the piece of plastic sheltering two children from the rain. The child on the left is looking at the camera, encoding a 'demand gaze act' (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006) which potentially engages readers. The facial expressions of the children, along with the weather they endure, portrays RASIM in camp and queuing situations as vulnerable multiplex entities. Waiting/queuing events can represent RASIM as idle, passive unbounded groups of individuals in vulnerable contexts (c.f., Hart, 2014), albeit scenes encoding exclusively males and depicting 'demand gaze acts' like Figure 5.23 (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006) can also reinforce potentially discriminatory stereotypes by narrowing down the scope of actors present in representation.

Figure 5.24.

'Survivors of a shipwreck', El País, 2 Aug. 2015.



Supervivientes de un naufragio, en abril ALFONSO DI VICENZO (AFP)

Last, RASIM can also be represented aboard boats on their way to Italian or Greek ports after being rescued from the Mediterranean or the Aegean seas. Figure 5.24 illustrates such context. Inasmuch as RASIM are represented in static conditions, the RC context pragmatically can enrich the context of situation in that RASIM are going (or being taken) to different ports. Figure 5.24 can then invoke medial Path-windowing if the reader understands the boat to be in transit, or final Path-windowing if the Goal is visible in the photo or if it is lexicalised in the caption (see below). Figure 5.24 depicts the event from an elevated perspective from which the sitting RASIM constitute a bounded uniplex entity. It is not possible to differentiate individual characteristics of RASIM, conveying a sense of homogeneity that hinders individual engagement.

In sum, RASIM in Dynamic-Motion events can depict RASIM on arrival and in transit, invoking final and medial Path-windowing respectively. As in language, this focus on either stage of the migratory process serves to depict RASIM approaching readers and hence backgrounding the reasons for their forcible displacement. In Static-Motion events, RASIM tend to be observed in border controls and makeshift camps in idle, passive, and up to a certain extent vulnerable conditions, the latter depending on the kind of RASIM depicted (e.g., males vs. children).

5.3.3.2. Manner in Motion events

Motion events can be represented in alternative ways encoding diverse types of Manner. Common instantiations of Manner include RASIM walking, running or sailing. Figure 5.21 above instantiates a ‘sailing’ event, clearly identified by the traces left behind by the inflatable boat. Such visual element contributes to the dynamicity of the event, alongside the RASIM captured jumping off the boat. In those images where boats are depicted in the sea, without traces indicating the dynamicity of the event, the context of situation pragmatically enriches comprehension processes; readers might very possibly be aware that the event represents a stage in a Dynamic-Motion event, rather than a Static-Motion event of ‘floating’.

Figure 5.25.

El País, 5 Sept. 2015.



Un hombre con un niño en brazos corre para subirse al autobús. FOTO: AP / VIDEO: ATLAS

Alternatively, RASIM can disembark from trains in Germany or Austria after the Keleti Station incident of September 2015,⁷¹ or embark on trains or buses instantiating Goals. Figure 5.25 depicts a man running carrying a child (a schematisation pattern replicated in the caption; see below). The dynamicity of this Dynamic-Motion event is conveyed by the oblique angle and the blurred background sub-product of the focus on the Figure in

⁷¹ For several days thousands of RASIM were prevented from using trains and buses to leave Hungary, which meant that in the second half of September images of RASIM disembarking from trains became rather common due to the high numbers of people in transit.

the foreground. This is contrast with Figure 5.16 which depicts a family walking alongside railways, despite the relational classification is similar.

Figure 5.26.

The Guardian, 19 October 2015.



▲ Refugees walk along a road after crossing the border with Serbia in Bapska, Croatia, on Monday. Photograph: Dado Ruvic/Reuters

Depictions of RASIM walking along roads, fences or railways have been found often. Figure 5.26 depicts individuated RASIM walking towards the camera along a road. The ANGLE invoked is Y-1, which locates the reader at ground level, looking up. Such PoV conveys a relatively detached observer's perspective towards which RASIM walk, despite the male in the foreground seemingly waving at the camera. The ANGLE and viewing frame further serve to enhance the aesthetic value of the photograph; the reflection and size of the tree on the right takes more than half of the frame, de-emphasising RASIM.

In sum, as for the Manner component of Motion events, RASIM are visually depicted commonly 'walking', 'sailing', and 'running'. The latter is indicative of visual strategies that reinforce the suddenness of the RC, its dynamic nature, and also the speed with which RASIM made their way through Europe, in contrast with 'walking' events. Sailing events are, of course, restricted to the Mediterranean Sea context.

5.3.4. *Instantiations of Ground and Path*

5.3.4.1. The nature of Grounds

The images above are representative of the type of Grounds that RASIM occupy or transit through during the RC. Grounds in the RC include roads and railways (Figures 5.15, 5.16, 5.20, and 5.26), border fence controls and train/bus stations (Figures 5.14, 5.22, 5.23, 5.25 and 5.33), and ports and beaches/seashores (Figures 5.21 and 5.24).

Overall, unless there is a visual element that is specific enough⁷² to anchor *where* the event unfolded, captions specify the Ground with different degrees of resolution. This is important because images tend to foreground Figures, where the instantiation of the Ground can be realised multimodally; the specification of the Ground occurs in language (usually the caption), and therefore it is an aspect that is subject of construal according to the affordances of written language rather than of images (see Chapter 3). Crucially, while visually only one Ground can be instantiated, in language several Grounds (and regions of the Path component) can be instantiated to enrich the representation and further ‘expand the shot’ imposed on the event overall. This is further explored in 5.4 below.

5.3.4.2. Path-windowing

Path-windowing tends to visually depict RASIM on arrival, thus enacting an Identification strategy in its dimension of DISTANCE very often imposing final Path-windowing on Dynamic-Motion events. Alternatively, RASIM are represented in events invoking medial Path-windowing (e.g., sailing, or crossing border controls; see Figures 5.26 and 5.20), or in Static-Motion events where RASIM stand in Grounds usually specified in the captions (e.g., Figure 5.23). The Source portion of the Path is seldom instantiated in the captions of photographs, although there is some variation that is explored in 5.3.5.

⁷² Identification of locations hinges upon readers’ encyclopaedic knowledge. For instance, some of the reports on Calais by *The Telegraph* visually instantiates a road sign with the label ‘David Cameron St’. Such Ground is only recognised if readers have previous knowledge of the event that led to that sign being erected.

Figure 5.27.

The Guardian, 31 May 2016.



▲ Migrants granted asylum in other EU countries could come to Britain after 2020, says Migration Watch.

Figure 5.27 and 5.21 depict RASIM on arrival disembarking from inflatable boats, therefore instantiating final Path-windowing (Talmy, 2000). The viewpoint instantiated in such situations is restricted and tends to combine ANCHOR:X1-Patient with medium shots taken at eye level (Figure 5.27), or ANCHOR:X0-Egofront as in Figure 5.21, encoding an observer's perspective.

Alternatively, RASIM can disembark from trains in Germany or Austria after the Keleti Station incident of September 2015, or embark on trains or buses instantiating Goals. In Figure 5.25 we appreciate medial Path-windowing with the buses on the left as potential Goals, while Figure 5.26 is a clear case of medial Path-windowing in that RASIM are walking alongside a road on their way from Croatia, approaching the camera. Figure 5.20 is a clear case of medial Path-windowing, only that the ANGLE is more elevated and prompts a perspective from which the group of multiplex, unbounded RASIM closes in on readers.

In sum, instantiations of Ground and Path-windowing in the data reflect a focus on arrival and transit, virtually removing the Source portion of the Path and therefore presenting a rather restricted representation of Motion events during the RC, construing events unfolding through Europe when medial Path-windowing is involved, or focusing on

arrival events when the Path-windowing is final. Grounds are very diverse in nature but follow similar patterns, and tend to be specified in captions.

5.3.5. Variation across newspapers

Spanish newspapers, and in a lesser degree *The Guardian*, deployed ‘visual humanitarian depictions’. These hinge upon visual representation strategies that depict RASIM as Figures in situations that potentially evoke empathetic responses in readers. On the contrary, *The Telegraph* can employ images to deploy militarisation strategies and tends to represent RASIM in Motion contexts that emphasise their numbers (e.g., Figure 5.15) and the situations they bring about to their countries of asylum/refuge.

Figure 5.28.

The Telegraph, 14 Sept. 2015.

Germany and Austria temporarily reintroduce border controls as tens of thousands of migrants pour in ahead of talks on Monday



Figure 5.28 is one of the very few images in this thesis comprising two distinct visual elements. While the Ground of the composition is established by the image depicting a border guard patrolling with a dog, the Figure is constituted by the image inside the circle. Inside the circle, a heterogenous, unbounded group of RASIM walks alongside a railway, led by what can be inferred some sort of family grouping implied by the physical contact between them. Both elements represent distinct events that become confronted to each other due to the body orientations of the actors involved. On the left, we observe a rather

aesthetic representation of ‘border guarding’, pragmatically encoding a FORCE event of ‘blockage’, while on the right we have an example of Dynamic-Motion event, with a medium shot including RASIM approaching the camera at eye level. I argue that this composition encodes a visual implicature by means of which the guard would ‘defend the border’ from the RASIM approaching it, this encoded by the orientation of the images; in this framing, RASIM become potential ‘invaders’. This representation therefore instantiates a militarisation strategy, where RASIM are attributed negative values emanating from the WAR frame as instantiated in the IMMIGRATION IS INVASION conceptual metaphor (see 5.4).

The Guardian focuses on young RASIM in those cases where it clearly pushes for a humanitarian depiction of the RC. Figure 5.29 focuses on the conditions suffered by young RASIM in their trek throughout Europe. While readers cannot see the whole body of the child, he is invoked in the caption (‘a Syrian boy’) and the Close-Up shot depicts a Dynamic-Motion event denoted by the seemingly moving feet. The child is walking in sandals in the snow, potentially triggering humanitarian views about the situation they are facing. A similar metonymic representation was found by Vezovnik and Saric, (2020), although instead of snow the child walked in the mud (see Chapter 2).

Figure 5.29.

The Guardian, 5 Jan. 2016.



▲ A Syrian boy walks through the Bekaa Valley refugee camp in Lebanon. The international development committee is ‘gravely concerned’ about the dangers facing young refugees. Photograph: Jamal Saidi/Reuters

Figure 5.30.

The Guardian, 13 June 2016.

Report says children have been subjected to sexual violence, and open letter calls on UK to act more quickly



▲ Four children in a refugee camp in Calais. Photograph: Mary Turner/Getty Images

Figure 5.30 alternatively focuses on the dangerous conditions of children's presence in makeshift camps. Tens of thousands of child RASIM disappeared in Europe during the RC (UNHCR, 2017; see next chapter), while those staying in camps were often faced with dramatic situations. *The Guardian* chose to illustrate such situation framing it within a BADNESS IS DARKNESS metaphor (Lakoff et al, 1991). The lighting connotes the 'unseen'; these migrants and their suffering is unseen or ignored. The children are aesthetically silhouetted in the darkness, suggesting that their situation in the camp (Calais in this case) is dangerous and needs solving, as well as suggesting that such vulnerability can result from going unnoticed 'in the darkness'. In turn, those actions carried by the UK (demanded in the subheading) become instrumental in preventing children's suffering in such situations.

Figure 5.30 is in stark contrast with other depictions of RASIM in the same camp by *The Telegraph*. Figure 5.31 depicts a person wearing a hoodie walking in what used to be part of the Calais camp before several incidents after which several parts of the camp were dismantled (see next Chapter). The colour palette, the elements included in the composition, and the orientation of the person in this Dynamic-Motion event, which prevents engagement, are combined to portray the camp as a barren, derelict space potentially symbolising the type of social effects that migration might bring about in

British society. *The Telegraph*'s focus on Calais overall represents the camp as a 'ticking bomb', where RASIM are responsible of the state of the spaces they occupy, and therefore depicting migration as an inherently negative phenomenon.

Figure 5.31.

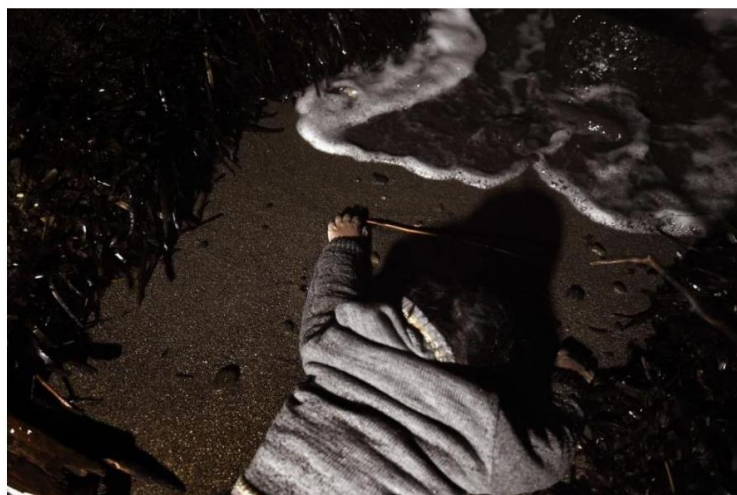
The Telegraph, 25 June 2016.



While Spanish newspapers broadly coincide in portraying Motion events in the RC in a humanitarian fashion, Figure 5.32 and 5.33 reflect important points of divergence. *El Mundo* stands out as the newspaper that conveyed a more humanitarian representation of the RC, while *El País* can occasionally represent Motion events in a more negative light.

Figure 5.32.

El Mundo, 4 Nov. 2015.



■ La marea devuelve a una playa de Lesbos (Grecia) el cuerpo de un niño ahogado en el naufragio del pasado miércoles de una barca con 300 personas.
| ARIS MESSINIS AFP

Along with Aylan Kurdi's infamous photograph,⁷³ one of the most shocking photos in the RC was published by *El Mundo*. Figure 5.32 depicts a Static-Motion event with the corpse of child RASIM on a beach (Lesbos, according to the caption). The composition and content of the photo can potentially trigger strong negative emotional effects. The child is facing down, alone and surrounded by algae. The photo was taken at night and the flash of the camera projects the child's shadow on the sand and the water. While readers cannot fully engage with the child as they are facing down, which contributes to emphasise the anonymity of the child and hence their treatment as a 'nobody', the Close-Up shot from an elevated position and the saturated colours convey a rather realistic albeit crude representation of the death of the child. No other Close-Up shots of death events have been found in this project.

While *El País* tends to follow similar patterns as *El Mundo*, in Figure 5.33 we observe one of the few images depicting Spain as entry point to Europe in the border pass of Beni Enzar in Melilla (Spanish enclave in Morocco). Here the ANCHOR aligns readers with the RASIM depicted in a Static-Motion event while they queue to have their entry processed. The elevated ANGLE detaches readers from the ground encoding an observer perspective which further prevents engagement with RASIM, who are depicted as a multiplex unbounded entity, as readers cannot see the start of the queue.

Figure 5.33.

El País, 30 April 2016.



Entrada a Melilla en el paso fronterizo de Beni Enzar. FOTO: ANTONIO RUIZ / VIDEO: EL PAÍS TV

⁷³ See Chapter 7.

The presence of barriers ‘funneling’ RASIM towards the gates can resonate with images of intensive animal farming, potentially carrying animalistic associations that might further prevent humanitarian responses to their situation. This is contrast with other images in which RASIM’s faces are shown at eye level, potentially allowing readers to engage with RASIM’s plight. Next, I elaborate on the L-I relations found in Motion events in the RC.

5.4. Language-Image relations

From the sections above emerges that the most common L-I relation found in news reports is that of intersemiotic convergence (Hart & Mármol Queraltó, 2021). The relation between language and images is multidimensional (in terms of schematisation, metaphor and viewpoint) and *scalar* rather than absolute, and here I discuss some examples illustrating such patterns. Sub-section 5.4.2 focuses on visual/multimodal metaphor and metonymy. The focus here is on image-caption relations, however in some examples other co-textual linguistic input is considered due to their potential for ideological work.

5.4.1. Intersemiotic convergence

The discussion here elaborates on the examples analysed above and I reproduce some images for ease of reading. Overall, it has been observed that in terms of schematisation images and their captions tend to converge, where the event schematised in the image is repeated in the caption, following the principle of ‘dual scripting’ (Holsanova & Nord, 2010). The caption, then, linguistically invokes the conceptual content of the image, while it tends to specify the Figure involved. In most L-I relations the caption further specifies the Ground of the Motion event, be it portions of the Path in Dynamic-Motion events, or the Ground in Static-Motion events. One aspect in which the conceptual import of images vs. captions can diverge is Path-windowing (Talmy, 2000): while images usually depict events in which Figures occupy a Ground or a portion of the Path, captions can expand the ‘shot’ and instantiate different events prior to the one depicted in images, commonly instantiating the Source or Trajectory portion of the Path. Images, then, usually enact

medial or final Path-windowing, while captions can enact different or all portions of the Path, and/or further events or circumstances.

Let us start with Figure 5.25, whose caption reads ‘A man with a child in his arms runs to board the bus’:

Figure 5.25.

El País, 5 Sept. 2015.



Un hombre con un niño en brazos corre para subirse al autobús. FOTO: AP / VIDEO: ATLAS

The events schematised in the caption and depicted in the image are similar, where the linguistic representation conceptually replicates the event in the image. Both modes enact medial Path-windowing and depict potential Goals (e.g. buses), with the ‘resolution’ of the event also replicated in both modes: in terms of ANGLE both language and image invoke multiplex bounded entities at eye-level.

Figure 5.17.

El País, 23. Dec. 2015.



Un iraquí desembarca junto a otros refugiados en la isla griega de Lesbos el 18 de diciembre. SANTI PALACIOS (AP)

The only major difference is in ANCHOR; while the caption does not explicitly encode a viewpoint, the image encodes a (slightly oblique) X1-Patient perspective that enables readers to appreciate in detail the Figures. Figure 5.25 then is a clear example of intersemiotic converge in multiple conceptual levels.

Figure 5.17 exhibits convergence patterns, with the caption reading ‘An Iraqi disembarks with other refugees in the Greek island of Lesbos on 18th December’. The caption replicates the event depicted in the image, also mirroring the visual foregrounding of the man by means of topicalization. Crucially, the caption further specifies the man as Iraqi of origin (possibly resonating with the head cover as a culturally enriched element), and the location of the beach to which they arrive. The addition of the temporal dimension also enriches the overall L-I composition by means of a circumstantial phrase.

Figure 5.31.

‘A migrant walks past discarded clothes at the site of the former migrants camp called “Jungle” in the port town of Calais, Northern France, after it was dismantled by the French authorities on March 30, 2016’, The Telegraph, 25 June 2016.



A migrant walks past discarded clothes at the site of the former migrants camp called "Jungle" in the port town of Calais, northern France, after it was dismantled by the French authorities on March 30, 2016

Figure 5.31 follows similar L-I relations where the event schematised in the caption describes the scene in the image. The caption specifies the Figure as a migrant, instantiates the type of Motion event (‘walks’) and specifies the Path-Trajectory as the ‘Jungle’ camp, while schematising Calais as the Ground. Importantly, while the photo instantiates medial Path-windowing the caption ‘expands the shot’, establishing the encompassing Ground and including an event prior to the scene depicted, invoked by the

adverbial clause ‘after it was dismantled...’. This way, rather than just providing a description of the scene, the caption instantiates a DISTANCE:Long-Shot perspective. The state of the camp in the photo can be then attributed to the dismantling of the camp by French authorities, rather than solely to migrants’ actions. This incongruency in terms of DISTANCE, then, provides background information enriching the interpretation of the image in relation to its caption.

Last, while in many L-I relations the patterns of schematisation converge (examples above), in some cases schematisation can be incongruous or even contradictory, along with other conceptual dimensions. Figure 5.32 illustrates contradiction at the level of schematisation. The caption reads ‘The tide returns to a beach in Lesbos (Greece) the body of a drowned child in last Wednesday’s shipwreck of a boat with 300 people’.

Figure 5.32.

El Mundo, 4 Nov. 2015.



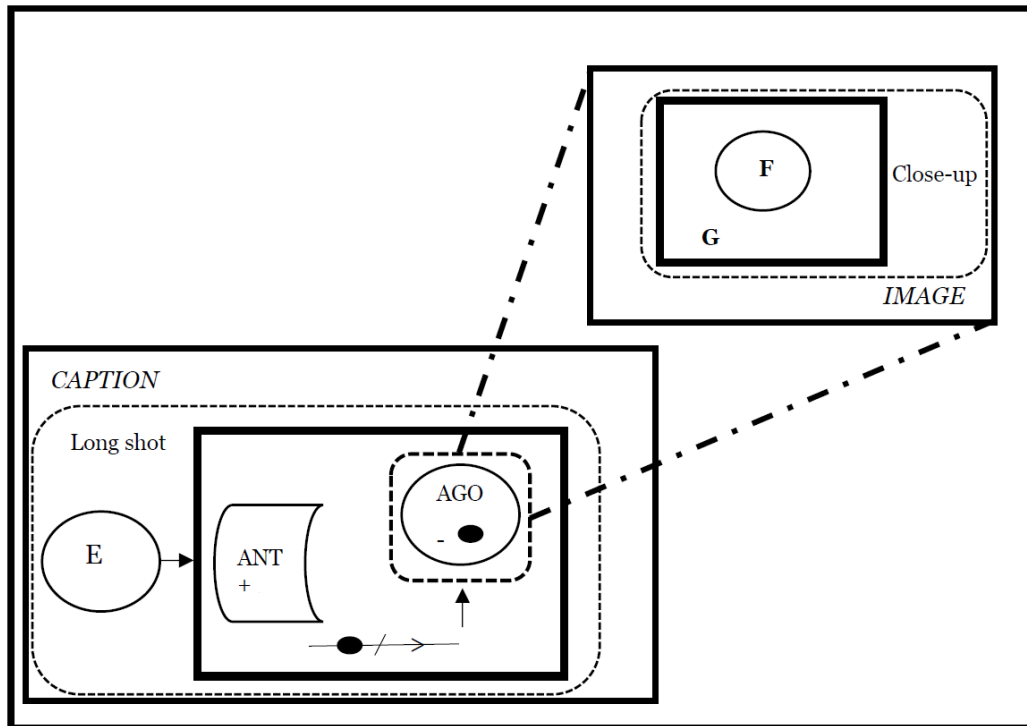
La marea devuelve a una playa de Lesbos (Grecia) el cuerpo de un niño ahogado en el naufragio del pasado miércoles de una barca con 300 personas.
I ARIS MESSINIS AFP

While the event depicted in the image is a Static-Motion event (see above), the event(s) in the caption differ in their conceptual structure. The caption instantiates a Caused-Motion event in which the body as the Agonist has been transported to the beach by the tide cast as Antagonist. The image then can be understood to actually instantiate final Path-windowing of a Dynamic-Motion event, rather than Static-Motion. This is further

reinforced by the DISTANCE:Long-Shot perspective instantiated in the caption; the series of events prior to the scene in the image are schematised with alternative degrees of detail. This relation is visuo-schematically represented as follows:

Figure 5.33.

L-I relations Figure 5.32.



In sum, while images and captions display intersemiotic convergence (Hart & Mármol Queraltó, 2021), displaying a relatively high degree of intermodal congruency, it is common to find specifications of Motion elements in captions (Figures, portions of Path, and Ground), along with DISTANCE adjustments that ‘expand the shot’, including circumstances enriching the unified conceptualisation invoked by L-I relations and including previous events.

5.4.2. Visual/multimodal metaphor and metonymy

Visual metaphorical depictions of RASIM in Motion events are not common. I argue that in those cases that there is a metaphorical reading available, it is because of the co-text surrounding the image, therefore instantiating ‘situationally-triggered’ metaphors (Semino, 2009), such as Figure 5.30 above in which I argued there was an underlying

BADNESS IS DARKNESS conceptual metaphor articulated across modes. When an exclusively visual metaphor is available, it is observed that the focus is on numbers and homogeneity; images such as Figure 5.23 above depict male RASIM close to each other, further schematised in the caption as ‘refugees and migrants’, invoking unbounded multiplex conceptualisations such in Figure 5.2. I argue that such representations instantiate a PROXIMITY IS RELATIONSHIP metaphor, by means of which, regardless of the quality of the individuals depicted in the photo, the conceptualisation evoked is one similarity, that is, every individual in the image is conceptualised as either a refugee or a migrant. Such representations are important because they constrain the possibilities for readers to differentiate between individuals and potentially appreciate the myriad of experiences that compose RASIM’s experience during the RC, and therefore minimising the opportunities for humanitarian interpretations of events during the RC.

Figure 5.15.

‘A column of migrants moves through the fields after crossing from Croatia’, The Telegraph 26 Oct. 2015.



A column of migrants moves through fields after crossing from Croatia, in Rigonce, Slovenia

Figures 5.15, and 5.28 below, seem to encode multimodal metaphors (Forceville, 2008). In Motion events, such L-I relations often deploy militarisation strategies. In Figure 5.15 we observe intersemiotic convergence in the schematisation and ANGLE conceptualisation of the Figure in both the image and the caption; the group of RASIM, walking on a road

is constrained by its structure and resembles a column. The unboundedness of the column is mirrored in the subheading in the expression ‘the endless wave of migrants’, which alternatively frames RASIM within a PEOPLE ARE MOVING BODIES OF WATER metaphor, prompting further dehumanising implications. Importantly, the headline frames very negatively the situation overall as one of extreme danger for Europe, which within a BODY POLITIC metaphor (Musolff, 2021) is seeing one of its ‘organic’ components, the frontiers, ‘die’. The perspectivization of the news report overall takes place in the headline and subheading and is enacted by the pronouns ‘we’, which perspectivizes the column as approaching readers. In this context, actions devised to control and hinder migration processes become acts of self-defence, therefore legitimating those measures (c.f., El Refaie, 2001, 2003).

Figure 5.28.

The Telegraph, 14 Sept. 2015.

Germany and Austria temporarily reintroduce border controls as tens of thousands of migrants pour in ahead of talks on Monday



Figure 5.28 potentially displays complex metaphorical patterns. Figure 5.28 is a video screenshot and the subheading functions as caption in that it contextualises the photograph. The subheading implies that the reintroduction of border controls is a reaction to RASIM’s entry, this invoked by the adverb ‘as’ that here implies a reaction, rather than a temporal sequence. The depiction of the border guard patrolling with the dog, visually confronted to the group of RASIM inside the circle on the right, suffices to

potentially invoke an IMMIGRATION IS INVASION metaphor. Crucially, RASIM are further metaphorized by means of the Manner component in the event ‘migrants **pour in**’ instantiated in the subheading. This verbal form conceptualises migrants as a ‘liquid’; however, the dimensions are not as big as in the ‘wave’ discussed above (see also Chapter 2). It can be argued that the circular shape of the element in which RASIM are depicted can further resonate with that metaphorical expression. The circle is superimposed on the fence that the guard is patrolling, potentially metaphorizing the ‘hole’ through RASIM are ‘pouring in’, and therefore potentially conveying complex metaphorical patterns predicated on the PEOPLE ARE MOVING BODIES OF WATER and IMMIGRATION IS INVASION metaphors. Both metaphorical representations are inherently negative and depict RASIM as undesired elements against which different measures need to be enacted, in this case the reintroduction of border controls.

Last, as for visual/multimodal metonymy (also Figure 5.29 above), tents and life vests tend to stand for RASIM in a number of images:

Figure 5.34.

‘Life vest cemetery in the Greek island of Lesbos’, El Mundo, 19 Dec. 2015.



■ Cementerio de salvavidas de la isla griega de Lesbos. | ALBERTO ROJAS

In line with the humanitarian depiction of the RC deployed by *El Mundo*, this photo is interesting in that, in as much as RASIM are not present in the photo, and are only accessible by their assumed use of life vests in their trek, the potential emotional impact of the L-I combination is enhanced by the phrase ‘life vest cemetery’. Thousands of

people drowned and disappeared trying to arrive to Europe (UNHCR, 2017), and this combination not only foregrounds the dimensions of the situation (with big piles of life vests), but also its dramatic consequences. Besides, the weather circumstances (dark, overcast weather) can also invoke a visual BAD WEATHER ARE DIFFICULTIES metaphor that further depicts RASIM's situation as inherently negative and vulnerable to the inclemency of the weather. We do not encounter photos with bodies piled up after having been washed by the tides, but, rather, we observe a cemetery of life vests that potentially stands for those drowned in transit.

Figure 5.35.

'An image of the outskirts of Calais, 2 October 2015', El País, 7 Oct. 2015.



Una imagen de las afueras de Calais, el 2 de octubre de 2015. PASCAL ROSSIGNOL (REUTERS)

In Figure 5.35, RASIM are walking alongside a road nearby Calais camp. However, the focus is on their squalid conditions. The subheading of this report reads 'thousands of refugees and migrants' tents crowd Calais camp'. The elevated ANGLE in the image and subheading, along with its Long-Shot of the image detaches readers from the ground, preventing RASIM individuation. The blue colour of most tents, along with the proximity between them, reinforces the similarities and sense of crowdedness instantiated by the verb form 'crowd'. Such emphasis on inanimate objects focuses readers' attention on the situations brought about by RASIM, further detaching readers from their personal situations and emphasising the physical impact of their stay, where metonymy abstracts the complex reality faced by RASIM and narrows the scope of interpretations to RASIM

being reduced to the enactment of everyday activities that are non-transactive. In the case of *El Mundo*, however, L-I combinations can carry strong emotional entailments in line with its overall representation of the RC. Visual metaphors in Motion schemas seldom occur, however multimodal metaphors such as in Figure 5.15 are instantiated more often. *El Mundo* tends to deploy visually more humanitarian strategies, where *The Telegraph* tends to depict RASIM events in potentially metaphorical framings with negative implications.

5.5. Chapter summary

Chapter 5 has shown that RASIM in MOTION events during the RC can be construed in variety of ways. A common construal is that of RASIM as unbounded, multiplex entities (e.g., ‘migrants’, ‘refugees’). RASIM can often be metaphorized in terms of WATER, and also in terms of WAR, often construing uniplex Figures (‘a tide’, ‘an army’). Whichever means are chosen, RASIM in the role of Figures are homogenised, functionalised entities, invoking ‘observer’ perspectives that prevent the audience from directly engaging with them, or alternatively in images RASIM can constitute multiplex entities approaching the camera.

In terms of what Motion elements tend to be encoded in construal, which entails primarily DISTANCE phenomena, there is a marked tendency towards construing RASIM arriving to Goals. In both language and images Path-windowing construal tend to be final, encoding Figures in their entry or arrival to countries in the Balkans route, border controls between them, or refugee camps. Such final windowing occludes Sources and/or Trajectories, restricting the conceptualisations invoked in the mind of readers. Crucially, the focus is on RASIM arriving to locations in Europe, often ignoring, by means of Path-windowing adjustments, the Source (and push factors) for RASIM’s mobilisation.

Last, the semantic element Motion also tends to construe ‘arrival’ and ‘entry’, pragmatically encoding events from an ‘observer’ viewpoint when the location described (e.g., Austria) does not coincide with the actual physical location of the reader. RASIM are mostly construed in Dynamic-Motion events; however, there is a strong correlation between photographs depicting Static-Motion events and similar events being construed in captions. Static-Motion construals tend to depict RASIM ‘queueing’, ‘waiting’ and

‘standing’, reproducing negative stereotypes of RASIM as idle, passive and needy individuals. Some ‘spontaneous’ Static-Motion events have been observed that, by means of conceptual adjustments involving Path-windowing and schematisation (Motion vs. Force-Dynamics), are successful in mystifying the actual events that precluded the realisation of that given, ‘spontaneous’ event. This in turn can background European countries’ responsibilities towards RASIM; RASIM do not die in the sea because European countries are neglecting them, but, rather, their corpses ‘appear’ in a given beach. A general discussion is presented in Chapter 8 in relation to the other two domains.

Chapter 6. ACTION in the Refugee Crisis

6.0. Chapter overview

This chapter presents the findings of the Action-Chain patterns observed in the representation of RASIM during the Refugee Crisis (RC). Section 6.1 reports the main distributional patterns of Action-Chain schemas, and these are compared across modes, newspapers and countries. Section 6.2 presents the most relevant Action-Chain patterns observed in language, while Section 6.3 mirrors section 6.2 with a focus on images. Section 6.4 discusses Language-Image (L-I) configurations and their potential ideological import.

6.1. Action-Chain schemas distribution across the data

Action-Chain schemas (Langacker, 2008) in the data tend to represent events involving RASIM where there is a transferal of energy from an ‘energy source’ (Agent) to an ‘energy sink’ (Patient, or Recipient), optionally mediated by an Instrument or occasionally a Theme.⁷⁴ Enactors of schematisation, viewpoint and metaphor are (partially) responsible for the mental representations of Action-Chain events invoked in the minds of readers, and are examined concomitantly. This is because event conceptualisations come with a point of view value and because Actors, Patients, their Actions, and other elements may be construed metaphorically. Next, I highlight both converging and diverging patterns across newspapers and modes, as they potentially carry ideological implications.

6.1.1. Action-Chain schemas in language and images

Action-Chain schemas are proportionately more common in the data than Motion schemas, contrary to expectation. Motion and Force-dynamics events were expected to account for most of the events in which RASIM are involved. However, Action-Chain events are the second most common in the data (see Chapter 4).

⁷⁴ Recall that ACTION events are understood to be ultimately substantiated by some kind of FORCE interaction, where the distinction drawn here is employed for analytical purposes; see p. 87.

Table 6.1 indicates the relative frequency of Action-Chain schemas in relation to the reporting periods and newspapers examined. The percentages are calculated against the overall results that include Motion, Action-Chain and Force schemas coding. The overlaps/discrepancies in time periods are ignored to compare findings within the whole Action-Chain dataset, which is comprised of all instances of Action-Chain schemas in the corpus.

Table 6.1.

Relative frequencies of Action schemas in relation to Motion and Force.

Corpus	Period 1: Total N Language=4682 N Images=550				Period 2: Total N Language=4220 Total N Images=514				Period 3: Total N Language=4246 Total N Images=476			
<i>ACTION</i>	N Language		N Images		N Language		N Images		N Language		N Images	
<i>The Telegraph</i>	523	39.14%	64	33.16%	433	40.16%	64	50.79%	372	38.19%	53	45.68%
<i>The Guardian</i>	280	25.73%	4	5.71%	277	27.18%	42	40%	247	26.7%	42	50%
<i>El Mundo</i>	326	28.92%	60	45.8%	296	30.99%	48	36.64%	279	22.26%	77	51.67%
<i>El País</i>	299	26.43%	62	39.74%	265	22.68%	45	29.6%	246	22.48%	58	45.66%
Total N	1428		190		1271		199		1144		230	
Average %	30.49%		35.54%		30.11%		38.71%		26.94%		48.31%	

In period 1 *The Telegraph*, with 39.14% of events schematised within the domain of ACTION, is the newspaper with the highest proportion. The other three newspapers schematise events as Action-Chain on more than a quarter of occasions. *El Mundo* is the Spanish newspaper which represents events as Action-Chain more often, also in images, with about 46% of events schematised this way. *El País* is proportionately close to *El Mundo* and depicts RASIM events in images as Action-Chain in almost 40% of cases. In this period, except for *The Telegraph*⁷⁵ and *The Guardian* (which displays the lowest proportion in images; 5.71%) newspapers tend to represent events in images as Action-Chain 10% more than in language.

The average totals for period 2 are similar, however the frequencies for each newspaper display significant variation, with *The Guardian* showing the largest increase in images. *The Telegraph* schematises events as Action-Chain in more than 40% of cases, while in

⁷⁵ *The Telegraph* in period 1 represents events as Action-Chain less frequently in images than it does in language.

images that figure reaches 50%, which means that Action-Chain was the most common visual pattern found in the data coded for *The Telegraph* during period 2. The increase in *The Guardian* is relatively small, of about 1.5% in language but 35% in images. *El Mundo* presents an inverse pattern in relation to period 1, with events schematised as Action-Chain in language increasing minimally; however, in images the decrease is of almost 10%. *El País* also shows a decrease in both modes, where the most significant decrease is in images where events schematised as Action-Chain are 10% lower than in period 1.

Last, period 3 is interesting in that newspapers (except for *The Telegraph*), display a significant increase in events visually schematised as Action-Chain. Both Spanish newspapers show an increase of about 15% in relation to period 2, while in language such trend is reversed. The decrease in *El País* is none, but in *El Mundo* is almost of almost 10%. *The Guardian* shows a pattern similar to *El País*'s, with an increase of 10% in images. In terms of average totals, more than quarter of events are schematised as Action-Chain in language, while in images such schematisation patterns account for almost half of the data.

In contrast with Motion events, which I argued at a general level displayed a relatively high level of intersemiotic convergence (Hart & Marmol Queralto, 2021), for Action-Chain representational patterns can differ significantly across periods, newspapers and modes. Such variation can be better understood in relation to what events were deemed more important by newspapers within their ecologies. Variation at a general level is discussed next.

6.1.2. Action-Chain schemas in British vs. Spanish newspapers

Table 6.1 showed differences that require further examination. Within British newspapers, it is observed a rather steady trend in the proportion of representations involving Action-Chain with an overall increase in events visually represented as Action-Chain, albeit with a decrease in *The Telegraph* in period 3. *The Guardian* displays an increase of 45% of events visually schematised as Action-Chain between period 1 and 3. Spanish newspapers follow relatively parallel patterns, albeit *El Mundo* increases the number of events linguistically schematised as Action-Chain in period 2 in contrast with

El País. In period 3 both newspapers display a decrease of events linguistically schematised as Action-Chain, and an increase of about 15% in images.

More generally, Action-Chain schematisation in British vs. Spanish newspapers display patterns that further refute those findings reported in Chapter 5; the variation between British newspapers is more acute and very possibly responds to the sociopolitical events affecting British society (namely the Brexit campaigns and referendum in 2016). Spanish newspapers are proportionately much ‘closer’ to each other, further reflecting media convergence patterns discussed in Chapter 4.

Table 6.2.

Action schemas frequency in British vs. Spanish newspapers.

Corpus	Domain			
	<i>Mode</i>			
	ACTION			
	<i>Language</i>		<i>Images</i>	
	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>
<i>British newspapers</i>	2132	33.18%	269	37.15%
<i>Spanish newspapers</i>	1711	25.48%	350	41.42%
Total N	2558		544	
Average %	29.33%		39.28%	

Table 6.2 displays the average relative frequency of events schematised as Action-Chain in British vs. Spanish newspapers in language and images. Considering the whole dataset in relation to Motion and Force-dynamic schemas, events schematised as Action-chain account for 29.3% of cases in language, while they account for 39% of events in images. This way, almost 30% of the linguistic data has been coded as Action-Chain, while in images the proportion reaches 39% of occurrences. Proportionately, British newspapers choose to represent events during the RC in terms of Action-Chain more often in language, while Spanish newspapers display a higher proportion of images schematised as Action-Chain.

A more detailed discussion of this disparities is offered in 6.2.1.1. Next, I report general patterns of representation in language.

6.2. Action-Chain in language

Action-Chain⁷⁶ events tend to conceptually encode transfers of energy from an Agent, as the initiator of the Action, to a Patient, as the entity receiving that action (Langacker, 2008), optionally mediated by an Instrument or Theme. During the RC, and reflecting previous findings (see Chapter 2), it was found that RASIM tend to be depicted as Patients/Recipients, and hence at the energy ‘sink’, of the flow of energy. Such representations can (re)produce ideologically vested social understandings of RASIM as passive, idle individuals who, depending on the context in which they undergo change or are acted upon, can also be represented as underserving or illegitimate collectives. When RASIM are cast as Agents, the contexts sustaining such representations are more restricted and often encode RASIM in events where their actions are either inherently negative — and therefore potentially enacting negative-Other representation strategies — or participating in everyday events that depict them as regular individuals in socially neutral contexts. The differences between newspapers are rather stark, where British newspapers display the most aggressive reporting (see Moore et al, 2018). Next, I report the main events in focus and the variation between British and Spanish newspapers.

6.2.1. Action-Chain events in focus

Action-Chain events in the data are diverse because they encompass processes within the domain of ACTION including physical actions (e.g., ‘attack’, ‘build’), and their metaphorical senses (e.g., ‘to *harden* migrants’ conditions’). Recall that the Spanish data covers the periods August-December 2015 (periods 1 and 2) and May-June 2016 (period 3), while the British data covers the periods September-October 2015 (period 1), January-February 2016 and May-June 2016 (periods 2 and 3). This disparity sustains general

⁷⁶ Here I report on *asymmetrical* schemas. See 6.2.3 for reciprocal schemas.

differences in reporting. Overall, in the representation of the RC in terms of Action-Chain, newspapers tend to focus on:

(a) August-December 2015

- Shipwrecks, rescue events and deaths in the Mediterranean;
- Incidents in the Western-Balkans countries' frontiers and makeshift camps;
- Fence building by Western-Balkans' countries;
- Violent incidents on frontier events, Germany and Denmark;
- Ceuta and Melilla within the Tarajal beach⁷⁷ killings context;
- Alan Kurdi's death.

(b) January-June 2016⁷⁸

- Greece's situation in relation to the EU-Turkey deal;
- The Pope's visit to Greece;
- RASIM's situation in refugee camps;
- RASIM's impact on employment and culture in the context of the Brexit campaigns;
- Calais camp dismantling;
- Sex attacks in Germany;
- Alleged connections between the Islamic State and RASIM mobilisation;
- Turkey's treatment of RASIM.

It is observed that the focus of Action-Chain events is geographically limited to the EU (then including the UK), and Turkey. In the functional regions analysed within news reports (see Chapter 4), Syria and other Middle East countries tend to be out of the scope, and RASIM events are represented as mostly affecting the EU. This correlates with the patterns observed for Motion events, which focused on arrival and travel events within the EU, commonly backgrounding the Path-Source of migratory processes. It was only when RASIM deportations started after the EU-Turkey deal that Turkey became especially prominent, albeit the negotiations were also often covered by newspapers.

⁷⁷ See Chapter 1.

⁷⁸ The periods observed in 2016 do not include March.

6.2.1.1. Action-Chain events in Spanish vs. British newspapers

Several events were observed to come into focus specifically in Spanish or British newspapers. Generally, Spanish newspapers display a high degree of convergence and represent RASIM in Action-Chain events mostly outside Spain and within the lines indicated in 6.2.1. However, an emphasis on the difficult situations of RASIM in camps and in their locations of arrival (e.g., Germany) is observed. In such events RASIM tend to be cast as Patient and are acted upon in ways which depict them negatively or as idle individuals (e.g., they are *attacked*, *linked* with terrorism, *rescued*, etc.), and there is also coverage of the process of the Tarajal killings. RASIM are cast as Agents in demonstrations and protests,⁷⁹ but they are much more often cast as Patients. Overall, Spanish newspapers display humanitarian representations of RASIM events, where *El Mundo* stands out due to its emphasis on the negative circumstances faced by RASIM, and because of the focus on important political actors (e.g., the Pope) in their role as ‘conscience stirrers’. While there are differences, Spanish reporting is rather streamlined and both newspapers depict RASIM events in a relative humanitarian light, emphasising their plight and the responsibility of countries to ensure their rightful treatment.

Conversely, the contrast between *The Guardian* and *The Telegraph* is stark. Such contrast might respond to the editorial lines of newspapers (see Chapter 4), but this can be more prominently linked to their support of either Leave or Remain campaigns after the Brexit referendum was scheduled in early 2016. *The Guardian* clearly pushed for a humanitarian representation of events during the RC, supporting the Remain campaign since January 2016, also shifting the focus and including European migration, which is represented as positive on the whole. *The Guardian* also contends with the representations of migration that Leave campaigners operationalised in the first half of 2016. Conversely, *The Telegraph* represents RASIM events during the RC and migration in a rather negative light, in terms of ‘invasion’ and economic and cultural ‘threat’, clearly supporting the Leave campaign. The focus is on the negative effects that migration might bring about, with a focus on employment, terrorism and more generally threats to British culture. Some clear examples of these ideologically relevant patterns are reflected in alternative reporting on the New Year’s sex attacks in Cologne, the dismantling of Calais refugee camp, and the roles given to RASIM in demonstration/riots events in border controls.

⁷⁹ An alternative analysis of protest events is offered Chapter 7.

While Spanish newspapers display subtle differences but coincide in depicting Action-Chain events during the RC from a mostly humanitarian perspective, British newspapers see their reporting intertwined with the Brexit campaigns, which results in a number of articles focusing on European migration and its purported effects on Britain.

Next, the exposition and discussion of findings focus on the particular enactors of the different Action-Chain elements, while I highlight some of the conceptual dimensions along which alternative construals of an Action-Chain event may vary.

6.2.2. *Instantiations of Agent, Instrument and Patient*

Agents in the RC embody those entities that initiate transactive⁸⁰ processes. Patients embody those entities which are acted upon or that undergo change following an Agent's Action, and Instruments/Themes are those optional entities mediating the interactions between Agents and Patients (Langacker, 2008). This section reports findings on the more general question, in the context of asymmetrical Action-Chain events during the RC, of 'who (*Agent*) does what to whom (*Patient*) [by means of what (*Instrument/Theme*)]'. I discuss these elements concomitantly, and I enrich the discussion with viewpoint and metaphor analysis when relevant.

The instantiations of Agents in Action-Chain events during the RC are much more varied than the instantiations of Figure in Motion events, with RASIM typically cast in the role of Patient. While in Motion events Figures are typically different configurations of RASIM, Agents in Action-Chain events are typically governments, governmental forces (i.e., police, the army), and less frequently RASIM. It is not practical, then, to formulate an inventory of prototypical enactors as in Chapter 5. However, general patterns are extracted and Agents and Patients tend to be functionalised (van Leeuwen, 2008).

(1)

- a) **The Greek coastguard** (A) rescues **more than 240 people** (P) from the Aegean Sea (TG, 29.10.15)
- b) **Macedonian police** (A) fire teargas (I) at [**crowds** breaking through frontier fence] (P) (TG, 29.2.16)

⁸⁰ There are also cases of non-transactive events where the Agent undergoes some type of change, see (2).

- c) *Macedonia vuelve a lanzar gases contra los refugiados en Idomeni* (EM, 13.4.16)

Macedonia (A) throws gas (I) against **refugees** (P) again in Idomeni

- d) *Europa levanta muros, físicos o simbólicos, para contener la ola de refugiados* (EP, 12.11.15)

Europe (A) erects **walls** (P), physical or symbolic, [to contain the wave of refugees] (O)⁸¹

- e) *“Los golpes con palos, patadas y pedradas” propinados por las fuerzas marroquíes a los inmigrantes* (EP, 17.11.15)

“The baton strikes, kicks and stones” (I) dealt by **the Moroccan forces** (A) to **immigrants** (P)

- f) *“Los de Frontex miraban desde su barco mientras sacábamos refugiados del mar”* (EM, 29.10.15)

“**Frontex staff** (A) looked from their boat while **we** (A) picked **refugees** (P) out of the water”

- g) *“Los policías serbios los miran como si no existieran [...] como una mercancía, mera gestión de residuos”* (EM, 30.11.15)

“**Serbian police** (A) look at **them** (P) as if they did not exist [...] like objects, simple waste management”

Instances in (1)⁸² include contexts in which RASIM are cast as Patients, where Agents are realised by governmental forces (1a/b, 1e-g). These forces are routinely functionalised, and hence their actions can be automatically legitimised by the respective government, as they are understood to act under a given government’s orders. While instantiations of Agents can prompt bounded uniplex conceptualisations such in (1a), encoded by the definite article ‘the’ identifying a specific group of coastguards within a broader collective ‘coastguard’ as an uncountable plural noun, national police forces are more common and are further specified as such (e.g., ‘Serbian police’ in (1g)). Such constructions can prompt in the mind of readers unbounded multiplex conceptualisations homogenised by the nationality marker and the function imposed on the collective. These lexicalisations encode perspectives allowing for some degree of resolution (i.e., the

⁸¹ The sub-event ‘to contain the wave of refugees’ in (1d) is schematised in terms of Force-dynamics, see Chapter 7.

⁸² In Spanish examples, the original text is displayed in italics with my translation underneath.

function of the collective), but impose an ‘elevated’ perspective from which the number and quality of individuals is undistinguishable. Furthermore, it can be argued that (1c/d) encode elevated ANGLE perspectives. These can be prompted by rendering countries and international organisations as uniplex structures by means of WHOLE FOR PART metonymies (e.g., ‘Europe’ for ‘European countries’). In such cases the degree of resolution is extremely low: in (1d) ‘Europe’ invokes a bounded uniplex entity which is not made up of further entities. This in turn further *abstracts* (van Leeuwen, 2008) the Agent and makes it inaccessible for readers to ascertain *who* actually erected the ‘walls’. Such perspectives are ideologically relevant because they make individual actors indistinguishable, and hence the Action cannot be unambiguously attributed to specific Agents. Due to the potential criticism that governmental actions could face during the RC, newspapers’ choices seem to reflect such opacity and further disconnect readers from the actual Agents in such contexts.

Example (1) gathers physical Action-Chain events (i.e., ‘rescue’, ‘fire’, ‘pick up’, ‘erect’). RASIM are routinely rendered as Patients prompting unbounded multiplex conceptualisations encoded in plural inflections without determinants (e.g., ‘refugees’). (1b/c) are prototypical cases of construals of social unrest in border frontiers scenarios. Both refer to RASIM’s situations in Idomeni camps in early 2016. The lexicalisation of Patient in (1b/c) can be ideologically relevant. Both depict a scene in which a group of people are acted upon mediated by an Instrument (Langacker, 2008) (‘gas’ or ‘teargas’). Importantly, *The Telegraph* chooses to categorise the Patient as the more schematic ‘crowds’, while *El Mundo* renders them as ‘refugees’. *The Telegraph* focuses on the volume/quantity of people, while *El Mundo* foregrounds their functionalisation. Both render the Patient as unbounded multiplex entities; however, ‘crowd’ conveys disorder and spatial constraint and is schematised within a Force-dynamics event (Talmy, 2000) with possible negative entailments (e.g., police are reacting to RASIM’s attempts to ‘break in’). Additionally, (1d) enacts what I denominate ‘conceptual distancing’. (1d) construes ‘Europe’ as a uniplex bounded entity which erects (symbolic and physical) ‘walls’ as Patients. The intended outcome (O), or purpose of such erection, entailed by the preposition *para* (‘to/for’), is containing RASIM. Crucially, the action of ‘containment’ is conceptualised within the domain of FORCE (see next chapter), and the walls are meant to block ‘the wave of refugees’ in its role of Agonist, which instantiates an IMMIGRANTS ARE MOVING BODIES OF WATER CM. This way, Europe pragmatically

encodes an Antagonist in the process of ‘containing’ RASIM; however, the construal distances Europe from RASIM by means of nested clauses, imposing ‘conceptual distance’ and hence not attributing (directly) to the EU the action of containment, but only that of the erection of walls.

RASIM (or associated entities) are cast as Agents in restricted contexts, of which (2) illustrates ideologically relevant cases:

(2)

a) *Mas de 2000 migrantes han muerto en el Mediterráneo en lo que va de año* (EP, 4.8.15)

More than 2000 migrants (A) have died in the Mediterranean so far this year

b) *Las refugiadas se ‘ganan’ el pan* (EM, 11.9.15)

The female refugees (A) ‘earn’ **their bread** (P)

c) **An image of a boy lying on a beach** (A) sparked **an international outcry** (P) (TT, 3.9.15)

d) *La crisis migratoria ahonda la fractura Este-Oeste en el seno de la UE* (EP, 11.5.16)

The migration crisis (A) deepens **the East-West fracture** (P) within the EU

(2a) represents a prototypical event in which migrants are conceptualised as an unbounded multiplex entity invoking an EXCESS schema (see Chapter 5). Migrants reach the upper limit enacted by the figure (‘2000’) and exceed it, highlighting the volume of migrants. The verb ‘*morir*’ (‘die’) in *han muerto* construes a non-transactional event in which the Agent undergoes change (Figure 6.1.1),⁸³ in this case the outcome is death (symbolised by the bold vector). Importantly, such event-construal focuses on the entities undergoing change and where it occurred, but other potentially relevant information is absent (e.g., the way they died, and their reasons to cross the Mediterranean). (2b) is one of the few occasions in which RASIM are represented positively. In this event, a bounded multiplex entity functionalised as ‘refugees’ and classified in terms of sex (‘the female refugees’), is represented in the process of ‘earning their bread’. In such a context, with

⁸³ The diagrammatic notation system follows that of Chapter 3.

RASIM undertaking an everyday activity (i.e., working), the representation is positive and can legitimise their situation. Further, the Spanish expression ‘to win one’s bread’ connotes hard work, potentially invoking positive emotional entailments in that the country of asylum, crucially, *does not* need to provide for them.

Figure 6.1.1.

Action-Chain schema in (2a).

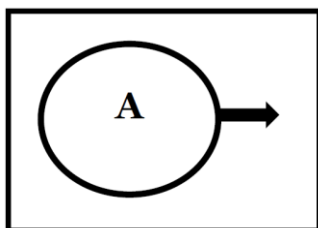
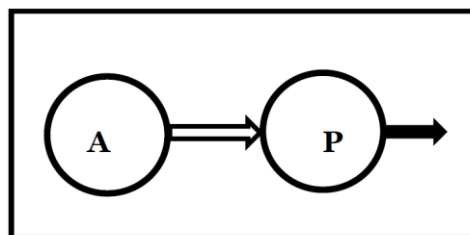


Figure 6.1.2.

Action-Chain schema in (2b).



Examples (2c/d) cast RASIM as Agents in events framed within ideologically relevant contexts. (2c) refers to the death of Aylan Kurdi in September 2015. It is ideologically crucial to note that the phrase metonymically enacting the Agent (‘an image of...’) encodes an entity engaged in a Static-Motion event (‘a boy lying on a beach’) rather than the Patient of an Action of ‘killing’ (e.g., ‘the body of a boy killed in a shipwreck’). The metonymical attribution of agency to the (image of the) dead boy can detach readers from events occurring in the Greek islands by attributing agency to a deceased person, focusing on the impact of the dissemination of the images rather than on the events leading to such scene. (2c), then, encodes another case of ‘conceptual distancing’. In (2d) the RC is cast as the Agent and is conceptualised as a uniplex bounded entity. (2d) is contextualised within the negotiations between countries and the EU with regards to the refugee settlement quota system, to which Eastern countries opposed. The RC is then responsible for creating problems in the EU, these conceptualised within an IMPORTANCE IS DEPTH (Lakoff et al, 1991, p. 13) metaphor predicated against a VERTICALITY schema; the ‘fracture’ between West and East is ‘further deepened’, and therefore the problem becomes more important.

In terms of viewpoint phenomena, Action-Chain events tend to encode DISTANCE:Medium-shot (e.g., 2b/c) or Long-shot (e.g., 2a) perspectives in the majority of events; that is, either the scene depicted includes the minimal elements making up the

topology of the event (Agent, Patient and Action), or event-construal includes temporal or spatial information.

(3)

- a) **Police officer** (P) severely wounded after attack by **Palestinian man** (A) who unsuccessfully tried to claim asylum in Denmark (TT, 30.9.15)
- b) Europe in crisis (O) over **sex attacks** (T) **by migrants** (A) (TT, 8.1.16)
- c) **Eight Syrian refugees** (P) have been shot dead **by Turkish border guards** (A) [...] three children, four women and one man (TG, 19.6.16)
- d) *Al menos 5 muertos y 14 heridos graves entre Marzo y Abril por las balas Turcas en la frontera con Siria* (EM, 11.5.16)

At least 5 dead and 14 gravely injured (P) between March and April **by Turkish bullets** (I) in the frontier with Syria

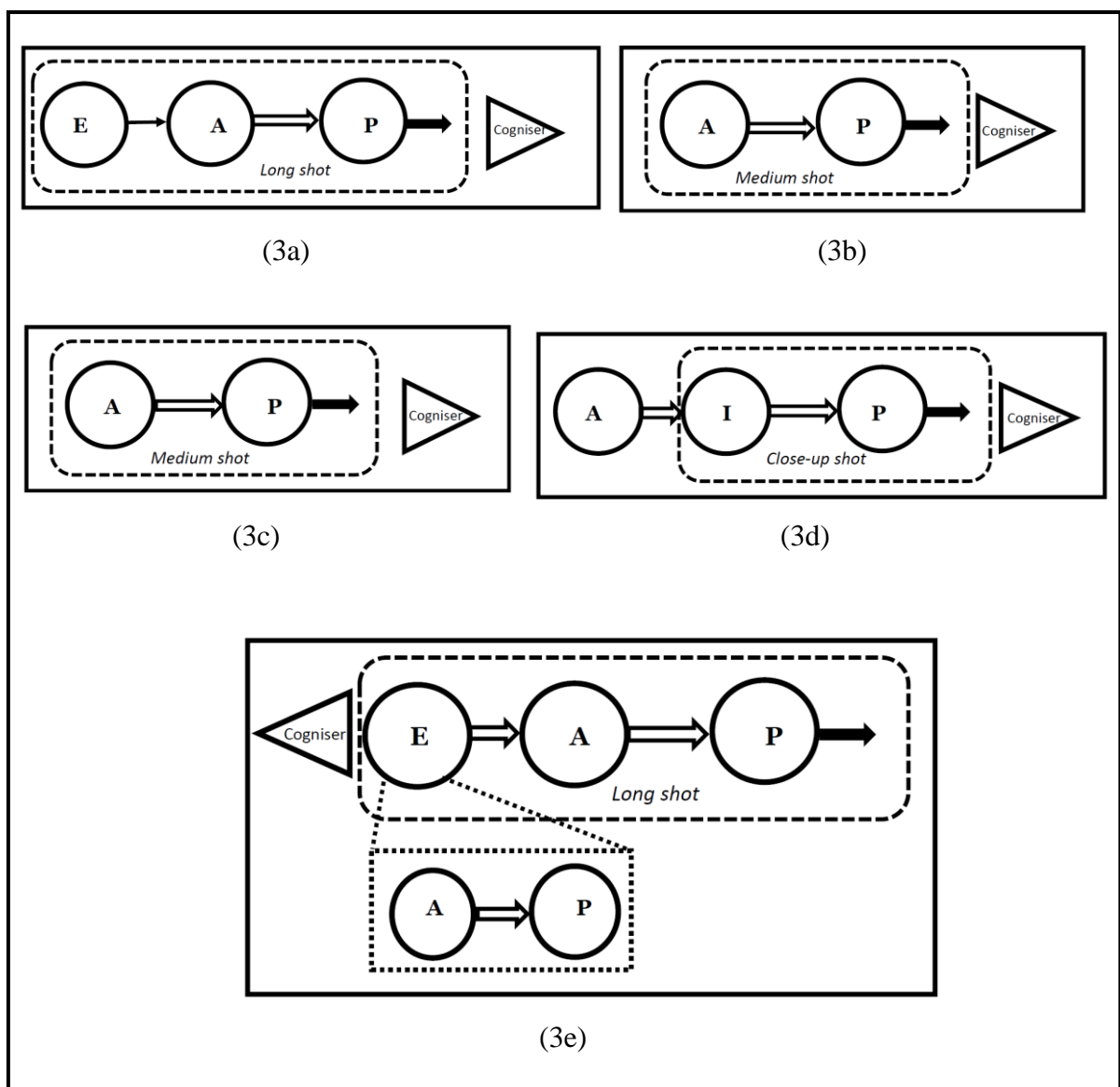
- e) **Turkish border guards** (A) kill **11** (P) after ‘firing indiscriminately’ **at Syrian refugees** (P) (TT, 19.6.16)

(3) (see Figure 6.2) includes Action-Chain events with potentially ideologically relevant viewpoint patterns. The passive voice construction in (3a) prompts ego-alignment with the Patient, a ‘police officer’, potentially prompting readers to conceptualise the event from the wounded Patient perspective; the relative clause expands the shot by including a previous event which can further delegitimise the Action undertaken by the ‘Palestinian man’. (3b) is partially similar, where readers potentially conceptualise the event from Europe’s perspective, which results in crisis after the ‘sex attacks’ committed by ‘migrants’. In (3b) the victims of the sex attacks are not lexicalised; the Outcome abstracts the entities in crisis and subsumes them in the encompassing ‘Europe’. (3c-e) construe events where RASIM were killed by border guards. (3c/d) instantiate ANCHOR:Patient perspectives encoded by passive voice constructions. Foregrounding the Patient potentially engages readers with their situation, but at the same it relegates the Actor to a final position, de-emphasising their Actions. When RASIM are cast as Patient, the ‘resolution’ employed can be greater at eye-level perspectives enabling readers to ‘see’ individual actors, as in (3c) where the ‘8 Syrian refugees’ are further classified. Such ‘resolution’ enables readers to (partially) appreciate RASIM’s individual properties, enhancing the possibility for engagement. (3d) is interesting because DISTANCE adjustments remove the Agent from construal. While the passive voice again foregrounds

the Patient and invites readers to adopt an ANCHOR:Patient perspective, the PART FOR WHOLE metonymy ‘Turkish bullets’ focuses on the Instrument used to kill RASIM, virtually backgrounding the Agent of which we only know its national origin (i.e., Turkey). Last, (3e) is construed in active voice prompting readers to conceptualise the event from the Agent’s perspective, potentially increasing the degree of agency by means of DISTANCE:Long-shot adjustments: the guards kill RASIM after firing at them, expanding the shot to include the act of firing prior to the killing.

Figure 6.2.

Viewpoints in (3).



(4)

- a) *Muere de un disparo un inmigrante en la frontera entre Turquía y Bulgaria* (EM, 16.10.15)

Killed by **a shot** (I) **an immigrant** (P) in the frontier between Turkey and Bulgaria

- b) *Una treintena de menores sirios sufrió abusos y violaciones en un campo turco* (EM, 12.5.16)

Around thirty Syrian minors (P) suffered **abuse and raping** (T) in a Turkish camp

- c) *Un muerto por un incendio en un centro para refugiados en Alemania* (EP, 6.1.15)

One dead (P) because of **a fire** (I) in a refugee centre in Germany.

(4) displays cases instantiating Close-Up perspectives, which can conceptually remove entities from the scene with obvious ideological effects. First, such constructions focus on the events affecting RASIM due to the passive voice construction (4b/c), while the Close-Up shot enables the Agent to remain ‘unfleshed’. (4a) (Figure 6.3.1) encodes a DISTANCE:Close-Up ‘viewed’ from the perspective of the unfleshed Agent by means of active voice. Similar to (3d), the reification of the action of shooting in the noun ‘shot’ relegates the Agent to the semantic background. The reifications ‘abuse’ and ‘raping’ in (4b) abstract possible Agents, while the Patient perspective is prompted by the passive voice. Last, in (4c) the event is conceptualised from the Patient’s perspective due to the information structure of the clause, which foregrounds the resulting state of the Patient. In (4c), which is contextualised within the xenophobic attacks suffered by RASIM in Germany, the prepositional phrase *por un incendio* can mean ‘as a result of a fire’ or ‘by a fire’. Either way, such construal removes the natural causes for the fire to start, or potential arsonist (Agent), from conceptualisation, and hence the event construed is rather neutral in that an event of unspecified origin (the fire) is responsible for the death of the migrant.

Figure 6.3.1.

Viewpoint in (4b).

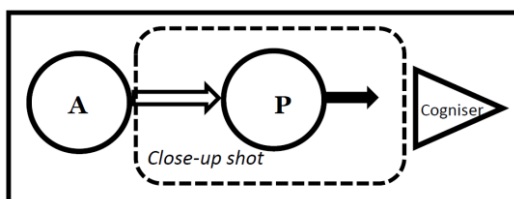
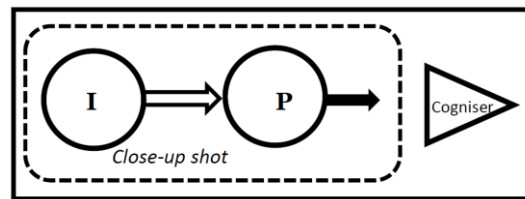


Figure 6.3.2.

Viewpoint in (4c).



The analysis reflects the variation and potential ideological effects of lexicalisation patterns within Action-Chain schemas (Langacker, 2008) in the reporting of the RC. RASIM are routinely cast as Patients, with different degrees of ‘resolution’. DISTANCE and ANCHOR adjustments are especially relevant for events conceptualised within the domain of ACTION. DISTANCE adjustments (i.e., Close-Up shots) can ‘remove’ Agents negatively affecting RASIM, in combination with active or passive voice construals which can align readers with Agents or Patients, respectively. RASIM are routinely acted upon and therefore their degree of agency is, generally, *low*, reinforcing and/or reproducing stereotypes of RASIM as passive, idle and homogeneous collectives.

6.2.3. Reciprocal Action-Chain schemas

Section 6.2.2 examined *unidirectional* Action-Chain events. *Reciprocal* Action-Chain events depict scenes where two Agents act upon each other, and the flow of energy is bidirectional (see Chapter 3). Reciprocal Action-Chain events are rare in the data, and they often construe RASIM, NGOs, or other pressure groups, engaged with police forces in the context of civil protests or incidents unfolding from such protests. I briefly refer to the next examples (also, see 6.3.3 and 6.4).

(5)

- a) Clashes between **police** (A1) and **migrants** (A2) continued into Monday (TG, 29.2.16)
- b) **Hundreds of migrants** (A1) clashed with **police** (A2) on Monday (TT, 21.6.16)
- c) *Enfrentamientos entre la policía y migrantes* (EM, 5.9.15)

Clashes between **the police** (A1) and **migrants** (A2)

d) *El pacto migratorio entre la UE y Turquía se resquebraja* (EP, 16.5.16)

The migration deal (I) between **the EU** (A1) and **Turkey** (A2) falls apart

When RASIM are engaged in reciprocal Action-Chain events, these very often include the nominalisation ‘clash’ or its plural form ‘clashes’, or the Reciprocal status of the event is signalled by the prepositions ‘between’ or ‘with’ in both Spanish and English. Such nominalisations impose perspectives where the actions of Agent-1 and Agent-2 are indistinguishable; the ‘clashes’ are rendered as uniplex, temporally static events. The temporal dimension can be introduced by verbal phrases such in (5a), imposing DISTANCE:Long-shot adjustments. The most ideologically relevant dimensions in (5) are those of viewpoint due to the potential of alternatively perspectivized events to have alternative cognitive effects in conceptualisation processes. Such viewpoint patterns are visuo-schematically represented as follows:

Figure 6.4.

Viewpoint in (5a).

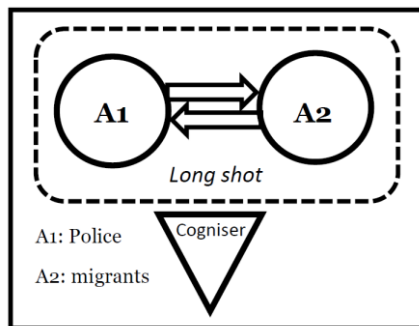


Figure 6.5.

Viewpoint in (5b).

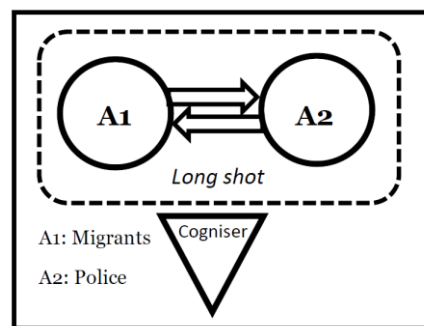
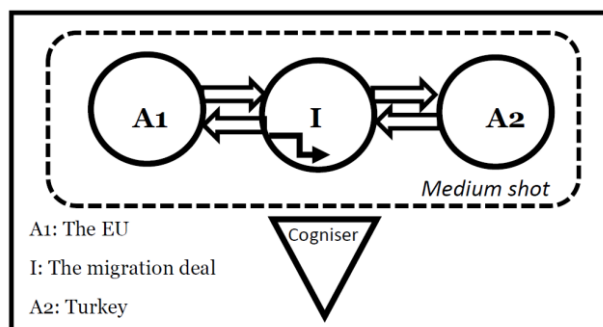


Figure 6.6.

Viewpoint in (5d).



According to Hart's (2013b, 2018a) theory and empirical findings, the linguistically realised relative 'positions' of Agents in reciprocal Action-Chain events can encode ideological meanings. In (5), it can be argued that those entities cast as Agent-1 are those with whom readers are more likely to ego-align — Agent-1 can be thought of as the 'pragmatic initiator' and/or responsible of the event rendered in event-construal, Agent-1's role in the event "is contested and therefore constitutes news" (Hart, 2014, p. 127). It was observed that only *The Telegraph* encodes RASIM in Agent-1 position. This topicalisation can have subtle but important ideological implications, namely that RASIM started the confrontation and thus are to blame for any negative outcomes of such event. *El Mundo* and *The Guardian* agree on placing 'police' as Agent-1 and therefore the potential effect is the opposite: police's actions are potentially conceptualised as negative, where the violence of the event is potentially underpinned by police's actions. Alternatively, (5d) represents the EU-Turkey deal and encodes a reciprocal Action-Chain event prompted by the preposition *entre* ('between'). The topicalization of 'the migration deal' can prompt an observer's perspective. (5d) frames the 'deal' within the IDEAS ARE CONSTRUCTED OBJECTS metaphor, which can in turn 'fall apart in the seams' (symbolised by the single stepped arrow), meaning the deal is undergoing a difficult situation.

In sum, Viewpoint patterns are ideologically important in the conceptualisation of reciprocal Action-Chain events. *The Telegraph* is the only newspaper which tends to locate RASIM in Agent-1 position, reflecting previous findings (Hart, 2013b, 2018a) and potentially prompting readers to conceptualise RASIM as initiating the clashes, enacting a subtle blame-allocation strategy. The other newspapers, following a more humanitarian representation of the RC, tend to render RASIM in Agent-2 position, potentially blaming police forces for the events in which they participate, and hence subtly exculpating RASIM in such events.

6.2.4. Variation across newspapers

Variation across newspapers reflects the dynamicity of the RC, however variation can also respond to nationally-constrained factors (e.g., the Brexit campaigns) and to the editorial lines of newspapers (conservative vs. liberal). Spanish newspapers represent Action-Chain events in relatively similar ways, deploying humanitarian representational

strategies in which RASIM's dramatic situations are foregrounded, and also the EU's and countries' (e.g., Hungary) actions can be criticised.

Examples (1d-g) gathered several ideologically relevant event-construals that reflect Spanish newspapers' convergent criticism of Eastern-European countries' and the EU's actions. In (1d) *El País* reflects the 'Fortress Europe' approach criticised by NGOs and pressure groups, which focused on 'containment' measures and not on humanitarian actions. Examples (1f/g) by *El Mundo* perspectivized the events from the Agent perspective and depicted 'Frontex staff' and 'Serbian police' as relatively inactive Agents that did not participate in actions aimed at saving RASIM and improving their situations. Both Agents are engaged in actions of 'looking', decreasing their agency and hence subtly criticising their passivity. In (1f), Frontex is represented simply 'observing' while other Agents help refugees out of the water. (1g) further frames RASIM within the PEOPLE ARE OBJECTS metaphor, emphasising the dehumanising treatment that RASIM received from Serbian authorities. Alternatively, (1e) from *El País* focuses on the treatment of RASIM in the Spain-Morocco border by Moroccan forces, topicalizing the Instruments employed, where the lexicalisation of 'stones' portrays Morocco's forces' actions as illegitimate. (6) further illustrates humanitarian representations during the RC:

(6)

a) *La UE endurece la lista de remedios que aplica a la crisis de refugiados* (EP, 10.11.15)

The EU (A) hardens the list of remedies (P/I) it applies to the refugee crisis (R)

b) *'Con sus cuatro helicópteros se salvarían vidas de muchos refugiados'* (EM, 5.11.1)

'With their four helicopters (I) lives of many refugees (P) could be saved'

In (6a) *El País* represents the situations faced by RASIM within a DIFFICULTY IS HARDNESS OF OBJECT metaphor (Lakoff et al., 1991, p. 195). The event is contextualised within the different measures put in place by the EU to deal with the RC, highlighting the EU's actions in relation to those measures ('the list of remedies'). Those 'remedies' undergo change and result being 'hardened', meaning that the EU changes its approach resulting in more difficult situations for refugees to be accepted as such in European countries. These 'remedies', spelled out in the lead paragraph of the report, included 'coercive measures', such as detentions, but more abstractly 'any instrument available'.

Such construal represents the EU in a negative light because rather than making RASIM's access to European countries and their systems of asylum easier and faster, the EU is depicted making RASIM's situations increasingly more difficult. (6b) from *El Mundo* is similarly critical but focuses on a specific type of measure. (6b) reports the words of an NGO representative after 4 helicopters were used to escort the first 30 refugees being resettled from Athens to Luxembourg in November 2015. The possessive pronoun 'their' refers to the politicians present in the event (indicated in the subheading as Dimitris Avramopoulos, Alexis Tsipras, Martin Schulz and Jean Asselborn), connecting the event with the EU's actions during November 2015. The EU was heavily criticised during the RC because of the insufficient volume of resources employed in the Mediterranean and Aegean seas, while simultaneously Frontex launched several campaigns aimed at intercepting people-smugglers, rather than assisting RASIM in their transit (Cusumano, 2018). (6b) is ideologically important because it invites readers to construct a 'scalar model' (Croft & Cruse, 2004, p. 239); a specific (relatively low) number of helicopters could save the lives of an undetermined, potentially much higher, number of RASIM, and thus that scalar difference depicts the actions of the EU as insufficient. (6) then shows how Spanish newspapers converged in representing the EU's actions as insufficient (6b) and negative towards RASIM's situations (6a), further indicating Spanish newspapers' humanitarian approach towards the representation of the RC.

As for British newspapers, I focus on (1) the reported impact of European migration on British employment and culture during the Brexit campaigns, and (2) the Calais refugee camp dismantling in early 2016.

(7)

- a) **Immigration from mainland Europe** (A) will "change **the face**" of **Britain** (P) (TT, 29.5.16)
- b) Far from the unfounded headlines about **EU migrants** (A) grabbing **British jobs** (P), record numbers of British citizens (F) are in work (G) too (TG, 18.2.16)

(7a/b) are contextualised within the Brexit campaigns. *The Telegraph* supported the Leave campaign, while *The Guardian* supported the Remain campaign. (7a) showcases the 'topos of culture' (Wodak, 1996), potentially enacting an IMMIGRATION IS SOCIAL DISASTER CM. The event is perspectivized from within Britain as encoded by the prefix

‘im’ in ‘immigration’ and the prepositional phrase ‘from mainland Europe’.⁸⁴ The event expands ‘immigration’ to any kind of migration coming from the European continent (a potential subtle reference to the Re-Settlement quota system), which would metaphorically change ‘the face’ of Britain, clearly implying that Britain’s identity and culture are under attack. In contrast, (7b) debunks newspapers’ articles on the negative impact of EU migrants on British employment, invoking and contesting the common ‘job-grabbing’ negative representation of RASIM, and contending that unemployment in Britain was actually in a historical low. Importantly, the representation of British people as ‘working’ is encoded in a Static-Motion event in which the Figure ‘British citizens’ occupy the Ground ‘in work’, this in turn represents ‘work’ as a ‘location’ which British citizens occupy, rather than as something they *do*, and therefore potentially decreasing the sense of dynamicity and the possibilities for British citizens to be ‘removed’ from that Ground.

(8)

- a) Calais 'jungle': **Migrants** (A) set **tents** (P) on fire as riot police attempt to evict them (TT, 29.2.16)
- b) **Police** (A) fired teargas (I) at **migrants** (P) **who** (A) threw stones (I) and set fire to **shelters** (P) (TG, 29.2.16)

Last, (8a/b) are contextualised within the Calais refugee camp situation in early 2016. *The Telegraph* devoted a substantial number of news reports to represent RASIM at Calais as undeserving, illegitimate and criminal migrants that in a majority of cases reportedly did not qualify for asylum, enacting subtle spatial and axiological Proximization strategies (Cap, 2014), by means of which RASIM presence in Calais and their attempts to reach Britain were represented as a menace to readers. *The Guardian* chose to focus on RASIM’s plight and rights, often representing the French government’s actions negatively. (8a) depicts ‘migrants’ in one of the very few contexts in which they are cast as Agent, where migrants set tents on fire as a reaction (implied by the preposition ‘as’) to ‘police’ attempting to evict them (this event construed within the domain of FORCE; see next chapter). Migrants’ (re)actions are represented as dangerous and contrary to the government’s actions, (re)producing stereotypes of RASIM as dangerous individuals that do not comply with the countries’ mandates, therefore legitimising their removal. In

⁸⁴ A further level of pragmatic ANCHORING may include readers’ potential location, Britain, as the location from which the event is construed.

contrast, (8b) depicts police's actions on migrants, who are fired against in reaction to their burning of shelters. Importantly, inasmuch as the event previous to the teargas firing is included ('shelters set on fire by migrants'), RASIM are cast as Patient, and therefore the overall representation is that of RASIM being punished and reacting negatively to their forcible removal. In such contexts, *The Guardian's* representation of RASIM's resistance to their removal is represented as legitimate and as a reaction to discriminatory measures deployed by the French government.

In sum, the examples above reflect important variations across countries that are grounded in both nation-specific events (e.g., Brexit) and newspapers' editorial lines. More generally, RASIM are routinely cast as Patient — they are most often acted upon and conceptually placed at the end of a 'flow of energy'. Such construals can (re)produce social understandings of RASIM as passive, idle, 'needy' homogenous collectives, with evident exclusionary implications. When RASIM are cast as Agents, the variation across countries is significant. Spanish newspapers tend to represent RASIM performing neutral, everyday activities, portraying RASIM as regular people. British newspapers display a stark contrast, with *The Telegraph* as the newspaper that most negatively construed RASIM in terms of Action-Chain events. In the British context the Brexit campaigns had a clear impact in the representation of RASIM events. Next, I present findings with regards to Action-Chain events in images.

6.3. Action-Chain in images

6.3.1. Action-Chain events in focus

In images, similar patterns as those indicated for language have been observed. However, the manner by means of which readers arrive to *what* type of Action-Chain event is depicted, as well as *who* are cast as Agent and Patient, depend on the viewpoints observed in images, and on the relations between images and their captions.

Figure 6.7 below depicts an Action-Chain event in which a police officer (signified by the clothing, the insignia on his jacket, and lexicalised in the caption) searches a car assisted by a dog. While role allocation is evident (the officer (Agent) is searching a car (Patient)), the location of the event and the nationality of the officer are not. The caption

‘expands’ the shot and contextualises the scene as a ‘search’ event, also including the setting.

Figure 6.7.

‘A Lithuanian police officer searched a car in the frontier with Latvia last March’ El País, 16 April 2016.



Un policía lituano registraba un coche en la frontera con Letonia el pasado marzo. INTS KALNINS (REUTERS)

Thus, although the general nature of the event is visually discernible, captions tend to specify⁸⁵ (and/or expand) the nature and location of the event and the quality and capacity of interactants. Overall, in the visual representation of the RC in terms of Action-Chain, newspapers tend to focus on:

- a) August-December 2015
 - Shipwrecks and rescue events;
 - Incidents in Macedonia, Hungary and Croatia frontiers and makeshift camps;
 - Fence building by Western-Balkans countries;
 - Protests at border frontiers;
 - Violence on and by RASIM on frontier events, Germany and Denmark.
- b) January-June 2016⁸⁶
 - The Pope’s visit to Greece;
 - RASIM’s situation in refugee camps;
 - Protests in favour of RASIM;
 - Calais camp dismantling;

⁸⁵ This is not to say that the caption is more specific than the image in relation to a schematicity-specificity spectrum; language is unarguably more schematic, but of all the meanings available in the image the caption is responsible for specifying what the image is meant to represent. This, evidently, can also make important ideological contributions (See 6.4).

⁸⁶ The periods observed in 2016 do not include March.

- Sex attacks in Germany;
- The Brexit campaign in relation to the European migration and the RC.

An evolution in foci of attention can be appreciated which, similar to linguistic representation, reflects both the different stages of the RC, besides specific events that were more prominent in either the British or Spanish press. In 2015, the focus was on RASIM events at sea and on the different routes used, while in 2016 the focus was on RASIM's conditions in various camps and their actions in countries of arrival. British newspapers' emphasis on Calais refugee camp is important, and it was prominent due to its geographical location and its socio-political role in the representation of migration within the context of the Brexit campaigns. Next, I report findings in a similar fashion to 6.2.

6.3.2. Instantiations of Agent, Instrument and Patient

The images below include their captions and in occasion the subheading or headline, for further discussion in 6.4 below and illustration of ideologically relevant representational patterns. In images viewpoint analysis is crucially instrumental for the interpretation of ideologically vested representations. The following images depict events with RASIM cast as Patient/Recipient.

Figure 6.8.

The Guardian, 20 September 2015.



▲ Over 200 Syrians and Iraqis saved by Turkish coastguards allegedly threatened with deportation back to war zones. Photograph: Umit Bektas/Reuters

Figure 6.9.

Viewpoint in Figure 6.8.

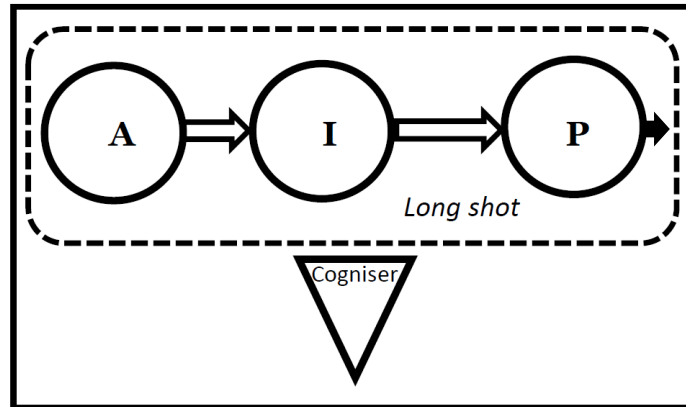


Figure 6.8 is prototypical of ‘rescue events’, in which RASIM are routinely cast as Patient, and instantiates an archetypical Action-Chain schema (Figure 6.9). The event is depicted from afar, encoding a Long-Shot at eye level, observer’s perspective. The distance prevents the viewer from engaging directly with the RASIM on the dinghy, who appear as a bounded uniplex entity (Talmy, 2000). The coast guards are differentiated by their high visibility clothes and ‘COAST GUARD’ is written in English and Turkish on the boat. The Instrument is clearly visible as the rope being thrown towards the dinghy.

Figure 6.10.

The Telegraph, 13 October 2015.



Volunteers hand out bowls of hot pasta in a tent to migrants in Berlin, Germany. Photo: Getty

Figure 6.10 depict female RASIM receiving food from volunteers wearing white latex gloves. The Medium-Shot and the eye-level ANGLE allows readers to appreciate in detail the multiplex entities and the unfolding Action. The event is perspectivized from the Agent’s standpoint: readers are invited to adopt his perspective by means of visual alignment and the vector instantiated by his arm (Figure 6.11). The woman cast as Recipient does not engage visually nor with the volunteer neither with the camera, who is directly looking at the item (Theme) being handed to her, in contrast with the second woman in line, who is smiling.

Figure 6.11.

Viewpoint in Figure 6.10.

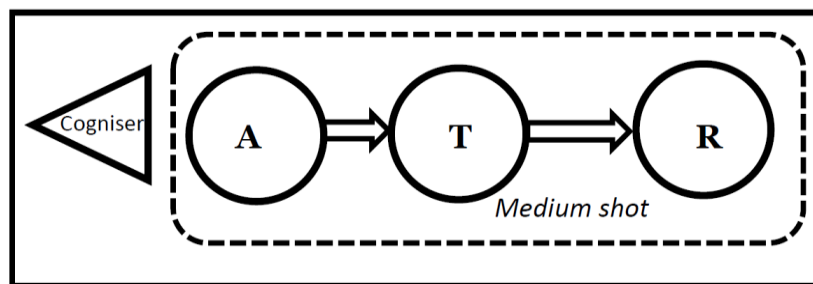


Figure 6.12.

'Police hit migrants during the protests...', El Mundo, 6 Sept. 2015.



Policías golpean a migrantes durante las protestas de ayer en la isla de Lesbos. | ANGELOS TZORTZINIS | AFP

Figure 6.12 depicts a group of male RASIM (Patient) being hit by Greek police (Agent) in Lesbos (the location accessible via the caption). Among the several events potentially available, the central one is the Action of ‘hitting’ due to its salience and centrality in the visual frame, this also reinforced by the caption (‘police hit migrants...’). In line with the humanitarian representation of RASIM events by *El Mundo*, such visual depiction, presented from an observer’s perspective, at eye level and with a Medium-Shot perspective, emphasises the moment in which RASIM are being physically attacked by police, reinforcing those representations discussed above in which RASIM are victims of the police in protest events.

Figure 6.13.

The Guardian, 29 Feb. 2016.



▲ Police fire teargas as people try to breach Macedonia's border with Greece

Figure 6.14.

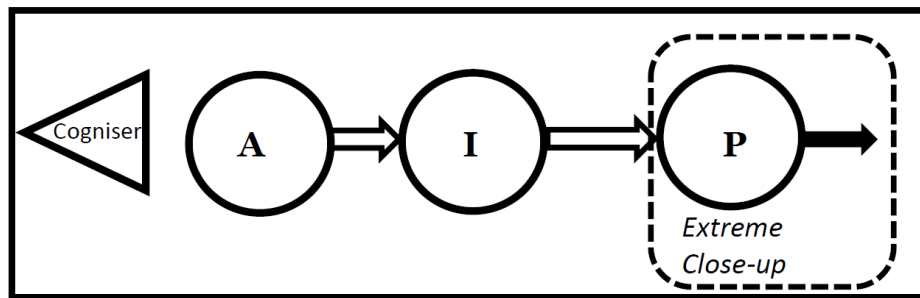
El Mundo, 10 April 2016.



■ Un refugiado afectado por los gases lacrimógenos de la policía macedonia en Idomeni. | REUTERS

Figure 6.15.

Viewpoint in Figures 6.13/14.



Further, Figures 6.13-17 depict different stages of protest events in border controls on the Balkans route with RASIM cast as Patient. As in language, such events often visually instantiate a combination of Close-Up (or extreme Close-Up), ANCHOR:Agent and eye-level perspectives. The Agent of the event (throwing tear gas or using water cannons) is out of the visual frame, potentially enacting a *mystification* strategy (Martinez Lirola, 2012), ‘hiding’ the Agent (i.e., police forces). Except for Figure 6.16, which imposes more distance making it difficult to differentiate individual RASIM under the water cannons (i.e., we observe the Instrument but not the Agent of the event, see Figure 6.17), the other two cases focus on individual male RASIM. Figure 6.13 depicts a man suffering the effects of tear gas, while Figure 6.14 depicts a man cleaning powder off his face. The cloud of gas behind him potentially subtly instantiates the Instrument used on RASIM. Such depictions are visuo-schematically represented in Figure 6.15. Both images focus on the effects of the aggressions, potentially allowing readers to engage with their negative situations and triggering emotional reactions, potentially aligning readers with RASIM’s suffering and delegitimising their treatment by police forces.

Figure 6.16.

The Guardian, 16 Sept. 2016.

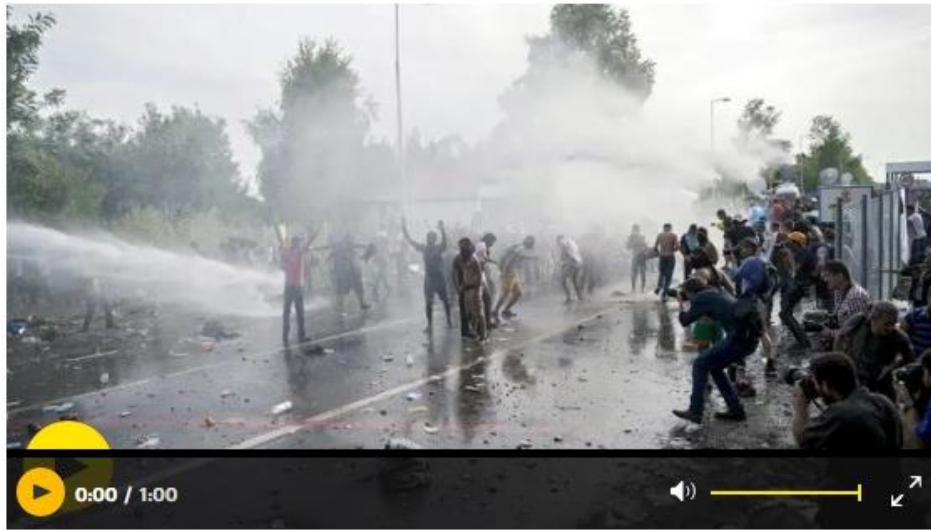
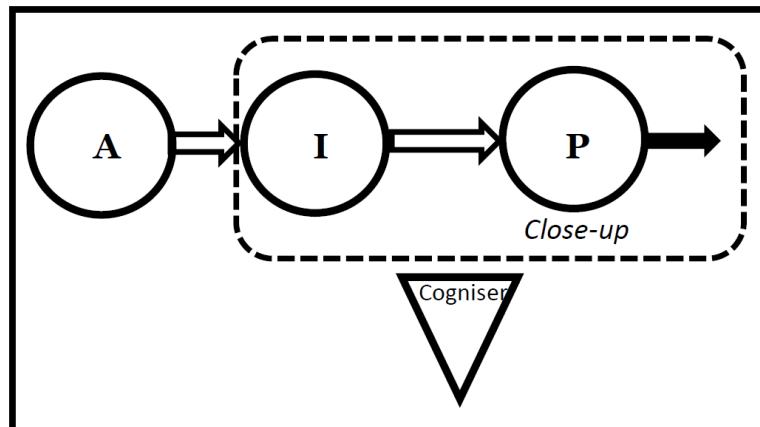


Figure 6.17.

Viewpoint in Figure 6.16.



Last, Figures 6.18/19 depict RASIM in Agent roles. Figures 6.18/19 depict male migrants throwing objects towards the Patient of the Action-Chain event. Viewpoint crucial in determining the ideological relevance of the images.

Figure 6.18.

El Mundo, 13 April 2016.



Un refugiado devuelve una granada de gas lacrimógeno a la policía en Idomeni | Stoyan Nenov Reuters

Figure 6.19.

The Telegraph, 22 Sept. 2015.



A refugee throws a bottle toward Hungarian police at the "Horgos 2" border crossing into Hungary, near Horgos, Serbia. Photo: AP

Figure 6.18 depicts the event when the canister has left the migrant's hand and is in its trajectory towards the unencoded Patient, this signified by the gas left behind. The eye level ANGLE and the observer's perspective enable readers to distinguish the Agent and the Instrument. The Close-Up shot does not include the Patient, thus focalising the Action undertaken by the Agent.

Figure 6.20.

Viewpoint in Figure 6.18.

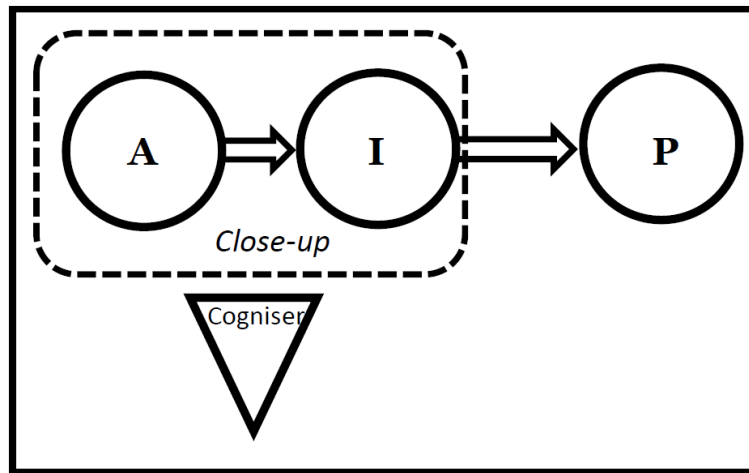
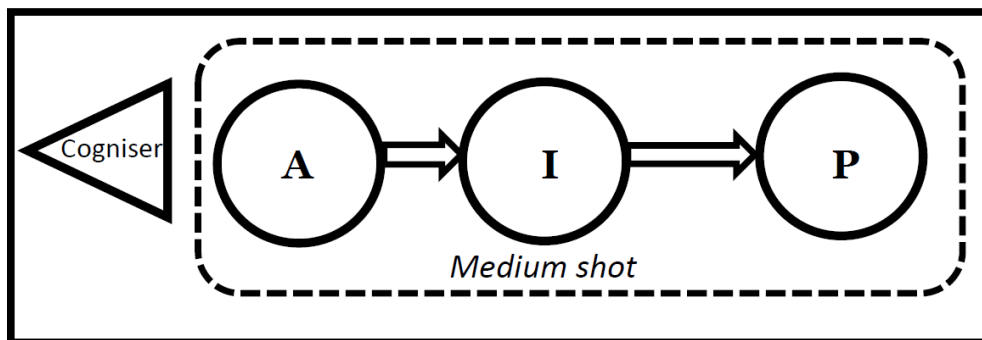


Figure 6.21.

Viewpoint in Figure 6.19.



Conversely, Figure 6.19 depicts a similar event perspectivized from the Agent's perspective, potentially prompting ego-alignment of readers with their actions. The Instrument has not left their hand yet, and readers can observe the Patient of the Action-chain event, the riot police behind the fence. The ANCHORING of the image reinforces the migrant's Agent role, potentially increasing the intensity of the event. Such representations of RASIM are coherent with the general strategies discussed above; *The Telegraph* includes the riot police as Patient of the Action, and depicts the male as attacking them and thus representing his actions as aggressive and overall negative, potentially invoking conceptualisations of RASIM as 'social disaster'.

6.3.3. Reciprocal Action-Chain schemas

Reciprocal Action-Chain events are not common in the data and, as in language, can represent protest events in which two Agents (-1 and -2) are engaged in a bidirectional flow of energy (Langacker, 2008), interacting upon each other. Figures 6.22 and 6.23 are representative of the minority of such events.

Figure 6.22.

The Telegraph, 6 May 2016.



Clashes break out with riot police at the Brenner Pass in Austria last month CREDIT: JAN HETFLAISCH/EPA

As reported above, *The Telegraph* tends to ‘confront’ Agent-1 and Agent-2 in potentially ideologically-vested ways. Figure 6.22 depicts a ‘clash’ event between demonstrators (left) and riot police (right). The medium-distance shot includes both Agents, while the slightly elevated ANGLE allows readers to appreciate the building at the back, atop of which there are more riot police stationed. The observer’s ANCHOR perspective affords two viewpoints: the one observed in Figure 6.22 with protesters on the left, or the opposite, with the police occupying the left-hand space (see Chapter 3). According to Hart (2013b), conservative newspapers tend to favour ANCHOR perspectives such the one in Figure 6.22: “it is the protester’s role in the event that is contested and therefore constitutes news” (Hart, 2014, p. 127). Visual representations of protest largely cohere in terms of ANCHORING with those found in language.

Figure 6.23.

'Migrants arrived today to Lesbos hug after crossing the Aegean', El País, 14 Aug. 2015.



Migrantes llegados hoy a Lesbos se abrazan tras cruzar el Egeo ACHILLEAS ZAVALLIS (AFP)

The rare examples in the data construed upon reciprocal schemas that do not depict protests tend to encode some type of interpersonal Action, such as Figure 6.23. The event is presented from an observer's perspective, foregrounding two females hugging. Every person present wears a life-vest, indicating they just arrived to Lesbos, as it is anchored in the caption. The Close-Up shot focuses on the central interactants, who are engaged in a hug and occupy the centre of the image. The available emotional valence of the photograph seems to be positive, as the act of hugging can indicate their relief and the emotional distress that such trek entails, therefore instantiating a humanitarian strategy in that the photograph focuses on RASIM's experiences in their transit, clearly foreground their intense emotional aspects. Such representation from *El País* is in line with the more humanitarian representation of the RC shared by Spanish newspapers. Next, I discuss variation across newspapers and countries.

6.3.4. Variation across newspapers

Parallel to the variation indicated for language, in the visual depiction of Action-Chain events during the RC, patterns of variation are similar. *El País* and *El Mundo* coincide in representing RASIM in precarious situations, who are mainly cast as Patient, and

emphasising difficulties faced by RASIM in border controls and countries of asylum. *El Mundo* stands out as the most sympathetic to RASIM's situation, also criticising the EU's and European countries' measures against the RC. *The Guardian* and *The Telegraph* display a high degree of variation potentially rooted both in their ideological leanings and in their support of the Remain or Leave campaigns, respectively. *The Telegraph* represents RASIM in Calais rather negatively, as dangerous, homogeneous collectives waiting to come to the UK in what can constitute as a 'social disaster'.

Figure 6.24.

The Telegraph, 29 Feb. 2016.



Shacks burn during the dismantling of the southern part of the 'Jungle' camp in Calais

Figure 6.24 illustrates *The Telegraph's* narrative. Figure 6.24 depicts shacks burning under the scrutiny of a male. The male is wearing dark sportswear and a hoodie, in contrast with the bright colours of the fire in the background. Such representations propose to readers "a metonymic elaboration in which the specific actor depicted stands for the type of actor involved" (Hart, 2014, p. 74). Inasmuch as the caption does not attribute the burning of the shacks to the male, the ANCHOR perspective, which aligns readers with the man in his Action of observing, potentially connotes, by means of visual implicature (which can be denied by text-producers), that the male was the Agent of the Action of 'burning'. The role of fire is further discussed in 6.4. below.

Figure 6.25.

The Guardian, 29 February 2016.



▲ Fire engulfs makeshift shelters in Calais on Monday. Photograph: Carl Court/Getty Images

Figure 6.25 presents the same event differently. *The Guardian* does not include RASIM in the photo, which foregrounds five riot police officers. The ANCHOR perspective similarly aligns readers with the police in their observation of the burning shacks, however the slight obliqueness possibly (also world knowledge) prevents from connoting the possible agency of the police in such event. The absence of RASIM in the photo can enact a subtle strategy of blame-allocation; the entity in the photo (the police), alongside the absence of RASIM also in the caption of the video screenshot ('Fire engulfs makeshift shelters...'), becomes the implied responsible of the fire, further exculpating RASIM, or at least downplaying the dramatic nature of the event. Thus, Figures 6.24 and 6.25 illustrate the type of variation observed in the representation of events unfolding in Calais. The calculated absences in the photographs index the ideologies possibly underlying RASIM representation. *The Telegraph* can blame RASIM for their situation in Calais, while *The Guardian* tends to represent police's actions negatively, to which RASIM react to.

Figure 6.26.

El Mundo, 16 April 2016.



Francisco muestra un dibujo hecho por un niño refugiado a su regreso a Roma tras visitar Lesbos. | EFE

Three images circulated by *El Mundo* are worth-discussing. Figure 6.26 depicts Jorge Mario Bergoglio aboard his plane after arriving to Rome. Bergoglio holds a drawing attributed to one migrant child he met in Lesbos in a PRODUCT FOR PRODUCER metonymical relation.⁸⁷ The drawing depicts several people afloat during a shipwreck close to the shore. The people are identified as ‘Afghan’ at the bottom of the drawing, and the boat capsizing has written ‘HELP US’ on it. The sun in the background cries red tears. Bergoglio instantiates the Agent of an Action-Chain event of ‘showing’, with readers as the potential Patient of the event. The drawing stands metonymically for the plight of RASIM, which Bergoglio shows to the camera (and readers in their potential role as Patients) with the possible aim of ‘stirring consciences’.

⁸⁷ Figure 6.26 exhibits a high degree of intersemiotic convergence, see 6.4.1.

Figure 6.27.

El Mundo, 29 Oct. 2015.

'Los de Frontex miraban desde su barco mientras sacábamos refugiados del mar con nuestras motos de agua'



■ | EL MUNDO (Video)

Figure 6.27 focuses on a child being resuscitated. This image lacks a caption and the article uses a quote from an interview as headline and subheading. The headline (see (1f) above) clearly criticises Frontex's passivity while highlighting the dramatic aspects of the RC. A migrant child is cast as the putative Patient. The Close-Up, eye-level shot and the ANCHOR:Agent perspectives instantiated in the image can be ideologically important. The Close-Up shot includes part of the body of the child, who is lying on his back. Several hands in blue gloves (connoting a medical context) are tending to him; two hands hold his head, while two rest on his chest. Such depiction can emphasise the vulnerability of child RASIM in the RC and the need for humanitarian action. Readers are not presented with the Actors of the Action of 'resuscitating', where the hands stand metonymically for the professionals in a PART-FOR-WHOLE relation. Additionally, readers can be prompted to ego-align with the suggested Agent. The hands in the image can serve as an extension of the Agent, potentially engaging readers 'beyond the viewing frame' (see next chapter). The multiple hands acting on the child are in stark contrast with Frontex's passivity in the headline, potentially further delegitimising their inaction.

Figure 6.28.

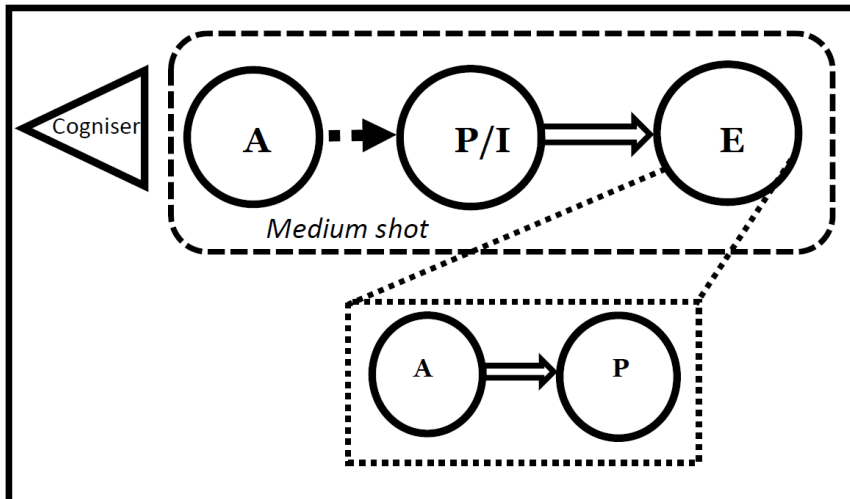
El Mundo, 12 Sept. 2015.



Last, Figure 6.28 clearly criticises Hungary’s actions. The headline reads “The Hungarian government uses prisoners to erect *the fence of shame*,” with evident negative connotations associated with the word ‘shame’ (see Chapter 5). The scene is viewed from the Hungarian officer’s perspective, who is watching the prisoners. The vector projecting from his head is directed towards the men on the truck. The prisoners wear high visibility garments and seem to be working with barbed wire.

Figure 6.29.

Viewpoint in Figure 28.



I argue that Figure 6.28 enacts visual ‘conceptual distancing’ by means of Viewpoint adjustments. Figure 6.28 is one of the very few images depicted from an ANGLE:Y-1 perspective (i.e., slightly ‘looking up’). The relative sizes of the actors, along with the Agent perspective, depict the officer in control of the situation (symbolised by the discontinuous arrow in Figure 29). Despite the fact that the officer is not erecting the fence himself, the visual composition subtly represents the officer ‘in control’. The prisoners can be understood, then, as an Instrument used by the officers to erect the fence (Patient), replicating the linguistic content available for conceptualisation in the headline.

In sum, in the visual representation of RASIM events during the RC, Spanish newspapers tend to depict RASIM in a humanitarian light and hence emphasise their negative situations (quite distinctively in *El Mundo*), often in conjunction with *The Guardian*. Conversely, *The Telegraph* depicts RASIM in contexts with strong negative entailments, foregrounding the negative aspects of their presence and actions in their trek and in their countries of asylum.

Overall, and partially mirroring the findings reviewed in Chapter 2, and those reported above for language, RASIM in the RC are often visually cast in the semantic role of Patient. Accordingly, in events conceptualised within the domain of ACTION, RASIM tend to be cast at the end of the ‘flow of energy’. Alternatively, when RASIM are cast as Agent, their Actions can be negatively represented as affecting the receiving societies, or, more neutrally, RASIM can be depicted carrying out everyday events. Viewpoint adjustments are ideologically relevant in both asymmetrical and reciprocal ACTION events, where DISTANCE adjustments can remove ideologically relevant actors (mainly Agents), and ANCHOR adjustments can invite readers to ego-align with Agents or Patients, with diverse ideological effects depending on the more general contexts of production and reception of newspapers. Next, I discuss Language-Image relations in the RC in the representation of Action events.

6.4. Language-Image relations

From the sections above emerges that the most common L-I relation found in news reports is that of intersemiotic convergence (Hart & Mármol Queraltó, 2021). The relation between language and images is multidimensional (in terms of schematisation, metaphor and viewpoint) and *scalar* rather than absolute. Next, I focus on intersemiotic convergence between images and their captions.

6.4.1. Intersemiotic convergence

Images and their captions representing Action-Chain events tend to display a high degree of intersemiotic convergence (Hart & Mármol Queraltó, 2021); that is, the conceptual content invoked by the visual composition of photographs is more or less similarly replicated in the linguistic mode (albeit constrained by the affordances of both modes; see Chapter 3). Captions tend to *describe*, usually in more detail in terms of DISTANCE, the event occurring in the image. Captions tends to specify, within the various entities available in the photo, the nature of the semantic Actors/Patients and of the Action in which they are engaged. The most common L-I relation found in the ACTION dataset is one in which the caption *anchors* (Barthes, 1977) the type of event and actors involved. However, there can be discrepancies between the perspectives and the schematisation patterns enacted in language and images, with lower levels of convergence when it comes to ANCHOR and DISTANCE. The examples below illustrate such (in)congruity.

Figure 6.30.

The Telegraph, 22 September 2015.



A refugee throws a bottle toward Hungarian police at the "Horgos 2" border crossing into Hungary, near Horgos, Serbia Photo: AP

Figure 6.30 was discussed in 6.3.2 (also, Hart & Mármol Queraltó, 2021, p. 541). Figure 6.30 is a prototypical example of a high degree of intersemiotic convergence within the domain of ACTION during the RC. The conceptual content of the image is mirrored in the caption, which ‘expands’ the shot to include two levels of locative information or ‘setting’ (Langacker, 2008) (‘at the “Horgos 2” border crossing ... Serbia’). Importantly, the event is similarly schematised in both modes as an Action of ‘throwing’, where the linguistic viewpoint enactors mirror the viewing arrangement in the photo; the active voice casts the refugee as Agent of the event acting on the Hungarian police (Patient) by means of a bottle (Instrument), inviting readers to ego-align with the Agent. I argue that even the preposition ‘toward’ replicates the visual range of orientation of the ‘throwing’ — the bottle has not yet left the hand of the man, and therefore the trajectory of the bottle is better understood as a range (see Chapter 5). The ANGLE dimension also converges, with the man linguistically instantiated as a multiplex bounded entity (‘a refugee’), and with the police as a multiplex unbounded entity (the indistinguishable number of officers behind the fence). Except for the viewpoint parameter of DISTANCE, which the caption expands, both modes mirror each other’s conceptual content within the parameters examined here. Such intersemiotic convergence is visuo-schematically represented as follows:

Figure 6.31.

Intersemiotic convergence in Figure 6.30.

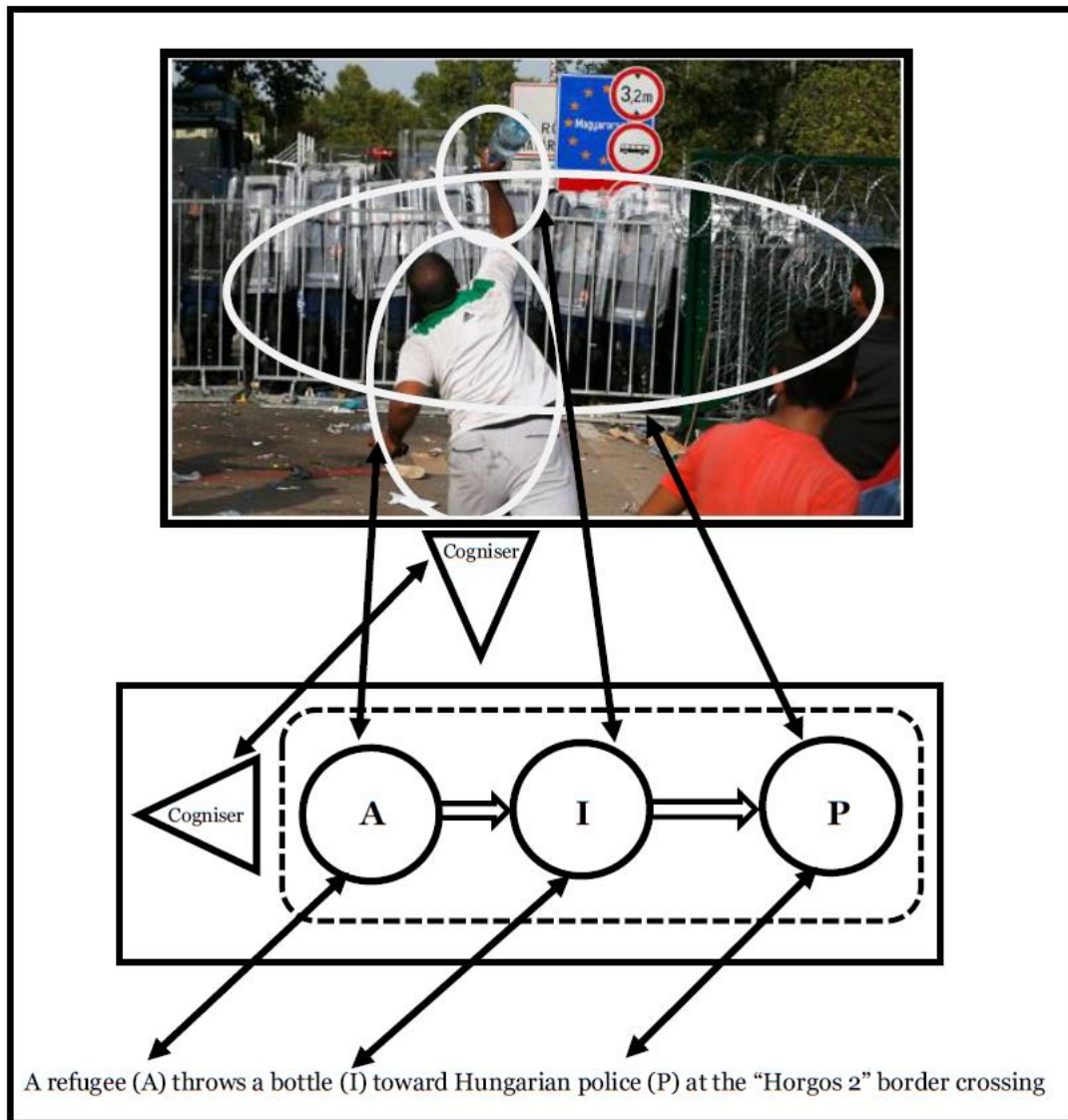


Figure 6.32 below displays a lower degree of convergence, and even contradiction at the level of schematisation. The image depicts several people reacting to a water cannon in what seems to be a border fence, this suggested by the barbed wire in the foreground. The caption reads “Syrian refugees run away as Turkish soldiers use water cannon to move them away from fences at the Turkish border.” Such photograph can be analysed as instantiating an Action-Chain event in which RASIM as Patient, construed as a multiplex unbounded entity (similarly instantiated in ‘Syrian refugees’ in the caption) are being acted upon by means of water cannons (Instrument).

Figure 6.32.

The Telegraph, 17 May 2016.



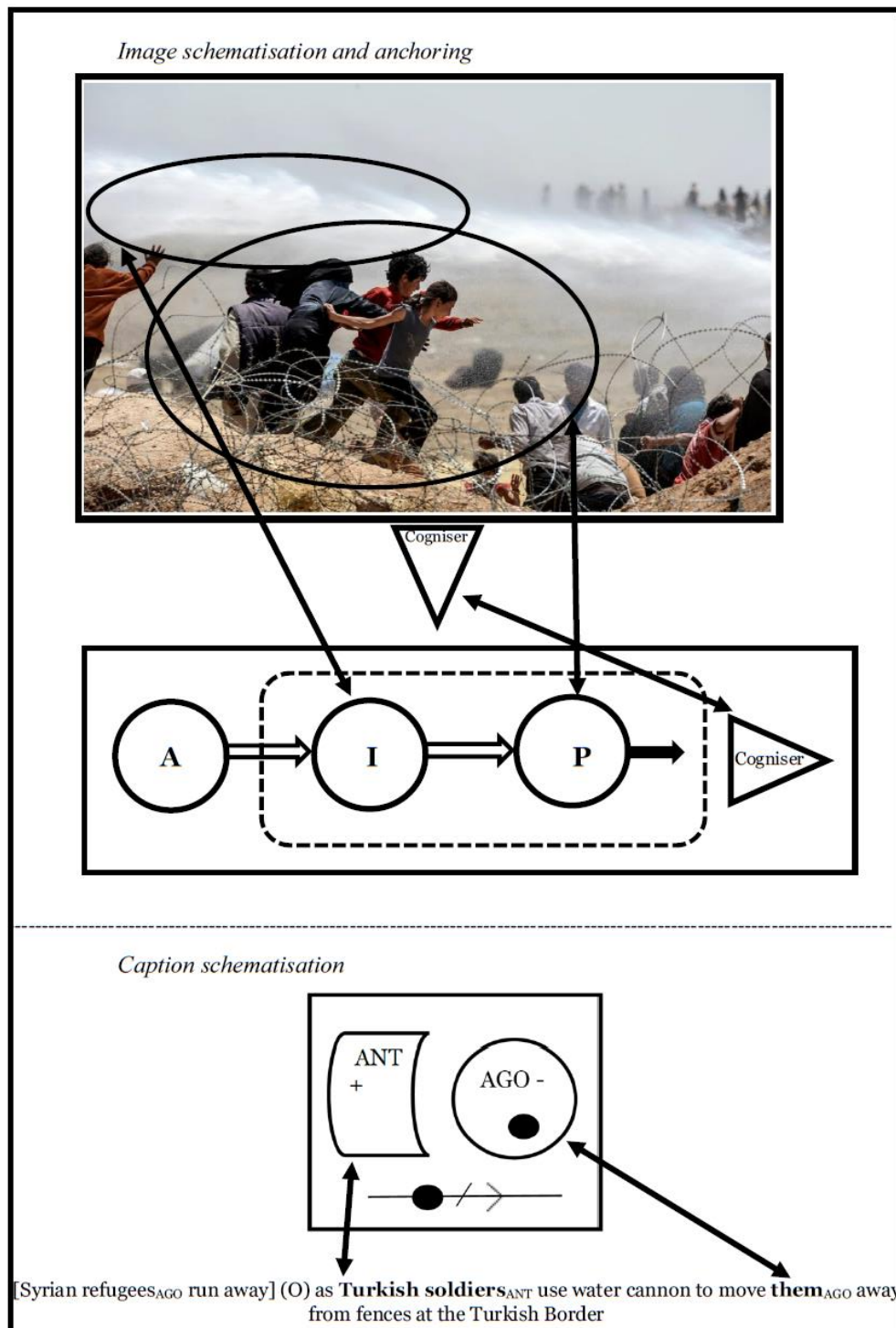
Syrian refugees run away as Turkish soldiers use water cannon to move them away from fences at the Turkish border CREDIT: BULENT KILIC

The Agent is not visually framed. The photograph then instantiates DISTANCE:Close-Up and ANCHOR:Patient perspectives (readers are provided with RASIM's perspective in their role of Patient), from which readers can ego-align with the Patient. The caption, however, schematises the event within the domain of FORCE and lexicalises several elements that are worth-discussing. The entities are similar but the semantic roles attributed to them result in incongruity. The fleeing of RASIM is depicted as a reaction towards the use of water cannons by Turkish soldiers to remove them from the fences. This way, the caption instantiates a Shift-in-State (Talmy, 2000) REPULSION (Peña-Cervel, 2012) complex event in two stages; one in which the police uses the water cannons⁸⁸ to remove RASIM (encoding a COMPULSION event; Peña-Cervel, 2012), and a later stage encoded by the preposition 'as' which contextually encodes 'result', prompting RASIM to run away (final REPULSION event; see next chapter). Thus, Figure 6.32 displays some degree of convergence, but not in schematisation and viewpoint in its parameter of DISTANCE. This L-I relation is visuo-schematically represented as follows:

⁸⁸ Additionally, such contradiction invokes 'conceptual distancing'. The act of 'removing' is mediated by the use of water cannons, and therefore the police is the Agent of an Action of 'cannon-using', and pragmatically the Antagonist removing RASIM.

Figure 6.33.

Intersemiotic incongruity in Figure 6.32.



While L-I relations such as those found in Figure 6.33 above are the most common, and follow the principles of dual scripting and spatial contiguity (Holsanova & Nord, 2010) to ease conceptual integration processes involving various modes, cases like Figure 6.33 are ideologically important because the caption ‘tells a different story’ with regards to the

photograph it accompanies. Visual Agent-deletion is relatively common when RASIM are cast as Patient, and this can carry important ideological meanings. First, the visual focus is on the Patient of the Action-Chain event, allowing the Agent to remain ‘unfleshed’. Second, such entity is linguistically instantiated, however cast in a different role or in a differently construed event, resulting in an incongruous or even contradictory L-I relation (Hart & Mármol Queraltó, 2021). Such construals are ideologically important because, in the case of Figure 6.33, they can infuse the event with different levels of ‘social intensity’. In the caption, refugees are cast in the role of Agonist, implying some degree of resistance or impingement of force on an Antagonist. However, if the event was similarly construed as the image is within the domain of ACTION, RASIM would be cast as Patients, exclusively receiving the Action of the Agent. Such subtle differences (a Patient being acted on, versus a ‘resistant’ Agonist’) can have important ideological implications due the cumulative impact of such representations in the audience. Construing such events within the domain of FORCE can infuse the event with a degree of ‘resistance’, subtly negatively representing RASIM’s situation and reactions at borders. Next, I focus on visual/multimodal metaphor and metonymy.

6.4.2. Visual/multimodal metaphor and metonymy

Visual/multimodal metaphors are not common in the Action-Chain dataset. One metaphor commonly displayed in Action-Chain events is RELATION IS PROXIMITY, discussed in the previous chapter.⁸⁹ The discussion that follows focuses on visual/multimodal metonymy.

⁸⁹ In such contexts, groups of heterogenous people are depicted close to each other and labelled in the caption as alternative types of RASIM. Such L-I construals render different types of people as belonging to either group within the RASIM collective, where that belonging is predicated on spatial proximity.

Figure 6.34.

The Telegraph, 6 May 2016.



Clashes break out with riot police at the Brenner Pass in Austria last month CREDIT: JAN HETFLEISCH/EPA

Figure 6.34 and 6.35 can be understood to instantiate visual metonymies. Figure 6.34 was analysed above as construing a reciprocal Action-Chain event. The caption does not instantiate Agent-1 (i.e., protesters) but only Agent-2 ('riot police'). The context of this article is the closure of Austria's borders in reaction to RASIM mobilisation across Europe. Interestingly, and similar to visual metonymy in Motion events, the potential metonymic elements in Figure 6.34 are two, the life-vests and the inflatable dinghy. The high visibility orange colour in both elements stands out in comparison to the black garments worn by protesters and riot police. Life-vests and the dinghy stand for RASIM in an OBJECT USED FOR USER metonymy (Lakoff & Johnson, 1987). Such metonymical relationship is necessarily enriched by readers' background knowledge of the RC, including different events in the Mediterranean in which RASIM are depicted on arrival. The visual implication of such metonymical relationship is that protesters are demonstrating 'on behalf of RASIM', or at least pushing for actions aimed at ensuring their wellbeing. While in Motion events life-vests were worn by RASIM (or piled in the 'cemetery of life-vests'), in Action-Chain events life-vest wearers are pressure groups. Such representations bring to the fore the difficulties for RASIM to move through European countries, with demonstrators supporting RASIM and demonstrating social

dissent against those measures aimed at disrupting their migratory process, such as the closure of the Austrian borders.

Figure 6.35.

The Guardian, *13 June 2016.*



▲ 'When a child refugee goes missing, the general assumption is that he or she has a plan,' says Federica Toscano of Missing Children Europe. Photograph: Alamy

Last, Figure 6.35 displays an interesting visual composition based on several elements. The context of the report is the thousands of children reported missing in Europe in the first half of 2016. The photograph depicts the shadows of two swings. The one on the left is empty, but the one on the right seems to be used by a child, whose shadow is projected on the ground. Only the feet of the child are in frame, enacting a PART FOR WHOLE metonymical relationship. The lexicalisation of 'child refugee' in the caption enables readers to map the visual input (i.e., the feet, the swing, the shadow) with the general content of the article. It can be analysed that the caption ('when a child refugee goes missing?') further resonates metonymically with the image. In a complex metonymical relationship, the empty seat can be understood to stand for the missing child refugee in a PART FOR WHOLE relationship. Such multimodal implicature can prompt strong emotional reactions despite the absence of children in the photo. However, the inclusion of an activity typical of children provides the necessary background information to associate the empty swing with the increasing number of missing child refugees. Such aesthetic representation of missing child refugees, despite visually removing them almost

altogether, can achieve emotional entailments influencing the audience to legitimize actions aimed at protecting child refugees and refugees more generally.

In sum, L-I relations within the domain of ACTION in the representation of the RC tend to take the shape of intersemiotic convergence (Hart & Mármol Queraltó, 2021). The conceptual content evoked by images tends to be linguistically invoked in captions, however with further DISTANCE adjustments that tend to ‘expand the shot’, including spatial or temporal information. In cases with a lesser degree of convergence and/or incongruity we can find contradiction at the level of schematisation, and such contradictions can have important ideological implications as they construe the events in images alternatively, modulating the ‘social intensity’ of the L-I composition. When it comes to metaphor we encounter very few cases which tend to be exclusively visual, contextual and situationally-triggered (Forceville, 2016; Semino, 2008), and they can portray (im)migration in a very negative light. Visual/multimodal metonymy can involve RASIM ‘symbols’ (e.g., life-vests, dinghies), but can also involve L-I relations between images and captions that provide the conceptual ground for strong emotional entailments which can potentially mobilise public opinion in favour or actions aimed at ensuring the rightful treatment of RASIM.

6.5. Chapter summary

Chapter 6 has reported the patterns of conceptualisation within the domain of ACTION found in the data analysed for this thesis. RASIM events during the RC have been found to frequently encode RASIM as the semantic Patient/Recipient in the context of asymmetrical construals, both in language and images. Agents in such contexts tend to be embodied by governmental forces (i.e., police) or military personnel. The degree of ‘resolution’ or granularity (Langacker, 2008) of events construed within this domain hinge upon DISTANCE and ANGLE adjustments that can abstract Agents by means of metonymy, or remove them altogether by other grammatical means, such as passive voice constructions, in combination with Close-Up shots in images.

It has been observed significant variation between British and Spanish newspapers. Spanish newspapers, as for the domain of MOTION, broadly coincide in conceptualising RASIM events in a humanitarian light, albeit *El País* can display visual and linguistic strategies slightly more critical towards RASIM’s actions and situations. British

newspapers display a marked contrast (see 6.2.4). *The Telegraph* conceptualised RASIM in ACTION events rather negatively, fuelling a narrative that employs WAR and FIRE metaphors and that became increasingly intertwined with its coverage of the Brexit campaigns. *The Guardian*, on the contrary, is closer to Spanish newspapers' humanitarian conceptualisations.

Images and their captions tend to display intersemiotic convergence. However, incongruity and even contradiction has been found to be instrumental in modulating the degree of social intensity that L-I relations might convey in context.

Chapter 7. FORCE in the Refugee ‘Crisis’

7.0. Chapter overview

This chapter presents the findings of the Force-dynamic patterns observed in the representation of the Refugee ‘Crisis’ (RC). Section 7.1 reports the main distributional patterns of Force-dynamic schemas, and these are compared across modes, newspapers and countries. Section 7.2 presents the most relevant Force-dynamic patterns observed in language. Section 7.3 mirrors section 7.2 with a focus on images, while section 7.4 discusses Language-Image (L-I) configurations and their potential ideological import.

7.1. Force-dynamic schemas distribution across the data

Force-dynamic schemas represent events in which RASIM are physically impinged upon, but also represent events in which RASIM are socially/psychologically impinged upon.⁹⁰ Within Force-dynamic schemas, RASIM are routinely cast in the role of Agonist, and thus are construed at the ‘receiving end’ of forceful interactions or, alternatively, as instigators of physical/psychological/social pressures directed to the putative Antagonist, which in either relation tends to be embodied by governments, governmental or armed forces (i.e., police, army). Force-dynamic schemas draw readers’ attention to a variety of forceful interactions which in the context of the RC can have important ideological implications. In contrast with Motion schemas, which can encode self-directed change of locations of Figures (see Chapter 5), Force-dynamic schemas encode some kind of resistance to or impingement of force, for instance, the existence and influence of BARRIERS (e.g., fences, see below) blocking RASIM’s tendencies. Below I discuss the possible effects of such construals.

7.1.1. Force-dynamic schemas in language and images

The domain of FORCE was expected to hold an important role in the data, although it was not expected to be the most prominent domain (see Chapter 4, section 4.7). Table 7.1

⁹⁰ Recall that both ACTION and FORCE events are understood to be ultimately substantiated by some kind of FORCE interaction, where the distinction drawn here is employed for analytical purposes; see page 87.

indicates the relative frequencies of Force-dynamic schemas in relation to reporting periods and newspapers, considering the totality of the coding, including Action-Chain and Motion schemas. The overlaps/discrepancies in periods are ignored to compare findings within the whole Force-dynamic dataset, which comprises all instances of Force-dynamic schemas in the corpus. The variation between newspapers and countries can be explained by different interrelated factors, but let us examine the overall frequency and distributional patterns first.

Table 7.1.

Relative frequencies of Force schemas in relation to Action and Motion.

Corpus	Period 1: Total N Language=4682 N Images=550				Period 2: Total N Language=4220 Total N Images=514				Period 3: Total N Language=4246 Total N Images=476			
<i>ACTION</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Images</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Images</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Images</i>
<i>The Telegraph</i>	540	40.41%	53	27.46%	462	42.85%	15	11.9%	509	52.25%	33	28.44%
<i>The Guardian</i>	532	48.89%	25	35.71%	597	58.58%	4	3.8%	542	58.59%	15	17.85%
<i>El Mundo</i>	577	51.19%	42	32.06%	383	40.1%	16	12.21%	762	60.81%	40	20.64%
<i>El País</i>	572	50.57%	50	32.05%	595	50.94%	40	26.31%	676	61.79%	44	34.64%
Total N	2221		170		2037		75		2489		132	
Average %	47.43%		30.09%		48.27%		14.59%		58.61%		27.73%	

In period 1, newspapers were observed to construe events linguistically in terms of Force-dynamics very often, with Spanish newspapers and *The Guardian* construing events within the domain of FORCE about half of occasions. *The Telegraph* is the newspaper with the relative lowest percentage of Force-dynamic schemas (40.41%). In images, every newspaper displays lower frequencies. *The Telegraph* and *The Guardian* construe images in terms of Force-dynamics almost 13% less than in language. For Spanish newspapers the difference is more marked, with *El Mundo* construing images in terms of Force-dynamics almost 20% less than in language, and *El País* with almost 18% less events schematised within the domain of FORCE in images.

Period 2 exposes important differences. *The Telegraph* increases slightly the frequency of Force-dynamics in language while decreasing the frequency in images by almost 15%. In contrast, *The Guardian* increases the frequency of Force-dynamic schemas in language by 10%, but displays a substantial decrease in images from 35.71% to 3.8%, the lowest

relative frequency in the dataset. While *El País* minimally increases the frequency of Force-dynamics in language, *El Mundo* construes events within the domain of FORCE in a 11% less than in period 1. Both Spanish newspapers display a decrease of images schematised as Force-dynamics; just over 5% for *El País*, but of almost 20% less in *El Mundo*.

Period 3 indicates an increase in the construal of events within the domain of FORCE. Every newspaper construed events as Force-dynamics in more than 50% of occasions, with Spanish newspapers and *The Guardian* close to or over 60% of events, indicating a marked tendency to represent events in terms of FORCE. Overall frequencies in images also increased, with *El País* being the only newspaper increasing the frequency by less than 10%.

In contrast with Motion events, which were shown to display a relatively high degree of intersemiotic convergence, representational patterns in the domain of FORCE differ across periods, newspapers and modes. The frequency of Force-dynamic schemas in images is much lower than in language across newspapers, with extreme cases such as *The Guardian* in period 2. This indicates a relatively incongruent representation of the RC within the domain of FORCE, where Force-dynamic construals were observed much more often in language than in images. This is better understood in relation to what events were deemed more important by newspapers within their socio-political contexts. Next, I discuss such variation at a general level.

7.1.2. Force-dynamic schemas in British vs. Spanish newspapers

Tables 7.1 and 7.2 (below) display differences between Spanish and British newspapers. When comparing relative frequencies of schematisation in British vs. Spanish newspapers, the differences are generally not that marked, where both Spanish and British newspapers chose to represent linguistically construe events as Force-dynamic during the RC in about half of occasions. This makes the domain of FORCE the most frequently selected to linguistically represent events during the RC. In images, relative frequencies are much lower, with FORCE schemas accounting for just over a fifth of the coded data in British newspapers, and over 27% in Spanish newspapers. While the differences in relative frequencies between Spanish and British newspapers in language are not

substantial, Spanish newspapers chose to visually represent events during the RC in terms of FORCE more than 7% more than their British counterparts. Force-dynamic interactions are the most frequently represented in the data. This broadly means that newspapers, regardless of political inclinations and country, construed the RC primarily in terms of FORCE.

Table 7.2.

Force schemas frequency in British vs. Spanish newspapers.

Corpus	Domain			
	<i>Mode</i>			
	FORCE			
	<i>Language</i>		<i>Images</i>	
	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>
<i>British newspapers</i>	3182	50.02%	145	20.16%
<i>Spanish newspapers</i>	3565	52.7%	232	27.41%
Total N	5740		377	
Average %	51.36%		23.79%	

Sub-sections 7.2.1 and 7.3.1 indicate the events in focus in language and images in order to account for these trends and variation. Next, I report findings on Force-dynamic patterns in language.

7.2. Force-dynamics in language

Force-dynamic events tend to conceptually encode impingement or resistance to force between an Agonist (the entity whose situation is ‘at stake’) and an Antagonist, the entity opposing the Agonist’s tendencies (Talmy, 2000). Sustaining Hart’s (2011b) theory and findings, it was found that RASIM tend to be construed as Agonists, and hence they embody those entities who are routinely impinged upon in a variety of contexts. This serves to represent RASIM as illegitimate receivers of governmental measures, to which they can resist (un)successfully, or alternatively as instigators of physical/social/psychological processes. Ultimately, RASIM’s actions are construed as inherently negative, or bringing about negative consequences for host societies/countries,

and therefore potentially enacting negative-Other representation strategies (van Dijk, 1993). The differences between newspapers are rather stark, where British newspapers display the most aggressive reporting.

7.2.1. Force-dynamic events in focus

Force-dynamic events in the data are diverse because they encompass processes within the domain of FORCE such as physical/kinaesthetic actions (e.g., ‘try to reach’, ‘push’, ‘attract’), including their metaphorical senses (e.g., ‘European countries are *trying to reach* an agreement’), alongside speech-act events (e.g., ‘sue’, ‘demand’), and mental processes (e.g., ‘want’). Also, recall that Force-dynamics broadly subsumes *causation* (Oakley, 2007); such instances under this lens are understood to be schematised within the domain of FORCE. Let us remember that the Spanish data focuses on the periods August-December 2015 (periods 1 and 2) and May-June 2016 (period 3), while the British data focuses on the periods September-October 2015 (period 1), January-February 2016 and May-June 2016 (periods 2 and 3, respectively). This disparity sustains general differences in reporting, and these for British newspapers are intimately related to the Brexit campaigns and referendum of 2016. Overall, in the representation of the RC in terms of Force-dynamics, newspapers tend to focus on:

(a) August-December 2015

- Pressure of RASIM arrivals on European countries;
- RASIM’s transit through Europe and crossings in the Mediterranean;
- EU’s quota system planification;
- Connections between the RC and terrorism;
- Erection of fences and closure of borders (i.e., Hungary);
- Detentions across the Balkans route;
- Spain-Morocco relationship.

(b) January-June 2016⁹¹

- Eastern countries’ resistance to the EU quota system;
- EU’s measures to contain the RC;
- RASIM’s situation in Greek and Macedonian camps;

⁹¹ The periods observed in 2016 do not include March.

- Closure of borders;
- RASIM deportations after the EU-Turkey deal;
- Spain-Morocco relationship;
- Crossings in the English Channel;
- Calais evictions;
- Brexit campaign and effects.

Events schematised within the domain of FORCE, unlike Motion or Action-Chain events, can encode locations or conflictive situations outside the EU as Antagonist in Caused-Motion events, or as the source for RASIM in events involving changes of location. However, the primary focus is on (1) RASIM's forceful transit through Europe, the Mediterranean and the Aegean seas, (2) their effects on European countries (also discussions on how to face the RC), (3) the erection of fences and the closure of borders as OBSTACLES in RASIM's PATH to diverse countries, and (4), in 2016 there was a focus on the effects of European policies and the EU-Turkey deal in relation to the deportation and evictions of RASIM.

7.2.1.1. Force-dynamic events in Spanish vs. British newspapers

Some events came into focus specifically in either Spanish or British newspapers. Generally, Spanish newspapers display a relatively high degree of convergence and they tend to report on RASIM's transit through Europe with a focus on their conditions and the negative effects of their arrival (i.e., how countries can be *desbordados* ('overwhelmed')). It is worth noting that Spanish newspapers represent Hungary's actions (e.g., erection of borders, introduction of new laws, detentions of RASIM) in a very negative light and reflecting a split between Western and Eastern countries in their handling of the RC. In the reporting of 2015, the focus is clearly on the negative conditions faced by RASIM and the responsibilities of European countries towards them, including the EU's quota system, and coverage of Spanish politics with regards to Spain's legal and moral obligations towards RASIM. Spanish newspapers also focused on events occurring in Spanish territory (e.g., the Tarajal killings, and the role of Morocco in controlling migratory processes), and it is worth noting that the role of Morocco can be equated with Turkey's in what can constitute a subtle strategy to legitimate the treatment

of RASIM by both countries. In the first part of 2016, Spanish newspapers focus on RASIM's situations in refugee camps, their conditions in them and their legal situations prior to the start of systematic deportations following the EU-Turkey deal. In those events, the reporting of Turkey's role is negative and serves to delegitimise Turkey's actions, and by extension, Europe's. While there are differences between *El País* and *El Mundo*, the reporting is rather convergent and both newspapers depict RASIM events in a relative humanitarian light, emphasising their plight and the responsibility of countries to ensure their rightful treatment.

The contrast between *The Guardian* and *The Telegraph* is more marked. Such differences might respond to the overall editorial lines of the newspapers, but this can be more prominently linked to their support of either Leave or Remain campaigns after the Brexit referendum was scheduled in early 2016. *The Guardian* clearly pushed for a humanitarian representation of events during the RC, supporting the Remain campaign since January 2016, also shifting the focus to include European migration, which is generally represented positively. *The Guardian* contends with the representation of migration that Leave campaigners deployed in the first half of 2016, for example, by debunking statements by MigrationWatch and/or Nigel Farage. In contrast, *The Telegraph* represents RASIM events during the RC mostly negatively, in terms of 'invasion' and economic and cultural 'threat' and 'displacement', clearly supporting the Leave campaign. The focus is on the negative effects that migration might bring about, with a focus on employment, terrorism and more generally threats to British culture (c.f., Zappettini, 2019). These *foci* find their instantiation in Force-dynamic schemas in different contexts. For instance, the crossings in the English Channel in relation to the UK's relation with France and the EU, and different events during the Brexit campaign which signal a significant point of divergence, where *The Telegraph* depicts RASIM, the RC and European migration as inherently negative, and potentially affecting every aspect of British society.

Variation across newspapers are further examined below. Next, the discussion focuses on enactors of Force-dynamic elements.

7.2.2. Instantiations of Agonist and Antagonist

Agonists in the RC embody focal entities whose situation is at stake. Antagonists embody the opposing entities in event-construal (Talmy, 2000). Interactions between Agonists and Antagonist can encode continuous relationships or changes in the result of the FORCE interaction (i.e., STEADY-STATE vs. SHIFT-IN-STATE schemas).⁹² Here I focus on Agonist and Antagonist schematisation, and I enrich the discussion with viewpoint and metaphor analysis when relevant.

The instantiations of Agonist in the data are, generally, similar to those indicated for Figures in Motion schemas (see Figure 5.1), with RASIM routinely cast as Agonists, and governments, governmental measures and forces (e.g., laws, police) as Antagonist, in different levels of specificity/schematicity (Langacker, 2013). RASIM can also be construed as Antagonists in restricted contexts in which their actions are negatively construed. (1) gathers illustrative examples depicting Agonists and Antagonists. (1) includes Force-dynamic events invoked by (more or less complex) verbal forms (boldened). Spanish examples are shown in italics with my translation underneath.

(1)

a) *Varios refugiados sirios intentan saltar la alambrada...* (EM, 29.8.15)

[Several Syrian refugees]_{AGO} **try to jump** [the fence]_{ANT} ...

b) *'Los refugiados huyen del terrorismo y los tenemos que abrazar'* (EM, 16.11.15)

'[The refugees]_{AGO} **are fleeing** [terrorism]_{ANT} and [we]_{ANT} **have to hug** [them]'_{AGO}

c) [Thousands of refugees]_{AGO} **could cross** Channel [if UK left EU]_{ANT}, No 10 says (TG, 8.2.16)

d) [A picture of a dead child]_{ANT} **can move** [a continent]_{AGO1} and **overturn** [the stance of a government]_{AGO2} (TT, 5.9.15)

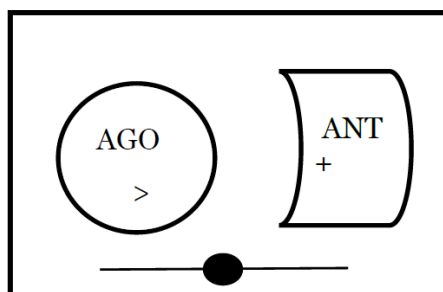
(1a) construes an event in which RASIM (Agonist) are engaged in an extended FORCE relation with a fence (Antagonist). RASIM are rendered as an unbounded multiplex entity encoded in the plural form 'refugees' preceded by the determiner 'several'. The

⁹² In several occasions nested construals introduce a dimension of conceptual distancing with possible mystifying effects; see below and Chapter 6.

Antagonist is an object conceptualised as a BARRIER, which continuously blocks the Agonist's tendency to Motion:

Figure 7.1.

Schematisation in (1a).



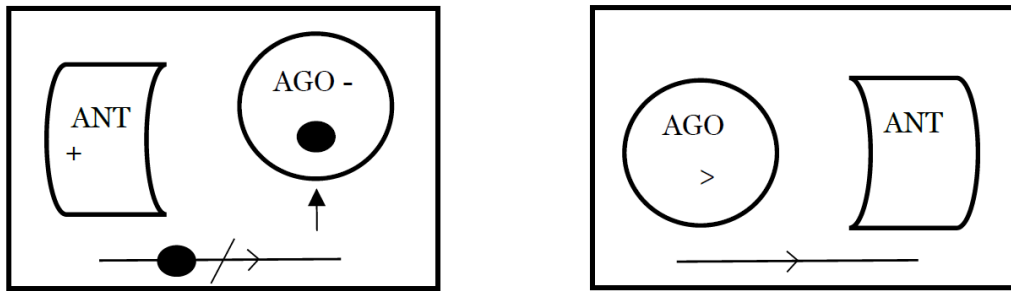
While (1a) depicts an extended FORCE event,⁹³ (1b) reports Ximo Puig's declarations⁹⁴ and encodes CAUSED-MOTION and COMPULSION events, connected by the conjunction 'and'. In the first event the Antagonist is realised by the nominalisation 'terrorism', which renders a complex social reality as an uniplex entity. The noun phrase 'the refugees' construes the Agonist caused to flee as a multiplex bounded entity. I argue that this event subtly infuses the second part of the clause complex with a sense of social responsibility. Puig includes the totality of Spanish society under the pronoun 'we' as the Antagonist, who are made responsible for 'hugging' them, which in this context connotes a warm welcome, also potentially infused with religious undertones associated with the expression 'to hug those in need' (*abrazar al prójimo*). Thus, the moral responsibilities of Spanish society are subtly infused by religious obligations and a duty of care towards people escaping persecution; this line of argumentation in *El Mundo* is discussed further below. (1b) is visuo-schematically represented as follows, with both Agonist and Antagonist sharing their tendency to motion (right in Figure 7.2):

⁹³ A similar formulation underlies the very common construal 'RASIM are trying to arrive to Europe', in which RASIM are similarly prevented from realising their tendency to motion.

⁹⁴ Ximo Puig was the at the time the President of the Generalitat, the Government of the Autonomous Community of Catalonia.

Figure 7.2.

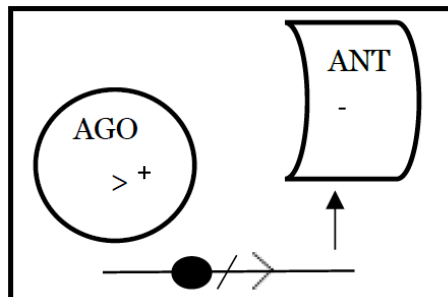
Schematisation in (1b).



(1c) focuses on the number of RASIM, who constitute an unbounded multiplex entity cast as Agonist, invoked by the noun phrase ‘thousands of refugees’. The Antagonist is instantiated by the conditional phrase ‘if UK left EU’. The ‘barrier’ to refugees crossing the channel is EU membership, which once ‘removed’ (symbolised by the arrow in Figure 7.3) would cease its impingement, potentially enabling RASIM to fulfil their intrinsic tendency to motion.

Figure 7.3.

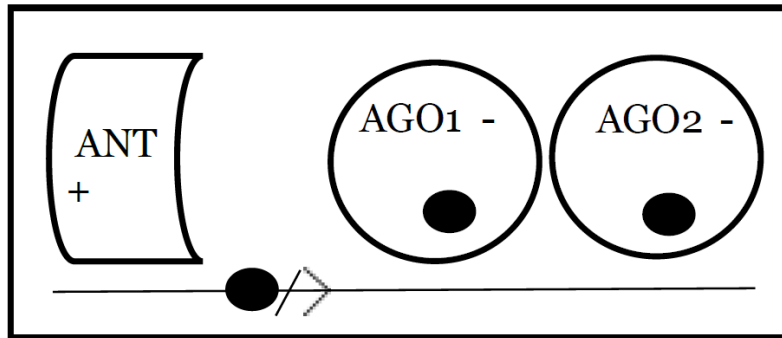
Schematisation in (1c).



Last, (1d) involves ideologically relevant metonymic adjustments. The stronger Antagonist, which succeeds in fulfilling its intrinsic tendency towards motion, is rendered as a multiplex bounded entity in a PART FOR WHOLE metonymical relationship. It is not the event that meant the death of the child, but the documentation of such event, in the shape of a photograph, the one moving ‘a continent’ and ‘the stance of a government’, which are cast as weaker Agonists who subsume to the Antagonist’s impingement (see Figure 7.4). Such emphasis on an a very specific aspect of the complex reality faced by that child can have important effects on cognisers’ perception.

Figure 7.4.

Schematisation in (1d).



In the body of this news report, *The Telegraph* criticises that other events involving children in previous international conflicts did not have a similar effect, which I contend serves to delegitimise RASIM's plight. The selection of one portion in such complex scenario can delegitimise, or at least minimise, the plight of RASIM due to the amplification of its impact in construal; metaphorically 'moving a continent' can be understood as an exaggeration and therefore can subtly criticise the coverage of such event by other media.

In sum, RASIM in the data are routinely cast as Agonists and as unbounded multiplex entities, or as uniplex bounded or unbounded entities when they are metaphorized in terms of WATER or construed metonymically. Antagonists can be rendered as (physical) BARRIERS, and also as governmental forces or actions in different levels of schematicity/specificity. The factors/situations causing RASIM to leave their countries of origin can also be instantiated as Antagonists, but such representations are less common, where events tend to encode RASIM trying to fulfil their intrinsic tendencies to motion opposed by a variety of governmental forces and measures. Alternatively, RASIM have been found to be cast as Antagonist in restricted contexts in which their actions are inherently negative, primarily affecting European societies. The instantiations of Agonist and Antagonist are further discussed in the next sub-sections.

7.2.3. FORCE schemas in the RC

Recall from Chapter 3 that Force-dynamic events can encode extended relationships (STEADY-STATE), or changes in the result of the interaction (SHIFT-IN-STATE; Talmy, 2000). This section gathers both types and focuses on ideologically relevant types of interactions, starting with physical FORCE interactions (7.2.3.1), followed by social/legal interactions (7.2.3.2), and speech acts (7.2.3.3).

7.2.3.1. Physical FORCE interactions

Physical FORCE interactions during the RC often construe RASIM being constantly physically impinged on, overcoming such impingements, or subsuming to them. Example (2) gathers representative examples of such interactions, in which RASIM are routinely cast as Agonists.

(2)

(a) **Braving** [cancelled trains]_{ANT1}, [police truncheons and torrential rain]_{ANT2}, [record numbers of refugees]_{AGO} **continued to struggle** through Europe (TG, 10.9.15)

(b) [Hungary's iron curtain]_{ANT} **forces** [migrants]_{AGO} to consider new routes (TT, 15.9.15)

(c) [Asylum seekers]_{AGO} **resist attempts** [by French government]_{ANT} **to move** [them]_{AGO} (TG, 12.1.16)

(d) *Macedonia permitió este viernes la entrada a unos cientos de personas* (EP, 21.8.15)

[Macedonia]_{ANT} **allowed** this Friday the entry [to some hundreds of people]_{AGO}

(e) *La marea devuelve a una playa de Lesbos (Grecia) el cuerpo de un niño ahogado el pasado miércoles* (EM, 4.11.15)

[The tide]_{ANT} **returns** to a beach in Lesbos [the body of a drowned child]_{AGO} last Wednesday

(2a) is schematised as a ‘despite’ interaction. In such contexts, RASIM tend to be represented in constant struggle transiting through Europe. RASIM are construed as an unbounded, multiplex entity comprised of refugees who, despite a number of OBSTACLES

construed as Antagonists (e.g., cancelled trains), fulfil their tendency to motion. The resistance and RASIM's success are encoded in the verb forms 'braving' and 'continued to struggle', both reinforcing the forceful aspect of this interaction and RASIM's difficult transit. Such representation was expected of *The Guardian*. The ANCHORING topicalizes the Antagonists, inviting readers to engage with different dimensions of RASIM's struggle.

Figure 7.5.

ANCHORING in (2a).

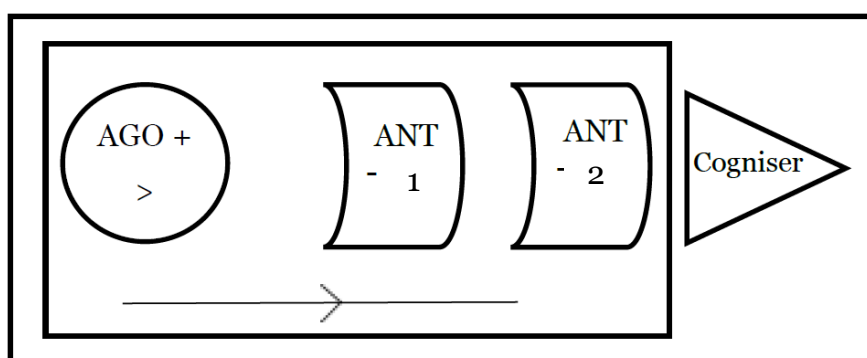
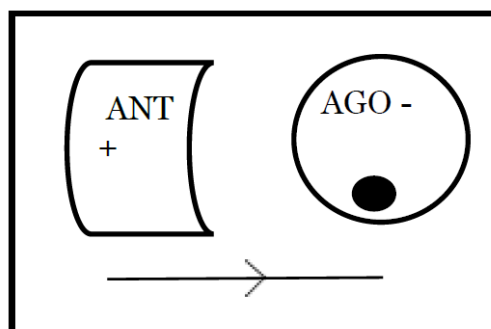


Figure 7.6.

Schematisation in (2b).



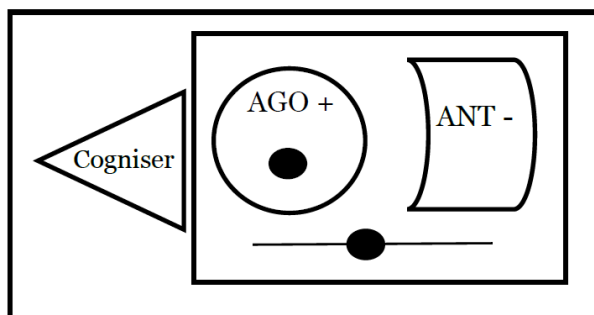
Alternatively, (2b) from *The Telegraph* is of the causative type. (2b) encodes a relationship where the stronger Antagonist 'Hungary', from which the event is viewpointed by means of active voice, continuously impinges on the relatively weaker multiplex unbounded Agonist 'migrants'. Importantly, the Antagonist is realised partially metonymically, imposing a degree of conceptual distancing; the actual Antagonist is a

BARRIER,⁹⁵ construed as a bounded uniplex entity resulting from a previous Action-Chain event (see previous chapter), where Hungary serves as the Ground on which the Figure is construed, and therefore subtly backgrounding Hungary’s agency.

(2c) construes an extended ‘despite’ relationship. The event is construed from the perspective of the multiplex ‘asylum-seekers’, who remain in stasis despite French ‘attempts’ to remove them from locations in Calais. Such representation in *The Guardian* depicts RASIM as legitimate (they are categorised as ‘asylum-seekers’) homogeneous groups of individuals. The topicalization of the Agonist potentially prompts readers to ego-align with them (Figure 7.7). This construal is in line with the more humanitarian representation of RASIM in Calais by *The Guardian*, who emphasised the difficult situations of RASIM in the ‘Jungle’, and represented French actions as inherently negative for RASIM.

Figure 7.7.

ANCHORING in (2c).



Conversely, (2d) construes a SHIFT-IN-STATE event in which RASIM succeed in fulfilling their intrinsic tendency to motion (‘onset letting’; Talmy, 2000). In (2d) the change in the result of the FORCE interaction is lexicalised in the verb form ‘allow’, where Macedonia ceases to block RASIM’s tendency to motion:

⁹⁵ The instantiation ‘iron curtain’ can trigger intertextual, metaphorical conceptualisations in which the event can be understood to be framed within the (IM)MIGRATION IS WAR metaphor. The expression ‘iron curtain’ can trigger metaphorical associations related to the Cold War, which constituted the imaginary line dividing Europe between Soviet influence and Western influence.

Figure 7.8.

Schematisation in (2d).

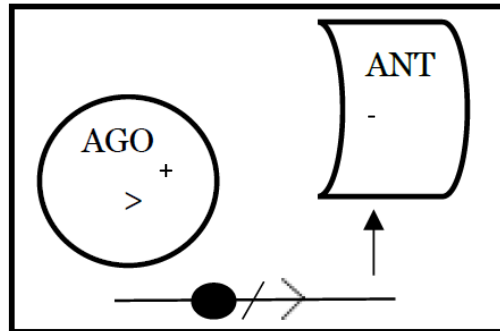
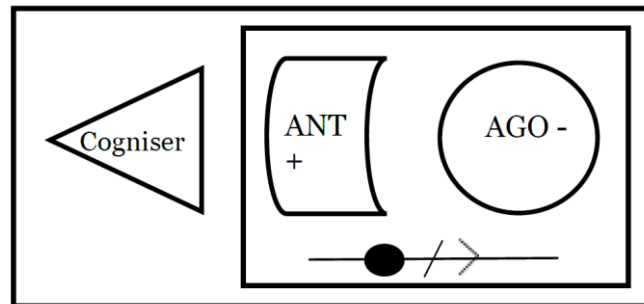


Figure 7.9.

ANCHORING in (2e).



Last, (2e) instantiates a caption which potentially ego-aligns readers with the Antagonist by means of topicalization. The Antagonist ‘tide’ is conceptualised as a uniplex entity causing the multiplex Agonist ‘the body...’ to return to its original location. The ‘body’ is transported by natural phenomena, rather than allocating such transportation to the more general social and political context in which the event unfolded (potentially involving a shipwreck). Such event-construal, despite including the time and location of the event, backgrounds the circumstances of the death of the child while focusing on its final, dramatic aspect.⁹⁶ Next, I discuss Force-dynamic interactions unfolding in the social/legal domain.

⁸ See analysis of Figure 5.32 in Chapter 5.

7.2.3.2. Social/legal FORCE interactions

In the context of the RC, social/legal FORCE interactions have also been often observed. Events depicted in such manner can have important ideological effects. (3) gathers representative examples.

(3)

(a) [Syrian refugee]_{AGO} **wins** appeal **against** [forced return to Turkey]_{ANT} (TG, 20.5.16)

(b) *Europa cierra sus puertas a los refugiados* (EM, 12.5.16)

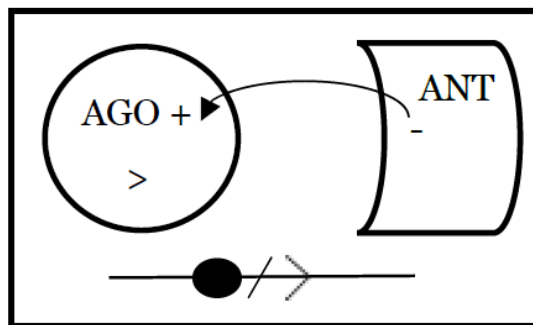
[Europe]_{AGENT} **closes** [its doors]_{ANT} [to refugees]_{AGO}

(c) [The plan was for pit-stop justice]_{ANT}: [migrants]_{AGO} **detained, pushed through the asylum process and deported** within days (TT, 11.6.16)

(d) [Muslim Brotherhood]_{AGENT} "**using** [migrants as invasion force]_{ANT}" **to seize control** of [Europe]_{AGO} (TT, 5.1.16)

Figure 7.10.

Schematisation in (3a).



(3a) from *The Guardian* is ideologically relevant in that it depicts an individual refugee succeeding in overcoming the resistance of the until then stronger Antagonist. (3a) involves a shift-in-balance-of-strength schema (Talmy, 2000). (3a) depicts RASIM events in a humanitarian light, with RASIM winning processes of appellation against governmental actions that in turn can be construed as illegitimate, this in line with *The Guardian's* reporting on the role of Turkey in the RC.

(3b) is a clear case of onset BLOCKAGE (see Figure 7.11). The Agent ‘Europe’ succeeds in putting in place a BARRIER which acts as Antagonist; Europe closes its metaphorical ‘doors’ to the Agonist ‘refugees’. This event is framed within a SOCIAL ORGANISATION IS CONTAINER/BUILDING metaphor, which here can also be understood to instantiate the elaboration COUNTRY IS HOME (see Chapter 2). The active voice can prompt readers to adopt Europe’s perspective, while the medium shot leaves out other potentially relevant information, for instance, where RASIM came from and the circumstances of their transit. The fact that Europe is the Agent in an Action-Chain event that results in the closure of a BARRIER can impose a degree of conceptual distancing that partially decreases Europe’s responsibility in the Force-dynamic interaction; Europe does not block RASIM itself, but rather places BARRIERS to act in the role of Antagonist.

Figure 7.11.

Schemas in (3b).

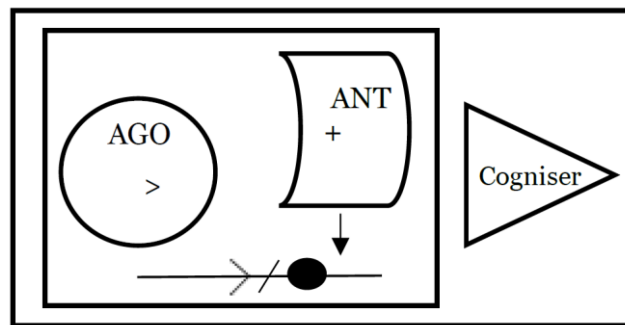
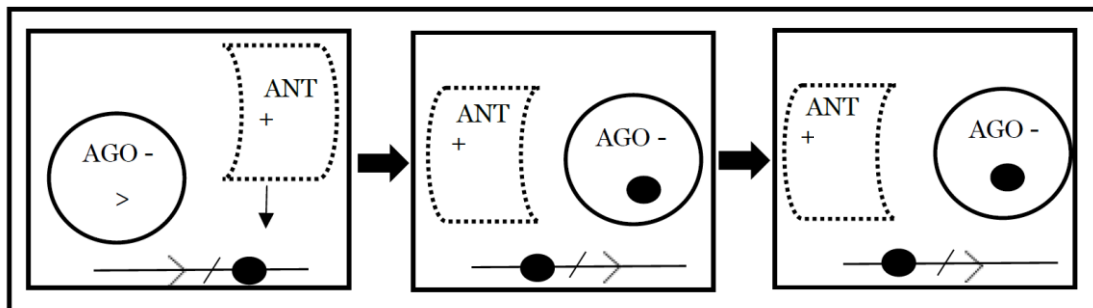


Figure 7.12.

Schemas in (3c).



(3c) is an illustrative example of SHIFT-IN-STATE schemas found in period 3 across newspapers, with a focus on RASIM’s legal situations after the EU-Turkey deal. (3c)

details the stages faced by RASIM after the deal. The Antagonist is invoked by the clause ‘the plan...justice’. Such invocation, predicated upon the PRODUCT-FOR-PRODUCER metonymy, abstracts the actual entities enforcing the plan, removing from public scrutiny the institutions impinging on RASIM (weaker Agonist), who are foregrounded in the three stages of the ‘plan’, and therefore instantiating a degree of conceptual distancing. RASIM are then ‘detained’ (SHIFT-IN-STATE:BLOCKAGE; left in 7.12), ‘pushed’ (CAUSED-MOTION; centre in 7.12), and ‘deported’ (SHIFT-IN-STATE:REPULSION; right in 7.12). The CAUSED-MOTION schema depicts RASIM forcibly transiting a three-dimensional Path encoded by the preposition ‘through’ (see Chapter 5), conveying more ‘resolution’ and hence emphasising the forceful aspect of the motion. DISTANCE adjustments include a temporal dimension but background the Antagonist, with important ideological effects in that the individuals responsible for RASIM deportations remain ‘unfleshed’, but active, in the semantic background (symbolised by the dashed lines).

Last, (3d) from *The Telegraph* is perspectivized from the PoV of the Agent ‘Muslim Brotherhood’ by means of active voice. Importantly, (3e) establishes an ideologically relevant degree of conceptual distancing. The entity acted upon, (‘migrants’) is subsequently cast as a stronger Antagonist, further construed as an ‘invasion force’ and therefore framing the event within a (IM)MIGRATION IS INVASION metaphor. The ultimate result of this social interaction is the control of Europe in its role as Agonist, which is construed as an uniplex, weaker entity. This representation of RASIM reduces them to ‘soldiers’ of an ‘army’ organized by the terrorist organization, subtly imposing such functionalisation; RASIM can become ‘terrorists’ and hence actions aimed at limiting their numbers and transit become legitimate and necessary. Importantly, RASIM are the entities seizing control of Europe, and not ISIS *directly*, which establishes an ideologically relevant conceptual distance in that RASIM’s Force-dynamic action is in focus. Representations linking migration with terrorism were found across newspapers, however it is *The Telegraph* who sustained that narrative more generally. Further variation is explored in 7.2.4. Next, I discuss speech act events.

7.2.3.3. Speech acts

Force-dynamic schemas have also been found to underlie speech act events. These are less common than the schemas above, albeit they can be ideologically important:

(4)

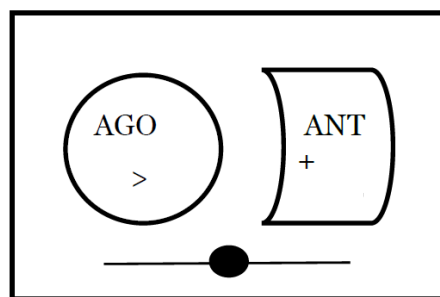
(a) [Refugees]_{AGO} **sue** [EU]_{ANT} over Turkey deal (TT, 13.6.16)

(b) [Turkey]_{ANT} **threatens** to open the gates and **send** [refugees]_{AGO} to Europe (TT, 11.2.16)

(4a) is a type of extended COMPULSION schema. The verb form ‘sue’ in this context encodes the Agonist ‘refugees’ continuously impinging on the Antagonist ‘EU’. I analyse the illocutionary form of speech acts in terms of Force-dynamics following Sweetser (1990). Such construal, encoded by an active voice construction, renders RASIM as instigators of legal processes against the status quo pushed by the EU, and therefore represents them as resisting its laws and measures. RASIM are construed as rebellious, unwelcoming and homogenous groups of people who resist Europe’s efforts. Such representations in *The Telegraph* can sustain an encompassing narrative in which RASIM take advantage of the EU, further legitimising actions to remove them, or to limit their effects on societies.

Figure 7.13.

Schematisation in (4a).



Last, (4b) depicts ‘Turkey’ as a stronger Antagonist prior to the EU-Turkey deal. ‘Turkey’ is engaged in a STEADY:COMPULSION event encoded in the speech act verb ‘threaten’, which represents Turkey as Antagonist in an extended FORCE interaction whose outcome is schematised as a RESTRAINT-REMOVAL event which conceptualises RASIM as WATER, this invoked by the expression ‘open the gates’. Here Turkey ceases on impinging on

RASIM and removes the BARRIER blocking them ('the gates'). The active voice can also prompt readers to take Turkey's perspective in construal. Further, Turkey is negatively depicted using RASIM as a weapon of choice, an inherently negative action encoded in the verb form 'threat', while RASIM are framed as WATER with evident dehumanising consequences (see Chapter 2).

In sum RASIM are routinely cast as Agonists in every newspaper and type of FORCE schema, indexing a general tendency to depict RASIM as resisting governmental measures, trying to fulfil their intrinsic tendency to Motion, or being caused to move by stronger Antagonists in a variety of contexts, more notably their deportations after the EU-Turkey deal of early 2016. In those cases where RASIM are cast as Antagonist, their actions are inherently negative and can be instrumentalised to deploy militarisation strategies.

7.2.4. Variation across newspapers

Force-dynamic schemas have been found to foster important ideological alternatives. In line with the findings in previous chapters and previous findings (cf., Moore et al., 2018), Spanish newspapers coincided in broadly portraying the RC deploying humanitarian strategies, while the ideological 'distance' between *The Guardian* and *The Telegraph* is substantial. Examples in this section include physical, social/legal Force-dynamic interactions alongside speech acts.

(5)

(a) *La presión de Marruecos contiene la llegada de pateras* (EP, 7.9.15)

[Morocco's pressure]_{ANT} **contains** [the arrival of dinghies]_{AGO}

(b) *La tragedia que dejó 15 muertos a las puertas de España* (EP, 16.10.15)

[The tragedy]_{ANT} that **left** [15 dead people]_{AGO} at Spain's door

(c) *Los ocho guardias civiles que la semana pasada fueron absueltos definitivamente de la acusación de haber maltratado a un inmigrante en la valla de Melilla* (EM 12.5.16)

[The eight civil guards]_{AGO} who **were definitely absolved** last week of [the accusation of having mistreated an immigrant]_{ANT} on the fence of Melilla

(5) includes examples involving the role of Morocco during the RC, and the Tarajal killings. (5a) from *El País* depicts Morocco as a relatively stronger Antagonist in an extended relation of CONTAINMENT. Morocco's actions are conceptualised as a uniplex 'pressure' upon a PART FOR WHOLE metonymy. Such adjustment backgrounds the actual measures deployed by the country, in what can instantiate a subtle mystification strategy which hinders readers from ascertaining the nature of such measures, and thus backgrounding possible negative implications from construal. The weaker Agonist 'arrival of dinghies' is continuously prevented from realising its tendency to motion.

(5b/c) represent two events contextualised within the Tarajal killings (see Chapter 1). (5b) from *El País* encodes a CAUSED-MOTION event in which RASIM are the weaker, bounded multiplex Agonist classified in terms of their natural state ('fifteen dead'). The Antagonist in (5b) is encoded in the noun phrase 'the tragedy' by means of a WHOLE FOR PART metonymy. Such noun phrase renders the Antagonist as a bounded, uniplex entity whose 'parts' (i.e., events and entities within them) are not accessible to readers. This construal occludes crucial details of the event to public scrutiny, instantiating a mystification strategy (Hart, 2020), and thus potentially indicating *El País*' inclination to not blame the Civil Guard for the death of 15 migrants. *El Mundo* provides a contrasting representation focusing on a latter event. (5c) encodes a SHIFT-IN-STATE:RESTRAINT-REMOVAL event in which the Agonist succeeds in realising its tendency to Motion after being absolved from an accusation stemming from the conflicts at Melilla's border. The Antagonist in (5c) is realised metonymically, preventing readers from ascertaining who actually accused the guards. The Antagonist is instantiated as 'the accusation...', rendering a complex legal process as a uniplex entity. In (5c) the passive construction also serves to topicalize the Agonist and invites readers to 'view' the event unfolds from its perspective.

It can be observed throughout section 7.2 that Spanish newspapers chose relatively similar representational strategies. However, *El País* can choose to represent entities and events negatively affecting RASIM in rather abstract ways, occasionally backgrounding them, while *El Mundo* clearly chose a humanitarian representation of the RC.

The contrast between British newspapers is more marked. I focus on three events: (a) RASIM arrivals to the RAF base in Cyprus, (b) RASIM's status in Calais and possible repercussions of their arrival to Britain, and (c) the Brexit campaign's coverage.

(6)

(a) [UK]_{ANT} **must resettle** [refugees]_{AGO} who arrived on Cyprus military base, says UN (TG, 21.10.15)

(b) [Britain]_{ANT} **will not allow** [migrants]_{AGO} **to use** RAF Akrotiris a back door to the UK (TT, 22.10.15)

(6) illustrates (a). In October 2015, 140 RASIM arrived to Britain's Akrotiri military base in Cyprus and there were lengthy discussions about the UK's responsibility towards them. *The Guardian* chose to report the UN's pronouncement, infusing event-construal with a kind of 'pressure' predicated on the importance of the UN in international arenas.⁹⁷ *The Guardian* clearly pushed for a humanitarian representation in that Britain's responsibilities were unavoidable, this encoded in the modal verb with deontic value 'must'. The 'UK' instantiates a relatively weaker Antagonist that needs to cease its impingement on the Agonist 'refugees', who are left to realise their intrinsic tendency toward motion. (6a) thus represents the UK as unwilling to cooperate with RASIM. In contrast, (6b) construes a SHIFT-IN-STATE:BLOCKAGE event in which the Antagonist 'Britain' hinders RASIM's tendency. The event is construed from the perspective of Britain, who enters a state of BLOCKAGE. Importantly, the military base is further metaphorized as 'a back door to the UK', with negative connotations stemming from the conceptualisation of Britain as a CONTAINER/HOME. (6b) represents Britain's decision to deny rights of asylum to RASIM in Akrotiri as legitimate due to the inherent violation of Britain's spatial integrity they represent.

(7)

(a) [new accommodation blocks]_{ANT} **will attract** [more migrants]_{AGO} to the French coast (TT, 11.1.16)

(b) [Migrant influx]_{AGO} **means** [British children]_{ANT} **forced to move away** (TT, 25.1.16)

Newspapers' coverage of RASIM events from January 2016 reflected alternative visions of the role and repercussion of migration. Recall that *The Guardian* supported the Remain campaign while *The Telegraph* supported Leave. (7a/b) reflect *The Telegraph*'s vision by

⁹⁷ The overarching FORCE schema is one of STEADY-STATE:COMPULSION in which the Antagonist 'UN' impinges on the 'UK'. Here I focus on the sub-event affecting RASIM directly instead.

means of two ideologically-vested event-construals. (7a) encodes an onset ATTRACTION event in which the Antagonist overcomes migrants' tendency to stasis resulting in their motion. (7a) construes RASIM negatively as passive people in need willing to relocate if their conditions are improved. Such representation follows *The Telegraph's* accumulative representations of RASIM in Calais as underserving, idle, passive individuals (see chapters 5 and 6). Furthermore, the location to which they are attracted is 'the French coast' in an indirect reference to Calais refugee camp, this elaborated throughout the news report. Such localisation can constitute a subtle spatial Proximization strategy (Cap, 2017) which renders RASIM increasingly and negatively consequential to readers; the next step is 'coming to Britain'. Such situation is construed in (7b). (7b) encodes a REPULSION event in which the stronger Agonist 'migrant influx' succeeds in realising its intrinsic tendency resulting in the onset displacement of the resulting weaker Antagonist 'British children'. (7b) is ideologically relevant for several reasons. First, the Agonist is conceptualised as a uniplex body of WATER who impinges on the multiplex unbounded entity 'British children', categorised considering their nationality and classified according to their age and thus potentially prompting negative entailments. These include that migration affects children *directly*, and that children have nowhere specific to go (encoded in the preposition 'away'), and thus migration has negative consequences for an inherently vulnerable collective. Such representation can also instantiate a context-dependent form of the *topos of displacement, or threat* (Richardson & Wodak, 2009), by means of which immigration can result in children's displacement, constituting a threat for children's wellbeing and therefore potentially amplifying the ideological effects of event-construal.

(8)

(a) [A vote **for** Remain]_{ANT} is [a vote **for** mass immigration]_{AGO} from Turkey (TT, 17.5.16)

(b) Farage said [New Labour]_{ANT} **wanted** [higher immigration]_{AGO} as [a deliberate policy]_{ANT} **to change** [the makeup of Britain]_{AGO} (TG, 17.5.16)

(8) gather examples partially illustrating British newspapers' stances during the Brexit campaigns. (8a) equates supporting the Remain campaign with a submission to immigration from Turkey. *The Telegraph* connects staying in the EU with higher levels

of immigration⁹⁸ while frequently alluding to migrants' 'quality' as a potential threat to British society. In this parallel structure, 'a vote for Remain' (standing metonymically for the Remain campaign) is cast as Antagonist, while the Agonist is instantiated by 'a vote for mass immigration'. The pragmatic deictic centre can be understood to be Britain, as *The Telegraph*'s readers can be assumed to reside in Britain. In this parallel ENABLEMENT schemas, then, *The Telegraph* establishes a future negative scenario predicated on readers actions (their 'vote'), who become responsible for mass immigration if they fail to vote for the 'right' option.

Last, (8b) reports Farage's views with delegitimising purposes. (8b) from *The Guardian* reports Farage's attempt to delegitimise Labour Party in what seemingly instantiates the 'Great Replacement' conspiracy theory.⁹⁹ 'Labour' is depicted as an ATTRACTOR of the Agonist 'higher immigration', this encoded in the verb form 'want', following Sweetser's (1990) theory. Crucially, this ATTRACTION is instrumental for the second part of the clause, where the 'policy' is meant to affect 'the makeup of Britain', in an indirect reference to traditional, conservative, white values. Such representation depicts Labour negatively as an actor potentially responsible for negative changes to British society, and therefore Labour's campaign results delegitimised. This type of representation is contextualised within the Brexit campaign and rather than providing an accusatory view of Labour, it can be argued that *The Guardian* opts for including Farage's views for their readers due to *The Guardian*'s potential perception of Farage as an illegitimate politician who will employ any means necessary to achieve his political goals, portraying him as an unscrupulous person who even supports conspiracy theories.

In sum, Spanish newspapers broadly chose to represent the RC within the domain of FORCE in similar ways, with *El Mundo* portraying events clearly deploying humanitarian strategies, and with *El País* being occasionally (subtly) supportive of Morocco's role. British newspapers displayed a more substantial ideological 'gap', this reflected in their *foci* of attention and the roles allocated in FORCE schemas. *The Telegraph* was observed to be the newspaper which most negatively represented events during the RC within the domain of FORCE. Next, I report findings in images.

⁹⁸ See Zapettinni (2019) for a discussion.

⁹⁹ The Great Replacement is a white supremacist, nationalist conspiracy theory which argues that states with liberal agendas are enabling the cultural/demographic displacement of white European populations in benefit of non-Europeans.

7.3. Force-dynamics in images

7.3.1. Force-dynamic events in focus

Table 7.2 above showed that the frequency of FORCE events in images is much lower, albeit with patterns similar to those indicated in 7.2.1. As in images within other domains, the manner in which readers arrive to where events take place, or to what type of Force-dynamic event unfolds, depends on the relations between images and captions (see 7.4). Locations can be visually accessible (e.g., border controls), although captions tend to be responsible for specifying them.

Figure 7.14.

'Two immigrants try to jump Ceuta's fence before a civil guard', El País, 17 Nov. 2015.



Dos inmigrantes intentan saltar la valla de Ceuta frente a un guardia civil. REDUAN (EFE)

In Figure 7.14, the fence on which the event is taking place is visually instantiated, and the caption specifies its location (i.e., Ceuta, Spain). Due to the impossibility of locating the events depicted in the photographs by analysing the structure of the image alone, I relied on the captions. The main events in focus were:

(a) August-December 2015

- RASIM's transit blocked in the Western Balkans route;
- Detentions of RASIM in the Western Balkans route;
- Fence jumping in Ceuta and Melilla;
- RASIM's transit through the Mediterranean and the Aegean;
- RASIM's confinement in Akrotiri base.

(b) January-June 2016¹⁰⁰

- Deportations/detentions of RASIM;
- Demonstrations of RASIM and other pressure groups;
- RASIM's situation in Greek and Macedonian camps;
- Events in Ceuta and Melilla fences;
- RASIM's situation in Calais;
- Sex attacks in Germany;
- Coverage of events within the Brexit campaigns.

An evolution in foci of attention can be appreciated. Similar to language, this reflects firstly the different stages of the RC and, secondly, specific events that were more prominent in either the British or Spanish press. In 2015 the focus was on RASIM events at sea and on the increasingly difficult transit of RASIM through the Western-Balkans route, while in 2016 the focus was on RASIM's conditions in various camps, their detention and deportation after the EU-Turkey deal, and reactions to such events. Next, I report findings in a similar fashion to 7.2.

7.3.2. Instantiations of Agonist and Antagonist

The images below include their captions and occasionally the subheading or headline for illustration of relevant ideologically patterns. Viewpoint analysis is instrumental for the interpretation of ideologically-vested representations, and is reported alongside metaphor and schematisation when relevant.

In images, Antagonists can be realised by a number of entities, while RASIM, as in language, are generally restricted to the role of Agonist. Figure 7.15 instantiates common events that unfolded across the Western-Balkans route, where RASIM's transit was routinely hindered. The fence instantiates a BARRIER¹⁰¹ in the role of Antagonist, whose resistance RASIM are depicted in an extended OVERCOMING OF BARRIERS event. My analysis considers Dancygier's (2016) analysis of the concept BARRIER across several

¹⁰⁰ The periods observed in 2016 exclude March.

¹⁰¹ See Dancygier and Vandelanotte (2017) for a discussion of the BARRIER schema and its affordances in relation to viewpoint.

cultural artefacts, where reader's visualisation of 'barriers' can prompt important social and emotional responses relying on the viewpoints afforded by such a basic schema.

Figure 7.15.

'Several refugees try to jump the fence in the border between Hungary and Serbia in Röszke', El Mundo, 29 Sep. 2015.



The fence's limit is beyond the viewing frame. This is mirrored in the headline *su kilométrica valla* ('its kilometric fence'), focusing on its unboundedness. The group is observed at eye level, construing them as a bounded multiplex entity. The presence of BARRIERS in images is crucial because they force the photographer (and hence viewers) to be 'on either side of it'. In Figure 7.15 the deictic centre is located on the opposite side in relation to RASIM's tendency, potentially inviting readers to 'view' RASIM approaching them. This is clearer in other images below, here it can be argued that such ANCHOR prompts an observer's perspective due to the obliqueness of the shot in relation to the fence. Dancygier (2016) argues that the BARRIER schema can achieve creative potential (in our case, ideological) on the basis of its viewpoint and embodiment potential, leading to invocation of complex frames (see Figures 7.21/22). Figure 7.15 potentially does not invoke an (IM)MIGRATION IS INVASION metaphor because the volume and heterogenous nature of RASIM (including women and children), and the oblique ANCHOR does not invite readers to perceive the event as 'closing in' on them.

Figure 7.16.

PoV in Figure 7.15.

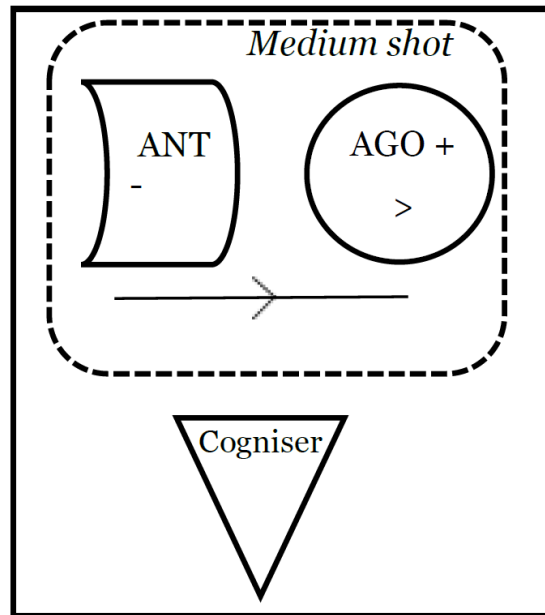


Figure 7.17.

'Macedonian police in the border with Greece facing thousands of refugees', El Mundo, 21 Aug. 2015.



La Policía de Macedonia en la frontera con Grecia frente a miles de refugiados. | AFP

Figure 7.18.

The Telegraph, 15 Sept. 2015.



The arrested men may face prison for attempting to go under a wire border fence (APTN)

In contrast, Figures 7.17 and 7.18 instantiate governmental forces as Antagonists. In both images, policemen and/or soldiers instantiate stronger Antagonists in extended relations of BLOCKAGE. The ANCHOR invites viewers to side with Antagonists, and the eye-level ANGLE enables viewers to differentiate individual entities. In both images the Antagonist occupies a higher position in relation to the Agonist, potentially invoking a POWER IS UP metaphor. In such relationship, RASIM's BLOCKAGE can also be potentially reinforced by the 'power stance' of the officer on the left in Figure 7.18. The shot in Figure 7.17 is closer and crops the heads of officers, clearly focusing on RASIM, while Figure 7.18 presents the event from middle DISTANCE. There are two main differences between these images.

First, the Agonist in Figure 7.17 is an unbounded multiplex entity (there is an indiscernible number of RASIM, mirrored in the caption in 'thousands of refugees'), while in Figure 7.18 two RASIM are present. The higher relative number of officers in Figure 7.17 can reinforce the sense of control/blockage. Also, in Figure 7.17 we can observe mainly women and children in the first line of Agonists, while in Figure 7.18 there are two male RASIM. This, in combination with the 'offer' gaze act in Figure 7.17 (a young male is looking up directly at an officer) can serve to portray the scene in a more

humanitarian light. In Figure 7.18 RASIM cover their eyes, making it impossible to engage with them, but conversely communicating distress with their body language. Both images can be analysed as depicting extended relations of BLOCKAGE, however in Figure 7.18 such blockage is product of an arrest (anchored in the caption), and hence RASIM in Figure 7.18 are potentially framed as criminals. The perspective in both images is expressed as follows:

Figure 7.19.

PoV in Figure 7.17.

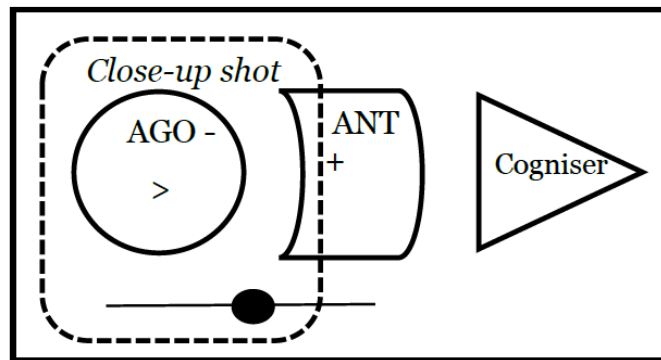
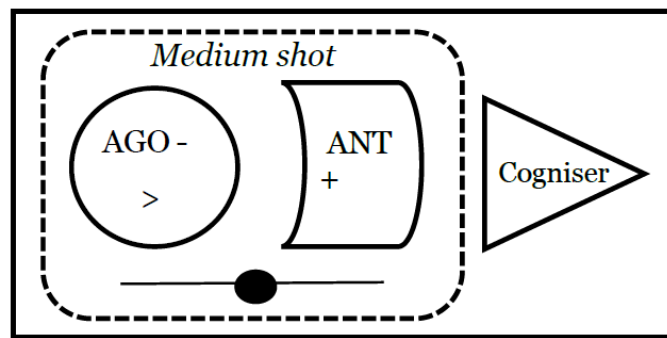


Figure 7.20.

PoV in Figure 7.18.



RASIM were found to be very often depicted in border controls, fences, or camps. In such events Close-Up shots tend to focus on RASIM in extended relations of BLOCKAGE:

Figure 7.21.

'Refugees waiting to board the ferry separated from tourists in a cage', El Mundo, 24 Aug. 2015.

Enjaulados hacia Europa



Refugiados esperando a embarcar en el ferry separados de los turistas en una jaula. | JAVIER BAULUZ / PERIODISMO HUMANO

Figure 7.22.

'Refugees stand behind the fence in Serbia at the closed border...', The Guardian, 16 Sept. 2015.



▲ Refugees stand behind the fence in Serbia at the closed border with Hungary. Asylum applicants say little attempt is being made by officials to gauge the risk faced by each refugee. Photograph: Srdjan Stevanovic/Getty Images

In both images, heterogenous groups of RASIM, observed at eye-level, instantiate Agonists. The fences (also the barbed wire in Figure 7.21) instantiate the Antagonist/BARRIER forcing them to remain in stasis. The ANCHOR in Figure 7.22 is more

oblique, it construes the event from a more detached perspective, and the presence of other obstacles blurs RASIM (only three faces are fully discernible). In Figure 7.21 both the ANCHOR and DISTANCE variables afford important conceptual and ideological effects. First, viewers can see the arm of an individual, who holds the gate of the cage containing RASIM. The ANCHORING ego-aligns viewers with the putative Antagonist, as RASIM are facing directly the camera. The inclusion of the arm construes the scene in ‘first person’; viewers can potentially fully embody the perspective, and thus they ‘become’ the Antagonist blocking RASIM. Additionally, the fact that what seems to be a family is foregrounded can trigger humanitarian understandings of RASIM’ situation, along with the metaphorical framing multimodally instantiated (see 7.4.2). Both Figure 7.21 and 7.22 depict RASIM deploying visual humanitarian strategies, focusing on the Agonist who are realised by multiplex groups of children and families. Such humanitarian representation is further enhanced in Figure 7.21 by means of ANCHOR and DISTANCE adjustments, potentially triggering strong emotional reactions in the audience.

In sum, as in language, RASIM as routinely cast as Agonists, where BARRIERS in the shape of fences and gates, and governmental and military forces tend to be cast as Antagonist. Variation is explored in 7.3.4.

7.3.3. FORCE schemas in images

This section reports findings as in 7.2.3. However, social/legal FORCE schemas are subsumed under physical FORCE schemas. This is because social/legal FORCE events in the visual mode most often focus on their physical properties; the affordances of images prevent them from expressing the social/legal aspect of such type of events. The social/legal forceful act of deportation can only be visually apprehended in the forcible displacement of entities. Furthermore, images in 7.3.2 depicted extended FORCE interactions. It is important to note that the static nature of images, directly related to their modal affordances (see Chapter 3), can also prevent them from expressing the dynamic nature of some Force-dynamic events.

7.3.3.1. Physical FORCE schemas

Figure 7.23 encodes an extended ‘despite’ relationship in which RASIM continuously fulfil their tendency to motion despite opposition. The Antagonist/BARRIER is instantiated by the barbed-wire fence, which is foregrounded in that readers can view a bounded, multiplex group of RASIM at eye level *through* the fence.

Figure 7.23.

‘Thousands of migrants have continued to travel through Hungary [...] despite fences and border closures’, The Telegraph, 9 May 2016.



The visual arrangement in this image is crucial in that RASIM are not blocked by the fence, and therefore RASIM are depicted as stronger Agonists constantly realising their tendency to motion. This relationship is not explicitly encoded in the image, as viewers might understand that RASIM are simply walking alongside the fence. The caption is responsible for anchoring such visual depiction (see 7.4.1). It is worth noting that a further underlying schema is that of ‘impeded motion’, where the fence is conceptualised as a BARRIER (Figure 7.24, Hart & Mármol Queraltó, p. 543). The viewing arrangement in Figure 7.23 is represented as follows:

Figure 7.24.

Construal in Figure 7.23 (left) and impeded motion schema (right).

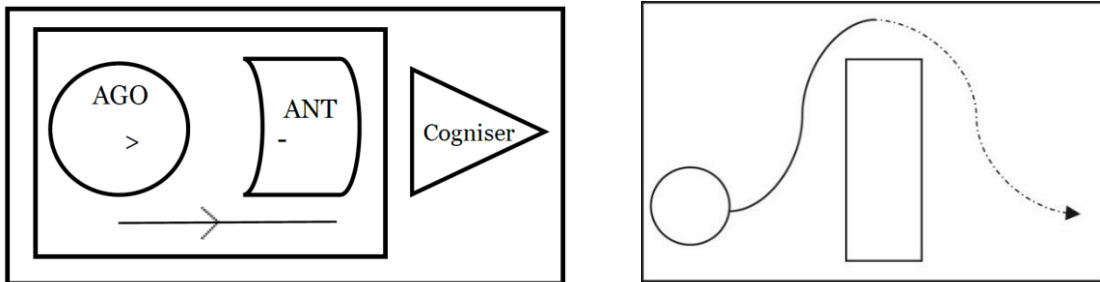


Figure 7.25.

'A Turkish border guard carries the body of a migrant child...'. The Telegraph, 3 Sept. 2015.



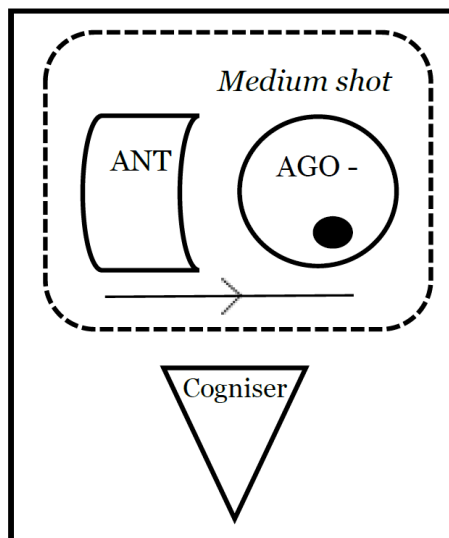
A Turkish border guard carries the body of a migrant child after a number of migrants died and a smaller number were reported missing after boats carrying them to the Greek island of Kos capsized, near the Turkish resort of Bodrum Photo: AP

Figure 7.25 instantiates an extended, CAUSED-MOTION event. On 3 September 2015, Aylan Kurdi, members of his family and other numerous RASIM died in a shipwreck which came to symbolise the crudity of the RC. Similar photographs were reproduced by every main media outlet. Figure 7.25 depicts the change in location of an Agonist (the dead child) who is moved by the Turkish guard cast as the Antagonist (functionalised by the high-visibility vest, the insignia on his shirt, and the beret). The setting of the image

includes an unidentifiable beach whose location is anchored in the caption. The medium shot includes the minimal entities in the event, and the eye-level ANGLE enable viewers to ascertain individual entities. The ANCHOR encodes an observer's perspective and viewers see, from a detached position, the guard moving the corpse alongside the sagittal plane. Importantly, such ANCHOR is slightly oblique and crops the head of the corpse, of which viewers can see half of the body. Despite this, such representation can trigger strong emotional reactions as the victim in such event is a very young child. In events in which RASIM (dead or alive) are caused to move by governmental forces commonly depict RASIM as weaker people in need, instantiating a humanitarian discourse of migration. Figure 7.25 is visuo-schematically represented as follows:

Figure 26.

PoV in Figure 7.25.



In figure 7.27 below, viewers are presented with an onset BLOCKAGE event, or onset ERECTION OF BARRIERS. Such depiction illustrates Hungary's reaction to RASIM mobilisation. The photograph captures the exact moment in which a soldier (Agent; functionalised by his camouflage garments) erects a fence as BARRIER/Antagonist at night-time, and thus blocking RASIM's transit. Importantly, the Agonist is not included in the photograph, but the entity is instantiated as 'hundreds of migrants' in both the heading and the subheading of the news report as 'reaching' the Slovenian border in a 'despite' FORCE relation.

Figure 7.27.

'A Hungarian soldier closes the border...', The Telegraph, 17 Oct. 2015.

Slovenia places army on alert as hundreds of migrants reach border

Hundreds of migrants reach Slovenian border crossing with Croatia after Hungary shut its borders, as German politician stabbed in the neck by man "angry over country's refugee policy"



A Hungarian soldier closes the border between Hungary and Croatia with barbed wire and a fence in Zakany Photo: AFP

The eye-level ANGLE enables viewers to distinguish the soldier with a high degree of resolution, as well as the fence, however the DISTANCE and ANCHOR parameters afford ideological effects. The Close-Up shot removes from the scene the putative Agonist ('hundreds of migrants'), while the ANCHOR of the image places viewers on the other side of the fence, that is, viewers are forced to adopt the perspective of the Agonist (who remains unfleshed, this indicated by dashed lines; see Figure 7.28) whose path is being blocked. It can be argued that this Force-dynamic schematisation, along with the PoV encoded, focuses viewers' attention on those actions aimed at controlling RASIM's mobilisation, potentially enacting a militarisation strategy and therefore framing the event overall within a (IM)MIGRATION IS INVASION metaphor. The fact that the soldier (Agent) is erecting the fence (Antagonist) at night can reinforce such representation as he can be understood to be forced to work 'day and night'. The framing can be denied, however, as RASIM are not present in the image; the focus is on Hungary's actions, and such framing then can be understood to be instantiated multimodally rather than visually alone (see 7.4.2).

Figure 7.28.

PoV in Figure 7.27.

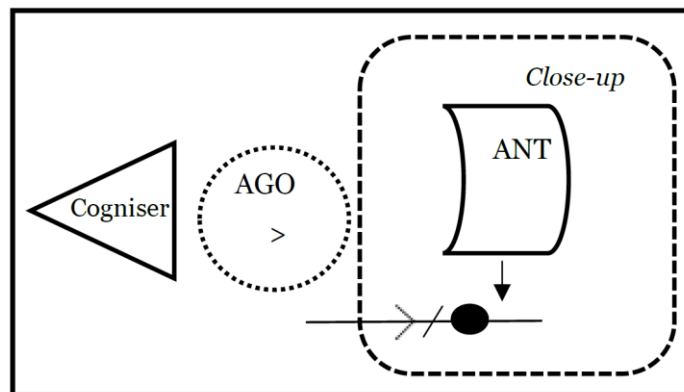


Figure 7.29.

'Migrants breach a police control', El País, 17 Sept. 2015.

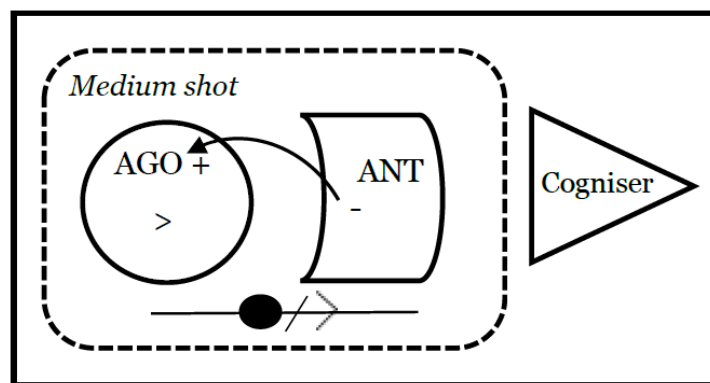


Figure 7.29 depicts RASIM in police/border controls. The headline of the report to which this photograph belongs to reads 'migrants breach a police control', conceptually replicating the content of the image (see 7.4.1). In this image, a heterogenous group of RASIM (led by a young woman, topicalized by means of ANCHORING) is photographed in the exact moment they are overcoming police's blockage, encoding an onset OVERCOMING-OF-FORCES event in which RASIM manage to overcome the police's efforts, fulfilling their tendency toward motion despite opposition and moving towards viewers. Such depiction is based on a 'shift-in-balance-of-strength' schema (see Figure

7.30), where the power balance shifts benefiting RASIM. In such construal, RASIM can be understood to have been effectively blocked by the stronger Antagonist, resulting in its intrinsic being reduced in benefit of the Agonist, whose intrinsic strength results increased, and ultimately manage to overcome the resistance of the then weaker Antagonist. The police are not displaced by RASIM, but rather their strength results ineffective, and hence a shift-in-balance-of-strength analysis seems more appropriate. Furthermore, viewers observe the event from the Antagonist perspective, depicting RASIM ‘closing in’. Such construal, subsequently, can encode an (IM)MIGRATION IS INVASION metaphor, and hence *El País*’ representation of the event is fundamentally negative as they can be understood to be ‘invaders’.

Figure 7.30.

‘Shift-in-balance-of-strength’ in Figure 7.29.



Last, and anticipating variation explored below, Figure 7.31 instantiates one of the few events in which RASIM are cast as Antagonist. *The Telegraph* reported a number of events in Calais generally representing RASIM’s actions and presence as negative, and in occasion enacting spatial Proximization strategies (see (6) above). It is unsurprising, then, to observe *The Telegraph* representing RASIM as BLOCKERS. In Figure 7.31, two RASIM are depicted involved in an onset BLOCKAGE event. The dynamicity of the event is encoded in that the man on the left is captured in the moment in which he is to place a third cone on the ground. The person on the right stands their ground with raised arms between the other two cones. A line of vehicles led by a lorry are caused to enter a state of stasis. Thus, the two RASIM instantiate a stronger Antagonist who successfully hinders the vehicles’ tendency toward motion. The long shot in the photograph includes a temporary traffic sign on the left from which RASIM are taking the cones, along with a

traffic sign on the right, in French, reading ‘reminder, 90km/h’, which enables viewers to recognise the location as somewhere of France, this specified in the caption.

Figure 7.31.

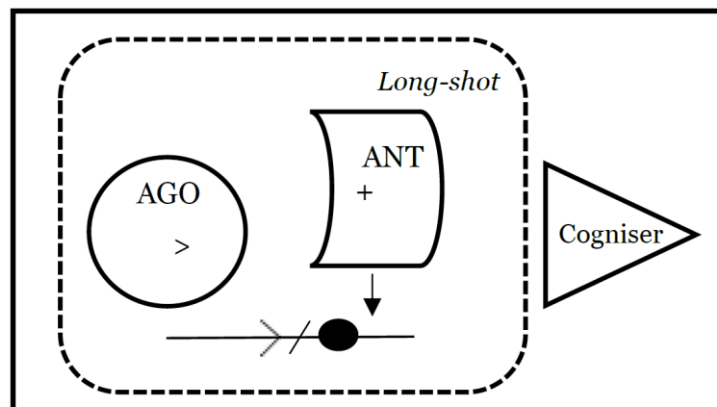
‘Migrants block a lorry in Calais on Monday’, The Telegraph, 21 June 2016.



Migrants block a lorry in Calais on Monday CREDIT: JEAN PIERRE BRUNET

Figure 7.32.

PoV in Figure 31.



The high ANGLE detaches viewers from the ground and impose a degree of distance between viewers and the event while allowing viewers to see several vehicles behind the

lorry. Importantly, the ANCHOR in the image invites viewers to adopt the Antagonist's perspective and 'participate' in the BLOCKAGE they are carrying out. It can be argued that such construal represents RASIM negatively, as they cause the 'normal' course of action to stop. The relative sizes of RASIM vs. the lorry can also contribute to reinforce that message; despite their relative smaller size, RASIM are able to disrupt societies substantially. RASIM in such contexts, then, are depicted as a social problem that brings societies to a halt (they are literally and metaphorically OBSTACLES ALONG THE PATH), and therefore measures to remove them from such relations of impingement become legitimized and even desired.

In sum, RASIM are routinely visually cast as Agonists, and governmental forces/BARRIERS as Antagonists in both STEADY-STATE and SHIFT-IN-STATE events. Such construals, as in language, invoke some kind of struggle and depict RASIM as entities finding resistance to fulfil their intrinsic tendencies, resisting governmental actions, and as instigators of force interactions.

7.3.3.2. Speech acts

Apart from contexts such as those depicted above, events during the RC also include STEADY-STATE:COMPULSION schemas underlying protest¹⁰² events:

Figure 7.33.

'Defend Spain, defend your people' El País, 22 May 2016.



¹⁰² See 6.3.2 for an alternative analysis of protest events.

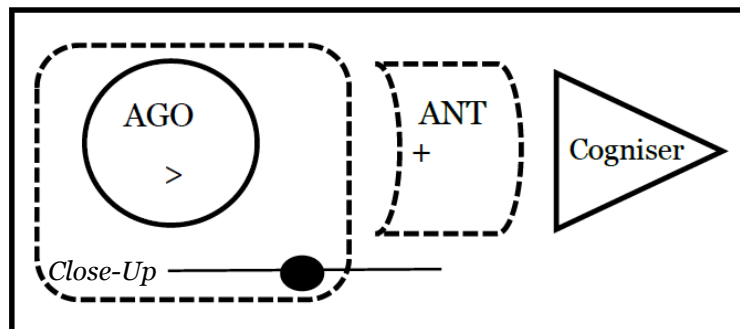
Figure 7.34.

'Save us', El País, 27 May 2016.



Figure 7.35.

PoV in Figures 7.33/34.



Both images depict demonstrations. Figure 7.33 depicts a demonstration held by the neo-Nazi organization 'Hogar Social Madrid' (HSM), while Figure 7.34 depicts children demonstrating in Idomeni, Greece (setting specified in the body of the report). The banners in both images instantiate FORCE schemas that are understood to underlie visual representation also. After Sweetser (1990), the illocutionary force of speech acts can be analysed in terms of Force-dynamics. It can be argued that both demonstrators are cast in the role of Agonists, while readers/viewers are cast in the role of Antagonists, as the demonstrations are aimed at achieving reactions beneficial to either demonstrators, and therefore demonstrators are instigators of social change/reaction. Such reactions can be conceptualised as causing onset motion/action. While the viewpoint parameters in both

images are rather similar except for the wider shot in Figure 7.33 (see Figure 7.35), the context, intended audience (i.e., Antagonists), intended reaction/outcome, and nature of Agonists is rather different.

Figure 7.33 depicts a heterogenous group of demonstrators carrying a banner. The demonstrators behind them hoist Spanish flags and other blue flags with the symbol of 'HSM' superimposed. In Spanish fascist circles, such hue of blue can have important connotations, as the colour is representative of the Blue Division, a unit of Francoist volunteers who joined the Wehrmacht during WWII. Such colour directly taps on intertextual references and portrays the group as fascist. The banner they carry instantiates STEADY:COMPULSION schemas: 'defend Spain/defend your people'. Such event-construal potentially impinges on viewers in their role as 'displaced' Antagonist, who is intersubjectively invoked by the noun phrase 'your people' and also by the imperative form of the verb. In addition, the eye-level angle prevents readers from ascertaining the dimensions and scope of the demonstrators, visually implying a large number of demonstrators. The call to defend Spain potentially invokes an (IM)MIGRATION IS INVASION metaphor. In such scenario, RASIM are INVADERS against whom Spanish citizens need to defend themselves. It can be argued that such depiction, along with other event-construals in the report beyond this paragraph, serves to delegitimise the demonstration due to the language involved¹⁰³ and the intertextual meanings potentially attached to the flags and their colour.

In contrast, Figure 7.34 focuses on a small group of children as Agonists, who using cardboard banners to instantiate their message, are depicted similarly in an extended relation of COMPULSION. Such FORCE event is encoded in the imperative form 'save us', while the ultimate beneficiary of such reactions are the children themselves. The quality of their banners (including children's bodies) and their smaller number (a function of the closer shot) enables readers to engage with individual children. Because the two children in the centre look directly at the camera, this potentially encodes 'demand' gaze acts (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006), further reinforcing the engagement between Agonists and readers as the putative Antagonist from whom a reaction is demanded.

¹⁰³ HSM's rhetoric and use of fascist symbols were heavily criticised by citizens and politicians.

In sum, FORCE events during the RC tend to encode RASIM as Agonists in relationships of BLOCKAGE against stronger soldiers/police/fences cast as Antagonists. RASIM are represented as instigators of social change in demonstrations, and occasionally as stronger Antagonists in restricted contexts. Such depictions reinforce representations of RASIM as relatively homogenous groups of idle, weaker people in need, depicting them under a humanitarian light unless other visual or linguistic input frames them or their actions as fundamentally negative. The next sub-section reports ideologically relevant variation across newspapers.

7.3.4. Variation across newspapers

Up to a certain extent reflecting finding in language, it emerges that Spanish newspapers broadly coincided in representing RASIM during the RC in a humanitarian light (but see *El País*), while the contrast between British newspapers is more marked. This sub-section discusses images indexing such variation.

Spanish newspapers represented RASIM mainly deploying humanitarian strategies. This means that they broadly coincided in depicting RASIM in situations in which they could not fulfil their tendencies to motion when they are depicted in border controls and fences, or conversely, they were depicted as being forced to enter a state of stasis or motion when they are detained or deported. *El Mundo*, as within the domains of ACTION and MOTION, provides a more humanitarian representation focusing on children and families in situations that viewers/readers can interpret as precarious (e.g., Figure 7.22). Here I focus on (a) events in the fences between Spain and Morocco, and (b) RASIM in CAUSED-MOTION events.

Figures 7.36/37 instantiate STEADY-STATE:BALANCE-OF-FORCES schemas, with important differences that can have ideological implications. In both cases RASIM are categorised in the caption as ‘immigrants’, and the ANCHOR is similar; the event is depicted from the Spanish side of the fence, inviting viewers to side with civil guards in riot gear in their role of Antagonist, and also locating the deictic centre *inside* Spain. The images broadly encode BALANCE-OF-FORCES schemas because neither the Agonist nor the Antagonist succeed in fulfilling their tendencies. The inclusion of a BARRIER whose integrity can be overcome by RASIM potentially indexes an (IM)MIGRATION IS INVASION

metaphor, potentially depicting RASIM as invaders and infusing the images with a degree of social intensity.

Figure 7.36.

'A group of immigrants atop of the border fence between Melilla and Morocco', El Mundo, 9 Oct. 2015.



Un grupo de inmigrantes encaramados en la valla fronteriza entre Melilla y Marruecos. I.F.G. Guerrero

Figure 7.37.

'An officer of the Civil Guard tries to get the immigrants off the fence', El País, 21 Nov. 2015.



Un agente de la Guardia Civil intenta que los inmigrantes bajen de la valla. ANTONIO RUIZ (REUTERS-LIVE!)

Differences between the two images might respond to the ideological orientations of newspapers. Figure 7.36 is captioned as a Static-Motion event only referring to the location of RASIM as Trajectors, construing the event more neutrally as self-directed Motion. The image also depicts an officer pulling a male RASIM's leg, who seems to be in a very precarious balance. The male seems to be helped by two other males atop of the fence. The DISTANCE in the image allows viewers to see a portion of the fence with 18 individuals atop. The officer seems to be succeeding in making the male get off the fence, and thus one possible interpretation is that Spanish forces can deal with the situation despite being overwhelmed; the Antagonist is *still* stronger than RASIM.

Figure 7.37 from *El País* depicts a similar event but there is no dynamicity as in Figure 7.36 as Agonists and the Antagonist just 'hold their ground'. In the background there is a Moroccan flag that occupies a third of the image, indexing the Source of RASIM's mobilisation. The officer and RASIM are located at a similar height, and RASIM numbers are smaller, this provided by the closer shot, which includes a small section of the upper section of the fence. The officer looks back at the camera enacting a 'demand' gaze act (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006), which can reinforce the audience's engagement with the event overall. The presence of RASIM atop the fence can similarly invoke a (IM)MIGRATION IS INVASION, but the more reduced number of RASIM, along with the lack of dynamicity in comparison to Figure 7.36, can convey a less 'intense' construal of the event. This is despite the FORCE interaction construed in the caption (see below). It is interesting to note that this is one of the very few cases in which *El Mundo* seems to depict RASIM slightly more negatively due to their numbers, but this is exclusively confined to events in Ceuta and Melilla's borders; *El Mundo*'s reporting in general taps on emotional aspects of the RC that *El País* tend to background. In 7.4.1 I return to these images as the captions contradict the schematisation patterns found in images, and this can have additional ideological effects.

Figure 7.38.

'Several people transport the body of one of the deceased refugees...', *El País*, 31 Oct. 2015.



Varias personas transportan el cuerpo de uno de los refugiados fallecidos este viernes cuando viajaban hacia la isla griega de Lesbos. STRATIS BALASKAS (EFE)

Figure 7.38 from *El País* is one of the few images in which citizens are engaged in a CAUSED-MOTION event. One female and three males carry a corpse at an unidentified Greek beach. The corpse is covered with a white cloth, hindering the visualisation of the corpse. The medium shot and the ANCHOR in the image instantiate an observer's perspective, while the social categories of Antagonists can have ideological implications. Rather than observing coastguard or police officers carry the corpse (see Figure 7.25), viewers are presented with regular citizens whose categorisation only includes their sex and possibly their age. This can imply that the RC is a conflict generally affecting societies, where civil responses were necessary beyond those actions undertaken by governments. Such depiction can also be understood to be humanitarian in that not only governmental forces, but also regular citizens, were intrinsically involved in the handling of the RC.

Figure 7.39 was analysed in Chapter 5 as a MOTION schema. I offer an alternative analysis here because there is a potential schematisation pattern enriched by language possibly underlying important ideological implications. Figure 7.39 can be analysed as a CAUSED-MOTION event if consider event-construals in the lead paragraph. There, *El Mundo* further describes the 'pilgrimage of shame' (*la marcha de la vergüenza*).

Figure 7.39.

'With military on both sides of the group to avoid temptations to leave the herd...', *El Mundo*, 20 Oct. 2015.

La marcha de la vergüenza



■ Eslovenia, desbordada por la crisis de los refugiados | VIDEO: ATLAS // IMAGEN: SRDJAN ZIVULOVIC REUTERS

The image itself can be analysed as a MOTION event in which RASIM as Trajectors, led by the first line of police officers, are walking towards viewers. The lead paragraph construes the parade as ‘controlled’ by army personnel, “with military on both sides of the group to avoid temptations to leave the herd.” In the image viewers cannot see those personnel, only the officers leading the way, but that suffices to display a degree of intersemiotic convergence. If we take the event in the photograph to be enriched by construals in the lead paragraph, then the leading officers instantiate stronger Antagonists who succeed in making RASIM enter a state of motion. This is reinforced in the lead paragraph by the metaphorical expression ‘leave the herd’, which conceptualises RASIM as some type of herding animals (e.g., sheep) that needs to be controlled, and thus potentially framing RASIM and the actions against them within a PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS metaphor. Importantly, the actions of the military are responsible from animalising RASIM, and hence the overall representation is one of RASIM being vulnerable individuals impinged on by the military. The fact the military treat them ‘like animals’ reflects once more the more humanitarian depiction of RASIM events by *El Mundo*. Next, I focus on British newspapers.

As reported above (see also chapters 5 and 6), the differences between *The Telegraph*'s and *The Guardian*'s reporting can be stark. Here I focus on (a) events in the RAF base of Akrotiri, and (b) events in the Western-Balkans route.¹⁰⁴

Figure 7.40.

'...personnel speaking to some of the migrants...', *The Telegraph*, 22 Oct. 2015.



Ministry of Defence handout photo of armed forces personnel speaking to some of the migrants that were on four boats that landed at the RAF air base at Akrotiri in Cyprus. Photo: PA

Figure 7.41.

'The arrivals were temporarily housed at a warehouse at RAF Akrotiri...', *The Guardian*, 22 Oct. 2015.



▲ The arrivals were temporarily housed at a warehouse at RAF Akrotiri in Cyprus. Photograph: Pool/Getty

Example (6) reflected important differences in reporting that are also reproduced visually. Figures 7.40/41 construe the situation in Akrotiri differently. Figure 7.40 construes the

¹⁰⁴ A discussion of FORCE patterns found in the coverage of the Brexit campaigns is beyond the scope of this chapter.

relation between RASIM and armed forces in rather neutral terms, encoding a reciprocal event where interactants seem to be talking to each other, this anchored in the caption. The scene is construed from a medium DISTANCE and at eye level, providing viewers with an observer's perspective in that the ANCHOR does not invite viewers to side with either entity. In contrast with this rather neutral depiction (but see (5)), the photograph in Figure 7.41 can be analysed as instantiating an extended relation of CONTAINMENT. The caption can be analysed as an onset MOTION which results in RASIM being 'housed', and thus there is a forceful shift in RASIM's location carried out by a semantically backgrounded Antagonist. The image encodes a soldier (functionalised by his clothing) in an extended relation of CONTAINMENT. The heterogenous group of RASIM cast as Agonists is depicted partially outside the warehouse. Such FORCE schema is partially instantiated in relation to Viewpoint, which is especially relevant here. The ANCHOR in the image aligns viewers with the soldier in the centre of the image, of whom we only see his back, and hence viewers can be prompted to engage with the action of CONTAINMENT. This is clearly reinforced by the body language of the soldier; he has his hands on his hips displaying a 'power stance' that connotes his relative stronger strength (also, Figure 7.18). Thus, the soldier can be understood to successfully contain RASIM's tendency to Motion, and hence RASIM are once more depicted as weaker Agonists. The discrepancies (even contradictions; Hart & Mármol Queraltó, 2021) in *The Telegraph* seem to depict armed forces in a positive light, engaged in neutral activities with RASIM, while at the same time the patterns observed in language assert Britain's relative power and the negative representation of RASIM.

Figures 7.42/43 depict FORCE events in the Western-Balkans route. Figure 7.42 encodes an OVERCOMING-OF-BARRIERS event. There are several aspects that are worth mentioning. *The Telegraph*'s report belongs to February 2016, when the Brexit campaigns had (unofficially) just started, and its reporting on European migration became increasingly intertwined with its reporting of the RC. In Figure 7.42 a migrant (categorised in the headline) is depicted in the moment they manage to fulfil their tendency to motion, overcoming the resistance of the fence and barbed wire in the role of BARRIER/Antagonist.

Figure 7.42.

The Telegraph, 22 Feb. 2016.

Migrants stuck on the border of Greece and Macedonia have broken through fences and crawled under barbed wire as they attempt to get across Europe



The image construes RASIM, and migration by extension, as uncontrollable. The Close-Up shot focuses on the section of the fence being overcome, displaying a high degree of intersemiotic convergence between the subheading and the image (see below). The BARRIER displays a sign that specifies the location as a ‘checkpoint registration’, further representing RASIM as violating official spaces. Such representation can then invoke an (IM)MIGRATION IS INVASION metaphor, with important ideological implications (see previous chapters).

Figure 7.43 from *The Guardian* depicts RASIM in what can be analysed as an extended relation of BLOCKAGE. The same photograph, expanding the shot to include the full body of the soldier on the right, was employed by *El País* on 20 December 2015. This image clearly represents RASIM’s situation in a humanitarian light. The RASIM being blocked are wearing some type of head cover or have their heads wet, potentially infusing the event with a sense of precariousness invoking a BAD WEATHER ARE DIFFICULTIES metaphor.

Figure 7.43.

'Macedonian border police with refugees in the heavy rainfall...', *The Guardian*, 10 Sept. 2015.

Macedonian border guards filmed threatening refugees with batons

Guards attempt to control influx of 4,000 people, the largest single wave of refugees and migrants the Greek border police has seen so far



▲ Macedonian border police with refugees in the heavy rainfall in the northern Greek village of Idomeni
Photograph: Giannis Papanikos/AP

The most relevant aspects in this photo are the schematisation pattern in its relation with Viewpoint. Similar to Figure 7.21, the Close-Up shot leaves out almost entirely the Antagonist, of whom viewers can see the arms and the baton used to control RASIM (this replicated in the headline). The ANCHOR prompts viewer's ego-alignment with the Antagonist; readers are invited to fully embody the event in first person, reinforcing the negative aspects of the humanitarian depiction in the image. The Agonist is composed by at least four individuals who can be understood to form a family, and thus the Antagonist (and viewers by extension) is impinging on a group of people classified in kinship terms. Such contrasting representations of RASIM alongside the Western-Balkans route are ideologically important; *The Telegraph* depicted RASIM as breaching countries' spatial integrity in terms of INVASION, while *The Guardian* chose to focus on the humanitarian aspect of the RC and depicted RASIM as people in need impinged upon by governmental forces in contexts in which those actions can be deemed unjust and/or discriminatory.

In sum, Spanish newspapers broadly coincided in reporting the RC in humanitarian terms, while also representing events in Ceuta and Melilla mostly negatively. *El País* very subtly depicted RASIM occasionally negatively (see Figure 7.37), while *El Mundo* was rather consistent and focused on families and heterogenous groups of people in precarious situations. *The Guardian* and *The Telegraph* supported opposite Brexit campaigns, and that is reflected, also, in the representation of RASIM events during the RC. *The Guardian* broadly opted for representing RASIM as people in need abused by governmental forces, while *The Telegraph* preferred an INVASION narrative which depicted RASIM as invaders against whom actions need to be taken, such as the erection of fences or RASIM's deportation.

The next section reports findings with regards to L-I relations.

7.4. Language-Image relations

7.4.1. Intersemiotic convergence

Images and their captions representing FORCE events tend to display a lower degree of intersemiotic convergence (Hart & Mármol Queraltó, 2021) in comparison to the ACTION and MOTION datasets; that is, the conceptual content invoked by the visual composition of photographs is more or less similarly replicated in the linguistic mode (albeit with those constraints stemming from the affordances of both modes; see chapter 3), but incongruency and/or contradiction can be more common. Captions tend to describe, usually in more detail in terms of DISTANCE, the event occurring in the image. When convergence is observed, language tends to specify the nature of the Agonists/Antagonists and of the type of Force-dynamic interaction in which they are engaged. The most common L-I relation found in the FORCE dataset is one in which the caption *anchors* (Barthes, 1977) the type of event and actors involved, despite the fact that there can be discrepancies and even contradiction in schematisation patterns, with higher levels of convergence when it comes to ANCHOR, and lower to DISTANCE.

Figure 7.42.

The Telegraph, 22 Feb. 2016.

Migrants stuck on the border of Greece and Macedonia have broken through fences and crawled under barbed wire as they attempt to get across Europe



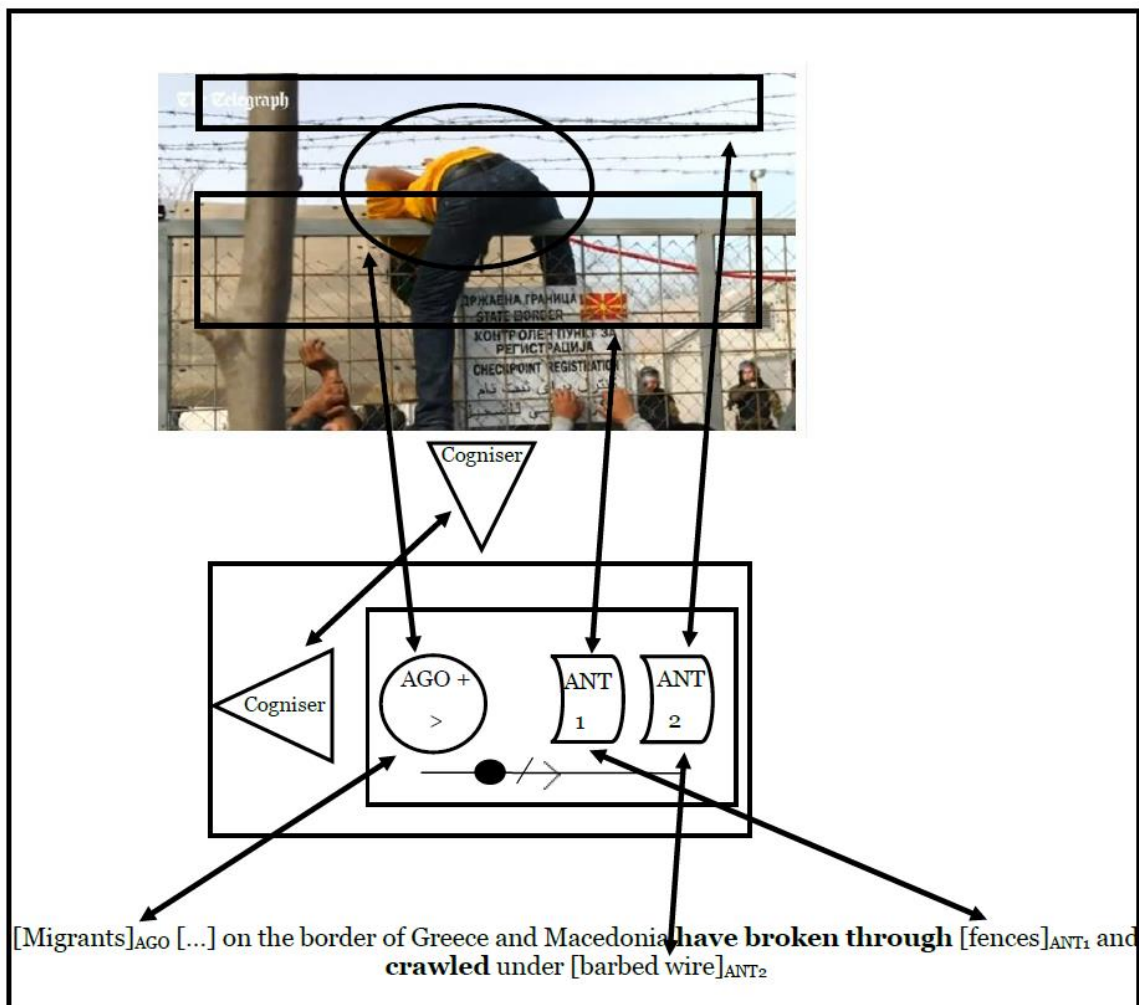
Figure 7.42 is illustrative of intersemiotic convergence in the domain of FORCE. The schematisation patterns available in the image are linguistically replicated across the headline and subheading. Both the ‘barbed wire’ and the ‘fence’ in the role of Antagonist are instantiated visually and linguistically, and even the *orientation* (Langacker, 2008) of the Agonist in relation to the barbed wire converges across modes, as the migrant is depicted right in the moment in which they are ‘crawling *under* barbed wire’. The ANCHOR variable is also instantiated across modes, as the active voice in both headline and subheading potentially prompts ego-alignment with the Agonist in readers, and this is visually expressed as the photograph is taken from the side of the fence from which the RASIM is trying to cross.

As in the domain of ACTION and MOTION, and thus informing of general genre-based L-I constraints, image-caption relations in terms of DISTANCE and ANGLE can be ‘uneven’, with a greater deal of ‘resolution’ (c.f., ‘granularity’; Langacker, 2008) found in captions. Language in Figure 7.42, specifies the territories on both sides of the fence, establishing the direction of the crossing (to Macedonia), it also ‘expands the shot’ to include the location of the event and events previous to that instantiated in the image, and construes RASIM as an unbounded multiplex entity (‘refugees’). This is in contrast with the Close-Up observed in the image, which focuses on an individual RASIM in an INDIVIDUAL FOR GROUP metonymical relationship. Such L-I relation broadly reflects ‘dual-scripting’

(Holsanova et al., 2008) in that language mirrors the conceptual structures available in the image. Such parallel structures construe the event similarly, each mode corroborating the version of events presented in the other, potentially resulting in more persuasive representational patterns (Hart & Mármol Queraltó, 2021). Such L-I relations are visuo-schematically represented as follows:

Figure 7.44.

Intersemiotic convergence in Figure 7.42.



FORCE events across modes display varying levels of convergence, and even contradiction at the level of schematisation. This was shown in the analysis of Figures 7.36/37,¹⁰⁵ where captions did not fully replicate the event instantiated in images. While Figure 7.42

¹⁰⁵ Interestingly, the captions could be interchanged between news reports resulting in a higher degree of intersemiotic converge.

encodes FORCE schemas across modes,¹⁰⁶ albeit not converging in the type of event construed (see above), Figure 7.45 shows a more marked contradictory pattern:

Figure 7.45.

'A group of immigrants atop the border fence between Melilla and Morocco', El Mundo, 9 Oct. 2015.



Un grupo de inmigrantes encaramados en la valla fronteriza entre Melilla y Marruecos. | F.G. Guerrero

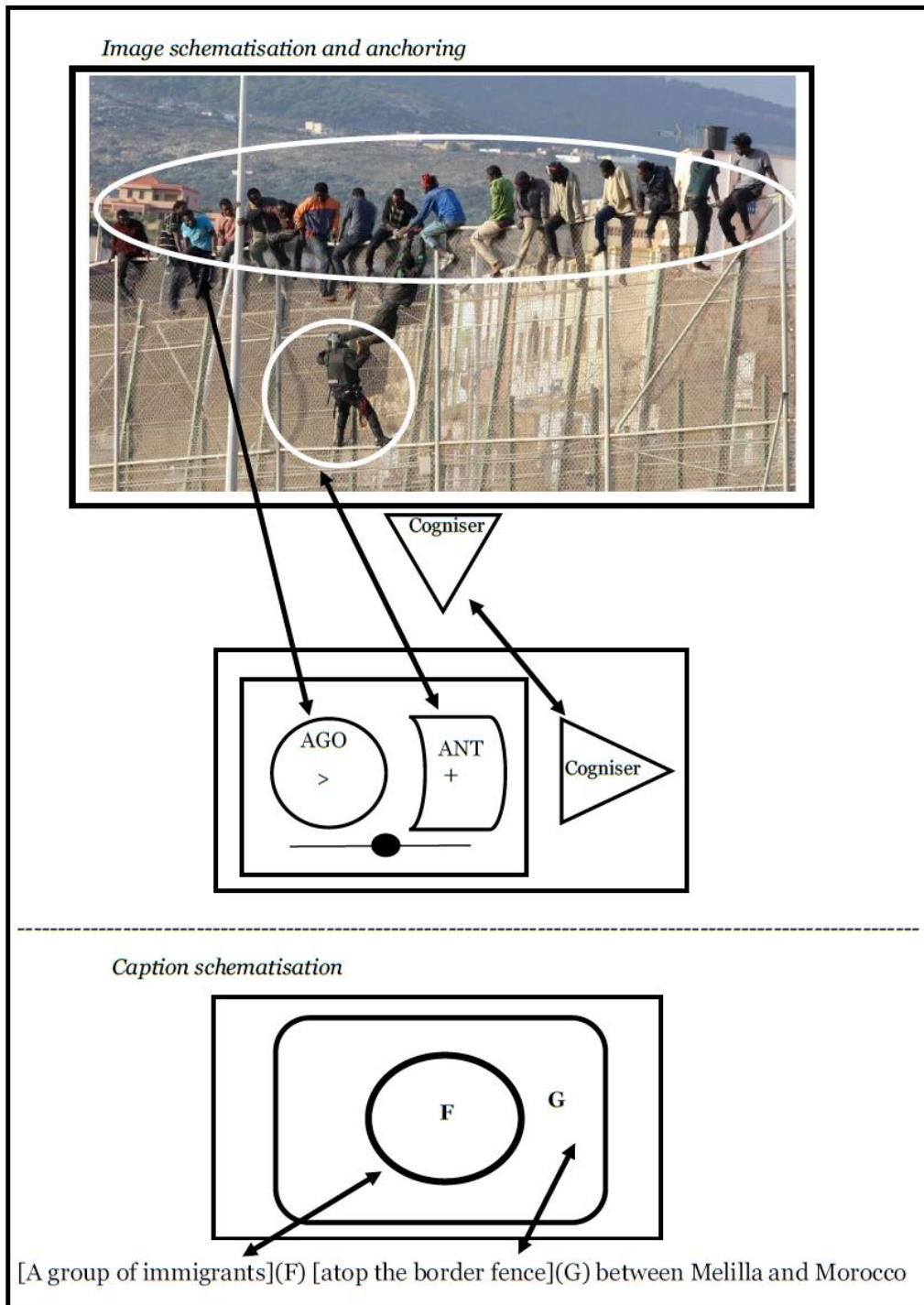
Figure 7.45 displays incongruity at several levels, but space prevents us from focusing on other construal operations beyond schematisation. The image broadly construes the event as STEADY-STATE:BALANCE-OF-FORCES, while the caption construes the event as Static-Motion ('BE_{LOC}'; Talmy, 2000), with RASIM as Figures and the fence as Ground. As it was discussed above, there is a certain degree of dynamicity in the image due to the actions of the riot police officer,¹⁰⁷ and this is not reflected in the caption. Such contradiction can be represented as follows:

¹⁰⁶ A future area of research includes examining the dynamic status (STEADY-STATE vs. SHIFT-IN-STATE) of FORCE events construed in captions vs. images and the possible effects afforded by the discrepancy at that level.

¹⁰⁷ Arguably, the image could also be analysed as construing a STEADY:COMPULSION event in which the officer is engaged in an extended relation of impingement with the Agonist but is unsuccessful in submitting the Agonist.

Figure 7.46.

Intersemiotic contradiction in Figure 7.45.



It can be argued that such intersemiotic contradiction can also, crucially, foster ideological effects. The fact that the event depicted in the image is *anchored* (Barthes, 1977) as a Static-Motion event rather than a FORCE event can minimise the degree of social intensity that the composition might invoke in readers. While the image construes

the event, arguably, in terms of INVASION and instantiating a FORCE schema, the caption does not encode any opposing entities and construes RASIM as neutrally occupying a Ground. The potential negative valence of such event can then be minimised, and this is also in line with the overall representation of migration put forward by *El Mundo*. The contrary effect can be understood to be fostered by the L-I observed in Figure 7.37. The caption in that context is understood to act in the opposite direction, infusing the event with a certain degree of social intensity due to the incongruity between the events construed in the image and the caption. The image clearly represents the officer in a static situation, at least partially disengaged from RASIM and looking at the camera; by construing the event as an extended FORCE relationship, the caption reinforces the FORCE characterisation of the event overall. Such contradiction (Figure 7.46) and incongruity (Figure 7.44) at the level of schematisation begs for further research, where experimental methods might shed light on the possible effects achieved by alternative construals within and across modes.

In sum, L-I relations within the domain of FORCE exhibit a lower degree of convergence than events construed within the domains of ACTION or MOTION. It has been found that such incongruity or even contradiction can also foster ideologically-vested representations. Next, I discuss visual/multimodal metaphor and metonymy.

7.4.2. Visual/multimodal metaphor and metonymy

Section 7.3 gathered images that could be understood to instantiate visual/multimodal metaphors and/or metonymies. Arguably, those images that depict RASIM engaged in FORCE interactions with police or military personnel (e.g., Figure 7.29) or with fences instantiating conceptual BARRIERS (e.g., Figure 7.23) can be understood to be framed in terms of WAR, or its elaboration INVASION. In such contexts, unless there are other possible relationships between linguistic items and/or other semiotic resources, RASIM are routinely metaphorized as INVADERS, with obvious negative implications (see previous chapters). This coheres with the relative high frequency of FORCE schemas (see Table 7.2) and the general tone with which newspapers represented the RC, despite subtle but important differences between newspapers. Recall from previous chapters that the framing of RASIM in terms of WATER was rather common within the domains of ACTION and MOTION, while WAR was not observed to be as prominent. The domain of FORCE

fosters conceptual adjustments more in line with the representation of RASIM in terms of INVASION/WAR due to its intrinsic topology, which can include some kind of struggle as a basic semantic element (Talmy, 2000). The RC, according to the frequencies explored in Table 7.1, was primarily construed within the domain of FORCE, albeit in images this pattern decreased to amount to less than a quarter of the data analysed. Despite this relative low frequency, the depiction of RASIM in situations such as in Figure 7.36 visually construes RASIM as INVADERS.

Additionally, as in the domains of ACTION and MOTION, for those images where RASIM are depicted close to each other and displaying physical contact, it can be argued there is an underlying PROXIMITY IS RELATIONSHIP metaphor:

Figure 7.47.

The Guardian, 10 Sept. 2015.

Macedonian border guards filmed threatening refugees with batons

Guards attempt to control influx of 4,000 people, the largest single wave of refugees and migrants the Greek border police has seen so far



▲ Macedonian border police with refugees in the heavy rainfall in the northern Greek village of Idomeni
Photograph: Giannis Papanikos/AP

This type of construal clearly emphasises the humanitarian characterisation of the RC. The Close-Up shot, the ANCHORING from the Antagonist's perspective, the categorisation of RASIM by means of the clothes they wear (and the specification in the caption), their facial expressions, and the proximity between them all converge in the image to convey a strong sense of precariousness. The man in the centre of the image, as well as the child, look directly at the putative Antagonist out of the frame, while the woman on the left seems to lower her head as if she were begging the soldier for mercy. The woman is

carrying the child and, as the three are wearing garments made of plastic of different colours, that can reinforce the idea that they belong to the same family. I return to Figure 7.47 due to the metonymical patterns it exhibits below. Figure 7.48 instantiates a similar representation of a family invoking a PROXIMITY IS RELATIONSHIP metaphor, along with additional metaphorical patterns I explore next:

Figure 7.48.

'Refugees waiting to board the ferry separated from tourists in a cage', El Mundo, 24 Aug. 2015.

Enjaulados hacia Europa



Refugiados esperando a embarcar en el ferry separados de los turistas en una jaula. | JAVIER BAULUZ / PERIODISMO HUMANO

Figure 7.48 can be understood to display ideologically-vested multimodal metaphorical patterns (Forceville, 2008). On the one hand, the caption can be understood to decrease the social intensity of the event because it specifies the event as Static-Motion in a contradictory L-I relation at the level of schematisation (Hart & Mármol Queraltó, 2021), rather than as an extended relation of BLOCKAGE in which RASIM are cast as weaker Agonist. Such BLOCKAGE event is lexicalised in the headline, which describes RASIM's situation in transit as 'caged', and thus instantiating a FORCE schema that invokes some kind of struggle and entities opposing RASIM's tendency to motion. The expression *enjaulados* ('caged) can frame the event alternatively; RASIM can be metaphorized as ANIMALS (i.e., Figure 7.39), or as 'prisoners'. Importantly, in the caption such state discriminates RASIM from tourists, establishing two different groups of people that are treated very differently. Whichever metaphorical 'reading' is invoked in the mind of viewers, what is clear is that the inclusion of the cage, alongside its lexicalisation in the

headline (also other patterns available, see above), serve to represent the situation faced by RASIM in a negative light, potentially representing them as ANIMALS, and in the context of *El Mundo* this can trigger strong emotional responses predicated on complex visual/multimodal conceptual adjustments.

As for visual metonymy, the most ideologically relevant cases involve PART-FOR-WHOLE occurrences in which an area of a conceptual domain is accessed by means of a vehicle. For example, in Figure 7.37 the Moroccan flag stands for the Source of RASIM's motion and this specifies the direction of motion in relation to the ANCHOR available in the image. PART-FOR-WHOLE metonymy is particularly salient in Figure 7.47 and was analysed as a function of the DISTANCE variable in its instantiation of a Close-Up shot. Let us remember that the image in Figure 7.47 was also disseminated by *El País*, although expanding the shot to include the body of the soldier. In figure 7.47 the arm and the baton it yields stand for the soldier in an OBJECT FOR ACTION metonymy (Littlemore, 2015). While the actual event involving the batons is construed in the headline as a COMPULSION event with border guards as Antagonists, RASIM as Agonists and the batons as Instrument, in the image it is the baton alongside the camouflage clothes that metonymically instantiate the soldier. Such visual metonymy partially removes the Antagonist from the visual frame and focuses on RASIM's reaction to the event of BLOCKAGE, while the ANCHOR observed invites viewers to embody the event construed and even take part in it, this facilitated by the Close-Up shot including the arm (also, Figure 7.48). It can be argued that such metonymical representations emphasise RASIM's negative situations while partially backgrounding the Antagonists impinging on them, and therefore enacting a subtle mystification strategies (van Leeuwen, 2008) which invite viewers to 'participate' in the process of BLOCKAGE, thus increasing the level of engagement in readers and potentially emphasising more humanitarian perspectives of the RC.

In sum, visual/multimodal metaphor and metonymy in events construed as FORCE interactions have been found instrumental in reproducing the overall negative tone in which the RC was construed. Such representation includes metaphorically depicting RASIM as INVADERS, but potentially also as ANIMALS, with important dehumanising consequences. Such framings need to be examined in context. This is because, for instance, framing RASIM as ANIMALS can legitimize their plight if the framing is a type of criticism of governments' actions, as it is the case for *El Mundo*. As for metonymy, it has been observed that PART FOR WHOLE metonymies can be a function of adjustments

in the DISTANCE variable, and these can invite readers to further engage with RASIM's difficult situations, prompting more humanitarian understandings of the RC.

7.5. Chapter summary

Chapter 7 has reported the patterns of conceptualisation within the domain of FORCE found in the data analysed for this thesis. Events schematised as FORCE have been found to be the most common type in language, albeit the frequencies are much lower in images, indicating a relative low degree of intersemiotic convergence (Hart & Mármol Queraltó, 2021). In both modes RASIM have been found to be routinely cast as Agonists, with governments, governmental forces (i.e., police) and their actions as Antagonists. Such tendencies sustain Hart's (2011b) theory and findings (also, Romano, 2019; Romano & Porto, 2022), with RASIM embodying those entities who are routinely impinged upon in a variety of contexts. This serves to represent RASIM as illegitimate receivers of governmental measures, to which they can resist (un)successfully, or alternatively as instigators of physical/social/psychological processes. Ultimately, RASIM's actions are construed as inherently negative, or bringing about negative consequences for host societies/countries, and therefore potentially enacting negative-Other representation strategies (van Dijk, 1993). These patterns have been found in both STEADY-STATE and SHIFT-IN-STATE schemas across language and images.

Variation between British and Spanish newspapers has been found to be substantial. Spanish newspapers broadly chose to represent the RC within the domain of FORCE in similar ways, with *El Mundo* portraying events clearly deploying humanitarian strategies, and with *El País* being occasionally supportive of Morocco's role and subtly critical of RASIM's actions. British newspapers displayed a more substantial ideological 'gap', this reflected in their *foci* of attention and the semantic roles allocated in FORCE schemas. *The Telegraph* was observed to be the newspaper which most negatively represented events during the RC within the domain of FORCE, with *The Guardian* displaying humanitarian strategies, however the reporting of both newspapers became inevitably intertwined with their reporting of the Brexit campaigns.

Images and their captions tend to display intersemiotic convergence, albeit they exhibit a lower degree of convergence than events construed within the domains of ACTION or MOTION, with cases of incongruity and contradiction. It has been found that such

incongruity and/or contradiction can also foster ideologically-vested representations, modulating the degree of social intensity that L-I relations might convey in context.

The next chapter presents a discussion of the main patterns found with regards to the three domains examined, alongside the main contributions of this project, directions for further research, and the limitations of this project.

Chapter 8. Conclusions

8.0. Chapter overview

This final chapter starts by summarising the thesis in section 8.1. Section 8.2 answers to the research questions and outlines the empirical contributions of the thesis. I highlight the main methodological and theoretical contributions of this thesis in section 8.3. I indicate the limitations of this investigation in section 8.4. Later on, I propose areas for further research in section 8.5, and I end this thesis with some concluding remarks in section 8.6.

8.1. Thesis summary

This research has investigated the multimodal representations involving RASIM disseminated by two British and two Spanish online newspapers within the context of the Refugee Crisis (RC). The main argument was that a multilevel CL-CDS approach to multimodal news discourse could expand our understandings of the role of socio-politically situated texts and their potential effects in the audience via conceptualisation processes.

This thesis comprised eight chapters and was divided into three parts. Part I contained chapters 1 and 2. Chapter 1 formulated the research questions and provided the overall context of the Refugee Crisis. Chapter 2 established the basic coordinates within CDS and Multimodality alongside relevant findings within discourses of migration.

Part II contained chapters 3 and 4. Chapter 3 detailed the analytical framework operationalised in this thesis, which is anchored within Cognitive Linguistics and CDS, also in their multimodal applications. Chapter 3 outlined the main assumptions in CL, the underpinnings of the cognitive-linguistic approach to CDA, and anchored the approach towards Language-Image relations. Chapter 4 dealt with the data and methods of this research. This research combines Corpus Linguistic methods to obtain the data with qualitative analytical methods. Chapter 4 described the data exploration, collection and sampling processes, alongside the analytical processes for language, images, and Language-Image relations.

Last, Part III contained three analytical chapters and this conclusion. Chapter 5 reported findings within the domain of MOTION, Chapter 6 on ACTION, and Chapter 7 on FORCE.

8.2. Revisiting the research questions

This section revisits the research questions posed in Chapter 1 and condenses the most salient empirical findings of this thesis.

8.2.1. What patterns of conceptualisation of RASIM, and migratory processes within the RC, are observable in language?

This project focused on events construed within the conceptual domains of MOTION, ACTION and FORCE. Schemas within each domain were found to be instrumental in infusing event-construals with alternative degrees of ‘social intensity’ (Hart, 2011a). In terms of frequency, RASIM events were observed to be construed much more often within the domain of FORCE, followed by ACTION and MOTION. This is contrary to expectation, as the RC was expected to be more often construed within the domain of MOTION because it is fundamentally a migratory process. Metaphorical framings within either domain often rendered RASIM in terms of WAR/INVASION and/or WATER (cf. Csatár & Tóth, 2018; Stenwall, 2018; Mukhortikova, 2018; Montagut & Moragas-Fernández, 2020; Taylor, 2021).

Within the domain of MOTION, RASIM were observed to be routinely conceptualised as Figures in both Dynamic- and Static-Motion events. RASIM embodied those entities moving towards/between countries or occupying more or less specified Grounds. RASIM tended to be conceptualised as homogenous, unbounded, multiplex entities (e.g. ‘migrants’, ‘refugees’), and were often metaphorized in terms of WATER and/or WAR/INVASION, often construing uniplex Figures (‘a tide’, ‘an army’). It was observed a marked pattern of representation that construed RASIM arriving to Goals. Path-windowing (Talmy, 2000) construals tended to be final, encoding Figures in their entry or arrival. The focus was on RASIM’s arrival to locations in Europe, often ignoring the Source (and push factors) for RASIM’s mobilisation.

Within the domain of **ACTION**, Agents in Action-Chain events were typically governments, governmental forces (i.e., police, the army), and less frequently RASIM. RASIM were routinely cast as Patients, with different degrees of ‘resolution’ but commonly rendered from elevated ANGLE perspectives (cf., MOTION) that potentially prevented further engagement with RASIM and their situations. Viewpoint adjustments were especially relevant within this domain: DISTANCE adjustments (e.g., Close-Up shots) often ‘removed’ Agents negatively acting upon RASIM, in combination with active or passive voice construals which often aligned readers with Agents or Patients, respectively. RASIM were routinely acted upon and therefore their degree of agency was, generally, *low*, reinforcing and/or reproducing stereotypes of RASIM as passive, idle collectives. When RASIM were engaged in reciprocal Action-Chain events, viewpoint dimensions were the most ideologically relevant due to the potential of alternatively perspectivized events to have alternative cognitive effects in conceptualisation processes.

Last, within the domain of **FORCE**, enactors of Agonist in both STEADY-STATE and SHIFT-IN-STATE schemas were, generally, similar to those indicated for Figures in Motion schemas, with RASIM routinely cast as Agonists, and governments, governmental measures and forces (e.g., laws, police) as Antagonists, in alternative levels of specificity/schematicity (Langacker, 2013). STEADY-STATE schemas depicted extended (relatively static) events where RASIM resisted governmental measures or failed to fulfil their intrinsic tendencies toward motion or action, whereas SHIFT-IN-STATE schemas infused events with a degree of dynamicity that often was contextually relevant. Importantly, the level of ‘resolution’ imposed on Antagonists, and event-construal more generally, often background the entities hindering RASIM’s tendencies or, conversely, impinging on them. Ultimately, RASIM were routinely cast as Agonists in every newspaper and type of FORCE schema, indexing a general tendency to depict RASIM as resisting governmental measures, trying to fulfil their intrinsic tendency toward motion or action, or being caused to move by stronger Antagonists in a variety of contexts.

8.2.2. *What patterns of conceptualisation of RASIM, and migratory processes within the RC, are observable in images?*

The most commonly observed construals were those within the domain of ACTION, followed by MOTION and FORCE. This was in stark contrast with frequencies in language, and indexed intersemiotic incongruity (Hart & Mármol Queraltó, 2021) at a general level.

Within the domain of MOTION, Figures were alternatively construed as both bounded or unbounded and uniplex or multiplex (Talmy, 2000) entities depending on DISTANCE and ANGLE adjustments. Visual representations of Figures often construed RASIM as homogenous unbounded uniplex entities, and as varied multiplex groups of individuals such as groups of male RASIM and family groupings. It was observed a marked pattern of representation that construed RASIM arriving to Goals and potentially approaching readers by means of ANCHORING; however, construals depicting RASIM in transit (enacting medial Path-windowing) were also common.

Within the domain of ACTION, RASIM were routinely cast as Patients, and thus at the end of the ‘flow of energy’, where viewpoint adjustments were instrumental in communicating potential ideological meanings. In asymmetrical Action-Chain events, DISTANCE and ANCHOR adjustments were ideologically instrumental and potentially enacted a *mystification* strategy (Martínez-Lirola, 2012), occasionally ‘hiding’ the Agent (i.e., police forces) or focusing on Instruments/Themes deploying metonymical adjustments. Such construals focused on the effects of Actions affecting RASIM, potentially allowing readers to engage with their negative situations and triggering emotional reactions, further aligning readers with RASIM’s suffering and delegitimising their treatment by police forces (but see 8.2.4.). When RASIM were cast as Agent, their Actions were often negatively represented as affecting the receiving societies (especially in *The Telegraph*), or, more neutrally, RASIM were depicted undertaking everyday events. Reciprocal Action events were similarly found to broadly mirror those representations reported above for language. Reciprocal Action events which did not depict protests often encoded some type of interpersonal Action. These potentially instantiated humanitarian strategies in that the photographs focused on RASIM’s experiences in their transit, clearly foregrounding their intense emotional aspects.

Last, within the domain of **FORCE**, RASIM were routinely cast as Agonists, where BARRIERS in the shape of fences and gates, and governmental/military forces often fulfilled the role of Antagonist. Role-allocation was observed to be similar for STEADY-STATE and SHIFT-IN-STATE construals, however SHIFT-IN-STATE construals often infused events with an ideologically relevant degree of dynamicity. FORCE construals often encoded RASIM as Agonists in extended relationships of BLOCKAGE against stronger Antagonists (e.g., police) or as instigators of social change in demonstrations. Such depictions reinforced representations of RASIM as relatively homogenous groups of idle, weaker people in need, depicting them under a humanitarian light unless other visual or linguistic input framed them or their actions as fundamentally negative (the latter especially in *The Telegraph*). In those cases, RASIM were represented as instigators of social disruption (cf., Vollmer & Karakayali, 2018; Rheindorf & Wodak, 2018), potentially legitimating actions against them or their situations.

8.2.3. How do patterns of conceptualisation, in language and images, relate to each other, and what ideological implications can these relations have in the context of the RC?

The most common pattern observed was that of intersemiotic convergence (Hart & Mármol Queraltó, 2021), despite substantial variation observed across conceptual domains. This relation was found to be intrinsically *scalar* rather than absolute. Visual/multimodal metaphors were not common but were ideologically significant, whereas metonymy was found more often (especially exclusively visual) but it was not observed to be used as a particularly central ideological tool.

L-I relations within the domain of **MOTION** were observed to be the most convergent; similar conceptual content was found to be expressed across modes. Captions further specified the Ground of Motion events, be it portions of the Path in Dynamic-Motion events, or the Ground in Static-Motion events. One aspect in which the conceptual import of images vs. captions often diverged is Path-windowing (Talmy, 2000); images usually instantiated medial or final Path-windowing, while captions often instantiated alternative or all portions of the Path, and/or previous events or circumstances.

Within the domain of **ACTION**, captions were observed to *describe*, usually in more detail in terms of **DISTANCE**, the event unfolding in the image alongside the nature of the semantic Actors/Patients and of the Action in which they were engaged. Incongruity was also found with regards to **ANCHOR** and **DISTANCE** across modes. Although not frequently, intersemiotic contradiction at the level of schematisation was also observed, with important contextually available ideological implications in that they often infused the event with different levels of ‘social intensity’.

Last, images and their captions representing **FORCE** were observed to display a relative lower degree of intersemiotic convergence. When convergence was observed, language tended to specify the nature of the Agonists/Antagonists and of the type of Force-dynamics interaction in which they were engaged. The most common L-I relation found in the **FORCE** dataset was one in which the caption *anchored* (Barthes, 1977) the type of event and actors involved; however, there were discrepancies and even contradiction in schematisation patterns with higher levels of convergence when it came to **ANCHOR**, and lower to **DISTANCE**. In any case, the formulation of (in)congruous or contradictory patterns within either domain were contextually very sensitive.

8.2.4. *How do patterns of conceptualisation, in language and image, compare and contrast, both within and across British versus Spanish online newspapers?*

Substantial but subtle variation was found across countries and newspapers in both language and images, and L-I relations, across all three semantic domains. Such variation (exclusively in language) had been previously observed, albeit from other theoretical-methodological perspectives (c.f., Moore et al., 2018). However, a CL-CDS approach demonstrated that the analysis of social discourses can greatly benefit from multilevel analysis in order to arrive at powerful, psychologically plausible explanations. The national context and ideological inclinations of newspapers were especially relevant. Expanding on previous findings (Moore et al., 2018; Alcaraz Mármol & Soto Almela, 2015, 2020; Romano & Porto, 2022), Spanish newspapers displayed more convergent, humanitarian depictions of events during the RC, while British newspapers displayed a higher degree of polarization, partially reflecting British newspapers’ stance in the Brexit referendum. Spanish newspapers coincided in representing **RASIM** as entities arriving to European countries, as passive collectives being acted upon, and as weaker entities being

impinged upon by various governmental forces. *El Mundo* clearly stood out as the newspaper which deployed humanitarian strategies in that the emotional tone of reporting (including metaphorical patterns), was critical of the EU's and European countries' (especially Hungary's) actions, alongside with representations of RASIM's trek with clear religious resonances. *El País*, despite displaying similar patterns, was not observed to be as vocally critical of the EU and other countries. *The Guardian* displayed relatively similar patterns of conceptualisation in comparison to Spanish newspapers (closer to *El País*), and *The Telegraph* stood out as the newspaper which depicted RASIM events as inherently negative, often deploying militarisation strategies predicated upon framing strategies in both modes. *The Telegraph* was found to be the newspaper which most often construed RASIM and events during the RC in terms of WAR/INVASION, although those metaphorical patterns were not exclusive of *The Telegraph*.

Viewpoint patterns were found to be ideologically important in event-construal across newspapers and conceptual domains. This was especially salient in FORCE and (uni/bidirectional) ACTION events in both language and images, while in MOTION events the most salient pattern was one in which newspapers routinely represented RASIM on arrival. While RASIM were routinely cast as Patient in unidirectional Action-Chain events, *The Telegraph* was the only newspaper which tended to locate RASIM in Agent position, and Agent-1 position in reciprocal construals, reflecting previous findings (Hart, 2013b, 2018) and potentially prompting readers to conceptualise RASIM as the dominant actor, enacting subtle blame-allocation strategies. Spanish newspapers and *The Guardian* tended to render RASIM in Patient and Agent-2 positions in combination with ideologically relevant viewpoint adjustments, potentially blaming police forces, and hence subtly exculpating RASIM. Within the domain of FORCE, newspapers converged in encoding RASIM in Agonist roles. Such role allocation often was contextually very sensitive: Spanish newspapers and *The Guardian* broadly coincided in depicting RASIM as weaker entities whose tendencies were mostly blocked, while *The Telegraph* preferred to also depict RASIM as instigators of social disruption.

8.2.5. *How do these patterns of conceptualisation, in language and image, contribute to the discursive construction of RASIM and migratory processes, and what potential impact can they have on public attitudes towards the RC, and migration more generally?*

Within the context of the media representations of the RC during 2015-16, my findings broadly mirror those findings discussed in Chapter 2, albeit with important contributions only afforded by applying a cognitive approach to multimodal news discourse.

The RC was observed to be more often construed within the domain of FORCE, despite differences in images. This entails that events involving RASIM during the RC most often encoded some kind of (physical/social/psychological) struggle, infusing event-construals with an overall *high* degree of social intensity. However, such struggle often was contextually very sensitive. Spanish newspapers and *The Guardian* construed RASIM as relatively weaker entities ‘fighting’ to have their Human Rights met by the EU and European countries more generally, and thus highlighting the EU’s insufficiencies in humanitarian actions and vision. *The Telegraph*, in contrast, operationalised Force-dynamics and construed the RC in terms of WAR/INVASION, highlighting contexts where RASIM’s actions and/or tendencies were inherently negative, further providing the background for discriminatory measures against RASIM, not only in the context of the RC but also within the Brexit campaigns.

Such patterns of representation did not forge new ways of conceptualising migratory processes more generally (see Krzyżanowski et al., 2018); on the contrary, patterns of conceptualisation involving metaphor, schematisation and viewpoint were observed to continue to reproduce existing (negative) social understandings of RASIM. This was clearer for British newspapers due to their sociopolitical contexts, while Spanish newspapers deployed more humanitarian understandings of the RC against a more general historical background of representational strategies that routinely depicted RASIM as ‘illegal people’ (cf. Casero Ripollés, 2005, 2007).

Generally, the construal of the RC across newspapers, countries, languages and modes did not create new understandings of migration, but rather, reproduced existing representational patterns with subtle variations. Arguably, such representations also perpetuated (and for *The Telegraph*, even enhanced) negative public attitudes towards RASIM and migratory processes more generally. In sum, a CL-CDS approach to

multimodal online news discourse was shown to afford crucial insights that previous frameworks only showed partially.

8.3. Methodological and theoretical contributions

This section indicates the contributions of my study in relation to CL and CL-CDS.

8.3.1. Theoretical contributions

The most important theoretical contribution of this research is the extension of CL-CDA to images. This research has examined the visual enactors of construal operations beyond metaphor to include schematisation and viewpoint. This research is to my knowledge the first to explore and combine these three dimensions.

This extension subsequently enables the advancement of our understanding of intersemiotic relations from a critical, cognitive linguistic perspective (see sections 3.3, 5.4, 6.4 and 7.4). This research has conducted a cognitive-linguistic analysis of multimodal news discourse, further refining our knowledge of how language and images can ‘work together’ in socio-politically situated texts. This research is the first one applying a cognitive approach to L-I relations in a systematic qualitative fashion, and thus it sustains empirically the theoretical underpinnings of cognitive approaches to L-I relations (Dancygier & Vandelanotte, 2017; Vandelanotte & Dancygier, 2017; Hart & Mármol Queraltó, 2021; Mármol Queraltó, 2021b). This research has demonstrated that language and image can (and often do) overlap in several (observed) dimensions, and, importantly, has also discussed the possible effects of incongruous/contradictory multilevel L-I relations. Future areas of research in this vein are mentioned in 8.4.2.

8.3.2. Methodological contributions

The main contributions of my research are related to the methodology designed and employed. Section 8.3 above reports on the empirical contributions to the field of discourses of migration enabled by the application of this methodology.

A combined methodological framework. This research is, to my knowledge, the first to combine Corpus Linguistic methods for data exploration and collection, and CL-based annotation systems applied in a systematic fashion to Spanish and English languages, and static images, within the broader paradigm of CDS. In the initial stages of data extraction processes, I employed the search query from Baker et al.'s (2008) seminal study within the RAS/RASIM project, which I operationalised in Nexis to obtain a visual representation based on frequency patterns of reporting for the period 2015-2016. Crucially, the search query employed (and translated into Spanish) had been tested to ensure that it would yield representative results within discourses of migration (Gabrielatos, 2006). The corpus 'map' obtained (see 4.2.3) enabled the identification of entry points in the shape of 'spikes' in reporting for qualitative analysis. Three spikes were selected due to their significant increase in reporting, and were subsequently examined in several stages (see 4.3). The main contribution here is the fruitful combination of a quantitative approach to data collection and sampling, and CL-based methods for qualitative language and image analysis.

CL-based annotation systems. Due to my theoretical stance (see 3.2 and 3.3), CL-based annotation systems have been used effectively across modes (language and images) and languages (Spanish and English). The corpus software tools employed were UAM Corpus Tools, both in their version for language and image analysis. After CL theory, I created coding schemes that served as system of categories that were applied rigorously to language and images. Crucially, the annotation systems employed are similar for English and Spanish, and also for images; that is, the *same* annotation system underlies the coding of every single instance of discursive realisation collected for this project. This fact acknowledges the overlapping qualities of linguistic and image cognition (Stöckl, 2004), and sets up a transferrable annotation system that is effectively applicable across modes and languages.

A protocol for text-annotation within a cognitive linguistic paradigm. Last, the design of the annotation systems was followed by the creation of a protocol for (multimodal) text-annotation (see 4.6.1 and 4.6.2). Thus, not only have I created fine-grained annotation systems for language and image analysis, but I have also indicated how to conduct text-annotation on news texts. This protocol is not confined to news discourse and is potentially applicable to any multimodal text-type. The design and use of such protocol(s) are essential for systematic qualitative analysis and have ensured that the

analysis of each text has been conducted in a similar way, which means that the base conditions for the coding of each text are similar, enabling further analytical and interpretational moves.

In sum, one of the main contributions of this thesis is methodological. My framework (or the different elements/stages within it) can be used as the starting point for similar studies, albeit one of its strengths is its applicability to other languages, types of images, and text-types (see 8.4).

8.4. Limitations

This thesis has operationalised a multilevel, intersemiotic approach, resulting in a robust design that has enabled in-depth analysis and interpretation of contextualised discourse events. Due to the complexity of the design and its ‘moving parts’, it is also important to acknowledge its limitations.

One main limitation of this research is the issue of *generalisability*. Despite the conceptual ‘magnifying glass’ approach conducted in the data collection and sampling processes (see 4.2 and 4.3), this thesis has examined qualitatively a relatively small dataset comprised of 385 news reports. Although the data extraction process has followed several stages aimed at ensuring the representativeness of the data, we must proceed with caution, and the findings can only be understood to be representative of the data collected for this research. Quantitative approaches could shed further light on patterns of representation beyond the data examined for this research.

A limitation related to the data collection and sampling processes employed is the issue of *replicability*. This thesis set out to investigate patterns of conceptualisation of migration events during the RC within specific semantic domains and, for a variety of reasons (see 4.2, 4.3 and 4.4.1), the data sampled constitutes a *unique*, yet arguably representative, dataset. Due to the content analysis process employed in the last steps of the data downsizing stage, it is possible that, following a similar process, a given researcher would arrive to a significantly different dataset. Despite this, in relation to *internal* validity (the type of validity I strived to achieve), within the context of this investigation, the data obtained is understood to be representative of the patterns of

conceptualisation articulated by newspapers across language and images. Findings can be attributed to the dataset obtained by applying the specific criteria described in 4.3, however the dataset is only partially replicable due to the inherent focus of my research on specific conceptual domains and its exploratory nature.

This research has focused on the basic conceptual domains of MOTION, ACTION and FORCE. These were selected because they have been identified as fundamental conceptual sites for the construal of social groups (see Hart, 2011a/b). The conceptualisation of each domain, alongside their inherent conceptual archetypes and elements rested upon two distinct theories within CL (Langacker, 2008; Talmy, 2000). This focus entails that other domains have been ignored in order to operationalise the analysis. The findings of this research are only applicable to these three domains — any extension to other domains require further examination and potential methodological-theoretical adjustments.

The analysis and interpretation of news reports instantiating discourses of migration has focused exclusively on the linguistic and visual enactors of the construal operations of schematisation, metaphor and viewpoint as instantiations of structural configuration, framing and positioning strategies (Hart, 2014), respectively. This entails that other construals operations formulated in CL (e.g., interpersonal deixis; Verhagen, 2007) have not been addressed. The findings of this thesis and contributions stemming from them, then, are only applicable to the phenomena examined in terms of these three construal operations. Further studies are needed to shed light on the potential effects and conceptual underpinnings of enactors of other construal operations, which calls for potentially multimodal and interdisciplinary investigations.

A further theoretical limitation is the application of cognitive linguistic concepts to analyse visual images. While this choice is justified and has been found to enable insightful analysis both in this thesis and elsewhere, it is important to highlight that another way of analysing visual images is applying directly concepts from cognitive psychology to visual perception. Arguably, I have employed concepts that have been brought to Linguistics from Cognitive Psychology, and then applied them to visual images, and thus the direct application of Cognitive Psychology concepts to image analysis is possible, if not preferable, in different contexts of analysis. However, in the context of this thesis the employment of interrelated cognitive-linguistic theories to

sustain my theoretical framework has enabled insightful explanations and has resulted in a solid theoretical-methodological apparatus.

This research has focused exclusively on four Spanish and British newspapers. This selection was motivated (see 4.1), but it entails that the analysis was restricted to four ‘narratives’ of the RC among the several available to the public. This means that the findings of this research are only applicable and tentatively generalisable to the newspapers examined, and only for the period in which they were examined. The extension to other newspapers and time periods would contribute to strengthening the representativeness of my findings.

Additionally, the analysis and interpretation has focused on specific elements/functional regions in online news reports (see 4.5). This means that some elements in news reports were ignored, and thus my findings are only applicable to these functional regions. Future studies examining whole news reports are needed to further explain the interplay between discursive elements and the construction of social understandings in online newspapers. Additionally, despite the mapping of genre conventions from print newspapers to their online versions, we can only tentatively assume that readers of online news may interact with the text in similar ways as those described in Chapters 5-7.

Last, it is important to address potential issues stemming from my subjectivity and bias. Inasmuch as I have addressed my political inclinations (see 2.1.2), and I have implemented a robust methodology to collect a representative and operational data sample, alongside employing an *apolitical* theory of language, there exists the possibility that a minority of my intuitions might be biased. This is especially important when analysing images, as they can tap on emotional resonances beyond the analyst’s own rational understanding. Despite this, the analytical and interpretational processes in this thesis are grounded in solid theories and have been revised substantially across five years, ensuring the highest degree of objectivity possible.

8.5. Directions for future research

There are at least four areas this thesis can expand on and which promise to advance insightful research programmes.

8.5.1. L-I relations in other text-types

Here I have exclusively examined L-I relations between specific elements within online news reports. News reports are a prime example of the relation of *anchorage* (Barthes, 1977); however, L-I relations in news reports have been found to be commonly scalar rather than absolute (Hart & Mármol Queraltó, 2021). This framework has the potential to be applicable to other text-types, such as (video) blogs, (online) magazines, (online) teaching materials, and various social media platforms formats (e.g., Twitter posts), to name a few. Each text-type could be examined critically if they instantiated some type of discursive strategy that routinely excludes social groups, or more neutrally, such an approach could be operationalised to extract the most common L-I patterns for that text-type, establishing a typology of common genre-based L-I relations. The understanding of such dynamics could inform, for instance, the visual design of NHS campaigns in order to make messages more attractive and persuasive for users. Additionally, I have examined *static* images, but the L-I approach operationalised here can potentially be applied to *moving* images in their relation with other semiotics. This could be particularly insightful in broadcast news discourse, as it combines a variety of modes unfolding in real time.

8.5.2. Experimental reception studies

This thesis has explored patterns of conceptualisation in news discourses of migration. The types of effects potentially invoked by discursive formulations have been discussed in terms of CL theory. A CL-based approach to experimental studies (e.g., Hart, 2018a/b, 2019, 2021) within CDS is an essential line of investigation; are the possible effects indicated in Chapters 5-7 psychologically plausible, that is, are readers *actually* engaging in the type of processes predicated within CL, and, if so, what ramifications can this have for CDS and CL more generally? Do different L-I configurations have alternative effects in the audience, and, if so, in what levels are those effects more persuasive? Furthermore, such empirical reception studies would contribute to expanding those theories and findings commonly examining Conceptual Metaphor exclusively. Experimental approaches promise to answer (at least partially) these questions. I am particularly interested in examining the effects of (partially) incongruous and contradictory L-I relations from a theoretical perspective, but also in its critical dimensions.

8.5.3. Cross-cultural studies

The selection of newspapers in this thesis and their cultural embedding (broadly speaking, Western culture) prevents from extending genre-based findings to other newspapers and countries with alternative underlying cultural/discursive practices. I suggest, then, extending the analysis to, for example, Asian and Middle-Eastern contexts. The typological differences between languages, alongside genre-based constrictions on news discourses, can constitute a field of investigation that would shed light on the cultural contexts of news discourse processes, the embedded (multimodal) discursive practices and, more generally, the exploration of news discourse in other cultural contexts can potentially inform of aspects of (linguistic) cognition. Cross-cultural studies also help mitigate the so-called Western centrality of CDS practice (Zhang et al., 2011).

8.5.4. Corpus approaches

Despite the analytical depth that qualitative analysis like the one conducted here can provide, social discourses need to be examined also quantitatively. The annotation systems that I have designed and employed for this thesis have the potential to be used in the creation of ontological systems for corpus software packages. Corpus annotation tools are often SFL or SFL-inspired, and the systematic tagging of linguistic data from a cognitive perspective can constitute the basis for machine learning processes that can yield annotation systems ready for analysis. Furthermore, such systems could be employed in automatic linguistic coding, further enabling cognitive corpus approaches to discourse. Beyond CDS, the implementation of CL-based corpus approaches has the potential to broaden the horizons of CL as a research programme.

8.6. Concluding remarks

To conclude, this thesis has examined, in language and image, and across Spanish and British online newspapers, patterns of conceptualisation involving refugees, asylum-seekers and migrants in events during the Refugee Crisis for the period 2015-16. This research has operationalised a CL-CDS approach to multimodal discourse, examining several levels of construal to explore the potential cognitive effects alternative

formulations might have in readers' conceptualisation processes. This thesis has demonstrated that language and images, and combinations of both, are instrumental in reflecting and thus disseminating newspapers' visions of RASIM and the RC. This research has similarly and effectively expanded the phenomena explored beyond metaphor to include schematisation and viewpoint as potential sites for ideological moves. Despite limitations, this thesis has demonstrated that a CL-CDS approach can shed light on important aspects of social discourses that had not been examined previously.

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