Prefazione agli *Occasional Papers del CeSLiC* – ISSN 1973-221X

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1) la serie di manuali dei Quaderni del CeSLiC: Functional Grammar Studies for Non-Native Speakers of English, nata nel 2005, che già vanta cinque volumi pubblicati (ISSN 1973-2228);

2) gli Atti dei Convegni patrocinati dal centro, nati nel 2005 (ISSN: 1973-932X):

- a cura di D. Londei, D.R. Miller, P. Puccini, Gli atti completi delle giornate di studio del CeSLiC del 17-18 GIUGNO 2005:
"**Insegnare le lingue/culture oggi: Il contributo dell'interdisciplinarità**", a http://amsacta.cib.unibo.it/archive/00002055,
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- a cura di Miller D.R. e Pano A., *Selected Papers* di quelli presentati al convegno internazionale CeSLiC del 4-5 dicembre, 2008, dal titolo:
"**La geografia della mediazione linguistico-culturale**/ **The Geography of Language and Cultural Mediation**", a
http://amsacta.cib.unibo.it/2626/
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- a cura di Miller D.R. e Monti E. (2014) *Selected Papers* di quelli presentati al convegno internazionale CeSLiC del 12-14 dicembre, 2012, dal titolo "**Tradurre Figure / Translating Figurative Language"**, a
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3) la collana di Studi grammaticali, dal 2008 (ISSN: 2036-0274);

e

4) la collana di Altre pubblicazioni – AMS Acta, nata nel 2010 (ISSN: 2038-7954).

Tutte le pubblicazioni sono disponibili a:
http://www3.lingue.unibo.it/ceslic/?page_id=12

Oggi sono particolarmente soddisfatta di poter presentare un nuovo *Occasional Paper*, scritto da uno studioso di un calibro eminente, Peter R. R. White, Senior Lecturer in 'Media, Communications and Linguistics' presso l'Università di New South Wales a Sydney. E' considerato, con il Prof. James R. Martin dell'Università di Sydney, uno dei principali architetti del modello degli APPRAISAL SYSTEMS. Quest'ultimo è stato ideato e si è sviluppato all'interno della Linguistica Sistemico-Funzionale (SFL) allo scopo di descrivere e analizzare i meccanismi linguistici e semantici attraverso i quali i parlanti realizzano valutazioni negative o positive, intensificano o mitigano la forza degli enunciati e occupano una posizione all'interno del discorso. Inoltre, Peter White da anni collabora a progetti finanziati dal governo Australiano tesi allo sviluppo dell'alfabetizzazione e in particolare al miglioramento delle competenze e delle performance scolastiche di studenti provenienti da contesti sociali e economici svantaggiati. Le sue numerosi pubblicazioni vertono principalmente sul discorso

mediatico, in particolare quello giornalistico e quello politico, con particolare attenzione ai suoi aspetti interlinguistici e interculturali. In tempi più recenti, questi interessi lo hanno portato a approfondire il campo traduttologico e la linguistica contrastiva, e a focalizzare la sua attenzione sulla questione della commensurabilità translazionale dei significati valutativi. Prima di intraprendere la carriera accademica è stato giornalista per la stampa e la radio e, in seguito, insegnante-formatore per la professione giornalistica. E, essendo una specie di *uomo rinascimentale*, per cosi dire, Peter trova tempo anche per suonare il sassofono e le tastiere con la band della comunità sistemica-funzionale di Sydney, "The Travelling Circumstances".

L'articolo si intitola:

THE ATTITUDINAL WORK OF NEWS JOURNALISM IMAGES – A SEARCH FOR VISUAL AND VERBAL ANALOGUES

Questo pregevole saggio esamina il ruolo delle immagini giornalistiche (ivi incluse fotografie, composizioni pittoriche, grafica e vignette politiche) nell' influenzare i lettori/ spettatori a posizionarsi positivamente o negativamente in relazione a persone, eventi e situazioni oggetto del reportage giornalistico. Sulla scia degli studi di Economou (2009) e Swain (2012), esso illustra i meccanismi, nonchè le specifiche qualità visuali e composizionali, che producono effetti attitudinali. In modo particolare questo studio si interroga sulla possibilità di considerare i meccanismi attraverso i quali le immagini giornalistiche attivano valutazioni positive o negative in maniera analoga alle corrispondenti espressioni valutative verbali. Nel cercare di fornire una risposta, il modello dell' Appraisal (Martin and White 2005) viene rivisitato. Il saggio propone che, allo scopo di identificare quali siano casi analoghi a quelle espressioni verbali che affermano esplicitamente delle valutazioni o stimolano prese di posizione per implicazione e associazione, sia utile prendere in considerazione i seguenti aspetti: (1) la misura in cui si rileva nel testo la presenza soggettiva dell'autore come agente comunicativo che mette in atto il significato valutativo; (2) la stabilità delle associazioni valutative che una determinata espressione comunica in svariati contesti; (3) il ruolo del lettore nel fornire interpretazioni e inferenze valutative; (4) le condizioni che supportano o mettono a rischio la solidarietà tra lettore e autore con riferimento all'espressione esaminata.

Parole chiave: Appraisal, atteggiamento valutativo, giornalismo, fotogiornalismo, multimodalità

Responsabile scientifica del CeSLiC e General Editor dei Quaderni del CeSLiC

Bologna, li 10 novembre, 2014

The attitudinal work of news journalism images – a search for visual and verbal analogues

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1. Introduction

Few would deny that the visual components of print and online news journalism – the photojournalistic images, pictorial arrangements and illustrative artwork which accompany news reporting and commentary – have a crucial communicative role to play. Not surprisingly, therefore, there is a body of scholarly literature providing accounts and analyses of the way these images convey meaning, beyond their apparently obvious function of providing visual representations/records of people, places and events. (See, for example, Economou 2006, Laine-Hernandez and Westman 2006, Becker 2008, Esser 2008, Caple and Knox 2012, Caple 2013.) One line of this analysis has been concerned with the potential of such images to convey attitudinal meanings, that is to say the potential of photojournalistic and related images to not only provide a visual record but also to position the reader to take a negative or positive view of the people or events being thereby portrayed. (See, for example, Economou 2008, Economou 2009). This line of scholarship converges with research into the verbal language of news journalism which is similarly concerned with attitudinal effects, particularly attitudinal effects associated with 'hard-news' reports. While purportedly providing 'objective' or 'factual' accounts of what happened or what was said, these reports, as has been frequently demonstrated, often position readers to take a positive or negative view of the people and/or events being covered (see, for example, Trew 1979, Van Dijk 1988, Fowler 1991, Fairclough 1995, Feez, Iedema, and White 2008, White 2004, 2006). In a number of cases, this work employs the Appraisal framework of Martin and White (2005) in developing such analyses of attitudinal positioning in 'hard news' reporting (for example, White 1998, 2006, Thomson and White 2008).

This paper is concerned with journalistic image-analysis issues, specifically with the attitudinal potential of still images (photographs, pictorial layout, artwork and political cartooning) as they operate as visual accompaniments to news journalism articles. It offers some proposals as to the potential of these images to position readers/viewers to regard in a positive or negative light the people, places or events therein depicted or referenced. Accordingly there is some discussion of the mechanisms, the particular visual qualities and

compositional arrangements, by which these attitudinal effects might be achieved. This, however, this is not the ultimate concern of the paper. Rather it is concerned with exploring what might be the grounds for treating a particular type of visual arrangement as the attitudinal analogue of a particular type of verbal expression – that is to say, for proposing that the mechanism by which a visual image activates some positive or negative assessment should be treated as similar in some significant aspect to the mechanism by which a verbal expression operates attitudinally.

Like previous studies, this paper also references the analytical framework developed in the Appraisal literature for dealing with evaluative language. This literature offers a taxonomy of different types of attitudinal meaning and of the mechanisms by which these meanings are conveyed or activated. In terms of sub types of Attitude, this Appraisal literature identifies what are termed 'Affect' (positive/negative assessment by reference to emotional reaction), 'Judgement' (assessment of human behaviour and character by reference to ethics and other social norms) and 'Appreciation' (assessments of entities, processes and situations by reference to aesthetic and other social valuations). With respect to the mechanisms by which these assessments are activated, this literature distinguishes between what are termed attitudinal 'inscription' (where identifiably positive or negative lexis explicitly conveys the attitudinal assessment) and attitudinal 'invocation' (where the attitudinal assessment is indirectly activated via processes of implication, association and suggestion). These attitudinal invocations are further sub classified, with the literature distinguishing between what are termed (1) 'afforded invocation' (where the activation is via what might be considered purely 'factual' material), (2) 'flagged invocation' (where the activation is via meanings which are evaluative but not explicitly attitudinal – meanings such as those of intensification or counter-expectation), and (3) 'provoked attitude' (via the use of metaphorical or otherwise figurative language). (For a full discussion see Martin and White 2005.)

Taking this framework as a point of reference, this paper addresses questions as to whether similar, or at least analogous, attitudinal types and mechanisms might be seen to be operating in journalistic visuals. Broadly the same question has been addressed by Economou (2008, 2009) and Swain (2012). This paper differs from that work in seeking to include in the discussion all types of journalistic images, that is to say photojournalistic images, pictorial arrangements, illustrative artwork and political cartooning, while the previously published

work tended to focus on one sub-type or the other. [1]

As already indicated above, it also extends the prior work in seeking to develop a systematic account of the bases on which the mechanisms of attitudinal positioning operating in visual images might be treated as analogues of the attitudinal mechanisms which operate in language. In order to pursue this objective it proved necessary to revisit the Appraisal literature which formulates the distinction between verbal expressions which 'inscribe' attitude (i.e. can be treated as 'explicit' expressions of attitudinal assessment) and those which 'invoke' it (i.e. are more indirect in activating attitudinal assessments, relying on processes of implication and inference). Some issues arising in connection with this proposed taxonomic distinction have been addressed by White (2006, 2008) but there has not so far been an extended discussion of the criteria for placing certain 'marginal' expressions in one or other of these two broad classes. Accordingly some attention is paid to these, with respect to both the verbal and the visual activation of attitudinal assessments. It is proposed that it is useful to consider multi-factorial diagnostics for identifying expressions as either inscription or invocation, specifically to recognise the following as key factors in category membership: (1) the salience of the author's subjective presence in the text as the communicative agent who puts an attitudinal meaning into play; (2) the stability of the attitudinal meanings or associations of a given expression across multiple contexts of use; (3) the role of the reader in supplying interpretations or inferences; (4) the terms under which relations of author-reader solidarity are negotiated or put at risk by the expression currently under consideration. As will be discussed below, by conceiving category membership as multi-factorial it becomes possible to characterise some expressions as 'borderline' cases. They may feature some, but not all of the factors associated with more prototypical members of a given category. Thus an expression may have some of the properties typically associated with attitudinal inscription and some typically associated with invocation.

In the following I consider three broad sub-types of journalistic image: (1) individual news photographs, (2) pictorial arrangements which involve multiple photographic elements brought together by way of visual accompaniment for an article and (3) illustrative artwork, i.e. non-photographic images created by illustrators and cartoonists.

In discussing the attitudinal potential of individual news photographs, I concur with past work by Economou (2008, 2009), proposing that, according to their compositional

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[1] The origins of this paper are also somewhat prior to this other work, deriving from a conference paper presented (but not published) at the 2006 Australian Systemic Functional Linguistic Association annual conference. (White unplublished)

properties, they may invoke attitude via different mechanisms. More specifically they can be treated as visual analogues of the mechanisms by which verbal texts variously 'afford', 'flag' and 'provoke' attitudinal assessments via inference, implication, association and suggestion. I develop the prior literature in offering a more extended examination of the bases by which these analogic relationships are proposed.

The discussion also addresses the attitudinal potential of illustrative artwork and 'political' cartooning, images which, of course, differ in fundamental ways from their photojournalistic counterparts. While it is possible for the 'authorial' role in constructing a photographic image to be very much back-grounded or suppressed, particularly in the case of naturalistic 'snapshot' style images, this is not so for illustrative artwork. The 'hand' of the artist/cartoonist author is unavoidably and unmistakably on display, a pointer to the creative and interpretative role of the author in constructing the current image. This distinction will prove to be a crucial one for the discussion about the bases by which visual analogues of verbal attitudinal markers might be proposed.

I consider political cartooning and concur with the literature (see, for example Swain 2012) that some of these images - those deploying a particular type of visual metaphor - can be treated as visual analogues of verbal meanings which explicitly inscribe attitude. This requires me to again revisit the Appraisal literature, since it only cursorily deals with verbal metaphor as an attitudinal mechanism and tellingly treats it as invoking rather than inscribing attitude. Accordingly a more extended discussion of the attitudinal potential of verbal figurative language is provided, by way of a precursor to a discussion of visual metaphor and its attitudinal potential. I propose that verbal expressions which might broadly be classified as 'metaphorical' represent a range of different mechanisms by which attitudinal values might be activated, and specifically that some inscribe attitude while others invoke. I will take these observations into an exploration of images which involve visual metaphor and propose that an analogous division – i.e. between inscription and invocation – can be made there.

The discussion also attends to the potential of multi-image pictorial arrangements or 'layouts' to convey or activate attitudinal assessments. These constitute an interesting case in the current context in that the role of the author may be that of deliberately choosing or arranging photographs with a view to activating a particular attitudinal effect. This leads to the possibility that certain instances of such pictorial layouts needed to be treated as 'borderline' cases, having features of both inscription and invocation.

I begin with the proposal that, in naturalistic photojournalism images, analogues can be found to the various mechanisms by which verbal expressions invoke attitudinal meanings.

The discussion is organised around the three types of attitudinal invocation referenced in the Appraisal literature: afforded, flagged and provoked attitude.

2. The photojournalistic image and afforded attitude

2.1 Verbally afforded attitude

As indicated above, it is proposed in the Appraisal literature that what might be thought of as 'purely factual' verbal accounts frequently operate to position the reader to regard people and/or events positively or negatively. By 'purely factual' is meant propositions about the experiential world which are, at least in principle, verifiable, and where there are no obviously evaluative interventions on the part of the author. Evaluative meanings are understood to include not only positive/negative assessments but also subjective assessments of degree, similarity, category members, likelihood and need. In White 2008 (p.501), for example, the following extract from an editorial in the *Observer* newspaper is provided as exemplification of 'factual' formulations which afford readers the opportunity to make an attitudinal inference.

> (1) George W. Bush delivered his inaugural speech as the United States President who collected 537,000 fewer votes than his opponent. (*Observer* newspaper, January 21, 2001)

Of this extract, White observes,

> In [this] instance, the attitudinal assessment is evoked via purely experiential (i.e., factual) material which, as a result of being selected and brought into focus within the text, has the potential to trigger a positive or negative reaction in the reader via processes of attitudinal inference… It is a feature of such attitudinal invocations that they are typically conditioned by the co-text and will often be subject to the beliefs, attitudes, and expectations readers bring to their interpretations of the text (i.e., their reading position). Thus, for example, [while many readers will draw negative inferences from this account and hence be positioned to regard the Bush's election in a negative light] a US supporter of the Republican Party may not interpret the above proposition that Mr Bush received '537,000 fewer votes than his opponent' as signifying anything untoward or wrongful with regard to Mr Bush's presidency. (White 2008: 501)

2.2 Visually afforded attitude

It would seem to be essentially uncontroversial that photojournalistic images might function attitudinally in ways which are analogous to such 'factual' verbal accounts. Thus, a photograph need only show its subject involved in an apparent violent attack, or rescuing a child from a flooded river for negative or positive responses to follow. Examples of journalistic images which afford attitudinal values are legion, occurring in most editions of newspapers which feature significant photojournalistic content. The following examples are

typical of the category, showing the action of anti-globalisation protests which turned violent in 1999.

Image 1: protest/riot image - *The Sun*, December 1, 1999

Such images clearly have the potential to trigger negative assessments of the behaviour the protestors (a negative 'Judgement' in the terms of the Appraisal framework), at least for those readers operating with a reading position under which it is 'wrong' for such protests to damage personal property.

A celebrated example of such attitudinally affording images is that of the 'lone Tiananmen Square protester' provided below.

Image 2: 'lone protestor' in Tiananmen Square, 1989

It does need to be acknowledged, of course, that some verbal 'anchorage' of such photographic images will always be involved in their potential to trigger attitudinal interpretations. The actual actions and situations being portrayed will typically only be known by the viewer once he/she has been provided with contextualising information, typically be means of past or present verbal texts. It is by reference to such contextualisation

that positive or negative inferences become available. In the West, for example, the above image from Beijing's Tiananmen Square in 1989 may invoke a positive assessment of the solitary individual standing in front of the line of tanks, but only once they have been informed that he had been in involved in a mass protest against the Chinese government. Of course, even then the image is not only contingent on the viewer's reading position (i.e. their view of the then Chinese government and its policies) but is also ambiguous, dependent, for example, on whether the viewer transcodes the image as 'a defiant protestor blocks the advance of Chinese military tanks' or 'Chinese military tanks come to a stop to avoid injuring a lone protestor'. The key point here, then, is that it is not being proposed that photojournalistic images in isolation, and independently of any verbal anchorage, have this attitudinal potential. This attitudinal effect is the outcome of the context in which the image is located and a particular transcoding of that image – a particular verbal formulation of what it portrays.

In recent times, such imagery has come to be sourced not only from professional photojournalists but from members of the public, as a result of developments in digital photography and the inclusion of cameras in mobile phones. One particularly noteworthy example of this is provided by the images which showed prisoners being abused by their US military guards in the Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq in 2003. The following is probably the best known of these, having been published on the front cover of the *Economist* newspaper after having been originally released by Amnesty International.

Image 3: Abu Ghraib prisoner abuse image, Amnesty International

The need for verbal anchorage of such an image is obvious. Without such contextualisation, the image is essentially meaningless, so 'strange' as to be unreadable. Once the context is set, then the attitudinal potential is significant.

In an interesting twist with respect to this type of image, the UK's *Daily Mirror* published the following image on its front page on May 1, 2004, purporting to show British prison-guard soldiers engaged in similarly grossly abusive behaviour.

Image 4: *Daily Mirror***, May 1, 2004**

As it turned out, the *Daily Mirror* had been duped, and the photograph was a fake, having been constructed as part of an elaborate scheme to discredit the newspaper, which had been running an anti-war line. As a consequence, the paper's editor, who had published the image in good faith, believing it to be genuine, was forced to resign.

The proposal, then, is that there is a visual semiotic which is analogous to the verbal semiotic by which 'factual' accounts afford readers the opportunity to make attitudinal inferences. It is necessary, therefore, to consider in more detail just what this analogous relationship might entail – that is to say, just what might be the lines of similarity which are being referenced here. With this question in mind we must attend to issues of authorial presence, the role of the reader/viewer and the extent and manner in which the verbal and visual expressions put addresser-addressee solidarity at risk.

On account of their status as 'facts' (i.e. propositions about the experiential world which present as being are at least in principle verifiable), verbal attitudinal affordings background the author's subjective presence. While they are 'present' as the communicative agent which has selected this particular piece of information for the reader's attention, they are not overtly 'present' as the source of any attitudinal assessment of the people or events therein referenced. Even while the co-text may be attitudinally conditioning, it can be said

that the text leaves it up to the reader, at least at that specific point in the text, to draw attitudinal inferences. The author divests him/herself of responsibility for the attitudinal meanings occasioned by this 'factual' material, leaving it up to the reader to draw any such conclusions. Thus in the example of verbal affording cited above, the author simply reports the voting figures on the basis of which President Bush was elected, taking no personal responsibility, at least for the moment, for any attitudinal inferences they reader may make. The facts 'speak for themselves'. Tellingly, such formulations do not put solidarity at risk between author and reader, at least when taken in isolation from the rest of the text. That is to say the author is not obviously advancing a value position, or at least not an assessment, with which the reader might agree or disagree. The formulations are presented as simply describing what happened (e.g. the number of votes cast for each candidate) and not as inviting or calling on the reader to share with the author a particular attitudinal assessment or to regard a particular attitudinal assessment as reasonable or well-founded. In this there is an obvious contrast with formulations which explicitly assert some attitudinal assessment. Consider the following, by way of contrast with the earlier account of President George Bush's election in 2001

> Without the intervention of a partisan, right-wing Supreme Court to ensure the election of a Republican, Mr Bush would now be a forgotten loser. (*Observer* newspaper, January 21, 2001)

Here very obviously the author commits to a particular value position, putting author-reader solidarity or rapport at risk, in the sense that the reader is 'required' either to align with the author in regarding this strongly negative assessment as reasonable, fair and well-founded or alternatively to dis-align, in regarding the assessment as unfounded, unfair or biased.

This may seem obvious, but it is necessary to establish what is involved here in terms of authorial role and the negotiation of solidarity, by way of preparation for the forthcoming discussion, concerned as it is with the visual invocation of attitude and then with invocation which is semiotically more complex.

It can be argued that 'factual' photojournalistic images which similarly afford the opportunity for the viewer to draw attitudinal conclusions involve similar positionings of author and viewer. The notion of authorship in the context of photojournalistic images is, of course, somewhat complicated. The communicative agent is a complex of the photographer who composed the original shot and the editorial team which sizes and positions the image on the page or screen, possibly also subjecting it to various forms of post-production (for

example, cropping, adjusting exposures, and so on). It is this compound 'author' whose subjective presence is back-grounded with regard to such naturalistic photographs. Again, while 'present' as the communicative agent which has selected this particular informational content for the reader's/viewer's attention, the author is not overtly 'present' as the source of any attitudinal assessment of the people or events therein referenced. As with verbal affording invocations, it is not the author who 'supplies' the attitudinal meaning but the viewer as, for example, they interpret the Tiananmen Square image as betokening heroism or defiance (or possibly foolhardiness) on the part of the protestor. Again such images ostensibly do not put addresser-addressee solidarity at risk since the authoring agent (the processes by which the shot is created, selected, edited and positioned on the page or screen) makes no demand of viewers that they share or accept as reasonable a particular value position. Ostensibly the viewer is only invited to witness a frozen moment of reality, and then draw their own attitudinal conclusions.

3. The photojournalistic image and flagged attitude

3.1 Verbally flagged attitude

As indicated above, the second sub type of attitudinal invocation proposed in the Appraisal literature is termed flagging. Verbal formulations are understood to flag an attitudinal meaning when they include an evaluative meaning which is not of itself attitudinal – i.e. does not overtly inscribe a positive or negative assessment – but which nonetheless can be interpreted as suggestive that an attitudinal assessment is available or in play. Both intensifications (indications that the author has assessed the force or degree of some action or quality to be at a heightened level) and adversatives (indications that something is counter-expected) can function in this way. The following is an example of a formulation where both intensification and counter-expectancy perform this flagging function.

> Telstra [Australia's main, and formerly government owned, telecommunications provider] has withdrawn sponsorship of a suicide prevention phone service—*just days after* announcing a $2.34 billion half-yearly profit. (*Sunday Mail*, July 23, 2005).

This formulation has the potential to trigger a strongly negative assessment, specifically a negative Judgement, of this telecommunications company. While the 'factual' information provided here could, of itself, activate such an assessment, the attitudinal work is helped along, so to speak, by the formulation 'just days after' which casts the event in question (the withdrawal of sponsorship) as having occurred both very soon after the company declared a large profit and unexpectedly soon after it declared such profits.

The following is another example of where the author's inclusion of an intensification – the term 'mega-rich' – functions to flag that an attitudinal meaning is at stake.

Mega-rich reap child benefit

Thirty-one millionaire families in Australia receive the government payment designed to give extra help to single-income families. (*The Age*, March 2, 2005)

Again, it is possible that the 'facts' being reported here would of themselves have been such as to invoke a negative assessment on the part of most Australian readers, at least those who feel that such welfare payments ought only be made to more 'typical' and more 'deserving' single-income families, for example single-parent families. But here, of course, something is added: the term 'mega-rich' which indicates an authorial assessment that these families' wealth is at the extreme end of the scale. The term is not of itself negative, since it is possible to find it used in an attitudinally neutral way and even with a positive sense. Rather it is its value as an intensifier which potentially pushes the reader towards an attitudinal inference, or at least signals that an attitudinal inference is available.

The key point here is that in these examples of attitudinal flagging the author is more obviously present as an evaluative agent. While they are not present as an overt attitudinal assessor, they are nevertheless present as the source of the evaluation that, for example, the cancelling of the suicide phone line was counter-expected or that the wealth of the welfare recipient families was at the extreme end of the scale. Authorial presence, therefore, can be said to be more noticeable or detectable in the case of such flagging attitudinal invocations, when compared with authorial presence in purely factual affordings of attitude. Two possible attitude-related effects flow from this. In the first instance, the author may come across as more implicated in any attitudinal assessment which may arise, as having at least some responsibility for that attitudinal assessment even while the reader, who ultimately makes that inference, is also still implicated and hence to some degree 'responsible' for that assessment. Along similar lines, such formulations do have at least some potential to put author-reader solidarity at risk, to the degree that the reader feels positioned to adopt a particular attitudinal position on the basis of the evaluative content: i.e. on account of the author having provided an intensified description or calculated some act to be counter expected. In such cases, author and reader might be said to share responsibility for the attitudinal assessment.

3.2 Visually flagged attitude

It is proposed that visual analogues of such verbal flagging of attitude can be found

in photojournalistic images which depart in particular ways from what might be termed 'naturalist, snapshot style images', specifically images which have been composed in ways which draw attention to the role of the photojournalistic 'author' in framing the shot. That is to say the composition is in some way marked vis-à-vis more frequent photojournalistic compositional arrangements, and in a way which has the potential to signal that an attitudinal assessment is potentially in play. Perhaps most obvious in this regard are compositional arrangements which provide some sense of intensification, some enhancing of the figures or action being portrayed. (This intensification-associated effect was dealt with in White unplublished and developed in Economou 2009)

The following image of a guard from the US government prison camp in Guantanamo Bay provides an example of such an intensifying composition. At the time the image was published in 2005, the prison camp was the subject of much media attention as the place where terrorism suspects were being held indefinitely and without charge.
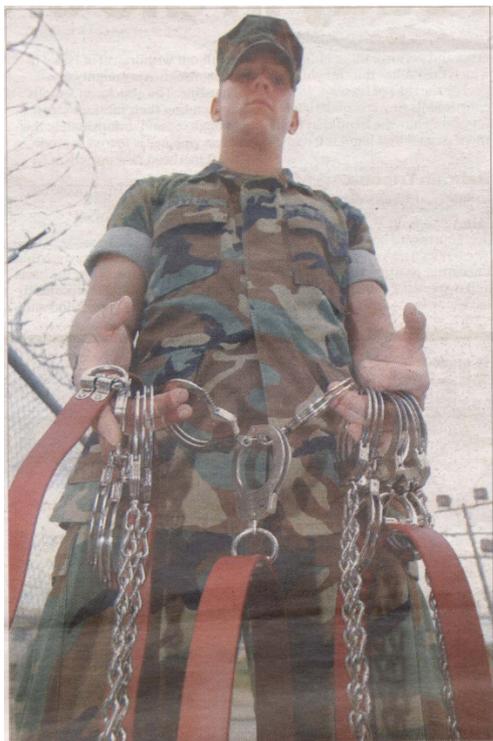

Image 5: Guantanamo Bay guard, *Guardian Weekly*, December 21, 2005

The compositional choices made in the construction of this shot – a close and extremely low camera angle - result in an 'intensified' image in which the guard appears to tower and loom over the viewer in a way which is capable of being interpreted as menacing. This has the potential to trigger a negative perspective on the Guantanamo Bay prison, at least for viewers who have been apprised, via associated verbal texts, of what was happening at the

prison and who come to the text with a reading position which is critical of the US government's behaviour in this case.

In this regard, it is of interest to note that the image was used in several newspapers, in connection with articles which adopted rather different attitudinal positions on the subject of Guantanamo Bay and the conduct of the US authorities. For example, the *Guardian Weekly* newspaper began the article in question with the headline 'US accused of setting bad example on human rights' and the sub-head 'Torture and degradation have undermined US credibility'. In contrast, the *Mail on Sunday* began its report with the headline 'Briton among Al Qaeda chain gang' and the sub-head 'Caged – the first of Bin Laden's arrive at the POW camp, in shackles and masks – so they can't gnaw their way to martyrdom'. The attitudinal thrust of the two verbal texts would seem to be significantly different, with the *Mail on Sunday* positioning the reader to take a negative view of the captives, not of their captors. An interesting question therefore arises as to the extent to which the attitudinal potential of the image to flag a negative view of the US authorities might be constrained by the accompanying verbal meanings.

The following image involves a similar 'marked' composition arrangement, a departure from more standard ways of composing images with similar subject matter.

Image 6: bicyclist and truck – *The Age*, September 17, 2006

Most noticeably it involves both visual intensification, by way of an extreme close up of the truck, and also a slower shutter speed so as to achieve the unusual blurring effect, here indicative of high speed. These effects combine to act to flag a negative assessment of conditions for cyclists on the roads, specifically that they are extremely hazardous. Interestingly, the image was used as visual accompaniment to an article reporting findings by a scientific study that helmets increase rather than decrease risks to cyclists. The focus of the image is, of course, largely at a tangent to this, signalling that it is the speed and mass of traffic which threatens cyclists, and providing no particular focus on issues associated with

helmets.

In such cases, then, there are compositional arrangements which, while providing for this attitudinal potential, also function through their markedness to direct the viewer's attention to the authorial agency which is involved, to the fact that the image has been 'manipulated' so as to produce a particular communicative effect beyond that of simply providing a visual record.

It can be argued that such compositional markedness functions in a way which is analogous to the functionality of evaluative meanings such as those of intensification and counter-expectation in verbal attitudinal flaggings. In both cases the subjective presence of the author as communicative agent is potentially made more salient or noticeable. Again this has consequences with respect to the addressee's involvement in the attitudinal meaning making and for the negotiation of solidarity. It is possible to treat such images as resulting in a sharing of 'responsibility' for any attitudinal assessment which might be arrived at, with the author providing a flag, but the addressee still implicated in reaching any attitudinal conclusions in response to this signal. Similarly, it is possible that the viewer will feel they are being more obviously positioned by such images to reach a particular attitudinal conclusion – that is to say there is some demand or at least invitation on the part of the 'author' to share a particular attitudinal take on the people, actions or situations being referenced. For this reason, such images can be likened to their verbal flagging analogues in that, relative to the attitudinally inert and 'factual' affordings of attitude, they do have a higher potential to put addresser-addressee solidarity at risk, to the extent that they come across as advancing a positive or negative viewpoint.

4. Attitude and figurative meaning making – words and images

The photojournalistic images discussed up to this point involve what can broadly be characterised as 'naturalist' representations, even while those that flag attitude do involve some noticeable departures from the default compositional arrangements of the naturalistic 'snapshot'. Despite involving all manner of manipulations, not to mention the reduction of three dimensions to two, they purport to be 'objective' recordings or replicas of actual events and situations. The usual environment of such images is, of course, the news sections of newspapers and news websites where they purportedly provide a visual factual record, in concert with the supposedly verbal factual record provided by the news reports themselves.

We turn now to considering journalistic images which make no such claim to 'factuality' or 'objectivity', to illustrations and artwork in the form of sketches and pictorial

arrangements where it is obvious that the image is the outcome of a deliberate process of composition and interpretation on the part of some artist or editor. These, therefore, are images where the authorial presence is always to some degree observable.

These are images which do not typically operate as visual accompaniments to 'factual' news reports, although there are occasional exceptions to this rule. Their typical domain is that of the feature article and especially of commentary and opinion writing. On some occasions the image may stand alone, as an independent text, often the case with what is termed the 'political cartoon'. On other occasions they operate in obvious conjunction with one or more verbal texts. On some occasions the art work will itself include verbal elements, integrated with the visual elements.

So-called 'political cartoons' are a noteworthy instance of this type of artwork and have received considerable attention in the literature. (See for example Medhurst and DeSousa 1981, Moss 2007, Swain 2012.) There is general agreement that they often involve visual metaphors by which, for example, a political leader might be equated with a chimpanzee or with an Abu Ghraib prison-camp detainee. The following example of a political cartoon exemplifies metaphorical workings of this type.

Image 7: political cartoon - political leaders US President George Bush and UK Prime Minister Tony Blair

4.1 Verbal metaphor and the provoking and inscribing of attitude

In order to develop a discussion of how such 'figurative' images might be considered visual analogues of some form of verbal attitudinal expression, it is necessary to firstly revisit the Appraisal literature on the attitudinal functionality of verbal metaphors and similes. This literature recognises some types of metaphor as having the potential to convey attitudinal meanings, proposing that the mechanism is one of invocation (i.e. involving processes of

implication and inference) rather than one of inscription. (See Martin and White 2005: 67) The Appraisal literature is, however, somewhat divided on how to locate such meanings in taxonomies of sub types of attitudinal invocation. Thus, Martin and White (2005) propose that the invocation of attitudinal meanings via figurative language should be assigned to a sub category separate from that occupied by mechanisms which involve intensification and assessments of counter expectation (previously discussed under the heading of flagging). This grouping is termed 'provoked attitude'. In contrast, White (1998, 2002, 2008) groups attitudinal invocation by figurative language with invocation via intensification, counter expectation and related evaluative meanings. Thus for White, 'provoking' invocations include not only those activated via intensification and counter expectation but also those which involve certain types of figurative language – White's taxonomy has just the two rather than the three sub categories of Martin and White 2005.

This minor classificatory difference is not of any immediate consequence for the current discussion of attitude and visual metaphors. What is currently relevant is a question which arises in connection with the attitudinal workings of figurative language itself and the possibility that different types of verbal metaphors and similes may activate attitudinal meanings in different ways. More specifically the question is one of whether or not some cases of figurative language should be treated as inscribing attitudinal meanings and others as invoking it. This question has not been directly addressed in the Appraisal literature and accordingly the matter is taken up here, by way of a necessary prelude to a discussion of figurativeness and attitude in journalistic images and pictorial arrangements.

In Martin and White (2005) the following is provided by way of exemplification of figurative language which may invoke, and more specifically provoke an attitudinal assessment. It is an extract taken from the report of an Australian government inquiry in the late 1990s into the past practice of forcibly removing Aboriginal children of 'mixed' parentage from their families and placing them in government institutions or with 'white' families. The words are by a member of this 'stolen generation' recounting their experiences as a child.

> I remember all we children being herded up, like a mob of cattle, and feeling the humiliation of being graded by the colour of our skins for the government records. (Cited in Martin and White 2005: 65)

Martin and White observe that in this extract, the Indigenous voice does not 'explicitly judge white authorities as inhumane, but the treatment of people as commercial goods arguably does more than evoke a judgement – it provokes one' (Martin and White

2005: 65).

There are a number of indicators of attitude in this extract, but for our current purposes I will focus just on the use of the term 'being herded up', a metaphor by which the treatment of the Aboriginal children is equated with the treatment of livestock. Martin and White's proposition is that formulations of this type do not involve an 'explicit' passing of judgement. Accordingly, metaphorical expressions of this type are presumably to be distinguished from those which are unambiguously explicit in their attitudinal meaning making, for example the use of 'pigsty' in the following extract:

> The research also showed New Zealanders admit being too busy to clean and often live in what they describe as a pigsty due to the pressures of modern living. (scoop.co.nz, October 14, 2014)

The term 'pigsty' when used metaphorically in this way is undoubtedly stable across different contexts of use in conveying a negative assessment. It can be said to 'encode' this negative assessment in that it is not dependent of any specific contextual conditioning and does not rely on the addressee supplying a particular inference. In employing this term in this way the speaker/writer unambiguously and directly passes an attitudinal judgement, inscribing this assessment.

What then might be the difference between the metaphorical use of a term such as 'to herd', which Martin and White hold is only implicitly attitudinal, and the metaphorical use of a term such as 'pigsty', which I propose is explicitly attitudinal? We are concerned herewith issues which have traditionally been dealt with via the notion that verbal metaphors can be divided into such categories as 'living', 'moribund'/'tired' and 'dead'/'lexicalised' (see for example Lakoff and Johnson 1980, Alm-Arvius 2006). So-called 'living' or 'non-lexicalised' metaphors are understood to involve the transparent mapping of a target meaning (for example, a house or room) with a source meaning, (for example, the usual conditions in which pigs are understood to live, when kept in sties). In the literature the terms 'topic' or 'figure' are often used for the target meaning and the term 'vehicle' or 'ground' for the source meaning (see, for example, Richards 1936). In contrast, 'moribund' or 'tired' metaphors are understood to involve some process of 'entrenchment' or 'lexicalisation' by which the connection with the original source meaning (for example rounding up of livestock) has to some degree been obscured or back-grounded, even while still possibly retrievable or subject to reactivation in a given co-textual setting. Thus the expression 'I remember all we children being herded up' might not necessarily activate the connection with the treatment of cattle or sheep as they are managed by farmers. Thus 'to herd' may be sufficiently 'moribund' as a

metaphorical usage in this case that, in and of itself, it may only convey an image of the children being gathered together and moved along by the governmental authorities. It is treated as an invocation rather than an explicit inscription because it is left up to the reader to 'revive' the metaphorical connection with the rough treatment of animals (to turn 'moribund' back into 'living') and thereby to activate what was only a potential attitudinal meaning.

It is possible, therefore that it is 'living' or 'non lexical metaphors' which inscribe attitude while at least some 'moribund' or 'partially lexicalised' metaphors invoke it. In this regard, however, there is a further issue to consider. It is not the case, of course, that all metaphors and similes convey positive or negative meanings. Obviously, attitudinal effects only occur when the source meaning (the vehicle or ground) does have some attitudinal association or 'meaning' (e.g. that the quarters in which pigs are kept are dirty and unpleasant). Whether the metaphorical usage is to be treated as inscribing or, alternatively, as invoking may depend on the stability of that attitudinal association when the source meaning (the vehicle) is mapped onto its target (the topic). When the association is stable – i.e. consistently active in the culture across different contexts of use – then we can treat the metaphor as inscribing an attitudinal meaning. Thus we treat 'this room is a pigsty' as inscribing a negative attitude because the metaphorical mapping by which the referenced 'room' is thereby characterised as untidy, dirty and unpleasant is highly stable across different contexts of use. In contrast, we may prefer to treat as instances of attitudinal invocation those figurative expressions where the attitudinal content of the source meaning is not so stable across multiple contexts of use or where they attitudinal value is not so consistently transferred from the source to the target. This may well be the case with metaphorical uses of the term 'to herd'. A search of the Collins Wordbanks English corpus reveals that the metaphorical usage is by no means always negative. The following are some instances, drawn from the corpus where it has a neutral or even slightly positive meaning.

> It was quite another business for Jocelyn to find a chance to put her plan into action. For one thing, the weather turned fine, and as soon as they had disposed of their elevenses, they were **herded** out to the playing-fields to ensure that they got as much fresh air as possible.

> We drove back to the main road and found the Riverview Inn, a stately old Federal period place where I'd eaten a few meals after a day of fishing on the river. A grandmotherly old lady **herded** me and E. J. into a big, sunlit dining-room

Such instances are evidence that the mapping of the source meaning of 'to herd' (a way of directing livestock) on to a manner of dealing with humans does not always carry with it a negative assessment of those who do this 'herding' of humans. Accordingly it can be said

that it is not the metaphor in isolation which triggers the attitudinal assessment but rather the metaphor in combination with a specific co-text and possibly also a particular reading position. In fact, we can observe such co-textual conditioning in the example from Martin and White 2005 cited above. The storyteller observes not only that as a child she and the other Aboriginal children were 'herded up' but also that they were treated 'like a mob of cattle', 'humiliated', and 'graded by the colour' of their skins.

In conclusion to this discussion of types of metaphor, we can say that verbal metaphorical expressions, and presumably related figurative language such as similes, will act to inscribe attitudinal values, when the attitudinal effect of the expression is fixed and stable across different contexts of use and not dependent on co-textual influences. Likewise, we can say figurative language invokes attitudinal value when the attitudinal effect of the expression is less stable across different contexts, susceptible to co-textual conditioning and to some degree reliant on the reader to supply attitudinal inferences.

The distinction between figures of speech which are stable attitudinally and those which are less so is relevant to the current discussion because it relates to my proposal that the different mechanisms for activating attitudinal meanings correlated with differences in the noticeability of the author's subjective presence and in the degree to which author-reader solidarity is put at risk. Previously I proposed that affording invocations essentially hide the author as an agent of attitude and as a consequence do not put author-reader solidarity at risk, while flagging invocations at least partially reveal the author's attitudinal agency and hence do have the potential to put solidarity at risk, at least to the degree that the reader feels attitudinally positioned by the author's use of evaluative meanings such as those of intensification or counter expectation.

Further to this, it needs to be noted that inscribed verbal attitude involving either explicit attitudinal lexis (e.g. 'Your bedroom is a disgusting mess') or figurative expressions which are similarly stable attitudinally (e.g. 'Your room is a pigsty') do unambiguously reveal the author as the attitudinal agent. They obviously put addresser-addressee solidarity at risk in that they position the reader to agree with the explicit attitudinal assertion, or at least to regard it as reasonable and well-founded. The reader who rejects the assessment or regards it as unreasonable or ill-founded is thereby at odds with the author. Thus, if I declare to you that 'your room is a pigsty' or 'your room is a disgusting mess' then you either embarrassedly, resignedly or nonchalantly agree with me or else you are deeply offended and at the very least beg to differ.

But what of attitudinally less stable figurative expressions such as 'we children were

herded up'? Where do they fit into this picture? I would argue that the author's role as agent of attitude is less salient than for language which unambiguously inscribes attitudinal values. This is on the grounds that expressions such as 'we children were herded up', while loaded with attitudinal potential, still only actualises these attitudinal meanings via processes of implication, association and inference. The role of the reader in such instances is that of interpreter rather than simply that of decoder. As a consequence, expressions of this type are somewhat less forthright in putting author-reader solidarity at risk than expressions which inscribe attitudinal values, at least when considered in isolation from the attitudinal contribution being made by any other related meanings in the text. On this basis we might contrast 'they treated the children like animals' and 'the children were herded up'. The former can be analysed as inscribing attitude on the basis that this simile has a stable attitudinal meaning across a diversity of communicative contexts. It is almost always 'wrong' to treat someone 'like an animal'. Accordingly it very directly puts author-reader solidarity at risk. In contrast, 'they herded up the children' leaves some attitudinal 'wiggle room', so to speak, and thus is potentially less demanding of the reader with regards to solidarity decisions.

4.2 Visual metaphors and the provoking and inscribing of attitude

4.2.1 Political cartooning and inscription

We have now completed the necessary groundwork for a discussion of the basis on which media images might be treated as inscribing attitudinal value and thereby putting author-viewer solidarity at risk. Political cartoons of the type already mentioned above are one candidate for a visual analogue of verbal attitudinal inscription. These images typically convey a negative assessment of participants in current events and, as already discussed, do this by a process of visual metaphor. The following Image 8 is another typical instance.

This image accompanied an article about a controversy which arose in connection with a test cricket match between England and Pakistan, a regular contest which has a very high public profile in both countries. One of the umpires had ruled that one of the Pakistani bowlers had 'tampered' with the ball (damaging it very slightly so that it might deviate in the air and hence become difficult for the batters to hit). The Pakistani team was outraged, believing this accusation to be unfounded and motivated by racism. They walked off the field in the middle of the game.

Image 8: *The Daily Telegraph* **(Australia), September 21, 2006**

Clearly there is a visual metaphor in play by which the umpire who made this ruling is equated with a member of the Ku Klux Klan, a notoriously racist and violent organisation operating over many years in the United States. The umpire is shown standing behind the cricket wicket (the umpire's usual position during the game) dressed in the costume which has become iconic of this racist organisation.

There are grounds for treating such images as the visual analogues of verbal metaphors of one of the types discussed above, specifically 'living' metaphors which carry a stable attitudinal value across multiple contexts of use in a given cultural context. Even while, of course, an image such as this relies on the viewer having the necessary cultural knowledge and being able to make the necessary intertextual connections, it is nevertheless unambiguously and overtly attitudinal, once these connections are made. Like their verbal correlates, such images involve a clear statement of an attitudinal position: there is no doubt as to the position which the cartoon is conveying. Thereby reader solidarity is put at risk. Tthe reader is positioned to respond in a particular way: they either regard the attitudinal assessment being conveyed as fair and reasonable or disalign and regard it is implausible, unfair or unmotivated.

As it turned out, the actual attitudinal functionality of the Ku Kux Klan cartoon was more complicated than indicated above. If it had appeared in a Pakstani newspaper, for example, by way of illustration for an article critical of the umpire, it is likely it would have inscribed a negative assessment of the umpire, as just outlined. The reader would have been

overtly positioned to align with such an assessment. In fact, it appeared (without any captioning or sub heading) as an illustration for an opinion piece in the politically and socially conservative Australian tabloid, the *Daily Telegraph*. The article was entitled, 'Hair-brained claims cut cricket deeply' and ridiculed the Pakistan team's accusations of racism. The assertion being conveyed by the cartoon, that the umpire was behaving like a member of the Ku Klux Klan, was thus being attributed to the Pakistani team, with the assumption that the typical *Daily Telegraph* reader would necessarily find this to be an unfounded and hence ridiculous characterisation. Via an extra layer of meaning making, the cartoon's ultimate attitudinal function was to position the reader to regard the Pakistanis as guilty of unwarranted, unfounded accusations.

4.2.2 Borderline cases: inscription or invocation/provocation?

There are grounds, then, for seeing certain media images, certain political cartoons, as the visual analogues of verbal expressions which inscribe attitudinal values, specifically those which involve metaphors and similes which have a stable attitudinal value across different contexts of use. But what of verbal figures of speech which are less stable attitudinally and hence are best analysed as being more indirectly attitudinal, as provoking rather than inscribing attitude. Do they have their own visual analogues? Is there a sub type of media image which can plausibly be treated as provoking rather than inscribing an attitudinal image and hence as not so directly putting addresser/addressee solidarity at risk? It is my view that there are indeed media images which operate attitudinally in this way and I outline my case for this in what follows.

Consider firstly the following cartoon image (actually a photograph with an overlay of artwork) of former Australian Greens Party leader, Bob Brown, a high profile figure in the Australian political landscape who tended to strongly divide opinion between those who supported his policies on the environment and social justice and those who most vehemently rejected them. The image is quite clearly a case of visual inscription of attitude, as defined above – a visual metaphor which is highly stable attitudinally across different contexts of use, which clearly presents the author as advancing a particular value position, and which establishes a clear line of demarcation between author-reader alignment and dis-alignment.
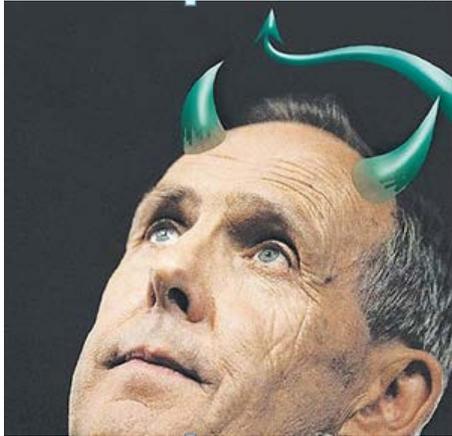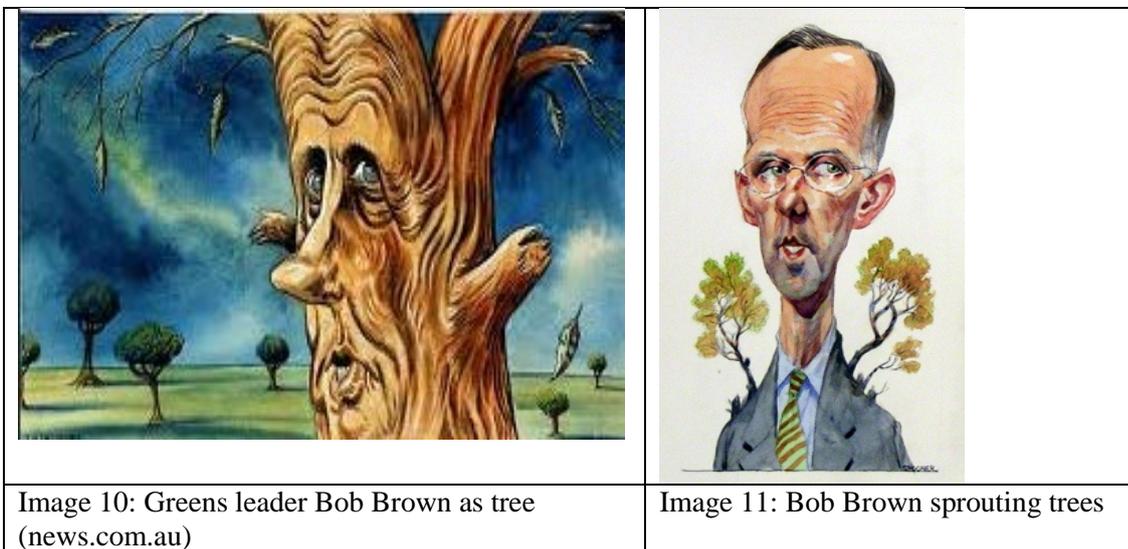
Image 9: former Australian Greens Party leader, Bob Brown as the devil (news.com.au)

Consider, however, the following further cartoon-style images of Brown.

| Image 10: Greens leader Bob Brown as tree (news.com.au) | Image 11: Bob Brown sprouting trees |

Both these images are 'figurative' in the sense that, while making some reference to the 'real world' (i.e. they 'depict' Greens leader, Bob Brown), they very obviously depart from conventions of naturalist visual representation so as to achieve some form of special effect. In both cases there are processes of metaphor in play by which some source meaning (the vehicle) is being mapped onto the target meaning (the topic) of Brown. In the first instance (Image 9) the source meaning/vehicle is tree, or possibly a tree spirit and in the second instance the source meaning/vehicle is a landscape (i.e. Brown is the land out of which trees grow).

Neither of these mappings of source onto target is sufficiently stable attitudinally for these images to be analysed as inscribing an attitudinal value. While they are suggestive that an attitudinal meaning is in play, they are attitudinally non definitive. Admittedly, Image 10 includes elements which are suggestive of negativity – specifically the furrowed brow, the

melancholy expression, the snapped-off branch stubs. Nevertheless, the metaphorical mapping of tree on to man (specifically Greens Party leader) is not attitudinally stable in the culture. Depending on reading position, and possibly under the influence of other attitudinal indicators in an accompanying text, it might be read as implying an excessive devotion to environmental causes, but this is not a reading which can be said to be inscribed here. Image 11 is similarly suggestive but not attitudinally definitive. Both positive and negative interpretations appear to be available: (1) that the Greens leader is so in tune with the environment that he has merged with it, or (2) that he is so obsessed with the environment that he has lost his humanity and become a feature of the landscape.

While the author is unambiguously revealed by these images as a subjective presence (the agent of the departure from naturalistic representation), they are nevertheless not presented as [having?] functioning as a specifically attitudinal agent. Such images still leave the reader at least partly responsible for any attitudinal meanings arising through processes of inference. To the extent that such images ultimately rely on implicature and inference, they do not so directly put author-reader solidarity at risk as is the case in the type of attitudinal definitive images discussed above. Accordingly, then, images of this type might be said to be the visual analogue of verbal figurative expressions (e.g. 'We children were herded up.') which provoke rather than inscribe attitudinal meanings.

5. Compound pictorial layouts – on the boundary of inscription and invocation.

I turn now to considering what I above termed 'pictorial arrangements', typically layouts of multiple images used in conjunction with verbal news reporting. As suggested earlier, these layouts sometimes activate attitudinal meanings in ways which put them on the borderline between inscription and invocation. On the one hand, clear traces of authorial evaluative involvement in the meaning making are observable in these pictorial arrangements. The author's attitudinal fingerprints, so to speak, are all over these layouts and hence they have considerable potential to put author-reader solidarity at risk. Yet, on the other hand, the signifiers by which the attitudinal work is potentially done are substantially more dependent on context and co-text than is the case for prototypical instances of attitudinal inscription. They involve meaning making resources which are created 'on the fly', so to speak, rather than signifiers of attitudinal assessment which have a longstanding existence in the culture's visual attitudinal 'vocabulary'.

Consider by way of example the following front page from the *Daily Mirror* newspaper, published in March 2003 in the early days of the invasion of Iraq by the US, led

by President George Bush, and its allies. The layout is firstly presented with verbal elements blanked out, to permit a consideration of the potential of the page's visual imagery to function attitudinally, independently of the overlaid words.

Image 12: *Daily Mail* **front page, March 21, 2003**

The page has been designed to position the reader to view President Bush as heartless, or at least as happily unconcerned about the plight of the people in the country he has recently ordered invaded. But how might we classify the attitudinal mechanism in play here? Is the author's role as attitudinal agent so obvious that this amounts to visual commentary, the calculated deployment of photographic images so as to assert a negative assessment of Bush? Or is some degree of indirectness involved here, some dependence on processes of implication and inference? To address these questions, some closer analysis of the attitudinal workings of this pictorial arrangement is required.

In the top half of the page the sub-editorial author has placed an image of what the accompanying verbal text indicates is an Iraqi woman, caught up in the conflict. In the bottom half, the editor has placed an image of President Bush apparently engaging with well-wishers. Human facial expression is, of course, capable of signifying a diversity of internal psychological states, which, via language, are classified by reference to culturally based notions and taxonomies of emotion or affect. (See, for example, Tian 2011.) Facial arrangements are read as indicators of, for example, 'sadness', 'happiness', 'despair', 'anger', 'fear' and so on. Photographs, of course, can capture such facial expression arrangements and can accordingly be used to represent a human subject as experiencing a given emotion at a given time. For the upper section of the page, the subeditorial author has chosen an image of

an Iraqi woman whose facial expression signifies what is likely to be interpreted as extreme distress, grief or fear. This is juxtaposed with an image of President Bush whose facial expression signifies a positive mood, perhaps happiness or at least satisfaction. The purpose, of course, is to set up a contrast or conflict between the two depicted emotional states, specifically Bush's happy mood read against the woman's distress. Via this juxtaposition of emotions, the reader is positioned to view Bush's response or current state of mind as egregiously inappropriate, as evidence of heartlessness or an immoral lack of concern.

This potential 'meaning' is, of course, the product of very obvious artifice. The fact that Bush was smiling in this way when greeting members of an assembled gathering reveals nothing at all about what he feels or thinks about the situation of people in Iraq. This is a bringing together of two entirely unrelated images with the obvious intention of casting Bush in a negative light.

The attitudinal effect is, at least in part, dependent on cultural norms with respect to what are regarded as proper and as improper emotional responses to various stimuli. One such norm relates to how we are expected to react emotionally to the distress and suffering of others. Disapprobation is directed at those who are not concerned, saddened or sympathetic when presented with reports of disaster, hardship or suffering. We might term this the 'fiddling while Rome burns' effect. Thus the term 'heartless', as mentioned above, encodes this norm - a negative judgement of those who are felt not to have had appropriately negative feelings in response to the suffering or distress of others. The term 'righteous anger' is evidence of another norm with respect to what are deemed 'appropriate' emotional responses and states. The term is an indicator that anger is often characterised as an improper response, hence the coining of 'righteous anger' as a characterisation which can be applied when there is a need to cancel out the conventional association.

One notable instance of 'fiddling while Rome burns' was photo-journalistically documented in 2014 when an image was distributed on the Twitter microblog site showing Israelis as they sat on a hilltop watching an attack by their military forces on Gaza. The image, along with the comment supplied with the original tweet is provided below.

Off course, the image would have been 'meaningless' without the contextualising information about what these people were watching. But once anchored in this way, the image clearly has the potential to provoke a negative assessment by those who would regard taking pleasure in such events as improper.

Image 13: social media image - Israelis observe attack on Gaza

Tellingly, the original tweet accompanying the image avoided directly naming the emotional response of the assembled crowd, confining itself to reporting an observable action – i.e. 'clapping'. Subsequent news media reports showed no such compunction, offering their own interpretations of the emotions of the people depicted, describing them as 'celebrating', 'cheering', 'applauding' and 'watching for their enjoyment'.

In the case of the *Daily Mail* front page, the editors, however, did not have an actual photograph of President Bush, for example, laughing and happy while, say, images of the bombing of civilian homes played on video screens in the background. As discussed above, it is an obvious construct, a manufactured collage, and hence operates in a significantly different way from genuine 'fiddling while Rome burns' photojournalistic images. On account of the obviousness of this authorial intervention into the construction of this pictorial, there are grounds for classifying this as an attitudinal signifier which is very much on the borderline between inscription and invocation, a means of invoking/provokingan attitudinal response which nevertheless shares some important features with images which inscribe. It can be said to provoke rather than inscribe on the basis that some inferential process is required for Bush's apparent happiness to be interpreted as improper. Nevertheless, like inscribing images

such as the political cartoons discussed above, the role of the author as attitudinal agent is readily observable and the pictorial arrangement very much puts author-reader solidarity at risk around views of Bush and the US military action.

Interestingly, the words which were overlaid on the visual elements refrained from explicitly assessing Bush's behaviour or feelings as improper (i.e. no negative 'Judgement' of Bush was explicitly asserted), relying instead on such assessments to be provoked when readers applied cultural norms by which emotional behaviour is assessed attitudinally.

Image 14: President Bush 'whoops it up' – *Daily Mail* **front page**

In the above case, the role of the author as attitudinal agent is very apparent, hence the characterisation of this pictorial arrangement as on the borderline between invocation/provocation and inscription. Perhaps more typically, composite pictorial arrangements involve less obviously authorial interventions. The following Image 15, from a front page layout of the *Sydney Morning Herald,* is one such instance. It was published in July 2011, when the then Australian Prime Minister, Julia Gillard announced her party's plans to implement a levy on firms which were high carbon emitters, in order to contribute to efforts to slow global climate change.

The constructedness of this pictorial arrangement is relatively apparent. The elements on the page have been positioned so that the then Australian Prime Minister, depicted in close-upon the left, looks upwards towards an image of the earth viewed from space. The juxtaposition has the potential to trigger an interpretation by which this new policy and program is 'visionary' (the PM's upward gaze) in being directed towards 'saving the earth'.

Image 15: *Sydney Morning Herald*, **front page, July 11, 2011**

This, however, is just one of the possible interpretations available, made possible but not compelled upon the reader, since any such attitudinal association between images of the earth from space and 'visionary environmental policies' is not a stable one in the Australian cultural context. Even while the attitudinal 'hand' of the subeditorial author is apparent, it is still not as obviously directed towards a particular attitudinal outcome as, for example, in the *Daily Mail* 'heartless' Bush front page. Since this particular attitudinal assessment requires some interpretative involvement by the reader, we can say that author-reader solidarity around attitudes towards this new plan are not so directly put at risk.

6. Photojournalistic inscription?

By way of conclusion to this discussion, I turn to considering one further type of photojournalistic image which is of interest because it also arguably hovers on the borderline between inscription and invocation. We are concerned with images of the following type. Again, the verbal overlays have been obscured so as to permit some initial consideration of the image independently of the accompanying words.
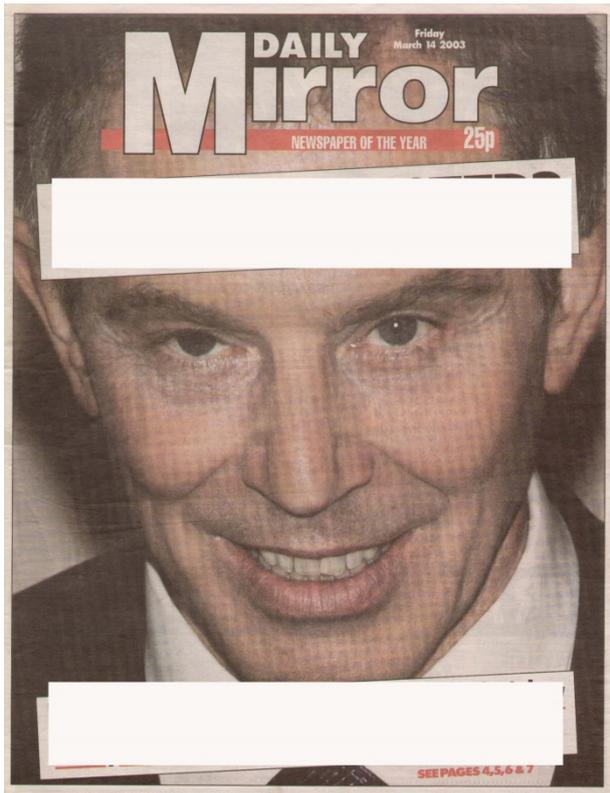
Image 16: former British Prime Minister, Tony Blair, *Daily Mirror* **March 14, 2003**

This photojournalistic image exploits another feature of human facial expression, that certain facial arrangements are understood as revealing not only inner emotional states but can also be revealing of inner character and intentions. There is a significant probability that the above image was captured via camera mechanisms which enable multiple images to be captured per second, shot in rapid succession so as to 'freeze' what might actually have been an extremely short lived facial arrangement, a fleeting transition of facial muscles and not actually a fixed expression. The possibly momentary facial arrangement captured in the image may be interpreted as either revealing or asserting malign intentions on the part of the then British Prime Minister, Tony Blair who was at the centre of a controversy over his plan to involve British military forces in the US-led invasion of Iraq in 2003. The particular arrangement of eyes, eyebrows, mouth and cheeks recalls images of pantomime villains, suggesting that this is a man with some sinister intent. It constitutes a culturally stable signifier which might be transcoded as 'man with evil grin'.

The words overlaid on the image by the newspaper's editors (Image 17 below) lend strong support to this analysis. Obviously the editorial team felt that this was indeed the expression or visage of a 'monster'.

Image 17: 'Prime Monster'

It can be contrasted with the following headshot which potentially casts Mr Blair in a positive light, featuring as it does a facial arrangement and a gesture suggestive of resolute determination to pursue one's goals against all odds.
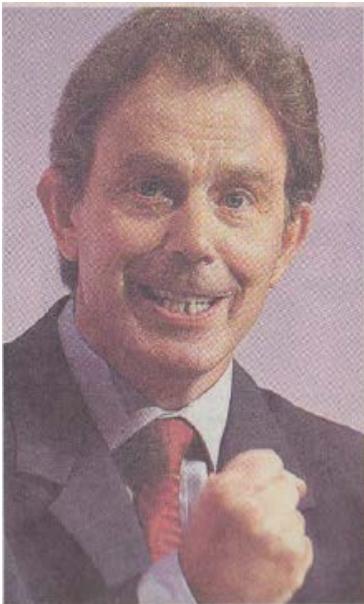

Image 18: a 'resolute' Tony Blair - *Daily Star,* **October 8, 2001**

There are several possible ways in which the 'evil Tony' image may operate attitudinally, some arguably more likely than others. One possibility is that the image might be read as genuinely revealing of Mr Blair's character, as exposing him as sinister or malign. Under this response the photograph would be treated as a 'factual' image which has managed

to record the usually hidden truth of Mr Blair's character. It would, of course, require the belief that moral character can be objectively embodied, that an intention or character which the community would characterise as 'evil' has the power to shape a human individual's facial expressions and corporeal disposition in ways which are beyond that individual's awareness and control.
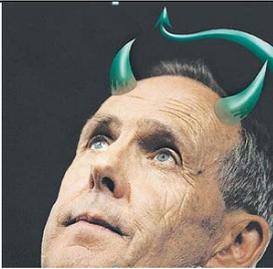
A more likely reading is one which understands that such facial expressions are accidental 'artefacts' of photographic technology which can capture multiple images per second and/or that such facial expressions are not, or at least are usually not, revealing of character or evil intention. For such a reading, the image has no status as 'fact'. Rather, the image will be read as a deliberate authorial construct, a carefully considered selection of one image from a multitude of available images, designed to cast the subject in a negative light. It amounts, therefore, to a visual assertion by the subeditorial author that Blair is, indeed, in some way actually or potentially malign, even while the obvious artifice of the image means that it cannot be offered as an entirely serious assertion. That is to say, under this reading, some degree of visual play is recognised, thereby rendering the image not a straightforward attitudinal claim. Tellingly, the verbal overlay, 'Prime Monster?', which transcodes the message of the image, is in the form of a question rather than a statement. Both image and words offer up this assessment of Blair as possibility rather than necessarily the case. Both words and image, therefore, 'entertain' the possibility of Blair being evil, while stopping short of categorically asserting this.

This image shares a number of qualities with the front page 'heartless Bush' pictorial arrangement discussed earlier. Again there are reasons to classify the image as on the borderline between inscription and invocation. On the inscription side of the ledger, the 'evil Tony' portrait reveals the role of the author as attitudinal agent who has a negative view of the Prime Minister and seeks to put that view into play. The image does also put author-reader solidarity at risk, at least to the extent that the reader interprets this as a seriously meant assessment of Blair. Supporters of Blair and his policies are likely to find the image offensive while those of an opposing political persuasion are likely to applaud it, or at least find it amusing, enjoying the fact that Mr Blair has been 'caught out' in such a potentially compromising facial expression. On the invocation side of the ledger, the image might be said to lack the attitudinal stability which is a feature of the attitude inscribing political cartooning discussed earlier. While the 'evil grin' is a recognisable attitudinal signifier, it is arguably not as stable in the culture as, for example, metaphorical reference to the Ku Klux Klan or the devil. It is a less certain signifier, which requires some interpretative input by the

reader and which a reader might choose to ignore. Also, the use of stereotyped facial dispositions is a much rarer attitudinal mechanism and one which probably lacks legitimacy in the context of supposedly serious debate and the negotiation of attitudinal assessments. In conclusion, then, this type of 'evil grin' image can be said to make salient the role of the author as attitudinal agent who, by the deliberate choice of such an image, invites or challenges the reader to align with assessment thereby being put into play. But in comparison with prototypical cases of attitude inscription, the attitudinal effect is less certain, still subject to co-textual influences and dependent on the reader's reading position.

7. In summary: a taxonomy of visual attitude

The taxonomy proposed for visual activations of attitude is set out below. A bold font is used to indicate factors typically associated with visual inscription of attitude, italics to indicate those typically association with invocation.

Inscribing **(1) reveals the author as attitudinal agent who commits to a particular attitudinal position** **(2) references attitudinal associations which are largely stable across different contexts of use** **(3) puts author-viewer solidarity at risk** **(4) no reader 'responsibility' for the attitudinal meaning**			
Inscribing/Invoking (provoking) **(1) author revealed as attitudinal agent who commits to a particular attitudinal position** *(2) attitudinal associations less stable than in prototypical inscriptions* **(3) puts author-viewer solidarity at risk** *(4) some reader 'responsibility' for the attitudinal meaning*			

Provoking *(1) author revealed as subjective, interpretative presence, but not as categorically committed to a particular attitudinal position* *(2) attitudinal associations contingent on the current context and not stable across different contexts of use* *(3) potential for author-reader solidarity to be put at risk* *(4) some reader 'responsibility' for the attitudinal meaning*			
Flagging *(1) author revealed as evaluative/interpretative presence but not as attitudinal agent* *(2) attitudinal associations contingent on contextualization and reading position* *(3) author-reader solidarity not put at risk around a specific attitudinal positon* *(4) shared author and reader 'responsibility for' attitudinal meanings*			
Affording *(1) author not revealed as interpretative, evaluative or attitudinal agent* *(2) attitudinal associations entirely contingent on contextualization and reader position* *(3) author-reader solidarity not put at risk around a specific attitudinal positon* *(4) reader 'responsible' for attitudinal inferences*			

8. Conclusion

By this discussion I have sought to enhance understandings of how certain journalistic images and layouts may act to activate or convey attitudinal meanings: positive or negative assessment of the people, events and situations referenced in journalistic coverage.

Following on from prior work in this area (for example Economou 2009, Swain 2012) I have taken work on the verbal expression of attitude as my starting point and sought to discover visual attitudinal analogues. An argument has been presented that it is, indeed, possible to propose plausible visual analogues of verbal inscription and of verbal invocation of attitude. Further I have argued that there are visual analogues of the more delicate sub-categories of verbal invocation, specifically of the mechanisms by which attitude is provoked, flagged and afforded.

In developing my account of these different mechanisms of visual attitude, I have revisited the literature on the verbal activation of attitudinal meanings. I have sought to develop a more elaborate diagnostic for determining membership in the various sub-types of attitudinal activation which have been proposed. Specifically I have argued that category membership can be determined by reference to factors relating to the salience or detectability of the author as attitudinal agent, the stability of the current expression in conveying a positive or negative viewpoint across different contexts of use, and the degree to which the reader is involved in supplying attitudinal conclusions derived from the material provided. It is by reference to such factors that a given visual formulation can plausibly be proposed as the attitudinal analogue of a given verbal formulation.

It is hoped that by reference to the above categorisations we might enhance analyses which seek to discover and account for the communicative mechanisms by which journalistic texts position readers attitudinally – to regard positively or negatively the actors, events and circumstances with which news journalism is concerned. Such attitudinal positionings are, of course, ultimately ideological since they offer a particular, value-laden account of the way the world is and ought to be. While there have been extensive studies of the attitudinal and ultimately ideological workings of news language, much less work has been done on the role of journalistic images. This paper is offered in the hope that it may, in a small way, redress this imbalance.

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