Anglica Wratislaviensia

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Edited by Michał Szawerna

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Theoretical and Analytical
Explorations of Multimodality

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Editorial: Theoretical and Analytical Explorations of Multimodality

The cross-fertilization of linguistics and the study of multimodal communication has now continued for half a century or so, ever since conversation analysts started to explore the interdependencies between verbal (speech) and non-verbal means of face-to-face communication (paralanguage; co-speech gestures, postures, and facial expressions). At more or less the same time, the idea that communication is almost invariably multimodal was also taken up by text analysts, who set out to disentangle the complex relations between text and images in various cultural artefacts (advertisements, comics, films, etc.).

In the following decades, the analytical scope of multimodality studies expanded to include explorations of posters, textbooks, picture books, assembly instructions, information graphics, webpages, social media, computer and video games, radio and television broadcasts, corporate logos, graffiti, performance art, and even medieval textiles.

More recently, multimodal analysis has intersected with translation studies, resulting not only in numerous explorations of audiovisual translations of films, television programmes, and live performances (by means of dubbing, subtitling, voice-over, surtitling, etc.) or interlingual translation of comics, but also in research on transformations of narratives across media (e.g., comics to films, novels to comics, video games to films, etc.), theorized as intersemiotic or multimodal translation.

While linguistic theory has always informed, as well as benefitted from, research into multimodal communication, with systemic-functional linguistics and cognitive linguistics arguably providing the most widespread approaches to analysis of multimodal artefacts, multimodality studies has become an increasingly interdisciplinary field of research, interfacing more and more productively not only with linguistics, but also with semiotics, psychology, education, sociology, anthropology, media studies, comics studies, literary theory, film studies, and gender studies.

This volume offers a selection of original studies of multimodality that were presented in their initial form and discussed during the international conference "Theoretical and Analytical Multimodality Studies", organized by the Department of Translation Studies, Institute of English Studies at the Philological Faculty of

the University of Wrocław and held online on 12–13 December 2021. While the thematic range of the contributions is broad, they all explore the theoretical and analytical synergies emerging from the combined application of techniques, approaches, theories, and methodologies originating from diverse disciplines in pursuit of increasingly more satisfying characterizations of the meaning-making processes involved in multimodal communication.

The volume comprises five original research articles. It opens with a paper by Hiroki Hanamoto titled "Spontaneous Gestures in L2 Naturalistic Spontaneous Interaction: Effects of Language Proficiency". This article investigates gesture use among learners of English as a second language with varying language proficiency levels (beginner, intermediate, and advanced). Hanamoto's goal is to find out whether or not gesture use and type (e.g., iconic, deictic, metaphoric, and beat gestures) differ by language proficiency level. This exploration provides insight into learners' cognition process during verbal communication by demonstrating that significant differences in gesture use exist among learners of English as a second language with varying language proficiency levels.

In her article "Lost in Time? The Socialist Modernist Monuments of the Former Yugoslavia and Their Shifting Conceptualization", Ilhana Nowak adopts a perspective combining cultural studies and cognitive linguistics in order to explore the conceptual metaphors guiding the interpretation of 25 monuments erected in the former Yugoslavia from the 1960s to the 1980s. Nowak views the monuments as part of a specific symbolic landscape, immanent to the countries of the former Yugoslavia at a historical point of their four-decade-long political, social, and cultural merger, and she discusses the current possibilities and limitations of their visual/multimodal decodification.

Kimberley Pager-McClymont's article "'The Thunder Rolls and the Lightning Strikes': Pathetic Fallacy as a Multimodal Metaphor" theorizes pathetic fallacy as a kind of master conceptual metaphor projecting emotions from an animated entity onto the surroundings. Conceived of in this way, pathetic fallacy may be studied through its textual indicators and effects. In the analytical portion of her article, Pager-McClymont studies the metaphor's exemplifications in selected multimodal texts of popular culture: a television show, a feature film, and a song. Her analysis shows that the effects of pathetic fallacy are present in pop-cultural texts, where they contribute to enriching suspense.

In the article "Metaphorical Indicators of the Hyperthemes of *Dune: Part One* (2021): A Multimodal Cognitive-Linguistic Case Study", Michał Szawerna and Paweł Zygmunt adopt a multimodal cognitive linguistic perspective with a view to exploring the metaphorical indicators of the most general themes, or *hyperthemes*, of Denis Villeneuve's film *Dune: Part One*. Specifically, Szawerna and Zygmunt look at the relations between the non-metaphorical and metaphorical indicators of the hyperthemes of Villeneuve's film, the relations between different metaphorical indicators of the same hyperthemes of the film, the relations between the verbal

and non-verbal metaphorical indicators of the film's hyperthemes, and the variation among the metaphors sanctioning the film's hyperthematic indicators with regard to their interpretability.

The volume closes with Julia Wolbergs and Björn Kasper's article "Multimodality in Epistemological Foreign Language Research? Two Case Studies in the Field of German as a Foreign and Second Language". The authors elaborate on the epistemological interest of cultural studies for German as a foreign and second language and point out the limitations of the current focus on certain modes. They broaden this focus by highlighting the connectivity of the epistemological interest to multimodal research using two relevant case studies. One case study explores the negotiation of the patterns of freedom on the basis of music videos and their associated comments on YouTube; the other examines a textbook for the cultural orientation of immigrants to Germany through the lens of the meaning-making of the Holocaust.

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Spontaneous Gestures in L2 Naturalistic Spontaneous Interaction: Effects of Language Proficiency

Abstract: Gestures produced by language learners have a positive impact on interactions; however, few studies have examined natural conversation data focusing on a learner's spoken language proficiency level. This study investigates gesture use among learners of English as a second language with varying language proficiency levels (beginner, intermediate, and advanced) to determine whether gesture use and type (e.g., iconic, deictic, metaphoric, and beat gestures) differ by language proficiency level. This study examined 17 video-recorded dyadic interactions in English consisting of mixed-level and same-level pairs. Quantitative analysis followed by a data-driven approach demonstrated that more advanced learners employed gestures with speech more frequently than other groups. During interactions, iconic gestures were used more often by the beginner group, while deictic gestures were employed more by the advanced group. Moreover, the function of the gestures produced by each group during the interactions appeared to be qualitatively varied. These results indicate that gesture use and type may relate to learners' language proficiency levels. This study has revealed significant differences in gesture use among learners of English as a second language with varying language proficiency levels, providing insights into learners' cognition process during verbal communication.

Keywords: gesture, interaction, multimodality, L2, language proficiency

1. Introduction

Prior research, including Kelly, Özyürek, and Maris, states that gestures appear when we are speaking; by definition, gestures are mostly unconscious. Spontaneous manual movements that accompany speech are referred to as spontaneous gestures (McNeill, *Gesture and Thought* 4), and the realization of spontaneous gestures is not only production/speaker-oriented but also reception/listener-oriented (Kita).

Numerous studies have noted the significance of non-verbal communicative cues supplementing speech in face-to-face communication (e.g., Hostetter; Stam), mostly because the use of such resources in organizing communication increases communication efficiency. This idea suggests the relevance of manual gestures for establishing multimodal expressions. Indeed, gestures used along with speech are ubiquitous in the production and understanding of a target language. Research on language learning reported that language learners' gestures accompanying speech enhanced communication effectiveness for both speakers and listeners (e.g., Gullberg; McCafferty; Sime).

However, many of the related findings backing the relevant use of such resources have, so far, been observed in institutional experimental settings; little evidence exists on the topic during ongoing interaction processes. Additionally, in the field of second or foreign language (L2) learning and gesturing, while much of the research aimed to examine the use of gestures in interaction using a conversation analytic approach, particular gesture types used in naturalistic spontaneous interactions between L2 learners have yet to be investigated. Here, an analysis of interactions in which L2 learners engage in topic negotiations may enable us to more comprehensively understand the gesture–speech relationship across various domains. Accordingly, this study examines the connections between language learners' gestures and proficiency levels in interactions. After collecting data by exposing L2 learners to dyad interactions, I have compared gesture use frequencies to explore gesture type use of learners at varying proficiency levels and examine whether proficiency level relates to gesture type.

2. Literature review

This section begins with a critical review of gesture research in the areas of language development and acquisition, and it summarizes the methodological and theoretical background of the present study.

2.1. Gesture use in understanding and learning L2

Speech and gestures are interconnected temporally and semantically (Kendon, *Gesture*; Kita; McNeill and Duncan). Using interactive perspectives, gesture researchers revealed how gestures encode and decode conceptual and linguistic information related to speech. Through gestures, a speaker can provide a recipient with visual cues or actions that can add meaning, enhance clarity, and allow the recipient to interpret the speaker's intended meaning effectively and quickly (Kendon, *Gesture*; Goldin-Meadow, "Two Faces"; McNeill, *Gesture and Thought*). For example, Hanamoto ("Spatial and Temporal Attention" 184), while endeavouring to represent temporal concepts, reported that speakers produced manual gestures

along the imaginary mental timeline axis, laterally or vertically, to represent the English grammar time concepts of tense and aspect. As such, using gestures during speech facilitates communication and comprehension.

Many studies have reinforced this importance of gesture use as a non-verbal or bodily resource in second or foreign language teaching and learning (e.g., Gullberg; Gullberg and McCafferty; Stam; Tellier), with this being especially true for language learning processes and L2 communication. To be more precise, both native language (L1) and L2 speakers can express information about their thoughts or knowledge through gestures. Therefore, language development and acquisition, particularly within the communication domain, seem to be profoundly multimodal (Mondada 197). In addition, L2 learners produce more speech-related gestures in L2 than in L1 (Gullberg; Sueyoshi and Hardison 666). Previous studies have demonstrated that L2 learners' gesture use increased when they encountered difficulties, such as when they had to compensate for knowledge gaps in L2, when trying to comprehend L2 speech, or when interacting with interlocutors in L2 (Gregersen, Olivares-Cuhat, and Storm; Gullberg; McCafferty; Mori and Hayashi). Therefore, as in L1, gesture use in L2 interactions appears to be a strategic resource that learners employ when taking turns in speaking or negotiating meaning.

Previous research demonstrated that gestures in L2 interactions within the context of language learning serve various functions. For example, examining how and when gestures are produced with speech allows for monitoring learners' thought process during speech production (McNeill, *Gesture and Thought* 7): the ongoing process of gesture production during speech by learners reveals a complete picture of their progress in acquiring a target language (Gullberg; Kendon, *Gesture*; Stam; Tuite). In addition, gestures accompanying speech can facilitate L2 lexical production, particularly in accessing and finding words in the lexicon (Krauss; Krauss and Hadar). Thus, regarding cognitive function, gestures aid speakers in conceptualizing their thoughts and in the process of lexical retrieval.

While gestures have speaker-oriented functions (e.g., encoding information in speech), they can also aid the recipient's understanding by providing visual input and contributing to communication, indicating that gestures have an interactive purpose (Kita). Indeed, studies have shown how language learners' gestures serve interactive functions, such as fostering listening comprehension (e.g., Hostetter), making the meaning explicit for improving comprehension as a repair strategy (e.g., Gullberg; McCafferty), increasing redundancy (e.g., Kellerman), highlighting spatial and temporal concepts (e.g., Hanamoto, "Spatial and Temporal Attention"), taking turns in speaking (e.g., Mondada), achieving interactional alignment between interlocutors (e.g., McNeill, *Gesture and Thought* 12), and maintaining rapport before repair sequences (e.g., Hanamoto, "Gesture Sequences"). Therefore, gestures fulfil multiple functions (Goldin-Meadow, "Beyond Words"), and L2 learners rely on gestures during speech as a means of communicative behaviour to make speech meaningful to a recipient.

2.2. Gesture use and learners' L2 proficiency

The relationship between gesture use and L2 learner proficiency has been investigated within various contexts, such as in L2 listening comprehension (e.g., Dahl and Ludvigsen; Sueyoshi and Hardison), task-based research using printed animated cartoons (e.g., Gullberg; Nicoladis et al.; Stam), oral interviews (e.g., Taranger and Coupier, qtd. in Gullberg), and discourse comprehension (e.g., Kida). Moreover, the literature shows that a language learner's proficiency tends to influence the frequency and type of gestures used in L2 interactions. Taranger and Coupier demonstrated that higher proficiency levels were associated with a greater number of gestures with speech (e.g., iconic, metaphoric, deictic, and beats gestures; each gesture type is separately defined later in this manuscript), which differed depending on speech topics. Further, Kida's contextual analysis of gesture function in discourse comprehension demonstrated that gestures yielded greater benefits for lower-proficiency learners.

According to Gregersen, Olivares-Cuhat, and Storm, when L2 learners engage in speech, language proficiency is an important factor in decision-making regarding the gesture type and function to be used (205). Their study is of importance because it differs from past experimental studies through having collected data from face-to-face interactions: the speaker was asked some questions after a role-play activity. Gregersen, Olivares-Cuhat, and Storm revealed that participants with varying proficiency levels employed gestures in unique ways according to the situation; particularly, learners at the beginning level tended to employ gestures for representing concrete actions or movements of people for filling verbal linguistic gaps, whereas those at more proficient levels tended to use gestures to avoid speech ambiguity or enhance explicitness to improve speech intelligibility (205–06). Therefore, I deem it safe to conclude that learners produce manual gestures in ongoing interactions based on their language proficiency level as well as other factors, such as topics, tasks, and relationships between interactants.

This study focuses on gesture use in dyadic interactions by learners at varying L2 proficiency levels for the following reasons. First, studies have rarely investigated the relationship between language proficiency level and gesture use through experiments using naturalistic spontaneous discourse. Importantly, this is the case despite the wide availability of methods to analyze natural conversations, such as conversation analysis (e.g., Hanamoto, "Gesture Sequences", "Co-Occurring Speech and Gestures", "Spatial and Temporal Attention"; Matsumoto and Canagarajah; Mori and Hayashi) or discourse analysis approaches (e.g., Kida). Moreover, most previous studies compared gesture use between target L1 speakers and L2 learners or looked at L2 thinking for speaking by L2 learners at different proficiency levels, revealing a scarcity of research on gesture interactions between L2 learners only within the field of L2 learning and gesturing. This study, therefore, attempts to clarify the connections between gesture and language proficiency levels in interaction.

2.3. Research questions

The research questions for this study were as follows: (1) Are there differences in gesture use frequency among beginner, intermediate, and advanced learners in interactions between L2 learners only? (2) If so, are there differences among the three groups for a particular gesture type?

3. Materials and methods

This section describes the methodological framework for this study. Specifically, this section outlines the study's data collection method and its analytical framework.

3.1. Participants

The research involved 34 undergraduate university students (30 men, 4 women, mean [M] age = 21.06, standard deviation [SD] = 3.65) studying science and engineering at a private university in Japan. They were informed that participation was voluntary. Their L1 were Japanese ($n = 17$), Cantonese ($n = 5$), Arabic ($n = 2$), Indonesian ($n = 2$), Nepalese ($n = 2$), Vietnamese ($n = 2$), Malay ($n = 1$), Thai ($n = 1$), Turkmen ($n = 1$), and Uyghur ($n = 1$); no participant was a native English speaker.

Study participants were divided into three levels per proficiency in the English language: beginner, intermediate, and advanced; they were assigned to one of the three levels through a TOEIC-based placement test. All students took this test during the first week of the semester at their university. The study population comprised 11 beginners: those with L1 as Japanese ($n = 8$), Cantonese ($n = 2$), and Thai ($n = 1$); 12 intermediate learners: those with L1 as Japanese ($n = 7$), Cantonese ($n = 2$), Nepalese ($n = 2$), and Arabic ($n = 1$); and 11 advanced learners: those with L1 as Indonesian ($n = 2$), Japanese ($n = 2$), Vietnamese ($n = 2$), Arabic ($n = 1$), Cantonese ($n = 1$), Malay ($n = 1$), Turkmen ($n = 1$), and Uyghur ($n = 1$). All participants provided written informed consent before taking part in the study, which included consent to record interactions and use data for research purposes.

3.2. Procedure

All participants were paired up for a natural interaction in English that lasted approximately 15 minutes, and the data analyzed were based on 17 dyad video-recorded interactions. Participants were assigned in a way that ensured no participant knew the peer in the dyad from before the experiment. Then, the dyads were assembled by the participants and the author; they mainly constituted conversational interactions between strangers on first meeting. The dyads comprised mixed-level and same-level proficiency pairs to compare gesture uses between learners. They were informed that their dyad interaction would be video-recorded and that the

recordings would be used to obtain a general view of their conversational behaviour during interactions. To examine more natural conversational data and consider conversations as a free-flowing task (rather than as a task-based or artificial task), the participants in each dyad were asked to start a free conversation; namely, each dyad was asked to negotiate the conversation topic to be able to contribute to the interaction. These experimental instructions led participants to mostly negotiate and develop topics related to common interests and daily issues, such as their major, high school days, travelling experience, or things they want in the near future; their interactions were deemed as being similar to daily conversations.

Data collection took place in the laboratory where the author works. Upon arrival, the participants in the dyad were instructed to sit across the table from each other. While interacting, the speakers in each dyad were simultaneously recorded using two high-performance digital video cameras with an additional microphone, allowing for both the speaker's and the addressee's gesture use during speech to be captured visually. To ensure clarity in the recordings, each participant was asked to attach a pin microphone connected to the first or second camera to their clothes, near the base of their throat. To capture data from different angles, the two cameras were set up on tripods at a small distance from the table: one camera captured an entire and full-frontal view of both interlocutors, and the other was placed above them and covered the entire surface of the table from the top.

3.3. Transcribing and coding

The present study was data-driven, and the transcription process was used for data analysis. The transcription of speech and the annotation of gestures in each recorded dyad interaction were conducted and coded using ELAN computer annotation software. First, the conversations were transcribed verbatim using standard orthography, including para-linguistic behaviour, such as laughter, filled pauses, and fillers. Within a few days after making the transcriptions, the author asked each dyad to watch the video recording of their interaction. When the transcriptions included unfamiliar expressions, the speakers were asked to explain what they meant to say through the given expression. The transcription sheet in ELAN included transcriptions of the speech of each participant, with the gesture dimensions on separate tiers.

In total, there were 17 dyads, and the manual gestures produced by each speaker were identified from the video recordings and classified as one of four types: iconic (relating to or resembling the concurrently presented referent), deictic (pointing to concrete objects or referents or indicating abstract spatial representation), metaphoric (depicting abstract images or concepts), and beats (along with the rhythm of uttering or bringing attention to speech; non-semantic meaning). This was based

on McNeill's (*Gesture and Thought*) typology, which used the shape of the gesture and the accompanying speech for analysis.

The types of gestures were classified according to both gesture shape and referential content. One example is that gesture form/shape in case of metaphoric and iconic categories may be the same, but what differentiates these types of gestures is the referent-abstract in the case of metaphoric gestures and the concrete in the case of iconic. McNeill pointed out that metaphoric gestures are "more complex" than iconic, because they have an iconic base, and the abstract referent is represented by this iconic base (*Hand and Mind* 80).

For coding, first, all spontaneous manual gestures were segmented into gesture units or phases (Kendon, *Gesture* 112–13), which is a process that serves to analyze what initiated the gestures. From a gestural perspective, a new gesture begins after another gesture ends during meaning construction (McNeill, *Hand and Mind* 131). Therefore, this study focused on specific expressive manual gesture "strokes" (McNeill, *Gesture and Thought* 1), which were considered to convey the most significant and meaningful parts (Kendon, *Gesture* 112; McNeill, *Gesture and Thought* 1). In addition, across the 17 dyad interactions, gestural identification was performed by a second coder. To ensure consistency between coders, the second coder was trained in and familiar with multimodal analysis. After agreement between the two coders was reached, the inter-rater reliability regarding the number of gestures produced by each speaker (Cohen's kappa = .81) and the coding of gesture types was deemed acceptable. Specifically, for gesture types, Cohen's kappa values were as follows: iconic (= .81), deictic (= .80), metaphoric (= .77), and beats (= .82). Based on prior research (Cohen), these Cohen's kappa values revealed a substantial degree of concordance between the two coders for gesture identification.

To address the research questions, I analyzed the distribution of type and frequency for each participant's manual gestures and calculated the frequency of manual gesture types produced by each participant in the interactions.

I used IBM SPSS Statistics 27 for data analysis. Given the nature of the collected data (i.e., extraction from a small sample and considering violation of normality), I performed non-parametric statistical tests, particularly the Kruskal–Wallis test, for comparing gesture use and type among the three groups. I also applied non-parametric correlation analysis, using the Mann–Whitney test, to verify which combinations of groups and gesture types were correlated. I set the level of significance or alpha level for statistical significance at .05; however, lower alpha levels were also noted. To verify effect sizes, I computed the correlation coefficient *r* (cf. Cohen; Field). Additionally, to analyze gesture use in relation to learners' proficiency more precisely, I coded gestures at varying levels for the function of the gestural action. This process followed the organization of turn-construction or turn-taking system in talk (Schegloff), serving as qualitative support for data analysis.

4. Results and discussion

This section addresses the following issues: (1) Are there differences in gesture use frequency among beginner, intermediate, and advanced learners in interactions between L2 learners only? (2) If so, are there differences among the three groups for a particular gesture type?

4.1. Gesture use frequency

I analyzed whether the frequency of gesture use differed among beginner, intermediate, and advanced learners when speaking English, an L2 for them. The total number of manual gestures paired with speech was calculated for each proficiency group. Table 1 shows the M and SD scores for gesture use observed in the 17 interactions.

Speakers in the advanced group scored the highest numerically ($M = 76.27$, $SD = 29.58$), while speakers in the beginner group scored the lowest ($M = 51.82$, $SD = 20.00$). The results of the Kruskal–Wallis test showed significant differences in the distribution of gesture use among the three groups ($\chi^2 (2) = 6.210$, $p = .045$). The results of the Ryan test showed significant pairwise differences in gesture use between intermediate and advanced learners and between beginner and advanced learners (Table 2).

Therefore, gestures were more frequently used in the advanced group than in the intermediate and beginner groups. This observed phenomenon extends previous findings (Gregersen, Olivares-Cuhat, and Storm; Taranger and Coupier), which showed that higher proficiency was correlated with more gestures. Therefore, in naturalistic spontaneous interactions, the number of gestures used appeared to be influenced by proficiency level.

Table 1: Means and standard deviation of gesture use by learners' proficiency level

Level	Mean	SD
Beginner	51.82	20.00
Intermediate	54.50	25.97
Advanced	76.27	29.58

Note: SD = standard deviation.

Table 2: Results of the pairwise correlation analysis of gesture use

Beginner–Intermediate				Intermediate–Advanced				Beginner–Advanced			
U	Z	p	r	U	Z	p	r	U	Z	p	r
n.s.				100.00	2.094	.036	.44	94.00	2.20	.028	.47

Note: n.s. = non-significant.

4.2. Gesture type use

I also analyzed whether differences existed in gesture types among the three groups. Considering that I analyzed the number of gestures used per proficiency level group based on participants' use of particular gesture types, I also classified all gestures produced across the interactions according to McNeill's (*Gesture and Thought*) typology. Nonetheless, before conducting the main analysis, I examined whether the means of gesture use in each group differed reliably per gesture type and group.

Table 3 shows the *M* and *SD* scores of each gesture type per proficiency level group. The Kruskal–Wallis test revealed statistically significant differences among groups in the use of iconic (χ^2 (2) = 6.420, p = .040) and deictic gestures (χ^2 (2) = 10.078, p = .006), but not in the use of metaphoric (χ^2 (2) = 4.251, p = .119), and beat gestures (χ^2 (2) = 4.404, p = .111). To gather a significant combination of groups, I conducted multiple comparisons. Overall, it seemed that beginner learners employed more iconic gestures than the other groups; however, only the difference between beginner and advanced learners was statistically significant for iconic gestures (Table 4). Nevertheless, the quantitative difference was statistically significant (U = 23.50, p = .014), and the effect size was fairly high (r = .52). Therefore, the differences between groups suggested that iconic gestures were used more often in the beginner group than in the advanced groups.

Table 3: Means and standard deviation of gesture use by gesture type and learners' proficiency level

Type	Level		
	Beginner	Intermediate	Advanced
Iconic	10.09 (4.72)	8.00 (3.88)	5.18 (3.37)
Deictic	21.73 (7.42)	23.25 (11.46)	37.82 (13.01)
Metaphoric	13.73 (8.53)	11.67 (6.24)	20.00 (10.37)
Beat	4.91 (3.05)	8.92 (6.89)	9.18 (5.91)

Table 4: Results of the pairwise correlation analysis for iconic gesture use

Beginner–Advanced			
U	*Z*	*p*	*r*
23.50	-2.448	.014	.52

On this topic, previous studies reported that language learners tended to perform iconic gestures when facing lexical retrieval (e.g., Gullberg), aiding language access (e.g., Krauss and Hadar), or co-creating the concepts or linguistic information (e.g., Bub, Masson, and Bukach).

To analyze iconic gesture use in relation to learners' proficiency level more precisely, I coded iconic gestures produced by participants at varying proficiency levels for the function of the gestural action. Table 5 indicates the three main func-

tions of iconic gestures observed in the three proficiency groups. Cohen's kappa inter-rater reliability for function identification of iconic gestures was .79. My results indicated the possibility of differences in gestural function by proficiency level; namely, as the proficiency lowered, speakers produced more iconic gestures when facing difficulties in accessing lexical words. This concurs with prior research (e.g., Gregersen, Olivares-Cuhat, and Storm). Meanwhile, advanced learners produced iconic gestures not for specific attempts, but when they deemed their use appropriate for the situation.

Table 5: Comparisons of iconic gesture use by gesture function and learners' proficiency level groups

	Beginner	Intermediate	Advanced
Difficulty accessing word	65 (58.6%)	46 (48.4%)	15 (26.3%)
Lexical encoding process	20 (18.0%)	31 (32.6%)	18 (31.6%)
Capturing attention or requesting clarification	23 (20.7%)	14 (14.8%)	21 (36.8%)
Others	3 (2.7%)	4 (4.2%)	3 (5.3%)
Number of cases	111	95	57

According to Gullberg, in L1 production, iconic gestures were the most frequent and effective gesture type (221). Therefore, my results indicate that, during lexical construction in interactions, beginner language learners may express their communicative intention in L2 using iconic gestures and verbal utterances (in a way similar to how they do in L1) more than learners with higher proficiency levels; this concurs with prior literature (e.g., Nicoladis et al.).

Table 3 also shows that advanced learners produced gestures more frequently compared with the other two groups, with the means for deictic gesture use with speech among beginner, intermediate, and advanced learners being 21.73, 23.25, and 37.82, respectively. For each combination, those more advanced produced greater numbers of deictic gestures. In addition to the Kruskal–Wallis test, I conducted a second comparison to confirm the correlation between proficiency and deictic gesture use. The results revealed significant differences in both advanced learner group combinations. Table 6 presents the results of three pairwise comparisons between two groups and test statistics. There were notable differences between advanced learners and beginners, and between advanced and intermediate learners. I obtained these results using alpha = .01 as the difference level, and the effect size tended to rise with the increase in the difference between proficiency levels. Therefore, it can be inferred that learners with higher proficiency employed more deictic gestures in interactions than did those with lower proficiency; that is, proficiency level appeared to influence gesture use, particularly in deictic gestures.

This leads to the following question: how does the function of deictic gestures relate to increased frequency? To answer this question, the author and the second coder observed the six main functions of deictic gestures (Cohen's kappa = .79). As

shown in Table 7, the proportions of each function among the three groups were almost balanced; notwithstanding, since advanced learners produced deictic gestures more often, quite possibly they may employ deictic gestures more for cognitive and communicative purposes, depending on the context and based on their own considerations.

Table 6: Results of the pairwise correlation analysis for deictic gesture use

Beginner–Intermediate				Intermediate–Advanced				Beginner–Advanced			
U	Z	p	r	U	Z	p	r	U	Z	p	r
n.s.				107.50	2.557	.010	.53	105.00	2.925	.003	.62

Note: n.s. = non-significant.

Table 7: Comparisons regarding deictic gesture use by gesture function and learners' proficiency level groups

	Beginner	Intermediate	Advanced
General reference	39 (16.3%)	27 (9.7%)	33 (7.9%)
Difficulty accessing word	33 (13.8%)	28 (10.0%)	35 (8.4%)
Introduction of new topic or reference	19 (7.9%)	28 (10.0%)	45 (10.8%)
Request for clarification	36 (15.1%)	47 (16.9%)	94 (22.6%)
Acceptance of interlocutor's utterance	65 (27.2%)	88 (31.5%)	115 (27.6%)
Spatial and temporal conception	41 (17.2%)	53 (19.0%)	87 (21.0%)
Others	6 (2.5%)	8 (2.9%)	7 (1.7%)
Number of cases	239	279	416

Prior research demonstrated that lower-proficiency L2 learners use more iconic gestures, and higher-proficiency learners use more deictic gestures (Gullberg); my study corroborates this assumption by showing that advanced learners indeed used more deictic gestures within casual interactions. Therefore, the rationale here is that, as proficiency increases, deictic gesture use frequency also increases.

Further, my research results demonstrated that proficiency correlated more with deictic gesture use than with iconic gesture use. Quantitatively speaking, the findings shown in Tables 4 and 6 (i.e., p-value and effect size differences) support this interpretation. Past research demonstrated that learners were more prone to employ deictic gestures with speech in L2 learning than in L1 learning (e.g., Gullberg; Sherman and Nicoladis). Moreover, a growing body of work suggests that deictic gestures (including pointing gestures) are displayed in various ways during interactional sequences, such as when locating or introducing a reference (e.g., McNeill, *Hand and Mind*), referring to spatial and temporal concepts (e.g., Kendon, "Spatial Organization"), specifying metaphorical timelines and sequencing

events (e.g., Hanamoto, "Spatial and Temporal Attention"), and capturing a recipient's attention or requesting clarification (e.g., Gullberg). Hence, deictic gestures seem to have multiple functions.

Therefore, as a mechanism in speech ontogeny (Butcher and Goldin-Meadow), which states that pointing deictic gestures develop before iconic gestures, quite possibly deictic gestures are produced more easily than iconic gestures, and more for cognitive and communicative purposes. This suggests that language learners express referential contents or meaning both verbally and through deictic gestures, although some referents occurred in combination with iconic gestures (e.g., Gullberg). Therefore, one can argue that, as documented by Krauss and Hadar, iconic gestures were produced primarily for eliciting lexical encoding support cognitively, while deictic gestures had communicative functions, such as creating cohesion or improving comprehension.

5. Conclusion

This study aimed to determine whether gestural production differed among L2 learners with varying language proficiency levels: beginner, intermediate, and advanced. To achieve this, I examined video-recorded interactional data of mixed-level and same-level pairs and utilized a data-driven approach to capture language learners' gesturing behaviour in ongoing casual interactions.

Regarding the first research question, my preliminary quantitative analysis revealed notable distribution differences for gesture use among the three proficiency level groups. In addition, a multiple comparison test showed significant pairwise combinations between advanced learners and beginners, and between advanced and intermediate learners. That is, even during casual interactions, gesture use may relate to the learner's proficiency level—a finding that aligns with previous studies in various other contexts.

I used McNeill's (*Gesture and Thought*) typology to respond to the second research question, with my findings demonstrating that the distribution of iconic gesture use differed significantly between beginner and advanced learner groups. In addition, I observed reliable quantitative differences in deictic gesture use between intermediate and advanced learners, and between beginner and advanced learner groups; that is, learner proficiency influenced particular gesture type use in ongoing casual interactions. Additionally, the function of iconic gesture produced by each group during the interactions appeared to be qualitatively varied; specifically, compared with participants in advanced-proficiency groups, those in lower-proficiency groups tended to make more use of iconic gestures to solve gaps in lexical knowledge. Regarding deictic gestures, the proportions of each function among the three groups were almost balanced.

This study has some limitations. Although it demonstrated the potential connection between proficiency level and gesture use—primarily based on statistical effect sizes and correlations—I suggest that these quantitative data be put into perspective with more qualitative data to more comprehensively understand the relationship between spontaneous gesture use and learners' proficiency. Hence, future in-depth qualitative research is warranted. For instance, the reliability of my analysis cannot be secured unless retrospective or introspective measures are also considered. In addition, I see the need to acknowledge the small sample size of this research, which denotes that a power analysis would establish the size of the sample needed to establish significant results. Moreover, in this study, I tried to explore various conversation domains by developing and implementing an experiment wherein participants could engage in ongoing interactions with uncontrolled discussion topics. This means that the topic choice, the interaction partner, the proficiency of the interaction partner, and also the strategy of that partner may have influenced gesture frequency. Hence, I believe that future research should try to address this issue by having participants partake in multiple sessions of casual interactions with partners of different proficiency levels.

Despite these limitations, the findings of this study suggest that, in casual interactions, language learners at all proficiency levels tend to convey their intentions visibly through gestures. The study provides valuable insights into L2 learners' non-verbal communication, indicating that gesture is an integral part of communication. In summary, my study showed that as the L2 learner's proficiency level increases, (a) the frequency of use of all gesture types increases, (b) that of iconic gestures decreases, and (c) that of deictic gestures increases. These findings strongly support the argument that looking at only one side of the resource, namely at either the verbal or at the non-verbal aspect of communication, is inadequate for holistically understanding L2 interactions. Speech and gesture are "two sides of the same coin" (Kelly, Özyürek, and Maris 266). Future research should integrate the gestural features of interactions when analyzing the interactions between L2 learners, as well as investigate the cognition process contributing to the development of face-to-face interactions in general.

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Lost in Time? The Socialist Modernist Monuments of the Former Yugoslavia and Their Shifting Conceptualization

Abstract: This paper explores the "lost language" of monuments erected in the former Yugoslavia from the 1960s to the 1980s—more precisely, the 25 national monuments captured by the lens of photographer Jan Kempenaers over the span of three years (2006−2009), and published in the monograph *Spomenik* [Monument] (2010). By combining the approach of cognitive linguistics and cultural studies, in particular that of Forceville ("Identification", "Metaphor", "Agendas"), Kövecses (*Culture*, *Context*), Ortiz, and Kirn and Burghardt, this paper aims to explore the conceptual metaphors embedded in these monuments as part of a specific symbolic landscape, immanent to the countries of the former Yugoslavia at a historical point of their four-decades-long political, social, and cultural merger, as well as the current possibilities and limitations of the visual/multimodal decodification of the memorials.

Keywords: socialist modernist monuments, conceptual metaphor, visual and multimodal metaphor, cultural studies, *Spomenik*

1. Introduction

The tenet of conceptual metaphor theory (Lakoff and Johnson 153) that metaphor is "primarily a matter of thought and action and only derivatively a matter of language", and as such can exist in non-exclusively verbal realms, has been taken and explored in various visual and multimodal directions. Carroll, Kövecses (*Culture*, *Context*), Forceville ("Metaphor", "Agendas"), Forceville and Urios-Aparisi, Ortiz, Pérez Sobrino, Coëgnarts and others have pointed to the presence of significant conceptual metaphors in various cultural artefacts, such as national monuments, visual arts, advertising and film, which can provide a better understanding of the cultural currents that help shape metaphor manifestations. As physical representa-

tives of a shared culture and due to their visual and multimodal possibilities, monuments in particular can provide a fertile ground for conceptual metaphor research and cultural understanding of a nation (e.g., see the analysis of the Statue of Liberty in Kövecses, *Culture* 172).

Monuments as intentional human creations are often the first visual introduction to a specific culture, nation, and consequently, even ideology. Furthermore, they capture the dominant human thought in the period of their creation and serve as a historical reminder and a message from the previous generations to their successors. With the frequent, if not always easily perceptible, changes in the course of history, the expressions in the form of monuments often change their original meaning, and, as Irvine (1) notes, their messages become unstable when regimes rise and fall and borders move. Such was the case with the memorials erected in the countries of the former Yugoslavia from the 1960s to the 1980s, the creation of which represented a modernist period in the post-war art and memorial making, which aimed to commemorate the collective war trauma experienced during World War II.

Kosmaj, Kozara, Tjentište and other colossal remnants from the socialist era, scattered across the Balkan region, speak of a time period rendered obsolete by the contemporary political and cultural environment of the turbulent Balkans. Their specific architecture of brutalism, strong ideological symbols and abstract form unified aspirations of the politics of remembrance, which attempted to gather the nations of this region after World War II under a joint, commemorative umbrella. During the war in the same region in the 1990s, the monuments suffered either partial or complete destruction, or were left to decay in oblivion.

The visual language developed and articulated in the form of these memorials shows a drastically different kind of national ideology as opposed to the strongly differentiated ideologies of the countries existing on the same territory today. With the loss of the joint, although artificial, Yugoslav identity, and return to the nations divided again by state borders, these monuments represent a "lost language", no longer intelligible to the users involved in the contemporary open-space discourse of this region. Recently, however, there has been a renewed interest in artistic and academic circles in these brutalist giants, starting with the work of visual memorialization of the modernist Yugoslavian monuments by Jan Kempenaers and his publication *Spomenik* [Monument] (2010). Using the publication as corpus, this paper represents an attempt at deciphering the transformative elements of this discourse and distinguishing the different phases of conceptualization of these monuments. By exploring the prevalent conceptual metaphors embedded in these monuments as part of a specific visual landscape, as well as the shifting cultural perceptions around them, we point to the possibility of emerging stages in their conceptualized existence, beyond the destruction and oblivion that arose from the political and structural transformation of the territory.

2. Theoretical background

The theoretical anchorage of this paper is found in Forceville ("Identification", "Metaphor", "Agendas"), Kövecses (*Culture*, *Context*), Carroll, Ortiz, and Kirn and Burghardt, combining the efforts of cognitive linguistics and cultural studies in order to decipher the visual metaphoricity of the socialist modernist monuments of the former Yugoslavia. This combined analytical approach goes in line with the dual nature of metaphors (shaped by embodiment and culture, but also by the communicative context; Kövecses, *Culture* 292).

The pillar of the cognitive linguistic view of metaphor, championed by Lakoff and Johnson, is that metaphor is not limited to the realm of language, but is actually crucial to our thought process and action. If metaphor characterizes thought, and is therefore not exclusive to language, Forceville ("Identification" 1) argues that it should then possess the ability of assuming non-verbal and multimodal manifestations as well, confirmed by Kövecses (*Culture* 163), who sees metaphor as having a preeminent role in the study of cultures. Conceptual metaphors provide a way of understanding a certain culture (Chun and Yu), which possesses a specific *cultural identity*, which is, in turn, connected to *ethnic identity* (Bugarski 70). A major element of a cultural identity is conceptual metaphor, which can be universally shared, but also show regional variations (Kövecses, *Culture* 93).

Another type of variation concerns the number of modalities employed in a figurative mechanism. Monomodality and multimodality refer to the number of modes in which the metaphor domains are expressed. If target and source are exclusively or predominantly rendered in one mode (e.g., music), we are dealing with a monomodal metaphor, while a multimodal metaphor usually encompasses different modes, such as pictorial signs and written language (Forceville, "Agendas" 23–24). Lastly, when researching figurative mechanisms in specific non-verbal communication, such as monument making, it would be useful to note the quality of perceptual immediacy of visual metaphor (as opposed to their purely verbal counterparts), as well as their greater cross-cultural access and a stronger emotional appeal (Forceville, "Metaphor" 463).

3. Cultural background

The socialist modernist monuments were built on the territory of the former Yugoslavia (official title: the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia), which consisted of six republics, two autonomous provinces, and more than 20 million people, who lived under one flag, with different, scattered identities, various collective heritages, plural memories and diverse traditions of their cultures (Luthar and Pušnik 9). Authors note that a single political concept and guiding principle, "bratstvo i jedin-

stvo" (brotherhood and unity), a slogan rooted in the Partisan movement of World War II, was designed in an attempt to prevent the dominance of any single ethnic group (Luthar and Pušnik 5). Especially after World War II, Yugoslavia became a laboratory for making different ethnicities and religions work within the same nation via education, media, theatre, film and architecture (Mačkić).

Many of the modernist monuments/memorials commemorating the events of World War II went derelict or were destroyed during the war and the dissolution of the Yugoslavian republic in the early 1990s, which is in strong opposition to the original meaning bestowed upon them. They were conceived as reminders of a difficult yet glorious past, and symbolic bearers of a different (socialist) future (Irvine 3; Kirn and Burghardt 17).

The destruction of human artefacts retroactively bestows them with antagonistic importance for the dominant political currents. However, some of these monuments were left abandoned in the changing landscape, which transformed the type and quality of their communication with the external world. Are these monuments still what we would call *lieux de mémoire* (Nora 7) if the memorial consciousness they once embodied fundamentally loses its crucial identity elements? Assmann calls into mind specific "figures of memory" (129) that serve to maintain cultural memory through formation, such as monuments, and institutional communication, such as practice and observance. The socialist modernist monuments in this region have either lost both, as some of them were destroyed, or have been stripped of historical and observational connectors that enabled communication. The past, previously serving as a network of fixed points for cultural memory (Assmann 133), was now neither remembered nor naturally forgotten, but purposefully shunned.

In his foreword to Kempenaers's visual narrative in *Spomenik*, Neutelings summarizes the present quality of the monuments:

> They have become submerged in a new age, rendered unintelligible to the current generation. Their symbolism has been lost in translation as the visual language has changed, their signals muffled by a shifted worldview. The monuments have been the objects of blind fury, and now of indifference. What remains is pure sculpture in a desolate landscape.

Indeed, what once were the meccas of revolutionary socialism and places of ideological worship for young and old during the previous era, have now mostly become derelict places of deliberately erased times. Mačkić calls these monuments "tombstones" of the former Yugoslavia.

The beginning of the 21st century brought unexpected attention to the socialist modernist monuments through artistic and academic lenses in the region, as well as abroad. The impetus for this exploration seems to have come from the aforementioned art project by Belgian photographer Jan Kempenaers, created in the period from 2006 to 2009 and subsequently published in *Spomenik* (2010), which has garnered local as well as international artistic and academic attention (Car; Surtees;

Škoro; Tulić; Irvine), and provided the corpus for this research.[1] Most recently, the Museum of Modern Art (MoMa) in New York provided a thorough examination of these memorials and other architectural works in "Toward a Concrete Utopia: Architecture in Yugoslavia, 1948–1980", an exhibition seeking to explore the Yugoslav relics in terms of their size, shape, and meaning as proper museum pieces, albeit located at a significant distance from New York itself. The exhibition closed in 2019 and a catalogue edition was produced in the same year. The amount of exploratory articles and artistic exhibitions[2] dedicated to this topic in recent years enables the existence and exploration of the hypothesis of a continuous redefinition of these memorials. As such, this renewed interest offers a suitable backbone for the analysis of their figurative properties (section 4), which aims to provide a better understanding of the Yugoslav remnants and their evolving meaning.

4. Analysis

The 25 modernist monuments visualized in the work of Belgian photographer Jan Kempenaers (2010) represent the main subjects of the cognitive linguistic analysis in this paper. Seen as archaisms of the contemporary open-space discourse of the region, the *Spomenik* monuments create a specific linguistic landscape which correlates with the obsolete Yugoslav post-war identity. The visual interpretation is enhanced by the cultural and historical insight of Kirn and Burghardt, as well as Car and Škoro.

The three main characteristics of these monuments are their size (height and volume), their abstract forms, and the choice of material. The analysis is presented accordingly.

4.1. Size as importance

The conceptual metaphor found in all 25 monuments is IMPORTANCE IS SIZE/VOLUME, as a variation of the metaphor SIGNIFICANT IS BIG (Lakoff and Johnson 50). The origin of this metaphor, as noted by Ortiz (1574), lies in the correlation between size/volume of an object and the value we give that object when interacting with it. Even though the memorials do not reach the heights of some other monuments built during the same era (in Bulgaria, e.g.), they are significantly larger and taller than human beings. Their size also differentiates them from other monuments erected in the region after World War II and points to the importance of the events and people commemorated by and communicated through these sculptures. The

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[1] The work is also available at https://www.jankempenaers.info/works/1/.
[2] Several studies, exhibitions and symposia were also presented in recent years on the same topic (see Jauković; Pupovac and Škrbić Alempijević; Janev).

nations of the former Yugoslavia were trying to create a therapeutic agent in the form of memorials, and the size of the effect had to be equal (or higher) to the size of the suffering endured during the war. Hence the quality of monumental forms and vertical expressions in some of the memorials as intensifying elements of the passive position of the observer, although none of the monuments have a tendency to fully subordinate the subject, which was typical of fascist and Stalinist monumentalism (Kirn and Burghardt 14). The size, therefore, had only one purpose—to show the strength of remembrance to the ones who were equal to people, but performed massive achievements. Some of the most prominent bearers of this metaphor are the monuments in Tjentište (see Fig. 1), Podgarić (see Fig. 2), and Kozara.

Figure 1: The *Battle of Sutjeska* monument in Tjentište

Source: *Battle of Sutjeska Memorial Monument*, photograph by Tracychapmanfan5, 12 July 2022, CC BY 4.0. Retrieved from https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Battle_of_Sutjeska_Memorial_Monument.jpg. 16 Oct. 2022.

The significance of heroes and enemy-defying events of World War II has been reflected in specific elements of the monuments as well. The Kadinjača monument in its centre shows a wall that has been punched through by an invisible force in the middle, showing the metaphor PSYCHOLOGICAL FORCES ARE PHYSICAL FORCES, enabled by the metonymy EFFECT FOR CAUSE (see Fig. 3). The determination of the

Figure 2: The monument in Podgarić

Partisans has "broken" through the wall which represents the obstacle/the enemy. The focus of the meaning is on the result of the force, not the wall itself, and as such, the amount of the force needed to be visualized with the size of the effect.

Kosovska Mitrovica, on the other hand, shows a specific metaphor which we could possibly verbalize as COMMEMORATING THE MINE WORKERS IS LIFTING A MINE CART, motivated by VALUE IS UP, a variation of the metaphor MORE IS UP. By physically lifting the mine cart higher than a human being can lift it, the monument shows that the value of the miners' sacrifice in World War II is in a very high place, commemorating it with the size of the memorial as well (see Fig. 4). The monument also instantiates the metonymy WORK TOOL FOR WORKER, since the mine cart represents the fallen miners in this region during World War II.

4.2. Abstract forms

Even though the monuments belong to the modernist credo of industrialization and the new world of the 20th century, Kirn and Burghardt (9) argue that they cannot be called only modernist since they possess a special and specific typology: monu-

Figure 3: The monument in Kadinjača

Source: *Kadinjaca 026*, photograph by Vanilica, 28 May 2017, CC BY 4.0. Retrieved from https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Kadinja%C4%8Da_026.jpg. 16 Oct. 2022.

Figure 4: The monument in Kosovska Mitrovica

Source: *Kosovska Mitrovica Monument*, photograph by Tiia Monto, 24 Aug. 2011, CC BY 3.0 (image cropped). Retrieved from https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Kosovska_Mitrovica_monument.jpg. 16 Oct. 2022.

mental, symbolic (in the shape of fists, stars, hands, wings, flowers, and rocks), daring (sometimes even structurally challenging), fantastic, and otherworldly. The "heavy brutalist style" separates these monuments from others built in the same time period, and abstract form was favoured over anthropomorphic representation as a way of promoting cultural "togetherness" over individual accomplishment (Irvine 3). As such, stars, triangles, rockets, wings, and other symbols are one of the defining elements of the analyzed monuments, which imbue them with encompassing possibilities of (almost) universal recognition.

Several monuments show biomorphic features: Jasenovac (see Fig. 5), Makljen and Nikšić (flower shape), and Sisak (tree-like sculpture, see Fig. 6). Flowers evoke the notions of youth, love, innocence, (re)birth and beauty and are often used for decorative purposes. The juxtaposition with the negative connotations of war and the tragic loss of life necessitated a multimodal approach in the case of Jasenovac, where the multimodal metaphor INNOCENCE IS FLOWER (metonymic correlation

Figure 5: The *Stone Flower* of Jasenovac

Source: *Jasenovac SK*, photograph by Stjepko Krehula, 7 May 2016, CC BY 4.0. Retrieved from https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Jasenovac_SK.jpg. 16 Oct. 2022.

between the traits of the commemorated people and flowers) is activated via two modes: visual form and written language. The memorial, built to commemorate the victims of a concentration camp, was named *Kameni cvijet* (*The Stone Flower*), and a bronze plaque with verses from the poem "Jama" [The Pit] by Croatian poet Ivan Goran Kovačić adorned the space in front of the memorial museum, and has since been moved to the graveyard part of the complex. The poetic imagery of the innocence of the slain victims in the poem provides the target domain of the metaphor, while the source domain is emphasized with the memorial title, lest it be confused with the shape of a cup or a similar form. In the case of Makljen, a slightly different metaphor is activated—GRATITUDE IS FLOWER (giving thanks to the fallen soldiers via beauty)—since the people commemorated by the monument were the Partisan forces, and therefore perceived as having a different role in the war than the unarmed people taken to the concentration camp in Jasenovac. The sculpture, visited by tens of thousands of people before the war in the 1990s, was believed by many to represent Tito's clenched fist, but the author Boško Kućanski stated that the intention was to achieve a floral form of alien proportions, since one lays

Figure 6: The tree monument in Sisak

Source: *Spomen park Brezovica*, photograph by Flammard, 22 June 2011, CC BY 3.0 (image cropped). Retrieved from https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Spomen_park_Brezovica.JPG. 16 Oct. 2022.

flowers on the paths of heroes (Car). Again, the size of the symbolic property was the driving force for the metaphoric conceptualization.

The (sun)flower in Nikšić provides another example of a multimodal metaphor where the domains are rendered in two modes. The flower construction rises from the ground at an angle, pierced on the back by a column of the same size. Built in honour of the people killed by the occupation forces in 1942, the memorial bears a plaque with the following inscription: "Generations will admire your heroic acts for centuries to come" (Car; Škoro, translation I.N.). Conveying the message of perseverance through hardship and pride in their bravery, the metaphor can be verbalized as STANDING TALL DESPITE BEING WOUNDED IS BEING BRAVE. As in the previous example, a metonymic link between a group of people and a flower enables the metaphoric construal.

The design for the Sisak memorial was taken from the existing environment—an old elm tree that stood in the same spot (Škoro)—showing that the people who were there cannot be destroyed and will be there for generations to come, rooted like a tree to the ground. Hence, the metaphor can be verbalized as A PERSON IS

A TREE. The Sisak monument is an example of how the physical environment can influence the metaphors people use in a certain location, and create a variation of the (visual) language, as argued by Kövecses (*Culture* 232).

Almost all monuments (with the slight exceptions of Niš, Ostra, and Tjentište in part) present a stark absence of features closely related to the human body. Despite this fact, and since embodiment incorporates many elements of the appearance and functions of our bodies and their interaction with the outside world, some of the metaphors present in the monuments have emerged from this phenomenon. Still, this noticeable difference from other monuments (e.g., Sinj) goes in line with the notion that cognition, including metaphorical cognition, is not only grounded in the body, but also the situations in which people find themselves, the discourses they lead at any time in their interaction, and the conceptual knowledge accumulated about the world (Kövecses, *Context* 200).

Niš memorial (see Fig. 7) depicts fists raised high as a sign of resistance against the enemy. We can discern two major metaphors in Niš: EPISODIC EVENTS ARE OBJECTS, as the fists symbolize the resistance and final victory (Car), and ACTION IS MOTION, as fists are protruding from the soil and being raised to the sky. The

Figure 7: The monument in Niš

Source: *Three fists Nis*, photograph by Tiia Monto, 28 Aug. 2011, CC BY 3.0. Retrieved from https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Three_fists_Nis.jpg. 16 Oct. 2022.

Figure 8: The monument in Ostra

Source: *Ostra kod Čačka, Spomenik hrabrosti*, photograph by BrankaVV, 4 Mar. 2017, CC BY 3.0 (image cropped). Retrieved from https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ostra_kod_%C4%8Ca%C4%8Dka,_Spomenik_hrabrosti.jpg. 16 Oct. 2022.

second metaphor is actually motivated by the metonymy PART FOR WHOLE, since hands clenched in fists are the most used extremity or body part in a fight (we do not, e.g., first want to attack with our head when we want to hit someone). The same metonymy underlines the second (partial) exception from the absence of anthropomorphism in Ostra (see Fig. 8), where the faces of fallen soldiers, done in crude fashion, are symbolically embedded within the memorial. The monument was built with a sharp angle, the end of which (with the faces) points to the sky, thus appearing to be moving upwards (the conceptual metaphor FORM IS MOTION).

Most of the modernist monuments were built on the locations of historic battles of World War II, and because of it, these monuments are in open spaces, relatively far from town or city centres, still forming "an invisible network of symbolic places" (Kirn and Burghardt 10, translation I.N.). In the case of Tjentište, placed at the location of the Battle of Sutjeska, a turning point in World War II, its symbolic quality evokes the image of a river breaking through the mountainous stone, representing the Partisan forces (Kirn and Burghardt 12). Kirn and Burghardt note that the viewer's perception is changed during the walk through the monument, as the two sides of the canyon appear to first represent wings, and then transform into fingers/two hands towering over the people in between (12). This is a symbolic depiction of the Axis forces surrounding the Partisans in the battle of Sutjeska. The metaphor CIRCUMSTANCES ARE SURROUNDINGS, which stems from the correlation between the physical environment and the circumstances that surround us (Ortiz 1573), is present in the form of the central viewpoint. As Mačkić notes, each monument is located at a completely unique place within their context, where the visitor first has to put effort into getting to the monument (e.g., they have to climb a long path upwards), and once there, the visitor has the experience of disconnection from the world. Symbols connected to the specific location and events that happened at the spot located were used in the monument building, and enhanced by the individual narrative that the visitor may employ in order to comprehend the message of the monument. Thus, the location is not only historically charged, but also plays an important part in meaning construction. We can observe a similar symbolic decodification to Tjentište in Kosmaj (see Fig. 9), whose star-like shape or tentacles symbolize people's resistance in the fight against the occupying forces and local traitors, according to Car. Kirn and Burghardt (11) point to the unique shape of a five-pointed star from a distance, but as the visitor approaches the monument, it is revealed that the elements are not connected and that the star form is almost unrecognizable, revealing its fundamental structural challenge towards gravity.

Another monument with the metaphor CIRCUMSTANCES ARE SURROUNDINGS is Grmeč (see Fig. 10), where the shape juxtaposes the hardness of the concrete and the wavy embrace of the monument structure, evoking the image of a safe haven or a shelter for the people inside. Thus, the monument is also a visual manifestation of the metaphor RELATIONSHIPS ARE ENCLOSURES. The monument was built on a free territory in Bosnia and Herzegovina that has never been occupied by the

Figure 9: The monument in Kosmaj

Source: *Kosmaj 3*, photograph by MikelandjeloS, 17 July 2016, CC BY 4.0. Retrieved from https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Kosmaj_3.jpg. 16 Oct. 2022.

enemy forces during World War II (Car), and the safety of the place is visually represented in the shape of the monument.

Based on the analysis of the form, the monuments are devoid of the cult of personality often found in Eastern Europe. As Neutelings remarks,

> they are not busts of great leaders, they bear no symbols like stars or sickles, do not depict workers or farmers' wives brought to life in muscular marble. The objects reveal an iconography of festive decorations: flowers, streamers, lanterns. Their stance is neutral, referring to nothing but themselves.

There are two reasons for this apparent lack of anthropomorphism.

First, the split from the Soviet Union in 1948 dictated a change in all aspects of society, including its cultural presentation. Thus, according to Tulić (2), the pattern established according to the USSR had to be remodelled into an acceptable form of collective remembrance. The traditional characteristics of the Soviet-influenced formula, such as socialist realism depicted with human figures towering over people, was negated and moved away from, as they were, as Tulić argues, a "painful reminder of the Soviet domination" (2).

Figure 10: The monument on Grmeč mountain

Source: *Spomenik na Korcanici—panoramio*, photograph by 87Edvin, 18 May 2012, CC BY 4.0 (image cropped). Retrieved from https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Spomenik_na_Korcanici_-_panoramio.jpg. 16 Oct. 2022.

Second, World War II brought a complex situation to multicultural Yugoslavia, where the war of liberation against Nazi Germany and their allies was further enhanced by a civil war with oppositions between ethnic population groups, some of which were on opposite sides, which had to join a collective under the flag of socialist Yugoslavia after the war ended —hence the ambiguous nature of the monuments which had to represent neutrality and show neither a heroic nor a patriotic stance to both victims and perpetrators of the "inside" war in order to be accepted (Neutelings). The lack of human form was addressed by Kempenaers in an interview for *The Guardian* (Surtees): "Tito couldn't erect figures or busts in honour of generals because he didn't want to be seen to be favouring any ethnic group … so instead they made these things that didn't refer to people." Kirn and Burghardt (16) note the presence of critical voices who objected to the abstract form because it enabled easy adjustment to a new context—a visitor could not decide who were the victims and who were the aggressors in the visual narrative.

4.3. The choice of material

The analyzed monuments were made from a typical brutalist set of materials. Concrete, metal constructions, steel/aluminum plates, and glass dominate the forms and present a stark contrast to their surroundings. The choice of construction material for the monuments also possesses certain metaphorical property. The quality conveys a hard, unrelenting surface, rock/metallic texture, and a general opposition to the material found in nature. The brutalist focus on material that represents strength suggests the visual manifestation of the metaphor METAL/CONCRETE IS STRENGTH. Not only were size and volume employed as meaning bearers, but the physicality of the monuments also had to convey the message of strength that overcomes the protruding, seemingly stronger and unstoppable enemy forces. Additionally, colour and reflective quality of certain materials were used as well, for example—panels reflecting the sky, granite and concrete as light-coloured material, etc.

Figure 11: The monument in Petrova Gora

Source: *Petrova gora—panoramio (1)*, photograph by Sandor Bordas, 19 Aug. 2010, CC BY 3.0. Retrieved from https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:19.08.2010._Petrova_Gora_-_panoramio_(1).jpg. 16 Oct. 2022.

Figure 12: The monument in Kruševo

Source: *Makedonium 2014 1*, photograph by CMB, 19 Sept. 2014, CC BY 3.0 (image cropped). Retrieved from https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Makedonium_2014_1.jpg. 16 Oct. 2022.

Glass and glass-like features are present in monuments such as Podgarić, Petrova Gora (see Fig. 11), Kruševo (see Fig. 12), and Kolašin, which serve to mirror daylight. The present metaphor is GOOD IS BRIGHT/BAD IS DARK (Ortiz 1571). The natural illumination inside the monuments (or lack thereof) seems to confirm this metaphor. An example can be found in Kozara (see Fig. 13), a monument commemorating victims of a fascist siege helped by domestic forces, where a visitor can stand in a dark space inside the cylinders for the monument, which symbolizes the siege, while the circular form of the monument further evokes the claustrophobic experience of being surrounded (Kirn and Burghardt 11). We have previously noted that the main subjects of the memorials were always the people who were on the oppressed side, along with basic ideas and representations (geometrical shapes, astronomical objects, wings, flowers, trees, etc.), and that no physical entity has been given to the oppressor.[3] Thus, by attributing light to the people for whom

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[3] Except in the case of Kozara and Tjentište; however, the function of the cement columns in Kozara is placed inside where they obstruct the exits and sunlight, in which we see the employment of the CONTAINER image schema, while the fingers in Tjentište have a transformative quality: from rocks to wings to fingers, having been formed as objects of the battle narrative.

Figure 13: The monument on Kozara mountain

Source: *Monument to the Revolution*, photograph by fotos1992, 14 June 2021, Pixabay license (image cropped). Retrieved from https://pixabay.com/photos/monument-to-the-revolution-mrakovica-6403373/. 16 Oct. 2022.

these monuments were built, the sculptors and architects have avoided a clear-cut delineation, impossible to depict due to internal conflicts during World War II, and characterized all the future joint nations as the "side of good" as opposed to the main aggressor, the external forces.

5. Points for further discussion

The purpose of the socialist modernist monuments analyzed in this paper was
to physically commemorate the struggle that World War II brought to the people
of the former Yugoslavia in a manner that would match its magnitude and con-
sequences. Even though the original conceptualization of these monuments was
carefully curated to appeal to all supranational metaphoric interpretations of the
past, its survival was impossible after the profound political and structural change
in the 1990s. The obligatory redefining, reconstruction and often destruction of
these historic reminders stem from their conceptualization as visual "extensions"
of ideology because they emphasize general ideological places—characters or
events in the repository of socialist values—thus becoming ideological waste for
the present cultural politics (Potkonjak and Pletenac 19). The metaphors needed
to be deconstructed by either destroying the monument itself, or by forcefully re-
moving it from the dominant ideological narrative, making them no longer legi-
ble. Car documents various destruction practices, including desecration of monu-
ments, removal of panels with names of commemorated fallen soldiers, addition of
religious iconography and other forceful transformative elements that necessarily
change the perceptual possibilities provided by these monuments. Although there
were some multimodal examples (e.g., Jasenovac), overall, it was limited compared
to its visual counterparts. Thus, an attempt at a more extensive, *in situ* research,
would provide a broader dimension to the analysis, in line with the possibilities of
multimodal discourse (Forceville and Urios-Aparisi 5). The difficulty in the inter-
pretation stems from the absence of a solid representation between the intended
past and photographic documentation by Kempenaers, used as corpus. In addition,
the destroyed monuments of Košute, Kamenska and Makljen raise the question of
whether the change in perspective (the necessity of using the historical context and
not solely the present state) simultaneously represents a significant shift in meaning
bestowal of the monuments. Neutelings rightfully asks: Can a former monument
ever function as a pure sculpture (or a photograph of it), as an autonomous work of
art and separated from its original meaning?

    Nevertheless, Kirn and Burghardt (19) see these memorials as one of the centres
of the necessary reinterpretation of the shared Yugoslavian past for the post-Yugo-
slavian societies in order to come to terms with their joint European future. Noting
a newfound readiness to reassess the value of socialist monuments, Janev (165−66),
argues that "the realization that not everything was evil during the socialist per-
iod calls for a more cautious approach that would filter the universal humanistic
achievements and measure them separately from the abuses of power in one-party
regimes", adding that the revalorization of the socialist heritage would allow for
a balanced understanding of the socialist past.

    The new appraisal could rest on transforming the referential values of the
employed conceptual metaphors towards a new, culturally oriented base, for ex-

ample: the importance of a vision for a better world, which, according to Janev (167), these monuments already possess to expand the horizon beyond the nationalist scope. In fact, some of the monuments are already experiencing a tentative cultural renaissance.[4]

Therefore, we are able to discern certain chronological and thematic phases of conceptualization of these monuments: (1) politics of remembrance (construction, revelation and commemoration in practice, 1960s–1990), (2) politics of oblivion (deconstruction, destruction and oblivion, 1991–2009), and (3) exercises in reimagining (reconstruction of meaning and academic-artistic attention, 2010–present).

However, Jauković already noted the dangers of hijacked revisionist interpretation of the site in a recent youth re-enactment heritage piece in Tjentište, which brings to the forefront the importance of understanding all the complexities Bosnia and Herzegovina faces in its internal structures (97–98), as well as the awareness of revisionist attempts in regards to the war in the 1990s.[5] The entire territory where the monuments are located remains a place of fragile interaction.

Still, the colossal aspirations embedded in the memorials, with the presence of powerful figurative mechanisms, call for a recognition beyond political and ideological systems, which could lift these sculptures above the burden of the second phase of conceptualization, and possibly lead to a broader, nuanced acceptance, or at the very minimum, a reintroduction into the historical identity discourse.

6. Concluding remarks

This paper analyzed monuments erected in the former Yugoslavia during the period from the 1960s to the 1980s from the point of view of cognitive linguistics—more precisely, the phenomenon of conceptual metaphor, and with the help of cultural studies. What sets these monuments apart from other sculptures built in the same time period is their locality, size and symbolism. The focus of the paper was directed towards 25 national monuments captured by the lens of photographer Jan Kempenaers over the span of three years (2006–2009), and published in the monograph *Spomenik* (2010).

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[4] Podgarić and Tjentište, for example, have been employed as visual tokens of a biomechanic future in an electronic music video, reconceptualized as memorials of an alien civilization, while Tjentište is also the location of a music festival.

[5] We have noted another attempt at a controversial meaning reconstruction of one of the analyzed monuments: the visual of the monument on Kozara mountain, Bosnia and Herzegovina, is being used in a documentary film with reportedly revisionist politics towards the committed Serb crimes in the aggression on Bosnia in the 1990s (*Al Jazeera* Staff). A visual of the monument from above can be seen in a screenshot of the trailer accompanying the petition against the distribution of the film (Institute for Research on Genocide in Canada). The ideological justification and value appropriation of the monument in this example seem to be in sharp contrast with its historically established anti-fascist message.

The subjects of the present analysis are remnants of a time period which has now been rendered obsolete by the contemporary political and cultural environment of the countries of the former Yugoslavia. Kosmaj, Kozara, Tjentište and other modernist monuments analyzed in this paper offer truly monumental manifestations of conceptual metaphors, which were used to show how the people in this region perceived the huge burden left after World War II, as well as a physical manifestation of their joint aspirations for the (socialist) future. IMPORTANCE IS SIZE/VOLUME and GOOD IS LIGHT/BAD IS DARK are examples of nearly universal conceptual metaphors whose culture-specific manifestations marked an entire period in the socialist culture of the 1960s–1980s in this region. The recent interest in artistic and academic circles points to a fluid reconceptualization of some of the memorials, while others represent symbols of the still dominant politics of oblivion.

Due to various limitations of this paper, we have not explored the possible existence of metaphorical variants among the analyzed manifestations based on their locality, which could provide an interesting insight into the cultural differences in the region. Future research could also benefit from a more extensive exploration of their multimodality, as well as the ever-evolving cultural processes and meaning bestowal in such complex visual narrative as the multiple voices of *Spomenik*.

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"The Thunder Rolls and the Lightning Strikes": Pathetic Fallacy as a Multimodal Metaphor

Abstract: Pathetic fallacy (hereafter PF) has received varied definitions by educators, scholars, and literary critics. Pager-McClymont created a model of PF based on a survey of English teachers, using a checklist of stylistic tools and foregrounding theory. The model views PF as a specific type of conceptual metaphor: a master metaphor, and defines it as a projection of emotions from an animated entity onto the surroundings. Three indicators of PF were identified: imagery, repetition, and negation. Furthermore, multiple effects of PF were observed, such as conveying suspense through surroundings, particularly thunder and lightning. In this paper, I explore if Pager-McClymont's model of PF can be applied to texts from popular culture, such as the television show *RuPaul's Drag Race*, the film *Clue*, and the song "The Thunder Rolls". The analysis employs McIntyre's multimodal stylistic methodology to the texts' transcripts and focuses on the multimodal presentation of PF's criteria and indicators. Findings show that PF's effects are present in popular culture texts and contribute to enriching suspense, thus making Pager-McClymont's model of PF applicable to everyday entertainment.

Keywords: metaphor, multimodal stylistics, pathetic fallacy, popular culture, suspense

1. Introduction

Pager-McClymont ("Communicating Emotions" 199; "Linking Emotions" 435) defines pathetic fallacy (henceforth PF) as "a projection of emotions onto the surroundings by an animated entity. The emotions and animated entity in question can be featured implicitly or explicitly in the text". For this definition to be fulfilled, an animated entity (at least one human being, personified animal, or object) must be present in the text, as well as emotions and surroundings: these are the three criteria of PF. Texts featuring PF are likely to present the following indicators: negation (lexical, syntactic, morphological), imagery (tropes, figures of speech, etc.), and

repetition. Pager-McClymont ("Communicating Emotions" 285, "Linking Emotions" 437) identifies at least four effects of PF in texts: the explicit communication of emotions that may otherwise remain implicit, foreshadowing, characterization, building "ambience" (Stockwell, "Atmosphere and Tone" 365).

So far, Pager-McClymont's model of PF has only been applied to literary texts. This papers aims to explore if the model can also be applied to multimodal texts. The case study to conduct this analysis focuses on the emotion of suspense expressed through thunder and lightning, as I argue that it is prevalent in popular culture but has been under-researched. Firstly, a brief introduction to metaphor theories and multimodality research is provided. This is followed by the case study in which PF is analyzed in the reality television (henceforth TV) show *RuPaul's Drag Race* (2009−present), the film *Clue* (1985), and Garth Brooks's song "The Thunder Rolls" (1991). I then provide a discussion of the findings that emerged from the PF analyses.

2. Metaphors: A literature review

In this section I introduce concisely the key theories and approaches used in the analysis in section 3.

2.1. Pathetic fallacy and conceptual metaphor theory

Conceptual metaphor theory (henceforth CMT) claims that in our processing of language, some concepts are understood in terms of others (Lakoff and Johnson). "Target domains" (typically more abstract concepts, such as emotions) are understood through "source domains" (typically more concrete), and the correspondence between the two domains is a conceptual metaphor which can be labelled as A IS B. For example, in the sentence *I was moved by the poem*, the EMOTION is the target domain expressed through the term *moved*, which can be represented by the source domain of PHYSICAL FORCE. This cross-domain mapping generates the metaphor EMOTION IS PHYSICAL FORCE. Similarly, in the sentences *She was struck by anger* or *He sank into depression* the EMOTIONS of anger and depression are expressed either through the terms *struck* or *sank*, both of which are PHYSICAL FORCES. Thus, the metaphor present in these sentences is also EMOTION IS PHYSICAL FORCE. This means that this cross-domain mapping is a "master metaphor" (Kövecses, "Metaphor and Emotion" 382; see also Kövecses, *Metaphor and Emotion: Language, Culture*): a mapping that can be applied to multiple metaphorical expressions. Additionally, as Kövecses ("Metaphor and Emotion" 382) explains, metaphors featuring an emotion as target domain are referred to as "emotion metaphors". PF is a conceptual metaphor, and its cross-domain mapping (based on the definition provided in the introduction) is EMOTIONS ARE SURROUNDINGS. This mapping is a master emotion metaphor (Pager-McClymont, "Linking Emotions" 9–10, 26–27), as it can ac-

count for other mappings, such as SADNESS IS RAIN, HAPPINESS IS A SUNNY DAY, or, as I argue in this paper, SUSPENSE IS THUNDER AND LIGHTNING.

For the sake of clarity, I define the concepts of suspense, and thunder and lightning before discussing multimodality. Carroll (147) argues that suspense is dependent on factors of uncertainty in the narrative. This factor of uncertainty does not disappear when an audience is already familiar with the plot: this is the "suspense paradox" (Carroll 147–150). Carroll's definition of suspense is particularly relevant to the PF case study presented in this paper as characters are indeed facing conflicting situations causing an uncertain denouement. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, thunder is "the loud noise accompanying a flash of lightning due to the sudden violent disturbance of the air by the electric discharge" ("*thunder*, n."), and lightning is "the visible discharge of electricity between one group of clouds and another, or between the clouds and the ground" ("*lightning*, n. and adj.").

2.2. Analyzing multimodal metaphors

Multimodality represents "any kind of text which draws from language, sound, music, images and other graphic elements in various combinations" (Wales 279). In the last few decades, there has been more and more research on multimodality, particularly in metaphor studies. Forceville's work in analyzing "pictorial" metaphors is particularly significant, as he argues that one of the biggest limitations of CMT is that it is centred around "*verbal* manifestations" of metaphors (his emphasis, Forceville and Renckens 3; see also Forceville 463), which is problematic as not all instances of metaphors are verbal. Forceville explains that for metaphors to be multimodal, their source and target domains (what he calls "phenomena" below) must meet the following three criteria:

> 1. Given the context in which they occur, the two phenomena (domains) belong to different categories (modes), as per the definition of "multimodal metaphor" given above.
> 2. The metaphorical mapping *A is B* format can be used to express the process of multimodal metaphors as it forces or invites an addressee to map one or more features, connotations, or affordances … from source to target.
> 3. The two phenomena (domains) are cued in more than one sign system, sensory mode, or both. (Adapted from Forceville 469, his emphasis)

This means that in multimodal texts, if a metaphor's domains are expressed in different modes and the A IS B labelling of the metaphor can be used, the metaphor is thus a multimodal one.

To analyze the domains in different modes, a systematic approach to multimodal analysis is needed. McIntyre (313) argues for the use of transcripts to record: linguistic (verbal) features, para-linguistic features (non-lexical aspects of communication, such as tone of voice, laughter, gesture, body language), and non-linguistic features (aspects of the scene that are not related to communication, such as camera angles, settings, background noises, actions, costumes). This allows for

a rigorous and comprehensive account of the multimodal text and enables a systematic analysis. In the analysis below, as I focused on PF, I categorized any action that conveys emotions (even implicitly) as a paralinguistic visual (or audio at times) feature of a scene. Similarly, in all texts but the song studied, background music is categorized as a non-linguistic audio feature of a scene, and when a song with lyrics is included, those lyrics are added to the linguistic category of each shot in which they occur. Overall, I argue that using McIntyre's approach to multimodal text analysis allows to observe if PF is a multimodal metaphor in accordance with Forceville's definition.

3. Pathetic fallacy as a multimodal metaphor: A case study

This section provides three analyses of different texts: the reality TV show *RuPaul's Drag Race* (2009−present), the film *Clue* (1985), and the song "The Thunder Rolls" by Garth Brooks (1991). These texts were chosen because they are multimodal texts of different type and all feature in their own way the mapping SUSPENSE IS THUNDER AND LIGHTNING, which has yet to be widely discussed amongst scholars, unlike other PF mappings, such as EMOTION IS COLOUR TONE (i.e., BAD IS DARK or GOOD IS LIGHT in certain contexts, see Forceville and Renckens) or SADNESS IS RAIN. The aim is to observe *how* the PF mapping SUSPENSE IS THUNDER AND LIGHTNING is featured in each text and its effect(s), in addition to evidence that Pager-McClymont's model of PF is applicable to multimodal texts.

3.1. Pathetic fallacy in reality television programming

RuPaul's Drag Race is a reality TV show in which contestants compete to become the next "Drag Superstar". In each episode, contestants go through challenges and are evaluated by a jury. The two bottom contestants must lip sync for RuPaul to decide who will stay and will be eliminated. Episode 8 from season 13 (aired 19 February 2021) is used as an example in this analysis, though the sequence of events and stage effects discussed occur in all episodes of all seasons. The transcript for this analysis can be found in Table 1.

All three PF criteria are present in the transcript. The animated entities are primarily RuPaul, Symone, Kandy, as well as the jury, other contestants, and arguably the audience. The surroundings are represented by the stage, the background music, stage lights (white and red effects), as well as special effects of thunder and lightning. The emotions expressed throughout the scene are stress and anxiety, and this is conveyed through paralinguistic visuals and linguistic features from RuPaul and the contestants. Examples of paralinguistic visuals are RuPaul's serious tone and facial expression, raising of eyebrows (shot 18 of the transcript, Table 1),

Table 1: Transcript for television show *RuPaul's Drag Race* (season 13, episode 8)

Shot no.	Time (hours, minutes, and seconds into episode)	Shot description	Linguistic audio	Paralinguistic visual	Para-linguistic audio	Non-linguistic visual	Non-linguistic audio
1	00:55:36	Long shot of the jury	RuPaul: Symone, Kandy.	The jury (from left to right: Michelle Visage, RuPaul, Ross Mathews, Jamal Sims) sit behind their table. Formal look on their faces.	—	INT. ***RuPaul's Drag Race* Main Stage** RuPaul is dressed up in drag, the rest of the jury is not.	Melody plays (repetitive low notes + beat).
2	00:55:38	Long shot of Symone and Kandy on the stage	RuPaul (OS): I'm sorry my dears, but you are …	The contestants (from left to right). Symone and Kandy are standing on the stage; they look stressed and worried.	—	Symone and Kandy are dressed in drag.	Melody plays (repetitive low notes + beat).
3	00:55:39	Medium close-up on RuPaul	RuPaul: … up for elimination.	RuPaul has a serious look on her face.	—	—	Melody plays (repetitive low notes + beat).
4	00:55:42	Medium close-up on Kandy on stage	Kandy (OS in interview): All I can think up in my head is "I can't go home" …	Kandy stands on stage, looks up seeming stressed and worried.	—	—	Melody plays (repetitive low notes + beat).
5	00:55:44	Medium close-up on Kandy in interview	Kandy: … I don't, I don't wanna go anywhere …	Kandy stammers lightly.	—	Kandy is not dressed in drag as interview is retrospective. Kandy is talking directly to the camera.	Melody plays (repetitive low notes + beat).

Table 1 (continued)

6	00:55:46	Medium close-up on Kandy on stage	Kandy (OS in interview): … I am ready to …	Kandy has a determined facial expression.	—	Kandy is walking on stage to take her place for the lip sync.	Melody plays (repetitive low notes + beat).
7	00:55:47	Medium close-up on Symone	Kandy (OS in interview): … fight …	Symone seems stressed; she is pouting.	—	—	Melody plays (repetitive low notes + beat).
8	00:55:49	Medium close-up on Kandy in interview	Kandy (OS in interview): … for my fucking life.	—	—	Kandy is talking directly to the camera. Kandy is not dressed in drag as interview is retrospective.	Melody plays (repetitive low notes + beat).
9	00:55:51	Medium close-up on RuPaul	RuPaul: Two queens …	RuPaul has a serious look on her face.	—	—	Melody plays (repetitive low notes + beat).
10	00:55:52	Moving long shot of the stage, going from Kandy (right) to Symone (left) and then back to Kandy	RuPaul (OS): … stand before me. Ladies …	Kandy and Symone look stressed but determined.	—	Kandy and Symone are in place on the stage. The other contestants are lined up in the background.	Melody plays (repetitive low notes + beat).
11	00:55:54	Medium close-up on RuPaul	RuPaul: … this is your last chance …	RuPaul has a serious look on her face.	—	—	Melody plays (repetitive low notes + beat).

12	00:55:56	Moving long shot of the stage, camera backing up	RuPaul (OS): … to impress me and save …	Both Symone and Kandy are holding their own hands before them.	—	Symone (left) and Kandy (right) are on the foreground of the stage; the other contestants are on the background of the stage.	Melody plays (repetitive low notes + beat).
13	00:55:58	Medium close-up of Tina Turner	RuPaul (OS): … yourself …	Tina Turner is crying, and hides her face with her left hand.	—	Tina Turner is dressed in drag.	Melody plays (repetitive low notes + beat).
14	00:55:59	Medium close-up on RuPaul	RuPaul: … from elimination.	RuPaul has a serious look on her face.	RuPaul's tone of voice goes deeper on the word "elimination".	Gottmik is dressed in drag in the background.	Melody plays (repetitive low notes + beat).
15	00:56:01	Moving long shot of the stage, camera backing up	—	Both Symone and Kandy are holding their own hands before them.	—	The stage lights are lowered, and their colour changes from yellow to red.	The music stops with a loud cymbals noise.
16	00:56:02	Medium close-up on RuPaul	RuPaul: The time has come …	RuPaul has a serious look on her face.	—	The stage lights flicker at the sound of thunder, simulating a lightning effect.	Melody with lower notes than before. Sound effect of thunder.
17	00:56:03	Medium close-up on Kandy	—	Kandy has a worried look on her face.	—	Other contestants are in the background of the stage.	Low notes are played in the melody.
18	00:56:04	Medium close-up on RuPaul	RuPaul: … for you to lip …	RuPaul has a serious look on her face. She raises her eyebrows.	—	—	Low notes are played in the melody.

Table 1 (continued)

19	00:56:06	Medium close-up on Symone	RuPaul (OS): … sync …	Symone has a worried look on her face.	The word "life" is stretched and echoes.	Other contestants are in the background of the stage. Lighting is red.	Low notes are played in the melody.
20	00:56:08	Medium close-up on RuPaul	RuPaul: … for your life.	RuPaul has a serious look on her face.	—	—	Low notes are played in the melody.
21	00:56:11	Long shot of the stage, camera backing up	—	Symone stands on the stage, she seems stressed yet determined.	—	Symone and Kandy are standing on the stage, ready to lip sync.	Low notes are played in the melody.
22	00:56:13	Medium close-up on Symone	Symone (OS, in interview): I am trembling.	Symone shakes her head.	—	Symone is not dressed in drag as the interview is in retrospective.	Low notes are played in the melody.
23	00:56:14	Medium close-up on Symone	Symone: I am in utter shock that I'm here.		Symone pauses after each word.	Symone is talking directly to the camera retrospectively in interview. Other contestants are in the background of the stage. Lighting is red.	Low notes are played in the melody.
24	00:56:19	Long shot of Symone	Symone (OS, in interview): As much as I love Kandy, I'm not gonna not …	Symone closes her eyes and breathes deeply.	—	Symone is on the stage. Other contestants are in the background of the stage. Lighting is red.	Low notes are played in the melody.

25	00:56:21	Long shot of Kandy	Symone (OS, in interview): … fight I came here …	Kandy looks up towards the ceiling. She has a worried look on her face.	—	Kandy is on stage, ready to lip sync.	Low notes are played in the melody.
26	00:56:23	Medium close-up on Symone	Symone: … to win.	Symone has a determined facial expression.	—	Symone is talking to the camera retrospectively. Symone is not dressed in drag.	Low notes are played in the melody. Loud sound after the word "win".
27	00:56:28	Long shot of the jury	RuPaul (OS): Good luck …	The jury have a formal look on their faces.	—	RuPaul is dressed up in drag, the rest of the jury is not. The jury (from left to right: Michelle Visage, RuPaul, Ross Mathews, Jamal Sims) sit behind their table.	Low notes are played in the melody.
28	00:56:29	Medium close-up on RuPaul	RuPaul: … and don't fuck it up!	RuPaul has a serious look on her face.	RuPaul makes a pause after each of the words "fuck it up".		Low notes are played in the melody.
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	**[Beginning of lip sync]**

Note: OS = out of shot.

Kandy and Symone holding their own hands (shot 15), pouting, or shaking their head (shot 22). Linguistic features can be exemplified with "I'm sorry my dears" (shot 2), "impress me" (shot 12), "I am trembling", "in utter shock", "as much as I love Kandy" (respectively shots 22, 23, 24).

Indicators of PF are also present in the scene. Negation is featured linguistically ("sorry", "elimination", "fuck", "fight", "trembling", "utter shock", "lip sync", "can't", "don't"). Negation is also present through non-linguistic audio: the melody has low notes particularly from shot 16 (after the sound of thunder), which can itself be linked to Lakoff and Johnson's (23) "orientational metaphor" BAD IS DOWN. Imagery is also prevalent in the extract through exaggeration; for instance, RuPaul stretches the words "elimination"; the word "life" echoes in shot 20; and RuPaul pauses after each word in "don't fuck it up" in shot 28. Additionally, there are multiple metaphorical expressions that can be linked to the master metaphor COMPETITION IS WAR, for instance: "I am ready to fight for my life" (shots 6−8), "I'm not gonna not fight, I came here to win" (shots 25−26), or "the time has come for you to lip sync for your life" (shots 16−20). Finally, there are also multiple instances of repetition occurring linguistically with the terms "elimination", "fight", "can't", "don't", as well as non-linguistic audio repetition because the music repeats the same notes and beat, and there is a parallelism of shots. Indeed, shots 15 and 21 are both long shots, and in between them there is a pattern of medium close-up shots on RuPaul (shots 16, 18, 20), mixed with one shot on each of the contestants (Kandy shot 17, Symone shot 19).

Overall, PF (through its criteria and indicators) is present in the extract. There are different instances of emotions in the extract: RuPaul emphasizes the pressure the contestants are under when facing eliminations, the contestants are thus stressed, and the audience (and arguably RuPaul and the contestants) are eager to find out who is eliminated. As such, the label of emotion as a target domain in this extract is SUSPENSE, and this is expressed through varied modes. The surroundings mirroring this emotion are equally expressed through multiple modes, particularly the special effects of THUNDER AND LIGHTNING, which renders them the source domain, thus generating the PF mapping for the extract SUSPENSE IS THUNDER AND LIGHTNING.

3.2. Pathetic fallacy in film

Clue (1985) is a film based on the popular board game of the same name. Guests are invited to a manor for a dinner party, and their host, Mr Boddy, admits to blackmailing them. The guests have aliases akin to the board game's characters (i.e., Mrs Peacock, Miss Scarlet, Mr Green, Professor Plum). When Mr Boddy is murdered, all guests are suspects, and together, led by the butler Wadsworth, they try to figure out who the killer is with three alternative endings suggested. This paper studies two scenes from the film. In scene 1 (Table 2), Professor Plum and Miss Scarlet are in the same car, about to see the manor for the first time. In scene 2

Table 2: Transcript for film *Clue* (1985) (scene 1: Guests view the manor for the first time)

Shot no.	Time (hours, minutes and seconds into film)	Shot description	Linguistic audio	Paralinguistic visual	Paralinguistic audio	Non-linguistic visual	Non-linguistic audio
1	00:08:18	Medium close-up of moving car; camera follows the movement of the car.	—	The car slows down and comes to a full stop.	—	**EXT. Manor.** It is dark; rain is falling.	Suspenseful music is playing in the background. Rainfall can be heard.
2	00:08:23	Medium close-up of Miss Scarlet and Professor Plum. Camera point of view looks at the characters through the windshield.	Pr. Plum: That must be it.	Pr. Plum and Miss Scarlet look impressed and somewhat intimidated by what they are staring at through the window.	—	**INT. Car.** It is dark; rain is falling.	Suspenseful music is playing in the background. Rainfall can be heard.
3	00:08:26	Long shot of the manor	—	—	—	**EXT. Manor.** It is dark; rain is falling. Clouds move over the full moon, creating a shadow.	The suspenseful music changes melody; a strident long note is played.
4	00:08:28	Long shot of the manor	—	—	—	Lightning strikes.	Thunder rolls.
5	00:08:30	Medium close-up of Miss Scarlet and Professor Plum. Camera point of view looks at the characters through the windshield.	Miss Scarlet: Why is the car stopping? Pr. Plum: It's frightened.	Pr. Plum and Miss Scarlet look impressed and somewhat intimidated by what they are staring at through the window.	—	**INT. Car.** It is dark; rain is falling.	Suspenseful music is playing in the background. Rainfall can be heard.

Table 2 (continued)

	Time (hours, minutes and seconds into film)	Shot description	Linguistic audio	Paralinguistic visual	Paralinguistic audio	Non-linguistic visual	Non-linguistic audio
6	00:08:34	Long shot of the manor	—	—	—	EXT. Manor. It is dark; rain is falling. Clouds move over the full moon, creating a shadow.	The suspenseful music changes melody; a strident long note is played.
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	**Cut to next scene**

Table 3: Transcript for film *Clue* (1985) (scene 2: Mr Boddy's identity is revealed)

Shot no.	Time (hours, minutes and seconds into film)	Shot description	Linguistic audio	Paralinguistic visual	Paralinguistic audio	Non-linguistic visual	Non-linguistic audio
1	00:23:54	Medium close-up of Professor Plum	Pr. Plum: Well—that just leaves Mr Boddy.	Pr. Plum looks serious and inquisitive.	—	**INT. Manor—Study.** Pr. Plum is smoking a pipe. The camera angle is low, rendering the effect of Pr. Plum looking down on it.	Rainfall can be heard in the background.
2	00:23:56	Medium close-up of Mr Boddy	—	Mr Boddy has a smug look on his face.	—	Mr Boddy is sat on an imposing armchair. He is first looking down at his hands and nails, then lifts his eyes to look back at the camera as if it is Pr. Plum.	Rainfall can be heard in the background.

#	Timecode	Shot	Dialogue	Acting/Tone		Visual	Sound
3	00:23:59	Medium close-up of Miss Scarlet and Wadsworth	Miss Scarlet: What's your little secret?	Miss Scarlet seems amused and curious; her tone is flirty.	—	Miss Scarlet is looking at the camera as if it is Mr Boddy. Miss Scarlet is sat on a desk close to Wadsworth, smoking. Her dress is green and in a Bardot cut, revealing a large portion of her chest and shoulders.	Rainfall can be heard in the background.
	00:24:01	Medium close-up of Miss Scarlet and Wadsworth	Wadsworth: His secret? Oh, hadn't you guessed? He's the one who's blackmailing you all!	Wadsworth has a surprised and condescending tone.	—	Wadsworth turns his head as he speaks looking around the room and pauses his stare on Mr Boddy.	Rainfall can be heard in the background.
	00:24:02	Medium close-up of Miss Scarlet and Wadsworth	—	—	—	Lightning strikes and can be observed through the window in the background, illuminating the room.	Thunder rolls loudly as soon as Wadsworth ends his sentence; it continues throughout shot 4.
4	00:24:03	Medium close-up of Mr Boddy	—	Mr Boddy has a smug look on his face.	—	Mr Boddy is sat on an imposing armchair; a smug look is on his face as he looks back at the camera as if it is Wadsworth.	Thunder rolls.
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	**Cut to next scene**

(Table 3), Mr Boddy's real identity and the fact that he is the one blackmailing his guests are revealed.

The three criteria of PF are present in both scenes. The animated entities are Wadsworth, Mr Boddy, and the guests. The surroundings are primarily presented visually with the night's darkness, falling rain, thunder, lightning, full moon, and lowly lit manor when indoors. The surroundings in scene 1 (Table 2) are outdoors: night time, falling rain, full moon, lightning. Scene 2 occurs indoor of the manor with vintage expensive furnishing and low lighting, in addition to the outdoor surroundings which can also be seen through the windows, and thunder can be heard (Table 3, shot 3, 00:24:02; shot 4). Emotions can also be inferred in both scenes. In scene 1 (Table 2), Miss Scarlet and Professor Plum seem anxious when they see the manor. Professor Plum's emotion is portrayed linguistically when he responds to Miss Scarlet's asking why the car stopped by exclaiming "It's frightened!" (Table 2, shot 4). Professor Plum personifies the car by attributing it with emotions, arguably his own fear, as he is the one driving. In scene 2, the emotion shared by the guests is curiosity as they try to determine what they have in common and who is their host, Mr Boddy. Wadsworth and Mr Boddy display signs of excitement (Table 3, shot 2; shot 3, 00:24:01) because they know the truth. These emotions are conveyed through paralinguistic visuals, such as curious looks (shot 3, 00:23:59), having a smug expression (shot 4) or looking down (shot 2).

PF's three indicators are also featured in both scenes. Negation is present linguistically ("no", "frightened", "secret", "haven't", "blackmailing"), as well as through non-linguistic audio (strident music when manor is in view [Table 2, shots 3 and 5]; sudden silence after Wadsworth reveals Mr Boddy's identity [Table 3, scene 2, shot 3, 00:24:01]), as well as through non-linguistic visuals (Table 2, long shot of the manor in the dark with a cast of shadows, scene 1, shots 3 and 5). The cliché aspect of the settings combined generates a negative impression of the surroundings, highlighting to the audience characters' experiences. Imagery such as personification is present as discussed above, as well as rhetorical questions when Wadsworth repeats "His secret?" in shot 3. Linguistic items are repeated, such as the question "Who is our host?", which is asked by several of the guests throughout the film. The name "Mr Boddy" is also repeated, along with the noun "secret". The strident music played when the manor is in view in scene 1 is a non-linguistic audio repetition. Finally, there is a parallelism of shots in both scenes: in scene 1 anytime the manor is on screen, it is systematically with a long shot (Table 2, shots 3 and 5). This repetition of shots sheds light on the mystery that surrounds the manor by setting the ambience of the scene. In scene 2, Mr Boddy is only shown through medium close-up shots (Table 3, shots 2 and 4) and displays a smug attitude before and after his identity is revealed. Shots of Mr Boddy are sequenced with medium close-up shots of guests, such as shot 3. This sequencing reinforces the suspense surrounding Mr Boddy's identity, and since he will be killed a few

scenes after scene 2 under study, this portrayal shows the audience how the characters view Mr Boddy.

All three criteria and indicators of PF are present in both scenes of the film. The emotions expressed fall under the feeling of suspense and curiosity: first the guests want to know who is blackmailing them or why they were invited to the manor, then they wonder who Mr Boddy is, and lastly the characters (along with the audience) wonder who killed Mr Boddy. Throughout the film, when a character asks directly "Who is our host?" the sound of thunder can be heard in the background, and lightning can often be seen through the windows or as a lighting effect. This further stresses the suspenseful atmosphere of the scenes. As such, SUSPENSE is the target domain and THUNDER AND LIGHTNING the source domain, thus generating the metaphor SUSPENSE IS THUNDER AND LIGHTNING as PF's mapping in scene 1 and 2 of *Clue*.

3.3. Pathetic fallacy in music

"The Thunder Rolls" (1991) is a country song about a woman waiting for her lover to come home—wondering if an accident has happened to him due to the rainy weather, or if he is cheating on her. The transcript created for the song's analysis is based on McIntyre's (326, 330–334) approach, though no research has yet applied this to songs. Thus, I have adapted it for my own analysis as shown in Table 4: no visual features or shot numbers are listed, instead a melody description is provided.

The three criteria of PF are featured in the song. The animated entities are the man ("he") and the woman ("she"), as well as the singer. The surroundings are described linguistically through the lyrics ("raindrops on the windshield" [00:31], "thunder rolls, and the lightning strikes" [1:26], "moonless summer night" [00:24], "storm" [00:31]), and occur through non-linguistic audio as the sound of thunder can be heard at 00:41. The emotions expressed are primarily the woman's: she is worried that either her partner is cheating on her or has been in an accident due to the weather. This is conveyed through linguistic phrasing such as "pacing by the telephone" (1:02), "hoping she's not right" (1:06), "praying" (1:10), "love grows cold on a sleepless night" (1:32), "deep in her heart the thunder rolls" (1:43−1:50).

PF's indicators are also present throughout the song: negation is featured linguistically ("not", "moonless", "sleepless", "never", "faded", "burning", "out of control", "strikes", "ghost"). Imagery is present through simile ("looking like a ghost town" [00:24]), and metonymy ("not a soul in sight" [00:20]). Metaphors are also featured, such as in the phrases "every light is burning" (00:52) and "love grows cold" (1:32); the target domain of physical attraction is expressed through the source domain of HEAT, thus generating the cross-domain mapping LUST IS HEAT. Similarly, the phrase "deep in her heart the thunder rolls" (1:43−1:50) links the woman's anger (target domain) to the thunder (source domain), which can be expressed though the

Table 4: Example script for music from "The Thunder Rolls" (Garth Brooks, 1990)

Time (minutes and seconds into song)	Melody description	Linguistic audio	Paralinguistic audio	Non-linguistic audio
00:01	—	—	—	Thunder can be heard in the background.
00:05	Guitar melody starts.	—	—	Thunder stops.
00:12	Guitar melody playing.	—	—	Thunder can be heard in the background.
00:17	Guitar melody playing; singer starts to sing.	Three thirty in the morning …	—	Thunder can be heard in the background.
00:20	Guitar melody playing; singer singing.	… not a soul in sight	The word "sight" is emphasized.	Thunder stops.
00:24	Guitar melody playing; singer singing.	The city's looking like a ghost town, on a moonless summer night	The word "town" is emphasized.	—
00:31	Guitar melody playing, singer singing.	Raindrops on the windshield, there's a storm moving in	The phrase "storm moving in" is elongated.	—
00:35	Guitar melody playing, singer singing.	He's heading back from somewhere, that he never should have been	The word "somewhere" is emphasized.	—
00:41	Guitar melody playing, singer singing.	And the thunder rolls	The word "rolls" is emphasized.	Thunder can be heard in the background.

Time	Instruments	Lyrics	Vocals	Effects
00:47	Other instruments join in to play the melody; singer singing.	And the thunder rolls …	—	Thunder stops.
00:52	Instruments playing melody; singer singing.	Every light is burning, in a house across town	The word "town" is emphasized.	—
01:02	Instruments playing melody; singer singing.	She's pacing by the telephone, in her faded flannel gown	The word "telephone" is emphasized.	—
01:04	Instruments playing; singer pauses.	—	—	Electric guitar sounds louder for three notes.
01:06	Instruments playing melody; singer starts singing again.	Asking for miracle, hoping she's not right.	The word "right" is emphasized.	—
01:10	Instruments playing melody; singer singing.	Praying it's the weather, that's kept him …	The word "weather" is elongated.	—
01:17	Instruments playing melody; singer singing.	… out all night.	—	Electric guitar sounds louder for two notes.
01:18	Instruments playing melody; singer singing.	And the thunder rolls …	The word "rolls" is emphasized.	—
01:20	Instruments playing; singer pauses.	—	—	Electric guitar sounds louder for three distinct broken-down notes.
01:22	Instruments playing; singer starts singing again.	And the thunder rolls …	Lower tone of voice on the word "rolls".	Instruments slow down; voice is emphasized.
01:24	Instruments playing; singer pauses.	—	—	The instruments play louder; drums and electric guitar are emphasized. Distinct broken-down notes are played.
01:26	Instruments playing; singer starts singing again.	The thunder rolls And the lightning strikes.	The words "rolls" and "strikes" are emphasized.	Beginning of chorus

Table 4 (continued)

01:30	Instruments playing; singer pauses.	—	—	Electric guitar and drums sound louder for three distinct broken-down notes.
01:32	Instruments playing; singer starts singing again.	Another love grows cold On a sleepless night. As the storm blows on, out of control	The words "night", "storm" and "out of control" are elongated.	Voice is emphasized.
01:40	Instruments playing; singer pauses.	—	—	Electric guitar and drums sound louder for three distinct broken-down notes.
01:43	Instruments playing; singer starts singing again.	Deep in her heart	The word "heart" is emphasized.	—
01:50	Instruments playing; singer singing.	The thunder … rolls.	The word "rolls" is elongated.	The instruments' volume goes down; voice is emphasized.
—	—	—	—	**Chorus ends.**

metaphor ANGER IS NATURAL FORCE. Lastly, there are varied instances of repetition throughout the song. Linguistically, the phrases and terms "the thunder rolls", "lightning strikes", "storm" are repeated, and the paralinguistic audio features of some of those words ("rolls", "strikes", "storm") are consistently emphasized and stretched in pronunciation. Additionally, non-linguistic audio features, such as the sound effect of thunder and rain, are also repeated as part of the melody (00:41).

PF's criteria and indicators are all present in the song. The emotions felt by the woman are worry and anguish as she wonders where her lover is. The sound effect of thunder is mostly used before she finds out her lover did cheat on her—thus reinforcing the suspense of what happened to him. Later on in the song (not featured in the sample transcript provided in Table 4) the imagery of the lightning and the storm is used to convey her anger at the news she was cheated on. Therefore, akin to *RuPaul's Drag Race* and *Clue*, PF's metaphorical mapping in "The Thunder Rolls" is SUSPENSE IS THUNDER AND LIGHTNING.

In section 3, I provided a brief analysis to show how PF occurs in all three texts with the shared mapping SUSPENSE IS THUNDER AND LIGHTNING. Because I argue that the effect of the mapping is similar in those texts, I discuss this below as findings.

4. Findings and discussion

In all three examples of PF analyzed in this paper, the effect of PF is the same. It signposts the suspense and tension to the audience whilst they await a crucial question in a narrative to be answered. In *RuPaul's Drag Race* the question would be "Who will be eliminated?" or "Who will stay on the show?"; in *Clue* the questions are "Who is the host?" and "Who killed Mr Boddy?"; finally, in "The Thunder Rolls", the question raised is "Where or with whom is the woman's partner?" Each of these situations showcases stress, curiosity, and tension as a result of the suspenseful plot. The suspense is then accentuated by the thunder and lightning to reinforce the tension: PF renders the climax of the scene possible. Indeed, as discussed above in section 2.1, thunder is the noise of a lightning flash caused by violent electric discharge; and lightning is the visible discharge of electricity amongst clouds, or between clouds and the ground. These are the surroundings (and source domain) used in the texts under study to mirror the scenes' suspense (the target domain). The most salient characteristics of the source domain mapped onto the target domain (Stockwell, "Inflexibility of Invariance" 137) is that it is a physical release of tension (electricity discharge) as well as danger of high voltage (climax of storyline, awaiting of answers). Overall, the effect it has on narratives is to lengthen the action until a denouement is reached, and it keeps audience engaged by signposting the climax of tension.

Additionally, PF's criteria and indicators are featured through various modes in the examples studied (linguistic, paralinguistic, non-linguistic audio, non-linguis-

tic visual). This is also extended to the domains of PF: the target domain of emotion is typically conveyed through linguistic and paralinguistic features, whereas the source domain is expressed through non-linguistic features. As such, PF fulfils Forceville's (469) definition of a multimodal metaphor. Furthermore, this means that Pager-McClymont's stylistic model of PF can be applied to analyze multimodal texts and is not bound to being used with literary texts. In fact, in Pager-McClymont ("Communicating Emotions" 291–292), an analysis of *Macbeth* act 2, scene 3 (the scene before Lennox is told that King Duncan is dead) is conducted, which features the mapping ANXIETY IS STORM, which can be associated with SUSPENSE IS THUNDER AND LIGHTNING. Indeed, the surroundings outside of the castle are of rain and thunder, and the emotion of anxiety stems from suspense and dramatic irony of the audience knowing King Duncan was murdered and Lennox finding out in the next scene. It is also interesting that the three texts studied in this paper are inherently of different modality: one is a song, the other two are film based, and yet they share the same PF mapping. Consequently, PF's mappings observed in any type of texts can be applied to other, regardless of the type of a text's modality.

It is worth discussing how frequently the PF mapping SUSPENSE IS THUNDER AND LIGHTNING occurs in popular culture. The stylistic choice of using thunder and/or lightning as signposting of a suspenseful plot point is so widespread in popular culture, that I argue that it has become stereotypical or even cliché, to the extent that it could generate humour because of how expected this association of concept is. An example of this can be found in the literature podcast *Save Me From My Shelf* (hosted by Dr Abigail Boucher and Dr Daniel Jenkin-Smith), based at Aston University and funded by the Centre for Critical Inquiry into Society and Culture. The podcast summarizes and reviews classic works of literature, and sound effects are used consistently when a specific theme occurs. For instance, the sound of toasting glasses is used whenever there is a queer reading of a scene. Similarly, whenever a suspenseful moment is discussed, the sound of thunder can be heard, as it is the case in episode 9 on Stoker's *Dracula* at 10:26, as well as in episode 28 on Nabokov's *Lolita* at 48:36 (amongst other examples). The podcast uses this sound effect to communicate to listeners that there is a key suspenseful moment in the plot, all whilst keeping it entertaining and humorous.

Furthermore, this mapping of PF is also frequently used in the sitcom *The Simpsons*. In season 1, episode 13 (aired 13 May 1989), Bart, Lisa, and Maggie have a babysitter whilst Homer and Marge go on a date. The children disobey the babysitter by watching the news on the TV, which is reporting on the "Babysitter Bandit". A picture of their babysitter appears on screen after a warning that she is armed and violent and may be using an alias. As the babysitter approaches the children, they start to scream. Their scream is carried onto the next shot, an aerial shot of the Simpsons' house showing the surroundings of night time and rain, and thunder and lightning can be observed from 14:55 to 14:58. The shot of the house with rain and thunder is introduced between the children's discovery and the baby-

sitter's punishment: she binds them and tapes their mouths. In this instance, PF's mapping reinforces the suspense of the question "What will the babysitter do to the children now that they know her identity?"

Finally, another example of PF's mapping SUSPENSE IS THUNDER AND LIGHTNING used to highlight the climax of tension in a scene and generate humour can be found in season 2, episode 8 of the television sitcom *Cougar Town* (aired 17 November 2010). Travis brings his new graduate student girlfriend (Kirsten) home to meet his overly involved mother, Jules, and her friends. Jules is hostile towards Kirsten when it is revealed that Travis will go to her family for Thanksgiving. In a scene, Jules and Kirsten argue over the wine that Kirsten brought as a gift: Jules does not want Kirsten to drink it because she fears she might be a bad influence on Travis. Ellie (Jules's best friend), a witness to the fight, uses a baking sheet and shakes it to reflect the light from the ceiling as she turns it on and off, all whilst creating a trembling sound by shaking the baking sheet, akin to thunder and lightning effects (14:28 to 14:33). This action showcases how tensed and key the fight is between Kirsten and Jules and associates it with the emotion of frustration from the two characters as well as the question "Will Kirsten drink the wine?" Ellie defuses the situation by saying "How cool is that with the sheet?!" (14:35), which draws further attention to the pretend thunder and lightning effect and emphasizes the humorous aspect of it.

These examples show that mapping SUSPENSE IS THUNDER AND LIGHTNING is indeed a PF mapping, as the emotions of stress and curiosity linked to the suspenseful situation are reflected onto the climax of tension of the thunder and lightning, until a denouement is reached. The widespread nature of the mapping in varied types of texts indicates how stereotypical and, to a certain extent, cliché the association of suspense to thunder and lightning is because of how expected this association is.

5. Conclusion

Throughout this paper, I demonstrated that in popular culture, emotions are frequently expressed through surroundings, and thus through PF. The notion of suspense and tension in plots is reinforced by the PF mapping SUSPENSE IS THUNDER AND LIGHTNING, with the thunder and lightning acting as signposting to further communicate the tension of a scene to the audience. I also illustrated that Pager-McClymont's stylistic model of PF can be applied to multimodal texts in addition to literature. In the analyses of multimodal texts conducted in this paper, PF's criteria and indicators occur across various modes, thus rendering PF a multimodal metaphor in these contexts, as per Forceville's definition. Lastly, I provided an example of McIntyre's approach to multimodal text analysis of a song, by adapting the transcript to allow for melody description. Although this could be rendered more systematic with music theory, for the purpose of the PF analyses conducted in

this paper, the simple melody description was adequate. Moreover, future research could explore the humorous nature of this mapping in certain contexts (such as the example of *Cougar Town* mentioned in section 4), for instance using Chambers's model of humour or Marszalek's cues of humour.

Overall, it was shown that the use of PF by associating suspenseful scenes to thunder and lightning happens not only in the examples analyzed in this paper, but also in other elements of popular culture, such as podcasts, cartoons, or sitcoms. The frequent association of those concepts (PF's mapping SUSPENSE IS THUNDER AND LIGHTNING) has become stereotypical, and thus signposts tension in plot to audiences and readers.

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Metaphorical Indicators of the Hyperthemes of *Dune: Part One* (2021): A Multimodal Cognitive-Linguistic Case Study

Abstract: In Denis Villeneuve's *Dune: Part One*, the 2021 film adaptation of Frank Herbert's seminal science-fiction novel from 1965, the general themes, or "hyperthemes", of the filmic story are often represented metaphorically, by means of more or less transparent textual indicators. The present article explores the metaphorical indicators of three hyperthemes of Villeneuve's film—(1) "The power hierarchy Spacing Guild > Imperium > Great Houses > Fremen", (2) "The feuding Great Houses: House Atreides and House Harkonnen", and (3) "The colonization of Arrakis by the Imperium and Great Houses"—in an analytical framework combining the tenets and tools of multimodal analysis and cognitive linguistics. Specifically, the article explores (1) the relations between the non-metaphorical and metaphorical indicators of the hyperthemes of *Dune: Part One*, (2) the relations between different metaphorical indicators of the same hyperthemes of the film, (3) the relations between the verbal and non-verbal metaphorical indicators of the film's hyperthemes, and (4) the variation among the metaphors sanctioning the hyperthematic indicators with regard to their interpretability.

Keywords: visual metaphor, multimodal metaphor, narrative text, multimodal analysis, cognitive linguistics, conceptual metaphor theory, *Dune: Part One*

1. Introduction

Thus far three major screen adaptations of Frank Herbert's 1965 science-fiction novel *Dune* have been made. In 1984 the novel was adapted to the big screen by

David Lynch as *Dune*, and in 2000 to the small screen by John Harrison as *Frank Herbert's Dune* (Lapointe 23).[1] The most recent screen adaptation of the novel is the 2021 film *Dune: Part One*, directed by the French-Canadian auteur Denis Villeneuve. As its title suggests, Villeneuve's film does not adapt the whole of Herbert's novel. Not unexpectedly, *Dune: Part One* tells roughly the first half of the story. The second half is to be told in *Dune: Part Two*, also directed by Villeneuve. At the time of this article's writing (late 2022–early 2023), *Dune: Part Two* is in post-production and scheduled for release in late 2023.

The enduring popularity of Herbert's story arguably stems from the breadth, diversity, and universality of its thematic scope as the novel creatively interweaves multiple narrative-independent themes of general interest—notably power, politics, war, religion, colonialism, mind, history, ecology, heroism, masculinity, and femininity (Kennedy, *Women's Agency*, *Critical Companion*; Decker; DiTommaso; Jacob; Palumbo; Nicholas; Rogers). As a film adaptation of Herbert's novel, Villeneuve's *Dune: Part One* naturally addresses many of the same narrative-independent themes even though it only adapts a portion of the novel and then streamlines it into a more accessible storyline by condensing Herbert's lengthy dialogues throughout and by altogether excising some of the novel's most dialogue-heavy scenes (Craig; Lapointe 24).

As Villeneuve's film deliberately moderates its reliance on the verbal mode, much of the filmic storytelling is done non-verbally, in the visual mode and in the aural mode, making *Dune: Part One* a prime example of a balanced multimodal narrative. Interestingly, the film's multimodal storytelling involves the use of a considerable number of metaphorical representations, which serve as textual indicators of the film's three major narrative-dependent themes, or "hyperthemes" (Post 141), which are best conceived of as taking the form of "theme-threads" (Post 145) connecting multiple, albeit not necessarily consecutive, scenes. The present article explores these metaphorical indicators from the combined perspective of multimodal analysis and conceptual metaphor theory, thus situating itself in the research area referred to as "multimodal cognitive linguistics" (Langlotz 55).

In line with current multimodal cognitive linguistic research, the present article explores (1) the relations between the non-metaphorical and metaphorical indicators of the hyperthemes of *Dune: Part One*, (2) the relations between different metaphorical indicators of the same hyperthemes of the film, (3) the relations between the verbal and non-verbal metaphorical indicators of the film's hyperthemes, and (4) the variation among the metaphors sanctioning the hyperthematic indicators with regard to their interpretability. Structurally, the present introduction is followed by three sections. Section 2 introduces the article's theoretical background of multimodal cognitive linguistics. Section 3 defines the scope of the analysis, outlines

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[1] Before Lynch, Alejandro Jodorowsky famously made a failed attempt to bring Herbert's novel to the big screen (Pavich; Rinzler 17–18; Lapointe 23).

the diegetic universe of *Dune: Part One*, presents the analysis of the metaphorical indicators of the film's hyperthemes, and discusses the outcomes of the analysis. Section 4 presents the conclusions drawn from the outcomes of the analysis.

2. Theoretical background

The present article is theoretically anchored in multimodal analysis and cognitive linguistics. It embraces the key assumption of multimodal analysis whereby communication typically involves simultaneous, coordinated use of multiple established means of making meaning dubbed "modes" (see, e.g., Jewitt and Kress 1–2; Jewitt, Bezemer, and O'Halloran 2–4; Bateman, Wildfeuer, and Hiippala 15). Furthermore, this article subscribes to the associated idea, broadly accepted by theorists of multimodality, that films—along with advertisements, comics, posters, tourist brochures, and other kinds of systematically organized "modal ensembles" (Bezemer and Kress 6)—constitute multimodal "texts" (see, e.g., Kress and van Leeuwen 24; Bateman, Wildfeuer, and Hiippala 132; Post 20–21). Like their purely verbal counterparts, multimodal texts communicate themes of varying generality, but they do so through simultaneous, coordinated use of the multiple modes at their disposal (Post 136–45).

As to cognitive linguistics, the present article espouses the basic tenets of conceptual metaphor theory. According to this theory's proponents, a conceptual metaphor consists of unidirectional cross-domain mappings (Lakoff and Johnson 112; Lakoff and Turner 110–11; Sweetser 19; Gibbs 238; Grady 191) between selected elements of the cognitively more accessible "source domain" and their counterparts in the cognitively less accessible "target domain" (Lakoff and Johnson 52–54, 112; Kövecses 17–31). Conceived of in this way, conceptual metaphors are cognitive instruments that facilitate the understanding of their target domains (Kövecses 37). Conceptual metaphors are said to make up a continuum from novel (also referred to as "creative", Forceville "Pictorial and Multimodal Metaphor") to conventionalized, with novel metaphors being typically based on the ones that are conventionalized (Lakoff and Turner). Additionally, conceptual metaphors are said to be variously interrelated with predominantly referential conceptual metonymies, characterized as domain-internal mappings from a "vehicle concept" to a corresponding "target concept" (Lakoff and Johnson 35–36; Lakoff, *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things* 382; Goossens 332–35). Last but not least, since conceptual metaphors are patterns of thought, they are mode-independent and may be expressed verbally and/or non-verbally (Lakoff, "The Contemporary Theory of Metaphor" 241; Müller).

The cross-pollination of the idea that texts are typically multimodal and the idea that conceptual metaphors are mode-independent has given rise to a strand of research into how conceptual metaphors are expressed in various multimodal texts:

advertisements, artworks, cartoons, comics, animated films, feature films, and even medieval textiles.[2] The present article firmly belongs to this rich and developing research strand, which arguably constitutes the backbone of multimodal cognitive linguistics (Forceville, "Multimodality"), along with studies of multimodality informed by theories closely related to conceptual metaphor theory, such as the image schema theory and the conceptual integration theory (also known as blending theory) (Szawerna, "Modality" 190). Additionally, this article adopts Forceville's ("Pictorial and Multimodal Metaphor") distinction between "visual metaphors", in which the source and the target domain are both represented in the visual mode, and "multimodal metaphors involving visuals", in which either the source or the target domain is rendered exclusively or predominantly in the visual mode.

3. Analysis and discussion

This section defines the article's analytical scope, outlines the diegetic universe of *Dune: Part One*, presents the analysis of the metaphorical indicators of the film's hyperthemes, and discusses the outcomes of the analysis.

3.1. Scope and structure of the analysis

The scope of the analysis includes the hyperthemes that are metaphorized in *Dune: Part One*. As a corollary, the film's hyperthemes that are not metaphorized are excluded from the article's analytical scope. The metaphorical indicators of the film's hyperthemes are analyzed and discussed from the vantage point of multimodal cognitive linguistics in three consecutive subsections. Subsection 3.3 examines the film's metaphorization of the hypertheme "The power hierarchy Spacing Guild > Imperium > Great Houses > Fremen", which presupposes the general, narrative-independent themes of power, politics, and colonialism. Subsection 3.4 examines the film's metaphorization of the hypertheme "The feuding Great Houses: House Atreides and House Harkonnen", which presupposes the general, narrative-independent themes of power, politics, and war. Lastly, subsection 3.5 examines the film's metaphorization of the hypertheme "The colonization of Arrakis by the Imperium and Great Houses", which presupposes the general, narrative-independent themes of power, politics, war, colonialism, ecology, masculinity, and femininity. These data-driven subsections are preceded by a brief outline of the diegetic universe of *Dune: Part One*, which provides the requisite informational background for the ensuing analysis and discussion.

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[2] For major publications in this research strand of multimodal cognitive linguistics, consult Forceville ("Multimodality", "Visual and Multimodal Metaphor in Film") and Szawerna ("The Scope of the Pictorial and the Verbal" 319).

3.2. Outline of the diegetic universe of *Dune: Part One*

As is the case with the film's literary source, the diegetic universe of *Dune: Part One* is rich and complex. The film is set far into the future, in a world where humans had prohibited the construction and use of thinking machines and staked their fate on developing mental abilities that enabled them to master interstellar travel and populate multiple planetary systems without relying on artificial intelligence. This was made possible through the consumption of "spice", an addictive substance that extends life and expands consciousness. The spice is found exclusively on planet Arrakis, also referred to as the titular *Dune*. Those with access to this precious natural resource keep the power in the diegetic universe of the film. The Spacing Guild has access to the spice on account of its monopoly on interstellar travel, which enables the very existence of an interplanetary civilization ruled by the Imperium and the Great Houses. This feudal structure controls the production of the spice, with the Great Houses competing against each other for the fief of Arrakis, bestowed by the Emperor.

Against this backdrop, *Dune: Part One* tells the story of a plot against House Atreides devised by the Emperor and House Harkonnen. The Emperor takes the control of Arrakis and spice production away from the Harkonnens, who have ruled over the planet with an iron fist for nearly a century, and gives it to House Atreides. Fully expecting the Emperor's gift to be a trap meant to isolate the Atreides on Arrakis before their annihilation, Duke Leto Atreides accepts it in the hope that he can enlist the help of the Fremen, the planet's valorous inhabitants, and in this way counter the existential threat posed by his enemies. Before Duke Leto's plan can come to fruition, however, the Atreides are betrayed by their physician, Doctor Yueh, and Arrakis is invaded by the combined Harkonnen-Imperial landing force, who swiftly defeat the Atreides. Duke Leto dies, but his only child, the ducal heir Paul Atreides, and Lady Jessica, Paul's mother and member of the Bene Gesserit sisterhood, manage to survive the onslaught and find refuge among the Fremen, who have been manipulated by the Bene Gesserit missionaries to believe that Paul may be their messiah, the chosen one who will save them from oppression and make a paradise of Arrakis. In reality Paul is the result of a Bene Gesserit selective breeding programme aimed at producing the "kwisatz haderach", a eugenic superman intended to lead humanity into a better future.

3.3. Metaphorization of the hypertheme "The power hierarchy Spacing Guild > Imperium > Great Houses > Fremen"

The verbal indicators of this hypertheme appear in the expository scenes of *Dune: Part One*. In the prologue, the Fremen warrior Chani utters the following words:

> Chani (VO): "Our warriors couldn't free Arrakis from the Harkonnens, but one day, by an Imperial decree, they were gone. Why did the Emperor choose this path, and who will our next oppressors be?" (*Dune: Part One* 00:02:45–00:03:00)

From Chani's utterance the viewers will no doubt infer that the Fremen are the least powerful community in the diegetic world of *Dune: Part One*. They are oppressed by one of the Great Houses, House Harkonnen, and cannot free their planet from the oppressors. The viewers will also infer that the Great Houses are less powerful than the Imperium as the Harkonnens do the Emperor's bidding.

In a following expository scene, Paul Atreides is watching an educational presentation about Arrakis, spice, and the Fremen. At one point, Paul hears the presenter say the following lines:

> Presenter (VO): "Spice is used by the navigators of the Spacing Guild to find safe paths between the stars. Without spice, interstellar travel would be impossible, making it by far the most valuable substance in the universe." (*Dune: Part One* 00:06:20–00:06:40)

From this utterance the viewers will likely infer that the Spacing Guild is the most powerful organization in the diegetic world of *Dune: Part One* because the Spacing Guild controls interstellar travel, which in turn makes it possible for the Imperium to exist and exercise its power over the Great Houses.

On the whole, the verbal indicators of this hypertheme in *Dune: Part One* enable the viewers to infer, more or less straightforwardly, that the power hierarchy in the film's diegetic world is such that the Spacing Guild controls the Imperium, which in turn dominates the Great Houses, which in turn hold power over the Fremen. While the verbal indicators represent the power hierarchy "Spacing Guild > Imperium > Great Houses > Fremen" non-metaphorically in *Dune: Part One*, the film also contains metaphorical indicators of this hierarchy, albeit in the visual mode.

Early in the film there is a scene in which Duke Leto Atreides formally accepts the fiefdom of Arrakis granted him by the Emperor. This scene is preceded by a sequence showing the arrival of an Imperial envoy on Caladan, the homeworld of House Atreides. In this sequence, an immense Spacing Guild "heighliner" appears on orbit over planet Caladan. From the heighliner a tiny Imperial spaceship emerges and then proceeds to land on Caladan (Fig. 1). As it approaches the planet's surface, the tiny spaceship turns out to be huge in comparison with the environment. The spaceship's massive form dominates the landscape and dwarfs the Atreides welcoming committee (Fig. 2).

In this sequence, a segment of the power hierarchy comprising the Spacing Guild, the Imperium, and the Great Houses is visually metaphorized in terms of size and vertical elevation, that is, consistently with the conventional image-schematic metaphors POWER IS SIZE[3] (Listen 44) and POWER IS VERTICAL ELEVATION, also known as HAVING CONTROL OR FORCE IS UP; BEING SUBJECT TO CONTROL OR FORCE IS DOWN[4] (Lakoff and Johnson 15). Importantly, the visual metaphorization of the

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[3] This conceptual metaphor is exemplified verbally by such conventional expressions as *big player*, *big fish*, and *big boys*.

[4] This conceptual metaphor is exemplified verbally by such conventional expressions as *at the height of one's power*, *under one's control*, *rise to power*, and *fall from power*.

Figure 1: The Imperial envoy's spaceship emerges from the Spacing Guild heighliner over planet Caladan

Source: D. Villeneuve (Director). 2021. *Dune: Part One* [Motion picture]. Legendary Pictures and Warner Bros., 00:06:33.
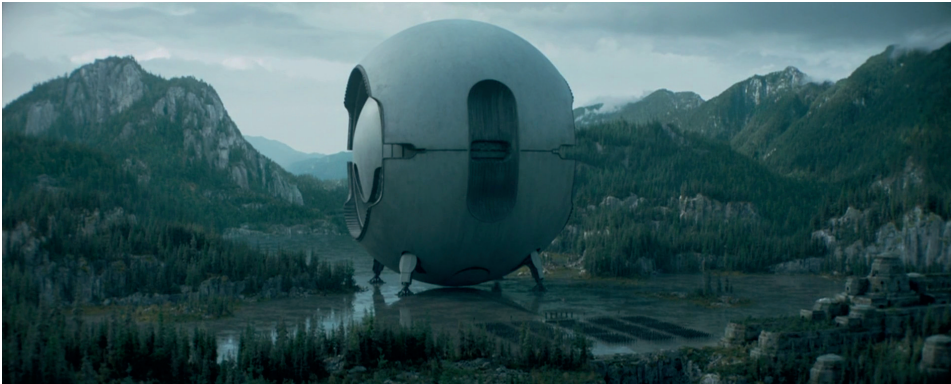

Figure 2: The Imperial envoy's spaceship touches down on the landing field in front of the Atreides welcoming committee

Source: D. Villeneuve (Director). 2021. *Dune: Part One* [Motion picture]. Legendary Pictures and Warner Bros., 00:06:51.

segment "Spacing Guild > Imperium > Great Houses" in terms of size and vertical elevation depends on a PART-FOR-WHOLE visual metonymization of the Spacing Guild as the Spacing Guild heighliner, the Imperium as the Imperial envoy's ship, and House Atreides as the Atreides welcoming committee.

In other words, the Spacing Guild heighliner has to stand for the entire Spacing Guild in order for the vessel's size and vertical elevation to represent the Guild's power; the Imperial envoy's spaceship has to stand for the entire Imperium in order for the ship's size and vertical elevation to represent the power of the Imperium; and the Atreides welcoming committee has to stand for the entire House Atreides

in order for the committee's size and vertical elevation to represent the power of this Great House. Interpreted in this way, the sequence showing the Imperial envoy's arrival on Caladan may be considered a visual counterpart to one kind of Goossens's "metaphtonymies", referred to as "metonymy within metaphor" (333), whereby "a metonymically used entity is embedded in a (complex) metaphorical expression" and the "[t]he metonymy functions within the target domain" (336).

The metaphtonymic visual representation of the power hierarchy segment "Spacing Guild > Imperium > Great Houses" in the sequence showing the Imperial envoy's arrival on Caladan prompts the viewers to interpret the Spacing Guild as being more powerful than the Imperium, and the Imperium as being more powerful than House Atreides because the Guild heighliner is larger and more elevated than the envoy's spaceship, which is in turn larger and more elevated than the Atreides welcoming committee. This visual metaphtonymy may be novel, but it is readily understood by the viewers because its interpretation rests on the conceptually well-entrenched metonymy A PART FOR THE WHOLE and the conceptually well-entrenched metaphors POWER IS SIZE and POWER IS VERTICAL ELEVATION.

The remaining segment of the power hierarchy, comprising the Great Houses and the Fremen, is visually metaphorized, also in terms of vertical size and elevation, later in the film, in a sequence showing the Atreides' crossing from Caladan to Arrakis. In this sequence, a massive Atreides flagship touches down on a landing field where a throng of Fremen awaits the arrival of House Atreides (Fig. 3). As was the case with the previous example, the visual metaphorization of a segment of the power hierarchy in accordance with the metaphors POWER IS SIZE and POWER IS VERTICAL ELEVATION depends on a PART-FOR-WHOLE visual metonymization, though in this case of House Atreides as the landing Atreides flagship and of the Fremen as the Fremen welcomers on the landing field.

Figure 3: The approaching Atreides flagship casts a colossal shadow on a throng of Fremen welcomers

Source: D. Villeneuve (Director). 2021. *Dune: Part One* [Motion picture]. Legendary Pictures and Warner Bros., 00:32:38.

Analogously to the previous example, the "metonymy within metaphor" (Goossens 333) metaphtonymic visual representation of the segment "Great Houses > Fremen" in the sequence showing the Atreides' arrival on Arrakis prompts the viewers to interpret House Atreides as being more powerful than the Fremen because the Atreides flagship is situated above the Fremen welcomers and appears larger than the throng. Like the previously discussed visual metaphtonymy, this one may be novel, but it is effortlessly interpreted by the viewers because it invokes the conceptually well-entrenched metonymy A PART FOR THE WHOLE and the conceptually well-entrenched metaphors POWER IS SIZE and POWER IS VERTICAL ELEVATION.

3.4. Metaphorization of the hypertheme "The feuding Great Houses: House Atreides and House Harkonnen"

House Atreides, House Harkonnen, and their feud make up the next metaphorized hypertheme of *Dune: Part One*. The major verbal indicators of House Atreides appear in the expository scenes during the first hour of the film.

In a scene where Paul Atreides and his father, Duke Leto Atreides, visit their ancestral cemetery, the Duke sheds light on the current situation of House Atreides for his son's benefit:

> Duke Leto Atreides (to Paul Atreides): "When we get to Arrakis, we'll face enormous danger. … Political danger. The Great Houses look to us for leadership, and this threatens the Emperor. By taking Arrakis from the Harkonnens and making it ours, he sets the stage for a war which will weaken both Houses." (*Dune: Part One* 00:13:21–00:13:43)

In a following scene, Baron Harkonnen comments on the Emperor's decision to take the fiefdom of Arrakis away from House Harkonnen and to grant it to House Atreides:

> Beast Rabban (to Baron Harkonnen): "Uncle, how can we let this happen? How can the Emperor take everything we've built and give it to that Duke? How?"
> Piter De Vries (to Rabban): "Don't be too sure it's an act of love."
> Beast Rabban (to the Baron): "What does he mean?"
> The Baron (to Rabban): "When is a gift not a gift? The Atreides' voice is rising, and the Emperor is a jealous man. A dangerous, jealous man." (*Dune: Part One* 00:19:04–00:19:43)

Later in the film, the Baron receives a message from the Emperor's special emissary, the Reverend Mother Mohiam:

> Baron Harkonnen (to Reverend Mother Mohiam): "What is the Emperor's message?"
> The Reverend Mother (to the Baron): "He will strengthen your hand."
> The Baron (to the Reverend Mother): "With his Sardaukar army."
> The Reverend Mother (to the Baron): "It must never be known."
> The Baron (to the Reverend Mother): "There's no satellite over Arrakis. The Atreides will die in the dark." (*Dune: Part One* 00:45:45–00:46:07)

From these lines the viewers will likely infer that the Emperor wants to get rid of the more and more popular House Atreides, and so he plots with House Har-

konnen to destroy the Atreides on Arrakis, where they will be completely isolated, by means of the Harkonnen army and with the help of his elite troops, the Sardaukar. The viewers will no doubt conclude that the Atreides are in dire straits and their predetermined extinction is inevitable.

In *Dune: Part One* the precarious position of House Atreides is communicated visually through novel metaphors, but the source domains of the metaphors are not explicit, making the metaphors somewhat covert. The formal uniforms of the Atreides (Fig. 4) were designed to resemble the uniforms of the last Russian emperor, Nicholas II Romanov (Lapointe 46; Warner Bros. Entertainment), and the outfit of Doctor Yueh (Fig. 5) was styled after the garments worn by Grigori Rasputin, a self-proclaimed mystic who befriended the Romanovs by acting as a healer for the their only son, the hemophiliac Alexei (Lapointe 77).
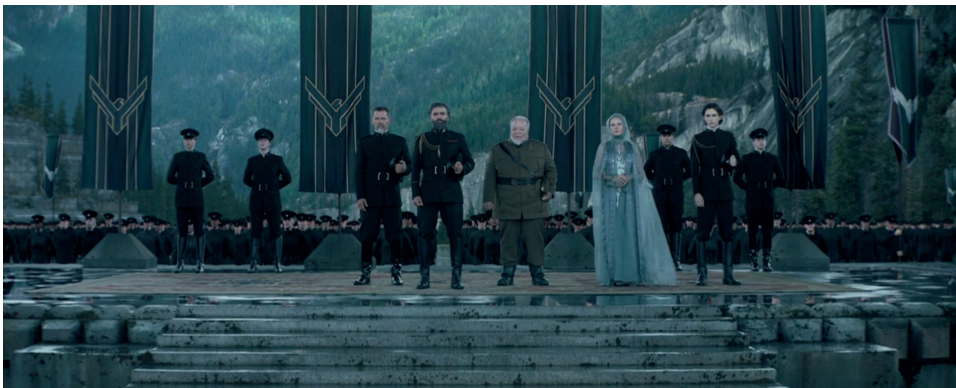

Figure 4: The Atreides receive the Imperial envoy

Source: D. Villeneuve (Director). 2021. *Dune: Part One* [Motion picture]. Legendary Pictures and Warner Bros., 00:08:25.

Figure 5: Doctor Yueh examines Paul Atreides

Source: D. Villeneuve (Director). 2021. *Dune: Part One* [Motion picture]. Legendary Pictures and Warner Bros., 00:32:38.

Specifically, the design of the costumes confers metaphorical construal on the Atreides and Doctor Yueh, whereby THE ATREIDES ARE THE ROMANOVS and DOCTOR YUEH IS GRIGORI RASPUTIN. The visual metaphors are motivated by the similarities observable, on the one hand, between the Atreides and the Romanovs (both are reigning houses doomed to become extinct), and, on the other hand, between Doctor Yueh and Grigori Rasputin (each acted as a healer to the only son of his high-born patron; each pursued a personal agenda that did not necessarily align with that of his patron).

With relation to the verbal indicators of House Atreides, it is by no means obvious that the visual metaphors THE ATREIDES ARE THE ROMANOVS and DOCTOR YUEH IS GRIGORI RASPUTIN reinforce the verbally communicated idea that the Atreides are in dire straits and doomed to die. This is so because (1) the costumes have relatively low visual "cue validity" (cf. Taylor 225) with respect to the source domains of the metaphors, that is, they do not provide reliable visual cues for a successful identification of the respective source domains (THE ROMANOVS and GRIGORI RASPUTIN), and (2) the source domains themselves are not familiar concrete concepts grounded in everyday experience (Lakoff and Johnson 122; Kövecses 28–29).

Another novel metaphor characterizing House Atreides, and in particular Paul Atreides, in *Dune: Part One* involves the concept of THE KANGAROO MOUSE OF ARRAKIS as its source domain. Throughout the film, a relation is established between Paul and the kangaroo mouse. The animal's significance in *Dune: Part One* is insightfully discussed in Empire of the Mind's educational video "Explaining *Dune*'s Imagery: We Are Only so Great as Our Symbols." The following analysis utilizes some information from this video.

In a scene where he is nearly assassinated by the remotely controlled "hunter-seeker", Paul sees a holographic projection of a kangaroo mouse feeding among desert plants as he is learning about the planet and its inhabitants. When the hunter-seeker appears, Paul hides inside the holographic image of the plants in order to confuse the assassination device. Later in the film, Paul and his mother manage to survive the combined Harkonnen-Imperial invasion of Arrakis, but are on the run from their enemies. In the desert, they spend a night in a Fremen-made "stilltent". During the night, the stilltent is covered with a thick layer of sand, and Paul is forced to dig his way up to the surface using a Fremen-made "sand compactor". When Paul reaches the surface, he notices a live kangaroo mouse hopping nearby (Fig. 6). Subsequently, Paul and his mother find a brief refuge in an abandoned ecological testing station. Inside the station a conversation ensues between Paul and the Imperial "planetologist" Doctor Kynes in which she calls Paul "a lost boy hiding in a hole in the ground" (*Dune: Part One* 01:43:35–01:43:37). Towards the end of the film, Paul has a vision in which Chani leads him into a cave and shows him a kangaroo mouse that lives there inside a small, tent-like structure. In this vision, Paul hears a voice say: "Don't be frightened. Even a little desert mouse can survive" (*Dune: Part One* 02:01:21–02:01:35).

Figure 6: Paul Atreides encounters a kangaroo mouse in the desert

Source: D. Villeneuve (Director). 2021. *Dune: Part One* [Motion picture]. Legendary Pictures and Warner Bros., 01:38:47.

On the whole, the kangaroo mouse of Arrakis is used in Villeneuve's film as a multimodal metaphorical representation of "Paul growing and adapting" (Lapointe 197). More specifically, the novel multimodal metaphor PAUL ATREIDES IS THE KANGAROO MOUSE OF ARRAKIS indicates that though Paul may be alone and weak at this point in the story—his father is dead, and House Atreides is all but annihilated by the Harkonnens—he may yet prevail in his struggle against the Harkonnens and the Emperor if he is clever, energetic, and resourceful (cf. Zygmunt 80). The use of this multimodal metaphor in *Dune: Part One* foreshadows a future point in the story, familiar to the readers of Herbert's novel, where Paul adopts the Fremen word *Muad'Dib*, which refers to the kangaroo mouse of Arrakis, as his Fremen name. Until this event has been shown in *Dune: Part Two*, which is currently in production, the multimodal metaphor PAUL ATREIDES IS THE KANGAROO MOUSE OF ARRAKIS additionally functions as a transmedial intertextual reference.

As to House Harkonnen, its verbal indicators also appear in several expository scenes in the first hour of *Dune: Part One*. In the film's prologue, Chani utters the following lines: "Their [= the Harkonnens'] cruelty to my people is all I've known" (*Dune: Part One* 00:01:39–00:01:42); "By controlling spice production they [= the Harkonnens] became obscenely rich" (*Dune: Part One* 00:01:50–00:01:54).

In a following scene, where Paul Atreides practises fencing under the eye of Gurney Halleck, the Atreides' warmaster, Halleck comments on the nature of the Harkonnens:

> Gurney Halleck (to Paul Atreides): "You don't get it, do you? You don't really understand the grave nature of what's happening to us. For eighty years Arrakis belonged to House Harkonnen. Eighty years of owning the spice fields. Can you imagine the wealth? Your eyes. I need to see it in your eyes. You never met the Harkonnens before. I have. They're not human. They're brutal! You have to be ready." (*Dune: Part One* 00:17:43–00:18:09)

In a previously referenced scene, the Baron receives the Emperor's message regarding their plan to destroy House Atreides:

> Baron Harkonnen (to Reverend Mother Mohiam): "What is the Emperor's message?"
> The Reverend Mother (to the Baron): "He will strengthen your hand."
> The Baron (to the Reverend Mother): "With his Sardaukar army."
> The Reverend Mother (to the Baron): "It must never be known."
> The Baron (to the Reverend Mother): "There's no satellite over Arrakis. The Atreides will die in the dark." (*Dune: Part One* 00:45:45–00:46:07)

From these lines the viewers will readily infer that the Harkonnens are greedy, conniving, and inhuman enemies of House Atreides, who plot to destroy the Atreides on Arrakis with the help of the Emperor and in this way regain control of spice production and of the planet itself.

Throughout *Dune: Part One*, the Harkonnens are visually metaphorized in several mutually coherent ways. Early in the film, the previously referenced fencing practice scene concludes with Gurney Halleck saying "They're not human. They're brutal! You have to be ready" (*Dune: Part One* 00:18:04–00:18:09). Halleck's utterance is followed by a prolonged shot of three wooden practice dummies (Fig. 7) that foreshadows the appearance of the three principal Harkonnens—the Baron, his nephew Rabban, and the Harkonnen Mentat Piter (Fig. 8)—in the next scene (Lapointe 68).

Figure 7: The wooden practice dummies foreshadowing the appearance of the three principal Harkonnens

Source: D. Villeneuve (Director). 2021. *Dune: Part One* [Motion picture]. Legendary Pictures and Warner Bros., 00:18:17.

The number of the dummies and their appearance (in particular, their bald heads) indicate that they metaphorically represent the three principal Harkonnens (cf. Zygmunt 31). The novel visual metaphor THE HARKONNENS ARE FENCING PRACTICE DUMMIES highlights two important characteristics of the Harkonnens: (1) their status as adversaries of the Atreides and (2) their inhumanity (the dummies are

Figure 8: The three principal Harkonnens: Beast Rabban, the Baron (sitting), and the Mentat Piter

Source: D. Villeneuve (Director). 2021. *Dune: Part One* [Motion picture]. Legendary Pictures and Warner Bros., 00:19:00.

faceless and mechanical-looking). This novel metaphor seems fairly overt since (1) the props provide reliable visual cues for a successful identification of the source domain FENCING PRACTICE DUMMIES (they look like actual fencing practice dummies, and Paul Atreides is shown hitting one of them repeatedly with a sword at the beginning of the fencing practice scene) and (2) the source domain is a concrete concept, though perhaps not a highly familiar one.

The Harkonnens' lack of humanity is also communicated via a novel visual metaphor THE HARKONNENS ARE INSECTS/ARACHNIDS. The outfits worn by Harkonnen soldiers were designed to resemble the bodies of insects (specifically, ants) and arachnids (Lapointe 104; Warner Bros. Entertainment) (Fig. 9); the spice harvesters belonging to the Harkonnens look like giant fleas or ticks (Aesthety) (Fig. 10);

Figure 9: The insect- and arachnid-like outfits of Harkonnen soldiers

Source: D. Villeneuve (Director). 2021. *Dune: Part One* [Motion picture]. Legendary Pictures and Warner Bros., 00:01:45.

the Harkonnens' nightmarish pet is a human-sized spider with human hands and head (Fig. 11); and the hunter-seeker they use in their assassination attempt on Paul resembles a mosquito (Fig. 12).

Figure 10: Rows of flea- or tick-like Harkonnen spice harvesters

Source: D. Villeneuve (Director). 2021. *Dune: Part One* [Motion picture]. Legendary Pictures and Warner Bros., 00:01:51.

Figure 11: The hybrid human–spider pet of the Harkonnens

Source: D. Villeneuve (Director). 2021. *Dune: Part One* [Motion picture]. Legendary Pictures and Warner Bros., 00:45:30.

The novel visual metaphor THE HARKONNENS ARE INSECTS/ARACHNIDS seems overt since (1) the costumes and computer-generated models provide reliable visual cues for a successful identification of the source domain INSECTS/ARACHNIDS, and (2) the source domain consists of highly familiar concrete concepts abstracted from everyday experience.

The visual representation of the Harkonnens in *Dune: Part One* may also be regarded as an intramedial intertextual reference to the generic image of the

Figure 12: The mosquito-like hunter-seeker used by the Harkonnens in their attempt on Paul's life

Source: D. Villeneuve (Director). 2021. *Dune: Part One* [Motion picture]. Legendary Pictures and Warner Bros., 00:43:45.

vampire based on multiple films and television series spanning a hundred years of screen production, such as *Nosferatu: A Symphony of Horror* (1922), *Nosferatu the Vampyre* (1978), *Salem's Lot* (1979), *Priest* (2011), *The Strain* (2014–2017), and *Midnight Mass* (2021). The novel visual metaphor THE HARKONNENS ARE SCREEN VAMPIRES is realized through visual similarities between the Harkonnens and the vampires from film and television in terms of appearance, costumes, and environment. In particular, in *Dune: Part One* the Harkonnens are bald, have pale skin, wear black, and are shown, almost invariably, either in dark interiors or in night exteriors. The visual metaphor THE HARKONNENS ARE SCREEN VAMPIRES highlights the Harkonnens' inhumanity and their parasitic modus operandi. This novel metaphor seems quite overt. Due to the long-lived and widespread popularity of film and television productions featuring vampires, the generic image of the screen vampire is conceptually well entrenched.

As to the feud between House Atreides and House Harkonnen, it is metaphorized in *Dune: Part One* in two different ways, with one of the metaphors being fairly overt, and the other quite covert. The overt metaphor contains the concept of BULLFIGHT as its source domain. The significance of this concept for the interpretation of Villeneuve's film is insightfully addressed in the previously referenced video "Explaining *Dune*'s Imagery: We Are Only so Great as Our Symbols." The following analysis is partly based on information provided in this video.

In the diegetic world of *Dune: Part One*, the Old Duke Atreides, father to Duke Leto and grandfather to Paul, was a bullfighter until he was killed by a bull in the arena. This backstory is represented visually as well as verbally in the film's expository scenes. Early in the film, a portrait of the Old Duke as a matador is shown hanging on a wall at Castle Caladan. Beneath the portrait stands a figurine of a bullfighter facing an enormous bull (Figs. 13–14).

Figure 13: The portrait of the Old Duke Atreides as a matador with a figurine of a bullfighter and bull underneath

Source: D. Villeneuve (Director). 2021. *Dune: Part One* [Motion picture]. Legendary Pictures and Warner Bros., 00:04:47.
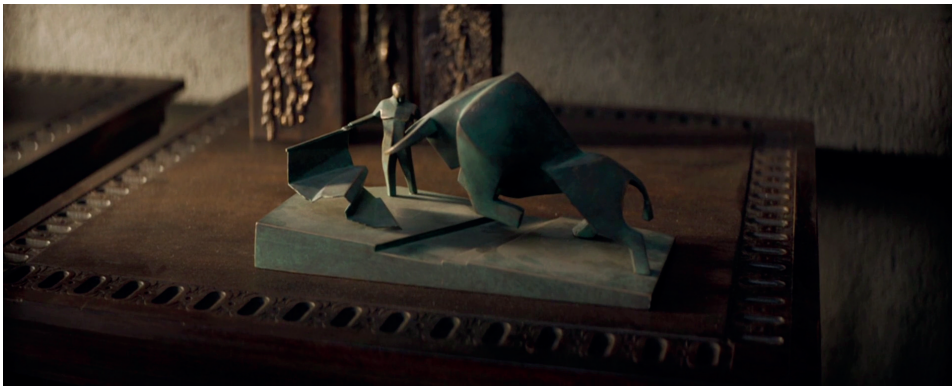

Figure 14: Close-up of a figurine of a bullfighter and bull

Source: D. Villeneuve (Director). 2021. *Dune: Part One* [Motion picture]. Legendary Pictures and Warner Bros., 00:04:51.

Later in the film, in the previously referenced scene of Duke Leto Atreides and his son, Paul, visiting their ancestral cemetary, the grave of the Old Duke is shown, with an image of a bullfight engraved on the ledger (Fig. 15). At one point in this scene Paul says, "And Grandfather fought bulls for sport!", to which Duke Leto responds, "Yes! Look where that got him!" (*Dune: Part One* 00:13:08–00:13:13). Duke Leto then goes on to say to Paul, "I need you by my side. When we get to Arrakis, we'll face enormous danger. … A political danger (*Dune: Part One* 00:13:18–00:13:28).

Figure 15: Close-up of the bullfight relief on the ledger of the Old Duke's grave

Source: D. Villeneuve (Director). 2021. *Dune: Part One* [Motion picture]. Legendary Pictures and Warner Bros., 00:12:36.

At this point a connection is established both verbally and visually between bullfighting and the Atreides–Harkonnen feud. If the matador Old Duke signifies the Atreides through the metonymy THE OLD DUKE FOR HOUSE ATREIDES, which is a novel instance of the schematic metonymy CONTROLLER FOR CONTROLLED (Lakoff and Johnson 38) whereby the "leader becomes metonymic for … the organization" (Rendtorff 18),[5] the bull has to signify the Atreides' old nemesis: the Harkonnens. It does so metaphorically by virtue of its great size, enormous strength, and aggressive nature (Zygmunt 41). Additionally, however, there is a symbolic relation expressed in the verbal mode between the Harkonnens and the bull. The name *Harkonnen* is based on the common Finnish surname *Härkönen*, which in turn derives from the Finnish noun *härkä*, variously meaning "ox", "bullock", "steer", "the male of horned animals, such as yak, reindeer, or moose", "the astronomical/astrological Bull, a.k.a. Taurus", and "beef" ("House Harkonnen"; "bull"; "härkä").

In a following scene, the taxidermied head of the bull that killed the Old Duke is shown hanging on a wall at Castle Caladan (*Dune: Part One* 00:22:33). The bull's head appears again in a brief scene that shows the Atreides preparing for the crossing from Caladan to Arrakis (*Dune: Part One* 00:31:48). The Atreides are taking the head with them to Arrakis, where they fully expect to be attacked by their enemies (Fig. 16). In a scene immediately preceding the Harkonnen-Imperial invasion of the Atreides' palace on Arrakis, Paul is shown contemplating the figurine of a bullfighter and bull (*Dune: Part One* 01:12:26). After the invasion, when the Atreides are defeated and Duke Leto finds himself in the hands of the Harkonnens, he opens his eyes and looks up at the bull's head hanging up above him (*Dune:*

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[5] Lakoff and Johnson (38) list such verbal exemplifications of this conceptual metonymy as *Nixon bombed Hanoi*, *Ozawa gave a terrible concert last night*, *Napoleon lost at Waterloo*, and *Casey Stengel won a lot of pennants*.

Part One 01:26:45). Finally, when Duke Leto dies in a failed attempt to kill Baron Harkonnen, a shot of his dead body is followed by a shot of the bull's head dominating the scene (*Dune: Part One* 01:32:17).

Figure 16: The head of the bull that killed the Old Duke is being crated for the Atreides' crossing from Caladan to Arrakis

Source: D. Villeneuve (Director). 2021. *Dune: Part One* [Motion picture]. Legendary Pictures and Warner Bros., 00:31:48.

The novel multimodal metaphor THE ATREIDES–HARKONNEN FEUD IS A BULL-FIGHT highlights the contrast between the sophisticated fighting skills of the cultured House Atreides and the brute strength of the dehumanized House Harkonnen. It also emphasizes the fact that the Harkonnens are truly formidable adversaries of the Atreides. This novel metaphor has both overt and covert elements. On the one hand, due to the cultural prominence of Spanish-style bullfighting, *corrida de toros*, and its continuing presence in literature, film, and the arts ("Bullfighting"), the source domain of BULLFIGHT is conceptually well entrenched. On the other hand, the viewers are likely unaware of the etymological connection between the name *Harkonnen* and the Finnish noun meaning "ox", "bull", or "Taurus". Technically, the representation of the Atreides–Harkonnen feud in terms of a bullfight qualifies as a further instance of Goossens's metaphtonymy "metonymy within metaphor" (333). In this case the metonymically used entity is the Old Duke Atreides, who stands for the entire House Atreides by virtue of the schematic metonymy CONTROLLER FOR CONTROLLED.

Unlike THE ATREIDES–HARKONNEN FEUD IS A BULLFIGHT, the other novel metaphor representing the feud between House Atreides and House Harkonnen in *Dune: Part One* is largely covert.

At one point in the film, the relation between the Harkonnens and the Atreides is visually metaphorized as the relation between the two moons of Arrakis: the huge first moon and the tiny second moon (Fig. 17). The first moon represents the Harkonnens metonymically, through the novel visual metonymy THE BARON FOR

HOUSE HARKONNEN, which in turn instantiates the schematic metonymy CONTROL-LER FOR CONTROLLED. As pointed out by Zygmunt (38), the link between the first moon and the Baron is established through iconic similarity between a prominent shot of the Baron with his hand across his forehead early in *Dune: Part One* (Fig. 18) and the "markings resembling the shape of a hand" (Lapointe 127) on the moon's surface shown later in the film (Fig. 17).
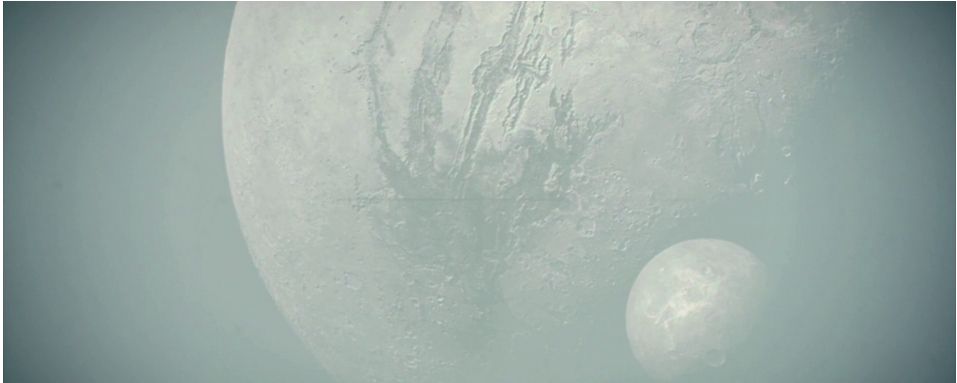

Figure 17: The two moons of Arrakis

Source: D. Villeneuve (Director). 2021. *Dune: Part One* [Motion picture]. Legendary Pictures and Warner Bros., 00:38:18.

Figure 18: Baron Harkonnen

Source: D. Villeneuve (Director). 2021. *Dune: Part One* [Motion picture]. Legendary Pictures and Warner Bros., 00:19:46.

Analogously, the second moon represents the Atreides metonymically, via the visual metonymy PAUL ATREIDES FOR HOUSE ATREIDES, also a novel instance of the schematic metonymy CONTROLLER FOR CONTROLLED. In this case, however, the link between the second moon and Paul Atreides is established less directly, via an

iconic image of the kangaroo mouse of Arrakis, which functions as the source domain of the previously discussed metaphor PAUL ATREIDES IS THE KANGAROO MOUSE OF ARRAKIS, since the second moon "has craters in the shape of a desert kangaroo mouse" (Lapointe 127).

On the whole, the novel visual metaphor THE TWO FEUDING HOUSES ARE THE MOONS OF ARRAKIS highlights the power discrepancy between the powerful House Harkonnen and the powerless House Atreides through the size discrepancy between the two moons. In this way, the visual representation of the two moons of Arrakis in *Dune: Part One* becomes a novel instance of the conventional image-schematic metaphor POWER IS SIZE (Zygmunt 37). The metaphor THE TWO FEUDING HOUSES ARE THE MOONS OF ARRAKIS also highlights the fact that the fates of the two houses are bound together and depend on Arrakis just as the two moons revolve around Arrakis and are gravitationally influenced by the planet as well as each other.

The novel visual metaphor THE TWO FEUDING HOUSES ARE THE MOONS OF ARRAKIS is largely covert. While the viewers may take note of the iconic similarity between the shot of the Baron with the hand across his forehead and the hand-shaped markings on the surface of the first moon, they will most likely overlook the point that the second moon represents House Atreides because the image of the kangaroo mouse on the surface of the moon is barely recognizable, its onscreen presence is very brief, and the metaphorical relation between the mouse and Paul Atreides is established later in *Dune: Part One*.

3.5. Metaphorization of the hypertheme "The colonization of Arrakis by the Imperium and Great Houses"

The colonization of Arrakis is the last hypertheme of *Dune: Part One* whose metaphorization is discussed in the present article. The verbal indicators of this hypertheme appear throughout the film.

In the prologue, Chani comments on the actions of the Harkonnens as colonizers of Arrakis:

> Chani (VO): "The planet Arrakis is so beautiful when the sun is low. Rolling over the sands, you can see spice in the air. At nightfall, the spice harvesters land. The outsiders race against time to avoid the heat of the day. They ravage our lands in front of our eyes. Their cruelty to my people is all I've known. These outsiders, the Harkonnens, came long before I was born. By controlling spice production, they became obscenely rich. Richer than the Emperor himself. Our warriors couldn't free Arrakis from the Harkonnens, but one day, by an Imperial decree, they were gone. Why did the Emperor choose this path, and who will our next oppressors be?" (*Dune: Part One* 00:00:50–00:03:00)

In the fencing practice scene, Gurney Halleck refers to the enormous wealth accumulated by the Harkonnens as colonizers of the planet:

> Gurney Halleck (to Paul Atreides): "For eighty years Arrakis belonged to House Harkonnen. Eighty years of owning the spice fields. Can you imagine the wealth?" (*Dune: Part One* 00:17:44–00:17:59)

In a scene showing the Atreides council meeting on Arrakis, the Atreides Mentat Thufir Hawat quantifies the astronomical annual profit made by the Harkonnens from spice production:

> Thufir Hawat (to Duke Leto): "I secured a copy of the Harkonnens' account books. The Harkonnens were taking ten billion solaris out of here every year." (*Dune: Part One* 00:47:51–00:48:00)

In a scene that shows Baron Harkonnen recovering from the effects of the poison used by Duke Leto Atreides to kill him, the Baron emphasizes his priorities as the colonizer of Arrakis and expresses his attitude towards the planet's inhabitants:

> The Baron (to Beast Rabban): "I only have one requirement. Income. Squeeze, Rabban. Squeeze hard."
> Beast Rabban (to the Baron): "Yes uncle. And the Fremen?"
> The Baron (to Beast Rabban): "Kill them all." (*Dune: Part One* 01:55:35–01:55:51)

From these lines, the viewers will readily infer that the colonizers are greedy, and their only concern is profit, so they destroy the planet's environment, oppress the workers, and attempt to exterminate the local population.

This negative evaluation of the colonizers of Arrakis is also communicated metaphorically in *Dune: Part One* through the film's visuals. As was previously mentioned, the spice harvesters used by the Harkonnens look like giant fleas or ticks (Aesthety) (Fig. 19). The novel visual metaphor THE HARKONNENS' SPICE HARVESTERS ARE BLOODSUCKING ANIMALS highlights the parasitic and therefore harmful nature of the Harkonnens' colonization of Arrakis (cf. Zygmunt 28–29).

Figure 19: A Harkonnen spice harvester being lowered onto a spice field

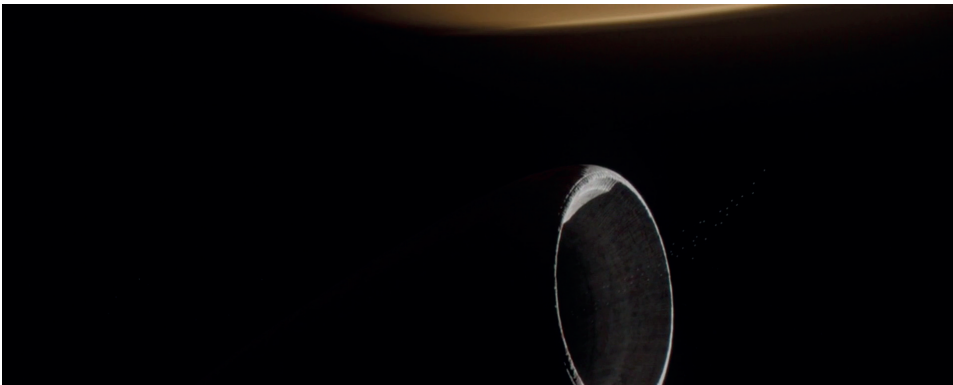Source: D. Villeneuve (Director). 2021. *Dune: Part One* [Motion picture]. Legendary Pictures and Warner Bros., 00:01:21.

In contrast, the spice harvesters used by the Atreides do not look like bloodsucking animals. If anything, they resemble robot vacuum cleaners (Fig. 20). The novel visual metaphor THE ATREIDES' SPICE HARVESTERS ARE ROBOT VACUUM CLEAN-

ERS highlights the somewhat less harmful nature of the Atreides' colonization of Arrakis in comparison with that of the Harkonnens.

This is not to say that the Atreides' colonization of Arrakis is presented in *Dune: Part One* in a positive light. Quite the contrary, in Villeneuve's film the Atreides' crossing from Caladan to Arrakis is presented visually in a way suggesting an interpretation consistent with the novel metaphor COLONIZATION OF ARRAKIS IS RAPE (Fig. 21).

This novel visual metaphor captures the Atreides fleet as multiple sperms emerging from the penis-shaped Spacing Guild heighliner and travelling in the direction of the colonized planet, which looks like an ovum. For its interpretation, the visual metaphor COLONIZATION OF ARRAKIS IS RAPE depends on a PART-FOR-
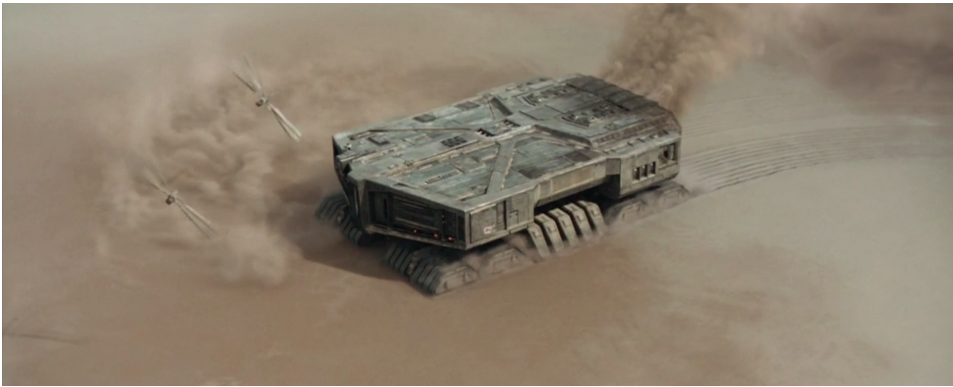
Figure 20: An Atreides spice harvester, which looks like a robot vacuum cleaner

Source: D. Villeneuve (Director). 2021. *Dune: Part One* [Motion picture]. Legendary Pictures and Warner Bros., 00:57:40.

Figure 21: The Atreides fleet emerging from a Spacing Guild heighliner over Arrakis

Source: D. Villeneuve (Director). 2021. *Dune: Part One* [Motion picture]. Legendary Pictures and Warner Bros., 00:57:40.

WHOLE visual metonymization of the rapist and the rape victim with reference to the penis and the ovum, respectively. Interpreted in this way, the sequence showing the Atreides' crossing from Caladan to Arrakis may be regarded as a variant of Goossens's metaphtonymy "metonymy within metaphor" (333) in which the metonymy functions within the source domain.

The visual representation of the colonization of Arrakis as rape in *Dune: Part One* seems only partly overt because although the concept RAPE does function as a source domain for the metaphorization of various "kinds of defeat and damage to entities of many different kinds" (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 181), the computer-generated models of the Spacing Guild heighliner, the Atreides fleet, and planet Arrakis in the shot reproduced in Figure 21 do not provide completely reliable visual cues for a successful identification of their respective counterparts in the source domain RAPE: the penis, the sperms, and the ovum. At this juncture, it should also be pointed out that while the image of Figure 21 does superficially resemble the image of Figure 1, which shows the Imperial envoy's spaceship emerging from a similar heighliner over planet Caladan, it is only the former image that is susceptible to interpretation in terms of the novel visual metaphor capturing colonization as rape.

There are two reasons why this is the case. Firstly, the shot reproduced in Figure 21 represents the landing of a colonizing force, that is, the kind of deleterious event that is likely to be metaphorized as rape (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 181), whereas the shot reproduced in Figure 1 represents a high-level diplomatic visit, a largely peaceable event that does not readily invite metaphorization in terms of rape. Secondly, the composition of the shot reproduced in Figure 21 seems to activate the metaphor's source domain of RAPE more effectively than the composition of the shot reproduced in Figure 1. In comparison with the latter image, the former one shows the huge heighliner aligned somewhat more perpendicularly to the surface of the nearby planet, with the result that the penis-like spaceship appears to be aimed at the ovum-like planet. Additionally, the multiple landing craft emerging from the highliner in the image of Figure 21 make up an aggregation reminiscent of the sperms emitted in an ejaculation.

4. Conclusion

The analysis and discussion of the cross-modal data from *Dune: Part One* in the data-driven portion of the present paper has warranted several generalizations. As to the relations between the non-metaphorical and metaphorical indicators of the film's hyperthemes, the analysis has revealed that thematic elements are for the most part represented metaphorically in the visual rather than the verbal mode, making their verbal and visual indicators both mutually non-redundant and mutually coherent. For example, the inhumanity that is non-metaphorically ascribed to

the Harkonnens in the verbal mode by Gurney Halleck and Chani is also prompted by the visual metaphorization of the Harkonnens as INSECTS/ARACHNIDS. Similarly, the precarious position of the Atreides and their impending doom that are referred to non-metaphorically in the verbal mode by Duke Leto and Baron Harkonnen are also prompted by the visual metaphor THE ATREIDES ARE THE ROMANOVS. The division of labour between the visual mode and the verbal mode in *Dune: Part One*, whereby the visual mode quite consistently communicates thematic elements metaphorically and the verbal mode quite consistently communicates them non-metaphorically, is certainly a factor conributing to the effectiveness of the film's multimodal storytelling.

Another such factor concerns different metaphorical indicators of the same hyperthemes of *Dune: Part One*, which are interrelated through the source domains of the underlying metaphors. More specifically, these metaphorical source domains are mutually coherent since they overlap with each other conceptually, albeit they do so to a vaying extent. For example, throughout Villeneuve's film the Harkonnens are variously metaphorized as FENCING PRACTICE DUMMIES, INSECTS/ARACHNIDS, SCREEN VAMPIRES, and THE BULL of *corrida*. These source domains overlap conceptually to the extent that (1) all of them represent non-human entities, (2) some of them (INSECTS/ARACHNIDS, THE BULL, SCREEN VAMPIRES) represent (real or imaginary) creatures that pose danger to humans, (3) some of them (INSECTS/ARACHNIDS, THE BULL) represent animals that pose danger to humans, (4) some of them (SCREEN VAMPIRES, THE BULL) represent (real or imaginary) traditional human adversaries, and (5) some of them (FENCING PRACTICE DUMMIES, SCREEN VAMPIRES) represent entities that visually resemble humans. These metaphorical source domains mutually reinforce the characterization of the Harkonnens as formidable inhuman enemies of the Atreides.

As regards the relations between the verbal and non-verbal metaphorical indicators of the hyperthemes of *Dune: Part One*, it has already been pointed out that Villeneuve's film contains very few hyperthematic indicators that are verbal as well as metaphorical. Additionally, the few verbal metaphorical indicators of the film's hyperthemes that do appear in *Dune: Part One* are not immediately apparent. For example, Doctor Kynes's description of Paul Atreides as "a lost boy hiding in a hole in the ground" (*Dune: Part One* 01:43:35–01:43:37) may be taken either as a non-metaphorical reference to the fact that Paul and his mother hid from their enemies in a stilltent that was subsequently buried in the sand or as a verbal metaphor capturing Paul as the kangaroo mouse of Arrakis. In fact, it is only in the context of the entire film that the latter interpretation gains conceptual prominence, not least because the image of the kangaroo mouse inside his little tent-like home appears towards the very end of the film. Similarly, the verbal metaphorization of House Harkonnen as the bull immanent in the very name of this Great House will likely elude the attention of the vast majority of the film's viewers for the trivial reason that they do not speak Finnish.

As to the variation among the metaphors sanctioning the film's hyperthematic indicators with regard to their interpretability, these metaphors are invariably novel, but they run a gamut between being mostly overt and being quite covert. The overt metaphors are interpretable because that are based on conventional metaphors whose source domains are conceptually prominent and easily recognizable in the indicators themselves. For example, the novel visual metaphor representing the power hierarchy in the diegetic universe of *Dune: Part One* in terms of size and vertical elevation seems fairly overt because its interpretation is facilitated by the conventional metaphors POWER IS SIZE and POWER IS VERTICAL ELEVATION, whose respective source domains (SIZE and VERTICAL ELEVATION) are familiar concepts grounded in recurring experience that are easily recognizable in the textual indicators of this novel visual metaphor.

In contrast, the covert metaphors pose an interpretative challenge because they are not based on conventional metaphors, and their source domains are neither conceptually prominent nor easily recognizable in the indicators themselves. For instance, the novel visual metaphors THE ATREIDES ARE THE ROMANOVS and DOCTOR YUEH IS GRIGORI RASPUTIN appear to be quite covert because neither the formal uniforms of the Atreides nor the outfit worn by Doctor Yueh provide fully reliable visual cues for a successful identification of the respective source domains (THE ROMANOVS and GRIGORI RASPUTIN), and the source domains themselves are not familiar concepts grounded in everyday experience. On the whole, the analysis and discussion of the cross-modal data retrieved from *Dune: Part One* in the data-driven portion of the present paper has shown that the metaphors sanctioning the hyperthematic indicators in *Dune: Part One* tend to be at least partly covert and therefore unobtrusive. This may well have been Villeneuve's intention as overly explicit metaphorization of the film's hyperthemes could have taken the viewers out of the film by cancelling their willing suspension of disbelief in the events shown on the screen.

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Multimodality in Epistemological Foreign Language Research? Two Case Studies in the Field of German as a Foreign and Second Language

Abstract: This article aims to elaborate on the epistemological interest of cultural studies for German as a foreign and second language and, simultaneously, to point out the limitations of the current focus on certain modes. We intend to broaden this focus by highlighting the connectivity of the epistemological interest to multimodal research using two relevant case studies. The first case considers music videos and their associated comments on YouTube, examining how patterns of freedom are negotiated. The second considers textbooks for the so-called cultural orientation of immigrants to Germany and examines one of the first textbooks developed for this purpose through the lens of meaning-making of the Holocaust. Both case studies were selected on the basis of existing doctoral projects of the authors. The analyses follow Bateman, Wildfeuer, and Hiippala, but take into account the extensive history of multimodal studies. The case studies exemplify that restricting our study to only one mode would have undermined the results.

Keywords: multimodality, German as a foreign and second language, cultural studies, music videos, textbooks

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1. Introduction

Although multimodality is a familiar term in the field of German as a foreign and second language (GFSL), interest has been limited largely to questions of didactics, revolving around the use of multimodal materials for teaching or aiming to enhance learners' multimodal literacy or multiliteracy. This also applies to the related field of Anglo-American German studies, since multimodal research is among others borrowed from linguistics. However, in the case of GFSL, a further reason for this limitation is that the field is still struggling to promote its epistemological research profile, and GFSL continues to be considered a "child of practice" (Weinrich 1 qtd. in Altmayer, "Kind der Praxis" 921, own translation) to this day. Thus, aspects of multimodal learning aside, multimodality itself comprises a valid subject for research. Epistemological research should do more than simply applying scientific results of a problem posed out of thin air—it should be driven by real-life problems to then consolidate practical action in classrooms (Altmayer, "Wissenschaft und Praxis" 82).

   This paper introduces some major cultural studies concepts in GFSL and links them with the promising multimodal approach recommended by Bateman, Wildfeuer, and Hiippala.[1] Two case studies are then briefly presented to exemplify the possible diverging methodological implications.

2. Concepts in GFSL cultural studies

One of the dominant topics in cultural studies for GFSL in the last 20 years has been the dichotomous distinction between supposed own and foreign cultures and the associated homogenizing and essentializing understanding of culture. Criticism of this understanding of culture has been a driving force for the move from an intercultural to a broader cultural studies approach, also known as the discursive approach. Despite the different concepts of culture challenging intercultural approaches, culture is often still understood as a delimitable system. This is especially the case in textbooks, which persistently promote a complexity-reduced understanding of culture. Like Altmayer (e.g., "Konzepte von Kultur" 1407–09, "Von der Landeskunde zur Kulturwissenschaft" 17–20, "Landeskunde im Globalisierungskontext" 11–12), we place a meaning- and knowledge-oriented concept of culture at the centre of modern cultural studies for GSFL. Following Altmayer, Kasper, and Wolbergs (34), who also refer to Reckwitz (84) and Altmayer ("Konzepte von Kultur" 1407–09, "Landeskunde im Globalisierungskontext" 12, "Von der

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[1] Parts of the argument in this paper refer to the mostly translated and partially edited version of Wildfeuer, Bateman, and Hiippala.

Landeskunde zur Kulturwissenschaft" 17–19), we conclude that culture should be understood as follows:

> Not as common behavioural habits or patterns of thinking and perception of people on a national-ethnic level, but as symbolic orders or repertoires of meaning-making on a level of language and discourses that we access for (interactive) meaning-making to enable us to perceive "reality"—things, situations, or actions—as meaningful. (own translation)

The term *patterns of meaning* was deemed appropriate for understanding culture in the field of language acquisition—a term that refers to the individual parts of the (assumed) shared knowledge that we apply to every action in discourse when making meaning of a situation. The term presumes this knowledge to be "taken for granted", but provides a means to analyze already given propositions of meaning in certain situations and, in turn, derive orientations for action (Altmayer, *Mitreden* 9, own translation). When acquiring objective *discourse literacy*, learners can activate, reflect on, and revise their existing patterns of meaning but also confirm, reject, or modify them. Learners must expand their knowledge and ability to function in a foreign language to facilitate their participation and engagement in their communities of interest. This requires them to understand and actively participate in meaning-making processes. Besides concrete possibilities for their implementation in foreign language teaching, patterns of meaning must be researched to provide the basis for an appropriate discussion in the discipline. A method for researching patterns of meaning was presented by Altmayer ("Kulturwissenschaftliche Diskursanalyse" 578–83) and, in a revised form, by Altmayer, Kasper, and Wolbergs (49–55). A patterns-of-meaning analysis first identifies a pattern and then analyzes its representation and use in a specified corpus, but such an analysis continues to be primarily text-based or image-based, which is inadequate, in our opinion. The two case studies discussed in this paper exemplify multimodal artefacts—textbooks and music videos on social media—and we consider their inherent properties. Hence, we present the core aspects of multimodal studies in the next section and combine them with the premises of GFSL in the subsequent section.

3. Interest of GFSL cultural studies in multimodality

As many multimodal studies and discourse analyses have theorized and practically shown, multimodal research is—due to its inherent nature—interdisciplinary and vast in scope (e.g., Wildfeuer, Bateman, and Hiippala; Ledin and Machin, "Doing Critical Discourse Studies"; Jewitt; Jewitt, Bezemer, and O'Halloran; Klug and Stöckl; van Leeuwen; Djonov and Zhao; O'Halloran; Machin; Machin and Mayr; Kress; Kress and van Leeuwen, *Multimodal Discourse*, *Reading Images*). Hereafter, the question of why multimodality should gain more consideration in cultural studies GFSL is addressed.

Multimodality's core concept of meaningfully combining different modes of expression is already familiar, as Bateman, Wildfeuer, and Hiippala (71) stated, but it has only recently become an object of interest in GFSL, as indicated by contributions at the most recent 2022 IDT (Internationale Tagung der Deutschlehrerinnen und Deutschlehrer) conference. Research relating to this subject has thus far been limited to visual artefacts and *visual literacy* in classroom teaching (e.g., Hallet, "Visual Culture"; Kasper, "Manga"), only hinting at "multimodal literacy" (Hallet, "Viewing Cultures" 46, own translation).

Ever since the manifesto *A Pedagogy of Multiliteracies: Designing Social Futures* was published by the New London Group, new literacies—including multimodal literacy—have become the subject of academic discussion regarding didactics in foreign language teaching (e.g., Rowsell and Pahl; Gerlach; Warner and Dupuy; Ryshina-Pankova; Unsworth), but only relating to curricula (Wildfeuer, Bateman, and Hiippala 16). Due to the academic background of the New London Group—many of them are linguists and educators—and groundbreaking papers from individual members, their work unsurprisingly draws heavily on linguistics, particularly Halliday's systemic-functional linguistics.

Many multimodal researchers, such as O'Halloran and Mayr, have adopted this approach, but it poses problems for the integration in GFSL cultural studies, as will be discussed later in this article. Another reason for the absence of multimodal research on cultural studies in GFSL is that it still relies heavily on German-speaking multimodality scholarship, which remains rather scarce, according to Wildfeuer, Bateman, and Hiippala (14). Moreover, epistemological research on GFSL cultural studies primarily deals with plain language in written texts, although the move from solely visual or textual to multimodal artefacts is a logical development since the technological affordances of the internet have facilitated new means of communication (e.g., Fraas, Meier, and Pentzold).

Discourse increasingly depends on the use and consumption of audio and video clips on social media rather than on plain language in texts (e.g., ARD/ZDF-Forschungskommission). Thus, it is hardly surprising that research has taken a *multimodal turn* recently (e.g., Bateman, Wildfeuer, and Hiippala 9; Jewitt). This communicative change has driven interest in addressing the lack of multimodal research in GFSL cultural studies. Since new digital forms of communication have arisen on an almost daily basis, fuelled by the COVID-19 pandemic, it seems natural to incorporate multimodal approaches into research on communication in GFSL.

Many introductions, definitions, approaches, concepts, and methods in multimodal studies have dealt with different kinds of multimodal artefacts, but space limitations prevent us from discussing and comparing them in this paper. Thus, we have chosen to favour the approach recommended by Bateman, Wildfeuer, and Hiipala. Our objective is to selectively point out essential epistemological links and conceptual overlaps between the model by Bateman, Wildfeuer, and Hiippala and the previously mentioned positions in GFSL cultural studies.

4. Epistemological common ground

Cultural research in GFSL has discussed multimodality largely in relation to linguistics. Arising from a different epistemological interest, classic ideas of multimodality descending from de Saussure differ greatly; therefore, clear distinctions must be made, but this does not mean that researchers must discard the tools developed for those ideas. However, Bateman, Wildfeuer, and Hiippala (among others 63–64) refer to Peirce instead of de Saussure to lay their foundation of semiotics, taking a different turn on the subject of multimodality, which seems more adaptable for multimodal research in GFSL cultural studies.[2] Furthermore, besides the great need for a truly interdisciplinary approach (see Bateman, Wildfeuer, and Hiippala 72), three aspects of their work are particularly interesting regarding GFSL cultural studies.

First, there is common ground between material semiotic regularities and patterns of meaning. The compatibility of the concepts of Bateman, Wildfeuer, and Hiippala and GFSL cultural studies is evidenced by the understanding of knowledge as (assumed) shared knowledge that helps us ascribe meanings to things, situations, and actions. Bateman, Wildfeuer, and Hiippala claim that "knowledge of distinguishable material regularities is shared across some collections of individuals. That is, a community of receivers knows how to interpret the material regularities found" (84). This is compatible with the previously described understanding of patterns of meaning as (assumed) shared knowledge, which underpins discursive adherence and orientation for action in the process of meaning-making (Altmayer, *Mitreden* 9). In other words, patterns of meaning and material regularities require a community to share knowledge for meaningful—and, in turn, meaning-making—communication to occur. Obviously, there may be imbalances in the allocations of knowledge, as is always the case with social knowledge, and these relate to the allocation and exercise of power within society, as Kress emphasized. This shared understanding of knowledge provides a unifying foundation for the following two aspects.

Second, as a subject that deals with language and language teaching, GFSL discusses texts as research objects. Regarding the term *text*, GFSL mostly falls back on broad concepts. For example, Hallet ("Umgang mit Texten" 137–38) stated that it is no longer only the closed written material that is considered text, but rather text is a concept that also includes open, multimodal forms of multimedia hyper-

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[2] It may seem odd for a language discipline to oppose de Saussure. The basic point by the authors that "Peirce's concern was not language, but 'knowledge' in general" (Bateman, Wildfeuer, and Hiipala 63) seems a better fit for cultural studies GFSL since, although they engage in language as object of research, they are actually interested in the knowledge system behind it. Other than de Saussure, Peirce does not see a sign restricted to language. He believes that a sign is a way of knowing more than what the sign itself says. For Peirce, *anything* could be a sign. For more in-depth details, refer to Bateman, Wildfeuer, and Hiipala (53–58).

text. In this sense, text is understood as a full range of modal occurrences. Altmayer (*Kultur als Hypertext* 165) clearly showed that in GFSL cultural studies, it is not crucial to distinguish text from non-text according to fixed criteria. He stated:

> Following various linguistic, communication, and media studies concepts, we assume in the following that we are essentially dealing with "texts" as symbolic actions that are embedded in a larger social-communicative framework of action and that can also only be meaningfully analyzed against the background of this framework. (Altmayer, *Kultur als Hypertext* 171, own translation)

Although GFSL cultural studies generally conceptualize text broadly, the focus of discourse analysis is mostly on written and spoken language, sometimes including images (Altmayer and Scharl 45–50; Altmayer, Kasper, and Wolbergs 49–55) or video. This differs from Bateman, Wildfeuer, and Hiippala's (101–02) holistic understanding of objects as subjects of research. However, this should not prevent us from introducing the concept in a viable way into GFSL cultural studies. We see possibilities for connection in the broad concept of text. Instead of analyzing individual modes—for example, written text, images—separately, as has been the case thus far, we consider the modes as an integrated whole. Although we are interested in language and discourse resources manifested in language, discourse literacy can only be achieved if all meaning-bearing modes are taken into account.

Third, part of the shift in GFSL cultural studies has been a critical reflection on the intercultural paradigm. Previously, the idea of culture was tied solely to nations, which has never been accurate, but certainly not in a globalized world. Globalization has had an impact on interpretative communities, showing that patterns of meaning are closely tied to language as a carrier of culture. While some of these patterns and their inherent variants of meaning exist in other languages, the aim of GFSL cultural studies is to provide foreign language learners with the discourse literacy necessary for decoding these patterns in the target language. The idea of community can be meaningfully linked to Kress and van Leeuwen's (*Multimodal Discourse* 8) assertion that "communication depends on some 'interpretative community' having decided that some aspect of the world has been articulated in order to be interpreted". Bateman, Wildfeuer, and Hiippala stated:

> The fact that we need to have certain knowledge about what material regularities are relevant to begin talking of "communicative signs" at all leads us on immediately to a further component that is critical for actually having a communicative situation. (84)

The knowledge for decoding these communicative situations—as Bateman, Wildfeuer, and Hiippala (84) saw it—is probably unequally distributed. This can be usefully linked to possibilities for discourse participation, and to general questions of power.

Overall, it is, therefore, possible to use multimodal analyses to answer questions regarding research on cultural studies for GFSL. We will share two case studies in the following sections.

5. Practical application to research: Two case studies

In the first section, we discussed why multimodality is (or should be) of interest to GFSL cultural studies. We then linked our research interests to the epistemological approach of Bateman, Wildfeuer, and Hiippala (86–89), revealing common ground between concepts. Now, we shall apply the concept of *canvas* to two case studies. Basically, a *canvas* should

> be understood as anything where we can inscribe material regularities that may then be per-
> ceived and taken up in interpretation, regardless of whether actual, virtual (digital), simply
> produced, performed physically in time, or the result of a complex technological process. This
> places minimal demands on the materialities of their adopted sign vehicles—almost anything
> that can carry some material regularities that suggest intentionality and order might serve.
> (Bateman, Wildfeuer, and Hiippala 86–87)

In other words, any artefact that carries various regular semiotic modes pro-
vides meaning, which, in turn, is subject to potential interpretation and negotia-
tion within a community that shares common knowledge about sign-making, on
the one hand, and (intended) meaning-making, on the other. This is exemplified
by the following two case studies.

5.1. Case study I: *Freiheit* on YouTube

The first case study considers the meaning-making of *Freiheit* (freedom/liberty) in
the music video "Freiheit" by rap artist Curse on YouTube. This extends an earlier
study that verbally analyzed the well-known namesake song "Freiheit" by Marius
Müller-Westernhagen, originally released in 1987, which later became a so-called
Wiedervereinigungssong (reunification song) about the 1990 German Reunification,
and its associated YouTube comments (Kasper, "Wertemuster Freiheit" 132–42).

Since the 2008 version by Curse features the original artist Marius Müller-Wes-
ternhagen, intertextuality is a critical research consideration. Following the canvas
approach, the YouTube music video is seen as a multimodal artefact that constitutes
a canvas, meaning that the video, music, lyrics, comments, usernames, dates, and
other features of the website are subjected to a single analysis. However, a canvas
may contain several sub-canvases (see Bateman, Wildfeuer, and Hiippala 214), and
in each, different semiotic modes require different (interdisciplinary) methods of
analysis. Ultimately, it depends on the research question whether research focuses
on sub-canvases or certain aspects of the artefact. In this case, the research con-
cerns the multimodal meaning-making of the patterns of meaning in the "Freiheit"
music video by Curse and the associated comments.

Visual representation of notions of *Freiheit* was identified by analyzing the video,
following the basic principles of filmmaking introduced by Bateman, Wildfeuer, and
Hiippala (see also Bateman, "Critical Discourse Analysis"; Bateman and Schmidt)
to analyze the film *Lola rennt*. These were combined with a MAXQDA—software

for qualitive data and text analysis—coding analysis of the language used in the song's lyrics and the audience's comments. In the multimodal research literature, videos are often analyzed using transcription and/or annotation of stills with timestamps in spreadsheets (e.g., Baldry and Thibault) or with annotation software such as ELAN or ANVIL (e.g., Bateman, "Multimodal Corpora", or O'Halloran et al.). However, MAXQDA facilitated more efficient handling with the research material through its integrated YouTube tool, which allowed us to cross-annotate lyrics (in written form), comments, and video clips simultaneously. Figures 1–8 show some screenshots from the music video and selected YouTube comments.

Figure 1: Curse behind bars in the Olympia Stadium, Berlin

Source: Curse. 2008, April 2. "Freiheit (Official Video)" [Video file]. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wPnmXHQdEUE. 7 Sept. 2022.

Figure 2: The word *Freiheit* in red letters; surveillance cameras

Source: Curse. 2008, April 2. "Freiheit (Official Video)" [Video file]. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wPnmXHQdEUE. 7 Sept. 2022.
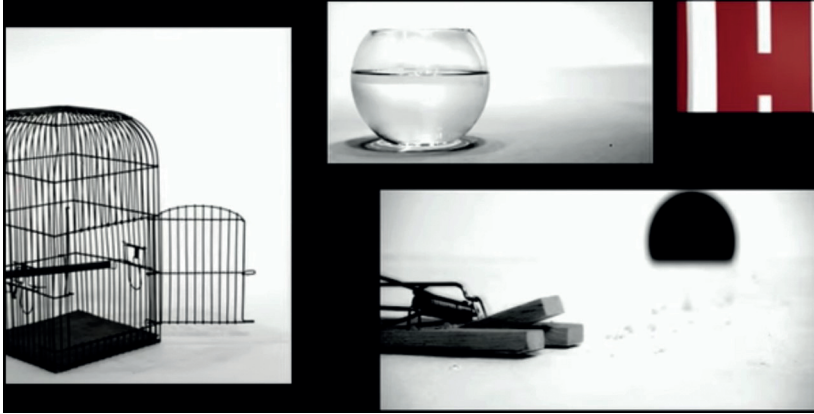
Figure 3: Animal symbolism

Source: Curse. 2008, April 2. "Freiheit (Official Video)" [Video file]. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wPnmXHQdEUE. 7 Sept. 2022.

Figure 4: Crossover with Marius Müller-Westernhagen in Jesus Christ pose

Source: Curse. 2008, April 2. "Freiheit (Official Video)" [Video file]. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wPnmXHQdEUE. 7 Sept. 2022.

Figure 5: Marius Müller-Westernhagen and Curse sitting in the Olympia Stadium, Berlin

Source: Curse. 2008, April 2. "Freiheit (Official Video)" [Video file]. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/
watch?v=wPnmXHQdEUE. 7 Sept. 2022.

Figure 6: Strong gesturing in front of the objectified word *Freiheit*

Source: Curse. 2008, April 2. "Freiheit (Official Video)" [Video file]. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/
watch?v=wPnmXHQdEUE. 7 Sept. 2022.

Figure 7: Humble posing

Source: Curse. 2008, April 2. "Freiheit (Official Video)" [Video file]. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wPnmXHQdEUE. 7 Sept. 2022.
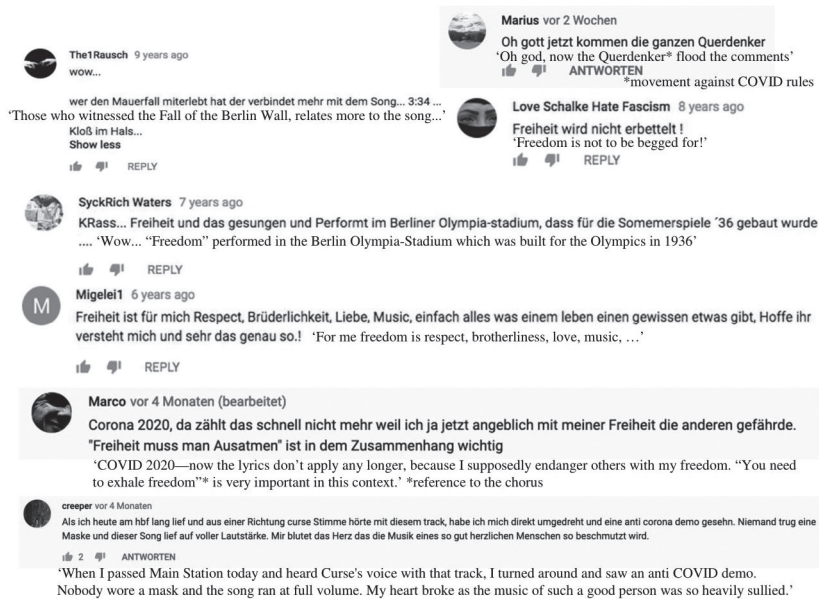
Figure 8: YouTube comments on Curse's "Freiheit" (subtitled by the authors of the article)

Source: Screenshot of YouTube comments from Curse. 2008, April 2. "Freiheit (Official Video)" [Video file]. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wPnmXHQdEUE. 7 Sept. 2022.

We analyzed movements, gestures, outfits, colours, camera angles, sound effects, and other modes, which revealed how *Freiheit* was constructed by multimodal means.

The comments showed that the video stimulated discourse over time. Long after the release date, comments on contemporary discourse (e.g., regarding the COVID-19 pandemic and the so-called Querdenker movement, a group including pandemic sceptics, anti-vaxxers and anti-lockdown protestors) were added. Also, the audience took the artist's attempts to concretely define the meaning of *Freiheit* as an invitation to add their own definitions. Furthermore, historical references regarding the propagandistic instrumentalization of the 1936 Olympics under Nazi rule (exemplified by shots of Curse behind bars in the empty Berliner Olympiastadion) or the Fall of the Berlin Wall were included in the video. These (re)constructions of knowledge through the representation of personal experiences and emotions showed that *Freiheit* carries commonly shared emotional patterns of meaning.

It is striking that the visual features, such as security cameras or animal allegories, are not reflected in the lyrics but make other references to public security issues as a threat to freedom or to linguistic idioms (being trapped like a rat, free as a bird, etc.). Colour codes emphasize the importance of freedom through the word *Freiheit* in red (or sometimes white) and in more or less contrastive three-dimensional letters in the room, while everything else is black and white. This simple colouring, besides the empty stage in most scenes, may represent the abstract nature of freedom, literally leaving room for interpretation. Stereotypical rap gestures accompanied by a heavy beat support the notion of freedom as a fight, and intimate, humble postures accompanied by smooth tunes highlight the notion of personal freedom reflected in the lyrics.

The featuring of the artist Westernhagen clearly links the video to his well-known classic song from 20 years earlier. Note that Curse does not wear his sunglasses as a gesture of respect when facing Westernhagen (whose artistic contributions marked an important turning point in history[3]) in a seated dialogue (maybe symbolizing a heart-to-heart intergenerational exchange about a collective past), whereas wearing them might symbolize freedom as the last refuge of privacy (although note that Westernhagen wears sunglasses in his Christ pose). The Christ pose is also a reference to the earlier version of the song, reminding the audience of the actual, more popular 1989 live version. In fact, this pose commonly represents freedom, as simple image queries on Google or Getty Images confirm. Westernhagen also sings the chorus (or *hook*) in the song, which is exactly the same as the 1987 chorus but is presented in a telephonic voice, suggesting a direct phone call with the past.

In terms of intertextuality, the lyrics include even more references (e.g., to the well-known folk song "Über den Wolken" by Reinhard Mey), highlighting the human assumption that freedom is without boundaries, as symbolized by flight (see LyricsTranslate for the full text). Other notions of freedom portrayed in the

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[3] Westernhagen holds the Order of Merit of the Federal Republic of Germany (Bundesverdienstkreuz) for his political and social activism, although, ironically, he never intended the song "Freiheit" to refer to the German Reunification (Kringiel).

lyrics include global, political, and economic conflicts, as well as questions of human rights, all of which were mentioned in the YouTube comments to some extent.

A deeper look at the comments reveals notions of *Freiheit* as feeling or emotion—the felt absence of freedom—in the patterns of meaning. This corresponds well to the overall message of the song that "freedom is to be exhaled" (Curse, own translation), symbolizing both its essentialness to human life and the feeling of freedom embodied in one of the most natural physical functions of the human body. This message was the main reason for Westernhagen's decision to collaborate with Curse (pielo84). Interestingly, another 14 years later, Westernhagen also commented on the absence of freedom, claiming that freedom is an "illusion" (Rüth) in an interview about his song "Zeitgeist", in which he refers to several global crises, including the war in Ukraine and social disarray in general.[4]

The application of an open, holistic, and interdisciplinary multimodal canvas approach revealed many aspects of the patterns of meaning of *Freiheit* that would probably have remained hidden if we had focused only on selected modes. Also, the entanglement of two sub-canvases as different spaces of social and multimodal interaction provided insights not only into meaning-making itself, but also into how meaning-making as a social process takes place in a multimodal scenario. This led to the following observations:

— Visual input not only supports, but also enhances meaning-making in lyrics.

— Comments elaborate on and add meaning, triggering discussions.

— The international audience interacts, contributes, and occasionally explicitly expresses interest in learning German!

— The research revealed valuable, authentic cultural insights that are accessible to all language learners around the world, providing a foundation for research on cultural learning.

— A holistic multimodal perspective was vital since partial analysis would have limited the meaning-making process through which discourse unfolds.

Further research could include a more detailed critical analysis of, for example, historical intertextuality and argumentative strategies in discourse (e.g., Reisigl and Wodak) given the dialogic nature of YouTube comments, or multimodal metaphors (e.g., Forceville; Spieß) given the poetic nature of music (Falkenhagen and Volkmann).

5.2. Case study II: *Holocaust* in textbooks

In the second case study, we examined meaning-making regarding the Holocaust as a *pattern of meaning* in the textbook *Pluspunkt Deutsch. Der Orientierungs-*

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[4] In this song Westernhagen also criticizes his friend, the former German Chancellor Gerhard Schröder, who awarded Westernhagen the Order of Merit of the Federal Republic of Germany. Westernhagen offers a contemporary critique about Schröder's good relationship with the Russian president Vladimir Putin despite the war in Ukraine.

kurs [Plus Point German: The Orientation Course] for immigrants to Germany. Although textbooks are frequently used as examples of multimodality (e.g., Bateman, Wildfeuer, and Hiippala 216–17; Kress and van Leeuwen, *Reading Images* 186–88), this is not yet the case in GFSL. This case study also rested on Bateman, Wildfeuer, and Hiippala's canvas approach; hence, we understood a textbook as a multimodal artefact constituting an entire canvas. However, as mentioned previously, sub-canvases may require different methods of analysis (see Bateman, Wildfeuer, and Hiippala 214). This second case study considered the texts, images, and layout of the pages within the textbook *Pluspunkt Deutsch*. The textbook considered here is one of the first approved after the introduction of the courses in 2005. However, the textbooks changed considerably after the course was established; the course gradually increased in length, growing from 30 to 100 teaching units. In describing the results, comparisons are also made to the currently approved textbooks, as these were examined parallel to this article in a dissertation project. Figure 9 shows two pages from *Pluspunkt Deutsch*.

Figure 9: Pages from *Pluspunkt Deutsch*

Source: J. Schote. 2006. *Pluspunkt Deutsch. Der Orientierungskurs*. Berlin: Cornelsen, 20–21.

    These pages clearly differ from the other pages in the textbook (e.g., Rights and Duties of Citizens, own translation, 16) in terms of the otherwise colourful pictures and the structure. On the other pages, pictures are displayed diagonally and overlapping, whereas here, they are more ordered. The other pages appear dy-

namic, or, as Ledin and Machin said in *Doing Visual Analysis*, convey "creativity" (83), whereas the images on this page contain empty space. Regarding this point, Ledin and Machin (83) stated:

> The elements may be part of the same domain but have some similarity since they are separated by space. … Such a design feature can have the effect of communicating that things are of the same order which in fact have very little in common or are highly contradictory.

This should be stressed because, here, images of German soldiers—perpetrators—are shown alongside forced labourers and Hungarian Jews—victims of the Nazi regime—arriving in Auschwitz. The suffering of beaten soldiers is visually placed in the same context as forced labour and the systematic murder of European Jews. The context of origin of the images is not visible. The pictures of the forced labourers and the Hungarian Jews in Auschwitz are not presuppositionless documents—they are part of the crime. The picture "Arrival in Auschwitz" is a picture from the so-called Lili Jacob album, named after its finder and the only visually documented arrival of Jews to Auschwitz. Other pictures from this photo album were used in later textbooks. This aspect of order is underscored by the second part of the page, which includes the work assignment "Read the Chronicle" and contains only this chronicle. Such timelines or other chronological sequences are already highly evident in multimodal research. To speak further to this, Ledin and Machin stated, "In other words these fixed time units are a classification imposed, necessarily concealing how events unfold in real life" (*Doing Visual Analysis* 186). Individual possibilities for action remain invisible, and both the war and the Holocaust are portrayed as variables that could not have been influenced. Stalingrad is mentioned in the picture and the timeline, but it no longer appears in any of the later textbooks. However, one feature that is completely omitted in this textbook but is prominent in later textbooks is German resistance. While there are cloze texts or true/false tasks for other topics within *Pluspunkt Deutsch*, here—also with regard to reading the chronicle—the questions "What do you know about the time of National Socialism and the Second World War?" and "What do you learn from the pictures?" must be answered. Learners are instructed to form groups, collect keywords, and report back to the class. The second page features the task "Look at the posters and read the text. Why was Hitler able to be so successful?" These questions, in turn, open up more space for discussion than questions on the other pages (e.g., "There are equal, confidential, and free elections to parliament—true/false?").

Based on the same open, holistic, and interdisciplinary multimodal canvas approach that underpinned the first case study, this case study provided insights into the pattern of meaning *Holocaust*. In summary, it can be said that images in textbooks play a special role in meaning-making through their selection and positioning on the page. In this and later textbooks, National Socialism and, thus, the crimes of the Holocaust are portrayed as inevitable through timelines and particular sequences of images. The selection of an image from the Lili Jakob album refers to

the German visual memory tradition. Following the findings of the first case study, we again believe that a holistic multimodal perspective was essential because partial analysis would have limited the examination of the meaning-making process. Likewise, the point already made in the first case study should be reinforced: Further research must include a more detailed critical analysis of historical intertextuality and argumentative strategies in discourse.

6. Conclusion

The two case studies make visible the epistemological connections previously identified between GFSL cultural studies and multimodal studies. The research allowed us to elaborate on how GFSL can benefit from assuming multimodal reality. This finding calls for new avenues of research in this area. Although this paper is highly epistemological, it is grounded in teaching and learning practice and remains committed to promoting discourse competence. The ability and competence to participate in discourse—as one of the main goals of cultural learning in GFSL—requires multimodal competence. These two case studies represent the first attempt to approach the exploration of patterns of meaning in a multimodal way. Further studies should apply patterns of meaning approaches to systematize and support their explorations. They should also consider how the tools of multimodal studies can be adapted to the general context of GFSL and patterns of meaning, in particular.

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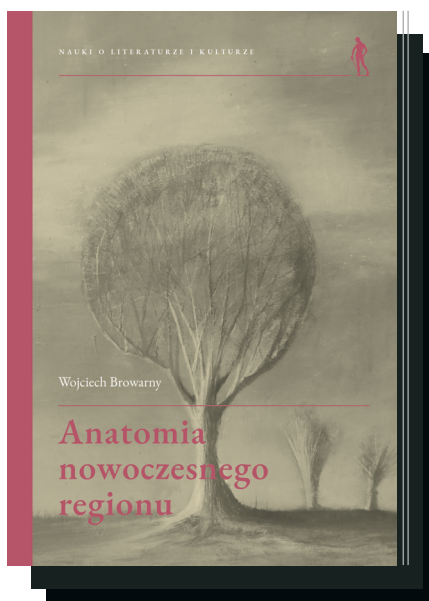
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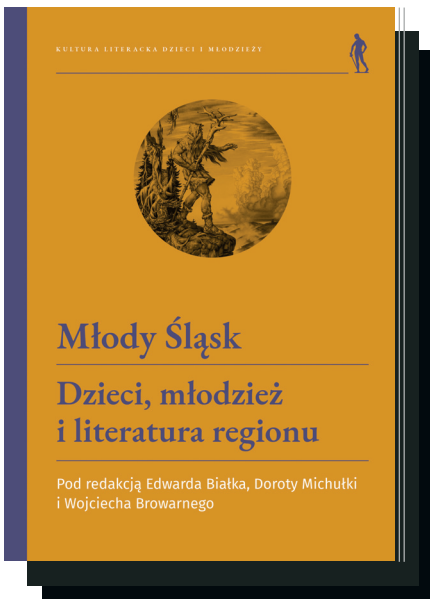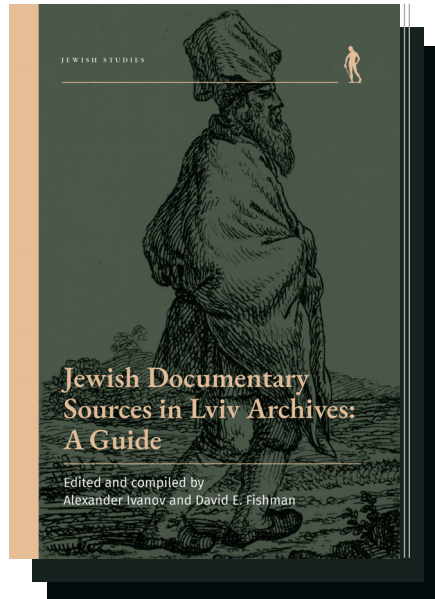
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