A corpus-cognitive approach to ideological attention in discourse

Kim-Sue Kreischer

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Abstract

This thesis develops a corpus-cognitive approach to discourse analysis centred on the patterns of attention created in texts, addressing the challenge of providing a cognitively valid analysis of discourse. It uses traditional methods from corpus linguistics and the notion of construal from cognitive grammar, with the concept of mind-modelling as central for analysing ideological viewpoints. I describe how attentional patterns construct ideology in newspaper texts on the debate on abortion access in the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland with case studies of direct speech, embedded quotations, and co-occurring discourses.

The results overall provide a valuable new perspective on how textual patterns construct points of attention and proffer ideological readings to the audience. I develop and analytically test the attentional model, which gives guidance on how attention is directed by drawing on cognitive and corpus linguistic principles. Detailed analysis of one text demonstrates how to account for personal, voluntary attention and readings, which is a major concern for discourse analysis. Analyses of direct speech in the corpus reveal that it has uses indicative of the debate, with the cognitive analysis of the semantic domain of happiness highlighting its use as a means of voicing an ideological perspective while seemingly remaining objective. I further explore how writers communicate the intended viewpoint of their texts when several perspectives are presented in double quotations. I suggest writers reduce the perspectives offered to maintain their relation with the readers and provide a categorisation of this relation. Lastly I analyse the relation and function of co-occurring discourses for creating ideology during the debate of the death of Savita Halappanavar. Results indicate that the discourses voiced about certain concepts changes in the presence of other concepts. Specifically, the discourses about a mother differ when the concept of the church is present in a text. The cognitive analyses detail how an ideology is then created by putting certain discourses into the attentional foreground or background. The findings demonstrate that when statistical and qualitative evidence augment each other, then the complexity of first, creating an ideological viewpoint in a text and second, for the reader to understand it can be more accurately described.

Declaration

I declare that the work presented here is my own and was conducted during my time as a PhD student at the University of Nottingham.

A modified version of Chapter 7 has been submitted and accepted to the peer reviewed journal Corpora; it will be published in 2019. Only the published versions should be considered authoritative, and any citations or page references should be taken from the published versions.

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List of Abbreviations

(F)DS (free) direct speech p. 17

BNC British National Corpus p. 55

CDA critical discourse analysis p. 3

CDS critical discourse studies p. 3

CG cognitive grammar p. 17

DS direct speech p. 2

FDS free direct speech p. 2

IADC Irish Abortion Debate Corpus p. 17

IHRC Irish Human Rights Commission p. 168

IS indirect speech p. 36

MI Mutual Information p. 69

MoCh Mother-Church sub-corpus of the IADC p. 180

QTR query term relevance p. 85

RQTR relative query term relevance p. 81

SFL systemic functional linguistics p. 21

SHNC Savita Halappanavar News Corpus p. 180

USS Union of Secondary Students p. 162

WoCh Woman-Church sub-corpus of the IADC p. 180

1 Paying attention to language in discourse

1.1 Introduction

The importance of attention can scarcely be overstated. At a time when the perception in the West is that people have become unable to focus and are constantly distracted, the pull of the media and advertising, to name only two industries that rely on people's attention, has become ever more ferocious. Entire industries are built around a business model where attention is converted into revenue, and this attention profoundly shapes the world we live in. What we award attention to determines what is discussed in the public, whose voice is heard, and which issues people will take seriously. Our selective attention not only determines what will be reported on in the future; attention, more narrowly understood, is a key issue in how something is reported on: Language influences which part of a situation or scene we attend to and what we will consequently overlook. This goes beyond the typical examples of lurid headlines and clickbait. The attentional patterns in texts profoundly shape our conceptualisation of the world. This is why the issue of attention, broadly and narrowly conceived, should and has been a central concern in discourse analysis.

Yet attention as a scientific concept and the research on what determines our ability of attention has not made its way into discourse analysis. As a scientific notion, attention combines the ability to focus, to concentrate, and to allocate limited processing resources (Anderson, 2015; Styles, 2005, 2006). Since it is difficult to attend to more than one thing at the same time, we employ selective attention in order to attend to one task over the other. Bottleneck theories or filter theories (Broadbent, 1958; Treisman, 1964) posit that there are mechanisms that limit the amount of information that we can focus on. These mechanisms determine what gets through, what is selected, and when it is selected. Researching these selection procedures is not confined to psychological and neuroscientific work on language processing and comprehension. It also concerns research in the humanities and social sciences on narrative and discourse (cf. Sanford & Emmott, 2012). The scientific notion of attention highlights that the writer has rhetorical control over how readers process a text

simply by the way the text is written. I argue that the way to make available this scientific notion of, and research into, attention for discourse analysis is a corpus-cognitive approach to analysing texts.

This thesis considers the following overarching research questions:

1. What is the role of attention in discourse?
2. How can a focus on attention give us insight into how texts communicate (ideological) viewpoints?
3. What does this tell us about how different viewpoints are textually and conceptually negotiated between interlocutors? How does this relate to the meanings and relations that hold in discourse?

The more specific research questions addressed in the chapters of this thesis are:

1. How can an analysis of attention patterns show the ideological stance of texts that otherwise present themselves as neutral or objective?
2. How do *direct speech* (DS) and *free direct speech* (FDS) function in the specific corpus used in this thesis?
3. How are DS and FDS construed and embedded into a text?
4. What can *embedded quotations* tell us about how a writer construes the ideological viewpoint of a text?
5. How is the relation between the writer and the reader affected or negotiated when several viewpoints are presented at once, such as in embedded quotations?
6. What functional role do discourses play in constructing ideological viewpoints?
7. How do these discourses about specific terms differ when they co-occur with other terms, i.e., does the presence of the term *church* in a text change the discourses voiced about a woman and a mother?

Research questions such as these are required to understand how discourses proceed and how people become persuaded by the viewpoints of other discourse participants. Here in this thesis I focus in particular on quotations because they are already marked as being someone's perspective. Some text types are more prone to show and emphasise the persuasive aspects of texts. Texts where persuasive aspects may be highlighted are argumentative topics where people hold opposing opinions on a subject. A prime example is the discussion on access to abortion, which is the focus of this thesis. The conduction and

outcomes of such discussions have real-world consequences, highlighting the significance of analysing their textual expression.

It is particularly important to be transparent and critical of a researchers' role in the research process when analysing such a sensitive subject. Researcher positionality is an aspect of the research design that affects the entire research process, but it is difficult to account for in full. My own beliefs and experiences have inevitably shaped my research interests. This has led me to choose to analyse, in a certain way using certain methods and theories, the discussion on legal access to abortion in the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland. I am firmly pro-choice. Every pregnant person should have as much bodily autonomy as anyone who is not pregnant. This means that they should be able to choose what to do with their own body and whether they want to be pregnant or not. Yet this basic human right is denied to countless people the moment they become pregnant and they are potentially forced to carry an unwanted pregnancy to term. Although this thesis is to a large extent concerned with developing and showcasing a corpus-cognitive approach to discourse analysis, I nevertheless hope that the analyses of this thesis may illuminate how ideologies concerning abortion can be conceptualised and made persuasive in the press. I hope making my positionality explicit helps the reader to make an informed judgement as to my influence on the research process, including my analyses and the conclusions that I draw.

1.2 Attention in texts: Critical discourse analysis and critical discourse studies

Discourse research that would benefit in particular from considering the role of attention in texts are those approaches that designate themselves as being critical: *critical discourse analysis* (CDA) and *critical discourse studies* (CDS). CDA is a transdisciplinary, text-analytical approach to critical social research, where a heterogeneity of methodological and theoretical approaches, sourced from the humanities and social sciences, is employed on all kinds of data and areas of analysis. Instead of being characterised by such attributes as method or type of data, CDA is 'a shared perspective on doing linguistic, semiotic or discourse analysis' (van Dijk, 1993, p. 131). This perspective is focused 'upon a social

wrong' that has 'significant implications for human wellbeing', such as 'immigration, terrorism, globalization or security' (Fairclough, 2013, p. 235).

Recently the term CDS has gained currency over CDA (van Dijk, 2009; Hart, 2011), which subsumes other critical approaches to discourse, as well as areas such as gender studies, literacy studies, psychology, media studies, health studies, and anthropology. For van Dijk this change is necessary because critical discourse research is not only applied analysis, but also develops and influences theory (van Dijk, 2009, p. 62). Similarly, Koller (2014, p. 151) argues that the term 'analysis' in CDA may be misunderstood as referring to a specific method of analysis. Instead, the term 'studies', signals a broad common ground between researchers, where research objectives and appropriate methods are then tailored to the respective research goal (Koller, 2014, p. 151). I also welcome the use of CDS, as it signals from the outset the interdisciplinary nature that the field has always had, while acknowledging that a critical approach is not confined to the particular theory and methods by those who have developed CDA.

In this thesis I refer to critical discourse analysis, instead of the abbreviation CDA, to denote the practice of a linguistic analysis, rather than a field of study. Points of criticism discussed here typically refer to CDA, rather than to CDS, and I have taken care to signal whether the branch of CDA or the field of CDS is concerned. In the following sections I discuss the terms discourse, critique, and ideology and how they relate to and define CDA/CDS.

1.2.1 Discourse

The term 'discourse' is variedly defined and used in multiple disciplines, each with their own paradigms. Even within CDA, there is no agreed upon definition of discourse, although there are several attempts to delineate the term, as well as the term 'text' and the relationship between these two (e.g. Fairclough, 2003; Mills, 1997; Sunderland, 2004; van Dijk, 1995; Wodak & Meyer, n.d.-a). Consequently, it is necessary to first consider how similar or disparate definitions of discourse are and to clarify how I use the term in this thesis. Generally, all definitions of discourse can be subsumed into three groups: a discourse is (1) spoken or written language structure above the level of the sentence or

clause, (2) language in use (thus overlapping with many definitions for pragmatics), or (3) a social practice that expresses ideologies and relates to other semiotic practices in a given discourse community. Yet these three groups are not completely separate from each other, but are rather definitions that serve theoretical or analytical purposes.

The last two types of definitions are of primary importance for my thesis. The conception of discourse as either language in use or as social practice essentially highlights the communicative, purposeful, or functional aspect of language. Language always has a function or is used for a particular purpose; it cannot be separated from its societal, and thus ideological, influence. Jaworski and Coupland (2006, p. 3) aptly describe the study of language in use as 'language use relative to social, political and cultural formations – it is language reflecting social order but also language shaping social order, and shaping individuals' interaction with society'.

Within CDS, it is the third definition of 'discourse as social practice' that is widely accepted as a central tenet (Fairclough, Mulderrig & Wodak, 2011, p. 258), following the work by Foucault and his position that 'discourses are practices which systematically form the objects of which they speak' (Foucault, 1972, p. 49). Discourse in the sense of Foucault is a formation that structures our knowledge and the distribution of power in a certain society at a certain point in time. Discursive practices and discursive formations result in institutions which establish the order of truth, acceptability, or reality in a society. Sunderland (2004, p. 148) provides a helpful distinction between uncountable 'discourse' as a linguistic text or interaction, while the countable 'discourse' refers to 'ways of seeing the world'. These countable discourses manifest as linguistic 'traces' across a range of texts/discourse. An example of such a countable discourse would be that being a man is intrinsically connected to aggression, or that motherhood is an essential part of being a woman. Clearly then, contesting discourses on the same matter can exits simultaneously in society, with some discourses taking a more dominant position than others.

Thus, discourse as a social practice is used by people to (linguistically) represent the world, but it also functions as a profound epistemic resource that shapes how people understand the world and themselves. Discourses as social practices go beyond the textual:

they are 'socially accepted associations among ways of using language, of thinking, valuing, acting, and interacting, in the "right" places and at the "right" times with the "right" objects' (Gee, 2011, p. 34). By voicing discourse, speakers actively construct reality. Practices and institutions arise out of discourse, while the discourse simultaneously speaks of, or represents, them. Representation and construction are synchronous processes, or rather different sides of the same coin.

Within this thesis, I follow the view of (countable) discourses as co-constructed meanings and social practices, which encode a 'way of signifying experience from a particular perspective' (Fairclough, 1995, p. 135). These perspectives can be realised via patterns of language and the repeated use of such patterns may indicate traces of certain (countable) discourses. The analytic basis of this thesis is therefore the repeated use of language patterns or traces as a way to access meanings and discourses (Baker, 2006; Sunderland, 2004). Locating these linguistic traces and determining both their cognitive and social effect is a complicated manner and the focus of this thesis.

1.2.2 Critique

The particular perspective that researchers in CDS share may best be defined by the term 'critical', instead of the terms discourse or analysis. As discussed above, the understandings of researchers in, for example, sociology, political science, literary studies, or even in CDA on what 'discourse' means differ, while the types of 'analysis' that are done in these areas are equally varied and dependent on the researcher and their field of study. It is also not a theoretical school that unifies CDS. Some consider themselves as working in the tradition of the Frankfurt school or Jürgen Habermas, some adhere to a form of literary criticism, while others draw their critique from (neo-)marxism (see Reisigl and Wodak (2001)). Additionally, some regard a particular political stance of the researcher, which Jaworski and Coupland (2006, p. 5) describe as 'libertarian', as intrinsically linked to CDA. Instead, to be critical in the sense of CDS refers to several aspects: an understanding of what language is, what linguistic analysis can do and should do, and self-reflexivity.

CDS sees language use, or discourse, as carrying out ideological work. Language plays a vital role in constructing, reflecting, maintaining, but also subversing the societal order.

As discussed above, discourse (uncountable) is seen as a social practice and discourse and non-linguistic social practices and structures are set in a dialectical relationship, which need to be considered in their context of use (Fairclough, 1989; Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Fairclough et al., 2011; Wodak & Meyer, n.d.-a). It is by analysing language that we can see how the social is constructed in discursive practices, since 'using language is the commonest form of social behaviour' (Fairclough, 1989, p. 2). Language in use reveals not only what people do with language, but how this act 'is linked to wider interpersonal, institutional, socio-cultural and material contexts' (Richardson, 2007, p. 24).

From this perspective, critical analysis goes beyond analysing linguistic units per se. Rather, linguistic analysis is a means of exposing 'opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language' (Wodak & Meyer, n.d.-a, p. 10). Machin and Mayr (2012, p. 5) describe CDS as a means to challenge assumptions given in discourse and as a way to denaturalise the seemingly 'natural' status quo expressed in discourse. CDS wants to lay bare which 'practices, rules or mechanisms' construct the social order and 'can explain how meaning is negotiated between the members of a discourse community' (Angermuller, Maingueneau & Wodak, 2014, p. 3).

This describes a form of 'explanatory critique': it exposes the societal status quo and attempts to shed light on why social reality is as it is (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012, p. 79). This is not sufficient from the perspective of CDS. Being critical also refers to the ideal of linguistic analysis aiming to effect social change by laying bare how society is structured. Fairclough and Fairclough's (2012, p. 79) 'normative critique' strives to analyse which social beliefs are 'true' or 'false' and what is 'good' or 'bad' in terms of societal evolution. The analyst thus occupies an emancipatory role. Unsurprisingly, such an explicit agenda of effecting societal change has been met with criticism and scepticism. Stubbs (1997, p. 102) points out that there is a danger of researchers' political motivations replacing robust analysis: they might find in the data precisely what they are looking for. This thesis resolves this dilemma foremost with its aim of developing a corpus-cognitive approach to discourse, and with its research methods. While I clearly support abortion

access, I do not analyse the data with the goal of promoting a particular viewpoint. My goal is to understand how attention is directed at discourses in order to create ideological viewpoints. For this I use research methods that enable me to look at points of attention – repeated language patterns and their cognitive conceptualisation. These methods are replicable and, in the case of corpus methods, to some extent at least initially removed from the researcher's interpretations. My political position factors in only after the analysis – I aim to draw attention to how even so-called 'objective' newspapers make cases for or against abortion access, as no language use is free of ideology.

Concerning this last point, critique in CDS entails self-reflexivity. Researchers need to be aware of their role as scholars in their work. By being both aware of and transparent about how our own positionality may effect the research process, we might increase the reliability of our analyses and results in terms of the kinds of discourses manifest in texts and their subsequent effect on society. But one's own perspective can never be completely eradicated to ensure reliability or 'objectivity' and I do not believe that this is even desirable, especially for socio-cultural research. In this thesis I explicitly address my personal position and motivation in the introduction. Chapter 3 details my data selection process and which methods of data analysis I use and why, ensuring replicability and transparency. Finally, I acknowledge the limitations of this study throughout the thesis, but particularly in Chapter 8.

1.2.3 Ideology

It needs to be noted that discourses are distinct from ideologies, even though language use is understood in CDA to perform ideological work. The term ideology has been discussed and (re-)defined numerous times (cf. Hart, 2014; van Dijk, 1998; Wodak & Meyer, n.d.-a). I follow here the notion of ideology as 'clusters of beliefs' that are shared by members of a group (van Dijk, 1998, p. 56). These ideologies 'serve to regulate social practices' (van Dijk, 1998, p. 9). Hall (1986, p. 26) captures both the socio-cultural and the cognitive aspects of such shared beliefs, when he describes them as 'mental frameworks – the language, the concepts, categories, imagery of thought, and the systems of representation – which different classes and social groups deploy in order to make sense of, figure out

and render intelligible the way society works'. Of importance is here that an ideology is comprised of a plurality of beliefs, concepts, or discourses. Discourses on their own are not an ideology, while they can be a part of several ideologies (see also Koller (2013)).

It is in language use or discourse that ideology is reified: '(One of) the most visible manifestation(s) of ideology is LANGUAGE USE or DISCOURSE which may reflect, construct, and/or maintain ideological patterns' (emphasis in original) (Verschueren, 2012, p. 17). This means we are all constantly exposed to discourses motivated by and charged with ideology, from which we each derive a set of beliefs, norms, and values. In turn, we perpetuate or reinforce these discourses by drawing on those that correspond to our opinions. Indeed, Verschueren (2012, p. 18) points out that discourse is 'no doubt the main instrument for spreading complex patterns of meaning'. Although discourses are most often discussed as habitual frames of interpretation that constitute a social reality, language use also allows us to question and challenge the patterns of meaning that we encounter (Koller 2012, p. 22; Verschueren 2012, p. 18).

Ideology can however never simply be read off of discourse samples. There is not one identifiable form-function relationship of how ideology manifests in discourse. Even terms that do posit an ideological position, such as the terms 'pro-choice' and 'pro-life' in reference to abortion, are in context not always used to argue for this position or constitute a specific and completely definable ideology. Yet drawing on a considerable volume of data in a systematic manner allows us to examine how the ideologies connected to the discussion of abortion access are expressed in discourse (cf. Baker et al. 2008, p. 277; Partington 2010, p. 88-89).

Yet I argue that people can encode different perspectives on the world through different language patterns or structures, which allows them to select between multiple conceptualisations of the same event, situation, or of 'reality'. The notion of construal from cognitive grammar, which will be introduced in full in Section 3.3, captures this possibility of making the world meaningful in various ways in a grammatically principled way. A short definition suffices for the point I want to make here: the same situation can be apprehended and linguistically expressed in a number of alternative ways as different textual,

i.e., grammatical, lexical, and semantic, construals. In order to tease out the ideological viewpoints of a text it is important to consider the textual and stylistic choices of how attention is directed at what in these construals - what do writers want their readers to see/read and what would they prefer their readers disregard. This does of course not entail that the intended message makes its way to the audience. People are able to selectively perceive whatever media message they encounter, even if it is diametrically opposite to the author's aim. For example, people with ethnic prejudices tend to interpret anti-prejudicial message as a confirmation of their beliefs (Cooper & Jahoda, 1947; Vidmar & Rokeach, 1974). More recently, viewers of the Fox News Channel for instance seem able to deflect or reinterpret the messages of the 'mainstream media' (Jamieson & Capella, 2008), which are continuously portrayed as 'fake news'.

In connection with this it is important to point out that the relation between linguistic representation and conceptualisation is likewise not entirely direct. Stubbs (1996, p. 158) notes that 'recurrent ways of talking do not determine thought, but they provide familiar and conventional representations of people and events, by filtering and crystallising ideas, and by providing pre-fabricated means by which ideas can easily be conveyed and grasped'. The issue is not that ideological discourses limit thought, but that conventional and habitual representations impede critical assessments of their underlying conceptualisations. It follows that accounts of discourses need to integrate their textual and cognitive aspects for certain research questions. The analysis of text alone cannot fully explain, for instance, how discourses are functionally and argumentatively related, and how readers make sense of these relations (see Chapter 7).

1.2.4 Corpus and cognitive linguistic approaches to CDS

CDA and CDS are not without criticisms. Not all of these are from outside the field, but also by researchers working in or being sympathetic to it. One of the most substantical criticisms is that critical discourse analysts need to be more critical of their own discipline (Billig, 2000, 2003, 2008). Researchers in CDS perpetrate the same kind of discourse as they criticise; namely that their prose contains passives, nominalisations, and other syntactic forms that hide agency, while they reify processes (Billig, 2008). Toolan (1997,

p. 87) describes this as not being able to 'analyse or write about power, hegemony and dominance without yourself potentially being implicated and compromised by the powerful and hegemonizing turns of your own discourse'.

Another point of contention is a discrepancy between CDA's theoretical claims and its methods and analyses. Although CDA emphasises the importance of the production and reception of texts, its analyses have traditionally not adequately incorporated the producers and readers of these texts, instead relying on just the analyst's interpretation of what a text might mean (Cameron, 2000; Widdowson, 1998, 2004). Lay interpretations are ignored, while the researcher's reading of a text is cast as definite (Jones & Collins, 2006; Stubbs, 1994). Simultaneously, CDA has been criticised for being biased in its selection and interpretation of texts (Blommaert, 2005) and for being too deterministic (Hammersley, 1997).

These issues of selection and interpretation go hand in hand with the criticism that CDA and CDS do not always provide sufficient detail in the texts that they examine. Thus there have been calls for critical discourse analysts to be more critical and demanding of the tools they use. Toolan (1997) and Stubbs (1996) in particular, while being sympathetic to CDA, have argued for greater strength of evidence for the claims that researchers in CDA make, since both the analysis and the claims otherwise risk seeming ungrounded and lacking leverage. As a stylistician, Toolan (1997, p. 88) points out the need for a textual analysis to be grounded in linguistic theory, claiming 'that many of the more interesting (robust, falsifiable) descriptive claims and distinctions used by CDA come directly from the broader disciplines of linguistics and discourse analysis, and that those elements added by CDA in its own right tend to be unfalsifiable and impressionistic'. Irrespective of the validity of each of these criticisms, a corpus-cognitive approach can address these issues, as I discuss below and in Section 2.4.

In light of such criticisms, Billig (2003) has asked whether CDA, and by extension CDS, may be developing into the kind of institutionalised academic discipline that it initially wanted to challenge. Fifteen years later, this question can both be affirmed and denied: CDA has developed into a wide-reaching academic enterprise, particularly in

Europe. Yet efforts have been undertaken by those working in the field to tackle the criticisms that CDS faces, which has resulted in an explosion of significant developments and approaches. Wodak and Meyer (n.d.-b) distinguish six established approaches to CDS, together with what they call 'theoretical attractors':

1. the Discourse-historical approach (Vienna school)
2. the Corpus-linguistic approach
3. the Social actor model
4. Dispositive analysis (Duisburg school)
5. the Socio-cognitive approach
6. the Dialectical relational approach

In addition to these established approaches, Hart and Cap (2014, p. 5) identify at least four increasingly influential paradigms: critical metaphor studies; the cognitive linguistics approach; the legitimization-proximization model; and the 'Neuchâtel/Fribourg' school of critical cognitive pragmatics.

Two of these approaches in critical discourse studies, corpus linguistics and cognitive linguistics, may seem divergent, if not even competing with one another. Yet the combination of the two has proven fruitful, for example, in the areas of syntax (e.g., Gries & Stefanowitsch, 2004; Hollmann, 2007; Stefanowitsch & Gries, 2008; Wulff, Stefanowitsch & Gries, 2007), semantics (e.g., Divjak & Gries, 2006; Kaleta, 2009), and conceptual metaphor theory (e.g., Deignan, 1999, 2005). Arguments of their general compatibility have been put forward (e.g., Arppe, Gilquin, Glynn, Hilpert & Zeschel, 2010; Gries, 2010, 2012; Grondelaers, Geeraerts & Speelman, 2007), and these have recently been extended to the practical analysis of discourse as well (Busse, 2011; Mahlberg, Stockwell, de Joode & O'Donnell, 2016; Stockwell, 2018; Stockwell & Mahlberg, 2015). A combined corpus-cognitive approach to critical discourse studies, I argue, enables us to analyse the role of attention in the vector of significant linguistic structures, cognition, and discourse.

Corpus linguistics is a method of linguistic analysis that relies on corpora. A corpus is a collection of texts of naturally occurring spoken or written language. These collections are typically compiled according to specific extralinguistic principles, such as text type, genre, register, or time span. The power of corpus linguistics, which will be further discussed in chapter 2, lies in its ability to uncover and document pervasive patterns in language, especially those of which we may not be aware. Its methods respond to the now obvious effect that frequency has on language, how we acquire it, and, as Hoey (2005) argues, how we are thus primed to reproduce it. With corpora we can discover the frequent and infrequent patterns of how we express our ideas and how we talk about people and situations, including the ideologies and power structures we set up and reproduce with language (see Hunston (2002, pp. 109–123) for a summary).

Cognitive linguistics, in contrast, provides answers to the question what people do with such linguistic patterns: how do we move from a text to understanding it? Cognitive linguistics as an approach to analysing natural language sees language as part of the mind: it is embedded in the overall cognitive capacities of people. Cognitive linguistics proposes a link between language structures and mental conceptualisations and therefore its concern lies in how language reflects general cognitive mechanisms, such as categorisation, as well as experiental and environmental influences. A discourse is always a form of knowledge about matters in the world. This knowledge necessarily resides in people's minds. Cognitive linguistics is therefore best suited to the interpretation stage of an analysis, rather than the description stage (Hart, 2014).

Both corpus linguistic and cognitive linguistic approach address criticisms faced by CDA, while enabling analyses of ideological properties of texts that were not previously available. In particular, the corpus linguistic approach addresses the criticisms pertaining to the supposed bias in analysis, as well as ensuring that the data is representative and, where appropriate, statistically significant. The cognitive linguistics approach addresses the criticism that critical discourse analysis has to consider the readers and producers of text. Instead of only relying on the analyst's interpretation of a text, we can analyse how a text is understood by readers and written to be understood by its producers in terms of

the cognitive structures that are evoked by linguistic structures. This idea is particularly attractive when we have methods from corpus linguistics to empirically account for patterns in discourse. Corpus methods can situate the significance, or lack thereof, of linguistic structures and the conceptual processes that underlie them through detailed comparative work of a large number of texts.

Another primary issue for CDA that is addressed by drawing from both cognitive and corpus linguistics concerns the criticism that it is a post-hoc enterprise and that it is unable to back up its assertion that linguistic structures correspond to, evoke, or even create equivalent structures in the minds of discourse participants (Billig, 2008; Chilton, 2005; O'Halloran, 2003; Stubbs, 1997; Widdowson, 2004). This goes hand in hand with considering what role attention plays in the production, reception, and understanding of texts. Corpus methods can situate the significance, or lack thereof, of linguistic structures and the conceptual processes that underlie them through detailed comparative work of a large number of texts. A corpus-cognitive approach takes language equally seriously as both a textual and a cognitive phenomenon. With these advantages in mind, it is surprising that there is a paucity of research harnessing the combined analytical and theoretical power of corpus and cognitive linguistics for a critical discourse analysis. This thesis lays groundwork for developing such an approach.

The vastness of this statement necessitates certain limitations. This thesis provides a general model and suggests a set of methods and models to account for attentional patterns of ideology in discourse from a corpus-cognitive perspective. While the underlying assumptions and arguments are meant to be universally applicable to discourse analysis, I nevertheless investigate a set discourse, the debate about legalising abortion access in the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland, with a particular set of methods and models and with one specific topic in mind: the discursive construction of ideology via attentional patterns. It also needs to be pointed out that ideology is but one area of interest in discourse analysis. A difference here in research question will likely necessitate certain adjustments to the approach I take in this thesis, especially as I regard some of the methods and models I use as essential to uncovering both attention and ideology, such as the concept of

mind-modelling and concordance analysis.

1.3 Attention in an argumentative discourse: Abortion access in the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland

The discourse under investigation in this thesis is the debate on abortion access in the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland. At the beginning of 2018 the Republic of Ireland was having debates in the Dáil on the legalisation of abortion access, specifically whether to repeal and how to replace the *Eighth Amendmen*t of the Constitution. The Eighth Amendment, or Article 40.3.3, created a constitutional recognition of the 'equal right to life' of the 'unborn' to the life of the pregnant woman, making legislation allowing terminations of pregnancy effectively impossible. Back in April 2017 the Dáil established a special joint committee to report back on the recommendations of a Citizen Assembly on the Eighth Amendment. The Citizen Assembly, 99 citizens randomly selected to be broadly representative of the Irish electorate, recommended that the Eighth Amendment should not be retained in full, that it should be amended or replaced, and that the Oireachtas has to decide how to legislate on the issues covered by the Eighth Amendment: termination of pregnancy, any rights of the unborn, and any rights of the pregnant woman [1]. The Assembly further made recommendations for which reasons and up to which week gestation age a termination should be lawful in the Republic. A majority of the members of the Assembly voted that a variety of reasons should be considered for terminating a pregnancy, from the physical risk to the life of the woman (99%) to socio-economic reasons (72%) (An Tionól Saoránach - The Citizens' Assembly, 2017). On 25 May 2018, the Irish people finally voted by 66.4% to remove the Eighth Amendment, tasking the Oireachtas to legislate for the regulation of abortion in their country. Even now as the amendment has been voted to be replaced, there is debate on the circumstances to allow a termination of a pregnancy and, still, whether the referendum result should be appealed. Of course, many of these debates are conducted via news texts, whether they are reporting on specific events, or

[1] Although not only cis women can become pregnant, but also trans men or nonbinary people, the mainstream discussion is centred on women and almost exclusively uses this term. When referencing and discussing texts or polls I will use the term(s) used in the original, while I use the more inclusive *women and other pregnant people* when not referencing another text.

publishing articles discussing people's viewpoints regarding abortion. There are limitations on working with print media, especially given the rise of online or social media. The newspaper industry has seen a drop in circulations and a decline in ad sales, with a number of newspapers in the UK, such as *The Independent*, announcing job cuts, being slated for closure, or ceasing production. Yet there is still room for analysing newspaper texts, particularly given that these texts will then be discussed online and thereby reach a wider audience than only via the sales of the printed editions. An analysis of how the print media represents the issue of abortion access is particularly warranted in light of the fact that the eventual establishment of the Citizen Assembly can be traced back to increased grassroots advocacy work by pro-choice groups in Ireland and the media reporting on them, such as the establishment of the Abortion Rights Campaign in 2012 after the death of Savita Halappanavar (see Chapter 7). These groups distributing information and expressing their viewpoints, for instance via the March for Choice or the hashtag campaign #RepealThe8th, influenced first personal, then public, and finally political debate.

1.4 Thesis outline

Chapter 2 provides a comprehensive overview of the key advantages and challenges of combining corpus and cognitive linguistics for discourse analysis. I begin by discussing the usage-based hypothesis as a key notion that links the two research fields and its implications for discourse analysis. The role of attention and ideological meaning in discourse is described by interrogating the central terms of the thesis and the question of the relation between linguistic representation and conceptualisation. Following this, I review the relevant work in discourse analysis employing either corpus or cognitive methodologies, with a focus on where the two approaches intersect. This helps to provide a general grounding from which to develop my take of a corpus-cognitive approach to discourse analysis, focusing on the notion of mind-modelling the text and discourse participants and their ideological viewpoint. The second part of Chapter 2 is dedicated to the literature on quotations, since this linguistic aspect is the focus of two of the analytical chapters. Any aspects specific to one of the two chapters are introduced in those chapters

as appropriate. Finally, I conclude by giving an overview of the historical development and the current situation of the debate on legalising access to abortion in the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland.

Chapter 3 is a methodological chapter in which I outline the method of analysing attention and ideological meaning that will be adopted in the relevant chapters. First I introduce the attentional model that guides the subsequent analyses and explain the methodologies that are used throughout the thesis. For cognitive linguistics, this is the theory of *cognitive grammar* (CG) with its notions of *construal*, *focusing*, *profiling*, and the *trajector/landmark alignment*. For corpus linguistics, these are *concordance analysis*, and *collocation*. I further introduce the related notion of *semantic/discourse prosody* to investigate ideological meaning. Attention is then shifted to describing the the *Irish Abortion Debate Corpus* (IADC), including how it was collected and the necessary considerations for it to be representative of the discourse investigated in this thesis.

Chapter 4 is the first empirical chapter which also exemplifies in detail the use of the attentional model. It considers how to approach the patterns of attention created in a 'neutral' or 'objective' news text without focusing on a specific linguistic aspect. For this I use the concept of *attractors*, entities that take one's attention, and discuss how this, together with the attentional model, can help with accounting for personal and voluntary attention by readers. The analysis of the attention created in the text compares how two similar events are constructed in the text, focusing on the representation of people and time, and the role of the passive voice. The results of this chapter are discussed in terms of the ideological message the article sends, and what the results mean for both the attentional model and mind-modelling the ideological messages of a text.

The next two chapters are dedicated to quotations and how they figure into constructing and conveying viewpoints. Chapter 5 focuses on the aspect of reported speech for creating attention and ideological viewpoints. More specifically, I consider how speech presentation figures into mind-modelling and analyse the semantic patterns of *(free) direct speech* ((F)DS) in the IADC to see what is awarded attention. This shows uses of (F)DS in accordance with its general functions in the news, but it also reveals uses indicative of the

discourse. From these, selected key semantic domains of negative emotion and stance, and the emotion of happiness are analysed. One article is then explored in detail using cognitive grammar to track how the expression of the emotion of happiness in direct speech is employed to characterise a mother in a particular, arguably ideological, way. This chapter gives evidence of the role of direct speech in transporting ideological messages in news texts, as well as the applicability of a corpus-cognitive approach in uncovering these.

Chapter 6 builds on the findings of Chapter 5 by looking at a particular form of reported speech: *embedded quotations*. This kind of quotation is instructive for the relation between the writer of a text and the reader, which forms the basis of how ideological messages are communicated. I explore the key question how a writer manages to communicate the intended ideological viewpoint to the reader when several viewpoints are under consideration, which is typical for news text. The results of this chapter enrich those of the preceding chapter in a number of ways, notably by providing a categorisation for this relation and explaining how it is is cued by the textual and attentional patterns of the text. I further discuss how the chapter cements the notion of mind-modelling as central for analysing ideological viewpoints and for bridging the gap between cognitive linguistics and discourse analysis.

Chapter 7 treats the previous results that ideological viewpoints are communicated to the reader by attentional and textual structures seriously and extends the analysis to the relations that such structures, in this case discourses, have with each other. I first introduce the case of the death of Savita Halappanavar in the Republic of Ireland on which the analysis rests. I then discuss the methodological and theoretical issues of a cognitive approach to discourse relations and how concept-relational knowledge, one aspect of the attentional model, may be lexicalised in texts. After a section dedicated to the method of compiling sub-corpora to analyse discourse relations, I explain how I select the concept words that I analyse, and how I determine methodologically which discourses and their relations are voiced about them. In the quantitative analysis the co-occurrence patterns of each concept word are investigated for ideological viewpoints, while the qualitative analysis details how a mother is conceptualised during the debate of Savita Halappanavar's

death, proposing a discursive function to the trajector/landmark alignment.

The last chapter provides a general discussion of the findings of the analytical chapters as they relate to the research questions of this thesis. It summarises the major findings and assesses the contribution of the thesis, both theoretically and methodologically, to the field of CDS. Finally, I make some suggestions for future research within the framework of this thesis and for developing a corpus-cognitive approach to discourse generally and to ideology specifically.

2 Linguistics and the role of attention

2.1 Introduction

This thesis covers and draws on several areas of linguistic research: critical discourse studies, which I have discussed in the previous chapter, cognitive linguistics/poetics, and corpus linguistics. In this chapter I detail the theoretical basis that offers rapprochement between corpus and cognitive linguistics and explain why their combination is ideal for investigating attention in discourse. I discuss the relevance of the usage-based thesis in both corpus and cognitive linguistics and the foundational focus both fields have on meaning. Next, I define my use of the terms discourse and ideology and review the literature on analysing discourse using methods from corpus or cognitive linguistics. This will show the similarities and divergences of the two approaches, as well as lead to my suggestion of a combined corpus-cognitive approach to discourse analysis. I focus here on explaining the concept of mind-modelling, which underpins the theoretical structure and analyses of the thesis. The second part of the chapter deals with quotations as one example of directed attention in the news, which are analysed in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 as examples of directed attention. I introduce the typologies and functions that have been proposed for quotations and describe the importance of faithfulness when considering the ideological viewpoints that are communicated via quotations. Literature on specific types of attention is discussed in the respective chapters. Finally, I conclude with an introduction to the current and historical context of the discourse I investigate in this thesis: the discourse on the legal access to abortion in the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland.

2.2 Repetition and attention: The usage-based thesis in cognitive and corpus linguistics

The connection between cognitive linguistics and corpus linguistics, as advocated in this thesis, might seem tenuous in light of positions that regard corpus linguistics as completely removed from matters of the mind (cf. Teubert, 2010). But the combination of

the two disciplines does not only have methodological advantages, but is also theoretically justified. Both corpus and cognitive linguistics implicitly share in their respective theoretical orientation an emphasis on the question of meaning, even though they differ in where they locate this meaning. In cognitive linguistics the importance of meaning resides in conceptualisations and extends to the more abstract meanings conveyed in grammar, which are described, for instance, by Langacker's (1987, 1991b, 1991a, 2001, 2007, 2008) cognitive grammar. In corpus linguistics meaning is connected to linguistic forms, with researchers prioritising lexis as the predominant aspect of language that creates meaning. Thus while the focus in cognitive linguistics is on mind-internal phenomena and their expression through language, corpus linguistics prioritises the text and makes no inherent assumption about the relationship between mind and language. Yet both recognise that language has a social and cultural dimension and is put to use within social contexts. In this sense, they are allied with other functional approaches to language such as *systemic functional linguistics* (SFL). The point I want to focus on in this section is their shared commitment towards the usage-based theory of language: the insight that usage has an effect on linguistic structure, whether this structure is mental or discursive.

Usage-based models of language beside Langacker's cognitive grammar, such as Bybee (2006), Bybee and McClelland (2005), Croft (2000), and Tomasello (2003), posit that linguistic knowledge arises out of usage, and usage reflects linguistic knowledge. From the point of cognitive linguistics, language use must be explained by cognitive structures, which, in turn, must be able to explain how language is used. Use and structure are necessarily and intimately intertwined instead of being separated. The important methodological point here is that the cognitive structures and units which people use to communicate must therefore be identified through observation of language use. Although not all researchers agree that cognitive linguistics is usage-based, those that see it as a central part of a cognitive approach have to eventually turn to corpora. On the bais of the usage-based thesis, Corpus linguists such as Hoey (2005) and Gries (2010) maintain that corpus data has implicit importance for matters of cognition.

The reciprocity of usage and structure is only implicit in most corpus research. It is

exemplary present in Stubbs's (2007, p. 148) statement on the emergence and maintenance of the language system as 'the cumulative result of patterns of textual phenomena which are widely and fairly homogeneously distributed in the speech community'. He criticises the lack of discussion in corpus studies on the psychological, i.e. the mental or cognitive, implications of this, barring Hoey (2005), and points out the need for explanatory hypotheses. The most explicitly usage-based theory in corpus linguistics is Hoey's (2005) theory of *lexical priming*, which offers rapprochement to cognitive linguistic, psycholinguistics, and other major theoretical linguistic frameworks. Although the respective theories of Hoey and Langacker are rooted in different disciplines, use different vocabulary, and have different theoretical considerations, both share the core point that usage, frequency, and ultimately meaning are related. For both, the concept of frequency links usage to meaning.

Frequency is the number of occurrences of a lexical item, which can be given as raw data, or as percentages or proportions, which is typically more useful. In a frequency-based approach to language, recurring lexical items or sequences become represented in the lexicon. The frequency with which people may encounter these items is here an indicator of how firmly they are rooted in the mind of a potential 'average' or 'typical' reader. Yet frequencies do not explain themselves, but need to be contextualised and explained with further analyses. The interplay between frequency, usage, and meaning is similar in Hoey's and Langacker's account. For Hoey (2005, p. 8), a word is 'cumulatively loaded with the context and co-texts in which it is encountered' and thus repetitions amount to acquiring knowledge of this word for the mental lexicon. For Langacker (1987, p. 100), there is a strong link between cognition and usage events, where events become progressively entrenched through continued repetition. Linguistic knowledge in both grammars is the result of repeated experiences, where each successive experience modifies and strengthens the linguistic unit. In that way linguistic units in a corpus with a high frequency are likely to be more entrenched and cognitively salient for speakers in general. There is an argument to be made from the position of a usage-based thesis that corpus data automatically qualifies for cognitive consideration, based on the assumption that high frequency items have a special status in the mind.

The contribution of corpus data to a cognitive theory of language remains valid even though experimental methods are more appropriate for some cognitive issues. If I aim to make any claims about the cognitive and ideological importance of discourse patterns, I need to consider the psychological reality of frequency counts.The argument that corpus data is valid for addressing questions of the mind is also important for discourse analysis: it goes back to criticisms that CDA has to answer regarding whether linguistic representations in the text correspond to, evoke, or create equivalent structures in the minds of discourse participants and that discourse analysis is essentially post-hoc (see Section 1.2 above and also Section 2.4 below). Although some of these criticisms are warranted, others are more questionable. Other approaches to language and discourse, such as SFL, can equally be characterised as post-hoc in nature, while it should be noted that not all fields of linguistics agree with Popperian notions of falsifiability. Additionally, it might be argued that a considerable number of linguistic phenomena require human interpretation, which necessarily renders them post-hoc. For this thesis in particular I claim that two further factors mitigate these criticisms. First, we can draw upon the usage-based thesis, though usually considered for language acquisition, to posit a link between textual patterns and cognitive importance. Hoey's (2005) concept of linguistic priming is here an integral link between (discourse) context, meaning, and finally cognitive representation. Second, there is a higher likelihood of a cognitive import of these patterns when we identify and analyse them by using models that are in accord with other cognitive research, such as cognitive grammar and the research on the cognitive ability of mind-modelling (see Chapter 2.4.1).

There are also voices outside discourse studies that are critical of the claim that frequency counts in corpus data have any psychological reality. Speaking of frequent collocates, Herbst (1996) maintains that they simply reflect certain extra-linguistic features about the world. Frequent combinations of words can in his view be explained in terms of real-world coincidences: they are not representative of any special connection in the mind. A similar position is expressed by Bley-Vroman (2002), who does not attest any strong explanatory force to frequency data from corpora, regarding them as a product of using language to express meaning in context. Newmeyer (2003, p. 697) puts his objection

as follows: frequency-based analysis 'is no more defensible as an approach to language and the mind than would be a theory of vision that tries to tell us what we are likely to look at'. Such an argument mis-characterises the role of frequencies as a window into the mind and ignores the considerable literature on frequency and its facilitative role in language acquisition and processing. The point of frequency counts is not to determine what we are most exposed to, but the role they play in the interrelated relationship between frequency, meaning, and entrenchment in the mind. The meaning of words and more abstract linguistic structures is derived and learned from being used. Hoey (2005) speaks of this as being primed: there is a circular relation between being frequently exposed to a linguistic structure and then being primed to reproduce it, which in turn strengthens the structure and any of its associations.

The issue of frequency and importance is certainly more complex than either position initially admits. Other major determining factors in the acquisition process are semantic baseness, salience, communicative intent and relevance (Ellis, 2002), which likely also apply to how we read a text. In terms of discourse comprehension and interpretation, frequency does not entail importance for readers. The issue of frequency versus attention can be a double-edged sword: when reading texts, it can be precisely what we are not frequently exposed to that grabs our attention. Something can be made to stand out either because it is more of the same, or because it deviates from the norm. How this concept of *foregrounding* (from Shklovsky's *ostranenie* or *defamiliarisation*) plays out in a language and discourse has been at the heart of contemporary stylistics. This is an explicitly empirical enterprise (Leech & Short, 2007):

> The more I, as a critic, wish to substantiate what I say about style, the more I will need to point to the linguistic evidence of texts; and linguistic evidence, to be firm, must be couched in terms of numerical frequency [...] If challenged, I ought to be, and can be, in a position to support my claim with quantitative evidence. (38)

We can make our interpretations of discourse phenomena accountable, and assess whether they are foregrounded or not, on the basis of quantitative evidence. The central

concern in critical discourse studies is whether a linguistic structure is in some sense significant in a context, rather than the question whether the structure has a low or high frequency count in general language use. It is the contextual and textual factors that give a linguistic structure its meaning. Numerical frequency in discourse analysis can act as a guide when assessing whether a structure will be in some way important for a reader in a particular text and context. A corpus provides evidence of the frequency of a feature or reveals its pattern of use — for example, whether it is linked to a genre, register, age range, social group, or a political stance. The quantitative patterns established through corpus methods can thus serve as the quantitative standard of the discourse against which exceptional cases can be contextualised and judged for their function and meaning. Therefore, the key difference to other approaches in combining corpus and cognitive linguistics is the comparison of the individual mental lexicon of a potential reader with large population usage. This methodological mechanism is an assertion of intersubjectivity, as it assumes that frequency patterns are evidence of a language user's internalised usage.

Linguistics will always have to navigate between the dualism of language as the property of an individual (a cognitive dimension) and of a community (a social dimension). Researchers have to choose which dimension to prioritise depending on their research question, or whether they favour a methodological pluralism. The complexities of language use require caution in relying on one type of data, since confounding factors can distort the results. Newspaper articles, for example, exhibit pressures other than simply producing language to communicate. Newspapers have their own genre conventions that regulate the style of their articles, which might first, influence the texts more than any cognitive aspects and thus second, influence any corpus findings derived from these articles. The different data types and considerations in corpus and cognitive linguistics provide different, but ultimately mutually supportive foci of analysis and explanation for critical discourse studies.

2.3 Discourse analysis from the perspective of corpus and cognitive linguistics

The summary character of corpus linguistic methods is well-suited for a systematic, empirical analysis of discourse patterns. Consequently, Baker (2006, p. 14) argues in favour of the strength of corpus linguistic methods to detect evidence of these patterns, including changing or resistant discourses. This may show where a pattern is first found and how it spreads, whether it has changed semantically or acquired a metaphorical usage, or whether it has been adopted by different social groups. Several methods have been employed to attend to discourse patterns and competing or changing discourses. The analysis of *keywords* and their contextual use over time has proven productive in this regard. Keywords are words that are considered focal or pivotal to a text or corpus. Their conception goes back to the work by Firth (1935) and Williams (1976) on culturally or sociologically relevant words (see Stubbs (1996, p. 165) for a discussion). In current corpus research, keywords are typically defined through statistical measures, such as log-likelihood or chi-squared. In that sense, keywords are words that appear statistically significantly more frequently in a corpus in comparison to the norm of another corpus, or they appear statistically significantly less frequently in a corpus as a negative keyword.

The relevance of keywords to discourse analysis can be seen in studies such as Teubert's (2007) examination of the influence of outside linguistics patterns and shifts in thought in a corpus of Vatican documents, focusing on the words *work* and *property* and how these are related to the concepts of *natural law* and *human rights* in Catholic social doctrine. Likewise, Mulderrig (2008) analyses the changes in educational discourse in the UK and reveals through the use of statistical keywords how alternating periods of Conservative and Labour rule have led to different educational policy concerns. Discourse variability is also often researched by comparing discourses separated by time period, geographical location, or the source of the texts. Orpin (2005) uses concordances and collocations to study words related to corruption, finding differences in their semantic profiles and connotations depending on the geographical location that the context refers to. Using corpus methods that operate one a more abstract level than the word form, Potts and Baker (2012) explore whether semantic tagging can identify cultural changes in a comparison

of British and American English. Their research concludes that semantic tagging offers a more precise and extensive comparison of language patterns in contrast to previous studies that likewise attempted to uncover cultural differences. Established corpus methods can illustrate variable patterns in a corpus, but have not attended in detail to the question why certain stylistic choices are favoured by writers to make their point both attentionally and cognitively appealing.

The branch of corpus linguistics that incorporates elements of critical discourse analysis has always attended to the variability and historicity of ideological patterns of representation in a range of text types, from newspaper articles, to parliamentary debates (Bachmann, 2011; Love & Baker, 2015), or a corpus of tweets (Hardaker & McGlashan, 2016). For instance, Partington (2012) traces the conceptual development of discourses relating to antisemitism in UK newspapers over a period of 16 years, detecting a change from concerns over the potential influence of antisemitic thought from outside the UK towards a discourse of resurgence of antisemitism in the UK and Western Europe.

Newspapers are the prototypical medium analysed in corpus-based discourse studies. Gabrielatos and Baker (2008), working in a larger project on the representations of refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants, and migrants (RASIM) in the UK press, examine the diachronic change and stability of media discourse on RASIM and consider the convergence and divergence in conceptualisation in broadsheets against tabloids. This project also includes the study by Gabrielatos, McEnery, Diggle and Baker (2012) that addresses the question of how to identify diachronic trends and significant outliers in the RASIM corpus, adding to the empirical basis of determining majority and potentially resistant discourses. Additionally, they emphasise the productive application of combining qualitative and quantitative techniques for a more extensive analysis of discourses. This triangulation can also mean the application of approaches and theories besides (critical) discourse studies, such as queer linguistics (Turner et al., 2018). These trends also open up the discussion on integrating corpus and cognitive approaches for critically analysing discourse.

The idea of applying cognitive theories to discourse has only been explored in the

last two decades, barring the pioneering research done by Chilton (1985, 1987, 1988a, 1988b). The majority of the qualitative body of research has mainly been interested in viewing discourses through the lens of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (e.g., Busse, 2011; Charteris-Black, 2004, 2006a, 2006b; Koller, 2004, 2005; Musolff, 2004, 2006). However, a cognitive approach to discourse does not need to be limited to conceptual metaphor, a point highlighted and substantiated by Hart (2010, 2013, 2014). Similarly, Stockwell (1999) synthesises analyses of Fairclough (1995) and Lakoff (1992) on political discourse to reveal points of contact between CDA and cognitive linguistics. Furthermore, some work has been done to apply cognitive grammar to literary texts (Hamilton, 2003; Giovanelli & Harrison, 2018; Harrison, 2017; Harrison, Nuttall, Stockwell & Yuan, 2014a; Nuttall, 2015, 2017, 2018; Stockwell, 2018). These are of primary significance in extending cognitive grammar above the level of the clause and explore which aspects of grammar may be more particular to a certain context and discourse.

Corpus work on discourse from a cognitive perspective has likewise almost exclusively investigated figurative language, specifically conceptual metaphor. Early contributions explored the issues that are difficult for computational procedures of metaphor identification through qualitative analyses of how metaphors create meaning in text (e.g., Heywood, Semino & Short, 2002). A study by Stefanowitsch (2005) investigated whether metaphors are motivated by stylistic considerations or by cognitive principles, providing evidence that metaphorical language has a cognitive function. Over time these issues were taken up and refined to develop systematic methods to account for metaphorical language in various discourses (e.g., Deignan, 2005; Demmen et al., 2015; O'Halloran, 2007; Semino, 2006; Semino et al., 2017; Potts & Semino, 2017; Taylor, 2008). Advances in semantic tagging have allowed increasingly fine-grained analyses. For example, corpus work has employed the Historical Thesaurus of English as a vast semantic knowledge database to locate metaphor use in popular science texts, developing a unique word-sense disambiguation procedure in the process to increase precision (Alexander, Dallachy, Piao, Baron & Rayson, 2015). Such developments are crucial in overcoming the reliance on word forms and to make use of semantic meaning in corpus research.

The distinct lack of literature on corpus approaches to cognitive discourse analysis, apart from conceptual metaphors, can be attributed to the perception that cognitive linguistics is only conceptual, whereas corpus and computational methods are unable to move beyond the word form as a character string. While this remains true to some extent, the increasing availability of intuitive corpus tools and the aforementioned advances in automatic part-of-speech and semantic tagging, for example, have initiated new possibilities in analysing texts from a quantitative perspective. The move beyond strings of characters is crucial to further corpus linguistic research and to make corpus methods accessible for the social sciences and the humanities. This does not mean that a corpus-based cognitive analysis of discourse is removed or too distant from the actual linguistic articulations expressed in texts. Indeed, Stockwell and Mahlberg (2015) emphasise the point that by addressing research questions from cognitive linguistics with corpus linguistic methods, a sorely needed focus on the specific textuality of the text(s) in question comes to the fore in the analysis. When we survey the entirety of a corpus or discourse, then textual singularity effectively stands out more forcefully against trends and standards. By combining cognitive linguistics with corpus linguistics, the textual patterns on which cognitive theories rest can be uncovered, identified, and explored. These act as textual evidence against which hypotheses can be tested and may need to be refined or rejected.

2.4 A corpus-cognitive approach to critical discourse analysis

Given the analytically rich account of corpus studies to discourse, the question may arise what cognitive linguistics can add to this body of research. There are two main arguments for incorporating a cognitive perspective into corpus-based critical discourse analysis. First, it closes a gap in the research literature on the treatment of linguistic structures and discourse, since the cognitive dimension involved in meaning-making has been relatively neglected in this regard. The majority of studies in critical discourse analysis follow a functional approach to language. Both SFL, which is the preferred grammar in discourse analysis, and CG belong to the greater functional tradition and regard grammar as broadly semantic and thus meaningful. One difference between them is their respective focus

in explaining grammatical features: while SFL focuses on textual features, *Cognitive Grammar* (CG) focuses on the mental processes tied to these. The emphasis in SFL on the description of textual features is one of the major reasons why the literature at large does not consider whether the linguistic representations in the text correspond, evoke, or create equivalent structures in the minds of the discourse participants (Billig, 2008; Chilton, 2005; O'Halloran, 2003; Stubbs, 1997; Widdowson, 2004). While discourse studies have provided detailed accounts of linguistic representations in texts, they have not been explicit on the cognitive importance of these structures and patterns that they analyse. Incorporating insights from cognitive linguistics addresses this research need.

The second argument concerns the role of cognition as the mediator between discourse and society (see van Dijk's (2013, 1998) discourse-society-cognition triangle). Discourse participants need to have some sort of cognitive representation of the discourse in order to read, produce, and fundamentally understand it. A discourse is always a form of knowledge about matters in the world. This knowledge necessarily resides in people's minds and, in terms of cognitive linguistics, mainly takes the form of conceptualisations. Texts both reflect and even create conceptualisations of the world, which are expressed through linguistic expressions and constructions. Hart (2014, p. 108) points out that this dimension of cognitive structures and processes relates discourse with society. We have an understanding of the workings and values of the society that we are a part of through the discourses that we are surrounded in and partake in. Our knowledge of these discourses is cognitive. The relationship of conceptual structures and social discourse is the same as that between the mental lexicon and frequency usage. A full account of how discourse works in society crucially needs to consider how cognitive processes mediate between the two. This will stituate critical discourse studies closer to the reality of how people read, experience, and comprehend texts, and the discourses that texts contain and constitute. Cognitive analyses may otherwise be at risk of neglecting the interactive/intersubjective dimension of language if they focus on language as something individual. Language is acquired through interaction with others and needs to be understood by someone else: its meaning is co-created in language. In this regard, cognitive researchers can learn

a lot about incorporating matters of intersubjectivity and context, which is crucial in acquiring language (Ellis, 2002), into their analyses from research in cognitive stylistics and discourse analysis.

Cognitive grammar is integral to the corpus-cognitive approach to discourse I use in this thesis because it locates meaning in grammar, lifting in some part the restrictive burden of corpus methods to operationalise research questions predominately in the form of lexis. Grammar is highly relevant to discourse analysis because it provides 'a technical language for talking about language — to make it possible to look very closely at meaning, to be explicit and precise in terms that can be shared by others, and to engage in quantitative analysis where this is appropriate' (Martin, 2011, pp. 275–6). This has also been more polemically pointed out by Halliday (1985, p. xvi): 'a discourse analysis not based on grammar is not an analysis at all, but simply a running commentary on a text'.

2.4.1 Mind-modelling discourse participants and their ideological viewpoints

We possess an assumption that other people have a conscious mind just like ours which is capable of mental states. This *Theory of Mind* lets us attribute beliefs, intentions, and thoughts to another person and has been called *mind-reading*, *mentalising*, or *cognitive perspective taking*. The term *mind-modelling*, introduced by Stockwell (2009), emphasises that this is an active process, and not a passive procedure over which we have no control: we fill our mental model of a person with presumptions about their beliefs, intended actions, emotions, motivations, and so on, based on our own knowledge and experiences (Stockwell, 2009; Stockwell & Mahlberg, 2015). Cognitive stylistics, just as other cognitive research, works on the principle of continuity: we seem to use the same mental faculties across several different situations. We engage in mind-modelling whether the other person is someone we meet face-to-face, someone that we only read or hear about, or whether they are a fictional character. This is why it can be productively employed for both literary (Nuttall, 2015) and non-literary texts (Gavins & Simpson, 2015). Mind-modelling is the basis for imagining real and fictional people, but it is also the basis on how readers relate to authors and 'how a reader's notion of an author will influence an individual reading of a specific text' (Stockwell, 2016a, pp. 24–25).

Although mind-modelling is a continuous process, it is nevertheless more foregrounded when something unexpected happens, particularly if it goes against one's own attitudes, biases, stereotypes, world-beliefs, or knowledge. This is also the basis of what is called a *mind style* in stylistics: the 'impression of a worldview' created by '[c]umulatively consistent structural options, agreeing in cutting the presented world to one pattern or another' (Fowler, 1977, p. 76). Semino (2002, p. 95) further develops this notion by specifying which 'conceptual structures and cognitive habits' make up the worldview of a character. While all narrated text has a mind style, research concentrates on those that are marked, odd, or deviant. People's brains are reluctant to exert their cognitive capacities and prefer the easiest way with the least resistance and the least cognitive effort. Anything unexpected or dis-preferred will be met with resistance. The effort of mind-modelling a mind or viewpoint that is in some way divergent from one's own is more pronounced than mind-modelling someone similar to oneself. Texts are always an interaction between readerly disposition versus textual imposition (Stockwell, 2013). Research on readerly interpretations of literary texts, or the authorial intent of a work, has accordingly pointed out that readers draw from both the familiar and the unusual to arrive at interpretations. We draw from our expectations and knowledge of people's mind, of what a text is supposed to look like and what it does, to recognise what is regular and familiar about a text, and what is unexpected and deviant. Interpretations of authorial intent, which is a form of mind-modelling (cf. Stockwell, 2016b), derive from the interplay of the regular and the unexpected, but it is that which we disagree with in terms of ideological viewpoints that needs a greater and more visible effort of mind-modelling.

Grammar is a methodological tool to analyse mind-modelling. Construals are the textual clues for how readers are supposed to or made to understand a text by the writer, while readers themselves use construals on which to base their mind-modelling of the text participants and their ideological viewpoints. How statements are expressed alerts readers to what the writer intended to pre-emptively justify, criticise, or reject. This gives readers insight into a writer's position or ideological viewpoint based on the knowledge they have of what certain positions entail and how they are expressed and argued for by

their proponents.

Crucially, mind-modelling is multi-layered. Every linguistic choice also results in the reader's awareness of how a viewpoint has been filtered to construct ideological positions and viewpoints. For instance, the writer presents another person's viewpoint in direct speech and this textual presentation can emphasise that the writer is the one who is filtering what is put into view. Whiteley (2011, 2014) argues that *multiple projection*, the engagement with multiple minds and perspectives, is an important aspect of readers' emotional and ethical engagement with literary texts. News texts likewise feature multiple projection. At a minimum, readers mind-model the writer of the text and all the text participants included in a news article. These text participants are filtered and evaluated through the writer. Readers' engagement with multiple viewpoints in narratives has been discussed under the terms of *audiences* (Rabinowitz, 1977), *voices* (Bakhtin, 1981), *framing* (Goffman, 1981), or *embedded narratives* (Palmer, 2004).

The model by Phelan (1996, 2005, 2007), developed for literary texts, roots the development of readers' emotional and ethical engagement with a text in their relation to the various *positions* that are expressed at different narratological levels in a text. In this thesis, this ethical engagement is the articulation and negotiation of different ideological viewpoints. The four narratological layers of this model need to be slightly adapted so that they can be applied to news texts. Originally, these are (1) characters and their actions, (2) the narrator and their act of telling, (3) the implied author and their act of telling, and (4) the reader and their act of reading. Instead of talking about characters in layer one, I use the term *text participants* generally and the term *speakers* specifically for cases of quotations. Layer two and three cannot be transferred one to one, even though the underlying differentiation between a narrating voice appearing in the text, i.e., the narrator, and another entity being responsible for this narrating voice, i.e., the implied author, is similar.

The concept of the *implied author*, first introduced by Booth (1961), is useful for the purposes of mind-modelling and for accounting for ideological viewpoints. It points out the difference between the writer that readers mind-model on the basis of the text, and the

inaccessible 'real', 'flesh-and-blood' writer. Phelan (2005, p. 45) redefines the implied author as 'a streamlined version of the real author, an actual or purported subset of the real author's capacities, traits, attitudes, beliefs, values, and other properties that play a role in the construction of the particular text'. News texts do not have narrators in the same way as literary texts, but they do have a narrating voice responsible for the text in the form of the implied author. Readers know of course that the news is written by people with their own opinions. Other people and pressures are also involved in the production of a text, such as editorial guidelines, the genre of the text, and, as CDA argues most forcefully, socio-cultural principles,. All of these affect both the implied author and the text. Additionally, a reader might have further knowledge of an author that is not textually expressed, which guides their reading. The tensions between the implied author, what I will subsequently call *writer* of the text, and the 'real' writer, and the editorial process play a part in constructing ideological positions and arriving at subjective ideological readings of a text. The four layers I will therefore refer to in this thesis are (1) text participants or speakers and their actions, (2) the implied writer and their act of telling, (3) the real writer and the editorial process, and (4) the reader and their act of reading.

Each of these layers has someone expressing, or,in the case of the reader, holding an ideological viewpoint. Reader's responses to the viewpoints advocated for in each layer are 'positions', or relationships that we establish with the text participants. Our overall ideological interpretation of the text arises out of our 'dynamic interaction' between these different positions (Phelan, 2005, p. 23). The reader's mind-modelling of the respective ideological messages of each layer is based on the ongoing communicative exchanges between text participants, implied writer, real writer, and the reader, whose cognitive underpinnings are set out in cognitive grammar (Nuttall, 2017). The way these different positions are communicated is via the particular construals of a text.

2.5 Directed attention in discourse: Quotations in news texts

Quotations are central to news discourse because the function of speech presentation in the news is closely tied to the style and aim of journalistic texts. One aim of news stories

is to inform, and the information that journalists have is mostly second-hand, provided either by witnesses or by the news actors (Bell, 1991, p. 52). To craft a news story, writers have to recount what others have said by embedding the information they have from their sources into their own discourse to spin a coherent narrative. Bell (1991) contends that news is basically embedded talk. Likewise, Bednarek (2006, p. 15) claims that one of the most characteristic features of newspaper language is its *embeddedness*. The key to understanding the language of news discourse therefore lies in how writers embed quotations into their texts.

I argue that we can use mind-modelling to assess how first, writers use quotations to construe viewpoints, and second, how readers judge this construction. The connection here is that quotations are an explicitly marked type of perspective (cf. Sanders & Redeker, 1993): that of the person being quoted, rather than the perspective of the writer. When readers encounter quotations, they will mind-model what the quoted speakers has said and, more importantly, why, as well as the motivation of the writer. To understand how ideologies are conveyed via quotations, we need to consider how readers mind-model those involved in the production of quotations. Who is cited, how they are cited, and what they are cited as saying are important questions for the construction of the viewpoint and ideology of an text. As Jullian (2011, p. 766) asserts: 'quotations help [journalists] to imprint their personal views on the events and ultimately serve an ideological function in the text'. Quotations contribute to the viewpoint of reporting texts, but they are not independent. A quotation itself does not indicate whether the writer supports or rejects the proposition of the quotation. A quotation only becomes meaningful as an indication of viewpoint together with the co-text and context. Where and how the quotation is embedded in the text, i.e., what comes before and after it, can crucially alter the way we interpret the quotation and the message of the text. This framing context can signal the writer's standpoint by questioning, challenging, or invalidating the quotation's proposition. How and where the viewpoint of the quoted person is embedded is crucial in the reader's understanding of its meaning and the text's own perspective. The form of the quotation, whether it is presented in direct speech or *indirect speech* (IS), is also of importance. Context and co-text again

influence how the form is perceived. For instance, direct speech is not only used when the writer agrees with the quotation. On the contrary, the exact wording of someone's statement may be provided precisely because the wording is important for the rejection of the argument. While forms of speech presentation are said to have individual functions, their specific purpose is determined by their embeddedness.

2.5.1 Types of descriptive models

A variety of descriptive models for a range of text-types have been developed to classify the presentation of speech in spoken and written discourse, e.g., Cappelen and Lepore (1997), Clark and Gerrig (1990), Fairclough (1988), Fludernik (1993), Fowler (1986), Leech and Short (1981), McHale (1997), Semino and Short (2004), Tannen (1989), Thompson (1996), Volosinov (1973), Waugh (1995). Efforts to classify speech have been especially productive in stylistics and narratology, where a major focus has been the clarification of *free indirect discourse* or *erlebte Rede*. I will focus in this thesis on the model by Semino and Short (2004). It is comprehensive, backed by corpus data (including newspaper articles) and has rightfully been described as 'the most fully developed' (Thompson, 1996, p. 504) classification model. Semino and Short's (2004) work is build on the classification by Leech and Short (1981), which in turn builds on the work by earlier stylisticians. Leech and Short (1981) see the speech presentation scale as being ordered in relation to linguistic features and in relation to the faithfulness claim with respect to the original that the choice of speech presentation category involves. The speech presentation category distinctions given below are ordered on a scale which relates to the amount of *involvement* of (1) the original speaker in the anterior discourse and (2) of the person in the posterior discourse presenting what was said in the anterior discourse. However, it should be noted that faithfulness, just like speech presentation itself, is a scale rather than being made up of discrete categories. Any faithfulness claims can therefore be adapted by the context.

The major revision added to this model by Semino and Short (2004) is the introduction of a new speech presentation category: Narrator's Representation of Voice (NV). One of the examples they give is from *Point Counter Point* by Aldous Huxley: *'Don't you love Barrie's plays?' She asked. 'I'm so fond of them'. She talked on. Rampion made*

(N) = Narration – no speech presentation involved (hence the bracketing of the symbol here)
e.g. **He looked straight at her.**

NRSA = Narrative Report of Speech Acts
e.g. He looked straight at her and **told her about his imminent return**. She was pleased.

IS = Indirect Speech
e.g. He looked straight at her and told her **that he would definitely return the following day**. She was pleased.

FIS = Free Indirect Speech
e.g. He looked straight at her. **He would definitely come back tomorrow!** She was pleased.

DS = Direct Speech
e.g. He looked straight at her and said **'I'll definitely come back tomorrow!'**.

FDS = Free Direct Speech
e.g. He looked straight at her. **'I'll definitely come back tomorrow!'** She was pleased.

Figure 2.1: The speech presentation scale by Leech and Short (1981)

no comment. Although the reader is informed that some verbal activity is taking place, the explicit form and content of these speech acts remains obscure. This is an infrequent category that is more suited to the style of literary texts rather than news discourse, where a speech act is referenced because of its content or, at least, because of its topic. One addition to the speech-presentation scale by Semino and Short (2004) captures a phenomenon that is pervasive in newspapers: NRSAp (where 'p' stands for 'topic'), is a sub-category of the existing NRSA. A report of a speech act 'is accompanied by an explicit indication of the subject-matter/topic of the utterances or utterances in question, but [there] is no separate reported clause' (Semino & Short, 2004, p. 53).

2.5.2 Averral and attribution

Sinclair's (1986) distinction between *averral* and *attribution* is useful to study the division between the authorial and external voices in news discourse. It is also helpful for considering the respective functions of these voices and how they are evaluated. An averral is a statement that originates in the writer, while an attribution marks someone else as the originator of a statement. Sinclair (1986) argues that attribution allows the writer to

place responsibility on the averrer because they detach themselves from the proposition by signalling that it derives from a source. A skilled writer can construct a stance by exploiting the interplay between averral and attribution. By quoting heavily evaluative material, they can transfer the role of the averrer and thus delegate the accountability for the content and, depending on the speech presentation, the wording of the statement to someone else (Jullian, 2011, p. 768). Alternatively, the writer can make their disagreement with someone else's statement apparent via attribution. Which stance and evaluation is constructed depends on the context the quotation is embedded in.

Scollon (1998) makes a similar functional point in relation to the purpose of different voices in texts when he notes that the use of quotations is a form of writer's control over the presented material. Indirect speech exemplifies how the writer can control their involvement and stance. While the reporter retains the *authorship* (the particular wording) of the statement in indirect speech, they delegate the *principalship* (the responsibility of the content) to someone else and thus effectively evade their role in the argument (Scollon, 1998). Just as with averral and attribution, there is some indeterminacy in classifying statements along the two categories of authorship and principalship. The writer can take on the exact wording of a statement even while presenting it in indirect speech, or they can give the statement a new flavour via their paraphrase. In the latter case, this may present principalship as being more important than authorship, even though the authorship changes the content of the statement.

Goffman's (1981) solution to the problem of determining the 'speaker' of an utterance is the *production format*. He distinguishes three roles to identify the source. The *animator* is the medium through which utterances are made. Usually this is a person, but they can be merged with a piece of technology, such as a telephone, the tv, or a newspaper article. The *author* is the person who composes the words of the animator. This can be the same person, but there situations where these are distinct people, such as the case of a speechwriter, or in the case of quotations. Lastly, the *principal* is the person whose viewpoint is being represented by the words uttered. Again, this can be the same person as the animator and\or the author. However, there are cases again where there is a difference.

A speechwriter may be the animator of an utterance, the politician who voices the speech may be the author of the utterance, while the principal of the utterance may be the party's policies. This division into different roles highlights that 'speakers' do not always simply speak for themselves.

The interplay between averral and attribution and the distinction between authorship versus principalship, or between animator, author, and principal can therefore make it possible for the propositions of quoted material to have different meanings depending on the co-text and context. In this thesis I will be mainly using Scollon's (1998) terminology. There are parallels here to what Wilson (2012, p. 148) calls *echoic utterances* in relevance theory, which 'add an extra layer of metarepresentation to the communicated content, since not only the attribution but also the speaker's attitude must be represented'. These parallels will not be drawn out here, except to note that this attitude may be overtly expressed, such as with the use of factive verbs for conveying endorsement, or it can interpretative and left to the hearer to infer. The notions of averral/attribution and authorship/principalship facilitate the study of the construction of stance and ideology via quotations.

Deictic markers are the linguistic signs that point to the two distinctions between averral/attribution and authorship/principalship while engaging the reader in the viewpoints of the text. Speech presentation in news texts is a form of deictic shift, where the deictic centre changes from the reader to the writer of the text to the quoted person. The connection between the reader's mind with the writer's mind and the mind of the quoted person can be called a *deictic braid* (Stockwell, 2009). This connection is formed from the deictic patterns provided stylistically by the text. Every entity in the text, such as the writer and any sources that they mention, are deictic centres that are constructed by the reader based on the linguistic cues of the text. Thus there is an engagement over distance with other minds, some of which are crucially filtered through the viewpoint of the writer, since what speech is presented and how it is presented is at the discretion of the journalist.

Consider the following sentence from the the corpus compiled for this thesis: *'I am and always was anti-abortion', he said, without expanding on his reasons*. Even for only this short sentence, the reader has to navigate several deictic shifts. First of all is the perceptual

shift from the reader's own deictic centre to the centre of the writer, even if an article would atypically start with a form of direct speech. The writer is present because of the context of the text, a newspaper article, and any potential compositional deixis. After this initial shift, the reader has to shift to the viewpoint of the person quoted, followed again by the viewpoint of the writer of the text in the reporting clause. There is a shift of perspective for direct speech, signalled in the change of person deixis from the first person singular *I* in the quoted speech to the third person singular *he* and *his* in the reporting clause. Crucially, the shift between writer and the source of the quotation already implies that the viewpoint of the source could be compromised, i.e., not depicted as it actually is. While direct speech mitigates this involvement, since readers assume a verbatim reproduction of what was said (discussed in Section 2.5.3), the writer is still the person who picks which statements by the quotation are printed and which ones are discarded. The deictic markers of the text let readers follow the thread of viewpoints, while each shift further away from the reader's own centre is potentially affected by the viewpoint of the writer.

As mentioned, the boundary between averral and attribution can be fuzzy, particularly in IS where the writer condenses a statement to those points they regard as salient. This provides entry points for analysing the way ideology is constructed via quotations. Such an analysis would then not compare the condensed version to the original. Instead, it would be based on how the reader may interpret both the source's statement and the journalist's stance toward it because of how the statement is expressed and presented in the text. I claim that the wording of the condensed version and its embeddedness in the text suggests the ideological position that the writer occupies. It is in the interest of writers to have at their disposal tools to clearly detach themselves from a statement, but also to blur the division of what originates in the writer and what originates in a source. One of the ways to exploit these opportunities are the functions that are attributed to forms of speech presentation.

2.5.3 General functions of quoted speech

Quotations can be presented using different forms of speech presentation. In this section I will survey the functional aspects of forms of speech presentation as a means to consider the viewpoint proffered for the reader's attention in news texts. I concentrate here on direct

speech (DS) because of its frequency in news texts. This form of speech presentation is the focus of Chapter 5 and Chapter 6, where I analyse it as a kind of directed attention. There is broad agreement in the literature that direct speech has two general functions in English texts. Thompson (1996, pp. 512–3) describes DS as first indicating 'a higher degree of faithfulness to an original (or possible) language event', and second as presenting 'the reported language event more vividly to the hearer by simulating the original event'. Depending on the context, these two functions can also coincide or conflict with each other. It is helpful to think of direct quotations as demonstrations, as put forward by Clark and Gerrig (1990), because this illuminates the faithfulness claims that are crucial to the model by Semino and Short (2004). A demonstration is a derivative of an original, which puts into question how faithful a demonstration, such as speech presentation, is or can be. There is an aspect of demonstration in both Sinclair's (1986) and Scollon's (1998) division of averral-attribution and of authorship-principalship. With averral and attribution, it is important to signal what originates in someone else and is thus some form of demonstration by the writer. With authorship and principalship, the functionality of such a division is made clear: for which words can the author be made accountable and which ones are simply a demonstration for which the author is not responsible?

Clark and Gerrig (1990, p. 792) claim that the functions of quotations arise from the fundamental premise that quotations are demonstrations. Following on from this point, they provide a fine-grained typology of the functions of direct quotations in texts. These can be divided into two main groups: *detachment* and *direct experience* (Table 2.1). With detachment, the writer dissociates their own opinion from someone else's words. Direct experience engrosses the reader, or demonstrates an otherwise ineffable or impossible experience. Roughly, the distinction between detachment and direct experience corresponds to the typically assumed qualities and functions of non-literary versus literary texts respectively.

Even though Clark and Gerrig's (1990) typology is only aimed at direct speech, they nevertheless mix form and function. The supposed function of *verbatim reproduction* is a case in point. To support their claim of functionality, Clark and Gerrig (1990) contend

Table 2.1: Functions of detachment and direct experience; adapted from Clark and Gerrig (1990)

Detachment	Direct experience
Verbatim Reproduction	Ineffability
Dissociation of Responsibility	Engrossment
Solidarity	Impossible Demonstration

that direct speech is not considered to be verbatim in all types or genres of text. Instead, it must explicitly be said or implied that the wording is verbatim. They further argue that a verbatim reproduction is assumed 'in newspapers, law courts, and literary essays' (Clark & Gerrig, 1990, p. 792), but not in other types or genres of texts. Clark and Gerrig (1990) criticise that there is what they call a *verbatim assumption* awarded to direct speech which data of people talking does not bear out. If we consider these claims to be true, then we could speak of a function of verbatim reproduction. Other researchers have voiced similar concerns about the notion that DS is necessarily verbatim. Semino and Short (2004, p. 219) contend that 'the canonical faithfulness assumptions for DS [...] cannot automatically be assumed to hold true in all written contexts', including newspaper headlines. A similar point has been made by Tannen (1989) about direct speech in informal spoken contexts.

Although the faithfulness claim or verbatim reproduction of DS has been questioned, I think the assumption that DS is verbatim and faithful to an original is strongly rooted in people's minds. First, people assume that the DS in texts is a faithful reproduction of an original speech act because face-to-face communication is the norm. The assumptions of our face-to-face conversations, i.e., our cognitive default, are adopted for the conversation of texts, i.e., the conversation that a reader has with both the writer and the people present in a text. Semino and Short (2004, p. 12) note that the assumed functions of speech presentation forms can be misused by writers to mislead and rhetorically affect readers. Yet the issue here is not that the form is not verbatim in such a case, but that such a usage is deceitful because readers strongly expect DS to be a verbatim reproduction.

Second, the assumption that DS is verbatim also derives from its formal properties, such as quotation marks and an optional reporting clause, where the deictic centre is changed. These formal and typographical conventions signal that someone was speaking

these words at a certain time. Yet a formal property is not a function and does not change between genres. We must be cautious not to overestimate the transgressive potential of otherwise rather rigid formats, such as newspapers, and, more importantly, not to overestimare reader's willingness to assume that an otherwise inherent part of a form is suddenly suspended. Because of these reasons, it seems more appropriate to me to regard verbatim production as a formal description of DS, whose properties nevertheless can be exploited. The issue is not that DS is not always verbatim, but that readers nevertheless expect a verbatim reproduction. The verbatim assumption criticised by Clark and Gerrig (1990) is part of the reader's disposition towards the text, rather than an error in scholarly analysis.

2.5.4 Functions of quoted speech in news texts

It is widely accepted that the functions of speech presentation can be influenced by the genre of the text. Generally, the functions of quotations in reporting texts correspond to the purpose of the genre and the writer. News texts are supposed to objectively inform their readership, making their main function representational and epistemic (Waugh, 1995). Quotations are used for evidence or documentation, but arguably not for dramatisation, because this 'conflicts with the text's purpose of giving an accurate and objective account of the news event' (Sanders & Redeker, 1993). An exception may be tabloids, as demonstrated by Semino and Short (2004), and newspaper articles in the opinion, lifestyle, or entertainment sections, where quotations may more frequently be used to give flavour to the story.

By using quotations, a journalist foremost indexes the objectivity of their text, but quotations can serve many other specialised purposes (see, for example, Caldas-Coulthard (1994), Fairclough (1995, 1998), Fowler (1991), Manning (2001), Scollon (1998), Sundar (1998), van Dijk (1985, 1988)). Broadly, they detach the writer from responsibility for the content of the quotation. They give credibility to the writer by demonstrating that they have done their journalistic homework: they confronted different viewpoints and sources, instead of (directly) espousing their own opinion. Quotations also have evaluative potential: they can praise, condemn, or discredit the events and people involved in the story, as well

as the source itself (see Jullian, 2011; Scollon, 1998). A writer can make a source sound unintelligent, sharp, trustworthy, naive, etc. by skilfully embedding a quotation of theirs. Similarly, embedding can also characterise the evaluative stance of a statement and the writer's own stance toward it (Scollon, 1998, p. 217). While evaluation might clash with the objectivity of the text, the writer's use of DS seems objective since the source's own words are used. In Clark and Gerrig's (1990) model of the purpose of quotations, all of these specialised purposes would fall under the headline detachment. They correspond in their aim to the function of the news: be informational, do not dramatise the account, and signal objectivity.

Direct speech in the news has specialised functions beside detachment. Bell (1991) offers three main purposes: (1) to provide 'a particularly incontrovertible fact' which could stand up to any libel suits (207-8); (2) to clearly distance the journalist from the quotation, i.e., to reject authorship and principalship; and (3) to provide 'a flavour of the newsmaker's own words' (208). All of these functions are also present in Clark and Gerrig's (1990) model, but Bell emphasises the function of detachment rather than direct experience for DS in the news. The third of Bell's functions can be argued to be dramatisation, but it could also be used for the evaluation of the source and the news story. The distinction between the two arises in context. The focus on detachment in new articles is also demonstrated by how DS is formally presented: DS is typically printed as individual utterances in isolation, and not as part of an interaction (Semino & Short, 2004, p. 93). Sometimes instances of DS are used in close proximity to each other to contrast different sides of a debate (Semino & Short, 2004, p. 93). Nevertheless, the emphasis is on presenting facts or the source's opinion, or evaluating a statement, rather than on letting reader's directly experience a communication event.

2.5.5 Faithfulness in speech presentation

A strong component in the descriptive model of Semino and Short (2004) is faithfulness, which is particularly relevant when talking about news texts. There are different opinions on whether faithfulness is a function, and if so whether it is associated with one type of speech representation or whether it cuts across forms. Narratologists and stylisticians have

extensively discussed faithfulness. Sternberg (1982) assumes that a more direct representation of speech would coincide with a more realistic or faithful depiction. Thus DS is most faithful to how people speak, while IS is faithful to the content of the utterance. In models that are oriented towards discourse we can also see this emphasis on faithfulness. Semino and Short (2004) claim that there is a correlation between directness and faithfulness. Note that this is an assumption of faithfulness, rather than the speech presentation faithfully presenting what and how something was said. Semino and Short (2004, p. 89) are cautious about the traditional view that direct quotations are always verbatim reproductions of an original utterance, while acknowledging that the assumption and possibility of a faithful reproduction is an important factor for using DS.

What is puzzling about discussions of the faithfulness of DS is that they mostly concern literary texts, even though there is no original outside of the text to which the representation could be faithful. The presentation in the text is the original. Of course, we could argue that the reader associates degrees of faithfulness to these forms regardless of text type and may thus have more or less faith in the reliability of the narrator. In this case we can say that faithfulness is a function of forms of speech presentation, but only from the perspective of the reader's understanding. It is not a function that assesses the actual faithfulness to an original. Yet the model by Semino and Short (2004) is described as if the faithfulness of the utterance can be ascertained from its closeness to an original, which, as pointed out, is irrelevant when speaking about literary texts.

It may seem that faithfulness in news texts is a clear-cut case since there is an original that the writer references. However, faithfulness in the news is more complex because of the conventions of the text type. It is in the nature of news texts that sources' utterances are not printed verbatim. Journalists are expected to shorten long utterances into pithy statements from which the reader can glean the essential facts or arguments. Felicity to the original in such reduced statements is different from the felicity we assume of DS. That does not mean these cases have less 'faithfulness claims' than DS (Semino & Short, 2004, p. 12), but that the requirements to count as faithful are not the same. Readers assume for IS in news texts what we could call a 'faithfulness of quantity': the salient or relevant

points of the utterance are included and nothing is added that the source did not say. The summarising function attributed to IS has a different status of faithfulness in news texts because of the nature of the text type. To what extent the statement in IS provides the words and grammatical structures of the utterance does not factor into the assessment of its faithfulness. We could instead ask whether the contextual embeddedness of IS is a fair representation of the source's viewpoint, or whether the writer's viewpoint intrudes into the statement. This is essentially what happens when people quoted in an article claim that their words were taken out of context, implying that the new context of the article twists their viewpoint. However, such claims of misrepresentation can be rather blunt instruments to evade criticism, rather than an actual indicator of the journalist distorting the source's words.

The different assumptions of faithfulness associated with forms of speech presentation have implications for the potential of signalling ideological messages. The canonical assumption for DS in the news is that there is a high degree of principalship and attribution, whereas for IS there is a mix of authorship and principalship, as well as a mix of averral and attribution. These differences between the forms result in different ways of reading and interpreting a quotation. DS is useful for letting the writer detach themselves from any controversial content or wording of a quotation. Even though they confer responsibility to the source, writers can still implicitly signal their agreement through embedding the quotation in an appropriate context. Context is a main concern when considering the faithfulness of a quotation (see Short, Semino & Wynne, 2002). Additionally, Fowler (1981, p. 108) reminds us that no text exists in which the context has not been filtered by a writer who has selected the propositions of the text and who has a point of view towards them. Readers are aware of this presence and it is through this awareness that the different viewpoints of the participants and the writer are entangled.

Experimental research suggests we award a different kind of attention to direct quotations or to paraphrases, because the mental representation of a text differs depending on whether the speech was presented in DS or IS (Eerland, Engelen & Zwaan, 2013). Although DS is experienced as more vivid and engaging by readers, this does not make the

mental representation more accessible. Instead, quotations in DS result in the verbatim wording of the utterance being more salient because it enhances the memory for surface structure. Indirect Speech in comparison leads readers to focus more on the construction of the situation model. The exact wording of the text is then less accessible. While the texts for the experiments by Eerland et al. (2013) were narratives of only three short sentences, we can reasonably expect readers to experience reported speech in news texts similarly.

To sum up this section, there is an assumption in the literature on speech presentation that readers expect DS and IS to be faithful to different degrees. The notion that reported speech is presented as being more or less falsifiable, depending on whether it is in DS or IS (cf. Semino, Short & Culpeper, 1997), aligns with the results of Eerland et al. (2013). Readers expect DS to be a verbatim reproduction and hence award more attention to the exact wording, which results in greater detail at the level of the surface structure. For IS, readers are aware that the wording has been more or less altered, at least in its changes of deictic markers, and thus award more attention to the message of the statement. Journalists are of course also aware of these expectations and assumptions. The question is then how the difference in attention and the assumptions of faithfulness are employed by writers to make argumentative or ideological points, depending on whether the wording or the gist of a statement is emphasised.

2.6 Chapter conclusion

In this chapter I have surveyed the theoretical foundations that first, offer rapprochement between corpus and cognitive linguistics, and second, prove to be ideal for the analysis of attention in discourse. These theoretical aspects are the usage-based theory of language and the foundational focus on meaning in cognitive and corpus linguistics. I have referred to Langacker's cognitive grammar and Hoey's theory of lexical priming as being emblematic of these underlying similarities, even though their foci and terminology are different. Although some researchers have been critical of the idea that frequency counts in corpora have any cognitive or psycholinguistic reality, such criticisms, I have argued, mis-characterise in what way frequencies can offer a window into the mind. Frequency

counts are not solely used to determine what people are most exposed to; they point to which structures and linguistic units are significant because of the interrelated relationship between frequency, meaning, and entrenchment.

Reviewing the most common definitions of discourse in the literature, I have detailed how the definition of discourse as a social practice also has cognitive repercussions. From a critical perspective, the issue is not that linguistic representation limits thoughts, but that habitual ways of representations impede critical assessments of their underlying conceptualisations. Although the relation between linguistics representation and cognitive conceptualisations is not entirely direct, texts are still a profound resource through which we understand our world and through which ideologies are construed, manifested, and passed on. Research in (critical) discourse studies with a corpus or cognitive approach has been productive in uncovering ideological representations in texts, but there is a lack of literature combining the two despite the theoretical and methodological benefits this can bring. As I have argued, their combination also closes a gap in he research literature on the treatment of linguistic structures and discourse. This will stituate critical discourse studies closer to the reality of how people read, experience, and comprehend texts. This implies a focus on the readers and writers of texts and their negotiation of what a text means. For this reason I centre my analysis of ideological patterns of attention on the concept of mind-modelling, as it has the theoretical and methodological capacity to account for the perspective of the reader and the writer.

A considerable part of this chapter reviews the literature on quotations in news texts, since two of the following chapters in this thesis analyse quotation phenomena as examples of directed attention to construct ideological viewpoints. Quotations in newspapers are interesting cases for ideological viewpoints, as they are an explicitly marked type of perspective in a text type that predominantly tries to appear objective. Including a quotation creates attention and introduces a perspective that may potentially conflict with that of the writer. The negotiation and communication of the message of a texts between reader and writer becomes as a result more complex. I have introduced the typologies and functions that have been proposed, focusing on the model by Semino and Short (2004), and have

elaborated on why the notion of faithfulness is a key concern for analysing how ideology is conveyed via quotations. The different assumptions of faithfulness associated with forms of speech presentation have implications for the potential of signalling ideological messages. It may seem that faithfulness in news texts is a clear-cut case since there is an original that the writer references. However, faithfulness in the news is a more complex issue because of the conventions of the text type. Sources' utterances are not always printed verbatim and therefore felicity to the original is different from the felicity we assume of quotations, especially those in DS, of other text types. This allows writers to employ quotations for the construction of complex ideological messages, while still observing any requirements of the assumed objectivity and neutrality required of news texts.

Lastly, I have sketched out the basic background in the debate on the legal access to abortion in the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland. For the Republic, the Eighth Amendment has been central in the current and future legal framework of abortion access. With the result of the referendum in 2018, the Oireachtas now has permission to make abortion legal. This historical vote also has ramifications for Northern Ireland, and campaigns to make abortion accessible there as well have already begun at the time of writing this thesis. While such political and societal breakthroughs are to a large extent fought on the ground, for example by canvassing, the attention awarded by the media to some groups or people and their arguments has socio-political repercussions. They set the tone for what can be discussed and how this is to be discussed, as well as maintaining what ideologies are acceptable to voice and propagate. In the following chapters I will explore how the attentional patterns in newspaper texts are used to create ideologies in the debate on abortion access in the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland.

3 Methodology and the attentional model

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter I describe the general model I have developed to account for attention in texts. The aim is to offer an analytical model of the different aspects that direct attention in texts and with which the relevant intersections of these aspects can be discussed. The model is intended as a guide to incorporate the question of attention into discourse research, and not as a step-by-step instruction. It details which aspects are relevant when considering attention in texts - what is made attractive in the text and what may be attractive to the reader. The model regards discourse as the relational intersection between reader, text, and writer. In terms of ideological viewpoints, the ideological message of a text is here the result of how the reader's attention is directed or manipulated in a text by the writer. The model will then be applied and tested for its analytic potential in the following chapter.

3.2 The attentional model

The model of attention in discourse, or the attentional model, is deliberately schematic in order to account for all kinds of texts, not just the case of newspaper articles on a select topic. It is also necessarily schematic because texts as communication events are highly variable. It would be a futile endeavour to try to capture all the different linguistic, contextual, and conceptual parameters that can influence the creation of attention in texts of different genres, styles, or time periods on any conceivable topic. Instead, it is more useful to provide a schematic model which can then be filled according to the needs of the analysis.

Before I explain the aspects that constitute the attentional model, I need to introduce which generalities apply to it. The two central questions that the model is concerned with are, first, where or when attention is created, maintained, or dissolved in the text, and second, how the conceptual content is linguistically represented in those moments of focus or disengagement, Essential to the model are therefore the notions of attention as being

divided into *endogenous* and *exogenous* attention, and the *figure-ground organisation*.

The figure-ground organisation is taken from the field of visual perception. According to gestalt principles first formulated at the end of the nineteenth century, when we perceive a given scene we automatically divide it into a *figure* and a *ground*. The figure is the entity whose shape dominates, perhaps because it has a definite outline or because it has a striking colour. The ground is the entity that comprises the background of a scene. A figure thus stands out or rests against this ground. Even though our attention is primarily directed at a figure, the figure derives its shape in part because it is understood against a particular ground. The ground is therefore just as important for the configuration of a scene as is the figure. Additionally, it is the observer that divides the field into figure and ground - while certain characteristics may predispose an item to be a figure or a ground, it is ultimately at the discretion of the observer what they focus on in a scene.

Attention can be passive and effortful. It can be captured by some stimulus that is outside oneself, or it can be a deliberate activity, where one decides to exert control and focus. Attention that is directed automatically is called exogeneous control, whereas voluntarily directed attention is called endogenous control. Both of these forms of attention make use of the same resources, but they differ in what attention is modulating, such as a change in visual or oral perception, and what effects this modulation (Prinz, 2012, p. 95). This is important for reading texts because readerly interpretations of texts can differ. One reason for this, I suggest, is that our attention can be captured automatically by something in the text, but we also exert endogeneous control to find the information and message that we expect to receive. Stockwell (2013), writing on literary prose fiction, calls this a *positioned reader*, who is caught between readerly disposition and textual imposition.

Drawing on the notion of the figure-ground organisation, and exogeneous and endogeneous attention, the model can provide a basic account of the reasons why any concrete or abstract referent can be made attractive for attention, or be perceived as a more prominent 'shape' relative to a ground. There are broad communicative aspects on which we base our readings of linguistic and discursive configurations. These are *language knowledge*, *contextual knowledge*, and *concept-relational knowledge*. The model can be applied to

both the addresser and the addressee. In the following I will first explain the model from the point of view of the addresser and then from the point of view of the addressee.

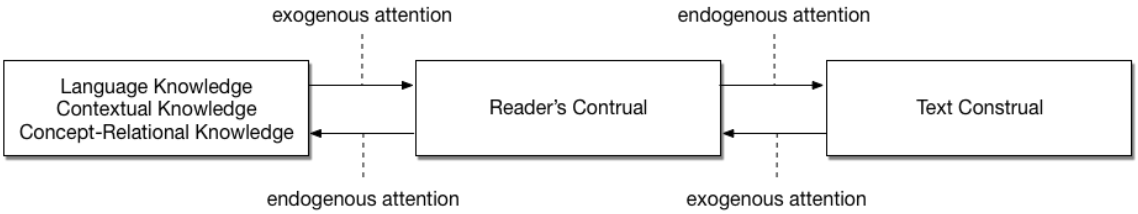


Figure 3.1: The attentional model

Figure 3.1 shows the attentional model, which depicts how a reader arrives at a construal. A reader's knowledge, in this model separated into language knowledge, contextual knowledge, and concept-relational knowledge for analytical purposes (see Section 3.2.1 below), influences the kind of construal that the reader can envisage. This is represented by an arrow pointing from the three kinds of knowledges to a person's construal of a text. I call this exogenous attention because this knowledge influences the reader, rather than the reader trying to actively construct a construal. Additionally, people's acquisition of this knowledge is largely passive and they do not always have active control over the types of texts that they encounter. Because acquisition happens while we are exposed to language, we therefore also have knowledge with which we disagree and the extent of this knowledge depends on how much we are exposed to it. This is analogous to what Hoey (2005, p. 11) calls *productive primings* and *receptive primings*. Productive primings occur for repeated sequences in discourses and genres in which we are expected to or aspire to participate, while receptive primings are repeated sequences in contexts where we can not or do not want to participate.

Simultaneously, a person can exert control over which part of their knowledge they will draw on in construing the text. This can be called endogenous attention, i.e., attention that actively stems from the reader, and is represented by the arrow pointing from a person's construal to the three knowledges on the far left. People select which parts of their knowledge they want to attend to when construing a text, while suppressing other meanings that may however be present in the text. People can access different kinds of readings for a text, because they acquire knowledge of readings and meanings with which

they agree and disagree.

Figure 3.1 furthermore depicts the connections between a reader's construal and a text's construal. While a reader's reaction to a text is an active cognitive process, a text construal as a linguistic object cannot be changed. From the perspective of the reader they exert endogeneous attention on a text as they read the text on the basis of their knowledge. However, the construals in a text proffer a reading for a person and are therefore from the perspective of the reader a form of exogeneous attention. Readers exert endogenous attention to look for signs of their preferred construal, while receiving, and potentially rejecting, the endogenous attention of the actual construal. A text's construal may be in agreement or in conflict with the reader's preferred construal. Resistant or dis-preferred readings of a text are thus the result of a clash between the construal that someone would prefer and the construal of the text.

3.2.1 Aspects of the model

How readings are engendered involves a host of aspects, as different models of discourse comprehension illustrate (e.g., Gernsbacher's (1990) *structure building model* or Kintsch and van Dijk's (1978) *construction-integration theory* or Zwaan, Langston and Graesser's (1995) *event indexing model*). However, for the purposes of critical discourse studies the list of necessary aspects to consider can be simplified. Not all of the intricacies of how we understand language are relevant for the kinds of questions that are typically addressed in discourse analysis. For instance, a question such as whether the suppression of polysemous meanings in the structure building model is automatic is not directly relevant to discourse analysis. It is however of interest that differences in comprehension ability may be linked to one's ability to suppress irrelevant information, because this may indicate that differences in readings are partly linked to reading proficiency.

I suggest there are three basic communicative knowledge-bases on which we rest our readings of linguistic and discursive configuration: language knowledge, contextual knowledge and concept-relational knowledge. We need to consider these three aspects in order to analyse how attention is created in a text by the writer and to analyse how a reader may attend to or read a text. Some of the factors of these types of knowledge,

particularly those under the heading of contextual knowledge, are not covered in research on language comprehension, or not at the same level of detail as is required for discourse analysis. Flexible and broader categories are more appropriate than listing all possible factors that can impact on our readings, because such a detailed list would likely never be comprehensive and account for all types of texts. Additionally, selecting such factors would be prone to the researcher's own biases.

I want to emphasise that the separation of these three aspects is only for expository reasons. A separation between what I have termed language knowledge and concept-relational knowledge seems especially contentious since I am working in a cognitive paradigm. In reality, all three aspects are interwoven, in that a change in one of them likely results in a change in the other two aspects. Yet a separation of these aspects, at least initially, supports the clarity of the analysis, particularly as I recommend different methodological tools for each. Take the example Baker (2005) gives of *daylight* collocating with *broad* in the *British National Corpus* (BNC). The knowledge that *daylight* can enter such a construction and that it is quite frequent in certain contexts belongs to language knowledge. Corpus methods are ideal for determining such frequency-based facts. The meaning of the concept of *daylight* stays the same, but its relation to other concepts is different compared to its other possible uses. In this case, the Concept-Relational Meaning of *daylight* when combined with *broad* includes the concepts of crime, shock, and unexpectedness. These relations are not present when *daylight* occurs on its own. Depending on the actual context, i.e. our contextual knowledge, that this construction is used in, the fact that something happened in *broad daylight* might be foregrounded and will enter into relational links with other specific concepts or events. The relation between concepts are difficult to ascertain with only corpus methods, which is one of the reasons why I advocate for using methods from cognitive grammar as detailed below.

3.2.1.1 Language knowledge

Language knowledge refers to the interlocutors' knowledge and preferences of a language's words, phrases, and constructions, together with their primings (Hoey, 2005). In terms of

SFL, language knowledge corresponds to the *lexicogrammar* of the language (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). As Hoey (2005) points out, the meaning of words, both as we acquire them and then reproduce them, is affected by the context, which leads to an inherently strong relation between language and contextual knowledges. Some contextual variability is an integral part of the linguistic system. To illustrate this, consider the example of a NUMBER-TIME-JOURNEY combination given by Hoey (2005, pp. 16–17). The paradigmatic variability in the NUMBER and JOURNEY elements between *a three-hour car ride*, *a 12-hour bus ride*, and *a half-hour train ride* depends entirely on the context. The existence of the pattern itself is however part of language knowledge and not due to any contextual parameters (see also the notion of *collostruction* by Stefanowitsch and Gries (2003)). We therefore have to be careful in our analyses whether to capture a linguistic unit under the heading of language knowledge or under contextual knowledge.

Attention can be directed using language knowledge by deviating from the accepted lexicogrammar of a language and being creative with it, such as using slang or outdated words, using atypical or infrequent syntactic constructions, or creating novel metaphorical expressions or striking images. We need to use empirical data to make claims about language knowledge and corpus data is one of the best resources available to linguists. An analysis of language knowledge needs to be comparative work, as corpus work typically is, in order to find out the linguistic and conceptual regularities and deviances of the genre or discourse compared to the language at large. The kind of data we can draw on to evaluate a linguistic feature and put it into sharper relief are, for example, frequency measures of n-grams, keywords, and collocations. Corpus data can also point to what is missing or under-represented from a text or corpus by comparing it to the language patterns of another corpus.

3.2.1.2 Contextual knowledge

Contextual knowledge refers to the context in which a text has been written, is being read, and to which it broadly refers: it includes the interlocutors' knowledge about the communicative setting, the actual, possible, or imagined discourse participants, the genre

of the discourse and its non-linguistic rules, the spatio-temporal moment at which the text was written, etc. Pragmatics, as the study of how context affects meaning, can provide theories and models to analyse how the knowledge of the context affects the meaning potential of an utterance. contextual knowledge necessarily interacts with both linguistic and concept-relational knowledge. For instance, it includes knowledge about what would be considered polite or impolite in a specific context, which is related to the concept-relational and cultural knowledge we have about the kinds of roles that we can inhabit and how these are performed through linguistic practices. When I am talking to my friends it is perfectly acceptable for me to use the expletive *fucking* as an adverb to emphasise a point, but I might refrain from doing the same during a job interview. Even so, the same group of friends may object to me using swear words when their children are around. For clarity of analysis, contextual knowledge excludes any knowledge related to linguistic patterns or to conceptual meaning.

Another issue to consider is that there can be contextual aspects that affect a text of which readers are unaware, such as the manner and reasons for a text's production. An analysis of attention can only deal with approximations since we typically do not have direct access to the addresser and/or addressee. We can analyse what knowledge a text assumes a reader to have and we can approximate on this basis what a reader has to know in order to read and interpret the text in a particular way. One specific reader's knowledge cannot be accounted for unless this reader is the researcher. Even then, much of our linguistic knowledge and our own readings are not available for direct introspection. The more conservative approach is to assume that readers are generally unaware of the specific manner and reasons for production of a typical and especially one individual text. Thus this would not affect their own endogenous attention. If the researcher is aware of any concrete aspects that went into the writer's production of a text, then this should be worked into the analysis to tease out the intricacies of why a text has been written the way it has. For instance, Jaakola, Töyry, Helle and Onikki-Ranajääskö (2014) were able to assess, using construal dimensions, how the intended *model reader* of a magazine aligns with the *constructed reader* of the journalists' texts because they were involved in the editorial

process of defining the magazine's intended audience.

3.2.1.3 Concept-relational knowledge

Concept-relational knowledge refers to the the culturally specific knowledge of the concrete entities and abstract concepts that exist in the world and their relation to each other. concept-relational knowledge is closely linked to culture in that any concept, such as 'humanity', will be understood and related differently to other concepts. In semantic terminology this is the connotational, instead of denotational, meaning of a word together with the associated socio-cultural concepts and objects to which it is related. Concept-relational knowledge has therefore close relation to the corpus linguistic notion of semantic/discourse prosody (see Section 3.4.3). For the concept of humanity, the core meaning is what makes someone or something human. However, this concept has fuzzy edges and not all members of the category have equal status (Lakoff, 1987; Rosch, 1973, 1975) - some are more or less human and membership has varied historically and culturally. Even before the advent of artificial intelligence, humanity has asked itself at which point a (former) non-human entity, such as a golem or robot, can be counted as less or more human. Related concepts to humanity are woman, man, child, adult, etc. Depending on the context the boundaries of the core conditions and the strength of some of these links may change, or new links to different concepts may appear. In a racist context, for example, the concept of humanity is predominantly linked to the abstract concept of race, while such notions as woman and child may retreat into the background.

Concept-relational knowledge as defined in this thesis, i.e., a combination of meaning and the (contextual) links of a linguistic item to other concepts, can only be determined and analysed using a corpus-cognitive approach. Corpus data can provide frequencies of how often a meaning occurs, and how often certain meanings occur together in a text and corpus, indicating significant points of meaning-construction for a concept or between concepts. It can also provide, just as with language knowledge, information about what is missing from a text or what is suppressed. Furthermore, a cognitive analysis of concept-relational knowledge can contextualise the meaning of a word, and, crucially, how it is related to

certain concepts. Cognitive grammar provides tools for explaining how conceptual content is linguistically construed and further related in a figure-ground alignment to the other concepts in a text or corpus. It has explanatory potential for the reasons why something is expressed using a certain phrase or construction, while corpus data can make apparent what needs to be explained in the first place, either because of its frequency or absence. There is then a reciprocal and incremental relation between the corpus and cognitive analysis, as they both provide information and explanation for the other.

3.3 Qualitative approach: Cognitive grammar

In the following section I briefly introduce the basic tenets of cognitive grammar. I describe the general notion of construal that is central to the theory and methodology of my thesis and how prominence is expressed in discourse. Furthermore, I discuss how construal, which was originally conceived of as operating on the sentence level, relates to and can be indicative of the discourse variability that surrounds a topic, situation, or person. This discussion further demonstrates the correspondence between corpus linguistic methods and the model of cognitive grammar which I introduced in Sections 2.2 and 2.4.

Cognitive grammar by Langacker (1987, 1991b, 1991a, 2001, 2007, 2008) is one of the most developed cognitive frameworks of grammar. It offers a comprehensive account of language structures that combines the grounding of language in cognition with its equally necessary grounding in social interaction. CG focuses on the cognitive principles that give rise to linguistic organisation and grammar and relates these to aspects of general cognition. In contrast, construction grammars, such as Kay and Fillmore (1999), Goldberg (1995), Bergen and Chang (2005), and Croft (2001), aim to provide a comprehensive formal description of the linguistic units of a language.

One of the explicit aims of CG is to be able to accommodate and integrate findings from both cognitive and functional linguistics in order to target the dual nature of language. Therefore, CG posits that grammar can only be fully characterised in relation to both its conceptual meaning and its communicative function, making it ideal for investigating the ideological messages that lie behind conceptualisations. CG recognises that the linguistic

system is shaped by a social and cultural dimension and that language is put to use in a sociological context. While this applies to virtually all kinds of language use, it is notably pronounced in argumentative and persuasive discourses such as the debate on abortion access investigated in this thesis. Yet while CG proclaims its focus on the social dimension of language, its actual contribution in practice has been limited.

It is crucial that CG follows a usage-based model, both for the argument of this thesis, that we can determine the (ideological) readings of a text with corpus and cognitive methods, and for CG's convergence with corpus linguistics. More generally, frequency therefore figures prominently in CG. As discussed in Section 2.2, in usage-based models of language a linguistic unit is derived from usage events, or from instances of language use in context. By repetition structures or conceptualisations undergo progressive entrenchment in a speaker's mind until they achieve the status of a linguistic unit. Although it may thus seem that frequency is the causation of categorisation and entrenchment, the role of frequency is more nuanced and dependent on contextual variables. Langacker (2008, p. 220) comments that under 'some conditions a unit (e.g. a new lexical item) can be learned from a single exposure, thus the sheer number of usage events may be less important than some measure of cumulative psychological impact (involving additional factors like cognitive salience)'. How this works precisely is a point of debate and needs further research.

3.3.1 The concept of construal for discourse analysis

An integral part of meaning is the way in which the content of a sentence or utterance is construed. I argue that the notion of construal from cognitive grammar is specifically applicable for considering how discourses are differently expressed by writers to create patterns of attention. This offers rapprochement to definitions of discourse that regard it as language in use, and those which are derived from Foucault's writing (see Section 1.2.1). The term 'construal' refers to the fact that the same situation can potentially be conceptualised in any number of alternate ways. These conceptualisations are encoded through alternative language structures, because 'it is precisely because of their conceptual import — the contrasting images they impose — that alternate grammatical devices are commonly available to code the same situation' (Langacker, 1991a, p. 295). Langacker

(2008, p. 55) uses an analogy with visual perception to explain the core idea behind construals: 'in viewing a scene, what we actually see depends on how closely we examine it, what we choose to look at, which elements we pay most attention to, and where we view it from'. Construal applies to all language production where an addresser has the choice of coding their conceptualisation and message in alternate ways, and the addressee conceives meaning based on these linguistic choices (cf. Harrison, Nuttall, Stockwell & Yuan, 2014b, p. 4). Construal is therefore applicable to critical discourse analyses that are interested in the viewpoint or ideological propositions of a discourse. Analysing how a construal is constructed offers the researcher a basis to define the competing conceptualisations in a discourse. This has obvious relevance for analysing how attention, or how the construal that draws attention, is directed towards some aspects or entities of a scence over others.

While the notion of construal is not novel, cognitive grammar provides a systematic account of the different dimensions along which construals may vary. Variations in construal are interrelated, and can be roughly categorised into *specificity*, *prominence*, *perspective*, and *dynamicity* (Langacker, 2008). A construal relation basically involves two dimensions: an individual conceptualiser, also called the subject of conceptualisation, and a conceived situation, also called the object of conceptualisation. Construal types differ in whether they involve the conceived situation or the relations in the communicative situation (Verhagen, 2007, p. 59). Specificity, prominence, and dynamicity structure the content of the object of the conceptualisation. Perspective, however, structures the relation between this content and the conceptualisers. The detailed account of the different factors in the formation and use of construals makes cognitive grammar particularly useful for investigating the textual expression of changing, supporting, or competing discourses, and complements the text-drivenness of corpus linguistics.

With construal, we can identify how something is linguistically represented to guide attention and how through the medium of language a particular perspective on some conceptual content is enforced on the reader. Construal can arguably also be analysed using all the other tools available to stylisticians and discourse analysts, such as Jeffries's (2009) methodological suggestions for a critical stylistics. I contend that the focus in any

analysis has to be on the texture of the text and how this relates to people's knowledge and therefore creates meanings. Stylistics in general is particularly suited to support an analysis of attention because it is grounded on the concepts of foregrounding and defamiliarization and stringently applies linguistic to texts (cf. Leech & Short, 1981). However, CG posits parameters of construal that analyse attention and the figure/ground conception in more detail. These will be discussed in the following sections.

3.3.2 Attention as a construal dimension

The categorisation of construal dimensions has varied since CG's inception, Langacker (2008) being the most current presentation, with other authors suggesting their own taxonomies (Talmy, 1978, 1988, 2000; Croft & Cruse, 2004). How construal phenomena are segmented is indeed somewhat arbitrary, as Croft and Cruse (2004, pp. 43–46) point out. This arbitrarness seems to increase the more linguistic ground is covered (Verhagen, 2007). Additionally, it is unclear for all of the proposed segmentations how they are motivated by underlying conceptual operations, which is a clear problem for accounts that have a cognitive commitment. Verhagen (2007), rightly in my view, attributes this problem of variation to the double nature of construal: its structure is based on presumed conceptual operations, but it classifies linguistic units, which are dependent on context and constantly changing. Because of this double nature, a structure may be expected to correspond to two different construals simultaneously. While speakers have no trouble processing and using these structures, this makes a comprehensive categorisation of construal dimensions unrealistic. This is not just a theoretical issue, but also has consequences for the analysis. A comprehensive analysis of an utterance following CG must by implication involve multiple dimensions of construal, even for the same structure, and has to consider the relations between different dimensions of construal. While this task is possible in theory, it is doubtful a certain structure or utterance may ever be conclusively categorised. Instead we need to view construal dimensions primarily as analytical tools, rather than ontological reality. Langacker himself describes this when he characterises the segmentation of construal into separate dimensions as 'mostly for expository convenience' (Langacker, 2007, pp. 421–462).

For these reasons my analysis does neither strictly follow any of the proposed taxonomies, nor does it cover just one dimension. Instead I predominantly use those suggested construal phenomena by Langacker (2008) that involve a control of attention: focusing, profiling, and the trajector/landmark alignment. The separation of these three phenomena into the distinct categories of focusing and prominence is difficult to justify in light of statements that both profiling and the trajector/landmark alignment 'can be thought of as extreme cases of focusing' (Langacker, 2008, p. 57) and 'involve[s] the focusing of attention (a strong kind of foregrounding)' (Langacker, 2008, p. 58). The putative difference between focusing and prominence is not satisfactorily explained, except as involving some sort of strength of focusing which is not further clarified by Langacker. I do not mean, of course, to suggest that they are not construal phenomena. But their categorisation into separate dimensions does not improve analytical clarity. For this thesis and discourse analysis, I find it most helpful to think of focusing as the general notion, with profiling and the trajector/landmark relation as special cases. How these work and their relation to attention is explained in the next sections.

3.3.2.1 Focusing and the figure/ground alignment

Focusing in CG describes conceptual selection: attending to select parts of the conceptual content and arranging these parts into a foreground and background of attention. It is evidently the construal dimension closest to the general cognitive notion of figure and ground in perception. To recapitulate, human processing is inherently limited, which necessitates that perception works selectively on only a few outlined objects at a time. For instance, a bright light becomes an attractive figure in comparison to the ground of complete darkness. As this example already illustrates, focusing is relative and a matter of degree. It depends on 'particular purposes, dimensions of structure, and levels of organisation' (Langacker, 2008, p. 57). What stays constant is that the relation in focusing between parts is asymmetrical. The notion is also manifested in discourse, such as unaccented subsidiary comments that serve as background to the foregrounded content (Langacker, 2008, pp. 58–60). Again, we need to keep in mind that focusing is relative. Even a main

clause, which is usually a foregrounded structure, can thus be put into the background in context. In a broad sense, Langacker (2008, p. 58) states that '[w]e can reasonably speak of background and foreground for any case where one conception precedes and in some way facilitates the emergence of another'. This broad conception allows us to apply it, for example, to discourses and facilitates a cognitive analysis of the discourses themselves and their relations with each other (see Chapter 7).

A broad conceptualisation of focusing also gives us analytical tools for considering what is pre-supposed or implied in a sentence simply because the sentence does not stand out. For instance, the sentence *After pregnancy, a mother needs to rest to recover from childbirth* will likely not stand out in the appropriate context. When we consider why this is the case and how it could stand out, we can see that it contains heteronormative and gender-binary assumptions about who is and can 'become' a mother. The sentence hides that a mother can be in a same-sex relationship, that a mother can be a trans woman, that one's child can be brought to term by someone else. If we would change the sentence to include these realities, the sentence will likely be foregrounded for many people. Chapter 7 shows how an analysis of backgrounded sentences can gives us insight into which knowledges or discourses are naturalised.

3.3.2.2 Profiling

Profiling refers to differences in meaning that involve the same conceptual *base*. A base, construed broadly, is the overall semantic scope within all the domains that constitute its semantic content. More narrowly, it is the immediate scope within active domains. Using the theatre metaphor, Langacker (2008, p. 66) describes it as the part that is put on the stage, constituting the general locus of viewing attention. A *profile* is the most prominent substructure within the concept's base: the focus of attention within the immediate scope. We can conceive of this as that part of the stage on which the spotlight is put. As an example, the concepts of head, arm, and leg invoke as their conceptual base the human body. Without the concept and global structure of the body, neither of these would have any meaning. They share, to some extent, similar semantic content: head invokes body,

which includes arm and leg. The most prominent substructure in context, as designated by the addresser, acts as the profile. While the underlying conceptual content is effectively equivalent, the construal operation of profiling directs the focus to different parts of the global concept matrix.

In discourse, profiling applies to lexical units, but it can also be employed to detail which conceptualisations or which discourses of a concept are put centre-stage at a time. The concept of a mother can be discussed primarily with a discourse of biology that emphasises the biological connection to a child. Or a mother can be presented as primarily someone who is caring and nurturing. There is of course then the question how these discourses are linguistically expressed, and to what extent each discourse, as a separate domain, is assumed in each representation. The relation between discourses of different concepts, for instance a link between 'nationality' and 'motherhood', can be described with the trajector/landmark alignment.

3.3.2.3 The trajector/landmark alignment

The trajector/landmark alignment describes the participants or entities in a relationship (Langacker, 2008, pp. 70–73). The *trajector* is the focal participant that is assessed in relation to the *landmark* as the secondary focus. Trajectors do not have to physically move, but are defined as the most prominent entity in a clause without any regard to its semantic roles or conceptual content (Langacker, 2008, p. 72). A trajector is 'located, evaluated, or described' (Langacker, 2008, p. 70) in relation to another entity or participant. As an example, we can characterise the relationship between two people from opposite directions. Emily has a daughter named Mary. When we say that *Mary has a mother*, then the trajector, i.e., the initial focal prominence, is Mary, whereas the unnamed parent is the landmark. If we instead say that *Emily has a child*, then Emily is the trajector, whereas the child is the landmark. In both cases, we describe the same relationship, but we single out a different referent for focal prominence. It could be argued that the landmark as the relational secondary focus can provide the background against which the trajector is partly understood. This makes the notion particularly attractive for considering the functional

interaction of discourses as they support or reject each other to create a coherent ideological viewpoint (see chapter 7).

3.4 Quantitative approach: Corpus methods

What unites corpus methods is that they are based on measures of frequency, both raw frequency as well as statistical frequency. Frequency provides quantitative evidence for the aspects of the attentional model, because regularity and scarcity are involved in directing attention. Research has undeniably shown that our knowledge of language itself is sensitive to statistics. Although ultimately dependent on human interpretation, corpus methods allow us to discover, locate, and evaluate the patterns and absences in texts. In this section I introduce the two corpus methods that I use throughout the thesis: concordance and collocation analyses. Because I focus on the lexical construction of viewpoints in discourse, I also discuss the notion of semantic or discourse prosody from corpus linguistics.

3.4.1 Concordance analysis and categorising concordances

A concordance, also called *key word in context*, lists all of the occurrences of a particular search term in a corpus. These are presented within the context in which they occur, i.e., with a few words to the left and right of the search term. This is why concordance analysis is often described as in-between quantitative and qualitative analysis. It allows the researcher to look at a lot of data all at once, but in the respective co-text and context in which a search term occurs. A search term is typically a single word, but many concordance programs allow searches for multiword phrases, words containing wildcards, tags (such as part of speech), or combinations of words and tags. Depending on the size of the corpus, a concordance search can produce hundreds of results, which are presented in the order that they occur in in the corpus. Concordance programs can sort these results in various ways to help the researcher spot common patterns. Concordances can be sorted x places to the left or right of the search term, typically either alphabetically or by the predefined tags of the corpus. Most programs allow for several sorting parameters at once, allowing for instance to sort a result alphabetically by the first adjective to the left of the search term. However, actual identification, interpretation, and explanation of linguistic or discursive

patterns is still done by the researcher; the program only helps to list and sort occurrences of a search term.

Dealing with potentially hundreds of concordance lines requires a strategy. Hunston (2002, p. 52) suggests to examine 100 concordance lines for general linguistic patterns and 30 lines for detailed patterns. However, this risks that infrequent or more complex patterns remain undetected, since 100 lines may not be sufficient to spot them. In the procedure recommended by Sinclair (1991), and subsequently adopted by many corpus linguists, the analyst selects 30 random lines and notes their patterns, cumulatively adding and analysing another random 30 lines until they find no new patterns. As an alternative, Hunston (2002, p. 52) proposes to use an initial 30 concordance lines to form hypotheses and to then carry out more refined searches to investigate these hypotheses. This form of thinning out the data, however, might again lead to rare or complex patterns being missed, and only the most common ones being accounted for. As Baker (2010, p. 22) argues, '[i]f the researcher has the time, then nothing beats an examination of every concordance line, even if some need only be glanced at to confirm that they have nothing new to tell us'.

In this thesis I work with parts of the corpus, divided by year, in order to be able to have a manageable data set in which I can read all the concordance lines of my search terms. A modified version of the procedure by Sinclair (1991) is still useful for noticing patterns and grouping concordance lines. I read all of the lines, noting patterns, and creating categories as I go along, and then recursively read through the lines again to see whether any of the so far unaccounted for concordances may fit into any of the ad-hoc established categories. I repeat this procedure until all of the lines are accounted for, allowing for some of them not to exhibit a patterning that fits with the other examples.

3.4.1.1 Concordances in discourse analysis

Although the concordance display has been historically stable, it can be used for all kinds of new questions, such as questions of attitudes expressed in free-text questionnaires (Huntley et al., 2018) or questions of charaterisation in cognitive poetics (Mahlberg et al., 2016). Discourse analysis, as sketched out in Section 1.2, has benefited greatly from

corpus methods, particularly from the concordance. Concordance analysis considers the context of an utterance and is interpretative, rather than descriptive. As Baker et al. (2008, p. 279) note, it is therefore no wonder that concordance analysis 'has proven to be the single CL [corpus linguistics] tool that discourse analysts seem to feel comfortable using'. The concordance is essential for discourse analysis because it ensures that analysts do not make incorrect assumptions about their search terms and the content of the corpus (Baker, 2010, p. 132). It can also help to uncover semantic preferences, so-called *prosodies* (see Section 3.4.3 below), which can point to evaluative functions of linguistic items. The span of the context in which concordances present the search term typically expands considerably when the analysis is applied to matters of discourse. This is also true for this thesis. The kinds of analyses I apply to the concordance, such as the trajector/landmark-alignment from cognitive grammar (see Section 3.3.2.3 above), necessitates reading the whole sentence or even paragraph, since matters of attention are distributed across a text and not only confined to selected spots.

It is important to recognise that analysing and categorising data is always an interpretative act. Concordance analysis is no exception. Mahlberg (2007, p. 192) draws attention to this when she writes that 'the kinds of descriptive categories we apply to interpret corpus data have an impact on the extent to which we can investigate social aspects of meanings'. For many kinds of analyses, the categories we use are not predefined and their creation is already a form of interpretation and analysis that reflects on the researcher. In analysing concordances, we try to identify patterns or groups of meanings that illustrate the different aspects associated with a word or multiword phrase. In corpus linguistics these groups of meanings, whether this meaning is for instance pragmatic, discursive, or cognitive, are identified via similar patterns. Such patterns have both semantic, pragmatic, and lexical aspects and are not defined by verbatim repetitions: 'the criteria for the groups are a combination of repeated surface patterns and similarities in meaning that are not automatically visible through an exact repetition of a sequence of words' (Mahlberg, 2007, p. 198). Although the act of selecting and naming these patterns is open to interpretation, they should always be based on the text so that they are therefore open to scrutiny by other

researchers.

3.4.2 Collocation

The definition of collocation is typically textual, with a psychological component being variably present in the literature. I will first address the strictly textual definition of collocation and its relation to statistical measures before discussing how its psychological component can be applied to discourse analysis. Textually speaking, a collocation is the above-chance co-occurrence of a node word with another word within a pre-determined span, typically five words on either side of the node (cf. Sinclair, 1991). It is usually assumed in corpus linguistics that the association between words needs to be established on the basis of statistical measures. This was not always the case. Sinclair (1991) did not consider collocation to need statistical corroboration. From other similar early definitions, such as Halliday and Hasan (1976) or Leech (1974), we can infer a statistical association, but it is not explicitly regarded as part of collocation. Additionally, these definitions lack recommendations on how the association is to be determined in detail, such as the appropriate association measure to use. Common definitions today note the importance of a statistical component to 'demonstrate the frequency *and* exclusivity of particular collocates' (Baker, Hardie & McEnery, 2006, p. 37), but give relative flexibility on the selection of the association measure.

3.4.2.1 Collocation as a statistical phenomenon

A statistical definition of collocation comes from Hoey (1991, pp. 6–7), who writes that collocation is 'the relationship a lexical item has with items that appear with greater than random probability in its (textual) context'. Hoey (2005, p. 3) himself later criticises this definition as 'confusing method with goal'. Statistical measures are a way of determining textual relations, but what authors such as Hoey (2005) and Leech (1974) are interested in is whether speakers associate one word with another, i.e., whether there is a link between certain words in the mind. The centrality of statistics in collocation analysis, whether as part of discourse analysis or not, necessitates a critical assessment of the role that association measures play and its consequences for corpus linguistic research.

The statistical relation between co-occurring words, as surface collocation, is measured on the basis of the frequency of the node, the frequency of the collocate, and the frequency of the collocation, i.e. the combination of the node and the collocate. For the majority of association measures the statistical procedure involves two steps: First, establish a random co-occurrence baseline (i.e., expected frequencies), and second, compare observed frequencies with the random co-occurrence baseline. Word association is assessed based on these differences between observed and expected frequencies according to three criteria: *distance*, *frequency* (as an indicator of typicality), and *exclusivity* (Brezina, McEnery & Wattam, 2015). Association measures differ in how much emphasis they put on these different collocational criteria, thus resulting in different collocates. The *Mutual Information* (MI), for instance, emphasises the exclusivity of the collocation and therefore returns collocates of a relatively low frequency. Baker (2006, pp. 101–103.) exemplifies the difference between measures by discussing the different collocates they return for the same node. Each measure can serve different functions, depending on the kind of information we seek. For a more detailed discussion of individual association measures see Brezina et al. (2015), Evert (2004), Evert (2008), Oakes (1998), and Pecina (2010).

The association measures used for collocation analysis have come under scrutiny in recent years. Gries (2013), in a discussion on how research into collocations can be improved, suggests that collocation identification should take into account *directionality*, *dispersion*, and the *type-token distribution* among collocates. Directionality refers to the idea that the node and the collocate can have different statistical attractions to each other. The collocate can be more indicative of the node or the node can be more indicative of the collocate. Traditional association measures assume a symmetrical relation between node and collocate. Dispersion aims to account for the relative distribution of the node and the collocates in the corpus. With some of the traditional statistical measures, localised collocations that occur in only a couple of texts can gain greater significance than well-dispersed collocates. The unusual and localised is then favoured over the regular and widely spread. A type-token distribution among collocates is supposed to consider the strength of the collocational relationship by incorporating the level of competition around

the node from other collocates.

While the suggestions by Gries (2013) are appropriate for, and sorely needed in, collocation research on general language use, these proposed measures are not wholly applicable to research in (critical) discourse studies. Directionality and type-token distribution are not typically of concern in discourse analysis, whereas the exclusion of dispersion may indeed be desired. Localised, or so-called *seasonal collocates* (Baker et al., 2008), can provide insight into the development of discourses and point to resistant viewpoints and ways of speaking. *Consistent collocates* in turn may point to discourses that have become naturalised, accepted, or even frozen. This shows that there is not one statistical measure that is appropriate for all research questions. Researchers need to select those statistical measures that can provide the appropriate results.

The selection procedure between statistical measures can be considerably affected by the corpus tool(s) available to a researcher. If a researcher uses one of the common corpus tools, they depend on what kinds of measures the tool has to offer. Table 3.1 summarises the available statistical measures in common corpus software, showcasing the considerable difference in type and breadth of measures across applications. The variability in even such a common corpus method as collocation analysis underscores the crucial role that corpus software can have on the research (see also Anthony (2013) for a survey on the influence of available corpus tools on the research results). We need to consider what a tool can and cannot do. Software should provide us with the information we seek, but it may restrict the questions that we can ask. Recent proposals to improve this situation have been to incorporate more flexibility into software tools, to work in interdisciplinary research projects that include the expertise of computer scientists and engineers, and to triangulate our data for validity (cf. Anthony, 2013; Baker & Egbert, 2016). In terms of collocation for discourse analysis, current methods allow a range of possible research avenues and provide a good amount of flexibility when they are adapted or combined with other methods, such as grouping collocates, using analytical methods from other disciplines, or triangulating the research.

Table 3.1: Available association measures in common corpus tools

Software	Association measures
AntConc	MI, T-Score
Corpus.byu.edu	MI
CQPweb	MI, MI3, Z-Score, T-Score, Log-Likelihood, Dice coefficient
SketchEngine	logDice
WMatrix	MI, MI2, MI3, Phi-Square, Log-Likelihood, Ochiai (OCH), McConnoughy Coefficient (MCC), Yule Coefficient (YUL), Fager and McGowan Coefficient (FAG), Kulczsinky Coefficient (KUC), Simple Matching Coefficient (SMC)
WordSmith Tools	Dice Coefficient, MI (Mutual Information), MI3, Z-Score, Log-Likelihood, T-Score, Log Ratio

3.4.2.2 Collocation as a cognitive phenomenon

I have stated above that collocation ca also be thought of as being a psychological or cognitive phenomenon. The main question we have to address in this case is how to define this cognitive aspect conceptually and operationally. A psychological component to collocation has been present obliquely in many of its earliest definitions. Halliday and Hasan (1976, p. 287), writing about collocation as a cohesive device, regard it as 'a cover term for the kind of cohesion that results from the co-occurrence of lexical items that are in some way or other typically associated with one another, because they tend to occur in similar environments'. An association between words has to be held in the mind. The definition by Leech (1974, p. 20) for *collocative meaning* picks up both the statistical and the psychological component of collocation and posits a causal relationship between the two: 'the associations a word acquires on account of the meanings of words which tend to occur in its environment'. Concordant with Hoey (2005, p. 4), I maintain that such definitions 'place collocation where it belongs – as a property of the mental lexicon'.

Hoey (2005, p. 5) further claims that it is a 'fact that collocation is a psycholinguistic phenomenon, the evidence for which can be found statistically'. As already noted above, we need to be cautious about the role and place of statistics in collocation analysis. The variety of association measures is clearly problematic and can result in markedly different

collocations (e.g., McEnery & Hardie, 2012; Hunston, 2002; Baker, 2006). It becomes even more problematic to conflate statistical significance in discourse with psycholinguistic relevance, especially as the conceptual and operational definition of collocation differs in the psycholinguistic compared to the corpus linguistic literature (cf. Gablasova, Brezina & McEnery, 2017). Note that psycholinguistic studies into collocation and other fomulaic language (cf. Wray, 2002) typically investigate language acquisition, processing and comprehension, rather than meaning and discourse. The methods and forms of evidence are particular to each research field and it is necessary to consider these differences (e.g., Arppe et al., 2010; Gablasova et al., 2017; Gilquin & Gries, 2009; Wray, 2002, 2012). For instance, about half of the studies on collocation in learner language use elicitation tasks (Nesselhauf, 2005, p. 4), whereas the inclusion of experimental methods is atypical in corpus research generally (**hart2017**; e.g., Ellis & Simpson-Vlach, 2009; Gilquin & Gries, 2009; Mahlberg, Conklin & Bisson, 2014). The level of attention and rationale behind the selection of collocational measures has also differed quite considerably, which makes it difficult to interpret findings from different studies (Gablasova et al., 2017; González-Fernández & Schmitt, 2015).

For discourse analysis, I suggest that MI (and its variations of MI2 and MI3) provides a reasonable convergence of psycholinguistic and corpus research on collocation, while a better integration of the two is still desirable. The MI-score has been used successfully in corpus-based language learner research and been described as an appropriate measure of strength, tightness, or coherence (Ellis, Simpson-Vlach & Maynard, 2008; González-Fernández & Schmitt, 2015; Hunston, 2002; Siyanova & Schmitt, 2008). Research in corpus-based discourse analysis has described MI as a measure of the 'strength' (Hunston, 2002, p. 71) or of the 'collocational bond' (Mautner, 2007, p. 57) between words and has found MI to be useful to uncover constructions of viewpoints in the context of particular words. However, other measures are also common, with no straightforward preference for any association measure in the literature.

All collocates in this thesis were generated in Wmatrix (Rayson, 2008) using the cubed variant of the mutual information statistic (MI3) with a cut-off point of 5.0. MI has a

bias towards giving high scores to low frequency collocates because it only considers the effect size of the collocation and not its evidence, i.e., how often it occurs in the data. This is problematic for the analysis of discourses, since an association or ideology relies on repetition to gain any traction in a discourse. Brezina et al. (2015, p. 160) point out that this makes MI3, which gives comparatively more weight to observed frequencies, a useful measure for analysing collocations that may have discursive import.

The extent of the cognitive reality of collocations using an MI-score is not crucially important for this thesis because I approach the cognitive importance of collocations from a different angle: how are significant patterns cognitively proffered for the reader in context? It is unlikely that research will be able to arrive at a universal definition and operationalisation for collocation and it may be better for particular purposes to have different but appropriate methods.

3.4.3 Semantic and discourse prosody

Collocation is closely related in form and function to semantic prosody (cf. Sinclair, 1991; Louw, 1993; Stubbs, 1995, 1996; Carter, 2004), which is derived from Firth's (1957, p. 40) notion of *phonological colouring*: the habitual collocates of a given word form can colour or affect its connotational meaning. It is not an uncontroversial position that a word acquires connotations as as a result of its environment. Whitsitt (2005) and Stewart (2012) criticise the metaphor that a word's environment imbues it with meaning, which suggests that the word is initially empty. They also point out that the term is unclear and used for different phenomena in the literature. The separation between collocation and semantic prosody is likewise fuzzy: collocates can be seen as an indicator of semantic prosodies, whereas conversely both semantic preference and semantic prosody 'can be seen as the semantic extension of collocation' (Baker et al., 2008, p. 278).

Semantic preference has also been described as 'collocation of a lexical item with items from a specific (more or less general) semantic subset' (Bednarek, 2008, p. 199), which interacts with the parameters of context, genre, domain, syntax, word class, and meaning. For these reasons, some researchers prefer to use the term *discourse prosody*. Stubbs (2001) differentiates between semantic preference as the relation between a word

form and a set of semantically related words, and discourse prosody as an expressions of speaker attitudes which raises the relation of patterns to the level of the discourse.

The advantage of using these terms, according to Stubbs (2001, p. 66), is that they 'maintain[s] a standard distinction between aspects of meaning which are independent of speakers (semantics) and aspects which concern speaker attitudes (pragmatics)'. By using the term 'discourse prosody', we further recognise that this meaning contribution can be specific to discourses, rather than being a feature of the language in general. For these reasons, I prefer the term discourse prosody in this thesis. As Baker (2006) describes:

> discourse prosody [is] where patterns in discourse can be found between a word, phrase or lemma and a set of related words that suggest a discourse [...] discourse prosody focuses on the relationship of a word to speakers and hearers, and is more concerned with attitudes. (87)

Characteristic collocates, as well as discourse prosodies, embody associations, connotations, and assumptions (Stubbs, 1996, p. 172). From an ideological perspective, these are assumptions about how the world is or how it should be. The differences 'between socially, ideologically or historically distinct discourses often crystallize in different semantic prosodies of key lexical items' (Koller & Mautner, 2004, p. 223). This is why 'the meaning attributes of a node's collocates can provide a helpful sketch of the meaning/function of the node within the particular discourse' (Baker et al., 2008, p. 278). The discursive representation of a group is thus often analysed in terms of collocates, with collocational patterns taken as indicators of ideology (e.g., Aull & Brown, 2013; Baker et al., 2008; Pearce, 2008). Even collocates that on the surface are neither categorically restricted to certain groups or representative of particular attitudes can reveal ideologies that depict groups of people noticeably differently (e.g., Caldas-Coulthard & Moon, 2010; Fitzsimmons-Doolan, 2014; Orpin, 2005).

Collocates are not only useful for analysing how people are conceptualised and discursively presented. Collocation analysis can also be applied to events, situations, and even abstract concepts, such as nationality or religion, provided one can determine adequate lexical units on which to retrieve and analyse the concept. In language in context both

concrete and abstract entities can be referred to obliquely, with for instance deictic expressions, or with different lexis. When using computer methods, we are tasked to determine which concrete string(s) best represents what we are searching for. While semantic tagging systems or methods from Natural Language Processing are making headway into addressing this issue, there are yet no methods or tools sophisticated enough to solve this problem. The same concern is also present in determining query terms on which to build a specialised discourse corpus (cf. Section 3.5.2). As of now, researchers have to decide and justify the strings that best represent a concept, event, or group of people. This may limit the comprehensiveness of their analysis, but it is precise and tightly constrained.

3.5 Context: The debate on the legalisation of abortion in the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland

The discourse that I investigate is the debate in newspapers on the legalisation of abortion in both the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland from 2005 until 2016. This is an argumentative discourse in that opinions on this matter are strongly divided and different groups ultimately strive to influence the legal status of abortion. Although there are diverging positions on the core issue of legalisation, the discourse can be divided into two opposing viewpoints: the pro-choice and the pro-life side. The pro-choice side asserts that the current law should be overturned to allow access to abortion no matter the circumstances, whereas the pro-life side either wants to prohibit abortion generally or wants to maintain the current legal situation in Ireland.

Newspapers are not neutral participants in this debate, despite their reputation of objectivity. Fowler (1996, p. 34) notes that 'it is almost a truism that the way a news item is presented conveys a point of view, an ideology', while Richardson (2004, p. 227) puts forward the view that 'journalism is argumentative and should be studied as an argumentative discourse genre'. Feature articles in particular are aimed at persuading others to adopt their point of view. The discussion in the media is however not a direct legal appeal. Both the pro-choice and pro-life side strive to convince people of the legitimacy of their respective viewpoint, either in order for people to become actively engaged in

the campaign, or simply for a greater acceptance of their viewpoint throughout society. General acceptance and support can put pressure on politics and jurisdiction, especially in the Republic of Ireland where amendments to the Constitution have to be made following a referendum.

The debate over abortion is not only a legal concern or a political sentiment, it also touches on philosophical and religious questions, and is thus often volatile in tone and resorts to appeals to emotion. For me it is also important to consider these opposing viewpoints and how they are expressed in order to persuade because they challenge questions of women's and human rights, their bodily autonomy, and the influence of religious discourses in an increasingly secular world. Crucially, the outcome of these debates determines the life of thousands of women. Most political parties in the Republic of Ireland and in Northern Ireland have expressed that they are against allowing unrestricted access to abortion. Public attitudes are changing however. In Northern Ireland, between 6 to 7 in 10 of the total population think women should have access to abortion in certain circumstances (Amnesty International, 2016). A recent poll found that the majority of people in the Republic of Ireland support repealing the Eighth Amendment, which gives equal rights to the pregnant woman and the foetus (Collins, 2016).

The original basis for the ban on abortion in the Republic of Ireland is the Offences against the Person Act 1861, drafted before the independence of the Republic. While this was considered to still be the legal position in 1937 when the Constitution came into effect, there remained uncertainties what implication the Constitution had for the law on abortion. For example, it was unclear whether the Constitution also applied before birth and therefore the Offences against the Person Act 1861 prohibited abortion (Carolan, 2017). While abortion remained effectively illegal, this ambiguity led to public debates and concerns that a judicial ruling could open the door to legalised abortion. A special influence on this debate was the decision in 1973 by the U.S. Supreme Court in a case called Roe v. Wade, which declared that women had the right to abortion under the U.S. Constitution (Bacik, 2013; Carolan, 2017). Eventually, a referendum was held in Ireland in 1983 to decide whether the following clause should be entered into Article 40.3 of the

Constitution:

> The State acknowledges the right to life of the unborn and, with due regard to the equal right to life of the mother, guarantees in its laws to respect, and, as far as practicable, by its laws to defend and vindicate that right.

This so-called Eighth Amendment, which has been described as a 'second partitioning of Ireland' (Hesketh, 1990), was approved by referendum on 7 September 1983 and signed into law a month later. It effectively introduces a constitutional ban on abortion in Ireland by giving explicit recognition to *the right to life of the unborn*.

Numerous problems remain, particularly with the ambiguous wording of the Eighth Amendment, which allows either pro-choice or anti-abortion interpretations in different circumstances (Carolan, 2017). Opposition to restricted abortion access in the Republic has been on-going since its inception, but has recently been invigorated by the case of Savita Halappanavar, who died while undergoing a miscarriage at Galway University Hosital (see also Section 7.2). Changes in the laws around abortion (cf. Bacik (2013), Carolan (2017)), are in in large part to the credit of pro-choice activists who have succeeded in bringing the aspects of women's rights and women's medical health back into the debate. One of these is the so-called 'right to travel' in order to have an abortion outside of the Republic's borders, which was made part of the Constitution as the Thirteenth Amendment.

In the UK, the Abortion Act of 1967 legalised, but didnot decriminalised, abortion, except in Northern Ireland. This means abortion remains a criminal offence unless certain conditions are met, such as the pregnancy not having exceeded its twenty-fourth week and the physical or mental health of the woman being at risk if the pregnancy continues. If two registered medical practitioners agree that these conditions apply, then an abortion is legal and will not result in a potential life sentence for those involved. No such liberalisation of the law occurred in the Republic of Ireland. Instead, since the 1967 Act, the problem of backstreet abortions has been exported to Britain. Statistics from 2016 published by the UK's Department of Health indicate that on average 8 Irish women travel each day to Britain to access abortion services (Department of Health and Social Care, 2017). However, the right to travel does not meet the needs of women and other pregnant people from

vulnerable groups of having any legal way of accessing abortion services. Most political parties in the Republic of Ireland have stated that they are against allowing unrestricted access to abortion. But public attitudes are changing. A recent poll in 2017 found that the majority of people in the Republic of Ireland support repealing the Eighth Amendment, which gives equal rights to the pregnant woman and the foetus (Irish Times/Ipsos MRBI, 2017).

In 2016 a Citizens' Assembly was established in the Republic with the goal of considering several political questions, the first one being the Eight Amendment. Its report was put forward to the Oireachtas (the parliament of the Republic) and published on 29 June 2017. The recommendations of the assembly in its final meeting on 22 and 23 April 2017 exemplify the divide between public opinion and the legal reality in Ireland: 79 to 12 voted that the Eighth Amendment should not be retained in full; 50 to 39 voted that it should be replaced or amended; and 51 to 38 voted that the Oireachtas should legislate to address termination of pregnancy, any rights of the unborn, and any rights of the woman (An Tionól Saoránach - The Citizens' Assembly, 2017). The Citizens' Assembly heard in their meetings stories from six women that were directly affected by the Eighth Amendment. Again, this was at the insistence of pro-choice activists, such as the Coalition to Repeal the Eighth Amendment (Coalitition to Repeal the Eighth Amendment, 2016).

After the recommendation of the Assembly and a promise by Taoiseach (prime minister) Leo Varadkar to hold a referendum on the Eighth Amendment in 2018, the Thirty-sixth Amendment of the Constitution Bill 2018 was introduced to the Oireachtas on 9 March 2018. This would replace and repeal Article 40.3.3. of the Constitution. The bill completed its passage through both houses on 27 March 2018. Finally, on 25 May 2018, almost 35 years after passing the Eighth Amendment, the bill was brought to a referendum. The Irish people voted by 66.4% to repeal the Eighth Amendment, with only one constituency voting to retain the amendment. As of writing this in September 2018, the government has not yet introduced and passed legislation to regulate abortion, but hopes to have done so by the end of 2018 (Bardon & Leahy, 2018). Until then, terminating a pregnancy in the Republic continues to be illegal.

The situation in Northern Ireland is similar: Abortion provision is restrictive and inconsistent. The already mentioned Abortion Act 1967 and the Human Fertilisation and Embryology Act 1990, which taken together regulate abortion in Great Britain, do not apply in Northern Ireland. Therefore the Offences against the Person Act 1861, under which an offence under section 58 is punishable with imprisonment for life or for any shorter term, still applies in Northern Ireland. Excepted from this are abortions 'for the purpose only of preserving the life of the mother' (Criminal Justice Act 1945).

While pregnant women, girls, and other people living in Northern Ireland are not prohibited from travelling to another country to have an abortion, they must access this service through a private clinic and pay for the service themselves. This adds additional financial obstacles, apart from the social ones, for people from marginalised communities and groups who are not able to afford travel to England. Figures of women who have to travel to England to obtain a private abortion are thought to be an underestimation, since these numbers are based on clients' addresses and many women give false addresses for fear of detection. The Family Planning Association, for instance, estimates that 'the [actual] figure is probably nearer 2000 per year' (Family Planning Association, 2015, p. 7). The figures of lawful abortions in Northern Ireland are in stark contrast to these numbers: in 2015/16 there were 16 terminations of pregnancy in Northern Ireland (Northern Ireland Department of Health, 2017), compared to the 724 terminations by residents of Northern Ireland in the UK (Department of Health and Social Care, 2017). The Northern Ireland Law Reform Association has called this situation 'the hypocrisy of society which exports its abortion problem while demanding complete silence about the issue' (Northern Ireland Law Reform Association, 1989, p. 49).

But advocacy for reproductive and sexual health and rights has never been silent in Northern Ireland (see Northern Ireland Law Reform Association (1989) for a short history), which is particularly noticeable in the recent shift in public attitudes towards legal access to abortion. According to an Amnesty International UK poll in 2014, around 70% of people in Northern Ireland support some sort of legislative reform of access to abortion (Amnesty International UK, 2014). The most accepted grounds for an abortion

are where the pregnancy is a result of rape (69%), where the pregnancy is the result of incest (68%), and where the foetus has a fatal abnormality (60%) (Amnesty International UK, 2014). Most notably, successive opinion polls for the Belfast Telegraph showed an increase between 2012 and 2014 from 26% to 58% of respondents in favour of making abortion accessible 'to any woman who chooses it after being counselled on the available alternatives' (Clarke, 2012, 2014). Additionally, English media and English pro-choice advocates finally put some temporal spotlight on the severely restricted access to abortion services in Northern Ireland thanks to the results of the UK General Election in 2017. The Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) of Northern Ireland agreed to support a Conservative minority government on select matters (Prime Minister's Office, 2017a) in exchange for £1.5bn in funding for Northern Ireland over the next two years (Prime Minister's Office, 2017b). In this light the DUP's right-wing stance on abortion rights, but also on same-sex marriage, and climate change, came under heavy scrutiny. After the successful repeal of the Eighth Amendment, groups such as the Abortion Rights Campaign have started to campaign for the Northern Ireland Assembly to introduce abortion legislation in common with the rest of the UK.

3.5.1 Data: The Irish Abortion Debate Corpus

The *Irish Abortion Debate Corpus* (IADC) was assembled using the online news aggregator site Nexis.com. It consists of 23,506 articles and has a total size of 14,702,048 tokens (Table 3.2). Corpora about particular discourses, especially if they are of a smaller scale, have different sampling needs than large-scale corpora that strive to be representative of general language use. The sampling frame were all articles concerning the abortion debate published in Irish newspapers from January 2005 to December 2016. I placed no restriction on the format (broadsheet versus tabloid), the publication rhythms (daily, weekly, or monthly), or on the reach (global or local) of the newspapers.The target population for corpora about specific discourses are texts that express the discourse under investigation. Sampling within this target population is then a matter of the specification of the research question. In the case of this thesis, my concern is how the discourse of access to abortion is conducted.

Table 3.2: Composition of the Irish Abortion Debate Corpus

Year	Articles	Tokens
2005	441	285.576
2006	463	306.068
2007	898	563.945
2008	1,592	1,122.340
2009	1,389	909,984
2010	1,056	654,402
2011	1,348	832,057
2012	3,217	1,965,626
2013	5,277	2,941,530
2014	2,090	1,449,552
2015	2,433	1,542,392
2016	3,302	2,128576
Total	23,506	14,702,048

By focusing on the expression of the discourse, *seed* or *query words* become the most important indicator of representativeness of the data, and not parameters such as the format of the newspaper. The final query for constructing the IADC is 'abortion OR pro-life OR pro-choice OR rights of the unborn OR termination of pregnancy OR anti-abortion'. I adopted the *relative query term relevance* (RQTR) procedure (Gabrielatos, 2007) to respond to the issue of relevancy in assembling corpora representative of a discourse. How this procedure determines relevancy and how this applies to my thesis is detailed in Section 3.5.2. This sampling method and the sampling frame lead to a skew towards Irish broadsheets that are published globally. A number of notable, highly reported events took place during 2005 to 2016, which invigorated the discussion on the legal access to abortion in Ireland. These include the case A, B and C v. Ireland in 2010, which determined whether Irish law violated several provisions of the European Convention on Human Rights because of the restricted access to abortion in Ireland, and the death of Savita Halappanavar in 2012, which ultimately lead to the *Protection of Life During Pregnancy Act 2013*.

While the topic of legal access to abortion is difficult to discuss for a number of countries, a further complication for this project is that there is not one Ireland, but two distinct countries: the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland. Naturally, their respective attitudes towards abortion access and the laws governing it are distinct from one another. Nevertheless, there is a historical bond between the two countries and they share a general prohibition on abortion. Events concerning abortion in either country will also be covered extensively in the media of the other, which is significant for this thesis. Therefore newspapers from both countries were included in the corpus data.

3.5.2 Representativeness and determining query terms

The issue of the representativeness of the main corpus was addressed by using the RQTR procedure suggested by Gabrielatos (2007), which considers the suitability of certain query terms and their respective relevance to the discourse. It thus targets the issue of precisions versus recall for retrieving articles from a database such as Nexis. Technically, the procedure judges the relevancy of potential query terms against two sample corpora. These sample corpora are compiled using two core query terms that are initially selected by the researcher. Relevancy here refers to 'the degree to which [candidate terms] are found in the same documents containing one or more of the core query terms' (Gabrielatos, 2007, pp. 11–12). The procedure tests how often potential terms are used in articles together with the two core query terms and compares this to the number of articles that are retrieved by only the potential terms in the same time span. From a discourse analytical perspective, the procedure is concerned with the question which terms are used in reference to each other in a discourse.

In the debate on the legalisation of abortion, whether in the Republic of Ireland, Northern Ireland, or any other western country, both sides favour terms that frame their stance in a politically positive way. Labels are a powerful tool to refer to groups and can, as in this case, be emblematic for a viewpoint or position. Every group prefers terms that validate their viewpoint, while simultaneously suggesting that the opposition must be against it. In the case of the abortion discourse, the terms *pro-life* and *pro-choice* imply that the opposition must be *anti-life* or *anti-choice*. I selected *abortion* and *pro-life*

as the core query terms for constructing the two sample corpora. The term *abortion* is simply descriptive of the procedure, whereas the term *pro-life* is the label that proponents of restricting or denying access to abortion adopt for themselves. I made this selection based on my familiarity with the abortion debate, and not in ignorance of its issues. Most political parties in the Republic of Ireland and in Northern Ireland have expressed in the past that they are against allowing unrestricted access to abortion. I included *pro-life* as a query term in contrast to *anti-choice* because the group itself uses the term to characterise their position. In that sense it is less evaluative than *anti-choice*, which is used by those in favour of legalising access to abortion to characterise the opposing side. The final query includes the four terms with the highest scoring RQTR: *pro-choice*, *rights of the unborn*, *termination of pregnancy*, and *anti-abortion*.

The selection of *pro-choice* as a query term follows my personal perception that the media more often reports on actions and gives a platform to statements from a pro-life stance. This introspective knowledge of which terms are used more frequently in the discourse is proven to be correct by the RQTR procedure for the articles in the Nexis database (Table 3.3). The query word selection for the IADC is not representative of changes in public attitudes (as discussed in Section 3.5). The query term selection and the resulting corpus represent the discourse of legalising abortion that is present in newspapers, instead of necessarily mirroring public opinion.

The first sample corpus needed for the RQTR procedure contains all articles in 2010, a timeframe I selected at random, returned by the two initial query terms. The second sample corpus includes random shorter periods of the intended time span of the final corpus in order to test the diachronic or brachyronic (span of 10-30 years) (Mair, 1997) relevance of the candidate terms against the more restricted time frame of the first sample corpus. While the final decision which potential terms to include in the query is judged against the RQTR scores of both sample corpora, I consider the diachronic aspect of the second corpus to be more important in relation to my research question.

The keywords (see Section 2.3) of both sample corpora were computed against the written part of the BNC ('The British National Corpus', 2007) using the log likelihood

measure. Keywords that appeared in both corpora and were not too broad in their coverage were tested for their potential of retrieving relevant additional texts that would not yet be covered by the initial query terms (Table 3.3). The introspective terms were selected on the basis of my previous knowledge of abortion debates in general and the debate in Ireland in particular. Potential additional query terms can come from several sources, such as the keywords of the pilot corpora or from introspection. Selecting a corpus on the basis of statistically significant keywords can be considered a more bottom-up, or 'corpus-driven' approach (Tognini-Bonelli, 2001). While this aims to limit researcher bias in the selection of query terms, it is also recursive and not open to expand the discursive borders of the previously selected corpus that provides the keywords. Many keywords can be too broad in their uses and occur in highly different contexts. This limits their suitability to refine a corpus dedicated to a specific topic or discourse. Introspection as a top-down approach is more liable to researcher bias, since it may lead to a corpus that only reflects the preconceived notions of the researcher instead of the likely more varied nature of the discourse. Yet my introspectively selected candidates, such as *rights of the unborn*, had higher relevancy scores than any of the keywords of the two pilot corpora.

Table 3.3 shows the *query term relevance* (QTR) and RQTR scores for both sample corpora. The QTR score indicates the relative co-occurrence of candidate and core query terms in the documents of the Nexis database. It is sensitive to the make-up of the sample corpora and means little on its own, since its mathematical formula does not return scores that can be clearly compared against each other (Gabrielatos, 2007). The RQTR score considers the candidate term's consistency over time and returns a number between -100 and -100, facilitating comparison of a term's relevance between different corpora. We can see in Table 3.3 that the RQTR scores of all candidate keyword terms are in the negative numbers for the first sample corpus. This suggest that they are not notably relevant, i.e., they are more often present in database texts that do not also include the core query terms. Words such as *woman*, *contraception* or *Ireland* are of course frequently used in highly varied contexts other than the Irish abortion debate. Their inclusion in the query would therefore create undue noise. While the RQTR scores for the keywords improve

Table 3.3: QTR and RQTR scores for the first and second sample corpus

Query terms	First sample corpus		Second sample corpus	
	QTR	RQTR	QTR	RQTR
abortion	0.089	0	0.153	0
pro-life	0.598	55.872	0.919	90.436
Introspective terms				
pro-choice	0.276	20.526	0.51	42.148
pregnancy termination	0.1	1.207	0.25	11.452
termination of pregnancy	0	-9.769	0.039	28.335
rights of the unborn	0.271	20.087	0.421	31.641
the 8th/eighth amendment	0	-9.769	0.23	9.09
anti-abortion	0.147	6.366	0.345	22.668
Keywords				
unborn	0.069	-2.195	0,11	-4.958
contraception	0.10	-8.693	0.023	-15.348
foetus	0.026	-6.915	0.101	-6.139

for the diachronic corpus, their scores are only slightly above the baseline of zero. The introspectively selected candidate terms fare better in both corpora: the RQTR score for all of them increased for the second corpus.

The marked difference in scores for the two terms *termination of pregnancy* and *the eighth/8th amendment* demonstrates that discourses are dynamic. Terms, phrases, and conceptualisations vary over time in answer to real-life events and the development of the discourse. Which terms are selected for an appropriate query is thus a question of the relevancy, precision, and the respective equivalence of the returned texts during the intended time period. Including terms reflective of debates and time periods may impact on the precision of the query for the whole corpus, while not including such terms likely omits texts that nevertheless belong to the discourse. For the topic of attention and ideology of this thesis, I decided it is more important to have consistency over time and thus have

query terms that are relevant throughout the time period.

3.6 Chapter conclusion

This section has given an overview of the models and tools used in this study. In the following chapters not every technique is applied to each research question. Instead the application varies according to what is appropriate for the specific case study. This also concerns whether there needs to be a focus on corpus methods or cognitive models. Although it is the interplay between these two types of linguistics that is the focus of this thesis and that I argue is at the heart of analysing ideological attention in discourse, research questions can concern different kinds of knowledges and thus require a focus more on quantitative or qualitative matters. Such a selective approach benefits the main research aim of this thesis: investigating the role of attention in the communication and negotiation of (ideological) viewpoints in discourse.

4 Applying the attentional model to ideological viewpoints

4.1 Introduction

This chapter serves several purposes, but foremost it is an analytic demonstration of how the attentional model can guide a corpus-cognitive analysis of attention in discourse, as well as a test of its capability. I explore the questions of how to methodologically incorporate exogeneous and endogeneous attention into our analyses and how this can show us the ideological viewpoint or worldview of the text. The chapter is divided into three main parts. First, I consider how we might initially tackle any text, with the example of an article from *The Irish News* that seems 'neutral' with regard to the controversially discussed issue of abortion access. The two following sections are dedicated to an in-depth analysis of the attentional patterns of two sentences in that article: first, the introductory sentence that sets the initial expectations of the text, and second, a later sentence about a different, contrastively juxtaposed event. Crucially, the chapter highlights that a text's ideological viewpoint and people's reading of it has a direction: they are bound to and develop as the text unfolds. The chapter furthermore sets the agenda for the following chapters that explore issues raised in the analysis in more detail.

4.2 Analysis of a 'neutral' text

In order to test and demonstrate a corpus-cognitive approach, I intend to analyse a newspaper text that reads as 'neutral' regarding abortion access. It is more difficult and useful to demonstrate how such texts do construe ideological viewpoints via attentional patterns than those who make their position explicit. However, there is still the issue of whether we can ever say that a text is neutral in regard to an ideological position. Texts can never be separated from the social and historical conditions in which they were produced, which in itself lends them a particular stance. The supposed neutrality of a text is the result of the

dominant ideological paradigms of the specific time, place and preferred readership being made to seem normal and natural by the writer. Additionally, the more a reader shares the ideological stance presented by a text, the more neutral or objective this text seems to the reader. At the same time, seemingly being neutral or objective can be argued to be a stance in itself, even though this stance is unacknowledged. From a researcher's perspective it is also problematic to try to determine whether a text is neutral, because the role of the researcher and their own specific historical and social context, as well as the context of the research itself, is just as ideologically positioned as any reader. Although I reject the positivist idea that a researcher can determine whether a text is neutral or that a text can indeed ever be neutral, there are still texts that are made to seem neutral by not outright stating their position. For the following analysis I therefore selected a random text that reads as neither strongly in favour for nor against abortion access, i.e., the writer never states whether they are for or against abortion access and the text may thus be read as only reporting in an objective manner.

The analysed article (Appendix A.1) from *The Irish News* reports on a pro-choice rally that was organised in response to comments by the then Northern Ireland attorney general concerning the opening of the Marie Stopes clinic, the first private facility to offer abortion services in Northern Ireland. On the surface, this text is objective in how it reports on the event, as is often the case for news reports It has a balanced distribution of content for and against abortion access. There are also few conspicuous indicators in the clauses that are not attributed to someone else that could suggest whether the writer is on either side of the debate. However, a critical corpus-cognitive analysis of this article reveals that subtle matters of construal signal a stance critical of the anti-abortion position. It is then unmistakable whether the text is reported from a position that can be characterised as pro-choice or as anti-choice.

A key question for the model is of course what is made attractive. The options of what is typically attractive differ depending on the genre of the text. In newspapers these are people, actions, events, and the abstract concepts related to these. Such referents, whether they are tangible or not, can coincide with attractors. Attractors are those referents that are made to

stand out because of the text's construals: they 'take the viewer's attention' (Stockwell, 2009, p. 20) or distract the viewer from one referent away towards a newly presented one (Stockwell, 2002, p. 19). Stockwell (2009) derives the notion of an attractor from *gestalt* ('shape' or 'form' in German) *psychology*, whose principles of foregrounding an object from the perceptual field still stand (Köhler, 1947, 1959; Koffka, 1935; Wertheimer, 1958). Ultimately these are the linguistic and textual correlates of embodiment:

1. *The principle of closure*: Objects with a complete and continuous outer circumference make good figures.
2. *The principle of continuity*: An object is assumed to continue with the same properties when it is partly blocked from view.
3. *The principle of proximity*: Objects that are close together are assumed to share properties.
4. *The principle of similarity*: Objects that look similar, whether it be in shape, size, colour, or function, are assumed to be related.
5. *The principle of symmetry*: Regular, or predictable shapes are more easily perceived as figures than irregular, or unfamiliar shapes.
6. *The principle of common fate or function*: Features in the perceptual field will be perceived as being part of the same single object, if these features change at the same time.

All referents can be attractors, but not all attractors need to be referents. Our attention as readers is made to focus, linger, and finally dissolve on particular attractors, which can create a text's story, message, or emotion. There is no limit to what linguistic element can be an attractor, although some are more likely than others. Typical examples of linguistic elements that can be attractors are single words and phrases. Clauses are also possible attractors, although it is probably uncommon in newspapers to have whole clauses act as attractors. Instead, this is more likely in poetry, where the dispersion of attractors is more dense.

Following the list of attractor features proposed by Stockwell (2009, p. 25) (Table 4.1), we can identify several words which have the potential to act as attractors in the article. While not all of Stockwell's proposed features are equally important for all text types and genres, the list offers a scaffolding of assessing attention points and their distraction in any text. The most frequent attractors in the analysed article, are indicative of the informational

Table 4.1: Stockwell's (2009: 25) list of attractor features

Attractor Feature	Explanation
Newness	Currency: the present moment of reading is more attractive than the previous moment
Agency	Noun phrases in active position are better attractors than in passive position
Topicality	Subject position confers attraction over object position
Empathetic recognisability	Human speaker > human hearer > animal > object abstraction
Definiteness	Definite ('the man') > specific indefinite ('a certain man')> non-specific indefinite ('any man')
Activeness	Verbs denoting action, violence, passion, wilfulness, motivation or strength
Brightness	Lightness or vivid colours being denoted over dimness or drabness
Fullnes	Richness, density, intensity or nutrition being denoted
Largeness	Large objects being denoted, or a very long elaborated noun phrase used to denote
Height	Objects that are above others, are higher than the perceiver, or which dominate
Noisiness	Denoted phenomena which are audibly voluminous
Aesthetic distance from the norm	Beautiful or ugly referents, dangerous referents, alien objects denoted, dissonance

purpose of the discourse: give readers information about who is doing what. Therefore typical attractors in news texts are people, objects, places, and actions, with the most frequent types of attraction being *agency* and *empathetic recognisability*. It follows that potentially any noun or verb, as a referent, may act as an attractor. In reality it is unlikely that all nouns and verbs are attractors, since our ability to process language is limited. We therefore need further guidance to limit and estimate the potential attractors of a text.

There is growing psychological literature on which text features people pay more attention to (Sanford & Emmott, 2012, p. 129). One methodology to investigate increased or decreased attention is the text-changing paradigm developed by Sanford, Sturt and colleagues (e.g., Sanford & Sturt, 2002; Sturt, Sanford, Stewart & Dawydiak, 2004). Participants are shown two texts, with the second differing from the first in only one word.

Table 4.2: Research literature on linguistic devices that create attention; adapted from Sanford and Emmott (2012: 129)

Linguistic device	Reference
It-cleft/Pseudo-cleft	Sturt, Sanford, Stewart and Dawydiak (2004), Sanford, Price and Sanford (2009)
Discourse focus	Sturt, Sanford, Stewart and Dawydiak (2004), Sanford, Sanford, Molle and Emmott (2006)
Italicisiation	Sanford, Dawydiak and Emmott (2006)
Short sentences/fragments	Emmott, Sanford and Morrow (2006)
Long words	Sanford, Dawydiak and Emmott (2006)
Low-frequency words	Sanford, Dawydiak and Emmott (2006)
Adopted perspective	Kaakinen and Hyönä (2008), Bohan and Filik (2018)
Supposed devices based on reversing the analysed device in the study	
Main clause	Sanford, Sanford, Fili and Molle (2005)
Simple syntax	Sanford, Sanford, Fili and Molle (2005)
Referential simplicity	Sanford, Sanford, Molle and Emmott (2006)

Whether people noticed a change was used to assess whether the linguistic feature in which the changed word was presented was more attended to and whether it therefore underwent increased scrutiny in the text processing phase. We might further extrapolate from the data on decreased detection in text-change tasks (Table 4.2) that their opposite features might be more prone to being attended to by readers because they are easier to process. Table 4.2 shows the linguistic devices that have been found to increase detection of text-changes and the opposites of those devices that decreased attention.

It is difficult to apply this list to discourse analysis. Just as with Stockwell's (2009) list of features of attractors, some of these devices are more or less applicable to certain discourse genres rather than others. Additionally, it is difficult on the basis of the current literature, if not impossible, to assess the relative attention of these devices in comparison to other syntactic, graphological, or discursive features. Further research might shed more light on what is and can be made attractive in texts. In any case, these features are part of readers' language knowledge: which words are infrequent, the meaning of syntactic

constructions, the role of main and subordinate clauses, etc. They are therefore still useful for an analysis of attention. For now, researchers who base their analyses on these available studies need to use their own language and contextual knowledge, as well as corpus data, to judge how these are presented in a text and whether a device makes a linguistic element attractive.

Going back to the article, there are few places in the text where attention is overtly attracted or distracted. Table 4.3 shows all referents and possible attractors of the article with their corresponding attractor feature and whether they are presented in a linguistic context which readers have been shown to be more attentive to and process more thoroughly. Only words or referents that have either several attractor or attention features or have both an attractor feature and are included in an attention device are included in this list. I determined whether a word might be said to have the attention device of low frequency by checking how often it occurs in the BNC. Words with fewer occurrences than ten per million in both the entirety of the BNC and in the newspaper section were deemed to be low frequency (see Table A.2 in the Appendix). Note that a majority of these referents can be characterised by more than one feature of attraction. It is not by chance that a considerable number of attractors in this article are found in the reported direct speech of a spokesperson from the group *Alliance for Choice* and that these are more evaluative and emotive than those found outside direct speech. In contrast, indirect speech in this article is realised in a factual style with minimal emotive language and fewer potential attractors. This is an issue of contextual knowledge, as the import and effect of quotes varies depending on the text genre and the reader. The importance of quotations as a contextual issue is analysed in depth in Chapter 5 and 6.

Before I move on to a detailed analysis of the text, I want to assess the applicabilty of both Stockwell's (2009) list of features of good attractors and the research on attention in text-changing experiments to discourse analysis. These considerations will pave the way for the difficult question of how we can analyse endogenous attention.

Table 4.3: All referents and possible attractors in the article

Linguistic element	Attractor feature	Attention device
pro-choice [campaigners]	ideological value	short sentence, low frequency
several hundred [people]	fullness (largeness), empathetic recognisability	main clause
"elitist"	empathetic recognisability	low frequency
intervention	agency, (negativity)	
compliance	lack of agency, (negativity)	low frequency
pro-choice [demonstrators]	ideological value, noisiness (in 'demonstrators'), empathetic recognisability	low frequency, main clause
direct speech	empathetic recognisability, activeness, noisiness	discourse focus, adopted perspective
traumatic	empathetic recognisability	low frequency
criminalising	agency, (negativity)	low frequency, main clause
terminate	ideological value, activeness	low frequency
restricts	lack of agency, activeness	low frequency, main clause
oppresses	lack of agency, activeness	low frequency, main clause
about 40 women	empathetic recognisability, fullness (largeness)	main clause
pro-life	ideological value	low frequency, main clause
anti-abortion [campaigners]	empathetic recognisability, noisiness in 'campaigners', ideological value	low frequency, main clause
around 300 protesters	empathetic recognisability, noisiness in 'protesters', fullnes (largeness)	main clause
graphic images	(negativity), ideological value	low frequency
foetuses	ideological value	low frequency
illegal	(negativity)	It-cleft

4.2.1 What is an attractor in news texts?

As I already suggested, what is made attractive in a text and how this is done depends on text type and genre. I claim that some words which are attractors in the text are missing from the current table of possible attractors in the article (Table 4.3). This is because the feature that makes them attractive is not part of Stockwell's (2009) list since his research is based on literary discourse. For news and media discourses, we need additional features to capture the points of attention in a text. I call this feature *ideological tenor*, which refers to linguistic expressions that refer to an ideological stance. Ideological tenor can be signalled independently of the context by directly referring to an ideology, such as the the words *pro-choice* and *pro-life* when talking about abortion. The ideology associated with these terms is part of their meaning and discourse prosody. The links they have with other concepts is part of the concep-relational knowledge we have of the terms. Such terms will always carry ideological tenor no matter the context. But ideological tenor can also be developed in context and thus be attached to otherwise non-ideological words. Such a case is analysed in Section 4.4.2, where the word *foetus* becomes a signal of a pro-choice stance. The attractor feature ideological tenor emphasises the importance of our contextual knowledge for an analysis of attention, since what counts as ideological varies according to context. I will discuss this in this section primarily with the example of the genre of a text.

Non-literary texts have different aims than poems, novels, or plays - thus what is attractive in these texts and which features and words may act as attractors differs slightly. Correspondingly, how we read and judge texts varies according to their genre. Newspaper articles have a purpose and readers have goals when reading them. In order to include endogenous attention into an analysis, not for a specific person but for the readership at large, we have to consider what these purposes and goals are. How do these feature in, first, a reader's knowledge of the text type, and second, their readings based on this knowledge? I draw here on what is called the contextual knowledge of a reader from the attentional model. At the time of writing this thesis, there is much debate on the goals of traditional news media. This takes the form of calling established news sources 'fake news' or 'Lügenpresse ('lying press')' in Germany, as the discontent with politics and national

and global events is channelled into a distrust of the objectivity of the media. Readers know that media outlets are supposed to objectively deliver news, but it is exactly this knowledge, coupled with their own ideological viewpoint, that leads to their questioning of the media in the first place. Their unfavourable reading of the news is thus based on regular knowledge, which we as researchers can assume most, if not all, readers to have. Contextual knowledge, as assumptions and stereotypes in this case, can point the way to what is important for a text type, and, crucially, to how endogeneous attention can be incorporated into (critical) discourse analysis.

For a different example, consider the feature *aesthetic deviance from the norm* from Stockwell's (2009) list. While non-literary discourses can include aspects of the aesthetic dimension, these may primarily serve the purpose of their genre. For newspapers, these are to give information, but also to send a message about this information. Aesthetic deviance exemplifies the need for endogeneous attention and the divergence between texts of different genres. When aesthetic deviance is present in an article, it is typically used to cast an argument or referent in a favourable or unfavourable light, rather than for the aesthetic effect itself. This is not to say that aesthetic deviance and ideological tenor are diametrically opposed. Aesthetic deviance can play into ideological matters and vice versa. The aesthetic as a discrete entity above other forms of social discourse is itself an ideological production. Taking an example from literature, scholars have long argued that the aesthetic value attributed to the modern novel by Henry James, with his fixation on point of view as a narrative technique, is both ideologically motivated and has ideological consequences. The possible ideological connotations of a literary style crucially depend on the context of the production. James' style elevates certain formal literary practices and a perspectivised individualism centred on white, male, middle-class values (e.g., Gilmore, 1991; Hale, 2009; Jameson, 1981). His glorification of point-of-view as the ideal aesthetic form can be argued to be ideological because he wrote his novels at a time of commercial success for female fiction writers (Gilmore, 1991), who deviated considerably from this model. Nevertheless, the aesthetic and the ideological tenor still need to be considered separately. A formal feature such as point of view has no intrinsic ideological meaning.

The aesthetic can be, but does not have to be, ideological depending on the context, and vice versa. We need to adapt the features of attractors depending on a text's context, type, and genre.

There are a couple of points to note here when applying Stockwell's (2009) list of attractors to texts such as those in the IADC. One of these concerns terminology. The term *norm* refers to a statistical norm and not to a socio-political or ethical one. There is no neutral or objective middle ground between argumentative positions. All positions are connected to some values, opinions, ideas, or ideological viewpoints. Picking the middle between a yes or no simply results in passivity, which is still ideological because it affirms the present status. If someone tried to find a middle ground in the Irish debate on legalising abortion, they would have to negotiate between a pro- and anti-choice position, whose supposed neutrality would mean keeping the status quo. Such inactivity, which was incidentally the tactic of the current administration in the Republic of Ireland until the referendum to repeal the Eighth Amendment, tacitly endorses the anti-choice position because it keeps abortion illegal except in special circumstances. If we do not make it clear in the analysis that norm refers only to matters of frequency, we otherwise run the risk of legitimising the mainstream ideological viewpoint, whatever that position may be.

We also need to keep in mind that a norm is relative. Forms of deviance other than those from a generalised norm are possible, i.e., we must consider the specific deviance or tenor enacted by a text. For newspapers, an article may be continuously written in a more informal style, with slang sprinkled throughout the text. Slang words at the beginning may then be more attention-grabbing than those later, when the norm of this particular text has been established. Additionally, the whole publication may have a more informal style of writing compared to the overall norm of newspapers in the country. We have to be careful what we mean by norm, whether, for instance, it refers to a textual or a genre norm. A reader's resistance may precisely be against some form of majority or norm in the specific text, but this norm itself can already be a deviation from some other norm. The issue of a norm being flexible is also a concern in corpus linguistics, where the representativeness of primary corpus and reference corpus are said to determine the validity of the research. The

issue of a norm is always caught in-between language knowledge, i.e., what is frequent or not, and contextual knowledge, i.e, what is frequent in this context. Whenever I draw on corpus data throughout the analysis in this and later chapters, I am essentially trying to determine the norms of the article and newspapers in general on which to base my analysis of attention and ideological viewpoint.

As these remarks highlight, what counts as an attractor in media or newspaper texts is intertwined with endogeneous attention: the kind of attention that is the result of our own knowledges and preference. While it therefore depends what counts as an attractor in each kind of text, there are still general methods and tools that are applicable for an analysis of attractors resulting from endogeneous attention. I will elaborate the importance of endogeneous attention and these methods in the following section.

4.2.2 Methods for accounting for endogeneous attention

The meaning that readers literally read into a text is the result of features of attention: endogeneous attention includes the reasons why and how people read a text, together with their preferences. Attention in Stockwell's (2009) model is characterised foremost as exogenous attention, with newness as its outmost pole in a cline running from attention to occlusion. Stockwell (2002, p. 19) emphasises the importance of newness to the model when he writes: 'literature is literally a distraction that pulls attention away from one element onto the newly presented element. I will call these objects or devices attractors in this context'. Endogenous attention, however, has its origin in cultural, social, and psychological roots and does not directly correspond to the visual or textual field. Individual readings can scarcely be analysed, since we are unable to look into someone's head before they have arrived at their interpretation. This remains true for our own individual readings. Faced with this problem, on which methodological basis can endogeneous attention, as the preferences and expectations of readers, be incorporated into the model and thus into discourse studies?

Function and context are the two main aspects influenced by culture and society that have a bearing on personal readings and that can be integrated into discourse analysis. We can extrapolate intended readings by the writer based on what kind of text we have, where

it was published, by whom it was written, and what it says. Corpus methods can provide actual data of average, normal, or typical experiences, i.e., our language, contextual, and concept-relational knowledge, providing us with a richer understanding of the basis on which personal readings may be developed. A cognitive linguistic analysis of the construals of the text can draw on these data and demonstrate the way readings are created through both the reader and the text's texture. A cognitive analysis lays bare the reasons how a construal or reading was made attractive, and why a reader may accept it or be resistant to it. Thus resistant readings can be based on the same sort of data, but we have to attend even more to the possible contextual and personal aspects and to how the text's construals may interact with these aspects.

Two examples clarify the argument for corpus methods as sources of endogeneous attention. For instance, we could be interested in the reading of someone who identifies as pro-life in response to a pro-choice text. A corpus, as a representative repository of possible experiences, can show us the differences between expressing one worldview over the other in news texts. For this we sort the articles according to the ideological position of the newspaper, which may be difficult for some cases. As researchers we need to have personal knowledge about the topic we investigate, which is supplemented with data from an appropriate corpus. Having examples of how some position is expressed does not immediately reveal what someone's reading of a text would then be. But it provides evidence on which to base a qualitative account, in the form of a cognitive analysis, or which can put our presumed knowledge into question. As another example, taking the idea that endogeneous attention is socio-cultural literal, we could also derive a possible reading of a text by someone from a country with easy abortion access, such as the Netherlands, to an Irish text using the same approach. In this case, we would have to compile an appropriate corpus consisting of texts on abortion in the Netherlands. Of course, this prompts questions about representativity and the issues of comparing corpora, which I will not elaborate on here. This method also assumes that the respective orientation of the newspapers on the issue is known. If one wants to avoid top-down approaches, then some other way of identifying the typical ideological experience and preferences of the

readers has to be devised. A multi-variate analysis in the vein of Biber (1988, 1995) and Biber, Conrad and Reppen (1998) could here serve as an inspiration. However, a combined corpus-cognitive approach, as generally followed in this thesis, is capable of considering endogeneous attention in the analysis.

After this discussion of which words may be attractors in general, the suitability of applying Stockwell's (2009) model of attractors and the methods for accounting for endogeneous attention, I will now move on to analyse two sentences in the article (Appendix A.1) to show how the model can be generally applied in context. In these analyses, I do not restrict myself to language, contextual, or concept-relational knowledge, but incorporate them into a holistic analysis.

4.3 Introducing an event: Sentence one

I want to focus my analysis in this chapter on two sentences in the text (see Appendix A.1): the first sentence, which refers to a pro-choice rally where the Northern Ireland attorney general was criticised, and sentence 13 describing a protest outside the Marie Stopes clinic when it opened. These two sentences can illustrate how viewpoints are construed, but more importantly show the importance of the text development for communicating the ideological suggestion of a construal.

The first sentence, together with the headline, introduces the focus of the article: *Several hundred people attending a pro-choice rally in central Belfast heard demands for the Northern Ireland attorney general to resign over what was described as his "elitist" intervention in the abortion debate.* Or, to use the visual and theatrical metaphor again, the sentences sets the scene from which the readers are made to view the unfolding text's topic. In Labov's (1972) terminology of the oral narrative genre this would be the *orientation* and as such the complete sentence covers the aspects central to the informative purpose of newspaper articles: who is doing what where and why (Table 4.4)? Here the contextual knowledge we have of the purpose of news texts corresponds to the opening of the article. The writer of the article also presumes certain contextual knowledge, as is demonstrated by the use of the direct article for *the Northern Ireland attorney general*, while omitting

Table 4.4: Orientation in sentence one

Question	Phrase(s)
Who	Several hundred people attending a pro-choice rally
Where	in central Belfast
What	heard demands for the Northern Ireland attorney general to resign over what was described as his ”elitist” intervention in the abortion debate

Table 4.5: Likely attractors in sentence one

Linguistic item	Attractor feature	Attention device
Several hundred people	newness, topicality, empathetic recognisability, largeness	discourse focus, main clause
The Northern Ireland attorney general	newness, empathetic recognisability, definiteness	discourse focus
“elitist”	newness, agency and empathetic recognisability based on direct speech (signalled by quotation marks), ideological value	low-frequency
the abortion debate	newness, agency (in *debate*), definiteness, ideological value	two frequent words

the full name or any further descriptors.

This first sentence includes the following referents and potential attractors: *Several hundred people*, *rally*, and *the Northern Ireland attorney general* as concrete referents; *demands*, *intervention*, and *the abortion debate* as abstract referents; *attending*, *heard*, *to resign*, and *was described* as verbal referents; and finally *pro-choice* and *elitist* as descriptors of referents, which can create a spotlight aimed towards the described referent. Based on the list of attractor features and experiments using the text-changing paradigm, only four attractors remain (Table 4.5).

Those referents that were excluded did neither conform to an attractor feature nor were in a linguistic device increasing attention. Note again that it is difficult to maintain with absolute certainty whether a word will be an attractor or not based on such comparative evidence. Furthermore, if attractor feature and attention device are in conflict, the researcher has to determine which of the two is dominant in the particular co-text and context. In that

sense both attractor features and attention devices can only act as heuristics and are not in themselves definite signs of increased or decreased attention by a discourse participant.

There is a need to be conservative when considering the attractors of a text. The key difference attentionally between literary and non-literary texts is that literary texts generally require greater depth of processing. Non-literary texts, in contrast, are typically shallowly processed, which means that a high number of words are skipped and that the meaning of quite a number of words is not fully incorporated into our mental representation of the text. Otherwise we would have too much information to process, and the whole point of attentional foregrounding and backgrounding would be lost. Reversely, this does of course not mean that words that are not attractors will not enter at all in our mental discourse understanding and representation (cf. Section 2.2). Most content words can be considered an attractor in some way, but a cautious analysis is closer to people's processing capability.

4.3.1 Construing people

In a complex sentence such as sentence number one (*'Several hundred people attending a pro-choice rally in central Belfast heard demands for the Northern Ireland attorney general to resign over what was described as his "elitist" intervention in the abortion debate'*), several aspects create a construal with particular spotlights and areas of darkness. First, the way the clause construes the scene puts the spotlight squarely on *Several hundred people*, even though there is a clear asymmetry in activity between the people hearing demands and the unnamed agent(s) making these demands. The relative clause following the nominal referent imposes summary scanning on the process of being at a rally. By using the verb *attend*, a holistic picture of the events at the rally is imposed, with no other event or action apart from people's presence singled out. This verbal construction is not uncommon for the register of newspaper articles. Even though it sounds passive, that is exactly the point being made here. Compare the use in this sentence with all of the concordances of 'attend* + rally' found in the BNC newspaper section in Table 4.6.

While it is not an all encompassing theme in these concordances, it seems that most of the rallies mentioned are restrained and orderly affairs. Just as in sentence one (Appendix A.1), the verbal construction with *attend* foregrounds the passive attendance itself instead

Table 4.6: All concordances from the BNC for 'attend* + rally'

1	whittling redwood and drinking coffee while their comrades **attend** a local **rally** for Doug Wilder
2	At a **rally attended** by hundreds of Labour supporters from the arts, showbusiness and sport
3	Several Labour MPs will **attend** a **rally** in Glasgow today organised by a new cross-party group, Scotland United.
4	threw their weight behind Mrs Killea's campaign, and hundreds of students **attended** a **rally** in support of abortion rights.
5	mobilised popular support behind her beleaguered government yesterday at a **rally attended** by thousands of Filipinos
6	On February 22 many will be **attending** a **rally** in Sunderland called by the Tyne and Wear Anti-Fascist Association.
7	The **rally**, at the City Halls, Glasgow, will be **attended** by civil servants from the West of Scotland
8	The **rally**, **attended** by about 1,000 civil servants from all over the West of Scotland
9	About 1,000 men, women and children **attended** the **rally**
10	police have arrested more than 27,000 people to prevent them **attending** a banned Hindu nationalist **rally**

of any other possible happenings during the specified time span. It is also noticeable in these concordances that the attendees are described in terms of group memberships: *comrades*, *Labour supporters*, *Labour MPs*, *students*, *Filipinos*, *members of the minorities*, *civil servants*. A starkly neutralised reference, just as in the nominal *people* in the first sentence, is used in only two of these concordances: *many*, and *men, women, and children*. When talking about attending a rally, it seems more prevalent to talk about a specific group membership that can be read as ideological in contrast to more neutral terms, depending on the preferences of the discourse participants and the co-text and context of the article. Possibly the use of a term that marks group membership invokes enough ideological content for the targeted readers so as to balance out the neutral use of *attending*, thus complying with newspaper standards of objectivity.

In this light it becomes particularly interesting for the ideological viewpoint of the article that the first sentence refers to the attendees in a highly schematic way, referring to them simply as *people*. The schematicity is further highlighted when we compare it

with the use of *protestors* (sentence 13), *demonstrators* (sentence 4), and *campaigners* (sentence 12) throughout the text (see Section 4.4.1 for a reader's language knowledge of these terms). Its use is thus not conforming to a textual norm. The modification of *several hundred* is also highly schematic, since it gives ample scope to imagine a flexible number of how many hundred people there were at the protest. Note that the ideologically connotated *pro-choice* modifies the rally, instead of being ascribed to the people themselves. They could have been described as *several hundred pro-choice demonstrators*, but the construal removes considerations whether the people can even be described as pro-choice, a highly ideological term, by virtue of being at a pro-choice rally. Drawing on corpus evidence in such a way, as readers' language knowledge, allows me to assess that using two neutral forms is atypical and might thus be a form of ideologically manipulating attention. The combination of the words *attending* with *people* construes the scene in a subtly biased way that is not immediately available upon reading, through introspection, or via an analysis using SFL.

4.3.2 The passive voice and attention

The second aspect to note in the construal of sentence one is the use of the passive voice in *what was described as his "elitist" intervention in the abortion debate*. Even in newspaper articles, where readers regularly encounter the passive, it is a marked construction that deflects attention away from the initiator(s) of the demands and downgrades them into an oblique force instead of an active agent (Maldonado, 2010, p. 833). In terms of CG, the passive adjusts the focal prominence by conferring trajector status on what would otherwise be the landmark (Langacker, 2008, p. 361). In the case of this sentence, the direct speech act of *elitist* is put into focus, while the actual originator of the comment is so much defocused that they have been removed from the clause and construal.

Yet this passive clause features the attention-grabbing device of direct speech. The quotation *"elitist"* attracts attention because it points towards a person, who is highest on the scale of empathetic recognisability, and emphasises that someone other than the writer described the statements by the attorney general in this way. The central point is not who said it, but that it was said. There is also psychological research that suggests that direct

speech and Indirect speech (Eerland et al., 2013) are processed differently. Closer attention is paid to the actual wording of direct speech, underlying the importance of who is allowed to speak in a text. The issue of quotations as directed forms of attention and their role in constructing ideological viewpoints is taken up in more detail in Chapter 5 and 6.

Three features put the notions of authorship and principalship (Scollon, 1995) to the front: the non-canonical alignment of trajector and landmark, the complete removal of focal prominence on the actor, and the spotlight on the word *elitist*. The writer is able to distance themselves from the statement while simultaneously directing attention towards it. The focus is not who said it, but that the attorney general's comments can be called elitist at all. On that note, it is curious that only *elitist* is singled out as a direct quote, while the writer claims authorship for using *intervention*, as opposed to a less loaded term. This either suggests that it is generally atypical of the attorney general to make such statements, which readers can judge using their contextual knowledge of the role. More likely in the face of the overall construal of the scene is that the writer agrees that such behaviour is out of the remit of the attorney general's responsibility. The use of *intervention* signals principalship, i.e., a stance towards the comment. It is not a comment on whether these actions are societally or politically acceptable.

4.3.3 Temporal aspects

A third aspect crucial to the construal of the scene is how it depicts the passage of time. There are two modes of scanning available in CG, with the difference being whether the content is represented holistically or dynamically. *Summary scanning* construes a unified whole out of multiple temporally separated entities and lets us profile either 'things' in the form of nominals, such as *a cloud*, or static relationships, such as *the cloud above the city* (Langacker, 2008, p. 107). *Sequential scanning* in contrast construes an event or a change through individual 'states' throughout time, with each state subsequently decaying as the next one is accessed (Langacker, 2008, p. 111). This lets us profile processes, such as in the verb *moved* in the sentence *The ball moved across the table*. Since there is no direct relation between a supposedly objective extra-linguistic reality and our representation of it via language, we can construe the same conceptual content either through summary

scanning (sentence one) or sequential scanning (sentence two).

1. She is *in* the room.
2. She *enters* the room.

In the first sentence the various states of the person as a trajector are scanned along a path and are formed into one single gestalt which we can then conceive of holistically. In the second sentence the situation is conceived dynamically, with each state of the person entering the room being put into prominence once after the other.

To come back to the article, the rally as an event is construed holistically via the summary scanning of *attending* in the relative clause. This produces a transient record of the whole event that is then accessed in a summary fashion and imposes an internal perspective on the event. Verspoor (1996, p. 438), in reference to Langacker's distinction of summary and sequential scanning, suggests that -ing forms construe events as being 'very close by'. In contrast, the two events taking place during the rally that are mentioned in this sentence, *heard demands* and *was described*, are construed dynamically via sequential scanning.

There is a certain oddness of being 'very close by' and the high schematicity in the nominal referent. Usually we associate closeness with an increase in detail and specificity. The construal makes sense when 'close by' is understood not as being an observer but a participant. The schematicity of the nominal referent does capture the experience of being at a rally with hundreds of others, where the specifics of who you are standing next to are less in focus compared to the speaker you are all concentrating on. In this light it is even more noteworthy that the writer removed the specifics of who referred to the attorney general's comments as elitist. It is not important to the writer who said this, but that it was said at all. The attention is supposed to be on the word. Introducing an actual person uttering this remark might have muddied this message because the focus might have shifted to who this person is and whether they are qualified to make such a statement.

This first sentence shows how deftly the writer manages to write in a style appropriate for a newspaper article, while still subtly conveying an ideological stance that puts the spotlight on people in lieu of protesters, and on what has been said, and not on who said

it. It also shows that the writer assumes the imagined reader to know quite a lot about the event before reporting on it. These are socio-cultural aspects, such as the role of the Northern Ireland attorney general, as well as situation-specific contextual aspects, such as the exact comments by the attorney general, which are never mentioned. Although the analysis of these construals are instructive in whether the scene is ideologically depicted, they become further relevant when we contrast them with the construal of an anti-choice rally. In the next section, I analyse a sentence towards the end of the article with similar conceptual content and contrast it with the construal of the first sentence. This will show how construals indicate ideological messages, particularly in comparison, and that the structure and development of a text has a crucial effect on conveying these ideological messages.

4.4 Contrasting an event: Sentence thirteen

Towards the end of the article the writer thought it necessary to give information about a different protest that happened earlier when the Marie Stopes clinic opened. It describes a similar scene to the events of the first sentence and answers the same question: what did the protesters at this rally do? There is an implicit comparison between the two scenes because of the juxtaposition of these events in the text, which is further drawn out in the comparison of their respective construals.The notion of construal, I have argued, includes in its question of how something is construed the related question of how a certain kind of attention is directed to some parts instead of others. All of the possible attractors in sentence 13 (Table 4.7) can be reduced to a list of likely attractors (Table 4.8), following again Stockwell (2009) and the research on increased attention collected by Sanford and Emmott (2012).

4.4.1 Construing people

Just as in sentence one, an analysis of this sentence's construal reveals an overlap between construal parameters and attractor features, but this does not provide an explanation of how these attractors specifically figure into the construal. Sentence 13 immediately begins with an attractor whose construal is in some aspects in opposition to the first sentence:

Table 4.7: Potential attractors in sentence thirteen

Word	Attractor feature	Attention device
Around 300 protesters	largeness, definiteness (concrete number), topicality	discourse focus, main clause
had lined	activeness	
Great Victoria Street	newness, definiteness	referential simplicity
day-long rally	fullness in *day-long*	
some	revivification of attractor *protestors*	
graphic images	ideological value	low-frequency of this sense of *graphic*
aborted foetuses	ideological value	both words low-frequency

Table 4.8: Likely attractors in sentence thirteen

Word	Attractor feature	Linguistic device
Around 300 protestors	largeness, definiteness (concrete number), topicality	discourse focus, main clause
graphic images	ideological value	low-frequency of this sense of *graphic*
aborted foetuses	ideological value	both words low-frequency

Around 300 protesters had lined both sides of Great Victoria Street during a day-long rally, with some holding posters with graphic images of aborted foetuses. The nominal referent *Around 300 protesters* is less schematic in both the modifier *Around 300* and in the noun *protesters* when compared against the nominal referent *Several hundred people* of the first sentence. Although *around* invites a certain amount of schematicity, it becomes less so through the addition of a concrete number. This addition allows for less scope of variation than the imprecise *several hundred*, where the potential scope is vast. The noun *protesters* is specific in giving the people at this event a more concrete denominator than the highly schematic *people*. Note again the comparison of *protesters* against the similar nominal referents *demonstrators* in sentence four and *campaigners* in sentence 12 (Appendix A.1) used in the article to describe people going to a rally. A look at a selection of concordances of *protesters* (Table 4.9), *demonstrators* (Table 4.10) and *campaigners* (Table 4.11) in the BNC reveals discourse prosodies particular to each of these nouns.

The concordances for *protesters* (Table 4.9) reveal a discourse prosody where the actions of protesters are related to anger, noisiness, and violence. In contrast, *demonstrators* (Table 4.10) are portrayed not as in action, but as the recipents of usually violent action. *Campaigners* (Table 4.11) seem to be in the middle of these two poles. While they are frequently described as fighting, angry, or fearful, they are most often portrayed in the concordances in the BNC as saying, claiming or calling for something, which reads as comparatively neutral. Campaigners are also portrayed having positive emotions by welcoming suggestions, plans, or changes. The discourse prosody of these terms is decidedly part of our concept-relational knowledge, i.e., the meaning of words and their relations to other terms. The concordances demonstrate that there is a difference whether a group of people will be described as protesters, demonstrators, or campaigners in a (British) newspaper. While a reader may not be able to recall this difference on introspection, they may still, as theorised by Hoey (2005), be primed to be aware of this difference and be able to understand and reproduce it in writing. Neither of these discourse prosodies is the only possible way each term can be used. They indicate a trend of how they are typically employed in news texts and give us an indication of how they are primed for the writer

and the readers. This data also provides support for an analysis of what kind of prosody the writer might have meant to invoke, which can be read ideologically in the context of the article. The corpus data thus allows us to make a more fine-grained distinction in the construals that are set up and what these mean for the ideological message of the text.

Table 4.9: Selection of concordance lines of *protesters* in BNC newspaper section

1	have been heard on the fringes of the Leipzig demonstrations as **protesters** stormed the offices of the hated secret police.
2	The **protesters** broke down the parliament's doors and said they would occupy it until the leaders
3	The **protesters** outside Xinhua now waved banners proclaiming: Wake up Maggie Thatcher
4	a clash between police and demonstrators last Friday Police stopped **protesters** from marching to the World Trade Centre
5	ONE MAN was arrested and scuffles broke out yesterday as **protesters** battled to save a line of beech trees from being felled.
6	The scuffles broke out when more than 60 **protesters** began tearing down a fence while it was being erected by council contractors around the
7	**Protesters** rallied against the decision and built treehouses from which to direct operations and protect the
8	Polish **protesters** hurled paint and petrol on a monument to Lenin in Krakow and set it on
9	In a second clash, about 100 **protesters** fought with police near a railway line.
10	Outside the parliament building in Paris **protesters**s pelted police with eggs and vegetables, dumped cereal substitutes in the river Seine
11	The **protesters** were also angry about the high salaries of the chairman and managing director of the
12	in the worst picket line clashes seen in Britain since the 1980s, **protesters** fought with police as buses arrived with newly-recruited workers
13	P**Protesters** shouting 'justice for Hugo' and 'murderers' started street fires and hurled rocks at
14	The **protesters** attacked at least two public houses, The Alma and the Queen's Head
15	Hundreds of **protesters** on Saturday had forced the legislative session to be suspended for three hours as they

Table 4.10: Selection of concordance lines of *demonstrators* in BNC newspaper section

1	British newspapers combined to blame the shooting of peaceful **demonstrators** in the Ciskei, South Africa,
2	centre of the town, where water-cannon were used against **demonstrators** on Saturday night.
3	suspected Serb gunmen opened fire on tens of thousands of **demonstrators**, who had braved the troubled streets to call for an end to
4	Chemical Mace was used against the **demonstrators** at the US-Australian communications installation at
5	that riot squad members with whips and clubs attacked peaceful **demonstrators** like a 'pack of wild dogs' at
6	and, with uniformed colleagues, kicked and beat **demonstrators**.
7	On at least one occasion, **demonstrators** were pinned against the wall to make it easier to assault them.
8	Monday night, a teargas grenade was fired at angry **demonstrators** trying to storm the local Stasi building
9	that police are taking the arrested **demonstrators** to the central Timisoara square, where they beat them up
10	were hunting down and apparently executing anti-government **demonstrators** who escaped the killings in
11	in Arad, 60 miles north of Timisoara, where **demonstrators** were massacred last week.
12	forces launched a fresh assault on tens of thousands of **demonstrators** in the centre of Bucharest late last
13	accounts of earlier violence in which armoured vehicles crushed **demonstrators** to death and police shot at
14	of armoured vehicles running over students, saying **demonstrators** were killed by the personnel carriers.
15	shooting strikers or **demonstrators** does not deter a mass movement but merely infuriates it and provides it
16	in which Pakistani UN soldiers shot dead at least 20 **demonstrators**, suggested that the UN peacekeeping
17	court said Traore had ordered his forces to fire on **demonstrators** in the capital, Bamako, and provincial
18	judges of deliberately causing death and injury to **demonstrators**, some of whom were blinded or lost limbs.
19	corpses lying in the streets after troops opened fire on **demonstrators**.
20	A police spokesman said the **demonstrators** were well behaved but wet.

Table 4.11: Selection of concordance lines of *campaigners* in BNC newspaper section

1	**Campaigners** say single mothers are in particular need of better childcare to give them a fair
2	the **campaigners** say that childcare in Britain will continue to lag behind the rest of Europe
3	**Campaigners**s say fatty meats like pork increase the risk of heart disease
4	Medical **campaigners** say they're fighting for quality of life.
5	But it attracted anti-war **campaigners**s who say the book is trying to sanitise the real cost of the war
6	Anti-hunt **campaigners** say public opinion is on their side, and that pressure is mounting on Westminster
7	But anti-nuclear **campaigners** say it still doesn't prove nuclear power is safe.
8	Animal rights **campaigners**say they're bitterly disappointed that he's still free.
9	**Campaigners** say even those in the medical profession don't know how to help.
10	**Campaigners** say official accident figures don't give the true picture.
11	But **campaigners** say it treats refugees as criminals.
12	Anti-road **campaigners** like Helen Kimble say motorways are being built across the country by stealth.
13	these may have won a first round victory for the hospital, but **campaigners** say the fight continues.
14	**Campaigners** say that can only fuel the alarming interest in Hitler's propaganda
15	The **campaigners** say the decision could mark a watershed in attitudes to the environment
16	Environmental **campaigners** using their own Geiger counter say readings taken from the fence are around
17	Meanwhile, **campaigners** like Paul Mobbs say they have to battle to get hold of detailed figures.
18	**Campaigners** say it's the first step towards closure, but BR says it's actually
19	**Campaigners** say perhaps it's not just the care that needs to change but our attitudes
20	**Campaigners** say they'll continue to fight to save a hospital threatened with closure.
21	Environmental **campaigners** say that Timbmet contributes to Britain's appalling record as one of the world's
22	**Campaigners** say it's a scandal that many older patients are being dismissed as untreatable even
23	Anti-vivisection **campaigners** say that scores of monkeys have died in cruel and unnecessary experiments

4.4.2 Temporal aspects

In terms of the construal parameter of dynamicity, the rally as the main event of the sentence is construed as sequentially scanned with the use of the finite *had lined*, while the one event mentioned during the rally is construed in a summary fashion by using the non-finite *holding*. Summary scanning imposes a limited scope on the event of holding a sign, because the start and end points of the action are part of an unfocused maximum scope. This construes the scene as being 'very close by' (Verspoor, 1996, p. 438). Thus we have in this construal a sequential scanning of the rally as a whole event, with a limited 'zoom in' of the summarily scanned event, the holding of posters. The writer made it more prominent that the protesters are holding these specific posters, instead of putting the main event into the foreground. This could also be described as the sequentially scanned event being a form of conceptual base, to which the summarily scanned event is the profile. What is made noteworthy by the writer is that people were holding posters with graphic images of aborted foetuses, not the rally itself.

It is interesting that two comparable events are construed in such opposite ways. The pro-choice rally in the first sentence imposes an internal perspective on the rally via summary scanning, while the simultaneous events of *heard demands* and *was described* are rendered in sequential scanning. The rally is construed as a close experience, while the ideologically charged term of *pro-choice* refers to the rally and is backgrounded as a descriptor of the attending people. Such a construal may leave an opening for the reader to imagine themselves at the rally, even though they may not claim the term 'pro-choice' for themselves. There are parallels here to the suggestion by Gavins (2007, p. 86) of readers inserting themselves into literary texts, where 'the closer the resemblance between the life of the text-world enactor and the life of the real-world reader, the more likely it is that the reader will be comfortable inhabiting the new projected text-world persona'.

Sentence 13 in comparison has the rally against the opening of the Marie Stopes clinic construed in sequential scanning. The internal perspective is imposed on holding the posters, which is summarily scanned. It could be argued that this second type of construing overlapping events is more natural because the rally encapsulates and takes longer than

Table 4.12: Selection of concordance lines in newspaper section of BNC of *graphic*

1	text-books with **graphic** illustrations of nightmarish wounds and boxed of severed dummy arms and legs
2	and it is harrowing in a way not even the most **graphic** television pictures can show
3	Their obsessive story is told in **graphic** detail
4	gives grimly **graphic** pictures of camp life
5	Commons listened in silence as she gave a **graphic** eyewitness account of the suffering of Kurdish refugees
6	from East European news agencies and diplomats gave **graphic** witness accounts of earlier violence
7	by rap songs about men mutilating female genitalia, with **graphic** descriptions that we would not reproduce
8	the VR system, images are so realistic explicit sex and **graphic** violence will be just like the real thing,
9	One of the most **graphic** accounts of the horrors and practicalities of war to be published in recent years
10	The film was Basic Instinct, one of the most sexually and violently **graphic** mainstream movies ever made.

holding the posters. The rally does not start after the posters are displayed and does not end before the posters are taken down. It is still sequentially developing at the point when the posters were shown. The description of the posters, featuring two attractors, suggests that there is also an ideological message behind this construal. The point is not that it is more or less natural, but that it represents something temporally and statically 'closer' to the reader for ideological reasons. That these are ideological reasons is suggested by the combined use of the attractors *graphic images* and *aborted foetuses*. The description of these images as ones of *foetuses* and of being *graphic* subtly reveals a construal in this text that sides with the pro-choice rally, particularly in comparison to the sequential construal of the rally as a whole. The newspaper section of the BNC has 10 occurrences of graphic in the same sense that it is used in sentence 13 (Table 4.12).

All of these concordances link *graphic* to violence and sex, describing shock or horror at having seen something. These instances read to me as more than description. There can be a whiff of disapproval in *graphic* when used in conjunction with media depictions,

such as in example 10 (Table 4.12) when the word is made to clash with *mainstream* to describe the film *Basic Instinct*. Considering these concordances, describing the posters as graphic does still not necessarily point towards either a pro-choice or anti-choice position. It is only when combined with the referent *aborted foetuses* that the ideological position of the construal becomes apparent. Foetus is a medical term. Although anti-choice rhetoric has appropriated medical discourse to make their statements more authoritative, it is unlikely that someone sympathetic to the protest outside the Marie Stopes clinic would describe these images as one of foetuses. The possible use of *baby*, *child*, or *unborn*, which is common in the Irish discourse on abortion, instead of the medical term would have construed the scene differently. Here the choice between a register and the appropriate schematicity indicates a critical stance towards this event. Again, I want to emphasise that the use of *foetus* on its own does not indicate either position. It can only be understood as ideological in its context and with its co-text.

In this context, the information of some protesters holding posters is ripe for the ideological preferences of the audience. With such schematic information we cannot be sure how many of the around 300 people, which is already rather schematic, hold graphic posters and whether this is a majority or a minority of the protesters. It might influence a slightly more positive perception of the rally if only a small minority where holding such signs. But it is instead left to the imagination, or rather preference, of the readers to guess how many people took part. Someone who is already averse to the anti-choice protesters might construe the scene with more sign-holding protesters, or even skip over the word *some* and imagine the whole rally in such a way. On the contrary, someone receptive to the protester's message who is adverse to displaying graphic images may opt to construe the scene with only a handful of posters. Based on the construal of the scene by the writer, we can mind-model that their intention was likely to convey a negative impression of the groups of protesters. The schematicity is thus in a way deliberate.

The evaluative position of this article, as showcased here, develops throughout the text and in reference to the co-text. Both *graphic images* and *aborted foetuses* are attractors, while the concept-relational knowledge of the discourse prosody of *graphic* is already

a strong indicator of an ideological stance. Yet I maintain it is only possible to fully appreciate the ideological contribution of the phrase *graphic images of aborted foetuses* in reference to the development of the text and together with the way the scene is scanned, where certain events are depicted as close and sequential instead of holistic wholes.

4.4.3 The development of attention throughout the text

Text development and text structure play a large role in construing ideological messages. Construal and attractors are signs of directed attention. They need to be analysed on the basis of the development of the text to reveal how the writer negotiates a viewpoint. Another sign of this development in the article (Appendix A.1) is how much physical space on the page is given to whom and at which point there is a change in the portrayed positions. For instance, the adjective *elitist* in the first sentence, as analysed in Section 4.3.2, can be inferred by readers to be from a pro-choice campaigner. People who directly speak for a pro-choice position are presented in active roles, such as campaigner and spokesperson, and more space on the page is devoted to their rally and opinions. Just before introducing the anti-choice protesters at the rally, there are extended quotes by a spokesperson from the group *Alliance for Choice*, Virginia Santini, detailing why the Marie Stopes clinic is needed in Belfast and why access to abortion is needed in general. Although both sides are included in the article, it is the pro-choice positions that the writer devotes more space to, while directing attention to their arguments over the ones from the anti-choice position.

Sentence number 13 is embedded in a change of focus in response to this quote. First the writer awards attention to the *small* pro-life counter protest, which features an attractor of size and of ideological tenor. The focus is immediately moved in the next sentence to the past and to the anti-abortion campaigners which protested when the Marie Stopes clinic was first opened. At this point we have a short and sudden development of sustained attention both in terms of topic and referents. Note that the transition from sentence 11 to sentence 12 indirectly equates the two different and temporally separate referents of *small pro-life counter protest* and the *anti-abortion campaigners*, even though there is no further indication that these are the same people. On the surface, it is in the context of this past protest that the *around 300 protesters* in sentence 13 are described and evaluated. But

they are also necessarily evaluated in the context of this text and in comparison to both the small pro-life counter protest and the pro-choice campaigners.

We expect that a newspaper article, just as any other text, will only feature what is relevant in this context. Orientation towards the other discourse participants has been one of the basic tenets of pragmatics for a long time, encapsulated in Grice's (1975) *cooperative principle*, which describes the assumptions that we hold when engaging in conversation. Verhagen (2005) goes so far in his account of *intersubjectivity* to posit that the mutual coordination of cognitive systems of conceptualisers and their respective mental spaces is reflected in the semantics and syntax of linguistic units. Our ability to take another's perspective is reflected in our utterances and in our interpretation of other people's utterances. In terms of the article, we attach meaning to the fact that different rallies and different opinions are mentioned since we assume the text to be cooperative or to coordinate the cognitive systems of readers and writers. Thus the evaluation of the two positions and three different rallies is implied through their juxtaposition, but it is not directly expressed. The implied evaluation is then, as detailed above, further emphasised through the use of the negatively connotated *graphic* and the ideologically connotated *foetus*. As a consequence the journalist could claim plausible deniability of any accusations of partiality and does not have to claim ownership of an explicitly made comparison.

4.5 Chapter conclusion

The question of what is made attractive needs an initial method of finding the focal prominence of the text or text segment. This is not something that the attentional model provides, which indicates how these points of attraction can be analysed, evaluated, and interpreted with reference to people's knowledge. I found Stockwell's (2009) list of features of attractors and the numerous psychological studies on attention in reading ideal for finding focal points of attraction for an analysis of newspaper texts. Depending on the text type and research question, one may employ other means of identifying the focal prominence of the relevant text. The inclusion of cognitive grammar proved to be a valuable addition for explaining the contribution of these attractors to the construals of the article

and its ideological viewpoint. An analysis using CG can provide more detail as to how the referent is depicted and made either attentionally attractive or unattractive, specifically in reference to any other gestalt in the scene. In order to be attractive, other aspects have to be comparatively unattractive, either because they are neglected, occluded, or even absent from the scene. The use of CG specifies the relation between these 'objects' and crucially attends to time developments, which are not part of the attractor model. Figuratively speaking, an analysis using CG identifies which attractor is given time and space by being constructed as still ongoing or concluded. This makes a comparative analysis between processes and things possible, enhancing the analytical potential of attractors.

The corpus data that I draw on in the analysis allowed me to see whether a construal or the use of a certain word is typical for the English language or the genre of newspapers by providing me with attested experiences one can have reading UK newspapers. From this basis I extrapolated whether an ideologically invested construal is created. As discussed, such norms depend on language and contextual knowledge. The ideological investment in the construal of the analysed text's first sentence is partly the result of using typical language patterns. The construction of 'attend* + rally' is used for events that are represented as orderly and almost proper and it is this construction that the writer uses for the pro-choice event. The use of 'protesters', in comparison to demonstrators, or campaigners, terms which are also used in the article, are active and violent, and it is this term that the writer uses for the anti-choice event. This suggests an ideological meaning both immediately at the beginning of the article and this impression is confirmed towards the end of the article, because of how these terms are typically used in newspaper texts. The analysis of sentence 13 used the same approach, but it additionally highlighted that the development of the text crucially colours how a viewpoint is communicated and on what basis it is interpreted by readers. I have singled out the word *foetus* as not necessarily signalling either a pro-choice or anti-choice position. The word acquires in this context and this construal an ideological connotation because of the change in focus in which it is embedded and in contrast to how other events, notably the protest from sentence one, have been construed. A holistic use of the knowledges of the attentional model, as done in this chapter, is desirable and to some

extent inevitable, because it is impossible to cleanly and completely separate one from the other.

5 Ideological attention and the role of reported speech in news texts

5.1 Introduction

How we produce and interpret texts is influenced by our contextual knowledge, and this should also inform our approach to analysing discourse. One pertinent example is the use of quotations, whose interpretation can differ significantly depending on the context and genre of text in which they are embedded. The research questions for this chapter are (1) how DS and FDS function in the IADC, (2) how (F)DS and quotations are construed and embedded into a text, and (3) what this can tell us about the ideological viewpoint espoused by a text and writer. First I classify the key semantic domains of the direct speech portions and their concordances for all articles in the IADC from 2005 to 2011. I then conduct an in-depth cognitive analysis of the selected semantic domain of *Happy* in one particular article (Appendix A.4). This contextualised analysis centres on the relation and construal of the trajector and landmark alignment. From this construal I draw conclusions about how a reader will mind-model the ideological viewpoints of the writer and the person quoted based on context and textual cues. While the readerly process of mind-modelling continues throughout a text, any possible discrepancies in viewpoint are especially noticeable in how quotations in direct speech are embedded into the *primary discourse* (Fairclough, 1988, p. 2) of reporting.

5.2 Mind-modelling of speech presentation

When people are reading a news text, or any text at all, they are mind-modelling the characters, protagonists, or discourse participants, as well as the presented (ideological) world created by the writer. Incorporating the notion of mind-modelling into research on speech presentation does not run counter to the research on the typical functions attributed to the different speech presentation modes. Yet the notion of mind-modelling questions

whether an increase in the temporal and spatial distance to a viewpoint decreases the reader's engagement, as has been suggested in the literature (see Section 2.5.3). Although the argument is that dramatisation and direct experience are more present in direct speech, readers need to mind-model and be engaged to some extent for all forms of speech presentation, even for those forms that are supposedly mostly about detachment. It is writers who detach themselves from a represented statement, but readers are not necessarily detached while they are keeping track of the viewpoints of all of the entities of the text. The notion of engagement via mind-modelling is also compatible with the experimental research on direct and indirect speech (Eerland et al., 2013). Readers show engagement with both forms, but the kind of engagement is different: either the surface structure or the content are emphasised in the reader's mental representation of the text.

If we take mind-modelling seriously, then this has repercussions for an analysis of viewpoint. Readers are aware that journalists are in charge of selecting what to report and of organising those selected statements into a narrative (Caldas-Coulthard, 1994). The deictic shifts in the text engage the reader with both the writer's and the source's mind, whose respective stances are indicated textually. However, the stance of the writer is typically opaque and needs to be inferred contextually. While a quoted person may say something like *encouraging abortion tourism*, journalists avoid making statements that are directly ideological, except when writing opinion pieces. Again, readers are aware that the writer is filtering the text, which means their reading of both the writer's and any source's viewpoint is dependent on the composition of the text. Therefore an analysis of the ideology and viewpoints espoused by a text has to uncover first how the reader interprets the source's point of view and the writer's point of view, and second how these two interact. The theoretical and methodological tools I use in this chapter to achieve this are the form of speech presentation and its (assumed) function, the lexis and content of the speech presentation, the deictic braid that connects reader, writer, and the people quoted, and how all of this is embedded in the text in order to proffer to the reader how to mind-model the participants and their ideological viewpoints.

5.3 Computational methods for identifying and tagging quotations in discourse

The descriptive model of speech presentation by Semino and Short (2004) was substantiated and refined through corpus work that relied on manual tagging. Most studies on speech in news discourse strive to automate this task, since they typically identify speech or quotations in pursuit of another aim, such as sentiment analysis, knowledge extraction, or speech attribution. The focus in these studies is on what has been said broadly and by whom, instead of the form of the speech presentation or how it has been embedded in the text. It is not necessary for such studies to have a fine-grained method that takes account of different forms and contexts of reported speech. DS, IS, and mixed quotations are therefore often treated as the same phenomenon: a form of quotation.

Several compututational methods have been used to extract reported speech in news texts, from what Bergler (2005) calls 'shallow' methods, such as syntactic structures and lists of reporting verbs (e.g., Krestel, Bergler & Witte, 2008; Weiser & Watrin, 2012), to machine learning methods. Although machine learning seems more sophisticated, many of these methods use the same kind of data than shallow methods. For example, Bögel and Gertz (2015) use machine learning and heuristics based on dependency relations, essentially syntactic structures, to identify a mix of different forms of quotation in a corpus of German news articles. Other methods rely on data that was manually tagged and employs both shallow linguistic knowledge, such as type of speech, and human judgement, such as context. Another study developed a classifier trained on a manually annotated corpus to detect verbs introducing different types of quotations in two large news corpora instead of using a dictionary or lexicon of reporting verbs (Pareti, O'Keefe, Konstas, Curran & Koprinska, 2013) . Even for automated processes, it is still such shallow methods based on textual signs and linguistic models and classifications, as well as human judgements, which are the basis on which quotations are identified and tagged in the literature.

Different text types, such as literary texts, may necessitate different methods to identify different forms of speech presentations, such as DS, than those for news texts. This is partly because the research questions of studies on literary texts have different aims; they are interested in the specific forms of speech presentation, their context, and other

narratological concerns. If machine learning methods are employed for literary texts, they rely on annotated corpus data to allow for later automatic annotation (e.g., Brunner, 2015; Schöch et al., 2016). Contrastively, in the CliC Dickens project (Mahlberg et al., 2016; Stockwell & Mahlberg, 2015), DS is automatically annotated using typographical conventions and regular expressions. These regular expressions are specific to identifying DS in the work of Charles Dickens, i.e., a specific 19th century English author writing literary texts. Even though DS may appear to be a straightforward category for automatic annotation, such regular expressions are difficult to generalise because of the difference in text types, historical contexts, and language conventions. Schöch et al. (2016) also note this in their research on nineteenth-century French novels, where typographical conventions are different from today. As this short discussion demonstrates, manual and automated processes have respective advantages and shortcomings, which makes it necessary to consider which method is appropriate for specific research questions.

5.4 Methods

In this chapter I work on the part from the IADC that contains all articles from the year 2005 until 2011. The resulting sub-corpus has 7,187 articles and 4,674,372 tokens. Manual tagging to analyse the use of (F)DS in the corpus, as discussed above and used by Semino and Short (2004), would have been a precise form of methodology, but also prohibitively time consuming and not feasible for a corpus of this size. Additionally, the aim of Semino and Short (2004), was to refine an existing typology, while I use their work as a springboard to investigate how ideological messages are put forward by using quotations. Their work set out to determine what kinds of speech, thought, and writing presentation there are and how frequent they are in select genres. For this task manual tagging provides the necessary depth to ensure that all forms are accounted for and that new forms can be discovered. Manual tagging would not have been appropriate for the task in this thesis, because the aim is to analyse the ideological messages that are communicated in this corpus. The potential loss of instances of DS and FDS via an automated process is offset by the size of the data and the aim of the analysis.

In this thesis I do not make a difference between DS and FDS either when tagging instances of speech presentation and in the following analyses, even though DS and FDS are presented as separate forms by Leech and Short (1981) and Semino and Short (2004). However, the boundary between the two is rather fuzzy, as first noted by Short (1988) and substantiated by Semino and Short (2004). In order to seperate DS and FDS methodologicaly from each other, Semino and Short (2004) had to adopt a number of complex criteria in order to annotate their corpus. Additionally, these criteria, as they point out, segment the examples that they present in a rather arbitrary way and the separation of these categories does not coincide with a functional boundary (Semino & Short, 2004, p. 197). Rather than being separate categories, DS and FDS seem to be on the same continuum. Indeed, there is a phenomenon in tabloids where an instance of DS is not closed with quotation marks and immediately followed by another paragraph that consists only of a quotation. This second quotation would be classified as FDS, but it belongs to the previous instance of DS, where the removal of the closing quotation mark indicates that this is supposed to be the same speech act. Whether these are separate instances of speech and whether they are DS and FDS respectively is up for debate, but it shows that the use of DS and FDS is on a continuum. Furthermore, their use in non-fictional texts, particularly newspapers, fulfils the same functions and there is no difference in their faithfulness claims (Semino & Short, 2004; Short, 1988).

I use the formal feature of punctuation to to automate locating, tagging, and extracting (F)DS. It was necessary to write my own script for this task instead of using tools and methods that have already been used in the literature, because they analyse different text types or different languages (Brunner, 2015; Mahlberg et al., 2016; Schöch et al., 2016) or because they have different definitions for what counts as a quotation, frequently mixing direct and indirect speech (Bergler, 2005; Bögel & Gertz, 2015; Krestel et al., 2008; Pareti et al., 2013; Weiser & Watrin, 2012). My Python script tags anything between single or double quotation marks and can also identify quotes in DS (comparable to what Semino and Short (2004) call a *quick quotation*). For instance, the sentence *'There's only one explanation for it, and it's not a human one,' he said* in the IADC would be tagged in

Table 5.1: Error rates for the Python script tagging DS

Year	Articles	Incorrect tags	Error rate
2005	441	14	3.17%
2006	463	12	2.59%
2007	898	28	3.12%
2008	1592	44	2.76%
2009	1389	37	2.66%
2010	1056	34	3.22%
2011	1348	26	1.93%
Average			2.78%

the following way: <quote>'There's only one explanation for it, and it's not a human one,'</quote> he said. Everything in-between the <quote> and </quote> tag can then be filtered out of the article into a separate document to facilitate a comparison of direct speech against the rest of the articles. The error rate for the script is at an average of 2.78% (Table 5.1). Most of these errors are due to editing issues in the text files provided by Nexis, such as missing or inconsistent use of quotation marks. I manually corrected these tagging errors. A disadvantage of my approach is thus obviously that the texts need to be edited to a high standard, either by the newspaper or by Nexis. Put differently, the quality of the texts files must be high in order for the manual corrections to remain of a manageable size. After the texts have been tagged in this way, direct speech and embedded quotes are searchable via concordancing software.

In order to get an insight into how (F)DS is used in this corpus, I analysed the *key semantic domains* as provided by Wmatrix (Rayson, 2008) of the extracted quotations of each year. Key semantic domains, in analogy to keywords, are semantic domains that appear in a corpus statistically significantly more frequently than would be expected by chance when compared to a reference corpus. I use these to generate an overview of the semantic differences between quotations and the rest of the article. My hypothesis is that the overuse or underuse of semantic domains can point to the functionality of the speech presentation forms in the IADC. I compared (F)DS quotations against what remained of

each article, including other forms of speech presentation. Concordance lines of selected domains are then scrutinised for patterns of how they are used in their immediate context. For the more in-depth analysis, I examined selected instances in Section 5.5.2 using cognitive grammar to determine how they are embedded contextually and how the attention of the reader is directed throughout these passages.

5.5 Semantic patterns of attention in direct speech for constructing ideological viewpoints

In this section I scrutinise the key semantic domains in (F)DS in the articles from 2005 to 2011 because what is frequently talked about, or rather presented by the writer in (F)DS, gives us an indication of the functionality of (F)DS in the IADC. This does not mean that I expect (F)DS to have a radically different function in the data, but that the kind of engagement or direct experience will likely be specific to the topic at hand. This can tells us how the writer wants readers to engage with the presented text participants. The content and function of quotations has consequences for how readers mind-model the different viewpoints of a text. Knowing which semantic domains are key in (F)DS and how they are used enriches the contextual analysis of mind-modelling in Section 5.5.2, since it provides an understanding of how quotations are typically used in the data.

5.5.1 Key semantic domains

The most frequent key semantic domains in (F)DS across the years 2005 to 2011 can be seen in Table 5.2. While there is variation in the key semantic domains for each year, several occur frequently or even for every year. These can be divided into four groups: (1) semantic domains that indicate the function of quotations in the news, (2) semantic domains that are specific to the discourse and might reveal some of the ideologically charged domains that are frequently used, (3) positive emotion and stance, and (4) negative emotion and stance. The last two groups could also be subsumed under the heading of general function of (F)DS considering that they are both used for dramatisation. However, I kept these separate because each corpus will express different emotions and stances.

Table 5.2: Frequent key semantic domains in (F)DS

General (F)DS	Discourse-specific topic	Positive emotion and stance	Negative emotion and stance
Degree: Boosters	Alive	Content	Difficult
Degree: Compromisers	Anatomy and physiology	Evaluation: Accurate	Discontent
Degree: Diminishers	Disease	Evaluation: Authentic	Dislike
Degree: Maximizers	Ethical	Evaluation: Good	Evaluation: Bad
Discourse bin	General ethics	Evaluation: Good/bad	Evaluation: False
Entire: Maximum	Relationship: Intimacy and sex	Evaluation: True	Evaluation: Inaccurate
Exlusivizers/ particularizers	Unethical	Happy	Evaluation: Unauthentic
Frequent		Like	Exceed/Waste
If		Respected	Fear/shock
Likely		Sensible	Foolish
Strong obligation or necessity			Judgement of appearance: Negative
			Sad
			Selfish
			Worry

5.5.1.1 Key semantic domains indicative of direct and free direct speech

The key semantic domains under the heading of *General (F)DS* correspond to the functions attributed to (F)DS in the literature, but they also suggest how (F)DS is used in news texts more specifically. Examples of the semantic domain *Discourse bin* (Table 5.3) illustrate the use of discourse markers and common patterns of spoken speech, such as *to be frank* and *I have to say*. In accordance with the posited functions of (F)DS, such patterns help the reader to have a direct experience of the utterance and they give a 'flavour' of the person speaking. In sentence four the expression *What I was saying* highlights the spoken nature of the statement, while explicitly referencing a previous utterance, which is typical for spoken discourse. Colloquial expressions such as *go off* and *do away* in sentence seven are also examples of how statements presented in (F)DS try to involve the reader in the communication event as it happened at the time of speaking. This form of dramatisation creates authenticity, as it contrasts with the style and higher formality of news as written discourse. In the same article, a previous sentence that is not attributed to someone else reads *The case has provoked a major political debate over the high rate of teenage pregnancies and the increasing sexualisation of children*. The differing lexis and syntax of these two sentences demonstrates the contrast of styles between the presented (F)DS of the involved people and the written discourse of the article. With the change in style the writer tries to preserve to an extent the spoken character of the utterances. The quoted statement will in all likelihood not have been uttered exactly as it has been printed, for instance fillers such as *uh* or *um* are missing, but some of the style of spoken discourse has been preserved.

In comparison, the use of the semantic domains *Likely* and *If* seems to correspond to the use of (F)DS in general. Yet they are also emblematic of the text type of news texts. What might or could happen is as much part of news reporting as is reporting on past events. Additionally, the types of events that newspapers write about are often complex and typically unfold at the time of reporting. Predictions of what will or might happen in the future, considering current events, are commonly written about in news texts. Concordances for the semantic domain *Likely* (Table 5.4) indicate that the possibilities

Table 5.3: Example concordance lines of semantic domain *Discourse bin*

1	That is, **in essence**, what the legal guarantees will underpin
2	It's a work in progress **to be frank**
3	**I have to say** it's probably the most appalling case of abuse I've ever read against children and I don't understand how children were left in such a vulnerable position for so long
4	**What I was saying** was thank God they decided to preserve a life
5	We have work to do in terms of exposing the facts that that's **basically** not true
6	It said I was going to be damned when I voted Yes; that I was going to go against my Christian values, that I was allowing abortion into Ireland, **and so on**
7	They didn't go off to have an abortion to do away with the child, so **obviously** they have respect for human life

Table 5.4: Example concordance lines of semantic domain *Likely*

1	It **could** be a woman in her thirties with other children, who feels she is in financial difficulty, or even a boyfriend, who **may** have only been in a short-term relationship and doesn't know how to deal with this situation
2	I thought it **would** be good to have a baby
3	At first, I thought abortion **might** be the answer but Emma wasn't willing to go down that road
4	I **doubt** that any intended advert about abortion would be fully truthful and tell the whole truth of the effects of abortion in a woman's life
5	My sense is this is **possible**, but not inevitable
6	People **may** be in incredible pain, but this is God's test

discussed in (F)DS also include events that might have happened in the past. Linguistically, this is most frequently expressed via modals. In sentence two and three the people quoted look back at their former selves who considered the possibilities of the future. Even with the restricted context of an extended concordance, we can infer for sentence three that the text suggests that the possibility considered for the future, having an abortion, would have been the wrong choice. This is made clear with the clause *At first* and the modal *might*, since we then expect a second situation or consideration that proves the initial one wrong. Predictably, the person quoted goes on to state that *Once the baby was born, there was no going back. I had to stand by them.*

Other examples for the use of the semantic domain *Likely* can be seen in sentence

Table 5.5: Example concordance lines of semantic domain *If*

1	It's difficult to say these things because I love my kids but **if** I could go back I would never have become a dad so young
2	I wasn't sure **if** I would keep it
3	Whereas this would be OK in other circumstances, **if** your job is on the line or your partner lost his job, then the pregnancy can be seen as a crisis
4	What **if** the cost of child care causes us to compromise our ability to pay our mortgage
5	In England, Scotland or Wales, a woman would not be told that she would have to pay for an abortion **if** she had been raped, sexually abused or if she has a pregnancy diagnosed with fatal abnormality
6	**If** women don't have a right to decide if they have a child, women aren't free

four and six. The speaker in sentence four raises worries about an imagined scenario as means of an argument against abortion in general. According to the speaker, having an abortion is a difficult experience that affects a woman's whole life. Any advert promoting abortion would thus need to lie since the 'truth' of abortion does not make it marketable. Contrastively, the speaker of sentence six does not talk about a past or future event, but considers the likelihood of a current or possible event. Instead of discussing specific cases, as the media tends to do, the speaker highlights the universal issue of legal access to abortion. Such cases of a general discussion are rare in any of the investigated concordances for the key semantic domains. Typically, the discussion stays at the level of one event, situation, or affected woman - the discussion is personalised.

A similar use of potential events and worlds emerges for the semantic domain *If*. As the corpus excerpts demonstrate (Table 5.5), the speakers consider alternatives to events that happened or might have happened in the past (sentence one, two), or they suggest possible events and what these could entail (sentence three, four). In sentence five there is a direct comparison of legal access to abortion in most of the UK against the access to abortion in Northern Ireland. The conditions that women in the UK would find themselves under if they wanted an abortion are used to illustrate the adverse experiences women in Northern Ireland could and do have. Sentence six is a rare instance where a general possibility, or lack thereof, is raised, instead of a concrete event being considered.

The concordances for both *Likely* and *If* suggest that they are predominantly used to

describe events that could have happened in the past or to describe general possibilities, rather than referring to potential future events. This is somewhat surprising for a discourse where possible changes in the law are one of the key discussion points. What this could indicate is that the use of (F)DS in this corpus concentrates on personal statements, whereas legal ramifications might be presented in IS or are written without reference to a source. The concordances also show that the past possibility that is regularly being discussed is having had an abortion, which entails that this did not take place (Table 5.5 sentence one, two, three). The introduced viewpoint in these concordances may be in agreement or disagreement with the writer's preferred ideological viewpoint (see Chapter 6), but it is noteworthy that abortion is presented as an option that was or is not taken.

Direct speech in news texts, and arguably free direct speech, has been said to function as a form of direct experience for the readers. The use of (F)DS in the sub-corpus is therefore in agreement with reader's contextual knowledge and will be read accordingly. What is also important for uncovering the ideological viewpoint of the texts is what kind of personal statements are most frequently presented by writers and how these are embedded into the text. In the following sections I discuss the kinds of emotions that are expressed in (F)DS in the corpus and consider whether these have ideological implications.

5.5.1.2 Key semantic domains of negative emotion and stance

After surveying the key semantic domains that stand for the function of (F)DS in general, I will now analyse some of the semantic domains in the categories of positive and negative emotion and stance. I am interested here in how these emotions are particular to the discourse of abortion access in Ireland, as well as in the question who voices these emotions about what kind of people or events.

The results for *Judgement of appearance: Negative* betray the name of this domain. In the concordances, there are no references to physical or any other appearance. Instead we find strongly negative words, such as *horrible*, *awful*, or *deplorable*, used in reference to different entities. However, which emotions are expressed does not necessarily tell us about the dynamics of the discourse. It is significant who the one expressing these

Table 5.6: Attribution of domain *Judgement of appearance: Negative*

Attribution	Frequency
Source	2
Someone else	13
Something else	26
Abortion	9
Words or tone	7

Table 5.7: Attribution of *Judgement of appearance: Negative* to source

1	I was **disgusted** when I found out, devastated
2	It's an **awful** lot of emotion to be exposed to, but you hear people's stories and think, 'This is why I'm doing this'.

emotions is or at whom they are directed. Semantic domains of emotions in (F)DS can refer to an emotion that the person quoted feels, or they can characterise another person from the perspective of the source. Concordances of the semantic domain *Judgement of appearance: Negative* suggest that this kind of emotion is rarely an expression of the speaker's own emotions (Table 5.6). There are only two examples of the person quoted describing their feelings. Sentence two in Table 5.7 is arguably not even an expression of a negative emotion, but rather an expression highlighting the quantity of emotions, albeit using a negatively connoted adverb. More frequently someone else (Table 5.8) or something else is characterised negatively by the speaker of the quote.

The semantic domain *Judgement of appearance: Negative* is unsurprisingly also used to characterise abortion itself, with clauses such as *an abominable crime*, *the unspeakable crime*, or *something so awful*. There is also a tendency towards meta-commentary, in

Table 5.8: Examples of attribution of *Judgement of appearance: Negative* to someone else

1	How much **filth** there is among those who should belong completely to Christ, how much pride
2	It wasn't your fault a **despicable** man took away your innocence in the cruellest way.
3	Paediatricians are **tainted** with the view that neonatal abnormalities should not be treated.

Table 5.9: Examples of attribution of *Judgement of appearance: Negative* to words or tone

1	**strident** and **hysterical** tone
2	I don't want this to sound **harsh** but where the mother of the child who is entitled to have its life protected decided to seek an abortion, the only mechanism in our system is for the attorney general to intervene and to make a case for the child to be born alive.
3	I tended to speak my mind maybe a bit **harshly** at times but mostly I criticised the Government and the Church.

which the person quoted describes the use of language in the debate on abortion access (Table 5.9). The validity of such complaints are reflected in the data of this corpus if we look at the frequency and dominance of negative domains of emotion and stance versus positive ones. Emotive or inflammatory statements are reproduced in the newspapers via (F)DS precisely because they are emotive and inflammatory. A journalist cannot write such statements without distancing themselves from them via attribution, even though they might agree and might make this agreement clear in the way they present, embed, and comment on the material.

The negative semantic domain *Fear/shock* has a similar distribution of attributing the emotion to the person quoted or to someone else compared to *Judgement of appearance: Negative* (Table 5.10). For some of the concordances the emotion or stance could be sorted into more than one category. As an example, the attribution in the sentence *I find the prospect that my daughters could be receiving contraception and an abortion without my knowledge horrifying* is three-fold. The source describes their feeling of horror and they implicitly describe abortion and receiving contraception as horrifying. In such cases, the sentence was counted for all affected categories.

Fear/shock is most often used to characterise the feelings of someone other than the source or to describe the emotional stance of the source towards something else. Only in 7 out of 44 instances does the quoted source directly refer to their own feelings (Table 5.11). Sentence two, four, and five refer to the emotions of the person quoted in relation to abortion. While these three sentences display a negative emotion towards having had an abortion or the prospect of an abortion, the person quoted in sentence 1 is instead shocked because she was refused an abortion by the HSE (Health and Safety Executive). Although

Table 5.10: Attribution of domain *Fear/shock*

Attribution	Frequency
Source	7
Someone else	16
Something else	16
Abortion	5
Words or tone	0

Table 5.11: Examples of attribution of *Fear/shock* to source

1	I have to say that I am deeply **shocked** by the extent to which the HSE chose to ignore my wishes and to treat me as if I have no right to personal autonomy or to make a decision affecting my physical and mental well-being at this time.
2	I was very **shook up**.
3	I was 42 at the time and my biggest **fear** was Down Syndrome.
4	I felt so guilty, so sad, so **shocked** at what had happened and so confused that I ended up starving myself and developing an eating disorder.
5	More time is needed under those circumstances and I would have grave **fears** that decisions would be rushed.

the emotion is related to having an abortion, the speaker's feelings are in reference to other people denying her an abortion and not the act itself. Sentence three and four illustrate the medical and health-related fears that accompany any pregnancy. Their significance for the abortion debate in Ireland lies in the question whether fatal abnormalities and other health concerns are a valid reason for legal access to abortion. In both sentences it is the prospective mother's fear that is the focus of the statement. In the concordances the fear expressed by the people quoted often revolves around present or possible problems with the pregnancy, or the shook and fear of having or needing an abortion. Statements such as example one, where the source demands an abortion and is shocked she is denied one, are an exception.

Overall, there is a tendency in the concordances of both semantic domains, *Judgement of appearance: Negative* and *Fear/shock*, for the source of the quoted speech to indirectly express their emotions by characterising other people and abstract things or events. Direct reference to the speaker's feeling with the first person singular are rare. This suggest that, at least for certain emotions, the speakers in the IADC sub-corpus more frequently express negative emotions towards something or someone as a general property of what they are talking, instead of portraying it as their own emotions. It could be argued that is is already emblematic of an ideological viewpoint, since it removes nuance and particularities from consideration, while portraying certain aspects that are discussed in the discourse on abortion access, such as abortion itself, as generally negative, instead of as negative for one person.

5.5.1.3 Key semantic domain *Happy*

A completely different picture emerges when we look at the data for the positive emotion *Happy*. The feelings expressed in this semantic domain are more often attributed to the quoted person than for the negative emotions (Table 5.12). A number of these can be sorted into more than one category, because they describe the feeling of both the person quoted and another person. As can be seen in Table 5.13, this is almost exclusively done in reference to couples finding out about the pregnancy, indicated either with the first person

Table 5.12: Attribution of domain *Happy*

Attribution	Frequency
Source	22
Someone else	19
Something else	5
Slogan	3

Table 5.13: Examples of attribution of *Happy* to both source and someone else

1	My first pregnancy at the age of 33 **thrilled** me and Chris
2	It's been a long, difficult journey and we're **thrilled** that our family is now complete
3	We never planned this, but despite the problems we knew it would cause, we were **over the moon**
4	My husband, Pete, and I were **thrilled** when our two children who are now eight and five, were born
5	Although it was a shock, Tony and I were **thrilled**
6	We were so **happy** to be having a child together, and for the first five months, everything was perfectly normal
7	We knew through early testing he would face special challenges, and we feel privileged that God would entrust us with this gift and allows us unspeakable **joy** as he entered our lives.

plural pronoun *we* or with a clause explicitly linking the source and the partner, such as *Tony and I*. In sentence seven (Table 5.13) the joy the couple feels at having a child is connected to God's will. The child in this story has Downs Syndrome and is described as God's *gift* despite the challenges the child and family will face in its upbringing. Above all, the child will bring *unspeakable joy* to the family. The article specifically mentions that the mother is *fervently anti-abortion*.

Concordances of the attribution of *Happy* to only the source (Table 5.14) reveal distinct patterns of what happiness in this corpus means. The women quoted are full of *joy* because of their children. It is their children or God's work that brings them happiness, no matter how difficult the pregnancy was or whether the child only lived a couple of days (sentence two, five, six). I think it is significant that this positive emotion towards having a child despite the accompanying *heartache* is presented in (F)DS rather than IS. With (F)DS, the

Table 5.14: Examples of attribution of *Happy* to source

1	I have experienced the great **joy** of God's presence in my children, so I'm inclined to be against abortion of any life
2	So I know, though, that my deepest **happiness** would only come in doing God's will, whatever it might be
3	When I found out I was pregnant for the second time I was **overjoyed**
4	Theo was a miracle - we thought I'd never get pregnant again, I'm so thankful to have him and he fills my life with **joy**
5	And now, despite all the heartache, Isabelle has brought me so much **joy** that I feel incredibly glad I had her
6	Sometimes I was so overwhelmed with **love**, I just picked her up and squeezed her
7	The first time I held him I was crying so much because I was so full of **happiness**

Table 5.15: Examples of attribution of *Happy* to someone else

1	But she is the **happiest** most pleasant baby in the world and she has developed her own little personality
2	It's exhausting, but the most important thing is that all my children are **happy** and healthy
3	Heidi was **thrilled** to have a baby sister
4	Daisy is now a **happy** 20-month-old
5	I look back and although her life was short, she brought everyone so much **joy**
6	I can see the **joy** any child can bring, but I also see that the opportunities need to be there for them
7	Dear families, **rejoice** in fatherhood and motherhood
8	The reality is that there are women and couples who are **happy** with their decision to abort

experience can feel closer because readers are told by the affected person in a informal, conversational style about their happiness. If these feelings had been presented in IS, there would be another layer of distancing because the involvement of the writer is made more noticeable. There is also more expressive freedom in (F)DS because of the option of rendering the strength of the emotion with boosters such as *so* or *deepest* (cf. Carter's (2004, p. 117) *intensity cline*). Such boosters are not typical of the style of newspaper texts.

If the person experiencing happiness is someone else than the quoted person, then this is typically a child (Table 5.15). This happiness is innate to the child (sentence one to five)

and then radiates to others, usually the mother or parents. This is phrased as a generality in sentence six, with the important caveat that it depends on the family's situation, otherwise happiness might be difficult to achieve. Contrastingly, sentence seven proclaims the joy that fathers and mothers should feel in becoming or being fathers and mothers. This is a statement from Pope Benedict, which the writer further described as *He urged parents to affirm the inviolability of life from conception to natural death*. In this somewhat oblique statement against abortion it is the joy at being a parent that outshines everything else.

Alternative experiences of happiness such as in sentence eight are almost absent from the concordances. There are definite ideologically motivated messages for the semantic domain of *Happy*: a woman is happy when she becomes a mother (together with her (male) partner); children bring happiness; a mother is responsible for the happiness of her children; and happiness prevails over any problems, even the expected death of the child. In many of these stories, it is explicitly mentioned that these overjoyed women did not have an abortion or did not even consider an abortion. The children involved in these stories are often physically or mentally challenged, but it is emphasised how much *joy* they nevertheless bring into the world. Women are urged to bring a child to term even when this child has foetal abnormalities that mean it might be stillborn or only live a very short amount of time. There is no room for women's voices who do not see any happiness in bringing such a pregnancy to term, not to mention women who would not feel joy at becoming a mother. Compared with the negative emotion expressed about abortion in the previously discussed semantic domains, it is apparent that there are clearly favoured conceptions of the events surrounding pregnancy, motherhood, and abortion that form a coherent ideology centred around women and their (lack of) choices. Sentences such as example 8 in Table 5.15 are a rare exception.

5.5.2 Analysing the emotion *Happy* in context

After surveying stances and emotions in the corpus generally, and expressions of happiness specifically, I want to analyse how happiness is construed in a specific textual context. Considering the patterns of ideological messages in the concordances for negative versus positive emotions that I have found, I want to examine whether the image of a happy

pregnant woman endures throughout an article and how construals direct attention towards it. It is important to examine how general patterns work contextually, as they may be a foregrounded or backgrounded part of the ideology conveyed in specific articles. The combination of the general and contextual patterns gives us an indication of how a key semantic domain, in this case the use of the positive emotion of happiness when talking about legal access to abortion, figures into a coherent ideology. I am specifically interested in one of the sentences where the concordance already suggests that the speaker's happiness is accompanied by hardships:

> 'Theo was a miracle - we thought I'd never get pregnant again, I'm so thankful to have him and he fills my life with joy.'

The article featuring this quotation was published in October 24, 2008 in *The Mirror* (full article in Appendix A.4). Abortion is only an incidental mention in this text. Its main topic is the story of a woman, Suzie Bellingham, who became pregnant while undergoing dialysis for kidney failure. Her son, Theo, was born with an impaired kidney function and needs a kidney transplant, just like his mother. The quoted sentence describes her and the father's reaction when first finding out that she was pregnant, even though she was told she had become infertile because of her medical treatment. The quotation is embedded right after a summary of the story and is followed by another quotation that describes the problems the son has because of his condition, together with Ms Bellingham's emotional response to this. The whole section reads as follows:

> Mum Suzie, 31, has been waiting for a transplant for four years, since her kidneys failed as she gave birth to her daughter Kiah. And when Theo arrived last July - after Suzie was told her dialysis treatment had left her infertile - doctors discovered that he was suffering the same condition. Suzie, who married Theo and Kiah's father, Matt, this month, says: 'Theo was a miracle - we thought I'd never get pregnant again, I'm so thankful to have him and he fills my life with joy. At the moment, his kidney function is 13 per cent less than normal but the doctors say that they could completely fail at any moment

- just like mine did. To think he may go through what I'm going through and miss out on having a normal childhood is absolutely heartbreaking.'

This is our introduction to both the story and to the main actor, Ms Bellingham. Her initial characterisation sets the tone of how the readers are supposed to understand the events, since they provide a canvas against which her decisions are reasonable. This introduction describes Ms Bellingham not as a person in her own right, but as a mother using the more colloquial and intimate term *mum*. After a summary of the main points of the story, the writer provides more detail about her marital status and her relation to the father of the two mentioned children. Ms Bellingham's first words in the article are *Theo was a miracle*. In this short text extract the readers are offered a description of Ms Bellingham that concentrates on her roles as a mother and wife and her emotions towards one of her children.

The averred sections in this paragraph summarise the story and stay factual, while the attributed sentences contain the emotional importance of the story. Not only is there a speaker participating in the story, which 'conveys both the human and the dramatic dimension of news events' (van Dijk, 1988, p. 87), Ms Bellingham's quotations provide the emotional aspects. It is doubtful that the way the quotations are presented here is faithful to the original communication event. It seems unusual that a mother would directly follow her remarks about the joy of her pregnancy and birth of her son up with his malfunctioning kidney. More likely is that Ms Bellingham was asked by an interviewer at some point about the current prognosis for her son. The immediate juxtaposition between the emotions of happiness and worry is how the writer wanted to present the situation to the readership.

The hardship of this story is Theo's kidney problems, which probably brought the story to the attention of the media. Even though this is one of the pulls of the story, the reader is first made aware of the wonder and joy of Theo's birth before being confronted with the particularities of his health issues. The reader then learns that *his kidney function is 13 per cent less than normal* and could even *completely fail at any moment*. There is a juxtaposition of good versus bad in even just this clause, albeit not as strongly as the comparison of *miracle* with the latter *heartbreaking*. Although a reduction of thirteen

percent may sound manageable, the connector *but* prepares the reader for the harsh reality of the situation. The last quotation from Ms Bellingham in this paragraph details the difficulty of Theo's situation and ends in the *heartbreaking* emotion that she feels. The attributed sections again provide the emotional punch of the event. There is no direct commentary on the quotations; the only commentary we have, in a manner of speaking, is the way the quotations are embedded into the article. The reader has to infer the writer's stance by how the averred sections are written in comparison to the attributed ones: is the ideological viewpoint offered via averral consistent with the attribution?

The ideological viewpoint of the article is suggested by how the participants in the news events are characterised and how their actions are framed. Initially the emphasis in this paragraph by the writer, and arguably by Suzie, is on the miracle of Theo's birth, her thankfulness, and her resulting joy. These positive feelings are juxtaposed with the realities of the malfunctioning kidney. The human drama created and highlighted by following joy with horror is of course the appeal of the story and, as mentioned previously, having the participants speak themselves heightens the dramatic dimension of the news event (van Dijk, 1988, p. 87). The reasons for organising and writing the article in this way are therefore influenced by the conditions set by the media. However, there are also always ideological reasons that influence the production of newspaper articles. The way Ms Bellingham is framed, as a mother and a wife, is rooted in traditional conceptions of gender roles, irrespective of whether this might heighten the emotional appeal of the story. The ideological dimension of the story and of casting her as a mother is made apparent in respect to the topic of abortion.

5.5.2.1 The trajector/landmark-alignment in attributed sections

Abortion is introduced into this story because doctors were concerned about Ms Bellingham's health if she continued the pregnancy. Ms Bellingham rejects the option of an abortion and also points out the serious danger she put herself in. The section reads:

> (1) Doctors were stunned - only a handful of women worldwide had conceived a baby while on haemo dialysis. But because of her poor health, and the strain

> pregnancy would put on her body, they advised Suzie to have an abortion. (2) 'I said no straight away. For me, the baby was a miracle,' she says. (3) 'Even though I was putting my life in danger, I was determined to keep my baby.'

Just as in the paragraph discussed previously, emotions are referred to in the attribution, while the averred sections describe facts. How the reader interprets the attributed sections, or *secondary discourse*, depends on the way they have been contextualised in the reporting or primary discourse (Fairclough, 1988, p. 2). Traditional grammatical notions of independent and dependent clause do not correspond one to one to the trajector/landmark alignment. The trajector is the focal point and is unaffected by the grammatical relations between clauses. In the case of sentence 3 above, the main clause is a landmark, while one of the two subordinate clauses is the trajector. Even though the independent clause is typically described as featuring the main information, this is not how the brain processes it. The information of the dependent clause is not put on hold mentally until the main clause is read. The first focus in this sentence is hence the initial clause containing *her poor health*, while the clause that retells the doctors advising Ms Bellingham to have an abortion is a landmark. It is not the primary focus in the sentence. What the reader is supposed to first think about is *the poor health* of Ms Bellingham, rather than the option of an abortion. It could be argued that the reader is supposed to infer that the doctors had good reasons for suggesting an abortion by first considering Ms Bellongham's health and the subsequent strain of the pregnancy she would have to endure. Abortion is therefore presented as an option for the health concerns of this specific case.

The ideological interpretation of this sentence is further suggested by the way *poor health* is presented schematically, despite its attentional focus as the trajector. The dangers of Ms Belllingham's pregnancy are not elaborated on, which makes the option of an abortion more distant and unlikely, since the potential gravity of the pregnancy is not offered for consideration to the reader. The dependent clause *and the strain pregnancy would put on her body* provides additional background information as the landmark to the trajector *But because of her poor health*. Notably the clause describes a situation that holds true for every pregnancy: it puts a strain on the pregnant person's body. The clause

and particularly the phrase *her body* are schematic, although the writer could have detailed which part is in some way strained. *Body* is the maximal scope that could be profiled in this case, even though Ms Bellingham's already damaged kidneys might be the most affected by the pregnancy. We are not made privy by the writer what *strain* means and what consequences this could have. Instead, the inferred meaning of the clause lies in providing us at this point with only schematic knowledge of the dangers that this pregnancy entailed. Combined, there is a diminished focus on abortion and a foregrounded but schematic focus on the health and increased strain of the patient. Indeed, the next quotations by Ms Bellingham assures us of the impossibility of abortion even being considered.

The writer never explicitly says throughout the article that Ms Bellingham made the right choice. But the way Ms Bellingham's emotions and her role as a mother are framed, both by the writer and herself, only permits this one reading. For a different story, where the woman had decided to discontinue the pregnancy because of her health issues, the image of the child as a miracle would not have been made into the primary focus. Furthermore, the juxtaposition between happiness and heartbreak would have to be written differently, since the joy in this article outshines the complications. The writer would likely have directed attention to more details about the complications. In such a case the sentence introducing abortion might have been worded so that abortion becomes the trajector and the health concerns the landmarks, because it would lead to an understanding where abortion is the outcome due to the woman's poor health and the danger to her life.

5.5.2.2 Mind-modelling the ideological viewpoint of the quoted participant and the writer

One way the reader assumes the ideology and viewpoints of the participants in the news event is by mind-modelling them, including their emotional state at the time of the news event. From the information provided, the reader can easily infer the mental state of Ms Bellingham and understand why she disregarded abortion. As discussed, the focus on joy and the diminished attention on the problems lead to an image where abortion seems incongruous. The word *miracle* does a lot of work here because of its connotations in the

Table 5.16: Quotations in (F)DS by Ms Bellingham referring to emotions

1	Some people thought it wouldn't work because Matt was much younger but we both felt we were made for each other.
2	We were so happy to be having a child together and, for the first five months, everything was perfectly normal.
3	It was all such a shock.
4	Suzie remembers: 'It wasn't a happy time like it should have been. I was fighting for my life but all I really cared about was seeing my girl.'
5	I missed my independence and being active. But having my family around me helped compensate for all that.
6	It was the biggest and best shock of my life.
7	'At first I was very down about it all and I blamed myself for the fact that Theo would never be able to live a normal life,' Suzie says.
8	Matt and I got married on August 9 - we adore each other.

discourse, which suggests there might be religious reasoning behind the way pregnancy and women are conceptualised. Readers have a especially rich resource of insight into Ms Bellingham from her quotations, no matter the issue how faithful to the original utterances these productions are. Several other quotations of her throughout the article have her talk about her emotions (Table 5.16).

Emotions are part of what drives a story such as this in the media. Having the participants be speakers adds a dramatic dimension to the text (van Dijk, 1988, p. 87). Everything that is emotive and strong is worthy to be quoted, especially in such an article. It could be argued that the reason emotions are featured in the attributed (F)DS sections of the text is because that is one aspect of how news work as a genre, as was suggested for the frequency of semantic domains of emotion in the IADC sub-corpus. However, it also has ideological importance what the writer, and everyone else involved in the production process, selects to print in an article. It is probable that Ms Bellingham has said more in the interview than the published quotations: what to include is a deliberate decision that frames the ideological coherence of the story. Similarly, it must be noted that the decision to include her marriage and how she met her husband does not add to the story per se. What it does is paint a picture of what kind of woman Ms Bellingham is in order to

make her decision logical in the ideological frame of traditionally gendered femininity and motherhood of the article.

Since there are no direct statements of support or rejection by the writer in the article, readers will mind-model the writer on such clues as organisation of the story, presentation of what is deemed important, and commentary on the events or quotations. As discussed in Section 4.2, texts are never neutral. In the article, the manifestations of textual neutrality are in effect taken as the norm, so the ideological stance of the writer in agreement with the content is made to seem normal and natural. Even just following the two longer extracts, readers can get a sense of the writer presenting as professional and neutral, with the more emotional contents being delegated and attributed to Ms Bellingham. The writer does not comment on these quotations or use reporting clauses that would have revealed a difference in opinion. Generally, there is a tendency for women in the news to be part of an unaccessed voice group (Hartley, 1982), i.e., they are less often given a voice in reporting. If they are given a voice, their social role has a special or deviant status and they are not given the same speaking space (Caldas-Coulthard, 1994). One way this discrepancy is presented is in the kinds of descriptive reporting verbs used for women, such as *nag*, *gossip*, or *chatter* (Caldas-Coulthard, 1994), which denigrates the talk of women who are not traditionally feminine (Cameron, 1985, p. 31). The same is not true for this article. The only speaking voice is Ms Bellingham. Her quotations are accompanied by a reporting verb ten times in the article. Out of these, *says* is used eight times, with one case each of *recalls* and *remembers*. The writer eschews reporting clauses that might suggest agreement or a difference in opinion, opting for laminator verbs (Goffman, 1974, p. 505) that sound neutral and factual. Other options, such as *alleges* or *claims* would allude to the writer's negative stance towards the quoted material. There is also no other commentary on the attributed parts. The way the news story is organised, as detailed with the discussion of juxtaposing happiness and horror, and this lack of commentary suggest that the writer agrees with the position of Ms Bellingham. The way the quotations are embedded reveals the viewpoint of the writer.

5.5.2.3 The influence of lexis for mind-modelling ideological viewpoints

The chosen lexis for describing Ms Bellingham's feelings is another aspect that suggests the ideology of the article's viewpoint. Corpus evidence reveals the kind of language and concept-relational knowledge that a reader might have of the lexis used in the article and the ideological viewpoints attached to it. A case in point is the categorial dismissal of abortion by Ms Bellingham, which is explained with her feelings towards the baby. The clause *the baby was a miracle* harks back to her first quotation of the article: *Theo was a miracle*, which is linked to the thankfulness and joy she and her partner felt about her pregnancy. The term *miracle* can have a religious connotation. Using concordance analysis, it is possible to judge whether the term also has this connotation in this corpus and the debate on legal access to abortion. This gives guidance on the importance and understanding of the term in this context for the reader. In the IADC corpus for the year 2008, which is when this article was published, we can observe in Table 5.17 a religious usage (sentences four to six), but also a usage that describes children (sentences one to three), and a usage connected to embryonic stem cell research and infertility treatment (sentences seven to 13). Even when used secularly, the term can retain is religious connotation. Sentence 12 (Table 5.17) emphasises this with an additional religious comparison, as embryonic stem cell research is called *medicine's Holy Grail*. In this light, the use of *miracle* in reference to Theo's birth is understandable, but it also illustrates the ingrained connections between matters of birth, children, mothers, and of religion that dominates the Irish discourse on abortion (Martin, 2000; Oaks, 2002, 2003).

There is an ideological image created by the use of *miracle* and Ms Bellingham's remark that her life was in danger because she continued the pregnancy. The reader is presented with the image of a selfless mother whose joy are her children, who sacrifices her health, potentially even her life, for her child to be born. This is irrespective of the chance that the child might have health complications because of the problems associated with the pregnancy. What matters is that the child is born since it brings so much happiness into everyone's life. This conception of the joy that children and pregnancy bring was already apparent in the corpus data for the use of the semantic domain *Happy*. Where women's

Table 5.17: Exemplary extended concordance lines of *miracle(s)* in the IADC in 2008

1	'They are my little **miracles**. It's exhausting, but the most important thing is that all my children are happy and healthy.'
2	OUR LITTLE **MIRACLES** CALLED FAITH AND HOPE ; YOUNGEST SIAMESE TWINS MUM OPENS HER HEART PROUD
3	They're **miracle** babies, they really are.
4	It was like watching a scene from an old-fashioned **miracle** play rather than a modern soap-opera titled 'Disgraced Man Departs in Glory'. Not only did I observe the warmth of the church leaders valediction for Bertie Ahern, I too felt a surge of affection towards him when he equally warmly shook my hand and thanked me for coming.
5	Mr Myers insulted my Catholic faith in writing that 'Catholicism has the preposterous **miracle** of transubstantiation at its core.'
6	The former is the Jesus who performed **miracles**, was born of a virgin, was God incarnate and who died, rose again and ascended into heaven.
7	Surely we meddle with the **miracle** of human life at our peril ? Is it surprising there is growing disregard for human life when we do not value it at its most fragile beginnings?
8	A substantial number of scientists, allied to a substantial number of politicians, lawyers, academics and journalists have persuaded us that **miracle** cures will soon be before us as a result of embryo stem cell research and therefore it is acceptable that some should die so that others can live.
9	30 YEARS OF **MIRACLE** BABIES
10	Professor Harrison retired from practice two years ago, but is constantly reminded of the human **miracles** that were once tiny specs under his microscope.
11	Our politicians would do better than to fall for fairytales of **miracle** cures.
12	**Miracle** or murder ? This week, an Irish university became the first in the country to proceed with embryonic stem cell research, a science hailed as medicine's Holy Grail yet mired in controversy at every step.
13	Adult stem cells are already used to treat diseases such as leukaemia and heart disease but scientists believe their younger counterparts offer the chance of **miracle** cures, even for the terminally ill.

emotional wellbeing is intimately linked with pregnancy and children, there can of course be no room for the option of abortion. The article and Ms Bellingham make this ideology clear.

To summarise, the ideological message of the text, which links women, pregnancy, and abortion, is suggested to the reader via attentional patterns in several ways. First the reader mind-models the participants of the news story and the writer based on textual cues. Here their ideological viewpoint on the news events is congruent, as the the averred and attributed sections are in agreement. Second there is an attentional emphasis on the happy parts of pregnancy and birth: in Ms Bellingham's first quotation we have the clause featuring *miracle* as the trajector, while one of the two landmarks talks about her *joy* of the pregnancy. The joy of mothers is a common pattern in the corpus data for (F)DS, suggesting that there is a trend in the discussion of abortion to have pregnant women voice how happy they are to be pregnant. Third, any problems associated with the pregnancy are presented schematically and not further elaborated on. Although the reader learns throughout the article of Ms Bellingham's difficult dialysis, she is not yet pregnant during that time. Any implications of her health issues towards her own body and her unborn child once she is pregnant are silenced. Fourth, the concordances of the corpus data during 2008 revealed a salient use of *miracle* for children in general, but especially for children where conception was difficult or where child or mother have some sort of health problem. It is noteworthy that this pattern exists in a corpus of text on abortion, because it points towards a conception that can be used to ideologically argue against abortion. Additionally, the religious connotation of *miracle* cannot be disregarded in this discourse. While the term is not overtly religious, it suggests that there might be influences of a religious ideology in the conception of mothers deriving their joy from pregnancy and children. Combined, these aspects create an impression of what a mother, or here *his adoring mum*, is and does, and what the correct response, according to the article's viewpoint, is to being advised to have an abortion.

5.6 Chapter conclusion

My analysis of (F)DS in the IADC from 2005 to 2011 indicates that (F)DS is used in conformity to the functions the literature has discussed, but that there are uses particular to this discourse. Key semantic domains were used to survey the functionality of (F)DS in the articles based on which semantic domains were overrepresented in the quotations. The most frequent semantic groups can be divided into four groups: semantic domains that indicate the function of (F)DS in the news, semantic domains specific to the discourse, positive emotion and stance, and negative emotion and stance.

The analysis of select semantic domains under the heading of *General (F)DS functions* revealed that domains such as *Likely* and *If* can be used in specific ways in the discourse and that this can highlight ideological conceptions. Neither semantic domain was used for potential future events, as one might expect in a corpus of news texts, but predominantly for events that could have happened in the past. This is noteworthy for a discourse where the demand for legal access to abortion in the future is supposedly a main talking point. This suggest that in cases where abortion is not the main topic, as in the article analysed in more depth, legal or political topics are not referenced in (F)DS. Instead the dramatising function of (F)DS is emphasised, since it is used for personal statements that give more 'direct' access to the person quoted.

All three of the discussed semantic domains of emotion and stance support the dramatising function of (F)DS. Yet the effect of the dramatisation is different. For the positive semantic domain *Happy*, the speaker of the quoted clause and their clearly articulated feelings are put into the foreground, instead of a source claiming that someone else is happy. The dramatisation for negative emotions is in contrast directed at someone or something else. Although readers do get a feeling for the anger, fear, or shock of the source, the focus of the reader's attention is supposed to be on the recipient of these emotions. The attribution of the feelings *Judgement of appearance: negative*, *Fear/shock*, and *Happy* indicates the discursive conception of abortion and of the women in the debate. (F)DS is a form of speech presentation where the averral of the writer is diminished; strong emotions and statements of stance will be attentionally foregrounded and make an impression on the

reader as they draw on them to mind-model both the person quoted and the writer of the texts. (F)DS can thus be employed to advocate for ideological viewpoints, such as in the case of focusing on women's happiness concerning pregnancy and children and their role to preserve this happiness.

In terms of the aspects of the attentional model, this chapter highlighted the importance of language and contextual knowledge when analysing attentional patterns, such as drawing on concordance lines to evaluate what kind of connotational cue this word can evoke. The use of a specific word such as *miracle* needs to be seen in the context of the discourse, as well as in the context of the article. *Miracle* was argued to be ideologically loaded with religious connotations because of its repeated religious use in the context of the debate on abortion in the Republic and Northern Ireland. Its first occurrence in a trajector in the analysis can be read simply as a sign of great emotions, whereas its second occurrence in a trajector is used to explain why abortion was never considered as an option and the word may thus be read for its potential religious connections. A cognitive analysis of the trajector and landmark alignment illustrates which parts are made attentionally prominent. Yet, as this chapter has shown, their reading depends on the context of the discourse as well as the developing context and co-text of the article.

6 Embedded quotations and negotiating ideology

6.1 Introduction

The presentation of other viewpoints necessitates a careful guiding of attention for the writer to still convey the values of their own viewpoint to the reader. Yet including multiple conflicting viewpoints in an article can be beneficial in order to position the ideological message that the writer wants to put forth in response. The research questions I will address in this chapter are first, what embedded quotations can tell us about how the ideological viewpoint of the writer is textually construed, and second, how the relation between the writer and the reader is affected or negotiated when several viewpoints are presented at once. I approach the first question by analysing construals of quoted statements and their immediate co-text, drawing on concordances from the BNC to discuss their readerly effect. The second question is addressed by considering the ability of readers to mind-model others and their viewpoints based on these construals and patterns, which will highlight the complicated, multi-layered nature of both mind-modelling and for conveying ideology in news texts when confronted with multiple speakers at once.

6.2 The ideological dependency of embedded quotations

A particular form of quotation, different from those discussed in Chapter 2 and analysed in Chapter 5, are embedded quotations (Semino & Short, 2004), where three ideological viewpoints - that of a speaker embedded in a quotation, a quoted speaker, and the writer - are represented in a short span of text. Formally, the writer presents someone's thought, speech, or writing embedded inside another's thought, speech, or writing. Semino and Short (2004, p. 34) define it as 'a character or participant within a narrative [being] presented as reporting words or thoughts produced by others (or by themselves) in a separate speech, thought or writing event'. In this chapter I am interested in the case where the writer presents a quotation from a text participant in (F)DS, who in turn presents another quotation by someone else in (F)DS, such as *Sue said that 'Kim's criticism of*

the book as "unimaginative" is misguided'. Here *unimaginative* is attributed to Kim, the embedded speaker, but reported by Sue, who in turn is presented in (F)DS by a writer.

The quotation that is included in the text participant's own quotation can be a form of *scare quotes* or take the form of what Semino and Short (2004) call a *quick quotation*. Semino and Short (2004, p. 221) differentiate between quick quotations and scare quotes: scare quotes signal that a writer does not want to commit to a term or phrase, but the source of the quotation is unspecified, left vague, or not real. Whether the scare quote has ever been uttered is therefore irrelevant, while the veracity of quick quotations is assumed and can therefore be challenged. But when it comes to judging, evaluating, and conveying ideological messages, the veracity of either form of quotation is irrelevant. Important in these cases and for this thesis is that they signal a different point of view – irrespective of it being an actual or potential or typical utterance. There is a rich background in truth conditional semantics that touches on these issues of faithfulness discussed here and in the previous chapter. However, my focus in this thesis is the reader's construction of the text participants and their viewpoints based on the textual indices of the articles, and not on the truth values of each statement.

Previous studies of embedded quotations have focused on their presence in Indirect Speech (e.g., Clark & Gerrig, 1990; Thompson, 1996; Volosinov, 1973; Waugh, 1995), but Semino and Short assert that they also occur in writing and thought presentation. Clark and Gerrig (1990) call these *mixed* or *hybrid quotations* and further differentiate between *incorporated* quotations, where the syntax of the quoted material is changed to accommodate the indirect speech, and embedded quotations, where there are no syntactic changes.

Embedded, mixed or hybrid quotations have important consequences for the negotiation of viewpoints in a news text. As Semino and Short (2004, p. 154) remark, they allow 'narrators/reporters to summarise what an individual said, wrote, or thought, while at the same time highlighting some particularly important or newsworthy part of the relevant utterance, text, or thought'. This important or newsworthy part may take the form of an ideological agreement or disagreement. Embedded quotations add another position to the

already complex negotiation of viewpoints maintained by both the writer and the audience. Readers' interpretation of each quoted speaker, as well as the writer, depends on how they appraise the other involved participants and their statements. There is thus a dependency of interpretation and a dependency of viewpoint in embedded quotations: an ideological position is here deflected or filtered across several attributed utterances.

6.3 Mind-modelling ideological viewpoints in controversial embedded quotations

Embedded quotations can serve as points of ideological junctures, where the opinions of speakers and writers converge or diverge in response to some other third participant. This makes them interesting cases for the analysis of ideology in texts, particularly the construction of ideology by the writer and its interpretation by the reader. The relation between reader and writer evolves throughout the text. With every new quotation and every new speaker any relations that were previously set up between the text participants may be re-negotiated or amended by the reader as the text participants' viewpoints are elaborated. The reader infers these viewpoints by using mind-modelling based on the construal of the text, which activates the language, contextual, and concept-relational knowledge (Section 3.2) at the reader's disposal. It is the linguistic choices that modify a reader's awareness of and agreement with the different minds that are part of a text (cf. Nuttall, 2017). The addition of any speaker complicates the relation between writer and reader in the sense that it introduces another viewpoint that could potentially be disruptive. But the introduction of a speaker also gives the reader opportunity to mind-model the writer in complex ways: how a writer presents the speaker and their viewpoint gives clues as to the position of the writer. At the same time, the readers' mind-model of the other text participants is filtered by the writer. A reader's evaluation of the ideological position of the text participants depends on their relation with the writer and whether they are likely to consider the writer's portrayal accurate or faithful.

Regardless of the formal similarity between embedded quotations and (F)DS, there is a higher possibility that the writer feels the need to indicate some form of (dis-)agreement if the embedded quotation is controversial. Referring to quotation phenomena in general and

embedded quotations specifically, Semino and Short (2004, p. 154) note that it is those words that are 'particularly apt, shocking, controversial or revealing' that are singled out. The quoted speaker will comment on the controversial quotation, while the writer develops a textual stance towards both speakers. Potentially three different viewpoints are expressed in such cases. The more controversial the initial statement, the more likely it is that all other text and discourse participants will make their own viewpoint clear. Above all, the relation of the writer and the reader can be affected by embedded quotations, since the introduction of a new viewpoint may shift their previous relationship.

6.4 Relations between writer and speaker in expressing viewpoints

I will look at embedded quotations of (F)DS in (F)DS that are likely controversial in order to analyse how the writer expresses their stance towards such statements and how this affects their relation with the reader. To locate short controversial statements, I read through all embedded quotations from 2005 and 2011, as extracted by a Python script, and compiled those consisting of only one word or a short clause. Why are short embedded quotations especially suitable to analyse controversial statements? Note that one of the functions of (F)DS, a category to which embedded quotations arguably belong, is detachment (discussed in Section 2.5.3). Therefore short embedded quotations suggest that a word or clause is already regarded as offensive, controversial, or contrary to the speaker's viewpoint, since just its mention is enough to warrant a quotation and commentary.

The list in Table 6.1 shows potentially controversial embedded quotations of one-word or one-clause length. From this collection we can already see two major patterns in the data. First, what is quoted by the speaker is often generally objectionable and speakers may want to distance themselves from such language, such as *evils*, *hysterical*, or *crazy*. Or second, the embedded quotation has a clearly marked ideological perspective attached to it in this debate, such as *unborn*, *real and substantial*, or *pro-choice*. Speakers may want to signal that this is an attribution and not their own words and views, therefore putting what is in the article a embedded quotation into the form of (F)DS.

Regarding the relation between the writer and the speaker, three patterns emerge which

also have repercussions for the relation between writer and reader. In type one, writer and speaker are in agreement, while the viewpoint of the speaker in the embedded quotation is portrayed as wrong. Type two in contrast has speaker and writer in disagreement, with the writer's viewpoint aligning with the speaker in the embedded quotation. Lastly, the agreement or disagreement between writer and speaker in type three is unspecified: the writer does not comment directly in the co-text on either quotation or embedded quotation. The writer's viewpoint is only revealed as part of the whole text and the reader will interpret the relevant quotation and mind-model the writer's viewpoints towards it depending on the preceding text. The important aspect of these three types of relation between writer and speaker is that they eventually affect the reader's relation to the other text participants and their ideological reading of the text.

6.4.1 Relation of agreement between writer and speaker

The first type of relation has speaker and writer in agreement. The speaker quotes someone who has an opposing viewpoint, while the writer of the text signals agreement with the speaker in the co-text. The example, here sentence two, was published in *The Irish Times* on 14 July 2006. The article is concerned with an internal debate on the issue of abortion in the human rights organisation Amnesty.

> (1) Similar sentiments came from Cardinal Renato Martino, head of the Vatican's Pontifical Council for Peace and Justice. 'I hope they don't do this because if they do, they are disqualified as defenders of human rights', he said. (2) He wasn't for fudging the issue either: 'When they say "reproductive rights", they mean abortion'.

The writer makes their agreement with the speaker, the cardinal Renato Martino, crystal clear. It is noteworthy that this agreement comes even before the actual sentiment that the writer reports. The reader is therefore already positioned by the text to expect a statement that is agreeable to the writer. The clause *wasn't for fudging the issue* in the introductory reporting clause uses a colloquial expression to compliment the cardinal's statement and stance by essentially saying he did not mince his words and, crucially, thereby avoided a

Table 6.1: Selection of potentially controversial embedded quotations consisting of one word or a short clause in the IADC 2005-2011

rights	war on terror	I don't want an abortion	blessed is the fruit of your womb
unborn	life	my	astounded
real and substantial	choice	I don't do God	a culture of life and a civilisation of love
evils	God's will	abortion	hysterical
God	problem	pro-life	No, you are not going to kill my granbaby
mercy	purging schools	surgeon	safe sex
normal	reproductive rights	one nation under God	thin-skinned
infection	unborn	you helped this happen	for or against
assisted suicide	babies	repression	very dangerous
educational	evildoers	right-wing Catholic	where was God?
walking desecration	sacraments	being disobedient	miscarriage
unworthy of God's love	how awful	sin	a creative fiction
persecution	partial-birth	very little sympathy	foetus
pill-train	dominion	totally justifiable	insane
head-banging	mental guilt	this is my punishment for abortion	authorities
No Irish need apply	human being	Miss	use your self-control
No Catholics need apply	pack of lies	Him	anti-natal
no inside information	personal rights	we'll pray for you	pro-death
was the worst	special respect	reliable sources	dirty nasty smears
joke	assisted reproduction	the right of the alive without birth	impose
pro-choice	mutilation	ethical solution	welfare
decimated	death panel	right to life	unborn
Holocaust	profound moral values	expert group	death of children

Table 6.2: All concordance lines for *fudge* in the BNC newspaper section

1	forced the Lord Chancellor to produce his **fudge**
2	Labour simply can not **fudge** its views on PR.
3	This is a **fudge** rushed out to win cheers and adulation at the Conservative Party conference.
4	The Labour conference endorsement of the policy review shift from unilateral nuclear disarmament as a **fudge** that failed.
5	appear ready to **fudge** the principle of PLO selection of the Palestinian delegation
6	his supporters in Birkenhead had told him they did not want to see a **fudge**.
7	Smith has lifted the anchor of ideology and set Labour adrift on a sea of **fudge**.

mistake. Concordances of *fudge* in the BNC (Table 6.2) illustrate that a fudge is a nonsense, foolish, objectionable mistake that goes against what is actually needed or against what is actually true. Assessing the reader's understanding of this phrase here, we can assume that they mind-model the writer as agreeing with the speaker. By describing the cardinal's attitude as not *fudging the issue*, the writer endorses the statement that argues the term *reproductive rights* obfuscates abortion.

Even though inferencing an ideological position in a case where the agreement is explicit may seem straightforward, it still involves all four layers of the adaption of Phelan's (1996, 2005, 2007) narratological model (cf. Section 2.4.1). The reader ascertains each ideological position in the layers which results in their ideological reading of the text. The characters and their actions are the Cardinal and the speakers in the embedded quotation, which remain highly schematic. Position two and three are occupied by the writer and the implied writer and their act of telling. Lastly, the reader and their act of reading corresponds to the fourth position. A self-aware reading of a reader's own reaction can add an important aspect to how the reader regards the ideological message of the text. In my own reading, I recognise that my interpretation of the text as highly ideological stems not only from the way the writer here clearly voices their agreement with the Cardinal, but it also stems from my own viewpoint, which disagrees with the writer and the Cardinal. A reader's relation to all of those positions results in their ideological reading of a text.

The Cardinal's statement can be said to use (F)DS simply to attribute the utterance of

the term to someone else. However, I argue this specific attribution has further functional and ideological implications. Functionally, an attribution dissociates the speaker from the quoted content. The use of quotation markers or of (F)DS can also call into question the legitimacy or appropriateness of the quoted material, chiefly the terms used and their associated ideology. What we see in such cases is a speaker's discussion of the terminology which simultaneously serves as a dismissal of the term's ideological value. This can be made explicit by prefacing the term with *so called*, or it can be implicit simply by presenting a term in quotation marks, i.e., in scare quotes, and not further referring to a named speaker. Quotation marks in such cases universally attribute the use or utterance of the term to an amorphous opposing side. The opposition in the example here is more articulated, but the underlying function stays the same. The Cardinal attributes the term to an underspecified *they* and makes it clear that he opposes the term of 'reproductive rights' because he thinks it actually means abortion. Instead of only calling the term into question by employing quotation markers, the Cardinal explicitly mentions why he finds the term objectionable, arguing that it is an ideological re-framing of abortion.

Although Nuttall (2017) finds that the phenomenon of multiple projection is comparable to the notion of *cognitive stance* in cognitive stylistics, where readers project into a new deictic centre, it needs to be kept in mind that some of the projection in news texts can not be said to be accompanied by clear deictic shifts to other people. Short embedded quotation phenomena are a prime example of this, since typically readers are only presented with a glimpse of the second speaker, who remains highly schematic, and the deictic shift may only be textually signalled by quotation marks. More intriguingly, the shift may not even be to another person, but to a sort of personified oppositional viewpoint. The Cardinal's use of *they* is an example of this, since no actual person is singled out. The Cardinal talks about a speech act that may have been or may be uttered by someone with a certain viewpoint. It is debatable whether there is a qualitative difference between a deictic shift to a recognisable person and a shift to a personified viewpoint, since the cognitive underpinning remains the same.

6.4.2 Relation of disagreement between writer and speaker

In the second type of relation we find disagreement between the speaker's and the writer's viewpoint. The speaker quotes someone with an opposing opinion, but the writer signals some sort of disagreement with the speaker. The speaker in example sentence two is the *Union of Secondary Students* (USS) (today the Irish Second-Level Students' Union (ISSU)) who criticise the educational policies of Irish schools, especially religious ones. The embedded quotation of *evils* is attributed to no one in particular, just as in the previous example with the Cardinal. This suggests that the Union is for teaching about abortion in schools and the comment of *evils* is used in reference to how the schools themselves talk about abortion.

> (1) The concerns of secondary students do not necessarily clash with those of teachers, parents and the Government, but there is no doubt that the union's policy platforms are radical compared with the average teachers'-conference motion. (2) Last month the union issued a press release condemning schools that it claims are teaching 'the "evils" of abortion to students and not giving them a fair and impartial view of the subject'. (3) Union policy diverges from the values of religious teaching at a number of junctures.

The use of *evils* in this text is a good example of how several viewpoints and situations can be layered and filtered in news texts. The USS uses the term to characterise the school's attitude, but it is not clear whether they reference an actual speech act by a particular person or whether they use it as emblematic of the attitudes of these religious schools and their potential speech acts. The criticism is implied by first, presenting *evils* in quotation marks, suggesting this usage is in some way problematic and therefore needs to be attributed to the schools, and second, by the statement that schools are *not giving them a fair and impartial view of the subject*. What the reporter represents in the text is their own stance towards this proposition, adding another layer to the ideological construction of *evils* here. By using the reporting verb *claims*, the writer voices disagreement with or doubts about the the characterisation by the USS. The use of *evils* by the speaker is a sign of their own

Table 6.3: Lexis similar to CHANGE occurring with *radical*

adjustments	break	measures	move(s)	movement
overhaul	reappraisal	reassessment	reform(s)	reformers
reforming	refurbishment	reinterpretation	rejig	renewal
reshaping	restructuring	rethink	revamping	review
revision	shake-up	shift	swings	

stance in reference to the attitudes and opinions of the quoted schools and it becomes a sign of the differing stance of the writer.

Several words in the preceding and following co-text give textual clues as to the basis of the writer's disagreement in reference to the other text participants. Drawing on the notion of lexical priming (Section 2.2), I use the evidence from repeated patterns in a general corpus to assess the readers' mind-modelling of the writer's ideological viewpoint based on their language knowledge of the words and structures used in the passage. The writer describes the USS as *radical* and states that their policies are incompatible with the viewpoint of *religious values*. Concordances for *radical* in the BNC (n= 318) reveal that it frequently occurs with the lexeme CHANGE (n=53) and with other semantically similar lexis (Table 6.4). Although *radical* denotes a complete departure, especially in connection with words denoting change, whether this is seen as positive or negative is not fixed. The concordances in the newspaper section do more frequently characterise *radical* as something negative that needs to be avoided (Table 6.4). The description of the policy platforms of the USS as radical is on its own not a sign that the writer disagrees with the union, even though readers might be primed to associate negativity with the term. But in combination with the description of their policies as diverging from *the values of religious teaching*, the writer indicates that their own ideological position is closer to those of the criticised religious schools instead of the position of the USS.

There is only one hit in the BNC for the term *religious values* in the newspaper section: *school children with a keen sense of right and wrong, despite the fading of religious values*. This presentation of religious values as something positive that is lacking, absent, or in some way under attack is also frequent in the concordances of *values* in general (Table 6.7).

Table 6.4: Concordance lines of *radical* with a negative discourse prosody in BNC newspaper section

1	Jordans Information Minister, said the best antidote to **radical** Islam was to give fundamentalists some power rather than jail
2	Mr Louis Farrakhan, the **radical** American Muslim leader who once called Judaism a 'gutter religion'.
3	but too many conservationists have an unfortunate leaning towards the **radical**.
4	The subsequent economic ruin forced Mao to rein in the 'Great Leap' - **radical** experiments in social engineering. And, as Mao's reputation slipped, so too
5	If that offer is serious, it will mark a **radical** change in policy. Many Germans express scepticism about how amenable to reform the
6	which would tend to promote coalition governments and avoid the **radical** swings that have characterised British politics
7	We shall be spared Labour's **radical** and tight monetary discipline.
8	but the changes he favoured were deemed rather too **radical** and, in the end – as is often the case
9	businesses would consider moving south if there were **radical** changes to the state of the union. True or bluff?
10	Welfare workers are also concerned about how such **radical** changes would affect families like the Grassie's.

Table 6.5: Pre-modification of *values* in the BNC based on group membership

American	Christian	Corinthian	Edwardian
French	Georgian	Labour	Socialist
Thatcherite/Thatcher Tory	Victorian	Western	

Table 6.6: Pre-modification of *values* in the BNC

civilised	conservative	conventional	cultural
democratic	ethical	family	masculine
middle-class	moral	national	nationalist
old	old-fashioned	positive	real
social	traditional		

Typically, values are characterised as something positive. Although specific values can be represented in a negative light, this happens less frequently (Table 6.8). To designate which kinds of values are meant, the term is frequently pre-modified. These premodifications either denote a a group affiliation based on political, religious, or temporal boundaries (Table 6.5), or they are more general in nature (Table 6.6). In the case of the story about the USS, the writer post-modifies *values* with the prepositional phrase *of religious teaching*. We can assume that readers are more likely primed to regard values as a positive that is often missing or attacked in society from the way values are usually portrayed in newspapers .

The writer consistently plays the USS against an opponent in the form of *teachers, parents and the Government*, *the average teachers'-conference motion*, *schools*, and finally *the values of religious teaching*. In these adversarial comparisons of the participants the USS is construed as a trajector, while the opponents are in the landmark. This means the USS as the trajector is morel closely attended to by readers and they draw on the landmarks in order to construe and understand them. Note also the adversarial, negative lexis in the actions chains, *clash* and *condemning*, and in the atemporal relationships, *are radical* and *diverges*, set up between the two sides.

The attention directed at the USS presents it as the negatively connotated adversary to institutions and people who are the passive norm against which the USS and its actions

Table 6.7: Extended concordances in the BNC newspaper section where *values* is something positive that is absent

1	attacked by vice-president Dan Quayle for featuring an unmarried mother and lacking 'family **values**'.
2	a complete breakdown, not just of law and order, but of all civilised **values**.
3	they really believe that they live in a society that has lost all its civilised **values**.
4	He also urged the party not to turn its back on traditional principles and **values** in its drive to agree an election-winning package of policies this week.
5	The fears of a dominant personality, away from the core of traditional **values**, driving the enterprise on to the electoral rocks, are manifest in
6	Brothers are killing each other. People have no logic or human **values** left.
7	A new book criticising Hollywood's current output and accusing it of undermining traditional **values** has provoked fierce debate in the US
8	government is doing something that goes against the time-honoured Filipino tradition and cultural **values**, said Alvin Capino, a newspaper columnist.
9	all those people of good-will, who recognise the challenge to traditional family **values**, and appreciate the danger in allowing the breakdown of the social ecology
10	the increase in crime, and the lack of attachment to 'conventional' **values**. These 'symptoms', it is said, are most prevalent among young
11	There's a case for bringing back those old style Tory **values**.
12	Many commentators would argue Fatal Attraction marked a dramatic return to family **values**, with the family defeating the menace of the predatory single woman.
13	The question we are entitled to ask is: are new **values** strong enough to hold the old institutions together? They didn't work for the
14	William will be taught the old **values** of royal duty as well as being brought up in the modern world, mainly

Table 6.8: Specific values presented in a negative light in the BNC newspaper section

1	We can, however, blame the culture that is dominated by masculine **values**, in which women are widely perceived as less intelligent, and as sex objects
2	It still preaches old-fashioned family **values**, rather than rolling up its sleeves and doing something to help the single-parent families
3	The John Wayne stereotype was rejected, along with his conservative **values**, he said.
4	home of Mrs St Maugham, an encrusted relic of Edwardian **values** who has lived her long life 'without affection'.

are judged. Compare how *the concerns of secondary students* are described as clashing with the *teachers, parents and the Government*, and how the wilful action of *the union* condemns the affected *schools*. The writer's presentation of the USS decreases in specificity in this passage. While *the concerns of secondary students* is the most specific description of the basis of the disagreement, the following *the union's policy platforms* and *the union* decreases in specificity, and *the union* is even more schematic and abstract, while being metonymically personified. The construal of the text passage places emphasis on the role of the USS as *agent*, whereas the other text participants, or objects of attention, are cast in the role of *patient* or a *zero* role. On the basis of these construals and the combination of the reporting verb *claimed*, the use of *radical* and of *values*, I argue that readers are likely to mind-model the writer of the article as someone who is critical of the USS, the speaker, while having a more agreeable relation with religious schools, the quoted actor.

6.4.3 Unspecified relation between writer and speaker

In the third and last type the writer does not signal agreement or disagreement with the speaker in the immediate co-text of the embedded quotation. Instead the construal and attention patterns throughout the text may suggest the viewpoint of the writer in such a way that the statement of the speaker can stand on its own without further commentary needed by the writer.

> (1) The IHRC said: 'There is no definition of what is meant by the "unborn" in Article 40.3.3 of the Constitution. (2) In addition there is no expressed protection for appropriate medical intervention where the life of the mother is at risk, and there are no criteria for the assessment of a real and substantial risk to the life of the mother'.

This sentence is from an article that was published in *The Irish Times* in March 2005. The article reports that the *Irish Human Rights Commission* (IHRC) submitted a paper to the UN Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination, where it recommended that the Irish Government should introduce legislation to define when abortion can be legally carried out in Ireland. Both embedded quotations, *unborn* and *real and substantial* are

part of the Constitution of Ireland. One may suggest that these quotations can therefore be neither classified as pro-life nor pro-choice. However, the Government aligns itself in Article 40.3.3. with the language and argumentation used by pro-life campaigners, chiefly evidenced by the use of *unborn*. It is also an expressly anti-choice position because the vague clause *real and substantial* further restricts the already limited rights of pregnant women, who are only allowed an abortion in case of a threat to their life. The speaker for the IHRC uses this terminology exemplary in order to criticise it. Their use of (F)DS is supposed to highlight that these are cases of attribution and not of averral, and that the use of this precise terminology is the problem. It is not the position of the Government that is being criticised by the IHRC, but how the Government expresses its viewpoint and the kind of legal consequences resulting from these wordings. What is required according to the spokesperson are clarifications, and not necessarily a change of the Government's position towards legal access to abortion.

From only this sentence, the writer's stance regarding this statement and their overall ideological viewpoint is not apparent. The writer introduces the quotation with the neutral *The IHRC said* instead of using a reporting verb that would indicate a stance, such as *claimed*, or otherwise making their position clear, for example through adjectives such as *rightly* or *wrongly* before *said.* The larger co-text, even starting with the headline, is needed in this third type to assess how the reader has mind-modelled the viewpoint of the writer so far and how such a neutral presentation is therefore read and understood.

In this example, it is noteworthy that this sentence ends the article. The last statement readers are confronted with is the statement critical of the current wording of the legislation and its implications. It will linger on longer in their minds than much of the main body of the text. Apart from the particularity of ending the article with a quotation, the article goes to great effort to read objective and factual, with minimal intrusions of the writer that can be interpreted as for or against the criticism by the IHRC. Both opposing sides, the IHRC and the Government, are given about equal space in the article and several people voice their respective positions. All reporting verbs are appropriately neutral and no text participant is introduced or presented in a markedly different light. However, what

immediately slants the article, regardless of the factuality or objectivity of the main body, is the headline. It reads *Rights commission's call for abortion law to be ignored*. This slant is complex and open to some interpretation by the reader.

The agent of the clause is the *Rights commission*, and not the Government, which is textually absent from the headline. Focus is therefore put on the role and actions of the IHRC - they are the first text participant the reader is introduced to. The term *abortion law* is curious: is is unclear what this law supposedly demands, but it ostensibly describes legal access to abortion. Yet based on the reader's interpretation following their endogenous attention, the term will be read negatively by anyone who disagrees with abortion access, no matter whether the term is put into quotation marks or not. This reading is complicated by the construal of the situation as one that is being *ignored* by the Irish government. Out of the 530 occurrences of 'ignore*' in the newspaper section of the BNC, the majority of the concordances depict ignoring a situation, event, or person as something negative, with detrimental consequences for the people involved (Table 6.9). Other options for construing the situation would have been to write that the government considers the IHRC's claims unfounded, or that it dismisses their suggestions. The construal where the IHRC's suggestions are *ignored* puts the responsibility on the Government, while a typical priming would indicate to a reader that the Government's dismissal is a mistake.

Of course, it has to be kept in mind that journalists themselves are typically not responsible for headlines. Editors write headlines to comply with length requirements or house style, for search-engine optimisation when the article is posted online, and certainly also for attention or click-bait. There is always the problematic possibility that the editor writes a headline that goes against or misrepresents what is argued in the article. In this case I would claim that the headline itself largely matches the tone of the article, but it still predetermines an ideological reading that is at odds with the article. Although readers' primings and other language, contextual and concept-relational knowledge determine their endogeneous attention patterns, the texture of any text constricts the possibilities for appropriate readings. The abrupt ending of the article, coupled with the otherwise relative neutrality of the article, suggests that the writer's own viewpoint aligns more with

Table 6.9: Selection of concordance lines of 'ignore*' in the BNC newspaper section

1	the Government is so hell-bent on pursuing ideology that it **ignores** the pressing needs of our industrial community.
2	libraries and jobs could all be cut if the hung council **ignores** local pressure and sticks to Government targets
3	Families say inquiry **ignores** the real problems
4	They say it's just a paper exercise which **ignores** the real problems in the mental health service.
5	Unfortunately, his advocacy of a broad money target coupled with entry into the EMS **ignores** recent evidence and rests on doubtful economics.
6	This man is a Glenavon supporter who clearly fails to recognise or just simply **ignores** the trouble his own fans create.
7	If he issues the injunction and Mr Farquharson **ignores** it, he could be jailed for up to two years for contempt.
8	we **ignore** many of the risks in the home
9	So if savers are determined to **ignore** their consciences and chase the best possible returns
10	have signalled for years that good general practice should not **ignore** the microchip, but to little effect.
11	This is to **ignore** the question, from the Christian standpoint, of the relationship of the divine and
12	Bureaux that **ignore** the new laws run the risk of being taken to court by local trading standards
13	the MPs had an unwavering determination to **ignore** the single most urgent problem that our people are facing
14	new security thinking, which the West would be foolish to **ignore**.
15	But up to now many supermarkets have **ignored** the problems.
16	Heartless motorists **ignored** pleas for help from a driver as he fought for his life
17	when he paid Stoke 270,000 for Peter Shilton and **ignored** all warning notices
18	yet the importance of a balanced diet is often **ignored** by British health experts and food firms
19	an area which up to this time had been **ignored** and declining for 100 years

the IHRC, rather than with the government. Readers can only read an abrupt ending or any uncommented statements as obviously against the writer's ideological message if the preceding text makes this viewpoint clear.

In terms of a typology of alignment between writer and speaker for embedded quotations, the conclusion whether the writer agrees with the speaker or not derives only from reading the article in its entirety. There is no direct sign of the writer's stance in the immediate co-text of the embedded quotation. Readers' mind-modelling is crucially informed here by the wider co-text of the article and by the temporal and successive nature of reading. While a reader's initial assumptions regarding a text are relatively open, the further one reads along, the further the possibilities of appropriate and reasonable readings are limited by the text itself. The more often a text proclaims an ideological conception, no matter whether this is implicit rather than explicit, the more it limits a reader's reasonable counter-readings and the smaller the changes that a different point of view will be advocated for in the end.

In this article the positions of the text participants except the writer are clearly articulated. In contrast, the writer's apparent neutrality downplays that the text is still filtered by the writer. This may make it seem to the reader as if the ideological position advocated for in layer one, the positions of the text participants, are directly available for one's scrutiny. Still, readers will have an ideological reading of the text, but the primary relation that apparently negotiates and communicates this is not the one with the writer but with the other text participants, at least as presented by the writer. The presence of the writer is inevitable, but readers wills see its apparent involvement as less pronounced. As discussed previously, in mind-modelling the text as an evolving whole, rather than discrete statements, is drawn on to build and understand other minds. In this case, the headline likely guides the reader's interpretation, while introducing the potential of another, more or less visible, text participant. The real writer's textual output is constricted by genre conventions and editorial guidelines, with other invisible text participants, such as the headline editor, shaping the text of the implied writer. Although the actual words on the page are a driving force behind the reader's mind-modelling, the tension between the implied writer and real

writer, including any ancillary knowledge the reader has of both the real writer and the editorial process, affects the reader's interpretation of the text's ideological message.

6.5 Chapter conclusion

What emerges from the analysis of embedded quotations in the IADC is that a writer's main reference point in articulating their viewpoint is their agreement or disagreement with the quoted speaker. Although it is the second speaker that has initiated the discussion whose statement is also under consideration, the discussion centres around the quoted speaker's perspective on the statement and the writer's relation to it. Just as in the previous chapter, the evolving nature of a text is a key feature that needs to be taken into account for an analysis of viewpoint. While most of the quotations in the data were immediately classifiable as either in agreement or disagreement with the quoted speaker, it is the entirety of an article that determines how the reader's relation to the writer may be affected by an embedded quotation. This becomes apparent in cases where a writer decides to remain neutral when presenting embedded quotations. Possible options such as the writer taking up a position in reference to only the speaker in the embedded quote, or presenting a position that varies from the other two text participants did not occur in the data. Whether this is because of the genre of the text, or because the analysed embedded quotations were potentially controversial, or due to the argumentative nature of discussing abortion needs further research.

The form of embedded quotation seems to fulfil the function in news articles described by Semino and Short (2004). They can be used to summarise key points in the discussion, particularly points of disagreement between two participants, without dedicating a lot of space to their elaboration, which is a key concern for news journalists. At the same time they allow the writer to highlight those terms and aspects that are important, newsworthy, or indeed shocking and controversial. How the writer negotiates their ideological viewpoint to an embedded quotation can be seen in the way the quotation is construed in context. Construal patterns can pinpoint what the writer wants readers to consider or dismiss in order to maintain a favourable relation to the audience. By analysing the way readers

are encouraged to mind-model the text participants, we can ascertain the writer's own ideological viewpoint, how they see the potential readers of a text, and their relation to them. Even though construals suggest to readers how to conceive of a statement and subsequently of its ideological position, the subjective primings and knowledges of a singular reader influence how a construal is eventually understood.

7 The relation and function of co-occurring discourses for creating ideology

7.1 Introduction

This chapter explores how considering people's concept-relational knowledge can be particularly useful for analysing ideologically motivated discourses. I argue that the co-occurrence of discourses can give us information about the concept-relational knowledge, viewpoints, and ultimately arguments that are built up and used in texts. In order to explore this issue, I am concentrating on one event in the IADC: the death of Savita Halappanavar. Three research questions are addressed in this chapter. First, which discourses do the news media use for the terms *woman*, *mother*, and *church* in the Irish abortion debate? Second, how do these discourses differ when the terms co-occur, i.e., does the presence of the term *church* in a text change the discourses voiced about a woman and a mother? And third, how do these discourses functionally support certain ideologies? I use collocation analysis to determine and locate the discourses about the concepts of being a mother and a woman in this debate. Furthermore, I use the collocational data to see whether there are differences in discourses about this two concepts when the articles of the corpus also write about the concept of the church. I here group different collocates together into what I call collocational-discursive categories instead of focusing on tokens and types. Lastly I demonstrate how a cognitive analysis using the trajector/landmark alignment from cognitive grammar can identify the functional relation of these discourses.

7.2 The case of Savita Halappanavar in the Irish abortion debate

Discourses are especially pronounced and important in argumentative discourse. One example of such a contentious discourse is the debate on abortion access in the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland. The Republic of Ireland has seen controversial referenda, changes in the law, and severe criticism from human rights organisations concerning

the legality of abortion (see Section 1.3). One case that drew particular attention is the death of Savita Halappanavar, a 31-year old dentist who died on 28 October 2012 at the University Hospital Galway in Ireland due to complications of a septic miscarriage. Her request for an abortion was denied by hospital staff, although the Supreme Court of Ireland had ruled in the so-called X-case (Attorney General v X. and others) in 1992 that abortion was allowed if 'a pregnant woman's life was at risk because of pregnancy, including suicide' (Attorney General v X. and others). Halappanavar's husband and family claimed that the staff justified their refusal by claiming they had detected a foetal heartbeat and that staff maintained Ireland is a Catholic country and therefore opposed to abortion. Halappanavar's death became a headline news story, leading to national and international protests, increased media discussion on abortion access in Ireland, and ultimately had legal results with the creation of the Protection of Life During Pregnancy Act 2013 and indirectly the 2018 referendum.

Previously, the Supreme Court had ruled in the case Attorney General v X that a termination of a pregnancy is permitted when there is a substantial risk to the life of the mother. However, no corresponding legislation was passed to amend the Offences against the Person Act 1861 in light of this judgement. Furthermore, the European Court of Human Rights ruled in 2010 (A, B, and C v Ireland) that Ireland had infringed a complainant's rights because it did not provide clear information whether she was entitled to an abortion. There were thus already precedents and pressures on the Irish government to re-evaluate their stance. Halappanavar's death was a major event in the struggle for legal access to abortion in Ireland. The public pressure, which was partly exerted via the news media, led to two separate investigations into the practices of University Hospital Galway. The discursive function of related discourses in the media warrants analysis especially considering the change in the law.

7.3 A cognitive approach to discourse relations

Every newspaper text proclaims to some extent a viewpoint or an ideology. In corpus-based critical discourse analysis, discourses are usually identified and analysed via collocations,

where collocates are taken as indicators of ideologically vested discourses (e.g., Aull & Brown, 2013; Baker et al., 2008; Pearce, 2008).To recapitulate, the definition of discourse and discourses I follow in this thesis is that a discourse is a language in use or a linguistic interaction, while plural discourses are socio-culturally constitutive ways of seeing the world (see Section 1.2.1). I have argued that discourses are the textual realisation of one aspect of all the concept-relational knowledge we have of a concept. Ideological viewpoints in turn are made of up matching discourses, which means they support each other in their concurrence or in their opposition to form a coherent viewpoint. Discourses serve to conceptualise a concept, person, or event in a certain light. They also function in relation to other discourses to create coherent ideological viewpoints. Discourses, as well as the ideologies they support, are complex and continually negotiated. There is not just one, but many discourses on any arbitrary concept. In identifying discourses, we should attend to their relation to competing, dominant, supporting, or alternative discourses (Sunderland, 2004). Nowhere is this clearer than in argumentative discourse on topics where competing opinions could have contrary social or political results.

Up to date, few studies have investigated how the textual expressions of related discourses contribute to ideology or the argumentative viewpoint of a discourse (e.g., Törnberg & Törnberg, 2016). Discourses on a variety of topics interact with one another in context to create elaborate patterns of meaning. One term's discourse can support another term's discourse to create coherent ideological viewpoints. I claim that a viewpoint's assumptions, connotations, and insinuations hinge on the relation discourses have with each other. Clashing discourses conversely complicate the formation of a homogenous viewpoint. If we are interested in the function of a discourse, and not just its existence, we need to consider its relation to other discourses. This functional aspect is better analysed with cognitive linguistics than only with corpus methods.

The trajector/landmark alignment (Section 3.3.2.3), even though it was defined for sentences, can be applied across sentence boundaries and even to discourses. We can here hypothesise some form and function relation: what is in the structural background functions as some sort of support vis-à-vis the foreground. This can be a form of positive

support, in that the background for instance justifies the naturalness of the foreground, or it can be a form of negative support, in that the rejected discourse is contrastively used in the background. It is debatable how much the comparative function between foreground and background is perceived as an actual comparison, or whether it is predominantly a case of discerning edges. What is important is that the notion of relatively foregrounded and backgrounded discourses gives us indications for relating discourses that are detached from considerations of frequency, which can be problematic when analysed on their own.

The relation between the discourses of a single concept can then be determined by establishing whether a discourse is found in the trajector or landmark, where its related discourse is expressed, and whether this is a consistent pattern over stretches of one or several texts. Competing discourses will likely have relatively similar focal prominence and be found in trajectors, but may be expressed in different texts. In supporting discourses, the focal prominence of a discourse may be diminished, while it acts as a backgrounded conceptualisation in the landmark that enables the attentionally prominent discourse in the trajector. Discursive relations are not the primary focus of the trajector/landmark alignment, but I argue that identifying whether discourses are expressed in and conceived of as in the trajector or landmark enables us to analyse their argumentative, ideological import and relation in texts in cognitively plausible terms.

7.4 Lexicalising concept-relational knowledge

If we are interested in a concept, and not a specific word, we face the problem that there are many lexical choices to express a concept. The concept of a *mother* may also be expressed when using the words *mum*, *mom*, *mummy*, or others. These words share considerable aspects of their meaning even though they may differ in connotational meanings or discourse prosodies. In terms of concept-relational knowledge, what they share is the core of the concept. In this example this could be the relation to a child, or behaviours that are attributed to mothers. Nevertheless, we have to decide which words do lexicalise the concept that we want to investigate. This is particularly a concern for corpus linguistics, which relies on word forms - as strings of characters - for its methods.

Advances in semantic tagging may in the future guide the development of analysing semantic meaning in corpus research. The possibility of combining several word forms for the analysis of concept-relational knowledge was not productive for this thesis, because the corpus data no or only few instances of similar words, such as *mum*.

Although collocation analysis has proven useful in discourse analysis, we may want to adapt our methods to account for concept-relational knowledge. I suggest that some grouping mechanism for collocates improves our ability to identify the discourses attached to a concept, because we are then better equipped to account for the paradigmatic flexibility of language. It may be productive for larger corpora to work with either tokens or types as they can indicate preferences of certain sources. Yet grouping collocates particularly benefits specialised and smaller corpora, which often have to deal with low frequency numbers in their data. As an example from the data of this thesis, I sorted the collocates *sepsis* and *womb* into a category called *Medical*. My argument is that it is significant that a medically oriented discourse is present when talking about someone or something in the debate, rather than the presence of collocates themselves. These collocates frequently reflect the real-world context of the debate. In this case *sepsis* collocated with *woman* because Savita Halappanavar died from a sepsis. Yet it is important, particularly for discourses that create or maintain ideologies, which discourse participants talk about a woman in connection to medical issues, how this is presented, and how this interacts with other discourses. Such a method of defining what I call collocational-discursive categories has broad congruence with the study by Baker and colleagues (2008), where collocates were grouped in terms of argumentation categories and analysed within the context of semantic preference and discourse prosody.

For research questions where we need to compare a corpus against a sub-corpus, it is beneficial to first compute the collocates for both of them as one. We should not treat this as a case of two different corpora, even though their respective texts will be different. By first computing the collocates and then separating sections and the corpus text, we can circumvent some of the statistical issues of comparing different corpora that have recently been raised (cf. Mahlberg, 2017; Wiegand, Hennessey, Tench & Mahlberg, in preparation).

This approach also supports my research question: I analyse the whole corpus for patterns of discourses and ideology between concept words. If I had first separated the texts and then discretely determined their collocations, I would analyse what is singular about each set, but not with reference to the rest of the corpus data.

7.5 Method

In the following section I first detail how the (sub-)corpora I use in this chapter were compiled. Second, I discuss how I decided on the three concept words *mother*, *woman*, and *church* by drawing on the qualitative literature and computing the most frequent words and the key words in the corpus. Third, I explain how I arrived at the collocational groupings that I take as discourses. Fourth, I introduce the method for counting the frequency of these discourses, as collocational groups, and why I did not use semantic tagging for this task.

7.5.1 Compiling sub-corpora to analyse discourse relations

The main corpus used in this chapter is a subsection of the IADC which will henceforth be called the *Savita Halappanavar News Corpus* (SHNC). It consists of thirteen months of Irish newspaper articles and online news stories from October 2012 to October 2013. This time frame includes one month before news of Savita Halappanavar's death broke and continues on until a year after the event. The corpus contains 3,038,353 words in 6,794 articles. To answer the question how the kinds of discourse surrounding a concept word, such as *mother*, are altered by the presence of another term such as *church*, I compiled two sub-corpora after selecting the concept words I wanted to investigate (cf. Section 7.5.2). These are the *Mother-Church sub-corpus of the IADC* (MoCh), which contains only those articles from the SHNC where both concept words *mother* and *church* occur in the text, and the *Woman-Church sub-corpus of the IADC* (WoCh), which contains only articles from the SHNC where both concept words *woman* and *church* occur. These articles were subsequently removed from the SHNC, which then acts as a reference corpus. If articles contained all three words, then they were sorted into both sub-corpora. MoCh contains 69,669 words and WoCh contains 71,153 words. In my analysis, I compare the

collocational patterns of both the MoCh and the WoCh with the remaining articles of the SHNC.

Two issues with LexisNexis are that a search may return duplicate articles, and that articles may only be incidental tothe topic at hand. This means the article mentions a word but is not primarily on the topic of interest, in this case abortion in Ireland. Grundmann, Kreischer and Scott (2017) and Scott (2017a) consider which aspects determine whether a text is irrelevant and how to filter such texts. While repeated sections within articles and disparities in formatting are issues of quality that can be addressed by computer tools (Scott, 2017b), I argue that repeated and edited articles or seemingly incidental mentions of the seed terms are still part of the discourse of this term. If an article was published in two separate newspapers, its possible discursive reach is wider than if it had been published in one newspaper. Also, all the occurrences of a concept word contribute to its meaning. In contrast to Grundmann et al. (2017), I therefore retain articles that may have been slightly edited to appear in another newspaper, articles that were duplicates because they were published online and offline, and articles were the main topic is not abortion.

7.5.2 Selecting concept words and determining the relation of discourses

My aim in selecting concept words was that they are representative of some of the underlying issues of the debate, while still being textually significant. Therefore, I compared the most frequent common nouns, computed using WMatrix (Rayson, 2008), with keyword lists generated against the BNC Sampler Written ('The BNC Sampler', 2005) and the BE06 (Baker, 2009) and explored these for terms reflective of the qualitative research conducted on the Irish abortion debate. Qualitative research has highlighted how the Catholic Church's conception of the purity of motherhood has been influential in shaping the image of what an Irish woman and mother is supposed to be (Martin, 2000; Oaks, 2002, 2003). In addition, conservative discourses in particular have historically tasked women to symbolise and embody the nation, while national identity is strongly linked to Irish catholicism. I selected the words *church*, *woman*, and *mother* as both textually significant and representative of the qualitative research. *Mother* is a keyword against the BE06 and *church* and *woman* are both keywords against the BE06 and the BNC Sampler.

The monthly collocates for each of these three concept words, as indicators of discourses, were generated in Wmatrix (Rayson, 2008). The procedure of categorising the collocates into collocational-discursive categories, whose labels can be seen in Table 1, is cyclical and comparable to Sinclair's (1991, 2004) method of reading concordances. I started with one concept word and examined its monthly collocates for thematically related words, creating categories as needed. For ambiguous collocates I read concordance lines to examine their usage in context. Collocates that did not have at least one other related collocate in the data were sorted together into a so-called *Bin* category. The resulting categories are mostly topics, but also include categories of linguistic features, such as pronouns. Based on the frequencies of the collocational-discursive categories we may consider the discourses surrounding a concept, which need to be confirmed with a subsequent concordance analysis. I did not rely on semantic tagging in this step for two reasons, both of which revolve around the particularities of the corpus data. First, a general semantic tagger like USAS in WMatrix (Rayson, 2008) does not recognise words such as *expectant*. It also analyses a word such as *delivered* as belonging to the semantic sets of *Vehicles and transport on land*; *Speech: Communicative*; *Success*; *Medicines and medical treatment*; and *Religion and the supernatural*, while in the context of this data it clearly refer to pregnancy and giving birth more specifically, rather than the broad category of *Medicines and medical treatment*. Second, the semantic sets of a general tagger can be both too fine or too coarse and not correspond to the demands of establishing the textual basis of discourses. However, for some projects manual tagging may be suitable and effective.

One question the quantitative and qualitative analysis addresses is whether the discourses around a concept word, compared to its general collocational behaviour, are different when another concept word co-occurs in the same text (i.e., in the sub-corpora). The quantitative data for this question is provided by a bespoke Python script. It locates for each article the three concept words *mother*, *woman*, and *church* and identifies which of the collocates is used in the collocational span of five words to the left or right of each concept word. The script returns this information sorted according to the established

collocational-discursive categories. As an example, the phrase *risk to life* contains the collocates *risk* and *life* which are categorised into the groups *Danger* and *Life* respectively. If the script comes across the phrase *the risk to life of a woman*, it counts for the concept and node word *woman* one instance of the collocational-discursive categories *Danger* and *Life* respectively. The output of the script allows a cautious judgement of the general collocational behaviour of the concept words for each month and can suggest the discourses voiced about them.

7.6 Comparison of co-occurring collocational data against general collocational data

The months with the highest number of articles are November, when the story of Savita became news, and July, when the Protection of Life during Pregnancy Act 2013 became law (Table 7.1). In the following analysis, I concentrate on these months when addressing the question which discourses are used frequently by the media and how these differ when comparing the general data of the concept words to the sub-corpora. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the comparative analysis between November and July showcases the extent to which the corpus reflects events in the real world. The articles reported on what was happening while simultaneously reflecting discourses towards these events and the topic of abortion in general.

7.6.1 Discourses of *mother*

Generally, there is broad congruence in type and frequency between the discourses visible for *mother* in the MoCh sub-corpus versus the general collocational data for November (Table 7.2 and Table 7.3). There are two conceptualisations of a mother's (or potentially a woman's) situation vying for attention in the data. A mother's life, often together with that of the child, can either be conceptualised as at risk, where the actual risk is typically not spelled out. Alternatively, the life of the mother is conceptualised as something that needs to be protected, preserved, or saved, without any agent being singled out for this action. Both conceptualisations occur in the general collocational data for *mother* (Table 7.2), as well as in the MoCh sub-corpus. However, in the WoCh sub-corpus a woman is only ever presented as being in danger (Table 7.5). This means articles where the church is

Table 7.1: Frequency of articles in SHNC corpus

Year	Month	Articles
2012	October	366
	November	820
	December	476
2013	January	531
	February	253
	March	255
	April	583
	May	751
	June	559
	July	997
	August	206
	September	210
	October	275

mentioned represent a mother as both being in danger and needing protection, whereas a woman is only represented as being in danger, not as needing protection.

I took a closer look at the extended concordances to identify how and why a mother is thought of as something to protect when there is an interaction between the two concept words. The concordances of *mother* in MoCh reflect a penchant for the church itself to use the term in their statements to the public. About one week after the story of Savita Halappanavar's death went public, the Standing Committee of the Irish Catholic Bishops' Conference, an official assembly of all the bishops in the Republic of Ireland, published a response to the debate in the media to clarify the Catholic Church's position in regard to abortion. The church tries to define in this statement, and at this point in the debate, the conceptualisation of a mother. Subsequent articles frequently quote or cite this statement, thereby reproducing the same discourses. The concordances reveal a preference of the church itself to use the term *mother*, and to connect it to another discourse, whose existence may at first seem unsurprising.

There is a markedly frequent discourse during November of a mother being connected to the collocational-discursive category *Human*. Its source is the repeated use of noun phrases such as *mother and her/a baby*, or *mother and her/a child*, because the words *baby* and *child* belong to the collocational-discursive category *Human*. This discourse is voiced most frequently by the Bishops, who only use the term *mother*, but not *woman*, in their statement and always in the form of these noun phrases. Of course, the concept of a mother already implies at least one kinship relation to another human being. We could thus argue that this only reflects the meaning of the word, rather than having a discursive function. However, it is precisely that this inherent meaning needs to be expressed that suggests it has an ideologically motivated basis. This is especially noticeable when the right to life of a mother is mentioned, which is often further emphasised by the quantifier *both*. Most of the concordances argue that this right has to apply to both the mother and the child. The right to life of the mother becomes in these concordances conditional on the right to life of a child, including implicitly via its insistent presentation of the two as a necessarily related entity. How this mother-child discourse is created in context and how it supports other ideological discourses is discussed in more detail in the qualitative cognitive analysis (Section 7.7.2).

How does this relate to the mentioned alternative conceptualisations of a mother being in danger or needing protection? And what is the relation between these discourses and their possible co-occurrence with the concept word *church*? The Catholic Church, via the Irish Bishops' Conference, speaks of mothers and sees them as being worthy of protection, whereas they do not speak of women. In contrast, articles without the term *church* more frequently speak of them as being in danger, and not as needing protection. The difference here stems, I claim, from the Bishops' conceptualisation of women as only mothers, and of the mother as one entity with a baby. It is only this last connection that invites them to represent a mother as worthy of being protected. This highlights how important it is who is allowed to speak and who potentially defines the terms and conceptualisations of an argumentative discourse.

Table 7.2: Top 20 collocational categories of *mother* in SHNC

November 2012	Freq.	July 2013	Freq.
Life	167	Life	54
Pronoun	94	Pronoun	54
Danger	78	Death	48
Medical	78	Human	41
Protection	73	Danger	32
Human	55	Pregnancy	32
Law	51	Law	28
Speech act	46	Termination	28
Being	43	Power difference	26
Evaluation	40	Situation/condition	25
Situation/condition	40	Medical	20
Death	39	Birth	19
Time	36	Family	17
Modality	34	Protection	17
Family	31	Negation	16
General action	30	Evaluation	15
Negation	30	Number/quantity	15
Name	28	Speech act	14
Pregnancy	28	General action	13
Number/quantity	5	Time	12

Table 7.3: Collocational categories of *mother* in MoCh

November 2012	Freq.	July 2013	Freq.
Life	32	Life	11
Pronoun	25	Pronoun	10
Human	22	Pregnancy	8
Law	12	Danger	7
Evaluation	11	Death	6
Danger	10	Human	6
Pregnancy	10	Law	6
Birth	9	Medical	5
Being	8	Power difference	5
Failure	8	Protection	5
Medical	8	Termination	5
Politics	8	Birth	4
Termination	8	Religion	4
Number/quantity	7	Situation/condition	4
Protection	7	Evaluation	3
Negation	6	General actions	3
Speech act	6	Family	2
Death	5	Modality	2
Family	5	Politics	2
Modality	5	Speech act	2

7.6.2 Discourses of *woman*

The analysis of the patterns of the term *woman* in WoCh (Table 7.4) show that they reflect to a large extent the collocational patterns of the SHNC for both months. One reason for this regularity is that *woman* is a general term, and is arguably almost neutral when compared to a term such as *mother*, which minimally evokes the kinship relation that a woman can have with at least one other human. Furthermore, the collocational-discursive categories that combine with *woman* (Table 7.4 and Table 7.5) suggest that the term is used in the context of reporting about the events of Savita Halappanavar dying and the implementation of the Protection of Life During Pregnancy Act 2013, and is used less to make a specific, likely ideological, point.

This is not to say that *woman* cannot be used to convey ideological messages. Especially a term that classifies people into supposedly distinct groups will always resonate with ideological connotations, as a corpus analysis of this term in a large general corpus can attest (Baker, 2010; Pearce, 2008). In the discourse analysed in this chapter the term functions as a relatively neutral option and is foremost used for reporting. We can generally expect media and news articles to have a propensity for using *woman* in their efforts to be objective. The collocational-discursive categories of the word in MoCh largely conform to its general categories in the SHNC, which suggests that the discourses of the terms *church* and *woman* do not influence each other in this corpus. Part of the explanation is that church officials do not use the word *woman*, preferring instead to talk about a mother, and thus do not offer possibly alternative conceptualisations.

7.6.3 Discourses of *church*

The analysis of the concept word *church* is more complex than for the previous two words because we can compare its discourses in the SHNC and both the MoCh and WoCh sub-corpora, and we can furthermore compare its temporal development in all three. In the following I concentrate on the discourses of *church* in the sub-corpora, exploring issues that have already been raised in the analysis of *mother* and *woman*. This sheds light on the extent to which the discourses and conceptualisations favoured by the Irish Bishops' Conference dominate the debate in the two intertextual sub-corpora.

Table 7.4: Collocational categories of *woman* in SHNC

November 2012	Freq.	July 2013	Freq.
Pronoun	153	Pronoun	148
Death	160	Death	78
Medical	111	Law	74
Pregnancy	107	Pregnancy	72
Life	90	Termination	71
General action	84	Human	68
Nation/nationality	79	General action	67
Termination	74	Power difference	62
Situation/condition	67	Medical	59
Law	65	Time	54
Evaluation	64	Place	50
Violence	57	Speech act	49
Place	56	Negation	46
Speech act	56	Situation/condition	46
Power difference	54	Life	41
Time	49	Being	46
Human	49	Number/quantity	36
Modality	44	Being	36
Number/quantities	43	Evaluation	34
Name	41	Politics	33

Table 7.5: Collocational categories of *woman* in WoCh

November 2012	Freq.	July 2013	Freq.
Pregnancy	21	Pronoun	15
Pronoun	21	Death	9
Medical	20	Termination	9
Death	19	Being	6
Evaluation	17	Human	6
Life	14	General action	5
Nation/nationality	12	Nation/nationality	5
Situation/condition	12	Politics	5
Power difference	11	Religion	5
General action	10	Law	4
Place	10	Medical	4
Negation	9	Power difference	4
Politics	9	Pregnancy	4
Time	9	Speech act	4
Mental process	8	Birth	3
Termination	8	Danger	3
Law	7	Life	3
Speech act	7	Modality	3
Change/decision	6	Number/quantity	3
Danger	6	Negation	3

Evident in the concordances of *church* in the sub-corpora is a tension between the discourses controlled by the Church itself and those expressed by other discourse participants. Although most articles in the sub-corpora reproduce the discourses originating from the Bishops, there are signs of voices rejecting the Bishops' or the Church's interference in the abortion debate. Such resistant discourses become more common in July while the Church's preferred conceptualisations of mother decreases and there are fewer statements by religious officials. However, these critical contributions are not visible in the collocational data and remain minor discourses. Critical statements remark on the insufficient separation between the Church and the State, such as in *have seen the tectonic plates of Church and State clash* or *the supposed separation between Church and State is non-existent* (July: n=3/72 concordance lines MoCh, n=5/71 WoCh). The Church's negative opinion of women is addressed with remarks such as *the church has such a dim view of women* or *how the church has treated women in the past* (July: n=4/72 MoCh). We may also count among these resistant statements concordances that talk about possible excommunications by the Church if a Catholic politician were to vote for the Protection of Life During Pregnancy Act 2013.

Some of the collocational-discursive categories themselves can also be taken as signs of potential tension. The concordance lines shown in Table 7.6 demonstrate a discourse around *church* centred on words such as *influence* and *power* (November: n=11/81 MoCh, n=10/76 WoCh; July: n=7/72 MoCh, n=9/71 WoCh), which corresponds to the collocational category *Power difference*. In contrast, the category is highly infrequent in the overall monthly data, i.e., without the data from both sub-corpora (n=2/90 November, n=11/279 July). This fact suggests that a discourse centred on power, portraying the Church as dominant, as once having been dominant, or as interfering with the Irish government, plays a considerable role in conceptualising the Church in both sub-corpora when compared to the general data.

The discourses controlled by the Church itself, foremost in the form of the already mentioned Bishops' statement, are less transient and more frequent than those that are critical. One of these is a discourse that associates the Church with the role of teaching and

Table 7.6: Selected concordance lines of *church* with *power* or *influence* in MoCh and WoCh

1	high level of **influence** which the Catholic Church continues to exercise in Ireland.
2	largely due to the **power** of the Catholic Church. The Supreme Court's X case decision in 1992
3	the **power** - now dwindling - of the Catholic Church. Many of the issues on which we failed the
4	Look, you say, it's not that simple. Before the church let slip the reins of **power** it trained whole
5	Division Bell: The political **power** of the Church is dead.
6	The political **power** of the Church is dead, long ago eroded by the rapid
7	**influence** has slipped away from the Catholic Church in this country. Even a decade ago, it would

providing moral guidance, which can be traced back to the Bishops' statement. The clause *The Catholic Church has never taught* is commonly and uncritically quoted or slightly edited, as, for example, *The Catholic Church's teaching*. Talk of the church's historical and current teachings continues until July 2013. The prominence of this discourse is the result of giving one organisation and their statement considerable space. Similarly, the frequency of the category *Speech Act* can also be attributed to the Irish Bishops' statement. Their assertions are introduced by journalists with reporting clauses, such as *It said the Church has* or *The bishops said the Church has*, which results in *church* co-occurring more often with verbs denoting speech acts. These discourses are more consistent over time than the critical ones, and they reflect the textual particularities of the debate and the textual prominence of the Church at that time.

As we have seen in Section 7.6.1, the Bishops' statement influenced how the term *mother* was conceptualised in texts that include the terms *church* and *mother*. The discourses of a mother needing protection and of a mother being connected to a/her child are foregrounded in these texts compared to all other articles. Additionally, the less often the words *church* and *mother* co-occur in the texts during each month, the less often *mother* is connected to these discourses, particularly for the collocational category *Protection*. However, the connection between the word *mother* and the category *Human* remains common and points towards the ubiquity of this conceptualisation in the corpus.

7.7 Qualitative analysis

The corpus analysis singled out the importance of the statement by the Irish Bishops' Conference in establishing and repeating ideologically vested discourses. It is a significant text for the debate and representative of some of the issues raised in the results. The aim in the following analysis is to determine how such an influential text invites readers to cognitively attend to parts of the text and which ideological messages are thus advanced by the writer(s). More specifically, I analyse how the pervasive mother-child-discourse is used in relation to other discourses and how this relation contributes to the cognitive conceptualisation of the text's ideological viewpoint for its readers. The main models used for this analysis are the trajector/landmark alignment and the reference-point relationships from cognitive grammar.

7.7.1 The conceptualisation of a mother

The discourse of a mother or woman being linked to a child is not a novel conceptualisation in the Irish abortion debate. It is used implicitly in the controversial Eighth Amendment, which prevents women's access to abortion as it equates the right to life of the unborn to the equal right to life of the mother. In the case of the Bishops' statement regarding Savita Halappanavar's death, the question is how such a common conceptualisation is evoked during this event and what this indicates about its ideological and discursive function.

In the concordances of MoCh and WoCh, the conceptualisation of intimately connecting a mother and a child is typically expressed by using the quantifier *both* before the noun phrase *the mother and the child/baby* or via the noun phrase *the mother and her child*, whose expression is a type of mental scanning called *reference point relationship*. In a reference point relationship, individually salient entities are scanned across a mental path in order to find or identify the element encountered last at this path (Langacker, 2008, p. 83). This means we invoke one entity in order to establish a mental junction towards the other entity. The *mother*, as the first entity invoked, is the reference point for *her baby*, and *her baby*, as the entity accessed via the reference point, is the target. Langacker (2008, p. 84) points out that 'there is good evidence that a reference point relationship represents the essential meaning of a basic possessive construction' such as *her baby*. What could

be targeted with the reference point *mother* is virtually endless depending on the context, yet there are more or less prototypical targets with their own associations. The *dominion* of a reference point is the set comprising all its possible targets. A mother's dominion is noticeably restricted in the corpus to a child or baby, which arguably effects how a mother is conceptualised in the discourse, particularly for articles following the conceptualisation of the Church.

Once the target has been focused, the initial reference point fades into the background and the target evokes its own dominion and may then act itself as another reference point. In this manner we can 'scan along a chain of successive reference points' (Langacker, 2008, p. 85). In the Bishops' statement, such reference chaining can be seen in the clause in sentence seven, where *the life of the child in the womb should be preferred to that of the mother*. The initial reference point of *life* affords access to *child*, which then directs attention to the *womb* as the direct environment of the child. The anaphoric *that* echoes back to *life*, which then affords access to *mother*. This analysis slightly deviates from Langacker's strict conception of a discrete path. I suggest that anaphoric expressions can commence a previously established path of mental scanning and thus enable complex relational ties between entities. In this way a whole-part relationship can be evoked by writers while de-focusing attention on the mother.

This example details how the common and frequent conceptualisation of a mother as linked to a child is encoded by text-producers in the discourse. It can be argued that this linguistic encoding of the conceptualisation coupled with the minimised attention placed on it has ideological significance. In the clause, *mother* as an entity is only accessed after scanning through all these other entities: *life*, *child*, *womb*, and another attentionally diminished *life*. While according to Langacker (2008, p. 85) the reference point and the target are both salient at different stages of processing, I argue that the direction itself and that the relation between the entities is at all conceived and expressed as a reference point relationship is already ideologically motivated. The conceptualisation puts the life of the child before that of the mother and it prompts the reader to access the mother via the womb, thereby stressing a biological connection between mother and child alongside the

already established kin relationship. This mental scanning disposes the reader to conceive of the mother through these reference points instead of as a separate person.

7.7.2 The trajector/landmark alignment as a discursive function

To further explore these issues, I analyse the frequently cited assertion in sentence seven from the Bishops' statement (Appendix A.3): *The Catholic Church has never taught that the life of a child in the womb should be preferred to that of a mother*. It is the first statement aimed at correcting what the Bishops' regard as misconceptions about Catholic teaching among the public. Several additional aspects coalesce to direct heightened attention to this sentence. First, negation is cognitively more salient for people. Second, syntactically negative clauses tend to invoke the corresponding unrealised positive event (Talmy, 2000, p. 291). Third, news texts are read for information, with counterfactuals possibly prompting a search for corrections in the text.

Apart from the attentional focus put on it, the sentence is useful to appraise whether the mother-child-discourse is presented in the trajector or landmark of the sentence. I suggest that discourses expressed in the landmark, if stylistic variation does not direct more attention to them, are typically less focally prominent than discourses expressed in the trajector. This does not mean that they are infrequent or unimportant for an understanding of the text. Being less focally prominent means that their contribution to meaning is to offer explanation, support, and background information to facilitate understanding of the discourse in the trajector.

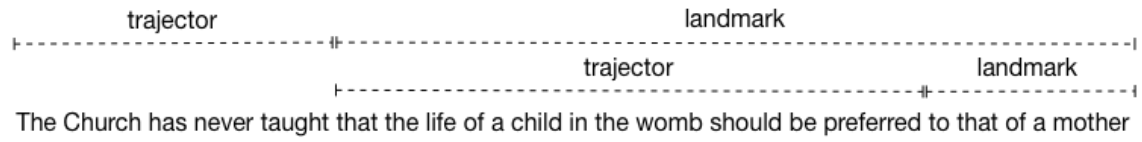


Figure 7.1: Trajector/landmark structure in sentence seven

In sentence seven the trajector is *the Church has never taught*, while the rest, beginning with the 'that'-complement clause, is its landmark. As you can see in Figure 7.1, the landmark can be further segmented into a second or inner trajector and a second or inner landmark: the inner trajector is the clause *that the life of a child in the womb should be preferred to* and the inner landmark is *to that of the mother*. The discourse of a unity

between mother and child is expressed in the main landmark, while the mother as one part of this entity is attentionally de-focused by only being mentally accessed in what one could call a nested landmark: the landmark inside another landmark. Furthemore, the negation in the form of *never* in the main trajector complicates what follows. In this sentence, this is the discourse linking mothers and children, which is expressed in the landmark and thereby acts as a form of background information for the trajector, i.e. for what *the Church has never taught*. Yet the negation in the form of *never* in the main trajector complicates this understanding: the verb *taught* here refers to an unrealised process. One may be left focusing on the link that is set up between the mother-child discourse and the Church's teaching, rather than that the action has never taken place.

The next sentence presents a proposition that we are to infer to be the actual teaching of the Catholic Church: *By virtue of their common humanity a mother and her unborn baby are both sacred with an equal right to life*. In this sentence eight the mother and child conceptualisation is the trajector, which is explained in relation to the two landmarks in the form of prepositional phrases. The first landmark, *By virtue of their common humanity*, prefaces one part of this explanation and thus predisposes readers to first conceptualise a common humanity between mother and an unborn baby before being offered the Church's resulting conclusion in the second landmark: *both sacred with an equal right to life*. This conclusion again voices the conceptualisation of mothers and their babies as intertwined and incorporates religious language. What is made explicit in this example is that the mother-child-discourse is the backgrounded assumption against which the discourse of an equal right to life thrives. In this sentence we can clearly observe that both landmarks provide support for the discourse voiced in the trajector. Furthermore, the whole sentence functions as a contextual explanation for the proposition in the preceding sentence.

The discourse linking mothers to babies and children can be overwhelmingly found in the Bishops' statement in landmarks to offer support to other discourses and conceptualisations. Exceptions to this are the phrases *The death of Mrs Savita Halappanavar and her unborn child*, and *a mother and her unborn baby*, which both act as trajectors. There are also instances of the mother-child-discourse, applied more generally to women and

babies without the possessive, in the landmark. The landmark itself, however, consists of a trajector/landmark alignment and the mother-child-discourse is there expressed in the trajector (cf. sentence 15: *This helps to ensure that women and babies receive the highest standard of care and protection during pregnancy*). It also needs to be considered whether the trajector or landmark is enhanced or diminished as an attractor (Section 4.2), i.e. 'elements which take the viewer's attention' (Stockwell, 2009, p. 20). As an example, the trajector in sentence three (Appendix A.3) is the bare *we share*, whereas the landmark has more attractors, from the evaluative and emotive *anguish*, *sorrow*, and *tragic loss*, to the fullness, i.e., the greater richness or density, of several actors over just one (Stockwell, 2009, p. 25). The discourse of a mother and her baby being connected is part of the landmark with its richer textual attractors, but the mother-child-discourse occurs in the nested landmark, thus still being relatively de-focused and used to background and understand why the Bishops share the anguish and sorrow expressed by people.

All of this points to a comprehensive attentional de-focusing of the mother as an attractor and as a separate person, while the text stresses her connection to a child. The pervasive mother-child-discourse has a supportive function. It is used in landmarks to buttress the discourse of the trajector, instead of being the focus of attention as part of the trajector. This allows the Bishops' statement to express this conceptualisation while not inviting the reader to attend to or to question it. The ubiquity of the mother-child-discourse in the collocational and concordance data in the SHNC can partly be explained because it is hidden away from the readers' questioning and because it is common enough to be readily available for structuring an argument. The discourse linking mothers to children is discursively useful and manages to direct attention to the child, which is conducive to the Catholic Church's ideological stance.

7.8 Conclusion

I have investigated the aspect of concept-relational knowledge of the attentional model to account for the textual relations of discourses and their functional contribution to an ideological viewpoint. In this approach, the corpus results have supported the cognitive

analysis, which in turn has explained the discursive function of selected discourses. The attentional model has in this chapter guided the analysis in what readers will be made to notice, i.e., where their exogeneous attention is focused, and what may be part of endogeneous attention, such as the discourse of a mother being linked to a child, to which reactions may differ depending on the reader. By focusing on the endogeneous attention created in the text through this discourse, we can explicate which viewpoint is preferred by the writer(s). The interaction of discourses between each other details how the viewpoint is specifically made meaningful: the assumption that a woman is automatically a mother when pregnant and that she is intrinsically linked to child is the building block on which other arguments are made by the Irish Bishops' Conference.

In detail, the collocational and concordance analysis has specified differences in discourses for such closely related terms as *mother* and *woman*. The discourses voiced about a mother when it co-occurs in the text with *church* were demonstrated to be ideologically vested, such as the discourse of a mother and a child as one entity being functionally supportive and more frequently being used in the landmark instead of the trajector. In comparison, a lack of interaction between the two terms lead to different collocational patterns. The concept-relational knowledge we have about a mother are those discourses that are frequent and readily available for conceptualisation in this context. In the IADC these are, for instance, the competing discourses of a mother as either being in danger or as needing protection.

A notable discourse in the MoCh is the collocation of *mother* with the collocational-discursive category of *Human*. While this is a frequent discourse, the cognitive analysis demonstrated that attention is not directed at it, with the often quoted statement of the Irish Bishops' Conference as the example. The goal of the writer in this text seems to be to include the discourse, but simultaneously to discourage readers to question it. Readers with a different opinion might still notice in some way the conceptualisation because it goes against their preferences, i.e., their endogeneous attention. But from the viewpoint of having an argument with someone, propositions expressed in the landmark, i.e., in backgrounded clauses, are more difficult to argue against than those that are put into the

foreground. In this sense the discursive function of the *Human* discourse here works similar to framing, as it determines some of the assumptions of the discourse.

The cognitive analysis has focused on the question of how a discourse is conceptualised and used functionally for the communication of ideological viewpoints. The trajector/landmark alignment was used to theorise the relation between discourses, where the landmark allows a particular understanding of the trajector. I have argued that the ubiquity of the discourse of the link between a mother and a child in the Irish abortion discourse at the time of Savita Halappanavar's death can be traced to both the foregrounding of it by the Irish Catholic Bishops' statement, but also to its discursive function as analysed by applying CG. I suggest that ideological discourses are more often present in the landmark rather than the trajector, as this allows them to function as an implicit argument that supports the main point of the sentence or clause. Other discourses and arguments can then be build up by the writer on the basis of this established discourse. At the same time, by being part of the typically less focused landmark, such discourses are less open to scrutiny by readers. In this sense the discursive function of the discourse of a mother tied to another human being works similarly to framing, as it determines some of the assumptions of the discourse. As shown in the analysis, this argumentative dimension to the trajector/landmark alignment can also be extended over several sentences.

8 Concluding discussion

8.1 A corpus-cognitive approach to discourse analysis

The central aim of this thesis was to investigate how a corpus-cognitive theory and methodology can be used to address issues in the field of critical discourse studies. Chapter 2 discussed the nature of the two approaches to discourse analysis on which this thesis is based and the challenges of combining them, and these points are worth reiterating and summarising here. An important issue for CDA/CDS is the problem of cognitive equivalence, which relates to the cognitive representations of textual structures. To what extent does a text correspond to or invoke equivalent structures in the minds of readers? Discourse as a form of speaking and acting consists foremost of knowledge, which is of course necessarily cognitive in nature. This is an important issue for discourse analysis, since we must ensure that our textual analyses accurately describe how readers understand or conceptualise a text. A text only has meaning and currency by being read and distributed in society. To explicate the ways in which the relation between discourse and society is mediated by texts and cognitive structures, I argued that we need to understand why a writer chose to write a text in a certain way and how readers react to the construals of the text producer.

In addition to this theoretical issue, the current methodological situation in CDS is that different approaches proliferate. These concern different areas and issues associated with discourse and communication and are not always readily compatible. My focus is on the two, apparently diverging, approaches of drawing on corpus linguistics and on cognitive linguistics. In corpus-assisted discourse studies the quantitatively measured linguistic features of an increasingly larger collection of texts guide the interpretation of the meaning production of select aspects of a discourse. Cognitive approaches in comparison analyse in detail typically one or two linguistic features in a limited number of texts, or even just one, and investigate the relationship between text and conceptualisation.

Both approaches have their advantages and disadvantages. The use of cognitive lin-

guistics for discourse analysis arises in part out of an impetus to answer those criticisms that question the reliability and objectivity of (critical) discourse analysis, characterising them as post-hoc in their orientation. A cognitive analysis is suited to address the interpretation of linguistic material and the effects it has on the reader, instead of remaining at the surface level of the descriptive stage of an analysis (Hart, 2014, p. 9). In contrast, corpus methods offer a seemingly more objective, replicable and statistically reliable alternative, but the focus on frequency and statistics can be at the detriment of an explanatory or critical evaluation of the functions of the linguistic units it counts. Frequency alone, whether it is raw frequency or some statistical measure, is not sufficient when considering how readers may understand a text, since this goes beyond taking the statistical patterns of a text at face value. This is particularly an issue since what creates attention is often the infrequent, unexpected or the deviant, and not what conforms to our knowledge and our own beliefs.

What has been shown throughout this thesis is that a corpus-cognitive linguistic approach can make substantial steps in tackling these issues. As Gries (2017, pp. 592–594) points out, there is a considerable overlap in the kinds of data corpus linguistics can provide which are central to a usage-based linguistics, and in which cognitive linguistics are interested, as well as overlap in the cognitive linguistic notions that can be operationalised in corpus terms. The most significant difficulties are those that are always present when two research fields meet: differences in terminology and aims, and the problem of comparing results from studies with different methodologies and statistical measures. There is a gulf to be bridged in the literature between cognitive linguistics and (critical) discourse studies, which entails issues of explanations and relevance. Engagement and translation between the disciplines is needed: it must be made clear what cognitive theories can and cannot offer to discourse analysis. Empirical models in cognitive linguistics that are demonstrably suitable to be applied to linguistic phenomena in discourse are limited. This includes Cognitive Grammar, on which this thesis is partly based. While it is the most fully developed cognitive grammar, it is still difficult to assess to what extent or how it is applicable to real texts and discourses. There may also be ways of employing cognitive grammar besides the current paradigm, practised for example in this thesis and by Harrison

(2017) to scale up its notions of cognitive grammar to cross clause boundaries. One reasons for the difficulty of using cognitive grammar is the lack of engagement between people working with naturally occurring texts, such as corpus linguists and discourse anlaysis, and researchers who work on invented and isolated sentences, such as theoretically oriented cognitive linguists. This restricts the ability to translate models and test whether they can explain naturally occurring language.

8.2 Summary of results

The aim of Chapter 4 was to explicate what a corpus-cognitive approach can look like, exemplified on a newspaper text without focusing on one specific linguistic unit or aspect. It draws more heavily and more explicitly than the following chapters on the attentional model introduced in Chapter 3 and demonstrates the different kinds of attention that can be created. The guiding research question is how the question of the ideological viewpoint of a text, as communicated by its texture, can be explored. I used the notion of attractors because it makes it possible to pinpoint general points of attention, but also for its applicability to newspaper discourse, which is charaterised by its variety of different referents. An analysis using cognitive grammar provided more detail how attractors and referents are foregrounded or backgrounded in the text. By using cognitive grammar, words, phrases, and clauses were made comparable to see what kinds of patterns of attention are created across a text. The analysis compared two sentences in the article reporting on the opening of the Marie Stopes clinic that described similar events, but which were construed differently in such a way that an ideological viewpoint critical of the pro-life protesters was communicated. Crucial for the analysis was the use of corpus data, because it allowed to evaluate construals, patterns, and single words in reference to the article and to newspaper discourse at large.

There are two main findings in this chapter, apart from showing the application of a corpus-cognitive approach and the aspects to consider raised by the attentional model. Ideological viewpoints can be created through typical language use and typical language patterns, and they do not have to be foregrounded in the sense that they are unusual,

emotive, inappropriate, or surprising. Ideological messages that are delivered using language patterns that conform to the genre of the text may be more difficult to pinpoint for the reader. The regular language patterns that were in part responsible for the creation of a viewpoint were the phrase 'attend* + rall', which was shown in the concordances to be used for demonstrations that can described as orderly in news discourse, and the term *protesters*, whose connotations are more active and aggressive than those of rival terms. The second main finding is how important the text development is to communicate an ideological viewpoint, especially for articles that may be more neutral or objective. The example in this chapter was the word *foetus*, which is not inherently ideological, but could be read as signifying an ideological viewpoint because of the change in focus in which it was embedded and in contrast to how other events had been construed. Supposedly neutral words, phrases, and construals can acquire ideological meaning in a particular context or co-text, depending on the rest of a text. Both of these findings are further explored and demonstrated in the following chapters.

Chapter 5 focused on one linguistic feature that is already prone to be attentionally foregrounded, (F)DS, and assessed how this can be employed by a writer to put forth an ideological viewpoint. In general, readers award reported speech increased attention, since it introduces potentially new discourse participants as someone we may empathise with, while speech stands out against the relative metaphorical 'silence' of description (cf. Stockwell, 2009). The analysis indicated that the dramatising function of (F)DS in particular is one common linguistic aspect in news texts that can contribute to the creation of an ideological viewpoint for a text. I ascertained this contribution with the survey methods of key semantic domains and concordances, and with qualitative methods focusing on the trajector/landmark alignment from cognitive grammar and mind-modelling.

I computed key semantic domains for a survey of the function of quotations in (F)DS in the IADC from 2005 to 2011. Overrepresented semantic domains were taken as indicators of the possible functionality of direct speech in the corpus. The data showed that (F)DS was used in accordance with its functions discussed in the literature, but there were also uses of (F)DS that revealed more about the discourse of the legalisation of abortion in

Ireland. Examples for uses of (F)DS specific to the discourse were the semantic domains *Likely* and *If*, which were not used, as one may suspect, for potential future events. Instead they occurred in sentences discussing events that could have happened in the past, instead of putting the demand for legal access to abortion into focus. This suggests a tendency for political or legal matters not to be referenced in (F)DS, at least when it comes to matters of probability. The concordances of *If* showed that one probability that is regularly dramatised in these statements is the possibility of having had an abortion. This indicates to some extent that there is a general ideological viewpoint throughout the debate that favours rejecting abortion. Otherwise it would not be presented as an option that was not taken.

The analysed semantic domains of emotion and stance likewise drew on the dramatising function of (F)DS, but the effect of the dramatisation is different than for those semantic domains which seem to correspond to a general function of (F)DS. The evaluation *Judgement of appearance: negative*, and the emotions *Fear/shock* and *Happy* are descriptive of the emotions and stances of the quoted speaker. The concordances showed discursive conceptions of abortion centred on disgust, fear, and shock, and conceptions of the women affected in the debate that centred on their happiness at being pregnant. The inflammatory character of many of the concordances of the domains of negative emotion showcased how valuable it is for writers to use (F)DS. They can present a dramatised experience, while also attributing a statement to a quoted source. Although they might agree with the corresponding viewpoint, and can imply this in the text, writers can exploit (F)DS to attribute at least part of the construction of an ideologically motivated viewpoint to someone else, retaining a sense of objectivity and neutrality for themselves.

My focus in the qualitative analysis of how viewpoints are constructed via (F)DS was on the emotion of *Happy* and the conceptualisation of women as mothers in one example article. Throughout the analysed text, the writer never specified explicitly what the ideological message of the text is. Instead, the use of (F)DS and how it has been embedded in the text helped to create an ideological conception of the traditionally gendered role of a mother. This conceptualisation also removed any consideration of abortion as an

option, even in such cases as in the article where the life of a woman is at risk because of the pregnancy. The cognitive analysis of the trajector and landmark alignment and the immediate co-text illustrated how the joy and happiness of a woman becoming a mother is put into focus, while the dangers attached to a pregnancy are minimised and relegated to the background. The qualitative analysis emphasised again the importance of the context, as well as the developing context and co-text, when considering how readers mind-model the text participants and their ideological viewpoints.

Chapter 6 builds on the the results of Chapter 5, which highlighted the role of (F)DS in construing ideological viewpoints, and focused on embedded quotations in the IADC to investigate how writers navigate the construction of a viewpoint when they are confronted with several viewpoints at once. Applying mind-modelling to the embedded quotations proved useful to ascertain the viewpoint, or intent, of the writer based on how they treat other people's viewpoints. What emerged from the analysis is that the main reference point for a writer in articulating their viewpoint is their agreement or disagreement with the quoted speaker. Even though the statement by the second speaker is also under consideration, it is mainly the quoted speaker's reaction and understanding of this initial statement that the writer responds to. It can be argued that the writer simplifies a more complex relation between possibly three differing viewpoints. The reasons for this, I suggested, are that the writer predominantly tries to construct and maintain a relation to the reader of an article, instead of having a nuanced representation of differing viewpoints. By mostly responding to one other viewpoint and not to two, this relationship can be more easily managed and streamlines the intended transfer of the message of the text. Just as in Chapter 4 and 5, the changing nature of the text proved to be key for analysing the construction of a viewpoint, and for the construction of a favourable relation between writer and reader.

Chapter 7 shifted focus from the influence of reported speech to the role of discourses, i.e., ways of speaking that form the practices and actions of the world, in the construction of viewpoints. It highlighted how to use corpus and cognitive methods and the notion of attention to account for the textual relations of discourses and their functional contribution

to an ideological viewpoint. Just as in the previous chapters, this was achieved by focusing on the endogeneous attention created in the text from which we can explicate which viewpoint is preferred by a writer. The collocational analysis provided data for which discourses are most frequent and potentially foregrounded for the three concept words *church*, *mother*, and *woman*. Collocational and concordance analysis has regularly been used to show how similar terms, such as *mother* and *woman*, are used considerably differently (e.g., Caldas-Coulthard & Moon, 2010). What the collocational analysis of co-occurring discourses adds to the methodological toolbox of (critical) discourse analysis is the possibility to consider how the interaction between terms and their discourses can reveal how viewpoints are made meaningful. One example of this was the frequent occurrence of what I have called a mother-child discourse, where a woman automatically becomes a mother when she is pregnant and is intrinsically linked to a child.

The use of the trajector/landmark-alignment from cognitive grammar allowed me to trace how this discourse is attentionally backgrounded in the statement by the Irish Bishops' Conference. I suggested that the goal of the writer(s) was to include the discourse, because it is important for building up their argument and ideological message, but to simultaneously discourage readers to question it. Research in information structuring posits that propositions expressed in subordinate clauses, i.e., in the landmark, are less attended to and less likely to be processed than propositions in main clauses (Section 4.2). I further pointed out on this basis that ideological discourses are more often present in the landmark instead of the trajector. The mother-child discourse is the basis on which other arguments can be built up, specifically in the text by the Irish Bishops' Conference. The discourse works supportively rather than directly argumentatively by establishing assumptions which are in accordance with the proposed viewpoint. What has also become apparent through the analysis of the mother-child discourse is the considerable influence of powerful voices for spreading discourses, which is a core argument in critical discourse analysis. The issue of citation practices in reference to discourse prominence calls for further research scrutinising questions of how the reader is invited to attend to which parts of a statement.

Even though the trajector/landmark-alignment was crucial in determining this phenomenon, it must be said that there is considerable difficulty in applying cognitive grammar to discourse, which holds true for all analysis chapters. None of the examples that Langacker gives to illustrate his concepts are real-language data. The actual meaning of notions such as the reference-point relationship or the trajector/landmark alignment for discourse analysis is not always obvious and only becomes accessible in the context of an analysis. It is not as straightforward as, for instance, applying a transitivity analysis to a text to see who is portrayed in an active and powerful role and who is not. It must also be kept in mind that a cognitively grounded analysis does not guarantee that the analysis conforms to the reading of a specific reader. What can be determined is the basis of a reader's rejection, considering their potential language, contextual, and concept-relational knowledge. All of this does not mean the difficulty outweighs the value of analysing discourse from a cognitively valid perspective. But there are considerable theoretical and methodological questions when drawing on cognitive grammar to analyse texts, which have only been begun to be unravelled, particularly by stylisticians (see for example the collection of studies in Harrison et al. (2014a)). What cannot be answered by a corpus-cognitive approach to discourse analysis is the direction of the influence between textual and cognitive. It is doubtful that this can even be determined at all. I suggest it is more helpful to acknowledge that a demarcation between the two is futile and that both statements can be true at the same time: textual structures support ideological structures while ideological structures are expressed via textual structures.

In terms of method, the collocational-discursive categories in Chapter 7 have proven to be useful for analysing collocational discourses on a wider basis, instead of limiting discourses to either types or tokens. The concordances of the collocational-discursive groups showed that the same kind of discourses were employed even though the collocates were different. Smaller corpora and comparisons between sections of a corpus in particular gain from such a wider reach. Further research might employ semantic tagging systems for this task, provided the granularity of the system is neither too coarse nor too fine. However, a completely automated process of identifying discourses in such a fashion seems unlikely

for the near future.

8.3 Contributions and further directions

This thesis has provided evidence which supports the arguments of cognitive linguists and (critical) discourse analysts that textual and informational structures suggest and support ideological conceptions. Specifically, it has demonstrated how to consider and identify ideological viewpoint expressed in discourse via textual patterns and cognitive analysis. The evidence here adds to existing research in corpus-based discourse analysis and ideology in discourse, while being paralleled by other research employing a cognitive approach to text, such as van Dijk's (2008) socio-cognitive approach, Hart's (2014) analysis of ideology using functional and cognitive linguistics, or cognitive poetics (Stockwell, 2009). Further research needs to be undertaken, of course, in evaluating the relation of textual structures and cognitive conceptualisations: the kinds of conceptualisations that are activated by ideological textual patterns, how they influence a reader's mental representation of a text, and for how long they are activated after reading a text. Corpus linguists have been calling for triangulated studies employing psycholinguistic methods and experiments to contextualise corpus data and vice versa (Baker et al., 2008; Baker & Egbert, 2016; Gries, 2012) - similar calls should be made for the combination of cognitive linguistics with (critical) discourse analysis.

There is a need in both research fields for a greater appreciation that their combination can take different forms. Each has different strengths, weaknesses, and aims, which can be purposefully employed for diverse research purposes. This can be seen in the chapters of this thesis: although all analyses in this thesis have used a combined corpus-cognitive approach, the individual methodologies and shares of corpus and cognitive linguistics in each analysis differed. Combining the two does not depreciate either of the two research fields. Both can be made to 'serve' the other, but they can also interact in order to tread new paths that would be blocked if we relied on only one of the two. This opens possibilities for considering linguistic data in new lights. For instance, in Chapter 7 the fact that discourses about certain concept words co-occurred with other concept words could

only be determined via quantitative corpus methods. How these discourses are made to function in these texts, i.e., how they are attentionally manipulated to construct ideological viewpoints, could only be determined via cognitive methods. Without uncovering the quantitative pattern in the first place, the qualitative analysis could have been assumed to be cherry-picking, rather than analytically justified.

Throughout the thesis I have advocated for a link between corpus and cognitive linguistics and between textual structures and cognitive importance. I centred my argument mainly on the usage-based thesis, from which questions of frequency, repetition, and entrenchment follow. As discussed, there is ample evidence that frequency effects in language are pervasive (e.g., Ellis, 2002). However, the data and approach of this thesis cannot tell us whether either textual or cognitive structures are strengthened when reading, how they are first acquired, and how many repetitions would be necessary for them to be in some way entrenched. This is not the focus of the thesis. I cannot unequivocally respond to the charge levelled at critical discourse analysis whether textual structures equal structures in the minds. Likewise, it is not guaranteed that people are more prone to accepting or understanding the ideological viewpoint that is at least textually expressed. But the use of cognitive theories and corpus methods, which have been researched from different angles, increases the likelihood that some cognitive structures are evoked during the reading of a text. The thesis aimed to analyse how a linguistic unit is made attentionally and ideologically interesting and coherent in a text, drawing in part on the usage-based thesis. The actual nature of the influence of a usage-based thesis on reciprocal matters of text and mind will need different, triangulated research to study the link between textual patterns and cognitive representation (**hart2017**; e.g., Mahlberg et al., 2014).

The findings of this thesis complement those of earlier studies in which the importance of the context and the variability and historicity of patterns has been pointed out for any kind of discourse study. Once we can pinpoint ideological constructions corresponding to textual and cognitive structures, it would be interesting to observe the stability and change of these constructions in discourse over time. Crucially, the findings were methodologically enabled by giving the concordance a leading part in the analysis. The concordance exemplifies

the integration of qualitative and quantitative research methods. In this thesis, it was used to assess variable quantitative patterns whose cognitive importance was evaluated in a qualitative context. This confirms recent contributions which have illustrated that the traditional format of the concordance can be used for novel research questions (Huntley et al., 2018; Mahlberg et al., 2016; Stockwell & Mahlberg, 2015).

A further contribution of this thesis is that the findings suggest that it is important to think of discourse as a site of attention. The attentional model developed in Chapter 3 acts as a blueprint for analysing how a linguistic unit can be made attractive to the reader, from which the question follows why this is attractive and what implications this has for the reader's understanding of the text. In this thesis the model was used for the purpose of investigating ideological viewpoint, but other issues at the intersection of textual-cognitive representation can also be analysed using the aspects of the model as a guide. Drawing from what we know so far about attention, language acquisition, and mental representations of text, we can extrapolate what to look for. In my analyses, I have shown that the three knowledges are always related (see the discussion in Chapter 3) but the analysis can focus on one over the other. Additionally, research into discourse other than the debate on the legalisation of abortion in Ireland are of course needed to verify the approach. As mentioned, the corpus-cognitive approach I suggest and use in this thesis is not confined to the particular methods I use. However, I do regard the concept of mind-modelling as central to analysing people's understanding of a text and the ideological viewpoint proffered by the writer. I think the notion of mind-modelling is able to offer a bridge into a cognitive grounding of discourse analyses, closing part of the the gap between (critical) discourse analysis and cognitive linguistics.

The most important contribution of this work in terms of advancing CDS is that it actively seeks to combine theoretical and methodological issues of discourse analysis. In doing so, it adds to recent work which also makes such advances (e.g., Harrison, 2017; Hart, 2014; Stockwell & Mahlberg, 2015). Such work is vital within linguistics, lest we ignore the contributions and advances even in our own broad research field. One research area where a combination of theories and methods from corpus linguistics,

cognitive linguistics, and discourse analysis has been especially fruitful is conceptual metaphor analysis. The greater integration between research fields has had theoretical and methodological advances: locating and extracting conceptual metaphors from texts using automated processes have been developed and continually improved (Alexander et al., 2015; Demmen et al., 2015; Semino et al., 2017), while these advances have resulted in a greater understanding of the kinds and functions of conceptual metaphors in discourse (Alexander, 2016; Potts & Semino, 2017). I hope similar work will be carried out in other areas of CDS, which can both start conversations across disciplines and potentially benefit the field of linguistics as a whole .

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A Appendix

A.1 Article in the Irish News

The Irish News

November 12, 2012 Monday

Pro-choice campaigners call on attorney general to quit

(1) Several hundred people attending a pro-choice rally in central Belfast heard demands for the Northern Ireland attorney general to resign over what was described as his ”elitist” intervention in the abortion debate.

(2) The call follows an offer by John Larkin - the assembly’s chief legal adviser - to assist the Stormont justice committee in its investigation into the clinic that opened in Belfast last month.

(3) The attorney general said he could, if necessary, question witnesses himself over their compliance with the law on abortion.

(4) The pro-choice demonstrators were addressed at the front of city hall on Saturday by speakers calling for the extension of the 1967 Abortion Act to the region. (5) The Marie Stopes clinic is the first private facility to offer an abortion service to women in Northern Ireland.

(6) It offers private non-surgical terminations to women within the present abortion framework. (7) One of Saturday’s organisers, Virginia Santini, from Alliance for Choice, said the clinic was needed.

(8) ”In the next few weeks we are going to have women coming to the clinic with very traumatic and tragic circumstances and it’s going to force people to rethink their position on abortion,” she said.

(9) She added about 40 women leave Northern Ireland each week to seek abortions and safe, legal alternatives need to be found closer to home.

(10) ”Criminalising abortion does not stop it from happening - rather it confines the right to terminate a pregnancy to those well off women who can afford the costly journey abroad,

but it completely restricts and oppresses working class and unemployed women who are left with no options and no choice."

(11) A small pro-life counter protest was held during the rally.

(12) Anti-abortion campaigners prayed and protested outside the clinic when it opened last month.

(13) Around 300 protesters had lined both sides of Great Victoria Street during a day-long rally, with some holding posters with graphic images of aborted foetuses.

(14) Unlike in Britain, it is illegal to have an abortion in Northern Ireland unless the mother is at risk. (15) Until now that service was only provided by the NHS.

(16) The Marie Stopes clinic has said it will carry out medical, not surgical, procedures only up to nine weeks gestation and only within the existing legal framework.

A.2 Frequencies of possible attractors

Table A.1: Possible attractors: Freq. per million in BNC and BNC newspaper section

Linguistic Element	BNC	Newspaper
pro-choice	0.21	0.38
several	231.30	223.95
hundred	185.75	175.23
elitist	1.53	2.34
intervention	31.46	21.50
compliance	12.79	3.54
traumatic	4.40	6.78
criminalising	0.08	0.19
terminate	3.94	1.62
restricts	2.06	0.86
oppresses	0.08	–
women	379.56	384.28
pro-life	0.56	2.68
anti-abortion	0.64	1.43
protesters	4.10	15.00
graphic	7.67	6.50
foetuses	0.35	0.67
illegal	22.82	40.32

A.3 Statement by the Standing Committee of the Irish Catholic Bishops' Conference

(1) At the conclusion of the meeting of the Standing Committee of the Irish Catholic Bishops' Conference today in the Columba Centre, Saint Patrick's College, Maynooth, the following statement has been issued:

(2) The death of Mrs Savita Halappanavar and her unborn child in University Hospital Galway on the 28 October last was a devastating personal tragedy for her husband and family. (3) It has stunned our country.

(4) We share the anguish and sorrow expressed by so many at the tragic loss of a mother and her baby in these circumstances and we express our sympathy to the family of Mrs Halappanavar and all those affected by these events.

(5) In light of the widespread discussion following the tragic death of Mrs Halappanavar and her unborn baby, we wish to reaffirm some aspects of Catholic moral teaching. (6)

These were set out in our recently published Day for Life message on 7 October last, available on www.chooselife2012.ie:

(7) * The Catholic Church has never taught that the life of a child in the womb should be preferred to that of a mother. (8) By virtue of their common humanity a mother and her unborn baby are both sacred with an equal right to life.

(9) * Where a seriously ill pregnant woman needs medical treatment which may put the life of her baby at risk, such treatments are ethically permissible provided every effort has been made to save the life of both the mother and her baby.

(10) * Whereas abortion is the direct and intentional destruction of an unborn baby and is gravely immoral in all circumstances, this is different from medical treatments which do not directly and intentionally seek to end the life of the unborn baby. (11) Current law and medical guidelines in Ireland allow nurses and doctors in Irish hospitals to apply this vital distinction in practice while upholding the equal right to life of both a mother and her unborn baby.

(12) * Some would claim that the unborn baby is less human or less deserving of life. Advances in genetics and technology make it clear that at fertilisation a new, unique and genetically complete human being comes into existence. (13) From that moment onwards each of us did not grow and develop into a human being, but grew and developed as a human being.

(14) With many other religious and ethical traditions we believe in upholding the equal and inalienable right to life of a mother and her unborn child in our laws and medical practice. (15) This helps to ensure that women and babies receive the highest standard of care and protection during pregnancy. (16) Indeed, international statistics confirm that Ireland, without abortion, remains one of the safest countries in the world in which to be pregnant and to give birth.

(17) This is a position that should continue to be cherished and strengthened in the interests of mothers and unborn children in Ireland.

A.4 Article published on October 24, 2008 in The Mirror

YOUR LIFE: MY BABY AND I ARE DYING PLEASE HELP SAVE OUR LIVES; SUZIE BELLINGHAM AND BABY THEO ARE JUST LIKE ANY OTHER MOTHER AND SON BUT, BENEATH THEIR SMILES AND GIGGLES, THEY'RE BOTH FIGHTING FOR THEIR LIVES - AND YOU COULD BE THE ANSWER TO THEIR PRAYERS.

BYLINE: BY MATT ROPER

Plastering his adoring mum with wet kisses, baby Theo is a picture of happiness. But, in reality, both mother and son are in desperate need of new kidneys.

Nobody can tell them for sure how long they'll survive without having a transplant. It could be years... or simply days.

Mum Suzie, 31, has been waiting for a transplant for four years, since her kidneys failed as she gave birth to her daughter Kiah.

And when Theo arrived last July - after Suzie was told her dialysis treatment had left her infertile - doctors discovered that he was suffering the same condition.

Suzie, who married Theo and Kiah's father, Matt, this month, says: "Theo was a miracle - we thought I'd never get pregnant again, I'm so thankful to have him and he fills my life with joy.

"At the moment, his kidney function is 13 per cent less than normal but the doctors say that they could completely fail at any moment - just like mine did.

"To think he may go through what I'm going through and miss out on having a normal childhood is absolutely heartbreaking."

Mum-of-four Suzie's own kidney problems started in 2004 when she was pregnant with Kiah, her first child with new partner Matt, 27. She also has two children from a previous relationship, Stephen, 16, and 12-year-old Daniel.

She recalls: "Matt and I met in Asda, he was working there and I was shopping there all the time. After about four months we decided to move in together.

"Some people thought it wouldn't work because Matt was much younger but we both felt we were made for each other."

After a year together Suzie, of Canterbury, Kent, discovered she was pregnant.

She says: ”We were so happy to be having a child together and, for the first five months, everything was perfectly normal.

”Then I started to feel under the weather, like I’d come down with the flu. I wasn’t that concerned but, as I was pregnant, I went to see a doctor anyway.”

Emergency delivery

Tests revealed Suzie had high levels of protein in her urine - a possible sign of serious complications, such as preeclampsia or kidney failure, and doctors decided to monitor her condition.

”At the time the doctors didn’t seem overly concerned because a lot of women with high protein have a normal pregnancy - but with each test I did they became more serious,” she says. ”Then one day I was at Margate Hospital taking a test and they found my protein had gone off the scale.

”My kidneys were dying on me. There were so many bad toxins inside of me that my unborn baby was in serious danger. They took me straight to the delivery ward and did an emergency caesarean. It was all such a shock.”

Suzie got to hold tiny Kiah, who was born four weeks early, for just a few seconds before they were taken to different hospitals - mum in Canterbury and baby in Ashford, 15 miles away - where they would remain for the next six weeks.

A worried Matt was had to divide his time between seeing his newborn daughter and his now seriously ill partner, who was having dialysis six times a week.

Suzie remembers: ”It wasn’t a happy time like it should have been. I was fighting for my life but all I really cared about was seeing my girl.

”The doctors said I might have caught salmonella during the pregnancy, which could have caused my kidneys to fail.”

Both mother and baby were finally discharged from hospital on the same day but, for Suzie at least, life was going to be far from normal.

”I’d gone from being a rather healthy, active woman to being one that was very unwell and tired all the time,” she says.

”Matt had to go from being my boyfriend to being my carer - I honestly thought that I

would lose him, too. And I wouldn't have blamed him if he'd walked out.

"But he wasn't going anywhere. He even gave up his job to look after me and our daughter, and become my full-time carer.

Unexpected arrival

"Matt was very mature to cope with all this - most men his age would have walked away."

For the next three years, while she waited for a transplant, Suzie was on dialysis three times a week. She says: "I missed my independence and being active.

But having my family around me helped compensate for all that."

And when Suzie was also told that she couldn't get pregnant again because of her treatment, she wasn't worried - she already had three beautiful children.

Then the unexpected occurred.

"The dialysis was already playing havoc with my cycle but then I missed a couple of months, so I went to the doctor," she says.

"Even then I was saying, 'Don't be silly, it's impossible.' But the test came back positive. I was 13 weeks gone already. It was the biggest and best shock of my life."

Doctors were stunned - only a handful of women worldwide had conceived a baby while on haemo dialysis. But because of her poor health, and the strain pregnancy would put on her body, they advised Suzie to have an abortion.

"I said no straight away. For me, the baby was a miracle," she says.

"Even though I was putting my life in danger, I was determined to keep my baby.

"Fortunately, the pregnancy continued to proceed quite normally. And, strangely, while I was pregnant I felt better than I had in years. It made me feel alive again. I had more energy and could play with my kids more."

Then, when Suzie was having a routine check-up at St Thomas' Hospital in central London at 34 weeks, she went into labour.

Theo was born naturally and without complication, weighing 4lbs 1oz, but doctors immediately realised that he was suffering from kidney problems, too, and he was rushed to an incubator.

Tests found that Theo's kidney function was impaired and he spent three weeks in the

special care baby unit before being allowed home. ”At first I was very down about it all and I blamed myself for the fact that Theo would never be able to live a normal life,” Suzie says.

Hope for the future

”They think his problems might have been caused by a blood pressure tablet I was taking before I knew I was pregnant. By the time I realised I was expecting, the damage had already been done.

”It was a lot to cope with. The doctors told me that his kidneys could suddenly fail on him at any moment - that it could be in a year or it could be tomorrow.

”And now there are two of us in the family with serious health problems.”

In spite of all they have been through, Suzie still holds out hope for the future.

”Matt and I got married on August 9 - we adore each other.

”We couldn’t go on honeymoon because of my condition but we went to see an Arsenal match with the kids instead, which was great.

”And Theo is the happiest child you ever saw. He’s always smiling and giggling - he has just brought so much joy into our family.

”We both need transplants but that doesn’t mean it’s the end of the world. If there’s one thing the past few years have taught me, it’s that miracles do happen.”