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COGNITIVE LINGUISTICS MEETS CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS: THE REPRESENTATION OF ASYLUM SEEKERS IN SERBIAN MEDIA DISCOURSE

Abstract: The paper explores the media portrayal of the issue of asylum seekers in Serbian. It is couched in a wide theoretical framework (Hart 2011a, 2011b; Van Dijk, 2006; Chilton, 2004; Talmy, 1988; Johnson, 1987; etc.) which synthesises operations and concepts of both Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Cognitive Linguistics (CL). The paper focuses on a number of lexical means – linguistic instantiations of the FORCE and the CONTAINER image schemas, as well as those of the WATER, and the WAR metaphors – all regarded as representations of a higher-level metaphor ASYLUM SEEKING/ IMMIGRATION IS A FORCE DYNAMIC INTERACTION. The paper also shows how these language representations are incorporated in certain discursive strategies, such as framing or identification. The data collection for the analysis was compiled from electronic and print news media in Serbian. The paper aims to establish (i) what linguistic and cognitive vehicles are deployed to construct media discourse on asylum seekers in Serbian, and (ii) how the symbiosis of CL and CDA reflects various ideological facets of text and conceptualisations, which all serve to produce (anti-)asylum seeker discourse.
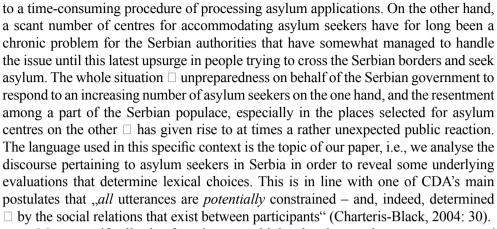
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1. Introduction

In 2013 Serbia faced the greatest arrival of asylum seekers ever in her recent history. The number of people seeking asylum in Serbia surged from 77 in 2008 to 5,065 in 2013, according to official data released on the Asylum Protection Center's site[1] and it is estimated that the number will continue to rise. The violence in Syria and the fear of spill over effect in the countries along the Syrian borders have spurred the rise in the number of asylum seekers in Serbia, while the latest events in Ukraine are likely to additionally aggravate the asylum situation. There are several reasons why Serbia has become a favourite transit path for the people who have to flee their countries: Serbia's favourable geographic position, her bordering with Hungary from which asylum seekers try to reach other, wealthier EU member countries, as well as Serbian lax, unclear and rather ineffective legislature[2] in this field which contributes

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[1] See http://www.apc-cza.org/en/.

[2] Serbia's Law on Asylum came into force on April 1, 2008. Considerable improvements are still to be made in this area, since the issues of immigration and asylum are highly rated and closely monitored in

to a time-consuming procedure of processing asylum applications. On the other hand, a scant number of centres for accommodating asylum seekers have for long been a chronic problem for the Serbian authorities that have somewhat managed to handle the issue until this latest upsurge in people trying to cross the Serbian borders and seek asylum. The whole situation □ unpreparedness on behalf of the Serbian government to respond to an increasing number of asylum seekers on the one hand, and the resentment among a part of the Serbian populace, especially in the places selected for asylum centres on the other □ has given rise to at times a rather unexpected public reaction. The language used in this specific context is the topic of our paper, i.e., we analyse the discourse pertaining to asylum seekers in Serbia in order to reveal some underlying evaluations that determine lexical choices. This is in line with one of CDA's main postulates that „*all* utterances are *potentially* constrained – and, indeed, determined □ by the social relations that exist between participants" (Charteris-Black, 2004: 30).

More specifically, by focusing on a higher-level metaphor ASYLUM SEEKING/ IMMIGRATION IS A FORCE DYNAMIC INTERACTION, in this paper we aim to show (i) what linguistic and cognitive vehicles are deployed to construct media discourse on asylum seekers in Serbian, and (ii) how the symbiosis of the two theoretical frameworks, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Cognitive Linguistics (CL), reflects various ideological facets of text and conceptualisations which all serve to produce anti-asylum seeker discourse.

2. Theoretical framework and data collection

The topic of asylum seekers and immigration[3] in general seems to be a fertile ground for research „due to its rich potential for polemical and emotional language as well as its socio-political and historical significance" (Musolff, 2011: 7). This is evidenced in a number of studies that have dealt with this issue (Santa Ana, 2002; Hart, 2010, 2011a, 2011b; Charteris-Black, 2006, 2008; Musolff, 2011; Gabrielatos & Baker, 2008, etc.) and that have mostly researched the metaphorical underpinnings in immigration discourse. Thus, the typical figurative characterisations of immigration are „a *natural disaster* (hence the pervasive *flood* imagery), and *invasion of enemies*, an *epidemic*, or the *spread of disease-carrying, parasitic organisms*" (Musolff, 2011: 12), some of which, as will be shown in subsequent sections of the text, are also evidenced in Serbian media discourse on asylum. However, Hart (2011a, 2011b) broadens the theoretical bases in researching this topic by incorporating the main tenets of *force dynamics* or *force dynamic schema* (Talmy, 1988, 2000), i.e. *gestalts of force* (Johnson, 1987), and this paper reiterates some aspects of his theoretical framework in the analysis of the Serbian data.

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negotiations on Serbia's EU membership.

[3] Although there are differences between refugees and asylum seekers (asylees), and immigrants, since the former are forced to leave the countries of their origin whereas the latter choose to move (see http://www.unhcr.org/pages/azindex.html), in this paper, as our examples will show, the terms are used interchangeably.

The FORCE schema is one of the basic image schemas, which structure the conceptual system. Johnson (2007: 136) defines an image schema as a „dynamic, recurring pattern of organism-environment interactions". Johnson (1987: 126) provides a list of schemas, which include, *inter alia*, CONTAINER, BLOCKAGE, PATH, BALANCE, FORCE, COUNTERFORCE, LINK, SCALE, etc. Pinpointing the importance of the FORCE schema, the same author writes that in order to survive people must interact with their environment. „All such causal interaction requires the exertion of *force*, either as we act upon other objects, or as we are acted upon by them" (Johnson, 1987: 42). Since „forceful activity" is a crucial ingredient of our experience, because of our constant bodily encounter with physical forces that push and pull us (like gravity, the force of wind, etc.), „we experience the image-schematic structures of COMPULSION, ATTRACTION, and BLOCKAGE OF MOVEMENT" (Johnson, 2007: 137). This largely corresponds to what Talmy (1988) labels *force dynamics*. However, Talmy adds (2000: 409) that force-dynamic system as a fundamental semantic category allows us not only to think and talk about events and relations in the physical domain, but also, via metaphor, i.e. *conceptual* metaphor as comprehending one aspect of a concept in terms of another, in abstract, social domains, such as the analysis of asylum discourse in Serbian and its rhetorical impact we are discussing here.

There are two important implications that arise from Johnson's and Talmy's expounding on the FORCE schema. Firstly, though they use somewhat different terminology, they consider FORCE to be a *gestalt* structure, i.e. a unified, holistic structure comprising a set of elements, which act together. Thus, FORCE is experienced primarily via the *interaction* between objects; it usually involves the *motion* of some object through *space* in some *direction*, i.e. FORCE has a *vector quality* or *directionality*; directionality presupposes a motion along the *path*, or moving an object along the path; forces thus have *origins* and *sources* and „agents can direct them to *targets*" (Johnson, 1987: 43) or destinations; forces have their *magnitude* or *intensity* and some forces may be stronger than others; and, because force is experienced via interaction it involves a *sequence of causality* (the door may close because the agent, the wind or the spring mechanism acted on it to cause it to shut) (Johnson, 1987: 43□44). Similarly, Talmy (1988, 2000) also emphasises the causal relation between the two entities that interact with respect to force. „One force-exerting entity is singled out for focal attention – the salient issue in the interaction is whether this entity is able to manifest its force tendency or, on the contrary, is overcome. The second force entity, correlatively, is considered for the effect that it has on the first, effectively overcoming it or not" (Talmy, 1988: 53). He calls these two force entities the *Agonist* and the *Antagonist*, whose intrinsic force tendency is either toward action (motion) or toward rest (inaction), whereas the *balance of strengths* is unequal, the stronger entity exerting force on the weaker entity. Thus, the force-dynamic system deals with the concepts of 'causing', 'letting', 'hindering', 'helping' (Talmy, 2000: 409), which may be assumed to appear in asylum seeker discourse and which we aim to detect in our examples. Secondly, if we take a look at some of the italicised terms in this paragraph, like the *source*, *motion*, *path*, *target*, we can notice that the FORCE schema contains the elements of the PATH schema and presupposes the CONTAINER image

schema. The relationship between these schemas stems from their gestalt structure, particularly the gestalt structure of FORCE as explained by Johnson and Talmy above. This attests not only to the role that image schemas have in structuring our bodily experience, but, as we will show later in the text, by metaphors, those of WATER and WAR, our abstract, non-bodily experience as well.[4]

In this paper, we also adopt a wider theoretical framework (Hart, 2011a, 2011b; Van , 2006; Chilton, 2004; Talmy, 1988; Johnson, 1987, etc.) which synthesises operations and concepts of both Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Cognitive Linguistics (CL), and after Hart (2011a: 271), we emphasise that for CL, the relevant structuring system is „a number of 'construal systems' or 'operations', including metaphor and force dynamics, which are responsible for conceptualization“. Construal operations refer to „a range of alternative structural characterizations, among which a speaker chooses so as to convey a particular conceptualization of a scene“ (Talmy, 2000: 214). This is in line with the main CDA's claim that representation in discourse is „always representation from some ideological point of view“ (Fowler, 1991: 85). If CL posits that conceptualisation always includes construal, since it refers to conceptualising a situation or event in „one available way over another“ (Hart, 2010: 184), then it follows that, similarly to discourse representations, conceptualisation is also by definition ideological. Thus we explore here how the language representations as instantiations of cognition, are incorporated in certain discursive strategies, those of identification and framing. Identification concerns which social actors are represented (explicitly or implicitly) and in which roles, while the framing strategy concerns how an entity, action, event, or relation, via e.g. metaphor „is attributed particular evaluative qualities or structural properties“ (Hart, 2011a: 272). Framing strategies thus correspond to negative-Other presentation (hence positive Self-presentation, see Van Dijk, 1996, 2006; Reisigl & Wodak, 2001, etc.), or delegitimisation of the Other, by „excluding, attacking the moral character of some individual or group“ to the extent of denying „the humanness of the other“ (Chilton, 2004: 47). This can be also evidenced in asylum and immigration discourse.

The data collection has been gathered by means of an Internet search in which the main queries were *asylum seekers*, *immigrants* and *Serbia*. The texts containing these queries have been extracted from electronic and print news media in Serbian mostly in 2013, including comments posted by readers on the selected newspapers' web sites, and then compiled in one Word file, totalling around 50,000 words. The metaphoricity of the expressions linguistically realising the ASYLUM SEEKING/ IMMIGRATION IS A FORCE DYNAMIC INTERACTION metaphor was checked by using the method for metaphor identification procedure (MIP) proposed by the Pragglejaz Group (2007). Some of the parts containing linguistic expressions as instantiations of the ASYLUM SEEKING/IMMIGRATION IS A FORCE DYNAMIC INTERACTION metaphor □ the whole sentences or titles of newspaper articles – extracted from the selected texts

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[4] On the use of image schemas to conceptualise the abstract concept of the global financial crisis in English and Serbian see Đurović & Silaški (2013).

will be used to illustrate the interrelationship between language, cognition and covert or overt ideology as manifested in the discourse under consideration.

3. The ASYLUM SEEKING/IMMIGRATION IS A FORCE DYNAMIC INTERACTION metaphor in Serbian

According to our data collection, the topic of asylum seekers is construed in terms of either force-dynamic schemas or conceptual metaphors (WATER and WAR) which contain a force-dynamic element, together with the CONTAINER schema which is linked to both previous two metaphors and the FORCE schema „through the notion of a bounded area protecting what is within from external danger" (Charteris-Black, 2006: 563). Hence, we agree with Hart (2011a: 284) that not only the linguistic instantiations of the WATER and WAR metaphors, but also those illustrating force-dynamic patterns are „more specific variants of the general scheme identified as IMMIGRATION AS FORCE INTERACTION, which operates as a 'conceptual key' – a higher-level metaphor that explains how several conceptual metaphors are related" (Charteris-Black, 2004: 16). In the light of the selected linguistic realisations, we call this metaphor, ASYLUM SEEKING/IMMIGRATION IS A FORCE DYNAMIC INTERACTION.

In the next section we will analyse the selected examples by combining some of the different types of FORCE, such as *compulsion*, *blockage*, *attraction* (Johnson, 1987), and the causal relation between the two entities, the Agonist and the Antagonist, that interact with respect to FORCE (Talmy, 1988, 2000).

3.1. The FORCE patterns in Serbian asylum discourse

According to Peña (1999: 191), the concept of COMPULSION is closely related to caused motion, when usually the force of some external agent causes the motion, which thus signals the PATH schema. The motion of asylees, as the first two examples show, is instigated by various reasons. Thus, asylum seekers „*escaped* war, radical talibans, poverty", or as one of them says „we have *escaped/got away from* death and trouble (…)".

> (1) Očajni ljudi, bosi i loše obučeni, *pobegli od* rata, radikalnih talibana ili siromaštva, bore se za komad odeće i malo toplote … (*Blic*, 3 Dec 2013)
> (2) *Pobegli smo od* smrti i nevolja, ne želimo da ih pravimo ovde □ kaže Ahmed. (*Blic*, 3 Dec 2013)

Therefore, the verbs *escape* or *get away from* connote pressure and COMPULSION, intensified with the nouns 'war', 'death', 'trouble', 'poverty', which push asylees, construed thus as the Agonist, to move. These representations mark 'push' factors (see Talmy, 1988: 97) and they „tend to be more sympathetic toward the plight of immigrants and asylum seekers" (Hart, 2011a: 279), as they trade on more positive images of asylum seekers as victims of some events beyond their control, cast in the role of the Antagonist. But this is usually not what this kind of discourse focuses

on. It rather highlights so called 'pull' factors, i.e. everything that attracts asylees to come to a certain country, which is then extensively exploited in a negative portrayal of this social group.

This is evidenced in examples, which belong to ATTRACTION force schema. ATTRACTION and COMPULSION are closely related, in a sense that they share the same „internal logic" (Peña, 1999: 202), i.e. some force again causes an entity, here asylum seekers or the Agonist, to move. Still, some differences regarding the nature of control the Antagonist exerts on the Agonist become noticeable. As the examples (3) and (4) show, the Agonist □ asylum seekers is prevented to realise its intrinsic tendency toward rest and to be inactive due to the influence of force enacted upon it □ the attracting force of the Antagonist. In both examples, the attracting force of the Antagonist, linguistically signalled by the conjunction *because* and the preposition phrase *because of* respectively, is rather explicitly represented as the better conditions for living in Serbia compared to those in the countries asylum seekers fled.

(3) „Mi smo *došli* [u Srbiju] *jer* u našim državama nema života." (*Slobodna Evropa*, 28 Nov 2013)
(4) U Srbiju je *došao* „*zbog* para, *zbog* hrane". (*Press online*, 29 Nov 2013)

Thus, examples (3) and (4) label 'pull' factors or what Hart calls 'magnetic' forces or causative forces for movement. The Antagonist again assumes the role of the stronger entity whose force the asylum seekers cast as the Agonist are „unable to resist, and the resultant of force interaction is action" (Hart, 2011a: 279), i.e. movement toward Serbia, as the destination, which thus illustrates the relationship between the three image schemas, FORCE, PATH and CONTAINER.

However, the examples (5) and (6) below show different interaction between the Agonist and the Antagonist. Here the Agonist's intrinsic tendency is toward motion and it realises it although it faces the force, the Antagonist, that opposes this motion. It belongs to what Talmy calls 'despite' type (Talmy, 2000: 415), and both sentences contain a „facilitator" (Hart, 2011a: 274) of force-interactive conceptualisation, i.e. the adverb *still*.

(5) Tražioci azila *i dalje opsedaju* Centar za azil tražeći krov nad glavom. (*Vesti online*, 5 Dec 2011)
(6) U Koviljači ima više policije, ali azilanti *i dalje stižu*. (*Vesti online*, 5 Dec 2011)

Hence, the sentences, containing the linguistic realisations, „Asylum seekers *still besiege*, note the use of the WAR metaphor, asylum centre" and „…asylees *are still arriving*", both contain the explicit Agonist while the adverb *still* implies not only the Agonist's tendency to move because of some force that compels it to come to Serbia but also because of the Antagonist's opposition to hinder that movement. Hindrance is implicitly present in the example (5), while in the example (6) the Antagonist □ the Serbian police, i.e. an instrument of government control, acts as an explicit hindrance to the Agonist's motion. Nevertheless, in both examples the Antagonist is construed as a weaker entity unable to counteract the motion of the Agonist, i.e. asylum seekers, which contributes to a negative evaluation of asylum seekers framing them as „instigators of force interaction" (Hart, 2011a: 276).

The majority of our examples, though, belong to Talmy's 'causative' type (Talmy, 2000: 415) in which the Agonist is unable to realise its intrinsic force tendency to move because it is caused to come to a halt. „[T]he Antagonist is this time stronger and so effectively *blocks* it, rather than merely hindering it: the Agonist is kept in place" (Talmy, 2000: 415). There are two sets of BLOCKAGE to the Agonist's motion as evidenced in our examples: the first is directed at stopping asylum seekers enter Serbia, manifested mostly via citizens' opposition to opening asylum centers and justifying this by mainly economic reasons; it is marked by verbs such as *block*, *prevent*, *stop* or the noun (road) *blockade*, as the examples (7)-(12) show.

(7) Međutim, nezadovoljstvo lokalnog stanovništva *stalo je na put* ovoj ideji [dolasku azilanata], organizovani su protesti i *blokada puteva*. (*Danas*, 27 Oct 2013)

(8) Dačić je rekao da „gde god da su azilanti bili, *neko je nešto blokirao*, ali da stvari moraju da se reše". (*Beta*, 27 Nov 2013)

(9) *Blokade na putu*, azilanti u snegu. (*Slobodna Evropa*, 28 Nov 2013)

(10) Azilantima se čak i usred snega i zime *onemogućuje* smeštaj u bednim barakama, pri čemu se, kao da to nije podmeće i požar u jednoj od tih baraka. (*Slobodna Evropa*, 28 Nov 2013)

(11) Meštani su uputili apel lokalnoj vlasti Mionice i državnim organima Srbije da „*zaustave dalji dolazak* azilanata, jer se radi o turističkom mestu koje ne sme biti pretvoreno u centar za azilante". (*B92*, 20 Jan 2014)

(12) Kako *zaustaviti* azilante a da ne budemo rasisti? (*Vesti online*, 6 May 2011)

The second set of BLOCKAGE refers to preventing the Agonist continue its motion to the destinations other than Serbia. Asylum seekers (the Agonist) are forced to come to a halt, the Antagonist being construed either as the tighter border controls or a slow and ineffective procedure, which nevertheless impedes the Agonist's intrinsic tendency to move. This 'hindrance' is signalled by the conjunctions *because* and *since* and the expression *remain stuck*.

(13) U našoj zemlji, koja im služi samo kao tranzit do bogatog Zapada, borave mesec do mesec i po, ali to se produžava *zbog* jačih graničnih kontrola na severu. (*Večernje novosti*, 31 Oct 2011)

(14) Ali, *kako je* granica prema EU sve oštrija ti azilanti sve češće ostaju u Srbiji. (*Tanjug*, 28 Nov 2013)

(15) Azilanti *ostaju zaglavljeni* u Srbiji. (*Večernje novosti*, 31 Oct 2011)

In other words, in examples (7)-(15), there is a realisation of force-dynamic pattern in which the Antagonist becomes a stronger entity which is manifested in the Agonist being compelled to rest.

Thus, the causal interaction between the two entities which delineates different patterns of exerting force and opposing it, as shown in this section, helps to conceptualise the whole issue of asylum seeking as a FORCE INTERACTION. At the same time, it prompts the recipients of that discourse to identify the discourse participants not only as forces that inherently oppose each other, but also as utterly unequal forces, alternating between the roles of stronger and weaker entities.

3.2. The WATER metaphor in Serbian asylum discourse

The general scheme, ASYLUM SEEKING/IMMIGRATION AS A FORCE DYNAMIC INTERACTION, as already said, tends to be also realised via conceptual metaphors, which according to our data collection mostly draw on the two source domains, those of the MOVEMENT OF WATER and the WAR, having 'control' as their target, along with the more or less explicit CONTAINER metaphor, i.e. the STATE IS A CONTAINER metaphor.

The pervasive MOVEMENT OF WATER metaphor, which, since it is usually being likened to a huge rush of water, such as *flood*, *wave* and other examples from our data, should imply not only the image of unimpeded force in physical sense hence loss of control over that force, but also the magnitude of that force, metaphorically conveying the image of a large number of asylum seekers. The examples from our data reveal that the WATER or mostly flood imagery in relation to asylum seekers is overtly or covertly intertwined with the CONTAINER imagery (Charteris-Black, 2006; Santa Ana, 2002, etc.) □ the *flood* imagery activates a NATURAL DISASTER scenario with the underlying implication of force beyond control, while the *container* imagery activates the STATE AS A CONTAINER metaphor which should act as a counter-force with the main idea of protecting the state body. This gives rise to a negative portrayal of asylum seekers as a force-exerting entity whose tendency towards action or motion should be prevented by another entity. Let us provide some lexical instantiations of this MOVEMENT OF WATER metaphor from our data collection.

(16) Pred granicama Srbije *talas* imigranata. Ove jeseni Srbiju je *zapljusnuo nezapamćeni talas* ilegalnih afroazijskih emigranata koji iz Grčke, preko Makedonije nadiru ka severu. (*Blic*, 7 Jan 2011)

(17) Ove godine Srbiju i inače čeka „*poplava*" migranata. …S obzirom na to da je granica sa Mađarskom sve *nepropusnija*, […] u Srbiji se stvara neka vrsta *brane* ili „*čepa*". (*Večernje novosti*, 17 March 2014)

(18) Država se očigledno nije pripremila za *veći priliv* azilanata… (*RTV*, 28 Nov 2013)

(19) *Reka* azilanata će se osušiti čim naši mediji prestanu da šire lažne vesti o tretmanu istih na Zapadu. (*Politika*, 15 Oct 2012)

(20) […] u šumama trenutno boravi više od sto azilanata koji pre toga *stižu u talasima* […] radi dobijanja ulaznih papira za Srbiju. (*Politika*, 19 Sep 2013)

(21) Na početku turističke sezone Banja Koviljača više nije *preplavljena* azilantima kao prošle godine … (*Press online*, 5 May 2012)

Thus, movement of one of the force entities □ asylum seekers is perceived as a *wave*, while „Serbia *is being flooded* with an unprecedented *wave* of illegal African-Asian immigrants who are rushing their way north" because our borders are *porous* and Serbia „has obviously not been prepared for a greater *inflow* of asylum seekers". Also, „[t]he *river* of asylum seekers will *dry up* as soon as our media stop spreading false news on their treatment in the West". The representation of asylum seekers as an unquantifiable mass of water, illustrated by the lexemes *inflow*, *torrent*, *flood(ing)*, *wave*, *river* pinpoints both de-humanising and de-personalised character of asylees by framing them as inanimate phenomenon.

3.3. The WAR metaphor in Serbian asylum discourse

The Agonist's, i.e. asylum seekers' intrinsic force tendency as motion is viewed not only via movement of unidentified mass of water but also via hostile activities such as war. Framing asylum seekers as enemies or opponents who *invade* Serbia, *occupy* her, *raid* her so she is *under siege*, according to examples below, gives rise to perceiving Serbia as a CONTAINER (via the pervasive STATE IS A CONTAINER metaphor) whose inside is seriously threatened.

(22) „*Desant*" azilanata na Valjevo i Bogovađu. Pored Bogovađe i okolnih sela ovih dana došlo je do „*desanta*" izbeglica i na Valjevo. (*Politika*, 19 Sep 2013)
(23) *Invazija* azilanata na Banju Koviljaču … (*Press online*, 29 Sep 2011)
Banja Koviljača *pod „opsadom"* azilanata (*Vesti online*, 28 June 2011)
(24) […], a meštani očekuju da se prošlogodišnja „*okupacija*" azilanata više neće ponoviti. (*Press online*, 5 May 2012)
(25) *Navala* azilanata. *OKUPACIJA*: Izbeglice iz Sirije spavaju po valjevskim parkovima. (*Kurir*, 17 Sep 2013)

Framing asylum seekers as opponents, or using examples of 'militaristic lexis' again underlies the fear of destruction of the state body, which in turn helps to mould the public opinion about immigrants, all indiscriminately considered illegal immigrants, and by way of personification, about the country ⬜ Serbia viewed as a victim which should seek any means to protect herself. Similarly to the previous WATER metaphor, lexemes *raid*, *invasion*, *occupation*, serve to conceptualise an indefinite, large number of asylum seekers, whose forceful activity, viewed as being as radical as warfare, should mobilise the state, and, indirectly, the people in it, to resort to all legitimate means of preventing this activity.

3.4. The CONTAINER schema in Serbian asylum discourse

Finally, the CONTAINER schema, as we have already mentioned, complements the conceptualisation of asylum seekers as the MOVEMENT OF (DANGEROUS) WATER, WAR and as one of the force entities ⬜ the Agonist. The relationship between different construals of asylum seekers stems from the image of the container inside, here Serbia, being jeopardised either by the inflow of liquids or the motion of the Agonist also conceived of as an opponent. The underlying idea is to „discourage empathy with immigrants" (Charteris-Black, 2006: 569) and conceptualise them as a social disaster.

Thus, apart from the examples (27) and (28) where Serbia is explicitly viewed as a CONTAINER ⬜ *a fairy tale haven* or *an asylum anteroom*, virtually all the examples that illustrate the WATER and the WAR metaphors imply the perception of Serbia as a CONTAINER.

(26) Kad Obrenovac postane *utočište* iz bajke (*Politika*, 4 Dec 2013)
(27) Azilantsko *predsoblje* za Evropu (*Politika*, 4 Dec 2013)
(28) „Ne možemo da pobegnemo od toga da ima nekoliko hiljada azilanata *koji se nalaze u našoj zemlji*", rekao je Dačić. (*Blic*, 27 Nov 2013)

The last two examples nicely combine the WATER and the CONTAINER metaphor.

(29) Banja Koviljača *puna* azilanata (*Vesti online*, 10 Apr 2011)
(30) … u Srbiji se stvara neka vrsta *brane* ili *„čepa"*. Ovo bi moglo da stvori velike probleme, ako se procedure ne ubrzaju. (*Večernje novosti*, 17 March 2014)

Both examples, where Banja Koviljača, i.e. Serbia is *full/filled up* with asylees or that „there is a sort of *dam* or '*plug*' in Serbia", imply that pressure induced by the movement of the Agonist or asylum seekers within the container Serbia starts to mount, which threatens to 'flood' the country, so the movement should be prevented effectively and promptly. More precisely, the CONTAINER metaphor conveys the image of Serbia „as under constant threat of perforation and rupture" (Charteris-Black, 2006: 575) ☐ and, therefore in need of continuous protection against the force which instigates the movement. This contributes to negative-Other presentation or delegitimisation of the Other, i.e. asylum seekers, at the same time backgrounding latent intolerance and social exclusion as a consequence, all helped by the particular use of language in the given discourse.

4. Conclusion

In this paper we attempted to show how the synergy of CDA and CL may help not only to detect various ideological facets of text and conceptualisation, but also to reinforce evaluatively-loaded attitudes and opinions identified in the representation of asylum seekers in Serbian media discourse. To this end we selected the concept of FORCE and tried to show how varying force-dynamic patterns, when the Agonist, or asylum seekers, no matter whether it is able to exert its force on the Antagonist or is compelled by it to either move or halt, as revealed by various lexical means ☐ verbs, adverbs, nouns, conjunctions ☐ along with the linguistic instantiations of the WATER and the WAR metaphors, foreground the notions of pressure, difficulty or lack of control. In terms of discursive strategy, we attempted to show how this contributes to framing asylum seekers as a threat, natural disaster, enemy, and, consequently, a social disaster. Accordingly, such structuring of this topic justifies the view that asylum seekers are FORCE against which the country and the people in it have to defend themselves, hence the use of the CONTAINER metaphor. In one of his statements the former PM Ivica Dačić[5] said that he never thought somebody would ever seek asylum in Serbia, which should imply the idea of changing social circumstances. Thus, the control over a moving entity, be it the Agonist, water, or enemy, connotes „the control of negatively evaluated social changes" (Charteris-Black, 2006: 573), and more or less conscious perpetuation of anti-asylum seeker discourse, checked in this paper against the Serbian data.

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[5] Ivica Dačić is now (September 2014) serving as Minister of Foreign Affairs of Serbia.

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KOGNITIVNA LINGVISTIKA U SUSRET KRITIČKOJ ANALIZI DISKURSA: PREDSTAVLJANJE AZILANATA U MEDIJSKOM DISKURSU NA SRPSKOM JEZIKU

Rezime

Uz primenu dva teorijska okvira – kognitivne lingvistike i kritičke analize diskursa, u ovom radu bavimo se predstavljanjem pitanja azilanata u medijskom diskursu na srpskom jeziku. Analizu primera zasnivamo na metafori višeg reda TRAŽENJE AZILA/ IMIGRACIJA JE DEJSTVO SILE, koju razmatramo kroz leksičke realizacije slikovnih shema SILA i SADRŽATELJ, kao i pojmovnih metafora VODA i RAT, tj. kroz upotrebu onih kognitivnih sredstava koja, manje ili više eksplicitno, sadrže elemente koncepta SILE, kao uzajamnog delovanja dvaju tela. Nastojimo i da ustanovimo kako se pomoću spoja jezika i kognicije vrednosno prikazuju određeni učesnici u diskursu. Predstavljanjem azilanata bilo kao uzročnika kretanja u različitim obrascima slikovne sheme SILA, koje drugo telo, Srbija, uglavnom nastoji da zaustavi, bilo, kao bezlične mase *vode* ili *neprijatelja*, čija sila, snaga i broj prete da ugroze Srbiju predstavljenu kao SADRŽATELJ, još jedan su prilog kako se kroz upotrebu jezičkih i kognitivnih sredstava unutar određenog društvenog okvira podstiče negativno predstavljanje azilanata u medijskom diskursu na srpskom jeziku.

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