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імені В. Н. КАРАЗІНА

КОГНІЦІЯ, КОМУНІКАЦІЯ, ДИСКУРС

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CROSSING THE TEXTUAL FRAME
AND ITS TRANSMEDIAL EFFECTS

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Abstract
The year 2022 marks the 100th anniversary of Juri Lotman's birth. On this occasion, I propose to return to one of Lotman's concepts, namely that of *frame*. The term was proposed in *The structure of the artistic text* (1970/1977), in the traditional understanding of a limit that separates a text produced in any kind of medium from extra-textual structures (other texts) or non-text (real-life contexts). This notion of frame comes close to its understanding in literary studies, as well as the theory and philosophy of art and should not be confused with a well-known concept of frame propagated in AI Studies (Minsky 1975; Petöfi 1976) and which refers to a global cognitive pattern of storing common-sense knowledge about particular concepts and situations in memory. Lotman returned to the discussion of the textual frame in *Universe of the mind* (1990), mainly in application to the fine arts. He also elaborated there a more inclusive concept of *boundary* (proposed in Lotman 1984/2005) as a demarcation of the semiosphere and of its internal subsystems, which necessitates constant translations between particular codes and languages. Lotman dubbed transgressions of textual borders *transcoding*, which in contemporary parlance is a clear manifestation of *transmediality*. Therefore, I propose to analyse the concept of frame in relation to Intermedial Studies (cf. Elleström, 2014). Such crossings of boundaries between different media/modes/modalities are simultaneously creative and potentially confusing, in that they display a semiotic collision of artistic codes and require a heightened processing effort on the part of the addressee.

My vantage point is basically semiotic, with the focus of interest going less to verbal texts and more to the issues of frame in the visual arts. Semiotic considerations on the problem of boundaries are complemented with brief *phenomenologically-oriented ponderings* on aesthetic and cognitive import of *framing devices* (Crowther, 2009) that emphasize their *antithetical function* as: a) devices with their own artistic value, even complementing the text vs. b) "defences against the exterior" and hindrances to creative liberty.

First, I turn to two areas of interest of Lotman himself: 1) the extension of artistic media in Baroque art and 2) collages, which I treat as transmediality through surface. Lotman perceived collages as a collision of *the fictitious* with *the real*, referring to their doubly figurative nature (metonymical and metaphorical). Next, I complement this discussion with examples taken from 20th-century painting and sculpture, e.g. Spatialism, Minimalism, and Hyperrealism. Of particular interest is the situation in which the frame becomes a text commenting on its content or plays a metatextual function. Another game worthy of attention is embedding of frames.

The discussion closes with the case of transmedial effects between painting and theatre, illustrated by Polish painter and stage-director Tadeusz Kantor's theatrical experiments in Cracovian Cricot 2 Theatre: a) Velázquez's Infanta Margarita entering Kantor's self-portraits and a photo-portrait frame in the performance

Today is my birthday (1990); b) Kantor stepping out of the frame of his own self-portrait on the illusory boundary between real life, painting and theatre.

The article posits to treat frame and multiple ways of transgressing it as an integrational phenomenon that opens a path for further interdisciplinary studies across the borders of artistic semiotics, Intermedial Studies, literary theorizing and the theory and philosophy of art.

Key words: textual frame, boundary, border, Yuri Lotman, transcoding, transmediality, semiotic collision, collage.

1. Introduction – the concepts of frame and transmediality

The term *frame* has so far appeared in several scholarly paradigms and disciplines. In traditional stylistics and rhetoric it was known under the name of *horismus* (Gr. 'marking out by boundaries') but it was only in the 1970s that this concept started to be examined by scholars active in different fields of research.

Goffman in his sociologically-oriented *Frame Analysis* (1974) proposed frames as culturally determined visions of reality that allow people to make sense of objects and events (e.g. a secular vs. a religious frame).[1] In turn, Fillmore's *Frame Semantics* (propagated since 1975 up till now), which relates the meaning of words to the encyclopaedic knowledge of the world, has defined frame as a system of interrelated concepts necessary to construe a particular lexical entry. Yet, probably the most influential conception of frame has had its source in AI Studies (Minsky, 1975; Petöfi, 1976) where it refers to a global cognitive pattern of storing common-sense knowledge about particular concepts in memory, a data-structure that allows us to adjust ourselves to clichéd situations. This idea of framing has been present ever since also in theoretical considerations of cognitive linguistics, notably as Contextual Frame Theory, a model of building mental representations of shifting literary contexts by the reader, developed by Emmott (1997) and elaborated by Stockwell (2002/2020) within cognitive poetics.

However, neither of the above-mentioned approaches is my focus of interest in this article. Since the year 2022 marks the 100th anniversary of Juri Lotman's birth, I propose to return on this occasion to his own idea of frame, still under-researched in artistic semiotics. The term appeared in Lotman's early study *The structure of the artistic text* (1970/1977: 209), in the traditional understanding of a limit or border that separates an artistic text (produced in any kind of medium) from extra-textual structures, namely other texts or non-text (real-life contexts)**.** This notion of frame comes close to its definition in literary studies as well as in the theory and philosophy of art. In the context of verbal and musical texts, the frame boils down to something apparently banal, that is, ***the beginning*** and ***the end*** of such a construct (Lotman, 1977, p. 212). In his last work, *Culture and explosion* (1992/2004, Ch. 18), Lotman claims that the end endows both texts and human lives with ultimate sense.

Lotmanian conception of framing has been approached in recent semiotic research mostly under the more general label of ***boundary***, discussed by Lotman in his seminal paper "On the semiosphere" (1984/2005, p. 208): "One of the fundamental concepts of semiotic delimitation lies in the notion of boundary". Basically, it refers to the separation of ***the semiosphere*** from extra-semiotic reality (Lotman, 2004, p. 115), as well as to any kind of borderline between various semiotic subsystems, languages and codes within the semiosphere itself. As such, the notion of boundary, developed further by Lotman in a separate chapter of *Universe of the mind* (1990), becomes related to a capacious understanding of ***translation***, which in Lotman's paradigm refers to a constant need of reinterpreting semiotic subsystems and codes within the all-encompassing semiosphere: "The border is a bilingual mechanism, translating external communications into the internal language of the semiosphere and vice versa" (Lotman, 2005, p. 208; cf. also Monticelli, 2012).[2] Kroó (2022) provides a comprehensive overview of how the phenomenon of transgression of textual borders analysed by Lotman has been subsequently developed in literary criticism and literary semiotics.

My purpose in this article, however, is to relate the notion of frame to ***Intermedial Studies***, and in particular to what Elleström (2014) referred to as media transformation. ***Transmediality***, which is

a key concept in the subsequent parts of this article, is defined by Elleström as a sub-category of the more inclusive conception of *intermediality*: "Whereas I use the term *intermedial* to broadly refer to all types of relations among different types of media, the term *transmedial* should be understood to refer to intermedial relations that are characterized by actual or potential transfers" (Elleström, 2014, p. 3, emphasis original). In what follows, I posit that in the majority of cases the crossing of a textual frame produces transmedial effects, especially within the visual arts and the theatre, which will be my focus of attention.

2.   Discussion
2.1. Lotman on framing and transcoding

The frame of a picture, the footlights of the stage, the borders of a film screen – all constitute the borders of an artistic world, self-sufficient in its universality.
[...] the beginning and end of a literary or musical work, the surfaces which mark the borders between a sculpture or an architectural edifice and the space artistically excluded from it – all these are various forms of a law that applies to all art: a work of art is a finite model of an infinite universe" (Lotman, 1977, p. 210).

Although the frame in a picture is "usually located on the *other* side of the line demarcating the canvas, and we do not see it when we look at the picture", sometimes "a picture frame may be an independent work of art" (Lotman, 1977, p. 209). Lotman returns to the discussion of the textual frame in *Universe of the mind* (1990), mainly in application to the fine arts, architecture and theatre.

Lotman's examples of transgression of textual borders bear straightforwardly on the phenomenon which he dubbed *transcoding* and which is nothing else but transmediality, namely any kind of the transformative crossing of the boundaries between media, modes and modalities. Due to terminological differences among researchers from various schools (cf. Sobita, 2018, Ch. 2), for the purposes of our discussion I assume the following understanding of these terms (after Chrzanowska-Kluczewska, 2019):

• *Medium* can refer to: 1) channel of transmission (verbal, non-verbal; radio, TV, Internet, etc.); 2) distinct art form (painting, sculpture, installation, architecture, theatre, film, etc.); 3) technique of execution (watercolour, oil, woodprint, neon light, etc.); 4) technical support/carrier (paper, stone, gypsum, light, screen, etc.).

• *Mode* stands for a semiotic code/system, a specific language: image (two- or three-dimensional), moving image, sound, dance, architectonic structure, interior/urban/ garden design, gesture, etc.

• *Modality* is a platform of delivery understood as a sensory perception (visual, auditory, tactile, olfactory, gustatory, kinaesthetic, etc.).

It can be claimed that such crossings of boundaries between different modes/media/modalities are simultaneously creative and potentially confusing or even straightforwardly manipulative, in that they display a *semiotic collision* of artistic codes and require a heightened processing effort on the part of the addressees, who may not be fully aware of the aesthetic game in which they are involved.

In what follows, my focus of interest will be directed to the issues of frame in the visual arts rather than to transgressions of boundaries within verbal and composite media. Lotman (1977) discussed in detail examples of literary open-ended texts with non-endings or genres such as chronicles that can be extended when need arises; we could add memoirs, serial stories or filmic series to this list. Also, traversing boundaries between subworlds within fiction worlds created in different genres and media can be adduced, well-exemplified by Scolari's (2009) study of a transmedia storytelling (TS) called *24* that combined imaginary worlds drawn from a TV series, graphic novels, games and paperback novels.

2.2. Phenomenology in support of semiotic considerations
on the nature of framing devices

The semiotic considerations on the problem of boundaries can be complemented with phenomenologically-oriented ponderings on aesthetic and cognitive import of **framing devices** discussed by philosopher of art Crowther (2009) in the study with a much-saying title *Phenomenology of the visual arts (even the frame)*, with some reference to the earlier conceptions of Simmel (1994) and Derrida (1987). The ideas of the aforementioned philosophers emphasize the **antithetical functions** of frames, which can be perceived as:

1) devices with their own artistic value, even complementing the text; unifying and integrating mechanisms;

2) "defences against the exterior"; hindrances to creative liberty, favouring closed rather than open textual formats.

This ambiguous functionality of frames, alternating between their potentially either positive or negative influence on the content enclosed, was also raised by Kress and van Leeuwen (1996/2006, pp. 203-204) in the description of **inner framing** within a visual work of art (based on connecting and/or disconnecting elements of the visual composition). I hope the examples to be discussed below will corroborate the dual nature of framing.

2.3. Crossing the frames in Baroque art

Lotman (1990, p. 57) claimed, quite justifiably, that Baroque art is strongly rhetorical, marked by a collision of semiotic codes, hence – in our present parlance – heavily transmedial. Not without reason did Deleuze in his treatise *The fold* (1988/2006) point to an **extension** of artistic modes in the Baroque period, aimed at the formation of the *bel composto*, the total art, the unity of all the representational arts and architecture (cf. Moreira Soares & Gonçalves, 2022, for a more detailed elaboration of this topic). We can perceive both a semiotic collision and a semiotic extension as clear instruments of transmediality:

> *In wall paintings of the Baroque churches […] the motif of little angels in a frame is frequently encountered. The frame is painted to look like a window, and the angel sits on the window-sill, as it were dangling one leg over the edge of the frame. This leg which does not fit into the composition of the picture is sculptural. It is added on to the painting as a continuation of it. So the text is a combination of painting and sculpture. […] The whole text is constructed as a game between real and unreal space and as a collision of art-languages, of which one has the natural quality of the actual object while the other is an artificial imitation of it* (Lotman, 1990, p. 57).

An excellent illustration of such transmedial effects can be found in the interior of St. Anne's academic collegiate church of the Jagiellonian University in Krakow, the most beautiful Baroque church in the city, whose interior decoration was executed in stucco by Balthazar Fontana in the years 1695-1703. The sculptures of the putti holding Latin inscriptions on tablets and the sculpted clouds on which the painted saintly female figures are seated all extend beyond the surfaces allotted to them. This kind of spatial crossing produces a dynamic effect in the architectural interior. In the side chapel of the right aisle, which houses the sarcophagus of St. John of Kęty, the putto above the painting of the Holy Family has left its ledge under the ceiling and is shown as if hovering in the air. The sculptural, the painted, and the architectonic spaces of the chapel overlap, forming the Baroque *bel composto*, a 'beautiful artistic whole'. In the nave aisle, the painting-sculpture (dual medium) that represents St. Topaz reaches beyond the space assigned to it on the pilaster, as if illustrating Lotman's (1977, pp. 211-212) mention of "[a] baroque statue which does not fit on a pedestal" and classified as "a form of conflict" within an artistic text. Walking further down the right aisle, we come across a side altar devoted to St. Joseph, whose image is shown in an oval frame, the shape frequently used in

Baroque art. Folds of the sculpted angel's robe overhang the image and a small modern representation of the Merciful Jesus, also enclosed in an oval frame, overlaps the frame of the main painting.

Probably one of the most exquisite examples of how different artistic media can intertwine and blur their boundaries is the Altieri Chapel with the altar-tomb of Blessed Ludovica Albertoni in the church San Francesco a Ripa in Trastevere in Rome, a creation of Gian Lorenzo Bernini (1671-1674). As Moreira Soares and Gonçalves (2022, cf. also Fig. 4 and 5 in their article) rightly observe, we are involved in an unusual *framing game* with space – we face a chapel housing another chapel in the background, where the marble sculpture of Ludovica, shown in agony, in the pain of dying but also in a rapture of the mystical communion with God, is framed within an archway cut into the wall. This looks like an illustration of Deleuze's reflections on the Baroque framing as an all-inclusive artistic programme:

> *[…] the painting exceeds its frame and is realized in polychrome marble sculpture; and sculpture goes beyond itself by being architecture; and in turn, architecture discovers a frame in the façade, but the frame itself becomes detached from the inside and establishes relations with the surroundings so as to realize architecture in city planning. From one end of the chain to the other, the painter has become all urban designer* (Deleuze, 2006, p. 141, quoted also in Moreira Soares & Gonçalves, 2022, p. 6-7).

This sublime instance of the *bel composto,* "a chapel within a chapel within a church", presents a multiple embedding of sculptural and architectonic frames that resembles a theatrical stage: "The dividing line between media and materials disappears and a grand total effect emerges" […] "to make churches like theatres, where a concert of the arts performed a prelude to future heavenly bliss" (Marien & Fleming, 2005, pp. 373, 386, quoted also in Moreira Soares & Gonçalves, 2022, p. 8). This theatrical effect, according to Moreira Soares and Gonçalves—who expand the ideas of Sergei Eisenstein on the cinematic qualities of architecture as well as Careri's (1995) claims about the presence of cinematographic montage effects in Baroque interiors—can be extended to become "a living-montage", in which the body of the spectator, and particularly their brain, plays a prominent role in the reception of the play of artistically-loaded spaces.

The effects described by the aforementioned authors are all an outcome of several transmedial operations and seem to support the following observation made by Lotman (1990, p. 32): "Just because the interior of a church is a code and not merely a text, we perceive it not only aesthetically (only a text, not the rules for its construction, can be perceived aesthetically), but also in a religious, philosophical, theological, or other non-artistic way".

Churches were not the exclusive places for tricks with borderlines. In the palace of King John III Sobieski at Wilanów in Warsaw, built in the years 1681-1729, the interior decoration offers its visitors several visual tricks. In one of the halls, the painted bust of a mysterious black animal (monkey?) overlooking the cornice below the ceiling becomes an intrusion of the imaginary world into the space of our reality, marking a *collision of worlds*, a common phenomenon in transcoding. Interestingly, the creature seems to draw our attention by gesturing towards the frieze painted below in which figural scenes appear. They all boast frames that bear Latin inscriptions which complement and explain the content of the paintings and thus perform the first, positive cognitive function assigned to framing devices by Crowther (cf. 2.2).

Transmedial games are not uncommon in Baroque paintings, to mention only a well-known "Self-portrait" by one of the leading Spanish artists of the time, Bartolomé Esteban Murillo (1670, The National Gallery in London). In a visual play with the viewer, it is not an image but a real person who extends his hand beyond the space of the image and holds the oval frame on the outside. Apart from being transmedial (a pictorial representation seemingly turns into a real world person, whose body is a medium in itself), the picture is also multimodal— the inscription painted on a piece of paper below the frame informs the viewer that the portrait was made at the request of the artist's children (Langmuir,

1997, p. 221-222). Such tricks with personages stepping out of picture frames have remained present in European art until our times —in 20th-century Polish art, Tadeusz Kantor will play with his own images in a similar way (cf. 2.6).

2.4. Transmediality through surface

Contrary to a verbal text limited by its linearity, the painting—apart from the edges that mark the frame—offers several ways of escape through its physical surface. In the heyday of Cubism, Georges Braques and Pablo Picasso started a new technique called *collage* (Fr. *papier collé)*, in which pieces of paper, fabric, wallpaper, sand, newspaper clippings, etc. were glued onto the surface of the painting. We can thus claim that collages bear a distant similarity to those half-painted and half-sculptured figures in Baroque art, instantiating a transgression of one medium (painted image) into several other physical media.

Lotman (1990, p. 41) perceives in collages several collisions: "Painted and glued-on objects belong to different and incompatible domains by virtue of features of reality/illusion, two-dimensionality/three-dimensionality, semiotic value/absence of semiotic value, and so on". In addition, he emphasizes a tropological potential of a collage, thus relating transcoding (transmediality) to ***figuration***. The painted details of an image adjoin natural objects pasted onto the canvas – these scraps of reality become simultaneously ***metonymies*** in syntagmatic relations with the painted parts and ***metaphors*** standing paradigmatically in place of the painted detail.

By way of illustration, let us mention briefly three instances of collages. In 1913, Pablo Picasso created an artwork titled "Bottle of Vieux Marc, glass, guitar, and newspaper" (Tate Modern, London). According to *The handbook to Tate Modern*, the painting—typical of late analytic Cubism—presents heavily fragmented objects, of which only a glued on newspaper piece *(Le Figaro)* is easily recognizable (Morris, 2008, p. 92, commentary Matthew Gale). A year later, Picasso produced another collage "Bowl of fruit, bottle and violin" (The National Gallery in London), an instance of synthetic Cubism, in which the dispersal of objects into fragments has been supplanted by an attempt at synthesis. The violin as the most salient object of this still life is reconstructed in its central part (Langmuir, 1997, p. 308-309). A piece of newspaper and grains of sand pasted onto the surface of the painting show its escape from an imaginary pictorial world into the reality of physical objects.

Yet, the most striking in its effect is a much later collage of 1954, titled "Sacking and red", the work of Italian artist Alberto Burri (Tate Modern, London). Burri used discarded sacks for food imported under the Marshall Plan to add weight and texture to his works. This transmedial collage employs a piece of badly torn sacking glued onto an intensely red background covered with acrylic paint. Burri's ruptured surfaces were taken either as an allusion to the horrors of the nuclear era or a reminiscence of his World War II experience as an army doctor. This possible association with the wounded body (sacking→skin) provoked some controversies among critics (Morris, 2008, p. 82, commentary Matthew Gale). It is worth stressing that similarly to sculptures, the entire surface of the body of a living organism, including human beings, counts as its frame/boundary.

Soon, other artistic experiments followed, playing with the idea of an escape from the content of the painted images through their very surface. In 1960, another Italian painter, Lucio Fontana, produced the work titled "Spatial concept waiting" (Tate Modern, London). Fontana was a representative of Spatialism, an artist in search of the representation of the three-dimensional space extending towards the fourth dimension. In the 1950s and 1960s, he experimented with the canvas's surface through making holes or slashes in them. Such punctures marked for him "a passage into the infinite void" (Morris, 2008, p. 117, commentary Evi Baniatopolou). Apparently, the slash in this painting is "a prelude of the futurity, an opening that leads to the outer space". The critic says that the title suggests a "positive expectancy of leaving our reality and travelling towards another universe". From the transmedial perspective, instead of overstepping the frame, the picture offers an escape to a new dimension through its surface.

The 1960s saw the rise of an important current in art, called Minimalism. In 1962, Sol LeWitt, one of best known American artists within this trend, creates the work "Wall structure, white" (Wadsworth Atheneum, The LeWitt Collection, Hartford, Connecticut). LeWitt comments here on the relationship between the two-dimensional painted surface and a three-dimensional space. His work is a combination of painting and sculpture—a wooden block, painted white, protrudes from the equally white surface of the canvas into the viewer's space (Batchelor, 1997, p. 37). We are faced here with an extension of one medium into another through the painting's surface, which bears a certain resemblance to Baroque half-painted-half-sculpted angels described by Lotman.

Somewhat similar in nature was an experiment of Robert Gober, "Untitled" (1989-1992; Tate Modern, London). An instance of Hyperrealism, this work shows a male leg, wearing a sock and a shoe, shown as if severed below the knee, extending from the gallery wall close to the floor (Morris, 2008, p. 124, commentary Rachel Taylor). The intrusion of the leg through the wall into the viewer's space, comic but uncanny or even repulsive, plays on the transmedial effects between the painted surface of the wall and a clothed human body as a medium, which the sculpture tries to imitate through the use of such materials as wood, wax, leather, cotton and even the human hair visible between the cuff of the trouser leg and the sock.

2.5. The frame as text

Now, let us consider Dan Flavin's work of 1968 that bears a mysterious title "Untitled (to the innovator of wheeling peachblow)", exhibited in The Museum of Modern Art in New York (Batchelor, 1997, p. 9). An instance of Minimal Art and a eulogy on a new medium (neon light), this work consists of the fluorescent frame alone, fitted to the wall, absolutely devoid of content. Lotman (1977, p. 210) aptly remarks: "We need only turn our attention to the frame as an independent text for the picture to be transformed into the boundary of the frame, and in this sense it does not differ from the wall". And this is exactly what happens here – the picture does not exist in itself so the wall becomes simultaneously the background and the semantically empty content for the frame, which is placed entirely in focus. In my opinion, the frame becomes a *metatext* that seems to announce "I alone am important". According to our phenomenological valuation, the cognitive import of such framing is obviously of what has been dubbed above as a "device with its own value", in fact not complementing any text, but speaking for itself alone.

Talking about frames that do enclose the content which they complement and strengthen, I would like to bring to the readers' attention a large-scale composition "The torches of Nero" by Henryk Siemiradzki (1876), on show in the Cloth Hall department of the National Museum in Krakow. This famous work, painted in Rome, known also as "The candlesticks of Christianity", presents the scene of martyrdom of Christians ordered in 64 AD by Emperor Nero. Surrounded by his court, he observes the terrible 'ceremony' of Christians being burnt at stakes ironically decorated with flowers. The deep symbolic meaning of this scene finds a commentary in the Latin inscription running along the upper and lower part of the richly gilded frame: ET LUX IN TENEBRIS LUCET/ET TENEBRAE EAM NON COMPREHENDERUT (John 1, 5), "The Light shines in the darkness and the darkness did not comprehend it". Owing to this inscription, the painting communicates a powerful message of hope addressed to all victims of tyrants and oppressors. It is an instance of the frame that not only possesses its own considerable artistic value but also inalienably complements the signification of the work contained within its scope.

The same room in the Cracovian Cloth Hall that houses "The torches of Nero" features among its other exhibits an interesting painting executed by Paul Merwart, a French painter of Polish descent, which brought him a medal at the EXPO in Paris in 1878. The frame, richly decorated with vegetal motifs associated with Egypt, bears the French title "Le jeune Moise" and refers to a little known incident of the young Moses killing an Egyptian who assaulted a Jewish couple. The verbal insert (in French) within the frame, inscribed on a decorative plaque, complements and explains the content of the image. This commentary to the painting tells us the following brief story:

And the Hebrew man Dathan told Moses: "Master, this Egyptian came to me this night and, trying to suffocate me, he violated my wife Salomite". The young Moses, indignant, killed the Egyptian and they hid the corpse in the sand (A Talmudic legend from Midrasch-Rabba about Exodus, Ch. 1).

All the frames provided with explanatory inscriptions can be classified as multimodal—the verbal inserts they bear work in tandem with the pictorial representation they are meant to complete or explain (cf. also Chrzanowska-Kluczewska, 2017).

2.6. Embedding of frames

Another play with framing in Western art is the so-called *frame(s)-within-a frame* pattern that was already known in Baroque painting, like in the composition "Cabinet of art and rarities" by an Antwerp painter Frans II. Francken (1620-1625, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna). It shows the interior of a gallery of paintings, with several framed images on the wall. Artefacts are juxtaposed with natural objects exhibited on the table in the foreground, according to the fashion of the epoch.

The *embedding* of frames reappears in modern art, to mention only the composition "Clock" by a well-known American artist Joseph Kosuth (1965, Tate Modern, London). A prime instance of Conceptual Art, it encloses within one frame a readymade object (a real wall-clock), its life-sized photograph (a documentary element, inside a smaller frame) and three enlarged texts – dictionary definitions of words/concepts related to the passage of time (Morris, 2008, p. 89, commentary Ann Coxon). It is a frame-inside-a frame composition, with verbal language being programmatically given a prominent role, as was the case in the entire Conceptual Art.

Another composition worthy of attention that shows the embedment of a framed picture within another picture is "Wonderland"(2022) by Ukrainian artist Lesia Khomenko, displayed during a temporary exhibition of Ukrainian art in Krakow. A larger composition depicts a mountainous landscape, with thick forests covering the slopes, not yet spoiled by civilization. The picture embedded in it treats the previous landscape as a kind of background, referring to the transformation of wild nature into a holiday resort (?), comfortable but boring, due to the monotony of the row of identical buildings.

The "frame-within-a frame" pattern in painting can be categorized as transmedial in the sense of inviting the viewer to cross the inner borders of different represented worlds, be they either fictional or mimetic representations of the actual world around us.

2.7. "Travelling motifs" and transmediality

On show in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna there remains one of the most recognizable portraits in European tradition—"Infanta Margarita Teresa" painted by Diego Velázquez in 1656, when Infanta was still a very young girl. It is one of the most famous representations of Margarita by Velázquez, who was a court painter to Philip IV of Spain and used to portray all his family members. The image has become a symbol of a royal child, beautifully dressed but imprisoned in her robes and in the court etiquette. It stands as a double metaphor of the girl's beauty but also a reification of a royal child as a precious object. Since that time, Infanta—immortalized by Velázquez—has passed into popular art in Spain and in Europe at large.

The second famed representation of the same girl goes under the Spanish title "Las Meninas" (1656, Prado Museum, Madrid). This rendering of Infanta Margarita, among her court-ladies and accompanied by the painter himself appearing in a self-portrait not far from her, is very similar to the Vienna portrait, but for the direction of Infanta's head, now turned to the left. This image, likewise, will soon become a 'travelling motif' in European art.

Interestingly, Infanta will find her way into the creation of Tadeusz Kantor (1915-1990), a Polish painter, theoretician of art, director and stage designer in the Cricot 2 Theatre, an

experimental, avant-garde theatre he created (1955-1990). Every performance of his plays was a happening, with Kantor present on the stage as an actor and director. Infanta Margarita started to meander through Kantor's art since 1966, rendered in different poses and in different painterly techniques. The composition "One night Velázquez's Infanta came into my room for the second time, now clearly irritated" (1990, acrylic on canvas, private collection) is the artist's second self-portrait with Infanta, who in her transmedial voyage has become liberated from her courtly apparel. She stands before us barefooted and dishevelled but her gesture is royal—by pointing to a blank canvas on the easel she is demanding her portrait from the painter, seated naked (except for the immortal black hat he used to wear) on a stool (Gołubiew, 1999, p. 16; Gołubiew, 2000, p. 49). The scene takes place inside Kantor's "Poor Little Room of Imagination", so Infanta's transmedial journey has been from Velázquez's realistic portraiture to Kantor's transcoded visions of it both in his mind and in a painted representation.

But painting is not the only medium claimed by Infanta in Kantor's oeuvre. Under the label "Infanta strikes poses", she reappears as a grown-up woman, dressed in an elegant black evening robe which she spreads before us fan-like. Now, she begins playing her role as an actress in the last play by Kantor *Today is my birthday* but soon enters the frame of a large portrait, resembling a family photo (Gołubiew, 1999, p. 18; Gołubiew, 2000, p. 48). Thus, the recoded Infanta becomes framed twice, first as an actress in the play (a living person as a theatrical medium) and then as a photo/painting enclosed within the frame and placed on the stage as a prop.

The last self-portrait of Kantor, titled "Some figure has fallen out of the picture and turned out to be only a fiction" (1990, acrylic on canvas, private collection) shows him, in a scanty T-shirt and trousers, barefooted, sitting in a careless pose on the chair placed within the frame. One of his feet is protruding in front of the frame. Indeed, it is not a painted character but a theatrical personage from his last performance *Today is my birthday* (Gołubiew, 1999, p. 23; Gołubiew, 2000, p. 55). Like in the case of Murillo (cf. 2.2), it is a transfiguration of a portrait of the actor into Kantor himself. A naked male is lying at his feet, like somebody just fallen down from on high. The transmedial blurring of fiction and reality is obvious: Kantor is a living person who alludes to a theatrical stage. The borderline between the theatre, painting and real life (plus the Room of Imagination, which the artist invoked on several occasions) becomes the transmedial space of the game, *das Spielraum*, as if in corroboration of Lotman's (1990, p. 60) statement that "life and painting in many cases relate to each other through theatre which serves as a mediating code, a translation-code".

All the instances of transmediality discussed in Section 2 point to the fact that the role of framing is, practically speaking, fundamental to this phenomenon. Shukman (1977, pp. 170-175) reminds us about different angles from which a textual frame can be conceived. In this connection, she juxtaposes a comparatively stable Lotmanian conception of frame to a more dynamic view adopted by Uspensky in his study *A Poetics of Composition* (1970/1973). Namely, Uspensky claims that no definition of the structure of a text can be carried without a recourse to the notion of "points of view from which a narrative is presented (or a picture constructed […])" (Uspensky, 1973, p. 5). Importantly, an examination of a multifaceted interaction of several **points of view** that usually structure an artistic text should be combined with analysing the role played by the frame, **foreground** and **background** (cf. Shukman, 1977, p. 174). Uspensky's claims have proved fruitful in semiotic studies of visual texts (icons in particular) and reverberate in Lotman's (1990, pp. 55-56) analysis of the "non-natural" point of view employed in representations of mirrors in the pictorial arts as well as in the description of shifts in the foregrounding of figures in Piero Della Francesca's "Flagellation of Christ" (Lotman, 1990/2007, p. 211). In my opinion, they still lay out one of possible directions of research in transmedial studies.

3. Conclusions

The concept of frame as devised by Lotman presents itself as an important ***integrational category*** in all kinds of semiotic research. In application to artistic visual texts, the problem of crossing the frame (whether direct or from the surface of a pictorial artwork) is closely tied to Lotmanian notion of transcoding, akin to transmediality in contemporary research.

Transmediality, realized as a crossing of the boundaries of an artwork, may result in:

a) a collision of worlds, in which imaginary worlds are juxtaposed with reality;

b) a collision or blend of artistic modes, media and modalities, like for instance the painting→photograph→theatre prop chain of framing the same motif.

The phenomenological ponderings on the cognitive function of framing prove valuable in that the material gathered corroborates their claims. Indeed, in the majority of cases explored in this article the frame functions as a unifying and integrating mechanism and/or a "defence against the extra-text". Sometimes, the frame will complement the pictorial text with a proper inscription, in which case it will boast its own artistic value. In extreme cases (Dan Flavin's *Untitled*), the frame becomes the only element of the representation, acquiring a metatextual import. Should a regular framing pose hindrance to creative liberty, authors may seek an escape from the rigidity of the frame itself by manipulating the surface of the pictorial representation (like in collages). The stratagem of embedding frames one inside another offers another possibility of a transmedial game.

I cannot find a better closure to our brief considerations on Lotman's idea of frame and framing than this short quotation from Kroó that may be easily projected from literary semiotics onto semiotics of the visual arts, architecture, theatre, cinema, and other artistic media:

> *The possibility of the dynamic rearrangement of borders in the various forms of textual interaction and transfiguration – intertextuality, text-metatext, text within the text, text-internalization and so on – offer an unrestricted openness for creativity, all the more so that culture generates an unlimited range of communicating text types* (Kroó, 2022, p. 359).

The crossing of the textual frame, an important instrument of transmedial experimentation, is a creative, gamesome and potentially manipulative strategy within the semiosphere. Such collisions of semiotic codes, in Lotman's view endowed with a considerable rhetorical potential, likewise elaborative transfers of properties among media, modes and modalities remain well worth a more in-depth treatment across the borders of semiotics, Text and Discourse Studies, Intermedial Studies, the theory and philosophy of art, and literary theorizing including neuroaesthetic studies.[3]

Notes

[1] In her Afterword to the English translation of *Culture and explosion*, Marina Grishakova (2004, p. 182) reminisces that Lotman was acquainted with Goffman's *Frame Analysis* and recommended this book to her. In *Universe of the mind* Lotman (1990, p. 131) examines a social aspect of the boundary in the process of individuation, which shares some characteristics with Goffman's social anthropology.

[2] In his foundational study in biosemiotics, Giorgio Prodi (1977/2021, p. 76) defines *translation* as a process in which "two corresponding, complex, complementary structures (for example, DNA and protein) are yoked together". Such mutual complementariness of biochemical, material signs "extends the frontiers of contact and knowledge" (p. 79). A certain analogy between this understanding of translation and what we find in Lotman's semiospheric paradigm is not difficult to notice.

[3] Paul B. Armstrong's (2021) ponderings on the creative rule-breaking, transgressional capacities of the human brain and language seem to square well with the semiotic idea of frame-breaking.

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**ПЕРЕТИН МЕЖ ТЕКСТОВОГО ФРЕЙМУ
І ТРАНСМЕДІАЛЬНІ ЕФЕКТИ**

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Анотація
У 2022 році виповнюється 100 років від дня народження Юрія Лотмана. З цієї нагоди я пропоную повернутися до однієї з концепцій Лотмана, а саме до фрейму. Термін був запропонований у "Структурі художнього тексту" (1970/1977) у традиційному розумінні межі, яка відокремлює текст, створений будь-яким носієм, від позатекстових структур (інших текстів) або нетексту (реальних життєвих контекстів). Це поняття фрейму наближається до його розуміння в літературознавстві, а також у теорії та філософії мистецтва, і його не слід плутати з добре відомою концепцією фрейму, поширеною в дослідженнях (Minsky 1975, Petöfi 1976), яка посилається на глобальний когнітивний патерн збереження здорового глузду в пам'яті про певні поняття та ситуації. Лотман повернувся до обговорення текстового фрейму у "Всесвіті розуму" (1990), головним чином відносно до образотворчого мистецтва. Там він також розробив більш інклюзивну концепцію межі (запропоновану в Lotman 1984/2005) як демаркацію семіосфери та її внутрішніх підсистем, що вимагає постійних перекладів між окремими кодами та мовами. Лотман назвав трансгресію текстових кордонів транскодуванням, що в сучасному розумінні є яскравим проявом трансмедіальності. Тому я пропоную проаналізувати концепцію фрейму у зв'язку з інтермедіальними дослідженнями (пор. Elleström, 2014).

Такі перетини меж між різними медіа/модами/модальностями є водночас творчими та потенційно заплутаними, оскільки вони демонструють семіотичне зіткнення художніх кодів і вимагають посилених зусиль обробки з боку адресата.

Моя точка зору в основному семіотична, з центром інтересу, що зосереджується не на вербальних текстах, а більше на питаннях кадру у візуальному мистецтві. Семіотичні міркування щодо проблеми меж доповнюються короткими феноменологічно орієнтованими міркуваннями про естетичний і когнітивний імпорт засобів фреймування (Crowther, 2009), які підкреслюють їхню антитетичну функцію як: а) засоби із власною художньою цінністю, які навіть доповнюють текст vs б) «засоби захисту від зовнішнього» та перешкоди творчій свободі.

По-перше, я звернуся до двох сфер інтересів самого Лотмана: 1) розширення художніх засобів у мистецтві бароко та 2) колажі, які я розглядаю як трансмедіальність через поверхню. Лотман сприймав колажі як зіткнення фіктивного з реальним, маючи на увазі їхню подвійну образність (метонімічну й метафоричну). Далі я доповню це обговорення прикладами, взятими з живопису та скульптури 20-го століття, напр., спаціалізм, мінімалізм і гіперреалізм. Особливий інтерес викликає ситуація, коли фрейм стає текстом, що коментує його зміст, або виконує метатекстову функцію. Ще одна гра, яка заслуговує на увагу, це вбудовування фреймів.

Дискусію завершує випадок трансмедійних ефектів між живописом і театром, проілюстрований театральними експериментами польського художника та режисера Тадеуша Кантора в краківському театрі Кріко 2: а) Інфанта Маргарита Веласкеса входить до автопортретів Кантора та рамки фотопортрету у виставі "Сьогодні мій день народження" (1990); б) Кантор виходить із рамки власного автопортрета на ілюзорну межу між реальним життям, живописом і театром.

Стаття розглядає фрейм і численні способи його трансгресії як інтеграційний феномен, який відкриває шлях для подальших міждисциплінарних досліджень через кордони мистецької семіотики, інтермедіальних студій, літературного теоретизування та теорії та філософії мистецтва.

Ключові слова: текстовий фрейм, межа, кордон, Юрій Лотман, транскодування, трансмедіальність, семіотична колізія, колаж.

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PROFESSIONAL WRESTLING AND IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION IN THE REALM OF SOCIAL MEDIA

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Abstract
The article presents an analysis of the problems that professional wrestlers face in their utilization of social media and the various strategies they employ in order to create a successful cohesion between the identity they present on the ring and their social media presence. Because of the metaphysical split that lies in the very foundation of wrestling the wrestler exists in two different realities—the world of everyday ordinary life on one side and the world of kayfabe on the other. The consequences from that grow in importance with the transition of wrestling into a televised form of entertainment and the conflict becomes even more emphasized when wrestling comes in contact with the realm of social media. The wrestler may choose to avoid social media altogether or she may choose to utilize social media as a continuation of her in-ring persona, or she may choose to initiate an interaction between the reality spheres of social media and wrestling. In the second part, I examine the challenges that the wrestling promotions face in their attempts to create a benign and engaging corporate identity. Historically wrestling has oftentimes exploited various negative stereotypes related to gender and race and this heritage continues to haunt the promotions up to this day. The contemporary problems lay in the field of social justice and the cruel ways in which the promotions treat their workers—the lack of permanent contracts, the uncertainty about health insurance and the attempts to ban wrestlers from utilizing social media.
Keywords: identity, multimodality, social media, professional wrestling, kayfabe.

1. Introduction

The first serious philosophical inquiry into professional wrestling as a cultural phenomenon dates back to the 1957 collection of essays by Roland Barthes bearing the title *Mythologies* (Barthes, 1972, pp. 13-23). Indeed, wrestling has a lot to do with religion in its social and individual aspects—the characters presented on the ring are larger than life, a modern reflection of the ancient ideas of deity and veneration, and just like the gods of the ancients they tend to fade away into powerlessness and obscurity in the moment that they lose the love of the crowd. Every generation believes that the type of wrestling that they were following when growing up is the best ever (Jenkins, 2005a, p. 295), but in reality those different periods in the historical development of wrestling bear much more similarities than differences. In Bulgaria wrestling arrived in the early 00's with the Attitude era, The Rock, Stone Cold Steve Austin, and Triple H; and I firmly believe that this was the best that wrestling has ever been. But somehow the problems that wrestling was creating in Bulgaria in the 00's were very similar to what was happening in Germany and Israel in the previous decade (Bachmair & Kress, 1996, pp. 145-159), there was a spike in school violence and RAW and SmackDown were moved to different timeslots with constant petitions for their outright removal from television. I am beginning with that not because I hate wrestling, but because I really believe that it is intended for more mature

audiences and the reason for that lies in the ontological structure of this unique form of entertainment, which from the very beginning is dividing our everyday life into two distinct reality spheres. This is not entertainment for children.

In regards to philosophical studies dedicated to professional wrestling the most interesting contemporary one is the book *Philosophy Smackdown* by Douglas Edwards (Edwards, 2020), which tackles the various ontological, epistemological, and ethical issues that arise from the initial metaphysical split of the reality of wrestling from the reality of everyday life. The book also contains an entire chapter dedicated to identity. Another very important volume is the special edition of *The Popular Culture Studies Journal* dedicated to professional wrestling (Jones, 2018), which presents a collection of contemporary articles discussing wrestling from a psychological, linguistic, and anthropological perspective. I have also heavily relied on an earlier collection of cultural studies dedicated to wrestling bearing the title *Steel Chair to the Head: The Pleasure and Pain of Professional Wrestling* (Sammond, 2005), which contains very important essays by Jenkins, Levi, and several other authors. The final title that I want to mention is *Identity in professional wrestling: Essays on nationality, race and gender* (Horton, 2018), which was very useful in the final part of my article where I discuss the various strategies, which the wrestling promotions are employing in order to escape from their controversial history in regards to the issues of gender and race.

2. Method

The article presents a philosophical and semiotic analysis of the process of identity construction through the means of social media and its implications on both individual and professional level. Professional wrestling is the last remaining realm of magic where the wrestler is expected to retain the vivid magnanimity of her character everywhere and at every time—in wrestling jargon this is called kayfabe. This has its implications on her abilities to participate in the process of construction and reinterpretation of her social environment. The wrestler has two faces, individual and professional, and they both participate to construct the entire picture of her social media presence. Through her social media participation, the professional wrestler is capable of changing the fate of her in-ring character. One of her identities is influencing the other in the communal rewriting of the text of the show. I also put special emphasis on the controversial issue of wrestlers losing their right to participate in social media as free and wholesome individuals.

The article starts with a brief historical introduction of the transformation of wrestling into a televised event and the transition from television to social media. In the second part, I present three different strategies in which the wrestler can achieve unity between the different reality spheres of social media and wrestling. In the final part, I discuss the challenges that contemporary online culture presents in front of the wrestling promotions in their strive for the construction of a benign and engaging corporate identity.

In my approach, I tackle the issues of identity from a broader perspective and I am more concerned with the philosophical implications of the interplay between the different spheres of reality. A more detailed account of multimodal identity construction in the ring and the various verbal and non-verbal strategies that the wrestlers employ in order to put emphasis on certain aspects of their character can be found in the article Analyzing Discourse in Sports Entertainment through Multiple Modalities (Quinn & Silveira, 2018, pp. 189-203). Also, since wrestling as a performance art has a lot to do with theater and film, the analysis of the methods used in the construction of emotions presented in the article Constructing Negative Emotions in Cinematic Discourse: a cognitive-pragmatic perspective (Krysanova, 2019, pp. 55-77) can also be applied to the various aspects of in-ring identity construction.

3.   Results and discussion

The research presented in the article leads to the conclusion that the social media presence of professional wrestlers has unique characteristics that are peculiar only to itself, although there are tangible similarities with the social media presence of professional athletes, actors and politicians. The reason for that uniqueness lies in the initial metaphysical split that defines wrestling as a cultural phenomenon—the professional wrestler exists in two different realities from the very beginning. This ontological dichotomy redefines the ways in which the wrestler interprets her own identity and her participation in the realm of social media. By utilizing this unique perspective and examining social media and identity construction through the lens of contemporary professional wrestling, the article provides indispensible insides into the nature of both phenomena, which would otherwise remain hidden. Hopefully, the other positive contribution of the article is that it throws light on the social plight of wrestlers, the lack of meaningful health insurance and the fight for their right to utilize social media as free individuals in the context of the corporate identity of the wrestling promotions.

The audience is not supposed to see the good guys and the bad guys being friendly to one another. They obviously are working together, they are training together, or at least they are discussing the development of the match. There are various historical accounts suggesting that there was significantly less preparation before the matches during the seventies and the eighties (Cornette & James, 2013, 2015). Both sides knew the finish, the way in which the match was supposed to end, but everything else was happening spontaneously. It was the practice of "calling spots" in the ring. The senior wrestler would lead the match by giving nonverbal hints to her less experienced colleague, and if the opportunity presents itself, she would even whisper something in her ear. Because there was no detailed scenario about the way in which things will get to the finish, the match was governed by the reactions of the audience, if the people enjoyed a certain spot, then the wrestlers will do it again, if they get a cold reaction from the audience, then they will move on to something else. There is the argument that this type of spontaneity has been lost in contemporary professional wrestling where every detail of the match is carefully choreographed.

During the seventies and the eighties, there was little time to discuss the choreography and the details about the match. Wrestlers were traveling performers, always on the move from one town to the next, often working several shows per day. Upon arrival in the new town, the heels and the babyfaces were expected to keep a distance from each other. Upon entering the sports venue, they were allocated to different dressing rooms in order to keep the illusion of the rivalry alive. Minutes before the match each side would get a separate visit from the booker who would give them some general ideas about the finish of the match, depending on the mood of the audience that night.

The wrestlers were putting much more effort in keeping the secret hidden in the previous decades. There is a famous story about Rick Flair waiting until 3 a.m. to visit his friend Magnum T.A. in a local hospital. Magnum has had a terrifying motorcycle crash the previous day, it was the crash that nearly killed him and ended his wrestling career. Rick Flair was one of his best friends, but he was not able to visit him during the day, they had to keep kayfabe. Perhaps the people that were buying tickets for the matches knew that it was all a show, but they wanted to be deceived in a meaningful and respectful way. The people that were fighting on the ring should look physically fit, intimidating, and taller than the rest. The heels should have some evil demeanor and the babyfaces should be likeable, and they should not visit each other in the hospital, even when it is a matter of life or death.

3.1. From television to social media

Much of the problems that we have today with wrestling and social media were first introduced with the transformation of wrestling into a televised sporting event. Initially, because of the specifics of the historical development and spread of television in the United States, the union between television and wrestling was natural, uncomplicated, and mutually beneficial. The country was divided by a number of wrestling promotions, each with their own territory, usually encompassing the borders of

one or several states. At the same time, the most influential news outlets in those territories were the local TV stations. It was a gradual process, initially the wrestling promotions started advertising their schedule, then they tried televising separate matches and the final step was the introduction of weekly televised wrestling shows that would highlight the most interesting things that had happened in the territory during the previous week and would prepare the audience for the next week.

Today we judge about the importance and the success of a sporting event by the fact that it was televised. This was not the case during the seventies and the early eighties (Brody, 2009, p. 4). The National Wrestling Alliance Heavyweight Champion Rick Flair was known for saying that it would be beneath his dignity to defend his title on TV—if people want to see him, they must buy tickets and come to the arena. The revenues from TV advertising were still relatively small and the main income for the wrestling promotions was from ticket sales.

The importance of television in regards to wrestling drastically increased in the mid-eighties and the change was on both sides. The local TV stations were merging into large national conglomerates and the same thing was happening with the small wrestling promotions. In the northern part of the country, the smaller territories were absorbed by the WWE. The company that managed to outdo its competitors in the south and the Midwest was the WCW. The war between WWE and WCW in the late eighties was a war about television rights (Brody, 2009, p. 72). The success of a national wrestling promotion was impossible without nationwide television coverage so each company was trying to disrupt the others' ability to appear on TV.

Since then, it is impossible to imagine wrestling without television and now, it is also impossible to imagine wrestling without social media. People with a nostalgic view towards the seventies and the eighties tend to put a heavy emphasis on the negative and disruptive influence of television. Wrestlers were no longer touring small towns, the immediate everyday connection with the audience was lost and now it was nearly impossible to keep kayfabe on a nationwide scale. On the other hand, wrestling would not be what it is today without television. The natural charisma of the wrestler was only enhanced and introduced to a wider audience, the ability to speak and the heroic acts of athleticism were easily transferred from the arena to the television screen.

In a similar way, there are a lot of negative things that can be said about the influence that the introduction of social media has had on wrestling, but on the other side there are also many positives. In the special edition of The Popular Culture Studies Journal dedicated to wrestling, the authors present a small survey conducted among several wrestling personalities (Olson, 2018). Social media gives the smaller promotions the opportunity to present their product to a new audience and grow. It gives an outlet for their stars, an opportunity to develop their character in direct communication with the fans, to feel connected, appreciated and loved. Things get a little bit more complicated when we get to the questions about social media and kayfabe and the distinction between professional and personal social media presence.

Wrestling is a public ritual dedicated to the adherence and reenactment of certain principles that keep us together as a society—the return of justice, the avenging of a crime, the righting of a wrong, the idea that it is possible to make things right again. It is more than an athletic competition; in fact it is not an athletic completion at all, although the acts themselves are very demanding physically. The main idea that makes wrestling appealing is the reenactment of certain archetypes that we have within us. We want justice restored in the world, and it is going to be difficult, the bad guys are going to lie and cheat and use various items from the theatrical repository that is hidden under the ring to gain an advantage, but in the end the good guys are going to win. However, all this will go to nothing if you actually see the good guys and the bad guys hanging out together after the match and being good friends or actually training together—then the magic of wrestling is destroyed. It was possible to prevent that, to keep the illusion of this confrontation to the necessary degree, it was possible to do it forty or thirty years ago, when there were no cell phones with cameras and there was no social media.

Nowadays things are different. The wrestlers, like everybody else, want to participate and they want to share something that is different from their professional occupation. They may be portraying

an all-powerful and invincible character, but in the end of the day, it is only a job to them, like it is for everybody else. They want to share something more, something that is personal and defines them as individuals. We know that people need to disengage from their professional situation from time to time and this is the healthy human behavior—we need to participate in community as something else, as something more or something less than our professional identity. However, it seems like the professional wrestler is deprived of this human necessity. She is expected to be constantly occupied with her professional engagements; if the job is to be done correctly then there must be nobody else outside of the job. If forty years ago the wrestler was required to be very conscious about her everyday activities, about the way she acts in her immediate environment, now she must be very conscious about her social media presence.

It is a wonderful thing to experience fulfillment and satisfaction from your work, but this is rarely the case, and even if it was, a human being is more than his profession. There is a counter argument to be made here that wrestling is indeed some sort of an artistic occupation and in order to be successful in this artistic endeavor the wrestler must become one with the character. The idea is that the most successful wrestlers throughout history were always portraying their true identities or they have become successful when they have discovered their true personality and have allowed that personality to manifest itself through the character in the ring (Edwards, 2020). Stone Cold Steve Austin is not playing anybody, this is not his job, he is just being himself.

My desire in this article is to put a stronger emphasis on the social side of the issue. Stone Cold Steve Austin may have indeed found his true vocation, but this is not the case for the majority of the wrestlers on the roster. In every office, you will find one person who is happy to stay there seven days a week. This does not mean that the rest of the people need to become like him. Quite the contrary, they need quality time and meaningful social engagements outside of the job in order to keep them sane, productive and healthy. We share our emotions, activities, and interests with each other over social media and it is out there for everybody to see. We share pictures of kittens or flowers or quotes about the meaning of life, or we upload a picture of what we had for breakfast, or we share songs that we like. That is what healthy human beings do over the internet.

But what if you are a villain on a wrestling show, then you are not allowed to share pictures of kittens and flowers. You hate pets and babies and you have an overall negative attitude towards life and everything in it. You hate everybody and you have supernatural powers, you are not allowed to share your feelings the way normal people do. And this internal conflict is the most actual, genuine, and real thing in wrestling, the clash of realities. In this regard, professional wrestlers are in a category of their own. It is not the same for professional athletes like football players or cyclists. We have a positive interest towards their lives. They are allowed to present their genuine emotions and different aspects of their personality that are outside of the sport field. The wrestler does not have that privilege. Again, in wrestling, the athletic performance itself is secondary, the main thing is the personality and it must remain the same on the ring and outside of it. If thirty years ago you were a villain, then you were not supposed to be seen in public having fun and drinking beer with the good guys. Today the same thing must be reflected in your social media presence. So in this sense, wrestlers are different from other professional athletes, their main asset is not their physical prowess, their main asset is their personality and it must remain the same in the ring and outside of it. They are also different from actors. Sometimes they are.

There are many stories about people being introduced to theater or film for the first time. They want to physically assault the actor who is portraying the villain or they want to simply break down the theater when the actor who died the previous night is now resurrected and he is playing a different character (Marques, 1971, p. 112). People feel betrayed. In the seventies, the famous Bulgarian actor Georgi Cherkelov was portraying a villain on television and the local kids in the neighborhood were vandalizing his car, they were cutting the tires and scratching the doors of the car. It is more difficult for children to see the difference between those two distinct realities, the reality of film, the reality of art on one side and the reality of everyday life on the other. The wrestler is expected to remain in the

reality of art constantly, without taking a break. And again, this is very unhealthy, we need to be able to disassociate from our everyday professional obligations and the way we do that nowadays is through social media. It seems like the wrestlers are the only people who are not allowed to do that.

Our expectations about the way in which the wrestler expresses herself through social media are very complex. The social media presence of the wrestler is fundamentally different from that of the professional athlete or the actor. The wrestlers seem to have more in common with the social media presence of politicians or government entities. We expect our politicians to remain in character all the time, to follow certain norms of behavior in front of the public. In addition, there is this expression in English, when somebody is trying to behave properly we say that he is keeping face and this is a strict necessity in wrestling and in politics. Again, we have certain expectations from the people who are on important positions, they must have a clean internet history and they must be very careful with their social media presence. This is necessary for keeping the structure of society, those people need to be an example for everybody else and a guarantee that society functions according to a strict code of ethical rules, and it is necessary for them to keep up with that persona all the time in their social media presence. There are two major similarities between politics and wrestling in the context of social media. First, both wrestling and politics can be defined as a public ritual dedicated to the adherence and reenactment of certain principles that keep us together as a society. Second, the fundamental principles that govern the social media presence of the wrestler and the politician are identical; they are obliged to present a strict appearance of integrity and prudence in the eyes of the public.

Going back specifically to wrestling, again, the athletic performance itself is secondary, it is only an instrument, the most important thing is the personality of the wrestler. She must keep the integrity of that theatrical persona that he is building in the ring and express it throughout all the other different modes and channels that she is using for communication with her audience. Her social media presence is similar to that of a political entity or an institution that needs to express some sort of consistent and cohesive presentation of its own identity. We need to see and experience those institutions as being benign and caring for the well-being of the people. Creating an environment in which we can experience that is what makes society function. In the micro society of the wrestler and her audience, this type of integrity is what creates a separate sphere of reality where the audience has all the reasons to hate the villains and to cheer for the good guys. The good guys are going to win, eventually, but for that to happen you will have to buy a lot of tickets and sit down through a lot of episodes of the show. At the end of it, all justice is going to return to the world and the bad guys are going to get a severe beating with baseball bats, chairs, ladders and tables, and everything else that lies hidden under the ring.

In wrestling, there is this magical, sacred space below the ring. Some of the things that lay hidden there are quite disturbing and shocking, but we have to think of it as theatrical repository. For example, when we are in the theater in the beginning of the play and the lights go off, and there is a single chair or a table on the stage in the beginning of the act, we know that something is going to happen with that chair during the process of development of the play. In wrestling, there is this space below the ring where we have all the chairs, tables, ladders, baseball bats, kendo sticks—all those things are going to play their part in the development of the story. There is also the element of surprise, because the ring is covering what is hidden bellow. Nevertheless, the experienced members of the audience know that when the wrestler comes down and lifts the apron of the ring she is going to pick some forbidden item from underneath. Usually, this item is going to play an important role in the development of the story.

It is usually the role of the heel to bring new items from bellow the ring. Once those forbidden objects are included in the development of the story, it is permissible for the babyfaces to use them as well, in order to restore justice, oftentimes beating the heels with their own weapons. In many instances, there is a very strong connection between the heel and her weapon of choice, the forbidden item plays a crucial role in the development of the character and becomes an important part of her

identity on the ring. A very good example for that is the special bond between the wrestler Triple H and his trusty hummer. The heel is not able to win the match fairly so she needs to cheat, the forbidden item becomes a symbol of her weakness and inability, but at the same time the hammer is a powerful weapon that strikes fear in the hearts of her opponents. The heel is a powerful villain but her power is the result of trickery. The role of the babyface is to destroy this evil illusion, to stand bravely in front of the overcoming odds and defeat the heel by turning her own weapon against her. In this sense the forbidden item plays a crucial role in the development of the characters of both the babyface and the heel—it can be a hammer, a coffin, tampons or dental instruments, and at one point, before wrestling was caring about animal rights and before social media, it could have been a snake or an iguana (Jenkins, 2005b).

3.2. Strategies for coping

The main idea that I have presented so far is that the social media presence of wrestlers is on a level of its own, the only thing that I can compare it with is the social media presence of politicians and government entities. At the same time, the notion of social media has also become associated with the process of personal participation; it is a personal outlet that facilitates the process of construction and reinterpretation of our social environment, which in its turn has a massive impact on the emergence and further development of the personal identity of the participants (Yovcheva, 2013). This, further on, reveals the fundamental problem of wrestling—it is the clash of two completely different and contradictive realities and the only point of reference between them is the individual entity of the wrestler.

In this section, I am examining three different strategies that the wrestlers may employ in their attempts to resolve the conflict. I am presenting wrestling and social media as two distinct reality spheres that can enter into three different types of interaction between each other.

In the first type of interaction, the spheres remain separated from one another; they do not have a common point of reference. In this case, the wrestler has a very limited social media presence or she does not utilize social media at all. The positive side of this type of interaction between the reality spheres is that the integrity of the character created on the ring remains unscathed. The negative side is that the wrestler misses the opportunity to present her character to a bigger audience and she also misses the opportunity to develop that character in her online interactions with the audience.

In the second type of interaction, the reality sphere of wrestling is predominant and completely engulfs everything else. This is the old idea of kayfabe which is now resurrected in the realm of social media. The wrestler remains in character indefinitely and her online interactions are a reflection and a continuation of her in-ring persona. The positives in this case are numerous. The wrestler has the opportunity to utilize social media in order to increase the popularity of her character and she is able to experience the feedback from the audience firsthand. The negative side of this interaction is that in the reality sphere of social media things are meant to be taken seriously. The most captivating and flamboyant wrestling characters today are still in conflict with many of the commonly accepted social values. The wrestler who practices online kayfabe is constantly at risk of losing her social media presence and potentially damaging her career.

In the third type of interaction, the spheres are actively engaging each other; this creates a new realm of reality where the arguments from the world of wrestling can have an impact in the real world and vice versa.

3.3. Staying silent

How can wrestlers have social media profiles? What are you going to share with your audience if you are a supernatural being or you can fly, or you can shoot lightning out of your hands? Well, one way is, you can simply choose to not utilize social media. One example for that was Mark Calaway who has been wrestling since the 90s and today he still is one of the most influential wrestling personalities ever. He looked like a tall silent guy, always dressed in black, and he had supernatural power—he

was able to shoot lightning out of his hands and his brother had the ability to throw fireballs, their entire family was like that. His brother, who is not actually his brother, the one who can throw fireballs, is now the mayor of a medium sized American county.

Mark Calaway has been on Twitter for ten years and he was famous for not saying anything. This was his way of interacting with the audience and utilizing social media. In a sense this was a continuation of his in ring persona, his profile was all dark, mysterious and silent. On the other hand, you can argue that he was trying to protect his in ring persona, because an overly abundant Twitter activity would harm our idea of the supernatural being that is supposedly staying behind the profile. The third option is that perhaps he was not a very talkative guy, perhaps he did not like to post a lot. In the last year and a half, since Mark Calaway retired from professional wrestling, he did a lot of very interesting interviews and now he is posting on Twitter from time to time. However, this was not the case during the ten years in which he was competing and he had an empty Twitter profile. I am presenting him as an example here, because this is one of the ways in which a professional wrestler can handle his social media presence. He simply keeps silent. If he is portraying some sort of a dark mysterious entity on the ring, then it even makes a lot of sense to be silent and not to post too much on Twitter. And it also works if the wrestler is not a very talkative guy to begin with.

3.4. Complete cohesion

Another way to resolve this conflict is to go all the way in. In this case, the wrestler is trying to establish an absolute unity between the stage persona and her social media activity, in her interactions with the audience during meetings, events, and interviews. All this is combined into one and in this scenario the wrestler is never getting out of character, all the aspects of her life are identical with her in-ring persona.

An example of that, the prime example, is a young wrestler named Maxwell Jacob Friedman, better known as MJF. MJF's in ring persona is that of a privileged, well educated, spoiled young man and MJF's interaction with the audience consists of an endless list of insults, that can be separated in several different categories. The people who have come to see him wrestle are usually called mentally deficient, physically unattractive and economically inadequate, and this of course acts as a counterpoint to the numerous positive characteristics of his own in-ring persona. He is from a very wealthy family, he has graduated from several very prestigious universities, and on top of that Maxwell Jacob Friedman is actually Jewish and he uses that to add all the necessary negative stereotypes that contribute to his character. Of course, all of this is getting a very strong reaction from the audience, people love to hate him. During his promos, there is a constant wave of booing and whistling from the audience. The spectators swear and shout at him and he responds with personalized insults for individual members of the audience. It is wonderful to watch and this is what a good villain should do.

This type of behavior from MJF is transferred from the ring to all his other media appearances. During interviews he remains in character. The most famous example of that is when he was interviewed by Stone Cold Steve Austin in his podcast. MJF remained in character during the entire interview, which also presented a very interesting contrast between the characters of those two wrestlers. Austin is a beer drinking redneck who has no respect for social norms and MJF is a snobbish young man who thinks he is better than everybody else. Also, Austin is one of the most popular wrestlers ever and if you have the chance to appear on his podcast you should try and show the best that you are capable of. MJF's idea was to remain in character, it was very brave and it was a success. Another area where the wrestlers and the audience are interacting with each other are the so called promotional events, where the fans are able to get close to their favorite stars. MJF always remains in character during those meetings, even when he is in direct communication with members of the audience. People are waiting in line to get insulted by him and get his autograph.

All of this is also transferred to MJF's Twitter activity where he takes controversial standpoints on various social issues, demonstrating an incredible level of intolerance towards everybody and

making fun of people's physical appearance. MJF is playing a dangerous game. We live in a time when because of the constant social strife and the piling up of injustices towards different minority groups we have lost our sense of humor, and this is as bad as everything else. Perhaps one day MJF will make a step too far and he will lose the ability to utilize social media, but for now, he is still able to express and develop his character throughout all the different platforms that are available to him.

3.5. Engagement between the spheres

In the final example, we have a split within the character or a split between the character and the person who is portraying the character, but at the same time they remain inherently connected, they depend on each other, they are the two parts of a whole. On one side of the equation, stands the stage character and on the other stands the person who is portraying the character, but they are parts of a bigger entity that encompasses them both and finds its ultimate realization in the participatory reality of social media.

The reactions of the audience are essential for the development of the match. The finish itself is predetermined, the people who are fighting on the ring already know how the match is going to end, but certain nuances of their confrontation can be highlighted and enhanced depending on the reactions of the crowd—if the people really like something then you do more of the same. If there is a very strong reaction from the live audience in the arena, then the wrestlers and the bookers can learn from that and in the course of several matches this feedback can determine the development of the storylines on a higher level. It can be a very strong positive reaction, or a very strong negative reaction, this distinction is not important, the important thing is that the audience is strongly involved with that person and they want to see her again and again.

It is remarkable that from its earliest days wrestling was able to rise above this distinction between a positive and a negative crowd reaction, the important thing was that the audience is involved. The negative involvement, when the audience really hates someone in wrestling is called heat. The villain is generating a lot of heat from the audience when the people are really involved in the match and they really hate her—and this is a very good thing, they will buy tickets to see her again. But because professional wrestling has been around for more than a century we also know that this distinction between positive and negative can be reinstated on a higher level. The negative involvement, the heat is actually a good thing, but not always, and again there is a special term for that in wrestling, they call it "go home heat". That means people hate you so much that they simply do not want to see you ever again, they return to their homes and they will not be buying tickets for the shows anymore. This happens when the villain does something really stupid and outrageous. Again, there is a strong emotional reaction from the audience, but now the result is that they simply do not want to be involved in all this, they just do not want the things that are presented in the ring to be a part of their lives anymore.

The ability of the audience to rearrange the development of a storyline has always been an integral part of wrestling and in this regard, the wrestling show is an unfinished book, it is like an interactive movie in which the audience can have a direct effect on the development and the outcome of the story. We can try to find parallels of that in sports and in theater. Sometimes we say that the fans carried their team to victory, sometimes a football team is really difficult to be defeated when they are playing on their home field, because they have the support of the entire stadium. And sometimes in theater we have instances when the scripts of classical plays have been rearranged to better suit the performance of a very famous and influential actor—like the reinterpretation of Aaron by Ira Aldridge.

Going back to wrestling, the immediate influence of the audience has always been a major factor in the development of the characters. Forty years ago and thirty years ago, before wrestling became a largely televised form of entertainment; this type of influence was exerted directly by the audience in the sport arenas. Things have changed a lot since then, now wrestling is on television and we have the internet.

The type of influence that the audience can have on the development of the characters on the ring has now shifted from the arena to the realm of social media and this process was enhanced even more by the COVID-19 pandemic. The reason why wrestling has survived as cultural phenomenon for a century is the fact that it has always had the direct contact with the audience and the audience has been the leading factor in the development of the story. Every evening, on every event, you have to do something that will make the people want to come back. You are able to know if you are successful or not by the atmosphere in the arena, the audience will tell you if the show was good or not.

When the pandemic started, wrestling lost all that. The audience was gone and the direct feedback was no longer there. The atmosphere of the arena was lost, you can feel the live crowd when it is there even through the television screen, and now they were wrestling in front of empty seats and it looked like a rehearsal for a ballet. However, the most important thing that was lost was the feedback for the development of the characters and the story. Now wrestling had to depend completely on the feedback from social media. This played a crucial role in the events that occurred with Naomi in the summer of 2020, during the height of the pandemic and the lockdowns. The thing that was trending on Twitter at that time was the hashtag #naomideservesbetter.

Historically in wrestling women have predominantly been on the side of the ring, they participate in the storyline, but they do not get involved in the action, with a very few exceptions. The very idea that women can wrestle among each other gains mainstream popularity in the middle of the nineties and the type of matches that are typical for that period have a lot to do with women being undressed in the ring. They were called bikini matches, the winner was the competitor who manages to undress her opponent first—it is basically a striptease show, but they pretend to be really angry at each other. The contemporary viewpoint is that this type of wrestling is a mockery to women, it presents them only as sexual objects and it diminishes the true power of character that can otherwise be presented by women in the ring.

The audience was not happy with the way that Naomi has lost her last match and her previous participation in the show before that was an injustice towards her talent and the years of hard work. People believed that Naomi deserves better. The problem had its roots in the way that women have been treated and portrayed in wrestling in the previous decades, not as part of the main event but as something on the side. This happened to Naomi and several other female wrestlers on the 10th of July 2020 on SmackDown—instead of wrestling the women were participating in a karaoke contest.

In the middle of the summer of 2020, the audience was banned from the wrestling events and because of that, the atmosphere of the TV recordings was completely compromised. Wrestling does not work without an audience. Fewer and fewer people were actually watching the show, and WWE decided that they must try something new to regain the interest. They gathered the women in the middle of the ring, not to wrestle, but to sing and dance. The reaction of the online audience was livid and the show became an object of criticism by various groups and individuals fighting for social justice over the internet. Naomi expressed her own opinion on Twitter and Instagram, she was not happy with the way her character was developing and that way the hashtag #naomideservesbetter was born (Morgan, 2020). Thus, we had an example of the audience actively participating in the construction and the development of the character, it was not happening on the arena where the crowd is shouting in support of the wrestler, it was happening on Twitter. It all started with the active participation of the wrestler, who expressed her position as an individual human being who is forced to present a character that she does not agree with.

Those are three different examples—Mark Calaway, MJF, and Naomi—of the way in which the wrestler tries to expand the field of her identity construction outside of the ring and into the realm of direct interaction with the audience in meetings, interviews and social media. In the first case, the supernatural being chooses to remain silent. The second strategy is the one that is presented by Maxwell Jacob Friedman who completely identifies with the character of MJF. In the case of Naomi,

we have an initial disassociation with the presented character, which actually leads to an even stronger process of identification with the in-ring character.

3.6. Corporate Identity

So far, I have put a heavy emphasis on the influence that the audience has on the development of the characters and the storylines. However, in reality there are several other factors that contribute to the final version of the character that we see on the stage.

First, wrestling is a very social endeavor, not only because of the heavy influence of the audience, but also because you have to interact with your partner in the ring. You need to have good communication with the people that you are working with. In a wrestling match, you are pretending that you are hitting each other and hurting each other, so you really must have good communication and respect for your partner, otherwise things can get dangerous for both of you in this environment. The ability to communicate with your colleagues is one of the major factors that contribute to the development of your character in wrestling—you must be able to work with other people in order to have a successful wrestling career.

The other major factor is that the final decisions about the storylines are not made by the wrestlers; in most cases, they are made by the people that write the script for the show and the people who own the wrestling promotion. In wrestling, the term for that is booker, the booker was the person who books the matches, she writes down who wins the match and how, and in contemporary wrestling the big wrestling promotions have teams of writers that create the scenarios for the characters. The influence of the audience is fundamental, along with those other factors, but in the end, a large portion of the responsibility lies upon the wrestling promotion—the people who organize the events.

In our contemporary environment, the wrestling promotion is faced with the same challenges that the wrestlers have to tackle individually in regards to kayfabe and social media, and also in regards to the very controversial nature of the topics that are presented on the wrestling program. The example with Naomi actually contains in itself a lot of those challenges. It is no longer accepted to present women as something that is one the side of the program, they are expected to have an equal part in the show and every wrestling promotion should be aware of that issue. They must be ready to face the challenges and the expectations of this new type of audience in regards to race and gender.

In the mid nineties, one of the most famous wrestlers of the WWF was Goldust and his character is that of a transgendered wrestler, dressed in latex and embodying all the negative stereotypes of homosexuality (Catte & Howard, 2018, p. 142). He was one of the major attractions of the promotion, twenty years later Stone Cold Steve Austin shares in interviews that he was really jealous of Goldust, the success he had and the money he was making. He was one of the best paid wrestlers, people were buying tickets to see him get beaten up and to shout insults at him. In our contemporary reality, this type of entertainment is completely unacceptable. We have decided collectively that this behavior on the side of the promotion and on the side of the character breeds hate and violence against different vulnerable groups in society. It will be impossible for a wrestling promotion to develop this type of character today; they will get canceled on social media.

In the context of identity construction and character development it is interesting to add that the person who was portraying Goldust in the ring was not gay. He was just desperate to get a job, he was out of money and he was ready to do anything, and on top of that he had no idea about the meaning of the word 'transgendered'. When they offered him the job on the phone, he accepted immediately and then he had to ask his girlfriend what it actually meant to be trans. But later on, because of the success he was having, he completely immersed himself in the character he was portraying on the ring—up to the point where he wanted to have silicone breast implants to make the audience hate him even more. This idea was rejected by the wrestling promotion. It was a step too far and shortly after that, the character of Goldust was radically toned down. He was no longer portraying all the homosexual stereotypes, he was more of a glam rock star with a lot of makeup and eventually he was taken off the stage. It is no longer acceptable to make fun of race and gender and the wrestling

promotions are trying to adhere to those new principals, and it is difficult for them because they have a very dark past in regards to those issues.

Nowadays, the wrestling promotions want to present to the public the idea that they are positive and inclusive corporate entities, but in order to do that they need to be honest with the people who work for them (Yovcheva, 2014). Going back to the comparison between actors and wrestlers, in the United States, actors have labor unions, wrestlers do not. The way in which the money from the wrestling promotion is distributed among the people who work on the ring is never really fair or consistent. To continue this line about the connection between wrestling and politics, the question about the workers' rights of wrestlers was so controversial that it managed to become one of the topics of the 2020 presidential race in the US, at least on the preliminary level. Andrew Yang, one of the nominees of the Democratic Party, was proposing to tackle those problems as part of his platform of running for president (Konuwa, 2020). Wrestlers do not have labor unions and they do not have permanent contracts, which really became an issue during the pandemic when the biggest wrestling promotion fired half of its workers without consequences. There were consequences in the public opinion, however, the firings were unnecessary, the salaries of those people were only a small percentage of the entire revenue of the company and as a result of that the promotion lost even more of the dwindling support of its fans. WWE was firing people during a time when they would not be able to find employment anywhere else.

As a counterpoint to that, the other major promotion, AEW, managed to establish and to present the care for the workers during the pandemic as one of the key characteristics of their corporate identity. They did not fire anybody during those hard times and from the very beginning they were providing health insurance for their workers, which is really necessary and it is the right thing to do.

AEW has its own problems in regards to the integrity of the corporate image that it is trying to build. One of the more unusual and novel items that was used in a wrestling match recently, in the summer of 2021, was a pizza slicer. It is a metal disc that you use for slicing pieces of pizza and in the magical world of wrestling, you can apparently use it to attack the face of your opponent. It is unexpected and disgusting to a degree and it looks really dangerous, but that is the whole idea of the act. In order to construct a benevolent and compelling corporate image AEW was employing two main strategies. The first one was the tackling of the social issues that have haunted wrestling for decades, AEW provided its wrestlers with relatively equal pay, health insurance and the freedom to speak their mind about the company. AEW also took a firm stand on the issues of race and gender, refusing outright to even consider working with Hulk Hogan after the racial scandal that tainted the last years of his career (Koh, 2022), the company is working with the daughter of Hogan. The second strategy was focused on the idea that wrestling has departed from its roots and needs to be more real and more hardcore. Professional wrestling in Japan is known for its use of unusual foreign objects, unsavory violence and blood (Marino, 2021). Many of the wrestlers that formed the backbone of the new promotion had background working in Japan and in various small independent promotions throughout the United States. Some things are perfectly normal when you perform for a smaller audience in a park or a bar, and the same things are completely unacceptable on national television with all its regulations. AEW Dynamite, the main TV show of the promotion is supposed to have a mild PG rating, it is entertainment for young adults or something that you can watch with your children. The pizza slicer incident received a lot of negative feedback and, to make things worse, one of the commercials aired between the matches was that of a family friendly pizza restaurant.

In conclusion, the worst corporate misconduct in regards to social media was performed by WWE when the promotion began to actively prohibit its wrestlers from utilizing their personal social media profiles. The argument was made that this will help to keep kayfabe alive and will protect the wrestlers from revealing embarrassing information about themselves. Another reason was that the wrestlers were making a lot of money from donations on Twitch and appearances on Cameo and the promotion wanted a share of that. Both of those reasons are absurd and are an infringement of the workers' rights of the employees of the company and an infringement of the individual human rights

of the person behind the wrestling character. If this is allowed in wrestling, it may set a dangerous precedent that will spread in other areas, every company will be happy to silence the critical voices of its workers. WWE is notorious for not caring about kayfabe, the reason for introducing those restrictions is to try to silence the voices of people like Naomi who utilize social media in order to fight for the recognition they deserve. The idea that the promotion will take a percentage of the money that the wrestlers make on Cameo is also preposterous. The wrestlers do not have permanent contracts, they are employed as independent contractors, which gives WWE the opportunity to fire them whenever they want without consequences or compensation, and they did that en masse at the height of the pandemic in 2020.

4. Conclusions

Poetry and humor are notoriously difficult to translate, especially in a cross-cultural context filled with verbal and nonverbal puns (Kovalenko & Martynyuk, 2021). Perhaps the translation of wrestling related terminology should also be included in that group. In my research on the various aspects of wrestling so far I have not paid attention to the character of the referee, who is always in the background of every wrestling match and oftentimes plays a crucial role in the development of the story. Regrettably, in wrestling the referee is destined to play the role of the fool, but unlike Shakespearean plays where we have two types of fools, in wrestling the referee is a complete idiot who never sees the trickery of the villains and is never to be found when the good guys need him to finish the match. This behavior on the side of the referee has turned into a popular pun and an insult towards someone who never pays attention. In the novel *Red Dragon* by Thomas Harris, in chapter 23, there is a crime scene and only one witness, an old guard who does not really pay attention to anything around him. The police try to interrogate him but in the end they give up, he does not have anything useful to say—he could referee wrestling he sees so little (Harris, 2000, p. 229). The Russian translation by Valerii Gusev of this portion of the book reads the following—their guard saw nothing, he could become a football referee (Harris, 2010, p. 171). This creative approach on the side of the translator is fascinating, especially in the context of what was said in the article so far about the similarities and differences between wrestling and athletic competition. The translator was searching for something that will be more familiar to his audience so he chose football as a type of athletic competition that is notorious for being corrupted and the football referee who is notorious for selling the match. When things are presented in this context it seems that wrestling is actually not really that different from other athletic competitions or from everything else, we all pretend to be something that we are not and we are doing it for the audience of our immediate family or our colleagues, or our boss.

However, I still stand by my original thesis, the way in which wrestlers utilize social media is unique because of the metaphysical split that lies in the foundation of wrestling as a cultural phenomenon—the wrestler consciously exists in two different realities. But perhaps things should be discussed in the context of what Nietzsche said about Ancient Greek Theater and the actor telling lies on the stage, pretending to be something he is not. We are all telling lies, but the actor is doing it consciously so there is much to be learned by observing and analyzing the phenomenon of theater. I believe there is much to be learned from observing wrestling and the insights that we will receive from that will help us to better understand the ways in which we construct our identities in participation with one another.

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ПРОФЕСІЙНА БОРОТЬБА
ТА КОНСТРУЮВАННЯ ІДЕНТИЧНОСТІ
В СФЕРІ СОЦІАЛЬНИХ МЕДІА

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Анотація

У статті представлено аналіз проблем, з якими стикаються професійні борці під час використання соціальних медіа, і аналіз різноманітних стратегій, які вони застосовують для створення успішного зв'язку між ідентичністю, яку вони представляють на рингу, та своєю присутністю в соціальних мережах. Через метафізичний розкол, який лежить у самій основі боротьби кейфеб, борець існує у двох різних реальностях – у світі реального життя з одного боку та у світі кейфеб з іншого. Наслідки цього стають все більш вагомими з перетворенням реслінгу на телевізійну форму розваги, і конфлікт стає ще більш підкресленим, коли реслінг вступає в контакт зі сферою соціальних мереж. Борець може взагалі відмовитися від соціальних медіа або використовувати соціальні медіа як продовження своєї персони на рингу, або він може ініціювати взаємодію між реальністю сфери соціальних медіа та сферою вільної боротьби. У другій частині я розглядаю проблеми, з якими стикаються представники реслінг-промоушену у своїх спробах створити доброзичливий і привабливий корпоративний стиль. Історично реслінг часто використовував різні негативні стереотипи, пов'язані зі статтю та расою, і ця спадщина продовжує переслідувати рекламні акції донині. Сучасні проблеми полягають у сфері соціальної справедливості та у жорстоких способах поводження промоутерів зі своїми працівниками: відсутність постійних контрактів, невизначеність щодо медичного страхування та спроби заборонити борцям користуватися соціальними мережами.

Ключові слова: ідентичність, мультимодальність, соціальні медіа, професійна боротьба, кейфеб.

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EMERGENT MEANING-MAKING IN MULTIMODAL DISCOURSE: A CASE FOR *SADNESS* IN *THE HORSE WHISPERER*

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Abstract
This article addresses functional-pragmatic and cognitive-semiotic issues of emergent meaning-making in multimodal discourse. The theoretical backbone comprises the theories of conceptual integration, blended classic joint attention, embodied cognition, and performativity. This study acknowledges that emergent meaning-making is a performative act grounded on the intersubjective interaction of communicants constituted by environmental and bodily factors. Emergent meaning is viewed as novel, which possesses a certain level of complexity, and is not derived from the meaning of its semiotic elements. A case study analysis of sadness in film enables to reveal the main features of emergent meaning-making: 1) filmmakers and viewers co-participate in meaning-making and are able to share joint attention providing intersubjective interaction mediated by the camera; 2) meaning-making is grounded in bodily experiences and embodied not only through nonverbal elements but also verbal and cinematic semiotic resources in film; 3) a synergistic integration of modes and semiotic resources constructs the emergent meaning; 4) the configuration of semiotic resources is characterized by the volatility of combinations; 4) emergent constructs may be organized according to particular regulations creating constructive patterns. These findings stipulate further analysis of meaning-making, its material-perceptual and socio-semiotic aspects.
Keywords: emergence, film, meaning-making, multimodal discourse, sadness, semiotic resource.

1. Introduction

Recent developments of linguistic studies have demonstrated their focus on the context-based process of meaning-making emphasizing the role of communicants' shared knowledge in discourse (Carston, 2002; Schmid, 2012; Shevchenko & Gutorov, 2019). During the previous decades, the notion of emergence has gained special attention in different branches of science, from mathematics and economics to social sciences. It highlights the interaction of various entities resulting in emerging novel properties that occurs in a certain semiotic environment. This paper addresses emergent features of meaning-making in multimodal discourse with a special focus on feature film.

It is universally acknowledged that meaning constructed by multimodal means plays an ever greater role in modern communication as the process of meaning-making employs the integration of different modes producing semantic combinations in a certain context. Context is viewed as a semiotic environment, an environment of meanings, within which the integration of semiotic systems takes place (Matthiessen, 2009, p. 12). A multimodal approach enables to explain how the meaning emerges in different semiotic environments taking into account social and cultural factors as well as the author's intention. Seizov and Wildfeuer (2017, p.3) claim that

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> *We propose to define multimodality as a modus operandi for conducting research on human communication, both mediated and face to face. As such, it is more encompassing than a method and more palpable and pliable than a theory. <…> We follow a problem-oriented approach to the study of multimodality as a way of characterizing communicative situations (considered very broadly) which rely upon combinations of different 'forms' of communication to be effective.*

The theory of emergence (emergentism in some theories (Kövecses, 2015), which became widespread in the middle of the 20th century, refers to the arising of novel properties in the process of self-organization in complex systems. It is promising for the interpretation of processes of modern social life in various fields, including human communicative interaction through the mediation of digital means. As multimodal discourse is semiotically heterogeneous, the construction of meaning is characterized by the combination of different semiotic elements, which are non-additive in their nature. The challenge for the analysis of meaning-making in multimodal discourse is that the meaning of the whole semantic combination is not derived from the meaning of its semiotic elements. Verbal language, nonverbal human behavior represented by images and voice, and specific technical cinematic devices employed in film to construct meanings do not have strict laws of their combinations. It demonstrates the emergent nature of meaning and paves the way for explaining meaning-making as the dynamic and on-line process.

The aim of the article is to reveal the characteristics of emergence in the process of meaning-making in multimodal discourse. This article is one more step in a series of works addressing the study of meaning-making in multimodal discourse with a special focus on the construction of emotions in film (see Krysanova & Shevchenko, 2019; Krysanova, 2019; Krysanova & Shevchenko, 2021). It attempts to comprehend the elusive process of emerging meaning as the result of nonlinear integration of multisemiotic elements in a certain semiotic environment that leads to novel semantic entities.

Linguistic approach to the phenomenon of emergence covers the issues of an emergentist approach to grammar (Hopper, 2015) and phonetics (Foulkes & Hay, 2015), metaphor as a paradigmatically emergent phenomenon (Kövecses, 2015), the emergence of gestures (Zlatev, 2015), emergentist perspective in the ecology of dialogical systems (Trasmundi & Steffensen, 2016), and in language evolution (Arbib, 2015), etc. However, the basics of the emergence of meaning in multimodal discourses remain an insufficiently elucidated issue.

Film as a phenomenon of mass media culture is the 'environment' for meaning-making in the process of communication between filmmakers and viewers. The communicative nature of film is determined by its ability to construct meanings not only by verbal means, but also to a greater extent by dynamic images and specific technical means peculiar only to cinematography. It underscores the process of filmmakers—viewers communication as a situationally-dependant interaction that emphasizes the enactive and ever-changing character of meaning-making in film.

Therefore, these claims signal the emergent nature of meaning-making in multimodal discourse and in film in particular. They determine the analysis of the construction of meaning in the relationship of material-perceptual and socio-semiotic aspects, where "materiality", as Pflaeging, Wildfeuer, and Bateman (2021, p. 35) put it, "is invoked not in the sense of physics, but rather as part of a general re-appraisal of the importance of embodiment and engagement with physical objects and their environments for almost all aspects of meaning making". It focuses research attention on the interrelation of semiotic resources and modes involved in constructing the meaning, the role of intersubjectivity and human body, and interaction between filmmakers and viewers as participatory meaning makers.

In this paper, I first provide a rationale of the integrative framework applied in this study. I present a succinct overview of the notion of emergence, distinguish its main characteristics, and analyze film as a multimodal phenomenon. Next, on the basis of the theories of joint attention,

performativity, and embodied cognition, I single out and explain functional as well as cognitive-semiotic aspects of emerging meanings in multimodal discourse. Then, I give reasons for multimodal aspects of emergent meaning-making with the emphasis on the integration of semiotic resources.

2. Theoretical background and method

The theoretical background of the study is related to the notion of emergence with the analysis of its peculiar characteristics as well as to the notion of film as the environment for meaning-making. In addition, I describe the methods and data applied in this research.

2.1. The notion of emergence in the humanities

There is a great deal of debate over the notion of emergence and its use across the research fields where it is applied. The specificity of emergence lies in its novelty, indivisibility, and inexplicability, as well as in reflecting the relationship between the system as a whole and its constituents as parts of the whole.

The notion of emergence comes from French *émergence* with the meaning "unforeseen occurrence" and from Latin *emergere,* which means "rise up", "come forth" (Online Etymology Dictionary (n.d.). It is generally accepted that the term emergence was first introduced by John Stuart Mill arguing that the system as a whole has properties that exceed the properties of the sum of the system components performing as a novel entity with a certain level of complexity (Chalmers, 2006). As the example of a whole he suggested taking a water molecule, which has more essential properties and qualities than a simple combination of its elements of hydrogen and oxygen.

Researchers distinguish strong or ontological emergence and weak or epistemological emergence depending on how to understand emergent or novel properties.

Strong emergence considers novel properties as supervene on properties of the parts of the entity they emerge from. These properties differ from any structural property of the whole, i.e., are ontologically irreducible to the more fundamental matter from which they emerge, and "exert a causal influence on the behavior of its possessor" (O'Connor, 1994, p. 95). In the ontological view of emergence novelty is irreducible and has downward causation.

Weak emergence describes new properties that emerge in the system, which shares no properties of the system smaller parts. In the case of weak emergence, the rules of the whole system act as laws providing a context for the functioning of the system. It happens "when the high-level phenomenon arises from the low-level domain, but truths concerning that phenomenon are unexpected given the principles governing the low-level domain" (Chalmers, 2006). Epistemological view on emergence lies on its unpredictability or unexpectedness. Possible examples of weak emergence can be road networks, bird flocks, or anthills. As for the causal relations, weak emergence interprets them as feedback loops when higher-level causal powers of a whole can be explained by rules of interaction of its parts.

Both weak and strong types of emergence are interrelated in meaning-making emphasizing that it is a continuous and endless process of interaction of various entities constructing complex systems, which are irreducible to their components. Describing emergent systems, Johnson (2001, p. 16) claims that

> *Such a system would define the most elemental form of complex behavior: a system with multiple agents dynamically interacting in multiple ways, following local rules and oblivious to any higher-level instructions. But it wouldn't truly be considered emergent until those local interactions resulted in some kind of discernible macrobehavior.*

New systems, which emerge as the result of consistent interactions between entities, should follow basic principles. Since interactions do not exist in a vacuum, context also matters. But a simple combination of different elements will not necessarily lead to the emerging of a novel entity.

Environmental conditions and functional orientation set the context. In Johnson's (2001, p. 17) parlance,

> *Emergent complexity without adaptation is like the intricate crystals formed by a snowflake: it's a beautiful pattern, but it has no function. The forms of emergent behavior <…> show the distinctive quality of growing smarter over time, and of responding to the specific and changing needs of their environment.*

Current theories of emergence agree that emergent entities and properties 1) are complex higher-level entities and properties; 2) arise out of lower-level elements and constituent parts; 3) are "unpredictable" as the meaning of basic elements cannot predict the meaning of the whole; 4) are novel properties, neither explainable nor reducible in terms of their basic conditions; 5) demonstrate a certain causal efficiency both at their own and at lower levels (Kim, 1999, pp. 21-22).

Thus, emergent wholes tend to be dynamic integrated entities that though constructed by the combination of their constituent parts appear to maintain their own identity. It is the result of their ability to adapt to semiotic environment performing a certain function. The process of emerging the meaning is interaction-related and is connected with participatory meaning-makers.

2.2. Film as multimodal phenomenon

In my methodology I proceed from the fact that the emergence of meaning-making is rooted in the semiotic properties of multimodal discourse. Film is a multimodal phenomenon, where a synergistic combination of multisemiotic elements constructs the filmic meaning. The understanding of film as a multimodal phenomenon originates from the socio-semiotic theory of communication by M. Halliday (1978) who considers language as one of the semiotic systems, which is a resource for the construction of meaning. Therefore, a multimodal approach to meaning-making in film focuses on what channels (modes) are used to communicate between the filmmakers and viewers and how semiotic resources interact to construct the filmic meaning. It brings the notions of mode and semiotic resource to the fore.

Mode according to Bateman and Schmidt (2012) is related to the way an individual hears, sees, or tactilely perceives material objects, and, consequently, is considered the information channel of communication associated with sensory modality. The audial mode of cinematic discourse is realized through music, voice, sound effects, noises, etc. The visual mode includes facial expressions, body movements, visual effects, drawings, etc., everything represented by the screen image. Every mode contains semiotic resources—socially conditioned meaning-making resources that construct meanings (social, individual, affective, etc.), according to the needs of a particular community (Leeuwen, 2006). In film, audial and visual modes construct the emotive meaning through elements of verbal, nonverbal, and cinematic semiotic systems. Each semiotic resource is presented in both modes employing specific semiotic means: verbal resource involves lexical, syntactic, and discursive means represented in the form of oral speech or in the written form on the screen; nonverbal resource includes human mimics, gestures, voice changes, etc., and cinematic resource includes shot size, camera angle, sound and light effects.

Thus, the constitutive property of multimodal discourses is their inherent integrity determined not so much by the peculiar features of semiotic components but mostly by their synergistic effect. Therefore, film is multisemiotic and multimodal in its nature. Its multisemiotic vector emphasizes the meaningful combination of several sign systems involved by filmmakers to construct the meaning. Multimodality stresses the dynamic addressee-oriented character of film, which is implemented through various channels, taking into account cognitive, social, and cultural characteristics of viewers. Emergent meaning-making in film is the result of the interaction between the real world of filmmakers and the imaginary world of film storytelling—diegesis.

2.3. Methods and data

The integrative approach applied to this analysis of emergent meaning-making in multimodal discourse is underpinned by the theories of conceptual integration, blended classic joint attention, embodied cognition, and performativity. The integration of functional-pragmatic and cognitive-semiotic views enables to treat meaning-making as a dynamic process of emerging meanings rooted in the interaction of author and recipients as well as semiotic properties of multimodal discourse. As Shevchenko (2019, p. 16) puts it, "in multimodal discourse studies, researchers in semiology and linguistics can benefit from enactive, interaction related, and dynamics-oriented methodology".

The data include an American drama film *The Horse Whisperer* directed by Robert Redford, 28 fragments of constructing sadness in film with corresponding fragments in the screenplay, and critics' and viewers' reviews. The screenplay is viewed as a film model of intended verbal, non-verbal, and cinematic actions presented in temporal and spatial terms. Therefore, illustrative material contains screenplay fragments with the commentary of character's nonverbal actions and cinematic devices combined with the corresponding film shot photo.

The film tells the story about the traumatic experience of a teenage girl Grace who was injured while riding the horse Pilgrim. The girl's right leg was partially amputated and traumatized Pilgrim was suggested to be put down. Grace's mother Annie, desperate to help her daughter, realized that Grace's recovery was linked with Pilgrim's. She invited "horse whisperer", Tom Booker, to help Pilgrim and Grace overcome their trauma.

The emotion of sadness, constructed in this film, permeates the whole narrative and deals with different situations: the girl's sorrow due to her disability, sympathy for the injured horse, Annie's grief caused by her daughter's suffering, and Annie's rejection to have romantic relationship with Tom, etc.

Sadness is viewed as a negative emotional state caused by the subject's assessment of a situation or event as malefactive, which makes them feel unhappy, lonely, and miserable (Krysanova, 2019). Such characteristic features as its passive character, ability to cause physical weakness, slowing down of cognitive and physiological processes, and tight connection with social values are relevant for the verbal and nonverbal construction of sadness in film. Negative evaluation of sadness is associated with feelings of grief, disappointment, misfortune, and fatigue and is supplemented by a specific psychological state associated with persistent unhappiness.

As emotions are immanently represented in the social interaction (Krysanova & Shevchenko, 2019), the study of emergent emotive meaning-making enables to provide the regularities according to which the human brain constructs 'meaning-in-context'.

3. Results and discussion

In order to explain how the emotive meaning emerges in film I address the issues of the interaction between filmmakers and viewers in cognitive and functional aspects. According to the former, it requires the theories of blended joint attention and embodied cognition, which focus on shared knowledge and sensory-grounded experience of both filmmakers and viewers. The latter addresses the theory of performativity emphasizing the role of perception in meaning-making and the role of recipients in reconstructing the meaning. Besides, sub-section 3.2 provides the cognitive-semiotic view to emergent meaning-making underpinned by the theory of conceptual integration.

3.1. Intersubjectivity, performativity, and embodiment in emergent meaning-making

I claim that emotive meaning-making in film is a dynamic process of enactment of social relations between filmmakers and viewers constituted by environmental and bodily factors. On the one hand, their interaction leads to the study of filmmakers' intentions in the choice of semiotic means to construct emotive meaning. On the other hand, the active role of viewers in meaning reconstruction makes them co-participants in the meaning-making process. On-screen emotions are constructed by filmmakers represented by film director, producer, cameraman, etc., who jointly construct the filmic

emotion intended by scriptwriter and imitated and embodied by actors through physiological and sensory-perceptual manifestations. Filmmakers share their joint intention to construct the meaning intended in the script. Viewers, multiple and distant in time and space, with different inherent socio-cultural characteristics, reconstruct this meaning using their experience and shared knowledge. It stresses the interaction of filmmakers and viewers in constructing film meaning. Film is always recipient-oriented as it is created for viewers. It gives rise to intersubjectivity since interaction between filmmakers and viewers involves joint attention, intention, and emotion.

The theory of blended classic joint attention is based on the awareness that communicants who exist in different spatial and temporal environment are jointly attending (Turner, 2017, p. 3). In cinematic discourse, joint attention is bidirectional since "each agent is aware of the other's experiences—even if they are not mutually aware of sharing experiences" (Brinck, 2008, p. 121). Filmmakers and viewers are able to share joint attention, and, as a result, share joint emotions. The integration of filmmakers' and recipients' views is achieved through the camera, as "the gaze of the spectator is tightly integrated with the viewpoint of the camera, which does not merely direct the attentions of the former but in fact controls them" (Oakley & Tobin, 2012, p. 60).

This resonates with the theory of performativity by Fischer-Lichte (2008) that emphasizes the interaction of filmmakers, among them mostly actors, and viewers in meaning-making. Film actors construct meanings on the screen, communicating with viewers via the camera. Their words, gestures, and actions make viewers react evaluating the plot or characters and reconstructing meanings. Applying the performativity theory I claim that emergent meaning-making in multimodal discourse is a performative act grounded on the dynamic intersubjective interaction of communicants.

The performative aspect of emergent meaning-making is realized through active and passive participation of viewers in this process. The active role of viewers consists in the fact that filmmakers must take into account their worldview and different gender, social, and cultural characteristics in making the film. However, viewers cannot directly influence the events on the screen realizing the passive role in meaning making. Viewers' delayed and indirect participation is manifested in film reviews, critics' reaction, public resonance, etc. It enables remote and time-delayed communication between filmmakers and viewers. Viewers "experience themselves in its course [performance T.K.] as subjects that are able to co-determine the actions and behavior of others, and whose own actions and behavior, in the same way, are determined by others" (Fischer-Lichte, 2008, p.74). The process of emerging the filmic meaning involves the filmmakers' expectation of viewers' ability to reconstruct the meaning. Neither filmmakers nor viewers can completely control meaning-making as many individuals are engaged into co-participation in (re)constructing meanings. It makes this experience liminal when the process of (re)constructing on-screen events sets them apart from their everyday life and makes them co-participate in meaning-making in film.

Film is viewed as event and everything happening on screen affects viewers making them feel empathy, fear, or nausea, etc. For example, a grey rainy day, an alarming sound, a shrieking voice, crying, or the image of a dead body affect viewers and make them perceive it as unpleasant experience. Emergent meaning-making appears as a performative act since meanings emerge apart from the will of the perceiving viewers and perception itself becomes meaningful.

In film, semiotic and performative aspects are interrelated. While the semiotic dimension stresses the materiality of the sign and its ability to construct meanings, the performative dimension focuses on how these signs affect viewers, how they are perceived and reconstructed.

To illustrate my claims I address Internet Movie Database (IMDb), a popular online database of information related to films including ratings and fan and critical reviews. IMDb offers a rating scale ("User Ratings", n.d.) of one to ten with a weighted average displayed. It demonstrates that *The Horse Whisperer* was rated by 41 350 IMDb users with a weighted average vote of 6.7 / 10. Rating by demographic highlights that males and females rated the film about equally with a slight predominance in number among female viewers. However, teenage viewers evaluate it higher than middle-aged ones. Besides, there is no particular difference in the evaluation of the film by viewers

of different nationalities (ibid.). It has 4 wins and 19 nominations that shows its favorable evaluation by critics and film professionals ("Awards", n.d.).

The reaction to the film and the result of meaning reconstruction may be observed in 294 reviews presented on the IMDb site. User reviews show that the plot, director's work, and acting help viewers reconstruct meanings in the film. Besides, viewers always express their emotional state caused by film events and describe their attitude towards characters. It underlines the role of perception and demonstrates co-participation in emergent meaning making.

The plot is described as "*a bit melodramatic*", "*touching*", "*unique and moving*", and "*powerful*" but sometimes "*moralist*" and "*boring*". User reviews set the target audience for this film stating that "*this is a film for people who understand that the 'little' moments in life are the best*" ("User Reviews", 2005) and it "*can be seen by young (children) and old, because it is a wonderful, profound, credible tale about the love for family bonds*" ("User Reviews", 2020). They demonstrate that they understand the filmmakers' ideas and successfully reconstruct the meanings: "*It is a story of love and courage, the courage to fight for you want, or accept things the way they are; the courage to risk losing everything, the courage to accept that loss. There is a wonderful message in this film for all of us for all those who care enough to see it*" ("User Reviews", 2005). Special attention of viewers is given to director's work and acting as they make the audience believe the events on the screen sympathizing with the Grace's tragedy and admiring Tom's inner strength. The following fragments of viewers' reviews illustrate that the way Robert Redford directed the film and his acting managed to affect and touch the audience.

(1)   *The cinematography was powerful—while I am not a student of the discipline I could see that the angles chosen for the subject, the landscape scenes of the beautiful Montana ranges and sunsets—one could watch and understand the movie without the dialog* ("User Reviews", 2006).

(2)   *He directs this movie as well as stars in it, and his slow, sensitive directorial touch is so perfect for this story* ("User Reviews", 2017).

(3)   *He's very good here. There's a close-up on him at the end of this film that has to be seen to be believed. Everything his character is feeling at that moment is revealed perfectly on his face* ("User Reviews", 2003).

Though viewers are aware that film events are fictitious, they believe in their reality as soon as they are engaged into watching the film. Meanings emerge through perceiving the film events and characters' feelings. There is no one meaning of a combination of semiotic elements employed by filmmakers. Meanings are reconstructed by viewers differently since they are co-present in film events identifying themselves with the characters and co-participate in film meaning-making through their perception. It highlights the role of bodily experience.

Intersubjective and performative character of meaning-making determines one more important feature: emergent filmic emotive meaning is always embodied, which is a manifestation of a person's sensorimotor skills in the process of social interaction. In the core of film representation is a human and a human body in the richness of its manifestations. Corporeality plays the role of an experiential basis for the formation of mental images followed by their visual and audial representation in film.

Embodiment is viewed as bodily states that arise during the perception of an emotional stimulus (Barret et al., 2007). A bodily act of communication, according to Zlatev (2008, p. 228), is an act of bodily mimesis if it involves a cross-modal mapping between the perception of the surrounding and the perception of the body and corresponds—iconically or indexically—to a certain action, object or event. In film, meaning is constructed through the representational relations between body movement

and the object, action, and event to which it refers. A bodily sign used communicatively should be reconstructed by viewers as well as the actual filmmakers' communicative intention.

According to the embodied cognition theory, cognition depends on the human body beyond the brain as the brain is embodied, and the body is situated in its surrounding physical environment (Coëgnarts & Kravanja, 2015). Connecting cognition with embodied action involves consideration of the organism's physiological characteristics and of the interactions that such specific bodily qualities afford within the physical constraints of the actual environment (Kiss, 2015, p. 43). The perceptual experience is linked to the conceptual system through sensory channels (Shapiro, 2012). For instance, analyzing the concept *plant*, one might mention traits of the plant, which correspond to different bodily senses and, consequently, different modes such as its form and colour (visual mode), scent (olfactory mode), surface (tactile mode), etc. Multisensory representation of concepts demonstrates that human body interacts with the environment and contributes to the cognition.

Emphasizing the connection of body and cognition, Arnheim (2004) claimed that visual arts demonstrate so called "visual thinking", which is precisely the embodiment of the meaning intended by the artist. Film is an audiovisual art form and film meaning is always grounded in bodily experiences. It makes film anthropomorphic, where all events are viewed through the human body that makes emergent meanings embodied.

They are embodied not only through non-verbal elements such as voice changes, facial expressions, or gestures obvious for filmmakers and viewers. Cinematic devices (for example, camera movements, camera shots, light, different editing techniques, etc.) also possess the meaning-making potential. The recent researches (Heimann et al., 2014) clarify that sensory-motor areas of the human brain change their activity due to the camera position and viewers are bodily engaged while observing both the movement of cinematic devices and emotions of film characters.

Verbal means may be also used to embody meanings when perception systems are activated during words and utterances comprehension. Scorolli and Borghi (2008) claim that concepts are grounded in sensorimotor processes which consist in the re-enactment of the same neural activation pattern running when individuals perceive real or imaginary extra-linguistic reality, to which the linguistic sign refers. As latest researches show, language understanding implies a mental simulation (Zwaan, 2004) and the simulation enacted by words is sensitive to the shape and orientation of the objects mentioned, to their motion direction, to the effector involved in the sentences, etc. (Scorolli &Borghi, 2008).

Verbal means of constructing sadness include lexemes that name the emotion: *grief, sadness, distress, depression, sorrow*; describe it: *depressed, miserable, sad, sorrowful, tragic, unhappy, unlucky,* and express sadness *Oh, Ahh, Alack, Alas, my God, etc*. Sadness may be indirectly constructed by pejoratives that characterize the probable cause of sadness: *bloody, cursed, damned, foolish, wretched,* etc. Syntactic means—parcellation, elliptical constructions, inversion, repetition, and pauses of hesitation, are used to construct sadness through demonstrating individual's emotional stance.

Non-verbal means of sadness construction are represented by facial, voice, posture, and gesture components. Facial expressions include a distorted face devoid of muscle tone; it can become pale signaling a vegetative process not controlled by an individual: *looks sad and her face is pale*. One more characteristic is wide open/closed/filled with tears/dim/shiny/red eyes: *sad eyes were wet and glistening*. The voice that embodies sadness may be lowered, mournful, unhappy, etc. Crying and sobbing peculiar for sadness combine eyes and the voice integrating sensory and motor activities. The gesture component does not have significant variability, which is related to the psychophysiological processes during the experience of sadness such as feeling of weakness and immobility. Gestures are represented by spasmodic body movements, immobile posture, and hands pressed to the face: *hang their heads in sorrow*.

Cinematic devices enable to engage viewers into bodily experience through watching and hearing expressive actions of characters. They do not only embody emergent meanings but also make them material, objectifying them.

A close-up and extreme close up emphasize the individual's experience embodying thoughts and feelings associated with the sadness. A medium close up makes it possible to trace mimic and kinesic manifestations of the emotion. Angle types peculiar for sadness include a side view shot, over-the-shoulder shot, and point-of-view (POV) shot. The side view focuses on the dynamism of the emotion while the over-the-shoulder shot enables to follow the subject, contributing to the character's emotional state. POV enables to see the surrounding world through the character's eyes creating the effect of maximum involvement into the on-screen situation. It imitates and materializes the mental processes that take place in the viewer's mind.

Sound effects applied to construct sadness include diegetic/non-diegetic music, voice-over, and dramatic pause. Film music sets a specific mood, gives expressiveness, and draws attention to the on-screen events through associations in human memory embodying the emotive meaning. Music is considered to be sad if it is minor in tonality, slow in tempo, low in pitch, and complex in harmony (Peretz, 2011, p. 102). Light effects include various types of dim light—night, twilight, flickering, etc., which emphasize and embody the depressed state of the character.

The following example illustrates the construction of sadness by the integration of nonverbal and cinematic means. Grace's mother, Annie, tries to help her child overcome the psychological problems associated with her injury after the accident. On their way home, Grace accuses her mother of being selfish, which makes Annie suffer. Holding back tears, Ann leaves the car and goes to the cemetery, where everything reminds her of her grief. Annie's sadness is embodied by non-verbal means, peculiar for sadness, and cinematic ones. She is immobile at first, her face is distorted, her crying turns to sobbing, and then she covers her face with her hands. Cinematic means comprise a medium close up, a side view shot, non-diegetic music, and dim light. The medium close up and the side view emphasize the emotional state through demonstrating mimic and gesture components. Non-diegetic music embodies sadness with the help of associations in human memory setting a specific mood. It is minor, slow, and low in pitch. As Cohen (2011, p. 264) claims, "the emotion generated by music is governed by the tension and resolution established by the music of which the audience is unaware and over which one seems to have little control".

(4)   *In the growing darkness, she sees, scattered on the hillsides below her, white tombstones. A place of sorrow. A cool breeze ruffles her coat and she sticks her hands in her pockets. Frustrated, alone, at a complete loss as to what to do, what action to take – Annie, for the first time in frozen, standing still – and with her, comes a rush of emotion. She sits with her back against the monument and begins to weep. @medium close up, side view, non-diegetic music, dim light@ For Grace, for Robert, herself, for the tombstones, for everyone # covers her face with her hands#* (Roth & LaGravenese, 1997).

Fig. 1. *The Horse Whisperer* by Touchstone Pictures (38:51)

Thus, meaning in multimodal discourse emerges as the result of intersubjective interaction between author and recipient. Meaning-making is viewed as a performative act where meanings are embodied.

3.2. Volatility and patterning in emergent meaning-making

In cognitive-semiotic view meaning in film is (re)constructed by the emergent combination of verbal, nonverbal, and cinematic semiotic systems through audial and visual modes. Each semiotic resource has the potential for emotive meaning-making with the set of their specific means that enables to create various semantic configurations.

By applying conceptual integration theory (Fauconnier & Turner, 2003) to emergent meaning-making in film, every semiotic resource can be treated as a separate mental input space. The verbal input space includes emotive words and expressive constructions; the non-verbal input space comprises mimic, gesture, and prosodic means; and the cinematic input space encompasses non-linguistic cinematic means, which have the meaning-making potential. Their meanings are constructed and processed in very different ways by human brains. They cross-map and blend with each other creating mixed blended spaces. The choice of meaningful elements in input spaces to be cross-mapped is activated in the generic space that embraces shared knowledge about the emotion (Krysanova & Shevchenko, 2021, p. 361). The emergent blended space contains a new meaning, which is not predicted from the sum of input spaces bur rather motivated by the context. The formation of mixed blended spaces is a dynamic process as every change of gesture, music, tone of the voice, speech, camera, etc. can modify the emergent emotive meaning. The ability to make combinations is a manifestation of integrative nature peculiar to emergent entities

I claim that it determines another aspect of the emergence of meaning-making in multimodal discourse—the volatility of emergent combinations. The origin of volatility comes from Latin *volatilis* with the meaning "fleeting, transitory; swift, rapid; flying, winged" (Online Etymology Dictionary (n.d.). It emphasizes "a tendency to change quickly and unpredictably" (Merriam-Webster Dictionary (n.d.) when the semantic combination of semiotic elements can transform the meaning with the change of at least one element. Consequently, the number of emergent combinations can be countless as any change can modify the emergent emotive meaning. The following examples illustrate constructing sadness by various combinations of semiotic elements.

Consider example (5)—the first day when Grace came to school after the accident. She felt awkward on crutches and was sad to realize that her life had completely changed. Her sadness was constructed by the combination of syntactic expressive means (elliptical sentence and repetition), her mournful voice, crying, and a distorted face with a medium close up and a side view. It makes up the configuration verbal + prosodic, mimic components + shot size, angle type (Fig. 2).

(5)   *Annie is crossing an empty school yard. Grace is sitting on the ground, her back against a wall, her "legs" in front of her. She has been crying. She looks up to her mother.*
       GRACE It's too hard.
       Annie kneels before her sympathetically brushing her hair away:
       ANNIE Oh, honey... What happened?
       GRACE Doesn't matter. I... I don't want to come back, that's all. #mournful voice, tears on her face, and distorted face# @medium close up and side view@ (Roth & LaGravenese, 1997).

Fig. 2. *The Horse Whisperer* by Touchstone Pictures (19:38)

The example below illustrates the situation when Grace returned home after the hospital where she had been operated. She feels sad remembering her former happy life. Her eyes are red with tears which are rolling down her face. Diegetic minor music and a medium close up intensify the emotion. Sadness is constructed with the configuration mimic component + shot size, sound effect (Fig. 3).

(6)   *The door is closed. A song blares on her stereo. Grace is in her bed watching a video of her and Pilgrim... riding at a horse show.#eyes with tears# @medium close up @ There is a shot of Annie standing proudly, watching her ride. Another shot of her and Judith, both of them on their horses, waving to camera* (Roth & LaGravenese, 1997).

Fig. 3. *The Horse Whisperer* by Touchstone Pictures (20:59)

The empirical analysis shows that the most typical configurations for constructing sadness are combinations of mimic component + close up/medium close up; mimic component + close up/medium close up and non-diegetic music; mimic and gesture components + close up/medium close up; and verbal + mimic component + close up/medium close up. Thus, mimic and gesture components and sound effects are the most representative while the verbal component is used less frequently. It indicates a tendency to embody sadness in film by nonverbal and cinematic semiotic elements.

It proves that meaning constructed by the combination of semiotic elements is a multisemiotic construct the configuration of which can be organized according to particular regulations. These regulations are connected with cognitive and functional aspects of multimodal meaning making. Although volatility causes a multiplicity of combinations, they may be reduced to certain constructive patterns. Patterning enables to interpret underlying processes or mechanisms of meaning making since in multimodal discourse any element is semiotic and is used to communicate.

I claim that in the cognitive and functional perspective emergent meaning in film depends on constructive patterns which vary along the static and dynamic criteria. The empirical analysis enables to single out patterns by parameters of quantity (two-/three-component), quality (convergent/divergent), and salience (parity/non-parity) based of the static criterion. According to the order of appearance of different semiotic resources, i.e the dynamic criterion, simultaneous or consecutive patterns are singled out (Krysanova, 2019). Patterns help understand how material aspect in discourse correlates with values, e.g., how particular body movements or voice variations may indicate communicative intentions, or light and sound effects signal about particular mood, etc.

Example (7) illustrates the construction of sadness by employing four patterns. Grace tells Tom about the accident though it is very painful for her. She is sorrowful that her friend died and she could not help her. She is sobbing and covering the face with her hands, her head is lowered (Fig. 4, 5). The interjection *Oh God* expresses her emotion and cinematic close up and voice over are used to intensify Grace's sadness. The verbal component, mimic and gesture components, and two cinematic elements—the close up and the sound effect, comprise the three-component pattern, the elements of which refine, complement, and intensify the same emotive meaning and make the convergent pattern. As nonverbal and cinematic components prevail over the verbal one, it distinguishes the non-parity pattern with the emphasis on the bodily perception. Heterogeneous semiotic components are used in a succession that makes a dynamic character of the episode and sets the consecutive pattern.

(7)   *She starts to quietly cry, but it doesn't stop her.*
GRACE We were going to go around by the railroad bridge... @close up @
And we see the accident all over again... But this time, a movie—as clear as reality—but in deathly silence. Just the sound of Grace's voice, and her heartbeat... The horses are going up the icy path...
GRACE (V.O.) We were laughing about something, I don't remember what. Her horse fell...[]
GRACE (V.O.) ... Judith's foot was caught in the stirrup... she couldn't get up, she was so scared...(cries) I saw this truck, coming around the turn... [...]
Grace sobs uncontrollably now.
GRACE Judith... Oh God, Judith. I'm sorry...#covers the face with her hands# (Roth & LaGravenese, 1997).
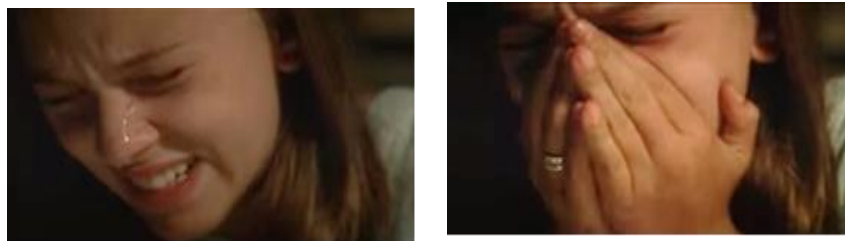
Fig. 4, 5. *The Horse Whisperer* by Touchstone Pictures (01:56)

Thus, patterning is one of the features of emergent meaning-making in film. The potential to form patterns indicates the ability of emergent structures to adapt to the environment determined by the situational context. It happens not only due to the meaningful potential of patterns themselves but due to the collective activity of individuals involved in the process of meaning-making.

4. Conclusions

This paper has made an attempt to provide a new insight into the emergence of meaning-making in multimodal discourse. Drawing on the theories of blended classic joint attention, performativity, embodied cognition, and conceptual integration, I have used the methods of discourse and semiotic analysis to explain how the emotive meaning emerges in film.

Emotive meaning-making in film is viewed as a performative act grounded on the intersubjective interaction of filmmakers and viewers constituted by environmental and bodily factors. Filmmakers and viewers are able to share joint attention and co-participate in meaning making. They exist in different spatial and temporal environment and their interaction is mediated by the camera, which provides the perception. The film events are viewed through the human body that makes emergent meanings grounded in bodily experiences and embodied. They are embodied not only through nonverbal elements but also verbal and cinematic devices.

Underpinned by the theory of conceptual integration emergent emotive meaning is viewed as dynamic discursive construct created in the process of integrative construction by verbal, nonverbal, and cinematic elements. It has a novel meaning only partially motivated by the meaning of its semiotic elements. It possesses a certain level of complexity and is characterized by volatility of combinations and ability to make patterns. The potential to volatility and patterning emphasizes the adaptive nature of meaning-making and the decisive role of causality determined by the situation. If the meaning in discourse is a construct and it is not derived from the meaning of its elements, then the cause of a particular pattern in a certain communicative situation underlies meaning-making. It follows that to select a certain meaning-making pattern requires an interpretation of the situation of both filmmakers and viewers. It can be explained by the property of viewers to identify themselves with film characters, perceiving the same object as actors construct it on the screen and experiencing the same emotions.

This paper does not claim to provide solutions to all of the problems addressed. There are a lot of theoretical and practical issues of emergent meaning-making that require further explanation and development.

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**ЕМЕРДЖЕНТНІСТЬ СМИСЛОТВОРЕННЯ
В МУЛЬТИМОДАЛЬНОМУ ДИСКУРСІ
(НА МАТЕРІАЛІ КОНСТРУЮВАННЯ ЕМОЦІЇ СУМУ
В КІНОФІЛЬМІ THE HORSE WHISPERER)**

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Анотація
Стаття присвячена виявленню функціонально-прагматичних та когнітивно-семіотичних аспектів емерджентного смислотворення в мультимодальному дискурсі. Теоретичну основу дослідження

складають теорії концептуальної інтеграції, змішаної класичної спільної уваги, утіленого пізнання та перформативності. У дослідженні визначено, що емерджентне смислотворення є перформативним актом, що ґрунтується на інтерсуб'єктивній взаємодії комунікантів. Ця взаємодія відбувається в певному семіотичному середовищі та закорінена в тілесному досвіді комунікантів. Емерджентний смисл розглянуто як нове утворення, котре має певний рівень складності і не є похідним від значення його конститутивних елементів. Аналіз конструювання емоції суму в художньому кінофільмі уможливив виявлення основних характеристик емерджентного смислотворення: 1) творці кінофільму та глядачі беруть спільну участь у конструюванні смислу та володіють спільною увагою, забезпечуючи інтерсуб'єктивну взаємодію, опосередковану камерою; 2) смислотворення закорінене в тілесному досвіді й утілеснене у фільмі не лише за допомогою невербальних елементів, але й вербальних і кінематографічних семіотичних ресурсів; 3) емерджентний смисл виникає в результаті синергійної інтеграції модусів і семіотичних ресурсів; 4) конфігурації семіотичних ресурсів характерна волатильність комбінацій; 4) емерджентні конструкти можуть бути організовані відповідно до певних правил, утворюючи патерни. Це зумовлює аналіз емерджентного смислотворення у взаємозв'язку матеріально-перцептивного та соціосеміотичного аспектів.

Ключові слова: емерджентність, кінофільм, мультимодальний дискурс, семіотичний ресурс, смислотворення, сум.

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HUMAN TRAFFICKING
AND THE MODERN SLAVERY FRAMING
OF THE PROBLEM: BETWEEN RHETORICAL PATHOS
AND CONCEPTUAL LIMITATIONS

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Abstract
Trafficking in human beings is a serious problem, which affects vulnerable groups disproportionately. Eastern European countries are among the most affected due to a variety of risk factors. Yet this problem often remains invisible to the mass public. The attempts to bring it into the public consciousness rely strongly on different rhetorical strategies. I argue that the way of social issue framing largely determines its public perceptions and reactions to it. This material examines human trafficking as phenomenon, its definitions and root causes, and then focuses on the framing of trafficking as modern slavery. This framing is made possible by the use of multimodality in media outlets and in prevention campaigns. I will apply the method of content analysis of images used in the Bulgarian digital press or for campaign purposes. The combination of text and imagery is a powerful tool to create the association of slavery, detention, and captivity. These associations are emotionally contagious and can generate pathos; they also convey the idea of a powerless innocent victim in need of rescue, which is a limiting view. The paper argues that this approach has both its positive and negative aspects, the latter being the risks of reductiveness and barriers to the deeper understanding of the problem, its underlying causes, and possible solutions. The alternative framing of this phenomenon as a human rights violation implies the necessity of not just "rescue and salvation" of individuals, but also structural changes in society.

Key words: human trafficking, framing, multimodality, pathos.

1. Introduction

Human trafficking remains a serious problem globally. It is a source of enormous criminal earnings and of immense human suffering. It is also one of the fastest growing forms of international crime with the increased vulnerability and displacement of people in conflict zones contributing to that (FATF-APG, 2018).

As any complex problem trafficking is a mixture of diverse issues, but its representation usually falls within the *modern slavery* frame – something which is understandable as exploitation is at the core of the phenomenon, and also has its powerful emotional overtones, but also simplifies the issues and has its pitfalls and limitations. As Nick Turnbull and Rose Broad write, "public sphere discourse reduces this complexity to simplified accounts" (2022, p. 201). In professional spheres (NGOs, institutions), trafficking is viewed as a serious violation of human rights, but this is an abstract concept and the media depiction is much more simplified. Here we will briefly present the problem, the way it affects Bulgaria and will try to analyze the way it is represented in Bulgarian multimodal media.

We argue that the slavery framework is the dominant one and that multimodality (the combination of written text and images) is instrumental in constructing this framework. The approach I follow relies on both academic analysis and long-term experience in assisting victims of human trafficking as a psychologist and researcher with participation in international projects addressing the issue.

2. Trafficking in Humans: definitions and scope of the problem

The Protocol to prevent, suppress, and punish trafficking in persons, especially women and children, supplementing the United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime (also known as the Palermo Protocol) currently provides the internationally accepted definition of human trafficking as in Article 3 of the 2000 UN Protocol:

> *"Trafficking in persons" shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs* ("Protocol to prevent", 2000).

This definition and the UN Protocol itself are the basis of many legal and normative documents, both national and international, aimed at combating human trafficking, as it emphasizes on different dimensions of the problem and the various approaches to recruitment.

Exploitation of human beings by other humans is not a new phenomenon; it has probably been a part of human history since its early stages. However, nowadays we are in a situation much different than before because of the radical reach of the process of globalization. While it may generally bring more freedom and mobility, for some vulnerable groups—often women and children—it creates new risks of exploitation. Many factors contribute to this: still stable patriarchal stereotypes about the role of women, domestic violence, lack of equal opportunities for work, higher levels of poverty among women and children, especially in economies and countries in transition, as well as failings of the systems for victim protection (Brysk, 2012). War and displacement of individual on a large scale is unfortunately another factor generating risks. The Global Report on Trafficking in Persons published by UNDOC in 2016 indicates that over 70 % of the victims are female and about 30 % were children.

Trafficking in humans is an extremely profitable illegal business. In 2017, the International Labour Organization (ILO) and Walk Free Foundation (in partnership with IOM – the International Organization for Migration) published a report entitled "The Global Estimates of Modern Slavery" (ILO & Walk Free Foundation, 2017). According to it, about 25 million people were in labor or sexual exploitation in 2016, with 64 % in labor exploitation (typically domestic work, construction work or agriculture), 17 % in forced labor imposed by state authorities and 19 % in sexual exploitation. It is difficult to establish a clear figure on the earnings from human trafficking due to the criminal and illicit nature of the activities, but ILO estimated that earnings may amount to 150 billion USD per year (data from estimations published in 2014). Although the percentage of victims of sexual exploitation is not so big, these reports indicate that the majority or profits are generated from this type of exploitation (ILO, 2012).

For Bulgaria, trafficking in human beings has been a serious problem over the past two decades—mostly trafficking for sexual exploitation, with the victims being, above all, women and young girls (Petrova, 2015) —cases of men and young boys are rarely reported (which does not automatically mean they are so rare, they may be reported less often; a general problem when talking about trafficking is the extent of secrecy and invisibility inherent in the practice). Bulgaria

can be described predominantly as a country of origin for victims of trafficking, but also a transit country due to its geographical location. "Its strategic location makes the country especially vulnerable in regard to illegal channels not only for trafficking in human beings but also for immigrants, which try to illegally cross state borders", states the official website of the Bulgarian National Commission for combating Trafficking in Human Beings (or NCCTHB) (https://antitraffic.government.bg/en/help#trafficking). According to the Annual reports of the said Commission, Bulgaria and Romania are the leading countries of origin among EU countries (2021). Trafficking in human beings can be seen as internal (within the borders of country itself) and external (abroad), and domestic trafficking in Bulgaria, again according to the abovementioned report, is concentrated above all in resort villages and is for the purposes of sexual exploitation. Internal trafficking in many cases precedes external traffic and can be viewed as a preparation for it. External traffic has as countries of destination mainly Germany, Greece, the Netherlands, France, Cyprus, Poland, Italy, and the Czech Republic. Trafficking for the purposes of labor exploitation and of children for the purposes of begging or pick pocketing is also a problem, but sexual exploitation remains the most common (and arguably most profitable) form—a fact, related to the demand component of the process.

The reasons for falling into a trafficking situation are complex: the difficult economic situation and limited opportunities for realization in the country in recent decades; the process of transition to a democratic model of governance and a societal value crisis; poverty and lack of education among certain vulnerable groups (for example, institutionalized children, residents of poorer regions); lack of awareness of the risks, as well as the possibilities for assistance and protection; and in many cases a personal history of trauma and increased vulnerability to subsequent situations of exploitation and harassment (NCCTHB annual report, 2020; Petrova, 2015). The COVID-19 pandemic can be said to have increased vulnerability leading to more economic challenges and loss of opportunities, especially for groups of low-skilled workers who cannot work online—they have become more vulnerable to both sexual and labor exploitation. Besides that, many services have not been working in full capacity; courts and other institutions have not been so active in proceedings. Closures and lockdowns have pushed traffickers to search for other ways to "operate", e.g. private apartments, etc. In addition, the Internet gets involved in victim recruiting. Low-cost companies are the preferred manner of transpiration.

According to the NCCTHB annual report for the year 2020 ("National Commission", 2021), the ways of recruiting potential victims in recent years fall under the category of the so-called "soft methods" usually related to winning the victims' trust and tricking them (through misuse of this trust) to go abroad under the pretext that this will bring new opportunities for work or prosperity. Once abroad, without support from relatives and often without knowledge of the language, of their own rights and where help can be obtained, these victims become entirely dependent on traffickers and become subject to exploitation. The "soft" methods also include the "lover boy" method (lover, boyfriend), in which the trafficker courts the victim, wins her affections, and manages to persuade her to go with him abroad – or even to marry him. In some cases, these victims are underage girls, and the trafficker is able to obtain the family's permission to take her abroad with marriage promises. The victim's emotional attachment to the trafficker is then exploited and she is manipulated into sex work for the trafficker's gains. Methods that are more violent are used on the stages of exploitation and control as a means to prevent the victims from looking for help or running away. Yet manipulation through threats to the individuals and their families or debt remains predominant.

We can summarize that causes of human trafficking are deep and complex, not simply kidnapping an unsuspecting victim form the street. Currently, a popular explanation model is that of push and pull factor (Bales, 2007), according to which on one hand, there are economic, social, and political factors that push a potential victim out of their place of living – village, town and/or country. On the other hand, there are the factors that pull them to a different location which are again economic,

social, and political. These factors are often the same, but with different manifestations, e.g. wages and labor opportunities: low wages and lack of opportunities in the country of origin and higher payment in a country of destination. In the majority of cases, victims choose to leave a situation of poverty, lack of opportunities for realization, discrimination, and rejection (due to minority status or marginalization of institutionalized children) and move to another place in search of better life options. Countries of origin are characterized mainly by push factors, and countries of destination by pull ones.

Getting out of a trafficking situation is not easy for the victims and very often happens because of the intervention of the police and other institutions—the victims themselves are much less likely to seek help directly. The reasons are many: not knowing the language of the foreign country, distrust of institutions, suggestions by traffickers that they will be treated as criminals, not as victims, lack of documents, uncertainty about who they can turn to. Another trend in recent years has been to target and victimize women with intellectual disabilities or mental illnesses—as such they prove easier to manipulate by traffickers, and their testimonies in many cases would not be accepted in court if the case came to legal proceedings (Petrova, 2015).

Efforts to tackle trafficking in human beings are both national and international. However, it still remains one of the most profitable forms of organised crime in today's world and thus has its negative consequences not only for victims, but for society as a whole. Moreover, a large proportion of victims are at risk of revictimization: once out of trafficking they can easily fall into such a situation again, as the factors that made them vulnerable in the first place continue to affect them. Their recovery and reintegration is a lengthy process which requires not only the provision of protection and financial support, but also the development of life and professional skills, assertiveness and empowerment.

3. Addressing the issue: framing and rhetoric

The way this complex problem is talked about, written about, even lobbied about to a large extent determines the scope and the success of the efforts to deal with it. In this sense when talking about victims of trafficking and attitudes towards them, it is also important to pay attention to anti-trafficking rhetoric. Gregory Bateson developed the concept of framing in 1972 and defined it as "spatial and temporary bounding of set of interactive messages" (1972, p. 197). The way something is presented to an audience (what kind of 'frame' is created) will influence the way the information is processed. The frame is a form of organization of the message and at a metacognitive level, it creates context within which the message is understood/interpreted.

The choice of a certain frame is not a random process; I argue that it is essentially rhetorical or aimed to achieve a persuasive communication goal. As Bitzer defined, "...rhetoric is a mode of altering reality, not by the direct application of energy to objects, but by the creation of discourse which changes reality through the mediation of thought and action" (1968, p. 4). The expression of thoughts, ideas, emotions through various means, various texts (oral, written, images) with the aim of influencing other is a rhetorical impact. According to Herrick (2012), rhetoric has some important social functions, some of which are directly related to our topic, namely: the testing of ideas (how the audience reacts when presented with them, how applicable they are), and assisting in the process of social advocacy (for social causes, new initiatives, etc.). The professionals' understanding of the problem and the needs of the victims of trafficking is one thing, the way common people think about the issue, the attitudes they hold towards the victims can be quite different. Most people never have to face directly the problem of human trafficking in their lives, it is something distant: even if they have contacts with trafficking victims, they most likely would not know this. Therefore, the public perceptions and attitudes are largely formed by the media, by the ways the issue is talked about and presented—in other words, by the anti-trafficking rhetoric, not by direct experiences and impressions. *But how helpful is the typical anti-trafficking rhetoric?*

The problem of human trafficking is extremely complex in the analysis of its roots and causes and in the search of solutions; as if affects millions of people and allows large criminal networks to flourish. Yet at the same time to a vast majority of the mass audience, it is a distant issue, especially in comparison to more pressing problems of everyday reality. Therefore, the representation and framing of the problem tends to be much simplified—it is typically presented as "modern slavery", "white slavery" (Brysk, 2012; Turnbull & Broad, 2022), with victims as "white slaves". The term "white slavery" (it exists in different languages, not just English; in Bulgarian the phrase "*бели робини*" is often used; "*trata de blancas"* in Spanish-speaking countries) is no longer accepted as adequate. Trafficking is carried out via major criminal networks that target not just white persons, but a variety of vulnerable individuals. The accent on the "whiteness" places the focus on victims with this skin color, on one hand acknowledging them as more important and the fact of their trafficking as more shocking and unacceptable that victims of color, and on the other hand ignoring that vast majorities of the victims are coming from the global south and deserve attention and support. That is why "the term "white slavery" has been dismissed for not giving enough visibility of the problem which creates this crime and has been replaced by "trafficking in humans" with the aim of sexual or labor exploitation" (https://www.gob.mx/segob/es/articulos/trata-de-blancas?idiom=es). "In a morally regrettable yet politically powerful semantic move, *white* slavery emphasizes the "unnatural" threat of enslavement to a portion of a population generally exempted from this peril", writes Brysk (2012, p. 3).

However, even beyond the idea of "white slavery", trafficking is still mainly presented through the slavery framework. Undoubtedly, slavery is a concept with deep and emotional connotations; due to historical factors it is easily perceived as something extremely negative, degrading and evil. This kind of framing has the potential to generate deep emotional impact, the power to create pathos in the rhetorical sense. Pathos is one of the three kinds of artistic proof in Aristotle' classical rhetorical theory (along with ethos and logos). According to Greene (2001, p. 574), pathos is the appeal that above all three impels the audience to act due to the power of the emotions provoked. He also notes that images are especially effective in arousing emotions, be it visual images, or mentally constructed ones (as memories or imagination).

3.1. Multimodality and the slavery framing of trafficking

Multimodality is a term used to describe the combination of speech, written, texts, images, audio or video materials—"the textual combination of different modes and their integration in terms of structure, discourse semantics and rhetorical function within contexts of social interaction" (Stöckl, 2019, p. 50). Metaphor, for example, can be presented by language, by image, or by a combination of those: a case of multimodal rhetorical figures *(*Bateman, 2014).

The main goal of rhetoric is to persuade by the selection of the most appropriate means of communicating a message—orally, verbally, or in a different way. Media outlets use the combination of verbal textual message and images or audio and video content; we can say that these combinations create a different and often deeper impact on the audience, which is not simply the sum of its components. "It is ultimately the quality of the multimodal design that builds a rhetorical potential for argumentation and shapes the ways in which a piece of communication will appeal to the reason, the emotions, and the ethical judgment of potential recipients" (Pflaeging & Stöckl, 2021, p. 321).

What are the limitations and pitfalls of this kind of framing? This framework offers a deceptively simple definition of it as modern slavery, which should be abolished the way traditional slavery was abolished in the past. In addition to this, it is often proposed to ban prostitution in general as a way to solve this problem. Such an approach to the problem is a rather a barrier to a more complex examination of the complex factors that allow this type of abuse to flourish. Actions like the prohibition and criminalization of prostitution are more likely to lead to even more abuse

and human rights violations as of something that happens entirely in secret and is beyond any attempts at regulation.

Another aspect, which requires analysis, is that the slavery framework may lead to the implementation of anti-trafficking policies and measures that aim to protect "innocent" victims of modern slavery, but the majority of victims are not snatched from the street, for example, many enter the world of sex work voluntarily or are held via debt and other obligation that would easily make them return to sex work and exploitation even if "freed" (Brysk, 2012).

Equating trafficking with slavery also creates the notion of the "innocent victim" who is captured, abducted and forced to become a "white slave." Situations that do not fit into this scheme (and these are most) respectively, may not provoke this kind of moral outrage in people, societal intolerance of abuse and urge to help victims. Since many of the victims today voluntarily go abroad and into prostitution, expecting better income or to pay off debts, they do not fall under this scheme – and will not be accepted as "innocent victims", which easily pushes the thinking in the direction *"They deserve it, they are to blame themselves"*. This kind of thinking is a major obstacle to the deeper understanding of the problem and the search for adequate ways to counteract it and can be even dangerous if it leads to attitudes towards the voluntarily departed as "guilty", "bad" and undeserving of support. The slavery framework emphasizes "protection over empowerment, and rescue over rights" (Brysk, 2012, p. 4). "Rescuing" victims during police raids not followed by adequate support efforts is not a effective solution. Many of those rescued in this manner are later on held against their will in shelters, pressured to testify, which may pose danger to them or their relatives, and deported. Yet many of them will return even if deported, because they still find no better options, leading to revictimization.

3.2. The "ideal victim"

The image of an "innocent" helpless victim in need of saving is extremely powerful and provokes the public to require action from institutions and stakeholders. Yet it is often very far from the image of the real victim. Nils Christie, a Norwegian professor of criminology, developed his concept of the "ideal" victim with the aim to underline the attributes socially required to grant someone a victim status. His goal was to define the way society constructs the image of the victim: the victim the public would unquestioningly accept as such. Consequently, he defines the "ideal victim" as "a person or a category of individuals who upon their personal encounter with crime are most readily given the complete and legitimate status of being a victim" (Christie, 1986, p. 18).

These attributes include both personal characteristics and external circumstances. In terms of personal characteristics, the victim needs to be perceived as weak and vulnerable. Thus, members of groups perceived by default as more vulnerable (children, old people, girls, women) are more easily "accepted" as victims. According to Christie, another attribute is that the ideal victim is in the process of doing something respectable when victimized—going to school, for example. They are not at a place they are not supposed to be or doing something they are not supposed to be doing. External factors include time and location—again they need to be such that the victim can be seen as "blameless" (not having contributed to their misfortune in any way). The perpetrator also carries a set of characteristics like being intimidating and with perverse intentions, and unknown to the victims, with no previous contacts between them. Depicting the victims as entirely innocent "necessarily amplifies the guilt of the accused" (Schwöbel-Patel, 2018, p. 712).

In Christie's definition, the victim "must be strong enough to be listened to, or dare to talk. But she (he) must at the very same time be weak enough not to become a threat to other important interests" (Christie, 1986, p. 21). Therefore, the typical concept of the victim is of someone weak and dependent, passive and reliant on "saving". Therefore, someone may be perceived as a victim as long as they need saving, but not if they become empowered or press demands and develop activism raising questions about migration, e.g. general migration laws and possibilities for legal

migration and integration—at this point this becomes inconvenient and the victim loses this status and may provoke anger and even hostility:

"<...> the normative language of societal discourse prefers victims that are powerless and subordinated; that is, victims who lack the depth and the complexity of an actual human being and embody the unrealistic archetype of complete innocence" (Karamanos, 2018, p. 52).

4. Hypothesis and method

This study applies content analysis of images used in media and other online publications on the topic of human trafficking. In accordance with the abovementioned framing of trafficking as modern slavery, I hypothesize that 1) images creating associations with slavery and captivity would predominate; 2) in most cases the images would be of women and children; 3) the persons on the images would be white.

My research method is content analysis of the visuals accompanying media publications about human trafficking in Bulgaria. This method allows the making of generalizations about the relative frequencies of visual representations in media-circulated content of particular groups of persons, roles, events, situations, etc. (Bell, 2001).

Selection of content. Publications found through the Google search engine and the accompanying images were analyzed via a coding system specially designed for the purposes of this study. The number of publications is limited by the fact that trafficking in humans is not a frequent topic for Bulgarian media. They mainly appear as a part of campaigns (like the European anti-trafficking day 18 October), when there is a new police intervention/raid against a trafficking ring or when a new international report related to trafficking is released. An appendix with links to all the analyzed publications can be found at the end of this paper.

Coding strategy. For this research, I have selected six main categories and subcategories of variables. In my study, I only categorized images depicting victims (all of them are symbolic representation, no images of actual victims are used); other images were beyond the scope of this analysis. According to the general hypothesis, these variables focus on the types of persons shown (age, gender, race, number of persons on an image), on one hand, and on the other on the visual attributes that typically create the metaphor of slavery and captivity (ropes, chains, bars, small enclosed spaces/cells, etc.). The number of persons coded is the number of perceived victims within the image. Some images may show visual details related to the supposed abusers, but these are not coded as the focus is on the way victims are portrayed. When assigning images to a coding category, I took into consideration how clearly the attribute can be seen. If the image was not clear or if it showed only parts of the body so that age or gender, etc. could not be determined, it was ascribed to the *unspecified subcategory*.

5. Results

Table 1 below shows the results of the content analysis of the images accompanying media and website publications (see Appendix) about human trafficking in Bulgaria over the recent years.

Table 1

**Results of the content analysis of image used
in publications on the topic of human trafficking
in Bulgarian online media and websites**

Attribute of human trafficking		*Number of images*	*Total number of images*
Images showing a victim/part(s) of a human body		30	30
Number of persons	One	27	30
	Two	1	
	More than 2	2	
Victims' age	Children	5	30
	Younger adults	13	
	Unspecified	11	
Victims' gender	Female	13	30
	Male	2	
	Female and male	2	
	Unspecified, other	13	
Victims' race	White	28	30
	Other	1	
	Unspecified	1	
Attributes of slavery	Rope	10	13
	Chains	3	
Images of captivity	Bars	2	17
	Small spaces, cells	3	
	Other	12	

Most publications analyzed in this paper (see Appendix) are posted on the sites of media outlets (like Vesti.bg, SEGA, TrafficNews, among others) and some serve the purposes of awareness raising (as parts of prevention campaigns). A total of 25 publications were analyzed and all of them contained at least one image. The total number of images is 38 (as some publications contain more than one image), of which 30 images contain a representation of a victim—these are the images under analysis. No videos were found at this stage. The images in most cases were not created by the media outlet itself, but taken from a photo stock site, except for the cases where the photos were created for a campaign and portrayed persons taking part in an anti-trafficking event.

    <u>Gender</u>. The majority of images were of women and girls. Only 2 images were of men and 2 depicting both men and women. The images categorized as unspecified most often showed hands or feet. Though these images fall under the unspecified category, most of them look more like parts of a female body (consider figure 1).

Figure 1. A trafficking victim in the EU ("Nad 23 000 zhertvi", 2019)

Men are depicted much less often (no more than 9% of publications) and usually in pictures of persons of mixed genders. Only one image pictures a man toiling on a construction site, the implications being of labor exploitation.

Age. Most of the images were of younger adults, only four were clearly of children and none was of an older person, even though older people are at risk of labor exploitation. Children do not appear as often in the publication and associated images as I expected, unless the specific focus is child trafficking (see figure 2). In one publication about trafficking of newborns the used image was of a staircase, so there was no symbolic depiction of victims ("Kushta na ujasite", 2020).

Figure 2. A child victim of human trafficking ("Trafikat na hora", 2018)

Eleven images are categorized under unspecified because in them, the whole person cannot be seen, at least the depicted persons are not children—this much can be stated.

Number of persons depicted. The majority of the images in my material picture one person, only one shows two, and three images show more than two people.

Race. Almost all images are of white people. In just one image there is a person of color and one image cannot be categorized; it is ambivalent because it displays only silhouettes.

Attributes of slavery. Such attributes are present in 13 of the analyzed images. The most common are ropes (10 images) and chains (3 images).

Images of captivity proved not as common as initially expected. In five images, I noticed visuals depicting bars or small, enclosed spaced. There were however other such visuals—like a hand on the mouth or plaster over the mouth (a supposed captive, to prevent screaming), barcodes (one image, created for the purposes of a prevention campaign shows silhouettes with barcodes, the association being of people put for sale).

6. Discussion

The publications under analysis used a multimodal combination of visual material (images) and text (linguistic mode). As hypothesized, the majority of images are of women, very few are of men. Children are depicted less often than expected and only in publications specifically about child trafficking.

The depicted subjects are young—typically young adults, even where only body parts are visible, they look like belonging to younger persons. The exclusion of older persons has the implication of ignoring them as potential victims. But in reality, they are at high risk if they work abroad as domestic help or caregivers. The racial profile is mostly uniform—the victims are depicted as *white*. The population of Bulgaria however includes a Roma minority, which is in fact quite numerous and at higher risk of trafficking due to economically disadvantaged status. Yet they were out of the media focus in my material. In Bulgaria, the Roma minority often suffers discrimination and social exclusion; in this case—a symbolic exclusion from representation.

By way of example, figure 3 below combines verbal, graphic, and color semiotic resources to create an emotional perception of the picture of a white girl being held captive, enslaved. The dark background typifies the majority of the images, which is often combined with attributes of captivity and slavery like ropes and chains, as well as hands on the mouth, plaster, bars, presence of captors with menacing postures, etc.

Figure 3. A victim breaking a human trafficking network (Yaninska, n.d.)

To summarize, the typical image used in publications on human trafficking is of young white woman in captivity (shown in full or only partially, as body parts, held with ropes or hand over their mouths, in dark and scary spaces or behind bars). This is the predominant visual material accompanying publications about trafficking. Some of the written texts mention the idea of slavery or modern slavery (e.g. "Londonskata politsiya", 2019); yet they do not use the term *white slavery*. Yet on the level of the imagery the implication is exactly of white slavery and of white female slaves. I argue that even though this term is falling out of favor on verbal level, it is still implied via the use of multimodality. Such images are powerful and emotionally moving but create a very limited idea of a stereotype victim—a suffering, innocent, captive white girl, which results from the influence of the concept of the ideal victim. As was mentioned, the media do not create their own images/photographs for these publications; they typically use ones from stock footage. Nevertheless, image selection is not random—it aims to generate emotional reaction in the target audience and reflects the attitudes of the media to the issue in focus.

As previously mentioned, the use of slavery images, associations and connotations is powerful on emotional level and rhetorically powerful in generating pathos. Concepts of slavery stored in the

public unconscious determine a strong negative reaction to human slavery in most people and metaphors and images evoking the idea of slavery generate moral outrage, anger at the perpetrators, desire to help victims. On this level, the use of this multimodal frame to address the complex problem of trafficking is easily understandable and can be seen as effective. Besides, it can be argued that the media outlets tend to follow the dominant social trends of framing trafficking as modern slavery without much additional consideration. Therefore, on this level the slavery framework can also be seen as easily available and applied; and in the media, is best achieved (or strengthened) through multimodality.

Multimodal slavery framework in the media has its positive effects: it both attracts the attention of the public, who otherwise may not feel involved in the issue of trafficking, and effectively stimulates the public and stakeholders to take action. But at the same time we need to be aware of the limitations and pitfalls of this framing. The image of the white helpless girl who is abducted, held captive, tied and abused may provoke compassion, but it also creates a limiting and often incorrect perception of the victims. The actual victims are persons of different ages, ethnically and racially diverse, and very often not abducted and held in captivity, but choosing sex work or domestic work on their own accord or because of manipulation, after which they are mistreated and exploited. This does not mean they "brought this on themselves" and does not make them less deserving of the victim status. The mismatch between the image of the "ideal victim" and the real victim may have very negative effects—when one the victim stops being seen as "ideal", there may be a shift to blaming the victims as a common defense mechanism aimed to protect us from feelings of helplessness and too much empathy. Actual victims of crime, trafficking, and war are not perfect or ideal, nor should they be expected to be in order to receive help and protection.

Currently, most NGOs working on the problem prefer the framing of trafficking as a violation of human rights and work to encourage a deeper analysis of the push and pull factors, the risk groups, the factors for vulnerability, and the ways to combat trafficking by not just rescuing (victims) and punishing (perpetrators), but by eliminating the root causes of this dark phenomenon. Lack of opportunities and security, poverty, displacement—all of these lead to human trafficking, not street abductions. In addition, demand is the driving force behind the flourishing of human trafficking and even the worst and most cruel trafficker would be out of business without this demand. However, this is another aspect that is difficult to handle and address—to what extent the ones who use the services of trafficked persons can be held responsible and expected to intervene. This is not within the scope of the current paper but underlines the complexity of the issue and can be a topic for future research efforts.

7. Conclusion

Human trafficking is often explained by economic, social, and political conditions that push victims out of their country of origin and/or pull them toward another country. The basic idea is that victims originally live in futureless poverty and/or are structurally discriminated against in their home society and, for this reason, are easily motivated to leave everything behind and take risky chances. Globalization and easier mobility create new opportunities for the transportation and exploitation of people. Understanding and preventing trafficking requires a deeper understanding of these processes and factors in their complexity and going beyond the view of abduction and slavery. Trafficking victims usually have a level of self-determination in making their choices to migrate and often make conscious decisions to enter the world of sex work, for example. Public expectations of the "ideal" victim who has been abducted, who is "innocent" and helpless, who needs a savior can be both pathos generating as well as misleading and potentially resulting in public "disappointment" and denying the victim status to these persons who have chosen to enter prostitution due to lack of better chances for migration. This is a barrier to more effective support of victims and preventive measures.

Thinking of trafficking victims simply as captives in need of rescue as the only necessary prerequisite for them to start living well again can be an obstacle to generating genuinely working

strategies to eliminate human trafficking and help the people affected by it. Victims need not just "rescue", but opportunities for development, and life change, for work, education, skills development and assertiveness. Tackling a complex problem such as trafficking in human beings requires, above all, the elimination of the risks that create victims, of the factors that make certain members of society vulnerable. Therefore, push and pull factors, the impact of migration and routes to migration (legal and illegal) and of displacement due to armed conflicts and climate change all require research efforts on national and international levels if this problem is to be properly addressed. In this context, multimodal anti-trafficking rhetoric in the media is a valuable instrument to raise awareness and urge people into action. This rhetoric needs further analysis of the complex factors at play and the power of communication strategies to shape attitudes and perceptions.

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ФОРМУЛЮВАННЯ ПРОБЛЕМИ ТОРГІВЛІ ЛЮДЬМИ ТА СУЧАСНОГО РАБСТВА: МІЖ РИТОРИЧНИМ ПАФОСОМ ТА КОНЦЕПТУАЛЬНИМИ ОБМЕЖЕННЯМИ

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Анотація

Торгівля людьми є серйозною проблемою, яка непропорційно впливає на вразливі групи. Країни Східної Європи є одними з найбільш постраждалих через низку факторів ризику. Але ця проблема часто залишається непомітною для масової громадськості. Спроби довести її до суспільної свідомості значною мірою спираються на різні риторичні стратегії. Я стверджую, що спосіб постановки соціальної проблеми значною мірою визначає її суспільне сприйняття та реакцію на неї. Ця стаття розглядає торгівлю людьми як явище, її визначення та першопричини, а потім зосереджується на трактуванні торгівлі людьми як сучасного рабства. Такий фреймінг цієї проблеми став можливим завдяки використанню мультимодальності в ЗМІ та в профілактичних кампаніях. Я застосую метод контент-аналізу зображень, які використовуються в болгарській дігітальній пресі. Поєднання тексту та зображень є потужним інструментом для створення асоціації про рабство, ув'язнення та полон. Ці асоціації є емоційно заразливими та можуть породжувати пафос; вони також передають ідею безсилої невинної жертви, яка потребує порятунку, що применшує цю проблему. У статті стверджується, що цей підхід має як позитивні, так і негативні аспекти, останніми є ризики редукціонізму та перешкоди для глибшого розуміння проблеми, її глибинних причин і можливих рішень. Альтернативне трактування цього явища як порушення прав людини передбачає необхідність не лише «порятунку» індивідів, а й структурних змін у суспільстві.

Ключові слова: торгівля людьми, фреймінг, мультимодальність, пафос.

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TRANSLATING ARTLANGS: THE CLASH OF WORLDVIEWS

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Abstract
The research is dedicated to the problem of translating artlangs as a means of the alternative worldview embodiment. The object of research is twofold: the worldview in its linguistic manifestation and artlangs – artistic languages created within literary discourse mainly for expressive purposes. The aim of the research is equally dual: to determine what (kind of) worldview is reflected in artlangs and how it can be reproduced in translation. Our first hypothesis outlines three instances of worldview clashes connected with the perception, interpretation and translation of a piece of fiction depicting an alternative reality via an artlang. The first occurs when the reader decodes the text and recreates in their mind the author's artistic worldview, because the resulting 'picture' is never identical to the original one due to the uniqueness of information processing. The second occurs in translation, because the image of an alternative world in the translator's mind is indeed the projection of that of the author, but formed under the influence of their own (target) worldview and incarnated through the available target linguistic resources. The third occurs when the target reader retrieves the information from the target text and once again forms their own view of the alternative reality. According to our second hypothesis, artlangs' principal translatability is determined by their inextricable ties with natural donor language(s), though their reproduction is a highly demanding creative act whose outcome depends on a number of concomitant circumstances. Here belong: the relation between an artlang's donor language(s) and a piece of fiction's source language; the relation between a piece of fiction's source language and its target language; and, finally, the method of artlang's manufacturing.

Key words: alternative reality, artlang, clash, translatability, worldview.

1. Introduction
Modern concept of the worldview stems from Humboldt's idea of *Weltansicht*, according to which

> *speakers of different languages form their particular worldviews under the influence of the inherent specific structure of their language, but simultaneously cultivate this language by leaving their own personal impressions upon it* (Stria, 2018, p. 216).

Despite its more than 200-year old history and all the disputes and controversies it stirred among several generations of researchers, this idea still retains its validity. Quite obviously, speaking about the worldview in its linguistic embodiment, researchers usually keep in mind natural languages, while the specifics of both drawing and reflecting reality (either tangible or imaginary) by construed ones has largely remained out of scholarly field of interest. Consequently, our attention is equally focused on two research <u>objects</u>: the worldview (or, to be more specific, its linguistic manifestation) and artlangs ('artistic' languages created within literary discourse mainly for expressive purposes). Our aim is similarly dual: firstly, to determine what (kind of) worldview is reflected in artlangs (taken in a broad sense as cognitive, linguistic, stylistic and artistic phenomena) and how (if at all) it can be reincarnated in translation.

2. Method

We would like to begin our first terminological overview with the notion of the conceptual worldview that appeared as the result of terminological search for an umbrella structure that would unite under it various forms of mental representations in human consciousness. Correspondingly, the conceptual worldview is defined as "a global, holistic and dynamic system of information about the world processed and possessed by an individual and/or society which he or she is a member of" (Martyniuk, 2012, p. 53). The relations between the conceptual and linguistic views of the world are pretty obvious and may be described as hyper-hyponymic, meaning that the linguistic worldview is that "part of the conceptual one, which got objectified in linguistic forms and thus belongs to the sphere of the conscious" (ibid.). Another definition of the linguistic worldview describes it from a somewhat different angle as "a language-entrenched interpretation of reality, which can be expressed in the form of judgments about the world, people, things or events" (Bartmiński, 2012, p. 23). Thus, the linguistic worldview is "the result of subjective perception and conceptualization of reality performed by the speakers of a given language", which is "clearly subjective and anthropocentric but also intersubjective (social)" (ibid.). Paradoxically, but being opposed as "objective" and "subjective", both interpretations of the linguistic worldview nevertheless emphasize its ethnocentric character, which basically brings us back to Humboldt's another idea, that of *Volksgeist* ('spirit of the nation'), following which the complete and correct reproduction of the worldview in translation is called into question.

Now, we proceed to our second terminological overview in an attempt to uncover both cognitive and linguistic essence of artlangs. All artificial languages (also, conlangs—construed languages) present an extensive and varied group of phenomena, consciously and consistently devised by people (in many cases by one particular person) with two main purposes: (1) to serve as a universal means of communication for people all over the world; and (2) to serve as a means of communication for the characters in fiction (usually, a book or a film). In the former case, artificial languages are called auxlangs (auxiliary languages), and in the latter—artlangs. In his famous essay "A secret vice", one of the most prominent artlang-makers of all times and nations John Ronald Reuel *Tolkien reveals the aesthetic nature of artistic languages:*

> *An art for which life is not long enough, indeed: the construction of imaginary languages in full or outline for amusement, for the pleasure of the constructor or even conceivably of any critic that might occur* (1983, p. 202).

Though, on entering the pages of a literary work, an artlang, this "inessential and accidental product of circumstances" (ibid.) undergoes a truly mysterious transformation into the major (idio)stylistic and plot-building element, whose main function is to add plausibility to an alternative world created by the author's imagination. Here again, we turn for support to Tolkien, who claims that "for perfect

construction of an art-language it is found necessary to construct at least in outline a mythology concomitant" (ibid., p. 210), because

> *the making of language and mythology are related functions; to give your language an individual flavor, it must have woven into it the threads of an individual mythology, individual while working within the scheme of natural human mythopoeia* (ibid.).

If we substitute Tolkien's 'individual mythology' for 'the view of an alternative world' we will conclude that artlangs serve as the main means of its incarnation.

But how alternative is this world, or to be more precise, its image drawn by the writer? In case of artlangs, an inversely proportional relationship can be proposed: the less an artlang reminds any of natural languages, the farther an alternative imaginary world is from reality. This hypothesis can be accepted with regard to at least two relevant factors. The first is the inability of a human being to invent anything absolutely new: every novelty is merely a new combination of old elements. The rule applies to the sphere of language as well. In this connection, Tolkien insists that all new words are "made not created" as "there is in historic language, traditional or artificial, no pure creation in the void" (ibid., p. 204).

The second factor to be taken into consideration in regard to artlangs' role in forming and transmitting a specific view of the alternative world drawn by the author's imagination, is the method of their construction. To clarify this issue we will turn to the classification developed within Interlinguistics, a philological discipline that investigates auxiliary languages. According to its classification, all the artlangs fall into three main types: (1) *a posteriori* ones; (2) *a priori* ones: and (3) *mixed* ones. The division is based upon the relations between artlangs and natural languages. A posteriori artlangs consist of units composed on the basis of elements taken from (a) natural language(s), in this case referred to as '(a) donor language(s)'. A priori artlangs consist of units that bear no resemblance to any elements of (a) natural language(s). Mixed artlangs combine units of both above types. It is necessary to add that this differentiation is to some extent nominal because, as we highlighted earlier, no artificial language is absolutely free from the influence of (a) natural language(s), but if a posteriori artlangs typically borrow 'natural' elements on the morphemic and/or lexical level(s), a priori ones only employ phonological and graphological resources of their donor(s).

Thus, artlangs as linguistic manifestations of alternative worldviews always bear some traits of linguistic worldviews of their donor languages. While creating an artlang, the author departs from the linguistic worldview of the donor language(s) and simultaneously draws a picture of an alternative world. Since it all happens within literary discourse, we characterize this alternative worldview as 'artistic' as well. As the reader (the reader *per se*, regardless, native or foreign) decodes the book they recreate the author's worldview, though the resulting 'picture' is never identical to the original one due to the uniqueness of his/her own perception and interpretation of both linguistic and extralinguistic information within it. This situation can be characterized as the first instance of clashing worldviews.

But what happens with artlangs in translation and how translatable are they in principle? Typically, the translator would be the representative of a target culture, the native speaker of a target language and the bearer of the target conceptual and linguistic worldviews, which means that both these worldviews are somewhat alien to those of the author who comes from a source culture and speaks a source language. As a result, when the translator re-creates the original piece of fiction composed by the author, the image of an alternative world being formed in his/her mind is indeed the projection of that of the author but made under the influence of his/her own – target – conceptual and linguistic worldviews. And this is the second instance of clashing worldviews.

The result of clashing worldviews is then manifested in target linguistic means, selecting/manufacturing which the translator bears in mind not only a certain mental formation, but also the available resources of the target language (or, in other words, typological relations between

the source and target languages). At the next stage, the target reader decodes the target variant of the text and forms their own—and once again slightly different from that of the translator's—view of the alternative reality, which is the third—and final—instance of clashing worldviews.

Proceeding from the above considerations, we may preliminarily conclude that the artistic view of an alternative world can be more or less successfully reincarnated in translation though inevitably with some alterations described in terms of (the three instances of) worldview clashes. And now let us switch to the issue of artlangs translatability.

We assume that artlangs as the main linguistic incarnations of the alternative worldview can be reproduced in translation as successfully as this worldview itself. But if we take artlangs for what they are in regard to their linguistic rather than cognitive essence, namely, intricate stylistic devices, we can see that they fall under a very broad category of translation difficulties, whose successful reproduction is principally possible though dependent heavily on the translator's skillfulness and creativity.

3. Results and discussion

In this section of the paper, we aim at demonstrating some technical aspects of translating artlangs of both a posteriori and a priori types on the example of Newspeak from George Orwell's "1984" and Old Solar language Hlab-Eribol-ef-Cordi from Clive Staples Lewis's "Space Trilogy". First of all, we will try to determine whether artlangs should be translated at all taking into account the fact that they are presumably as alien to the source reader as to the target one. The answer depends on the following concomitant circumstances. The first is the relation between an artlang's donor language(s) and a piece of fiction's source language; the second is the relation between a piece of fiction's source language and its target language; and, finally, the third is the method of an artlang's formation.

Orwell's Newspeak is known as the attempt to model the language of the future on the basis of the modern English language by exploiting some real tendencies of its development. For example, the author extends to the maximum the idea of linguistic regularity by abolishing irregular past forms of a verb, irregular plural forms of a noun or irregular comparative/superlative forms of an adjective. Another tendency—towards all kinds of shortenings—is borrowed from the languages of totalitarian regimes of the period, Soviet and German Fascist. By mixing real and surreal, Orwell designs a truly dystopian language to illustrate the grim reality of the future. The donor of Newspeak is English and when the book is translated into another natural language Newspeak is supposed to be translated as well, otherwise Orwell's ideas and principles underlying his artlang will remain lost for the target reader and Orwell's view of the future (alternative) world will be distorted irreparably. At the same time, a posteriori structure of Newspeak and word-formation methods employed by the author allow the translator to decode the meanings of the lexemes and to find (more or less successfully) proper means to coin their target equivalents. It's also important to preserve all the linguistic tendencies outlined by Orwell; otherwise this important element of the artlang's worldview will be missing. For comparative analysis, we have three translations. The first, by Viktor Shovkun, was published by "Vydavnytstvo Zhupanskoho" in 2015; the second, by Vitaliy Danmer was presented on the Internet-portal "Hurtom" as an amateur translation project in 2013; and the third was made by the authors of this publication as part of their research (that is why we limited our translation to the "Principles of Newspeak" alone). Let us consider the following sentence:

(1)   *Consider, for example, such a typical sentence from a Times leading article as **Oldthinkers unbellyfeel Ingsoc**. The shortest rendering that one could make of this in Oldspeak would be: "Those whose ideas were formed before the Revolution cannot have a full emotional understanding of the principles of English Socialism." But this is not an adequate translation* (Orwell, 1987, p. 250).

It is one of the few examples of the actual sentence written in Newspeak. Besides, the author supplements it with what we, following Roman Jakobson's terminology, may call an "intralingual translation" (Jakobson, 2000, p. 114). Translation by Viktor Shovkun:

(2) *Розгляньмо, наприклад, таке типове речення з Таймсу, як as **Oldthinkers unbellyfeel Ingsoc**. Найкоротшим перекладом цього речення Старомовою буде: «Ті, чиї ідеї сформувалися до Революції, неспроможні емоційно опанувати принципи Англійського Соціалізму». Але це не зовсім точний переклад* (Orvell 2015, с. 286).

As one can see, contrary to our assumption about the necessity to translate artlangs, Shovkun leaves the Newspeak elements intact inside the Ukrainian context. By rendering Orwell's intralinguistic translation, he gives the target reader more or less coherent idea of the original phrase meaning, but deprives him/her of the original flavor of the artlang's dehumanized unnaturalness. The fairness of our claim is indirectly confirmed by Orwell, who points out that any possible translation of a Newspeak phrase into standard English is far from being 'adequate'. That is because it loses its *Volksgeist*, we may add from ourselves. Translation by Vitaliy Danmer:

(3) *Розглянемо, наприклад, таке типове речення з передової статті "Часопису" як **СТАРОДУМЦІ НЕЖИВОЧУЮТЬ ІНГСОЦ**. Найкоротшим варіантом перекладу який хтось міг би зробити з цього на Старосурж може бути: "Ті чиї переконання були сформовані до даної Революції не в змозі мати повного емоційного розуміння даних принципів Англійського Соціалізму". Але це не є у достатній мірі правильни* (Orvell www).

Danmer pursues the opposite strategy. He recreates the original units by employing the same word-formation methods as Orwell did: 'Oldthinkers' = 'old' + 'thinkers' → 'стародумці' = 'старо' (short from 'старі') + 'думці' ('думець' = 'той, хто думає'); 'unbellyfeel' = 'un' + 'belly' + 'feel' → 'неживочують' = 'не' + 'живо' (from 'живий' instead of 'живіт') + 'чують' (synonym to 'відчувають'); 'Ingsoc' = 'Ing' (short and modified from 'English') + 'soc' (short from 'socialism') → 'Інгсоц' = 'Інг' (short from 'Інгліш', transcribed 'English') + 'соц (short from 'соціалізм'). Some of the translator's decisions seem rather controversial. For example, when he substitutes 'живіт' ('belly') for 'живий'| ('alive') and 'відчувати' ('feel') for 'чути' ('hear'); or when he uses transliterated 'інгліш' instead of authentic 'англійський'. We can only assume that at least some of these decisions were dictated by euphonic considerations. Otherwise, Danmer's strategy works well enough to let the target reader feel the artlang's artificiality and complexity on the verge of bureaucracy. This approach helps minimize the distortion of the artistic worldview drawn by Orwell in his dystopian novel.

The third translation was made by the authors of this publication as part of their research project on artlangs' translation:

(4) *Подивіться, наприклад, на типове речення з передовиці Таймс: «**Стародумники ненутрочують Ангсоц**». Коротко передати його зміст Старомовою можна було б таким чином: "Ті, чиї погляди сформувалися до революції, не можуть всім серцем зрозуміти принципи Англійського Соціалізму". Проте такий переклад не є повним* (own translation).

It was made before Danmer's version of "1984" was uploaded for public use. In general, our strategy is similar to that in the previous example: 'Oldthinkers' = 'old' + 'thinkers' → 'стародумники' = 'старо' (short from 'старі') + 'думники' ('думник' = 'той, хто думає'); 'unbellyfeel' = 'un' + 'belly' + 'feel' → 'ненутрочують' = 'не' + 'нутро' + 'чують' (instead of 'відчувають'); 'Ingsoc' =

'Ing' (short and modified from 'English') + 'soc' (short from 'socialism') → 'Ангсоц' = 'Анг' (short from 'англійський') + 'соц' (short from 'соціалізм').

The similarity between the resulting target fragments can be explained by the same method of translation (namely, loan translation, or calque) and limited number of possible Ukrainian options for most words or their component morphemes, like 'English', 'socialist', 'old', etc. At the same time, our translation seems to avoid some of Danmer's controversies, in particular those connected with translating 'belly' (we offered variant 'нутро' bearing in mind Ukrainian expression 'чути / відчувати нутром' – 'to feel something intuitively, subconsciously', which in our eyes is very close to what Orwell describes as "a full emotional understanding" (1987, p. 250) and 'Ing' (we believe that to those unfamiliar with the peculiarities of English pronunciation option 'анг' is undoubtfully more preferable than 'інг'.

The above analysis confirms not only the principal translatability of an a posteriori artlang, but also the relevant possibility of rendering the concomitant worldview infused into it by the author of the source text. We can also see quite clearly the inevitable alterations in the artistic worldview resulting from both the translator's interpretation (the first instance of clashing worldviews) and the switch to another natural donor language and its cultural environment (the second instance of clashing worldviews).

Now let us explore similarly the translation of an a priori artlang, which in our case is Old Solar language Hlab-Eribol-ef-Cordi from Lewis's "Space Trilogy". Unlike Newspeak, it only borrows from its donor, presumably English or Latin, phonemes and their graphic representations – letters. It makes Old Solar's words undecipherable both morphemically and (in most cases) contextually. It also means that the author's commentaries are to be added for the reader to be able to understand them. The situation with translating a priori artlangs brings to mind language Jungle imagined by American philosopher Willard Quine to illustrate his principle of indeterminacy of translation (Quine, 2013). Quine considers a situation when translation is made from a language whose bearers do not speak any other languages and which is so far unknown to bearers of other languages and is not related to any other known languages. Quine describes such translation as 'radical' and presupposes that all possible interpretations of Jungle utterances made by the translator are inevitably arbitrary and thus may differ from interpretations by other translators. In fact, the hero of Lewis's novel finds himself in an analogous position trying to decipher the speech of aliens basing on his observations and resulting outcome.

Lewis uses Latin alphabet for transcribing the words of his artlang. It means that these words can be transposed without any visible change into any language that also uses Latin alphabet (even with modifications). At the same time, for translations into languages with different alphabetic systems (which is the case with the Ukrainian language) some other strategy should be followed. Since Old Solar's words have no morphemic division, they can be either transliterated or transcribed. For the languages, where spelling is close to pronunciation, this differentiation is irrelevant, but for the English-based a priori artlang this issue gains importance. Actually, the choice here lies with the interpreter, but if they opt for reproducing the phonetic side of the artlang rather than the graphic one, they should have a rather clear idea of what it is like. In our case, we have some useful insights from the author himself: "When asked about names he created in his Space Trilogy, such as Glund (Jupiter) and Viritrilbia (Mercury), Lewis replied that they were not connected to any actual language. He explained, 'I am always playing with syllables and fitting them together (purely by ear) to see if I can hatch up new words that please me. I want them to have an emotional, not intellectual, suggestiveness'" (Downing, 2005, p. 137).

If the author was composing Old Solar's words "purely by ear", we may conclude that their pronouncing was more important for him than spelling and, consequently, the interpreter should be more oriented towards transcription as the main method of translation if they aspire to cause as little damage to the view of the fantastic world portrayed by Lewis. Here appears another question: How are the artlang's words actually pronounced? Hypothetically, three answers are possible: (1) following

pronunciation rules of the English language; (2) following the Latin rule 'one letter – one sound'; (3) following specific rules as invented by the author and inherent to this artlang alone.

The book does not mention any specific phonological rules of Old Solar, we do not find them in any paratexts (Lewis's letters, interviews, memoirs, etc.) either, thus the interpreter should choose between the first two options. Meanwhile, we could assume that since Elwin Ransom, who 'discovered' Old Solar was a philologist, a studier of languages, he would not follow English spelling conventions, but would, instead, assign one Latin letter to each sound. This assumption sounds quite plausible as the author's rejection from English rules of reading allows him to alienate Old Solar from its natural donor.

In fact, in regard to English – Ukrainian translation due to phonological differences and euphonic considerations it is virtually impossible to follow transliteration or transcription strictly, that is why in many cases we have a mixture of both. This observation is proved by some examples from Lewis's novel "Out of the Silent Planet" (in the Ukrainian translation by Andriy Masliukh "За межі мовчазної планети").

In example (6), the translator clearly gives preference to transliteration:

(5)   *You have done very well, **Hnoo**, said Oyarsa. Stand away that I may see it, for now I will speak to it* (Lewis www).

(6)   *– Ви все зробили дуже добре, **Гноо**, – мовив Оярса. – А тепер відійдіть, щоб я його побачив. Мені треба з ним поговорити* (Liuis, 2010, p. 135).

According to the rules of English reading, word combination 'oo' should be pronounced as [u:]; then transcribed variant of translation would be 'Гну' instead of 'Гноо'. But if we accept the 'one letter – one sound' principle presupposed above, it turns out that transliteration here coincides with transcription. In the following example, our attention is drawn to another combination of vowels— 'au':

(7)   *No **hnau** can match them in making and shaping things as none can match us in singing* (Lewis www).

(8)   *Ніхто з **гнау** не зрівняється з ними у виготовленні всілякої всячини, як, приміром, ніхто не зрівняється з нами у співі* (Liuis, 2010, p. 76).

Once again, Masliukh transliterates the source lexeme; in case of transcribing it according to the rules of English reading, the Ukrainian variant would be 'гно'. According to our earlier assumption, in this case the combination of vowels should be pronounced as two separate sounds, and that is exactly the way it is reproduced by the translator in Cyrillic.

Next, we have another example that breaks the established pattern:

(9)   *Up this he must go, and somewhere beyond the tops of the mountains he would come to the tower of **Augray**. **Augray** would help him. He could cut weed for his food before he left the forest and came into the rock country* (Lewis www).

(10)   *Цією дорогою треба підніматися вгору, і вже десь там, за вершинами гір, він побачить вежу **Оґрея**. **Оґрей** йому допоможе. Перед тим, як залишити ліс і податися в гори, варто запастися їстівною травою* (Liuis, 2010, p. 123).

As one can see, reproducing the character's name the translator transcribes the initial combination of vowels instead of transliterating it (which would be in Ukrainian 'ау'—'Ауґрей') like he did in the

previous cases. It is hard to guess what motivated this decision, but obviously neither systemic ('Аугрей' is as pronounceable as 'Огрей') nor euphonic (neither variant provokes any unpleasant phonetic associations with Ukrainian readers) considerations. What this fact demonstrates is that translators do not always follow strictly certain patterns or strategies in their work which fact falls under the concept of the legendary 'human factor'. In situations broadly described as 'translation difficulties', translators often sketch up several possible variants, which they test contextually before giving preference to one particular variant (which again can be changed more than once at the later stages of translation and editing processes). Final option is often made intuitively when the translator themselves cannot explain their motivation coherently.

Take, for instance, the situation with consonant 'l'. In the Ukrainian translation, Masliukh does not palatalize it contrary to the Russian translation by Sergey Koshelev, Maria Mushinskaya and Anna Kazanskaya (that we use occasionally for comparative analysis). Compare:

(11) *The island is all full of **eldila**, said the hross in a hushed voice* (Lewis www).
*– На острові сила-силенна **елділів**, – мовив грос приглушеним голосом* (Liuis, 2010, p. 112).

(12) *– На острове множество **эльдилов**, – шепотом произнес хросс* (Liuys www).

Palatalization of 'л' in the Russian translation is expressed with the help of the soft sign while in the Ukrainian translation it is absent. The same pattern is observed in the majority of cases, but then we come across the following nonce formation:

(13) *It became plain that **Maleldil** was a spirit without body, parts or passions. – He is not a hnau, said the hrossa. – What is hnau? asked Ransom. – You are hnau. I am hnau. The seroni are hnau. The **pfifltriggi** are hnau* (Lewis www).

(14) *Невдовзі стало зрозуміло, що **Малелділ** – це неподільний, безплотний та безпристрасний дух. – Він – не гнау, – пояснили гроси. – Що таке гнау? – запитав Ренсом. – Ти – гнау. Я – гнау. Сероні – гнау. **Пфіфльтріги** – гнау* (Liuis, 2010, p. 76).

(15) *Он уяснил, что **Малельдил** – неделимый дух, лишенный тела и страстей. – Он – не хнау, – объяснили хроссы. – Что такое хнау? – спросил Рэнсом. – Ты – хнау. Я – хнау. Серони – хнау. **Пфифльтригги** – хнау* (Liuys www).

The word 'pfifltriggi' denoting one of the space races is extremely uncomfortable for pronouncing in English, as well as in Ukrainian due to the atypical for these languages accumulation of consonants. Meanwhile 'л' is predictably palatalized in the Russian translation and—quite unpredictably—in the Ukrainian one, which we treat as yet another case of pattern-breaking.

In general, we believe that the role of a priori artlangs in objectifying the view of an alternative world is less important than that of a posteriori ones. It can be explained by that simple fact that manufactured (i.e. composed of phonemes rather than morphemes) words are devoid of inner form, which, reconsidering Alexander Potebnia's legacy, can be defined as a certain idea / feature / characteristic underlying the concept that has been retained in the word (Potebnia, 1913). In a broader sense, the inner form of a word is understood as a semantic and structural correlation of morphemes within a word with other morphemes of that particular language. In other words, inner form of a word is that quite ephemeral substance that inextricably ties each a posteriori artlang to its donor(s) and eventually determines its inner form as a language in general.

As opposed to morpheme-based words from a posteriori artlangs, the meanings of a priori artlangs' words are decoded in their contextual descriptions, thus they sort of remain outside these

words and in this form can be transferred into the target text with minimal losses and, correspondingly, with minimal distortion of the artistic view of an alternative world. On the other hand, this artistic worldview remains maximally vague in both original and translation, unavailable for the reader's intentional perception due to the absence of any clear reference between their constituents' form and meaning (i.e. the absence of their inner form).

4. Conclusions

The research provides for some tentative conclusions that obviously should be further validated by more comprehensive investigations into the problem of reproducing different types of the worldview (linguistic, artistic, etc.) in translation. The problem was considered on the material of artlangs as the most demonstrative linguistic element of the alternative world's artistic view. The research exposed three instances of worldview clashes connected with the perception, interpretation and translation of a piece of fiction depicting an alternative reality. The first refers to any situation when the reader (no matter, source or target) decodes the book and recreates in his/her mind the author's artistic worldview, because the resulting 'picture' is never identical to the original one due to the uniqueness of human processing both linguistic and extralinguistic information. The other two instances refer to the situation of translation itself. The second instance of clashing worldviews takes place when the translator reads the original piece of fiction composed by the author, because the image of an alternative world being formed in his/her mind is indeed the projection of that of the author but made under the influence of his/her own – target – conceptual and linguistic worldviews. Finally, the third instance of clashing worldviews takes place when the target reader retrieves information from the translated variant of the text and forms his/her own—and once again slightly different from that of the translator—view of the alternative reality.

Artlangs' principal translatability is determined by their inextricable ties with their natural donor language(s), though in practice of literary translation their reproduction is a highly demanding creative act whose outcome depends on such concomitant circumstances as. Here we distinguish the following: the relation between an artlang's donor language(s) and a piece of fiction's source language; the relation between a piece of fiction's source language and its target language; and, finally, the method of an artlang's manufacturing.

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ПЕРЕКЛАД АРТЛАНГІВ: ЗІТКНЕННЯ КАРТИН СВІТУ

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Анотація

Дослідження присвячено проблемі перекладу артлангів як засобу втілення картини альтернативного світу. Об'єкт дослідження подвійний: картина світу у її мовному вимірі та артланги – художні мови, що створюються в межах художнього дискурсу переважно з експресивною метою. Мета дослідження є так само подвійною: визначити, яка саме картина світу відбивається в артлангу і як її можна відтворити в перекладі. Наша перша гіпотеза окреслює три прояви зіткнень картин світу, пов'язаних з особливостями сприйняття, інтерпретації та власне перекладу художнього твору, в якому за допомогою артлангу змальовано альтернативну реальність. Перший відбувається, коли читач розкодовує текст та відтворює у свідомості художню картину світу автора, адже той образ, що в нього виникає, ніколи не дорівнює первинному завдяки унікальності процесу обробки інформації. Другий прояв має місце в процесі перекладу, адже образ альтернативного світу у свідомості перекладача певною мірою є проекцією авторського, але формується під впливом його власного (цільового) світобачення та актуалізується за рахунок наявних ресурсів цільової мови. Третій випадок спостерігається, коли цільовий читач вилучає інформацію з друготвору і знову формує свої власне уявлення про зображену альтернативну реальність. Відповідно до нашої другої гіпотези, принципова перекладність артлангів визначається нерозривними зв'язками з природними мовами-донорами, хоча їхнє відтворення є надзвичайно складним творчим процесом, результат якого зумовлюється дією низки супутніх обставин, таких як: відносини між мовою-донором та мовою, якою написаний твір; відносини між вихідною та цільовою мовами твору; спосіб створення артлангу.

Ключові слова: альтернативна реальність, артланг, зіткнення, картина світу, перекладність.

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MEANING-MAKING TOOLS IN INTERSEMIOTIC TRANSLATION (BASED ON SCREEN ADAPTATION OF "THE HOURS")

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Abstract
The present article focuses on screen adaptations as intersemiotic translation which gives an opportunity to transpose written word into the multimodal space of cinema. Taking up the role of translators who act as mediators between different semiotic systems, film-makers face a range of challenges associated with the meaning-making resources available to the creator of a book and a film, respectively. They have to take into account a variety of factors ranging from the need to preserve the spirit of the book and its aesthetic value to the obligation to ensure commercial success of the film. However, reinterpretation of a literary work for screen purposes inevitably produces a new work of art which starts its own life in the cultural environment it is meant for. Unleashing their creativity, film-makers decide which elements of the book they consider essential to convey the key message of the writer and which could be sacrificed to provide for the visual appeal of the work of cinema.

A vivid example of such a challenge is seen in filming "The Hours" based on the novel by M. Cunningham, a story of three women bound through time with a book. Virginia Woolf writing her "Mrs. Dalloway", Laura Brown reading it and Clarissa Vaughn nicknamed Mrs. Dalloway by her former lover—all of them are struggling to find their true selves in the world, which dictates the way they must live their femininity. The battles they have to fight every single day without having the right to speak up are mostly represented in their internal monologues the novel abounds with. The film, in its turn, focuses on the main events in the story reinforcing them with powerful symbols such as the kiss that reveals true desires of Virginia and Laura while showing Clarissa that her life goes on; the cake that becomes an embodiment of Laura's failure as a spouse and a mother; water that will swallow Virginia and become a point of no return for Laura, and flowers presaging death for Virginia but fortelling life for Clarissa. An intricate mixture of music, image, and unrivaled play of actors produce a coherent and eloquent narrative, which makes viewers rethink gender stereotypes as well as Virginia Woolf's legacy.

Key words: intersemiotic translation, fidelity, meaning-making, reinterpretation, screen adaptation.

1. Introduction

Over the centuries, translation was considered as a purely linguistic phenomenon, a written or oral text being both its source and the eventual product. However, with the development of modern media it became evident that texts can enter into a much broader circle of interactions creating more complex forms of art that are based on several different modes.

O'Sullivan claims that art is itself a vague concept which encompasses countless semiotic communications (O'Sullivan, 2011, p. 15) while "all non-verbal codes are artistic codes" (Gorlee,

2015, p. 12) that are used for "making a specific message about a particular issue for a particular audience" (Kress, 2010, p. 28). The understanding of text is expanded to encompass, basically, any coherent entity meant to convey a message intended by the author. It is no longer important how many different modes interact in a single communicative space as long as it remains meaningful from the point of view of the writer/director/painter, etc.

It is a common knowledge that any message can be formulated in an almost infinite number of ways within one semiotic system, the same holds true for a mixture of several of them. Thus, translation is considered as "any process, or product hereof, in which a combination of sensory signs carrying communicative intention is replaced by another combination reflecting, or inspired by, the original entity" (Gottlieb, 2005, p. 3). Torop, in his turn, transforms understanding of translation from a single text to a polylogue where "a source text opens simultaneously from a new angle in several sign systems" (Torop, 2013, p. 242).

The present research focuses on the transformations that books undergo when adapted for screen purposes, an issue which has attracted significant attention over the recent years (Desilla, 2012; Stathi, 2015; Kaur, 2018; Akseki, 2019; Perdikaki, 2016, 2017a). It is based on "The Hours", the novel by Cunningham and the film of the same name. This novel constitutes, in a sense, a unique phenomenon as it is built around another story, written by Woolf more than half a century before. It also starts a conversation with the cultural environment itself as one of the most complicated semiotic systems ever. Cunningham, thus, revisits gender stereotypes and evolution in the perception of the role of a woman in a society. By doing so, the writer reveals how much a person's life can be influenced by their ability to have a choice in constructing their gender identity and living it to its fullest. Consequently, the novel allows the readers to redefine their own perspectives and reconsider the legacy of a great writer of the 20th century.

The main objective of the paper is to determine, which resources are employed to depict the images of the three main characters on page and on screen and their potential influences on the perception of the three women and their destinies by the readers and viewers, respectively. To reach this aim, the process of translation will be considered as resemiotisation, a complex interaction between different semiotic systems which requires a change of perspective on the concept of fidelity in a multimodal environment.

2. Literature overview

The intersemiotic aspect of translation as an environment where different semiotic systems interpenetrate has given rise to a heated debate covering a variety of crossings between different codes (Marais, 2019; Aguiar et al., 2015; Troqe, 2015; Plastina, 2022) which further allowed for developing a view of translation as resemiotisation, a phenomenon where "a particular set of meanings is transformed from one semiotic system (and configuration of media and modes) to another as social processes unfold" (Jewitt, 2014, p. 467). All the changes taking place in the ways "texts" are formulated and transmitted exert a profound influence on the expectations functioning in the society as well as the choices artists make in a never-ending play within an inherently intersemiotic space of culture. All the modifications they introduce to adapt the original to the new semiotic environment serve the purpose of integrating the new work of art in the cultural context.

> *The simile "translation as adaptation" has often been used in order to examine changes made in translation so as to address the needs and expectations of the target audience and culture. The reverse, "adaptation as translation", has been deployed in a cognate field, i. e. Adaptation Studies, to refer to the changes made in literary works which are transposed to the big screen or the stage* (Perdikaki, 2017, p. 2).

Although the Adaptation Studies emerged in the middle of the 20th century and has been actively exploring interactions between different media and the related adjustments, there is still much to be

discovered in terms of the value of the source and target product. When Jakobson put forward the idea of intersemiotic translation (Jakobson, 1959), it opened infinite opportunities for exploring relations the different forms of art enter into. However, it also required changing the perspective on the issue of fidelity to the original and its status itself.

Using the term of transmutation to describe translation between various media, Eco identified five of its essential characteristics:

1. An adaptation provides for harmonious coexistence of the source and target texts in the field of culture where they support each other reciprocally. For example, "an adaptation of a musical piece for ballet involves the simultaneous presence of music (source text) and choreographic action (target text)" (Eco, 2001, p. 120).

2. An adaptation may manipulate the source. An adaptation of a musical piece, thus, may radically re-contextualize the source according to the adapter's own interpretation (ibid, p. 121).

3. An adaptation may sometimes show something which remained unsaid in the source text. For example, film adaptation will add audio-visual details to better render the design, dress, or chromatic tone of a character, or a story, which the literary source did not prescribe (ibid, p. 121-124).

4. An adaptation may highlight a level of the original the adapter wishes to emphasize. For instance, a film adaptation may take the novel, isolate the narrative level, and drop its stylistic aspects (ibid, p. 125).

5. An adaptation may be perceived as a completely new work. For instance, where spectators would not judge an adaptation by considering whether it is better or worse than the execution of the original text, but would instead focus their attention on the way the adapter adapts the source through other semiotic languages (ibid, p. 127).

Thus, Eco placed an emphasis on all the variety of relations that the original and the target product can develop and the different roles that they play in the cultural environment once produced, considering "an unstable and ever-changing character of meaning constructed in multimodal discourse" (Shevchenko, 2019, p. 15).

Films constitute one of the most prototypical examples of such interactions as today, with the development of the film industry, more and more literary works started traveling to the screen to find a new life. Eisenstein claimed that "cinema is the heir of all artistic cultures" (Eisenstein, 2016, p. 109), which offers audio-visual devices to semantically support the filmmakers' expressions (Zhang, 2020, p. 63), inevitably raising the issue of meaning-making in cinema. Text becomes not just a message, but a process of perception (consumption) (Torop, 2019, p. 21) where both the film-maker and the target audience play an active role. While written texts constitute an environment favorable to conveying meanings implicitly, films require a significant degree of explicitation since "visual signs are less agile than the verbal in depicting abstract concepts" (Ketola, 2021, p. 107). Consequently, film-makers have to find other means to preserve the core ideas the author intended to transfer.

Some of the screen adaptations follow the original texts very closely; others preserve only the characters and some key events. However, considering the differences in the resources available to literature and cinema, it became obvious that the concept of fidelity and equivalence could no longer operate the same way it did for written texts. Pym, for instance, questioned the very source and target text paradigm, arguing that translation cannot be reduced to "an affair of two sides" (Pym, 2014, p. 2). He therefore suggests that these texts are all "tied up in never-ending translational networks" (ibid). It is the culture and the target audience who decide on the path a work of art should take, whether music shall be composed on the basis of a painting, whether the plot of a novel written centuries ago should be staged in a 21st century setting, whether a painting should become part of a film.

If a certain degree of linguistic equivalence is a necessary prerequisite for a high-quality translation, screen adaptations are more focused on the socio-cultural context and creativity. "The adaptation process is now examined as a creative practice dependent on the socio-political context,

which accommodates it, and the film industry, of which it constitutes a motoring force" (Perdikaki, 2018, p. 171).

Thus, translation stops being regarded as a one-way process where the original prevails. A film based on a book constitutes a unique work of art which implies "a multilevelled negotiation" (Naremore, 2000, p. 67), "a dialectal exchange between literature and cinema" (Lhermitte, 2005, p. 99). Screen adaptation requires significant transformations which balance varying degrees of "sameness and difference" (ibid). "The issue is not whether the adapted film is faithful to its source, but rather how the choice of a specific source and how the approach to that source serve the film's ideology" (Flanagan, 2009, p. 17).

When a book is reinterpreted for screen purposes, it is up to the film-maker to choose the aspects of the literary work they value most and it is their right as translators to do so. Films, thus, operate as "mediators in the communicative process between film-makers and film viewers" (Krysanova, 2019, p. 57).

Film-makers act as translators but also as co-authors who target their own audience, whose task is to ensure understanding between "two historical periods, two cultures, two media and/or two languages" (Lhermitte, 2005, p. 101), which is also true for translation. Meanwhile, a film is expected to possess a different dynamics where language is to some extent subordinated to the image and at the same time interacts with it in order to ensure the right balance of implicitness and explicitness. It is the film-makers' vision that shall provide not only for coherence of the narrative but also for a certain space open for interpretation which allows the viewers to complement the story with their own experiences. Millicent (1992) claims that

> *the successful adaptation performs the process of its [book] transit, makes explicit the way in which the literary work is passed through the filmmaker's imagination, the new cultural context, and the technology of the medium, to emerge as a full-fledged, autonomous retelling of the tale* (Millicent, 1992, p. 20).

It is believed that any film is a product of the film-maker's creativity, their personality and talent as well as "individual intertexts through which are filtered the materials being adapted" (Hutcheon, 2013, p. 84).

Representation of the literary work on the screen also heavily depends on the cultural context and the audience it is meant for. The reasons for any modifications and adjustments introduced "appear to move between the poles of crass commercialism and high-minded respect for literary works" (McFarlane, 1996, p. 6). Such changes may take place at the macro- or micro-level. While the former are rather related to the linguistic representation of the text, the latter apply to perception of the characters and the general perspective on the events unfolding. Chatman coins a term of a 'satellite' (Chatman, 1978), a minor event which is less relevant to the story and, thus, can be omitted, however the researcher states that a decision to preserve some events in the story while removing others can have a profound impact on the fundamental ideas embedded in the book.

3. Results and discussion

Characterisation plays a vital part in the way the entire film is interpreted. The images of characters can be either amplified on the screen or, on the contrary, played down, which, in its turn, leads to changes in the general aesthetics of the film and perception of the story. As a form of visual art, film is much more explicit, on the one hand, but on the other, film-makers challenge their viewers to take an active part in the interpretation process. Films combine language, visual images, and music. However, it is the actors and their performance that determine whether the film will resonate with the viewer in the first place. While books constitute an environment favorable to the description of emotions and beliefs of the character, on screen it is the actor's talent that counts, which is vividly shown in the screen adaptation of "The Hours" by Cunningham.

The novel itself is intertextual in nature as one of its principal characters is Virginia Woolf who is writing her "Mrs. Dalloway", a book which connects the author with the other two protagonists, one who is reading it and the other who is living it. Thus, it is all the more interesting to follow the future path of this work being reworked for screen purposes. The story revolves around only a few main events, however, they are supplemented with a broad background that gives sense to each of the core plot stages.

The novel deals with gender stereotypes existing in the eras when the three women live, their struggles and attempts to become their true selves. The book describes a single day in the life of each of them.

Interestingly, the female images in the book are depicted from the author's perspective as if he is able to see their hearts, their greatest fears and deepest desires, every single thought crossing their mind. It gives an impression that everything women experience as well as the world around them form a unique synergy, no detail is excessive or unimportant. Certain elements of their surroundings become symbolic, representing the feelings that the women do not have the right to express as they are limited to the roles the society assigned to them.

Virginia, taken to a small town by her husband which only aggravates her mental illness, Laura, a woman trapped in her own marriage, and Clarissa, struggling to forget her relations with Richard and be happy here and now with Sally. Nevertheless, there is a difference in their stories, stereotypes deeply rooted in the societies Virginia and Laura are part of prevent them from living their sexuality. Clarissa has her choices in front of her but her memories hold her back.

The invisible thread between them is extremely important for understanding the ways their stories are interwoven. While the book is rather intended for intellectual readers familiar with the legacy of Woolf, the film presupposes a much broader audience which may not trace this connection through time. Daldry, the film director, emphasizes:

> *The audience all the time is trying to work out what is the connection between these three women, and again not just the emotional or thematic connection but what's the simple, direct narrative connection. And when those connections start to be made, it always felt to us there was a huge dramatic rush to the story, as indeed there would be to the film* (Manufacturing Intellect, 2017).

Consequently, the film-makers explicitly show (Fig. 1) Virginia writing *"Mrs. Dalloway said she would buy the flowers herself"* (Daldry, 2002, 00:11:16), while Laura is reading the same line and Clarissa is saying *"Sally, I think I'll buy the flowers myself"* (Daldry, 2002, 00:11:28). Their lives are also overlapping in a fast change of shots at the very beginning of the film when the women are starting their day. At this moment, the viewer already sees the drastic difference between Virginia and Clarissa.

Fig. 1. *The Hours* by Paramount Pictures (00:10:45; 00:10:53; 00:10:58)

While Virginia incarnated by Nicole Kidman is combing her hair without looking into the mirror and shudders when accidentally meets her own look, Clarissa, Meryl Streep, has no fear and smiles at her own reflection. Cunningham tells his reader that Virginia considers her reflection dangerous, *"it sometimes shows her the dark manifestation of air that matches her body, takes her form, but stands behind, watching her, with porcine eyes and wet, hushed breathing"* (Cunningham, 2002, p. 30-31) as if it is a ghost, not who she feels deep inside.

Clarissa, on the other hand, looks business-like, she is thinking about a party she is having to celebrate the award Richard has won. She opens the curtains to meet a new day. The writer describes her as *"the old beauty, the old hippie",* still having *"a certain sexiness; a certain bohemian, good-witch sort of charm".* But perhaps more importantly, she feels alive, *"she loves Richard, she thinks of him constantly, but perhaps loves the day slightly more"* (Cunningham, 2002, p. 11-13).

Julianne Moore, playing the part of Laura, wakes up and hears her husband making breakfast for their son and himself. It is his birthday but she cannot make herself get up immediately. When she goes downstairs, according to Cunningham, she feels *"about to go onstage and perform in a play for which she is not appropriately dressed, and for which she has not adequately rehearsed"* (Cunningham, 2002, p. 43). She has no feelings either for her husband or her little son, Richard. Moore brilliantly reproduces it with her frozen, detached look when nobody sees her and a well-trained smile to please her husband, a war hero who is in love with her.

Even the cake Laura makes for him, seems to be one more proof of her failure as a wife and a mother (Fig. 2.).

Fig. 2. *The Hours* by Paramount Pictures (1:30:19)

This birthday cake constitutes a vivid symbol of her life which is simply not good enough even if her husband says the opposite. The decision to have this family was never hers. Having returned from war, having survived, *"he could (in the words of his own alarmed mother) have had anyone… What could she say but yes? How could she deny a handsome, good-hearted boy, practically a member of the family, who had come back from the dead?"* (Cunningham, 2002, p. 40).

One of the key events in the plot for Virginia and Laura is a kiss which reveals their true desires (Fig. 3.). Both women realize they can never pursue this path which pushes them towards escape and later suicide.

Fig. 3. *The Hours* by Paramount Pictures (1:06:46; 00:39:51)

Laura goes to a hotel to be alone with her book. While reading, a thought of ending her life crosses her mind but there is too much that stops her (Fig. 4.).

(1)   *She strokes her belly. I would never. She says the words out loud in the clean, silent room: "I would never". She loves life, loves it hopelessly, at least at certain moments; and she would be killing her son as well. She would be killing her son and her husband and the other child, still forming inside her* (Cunningham, 2002, p. 152).

Fig. 4. *The Hours* by Paramount Pictures (1:04:56)

The film uses the metaphor of water to convey Laura's thoughts. She is lying on the bed when suddenly water is coming to swallow her and still she is reemerging from the flow with the words *"I can't"* (Daldry, 2002, 01:08:05) while Virginia is talking to Vanessa's daughter about her new book *"I was going to kill my heroine but I've changed my mind. I fear I may have to kill someone else instead"* (Daldry, 2002, 01:07:55).

It is at that moment that Virginia seems to have made her mind and it is water that is going to take away her life. But at that moment she is holding onto the only place where she feels alive. Virginia is suffocating in the small town where she has to live (Fig. 5), she believes that the only way to avoid madness is to return to London. She is aware that Leonard, her husband, means well, he wants her to live in peace.

(2)   *She is better, she is safer, if she rests in Richmond; if she does not speak too much, write too much, feel too much; if she does not travel impetuously to London and walk through its streets; and yet she is dying this way, she is gently dying on a bed of roses* (Cunningham, 2002, p. 169)

Fig. 5. *The Hours* by Paramount Pictures (00:46:40)

Just like the bird who she helped Vanessa's children to bury. This symbolism in the film is reinforced through the yellow color of roses Virginia brought for the bird, in some eastern cultures it means death.

Film-makers also transform the internal dialogue of Virginia in a real conversation with Leonard and even enrich it with some crucial ideas. Having found his wife at the train station ready to go to London, Leonard is trying to convince her that doctors know better, that he wants to keep her safe. However, Virginia responds:

(3)   *This is my right; it is the right of every human being. I choose not the suffocating anesthetic of the suburbs, but the violent jolt of the Capital, that is my choice. The meanest patient, yes, even the very lowest is allowed some say in the matter of her own prescription. Thereby she defines her humanity. I wish, for your sake, Leonard, I could be happy in this quietness. But if it is a choice between Richmond and death, I choose death* (Daldry, 2002, 01:23:17).

This conversation touches upon much more than just a place to live, it is a matter of choice which is fundamental to the entire story. Virginia is bound to fight her demons every single day and she claims her right to regain those bits of life that she can still have. She feels stuck in this town and in her own mind but is seeking to live and eventually die on her own terms. However, even Leonard's agreement to leave does not suffice, Virginia can no longer withstand her suffering:

(4)   *The voices are back and the headache is approaching as surely as rain, the headache that will crush whatever is she and replace her with itself. The headache is approaching and it seems (is she or is she not conjuring them herself?) that the bombers have appeared again in the sky* (Cunningham, 2002, p. 4).

Meanwhile the viewer sees the woman running towards the river as if something or somebody is chasing her, a river that will wash her away (Fig. 6).

Fig. 6. *The Hours* by Paramount Pictures (1:45:30)

Clarissa, in her turn, is living her own torture, asking herself whether it is here, in this flat, with this woman that she is supposed to be. However, she is free to rethink her path, to choose where to go from now. She shares her struggles with her old friend Lewis and her daughter without any fear of being judged by them. She ponders over the meaning of happiness that seems to have remained in that summer when Richard and her were together. Still, Richard's death on the very day of the party she prepared for him appears liberating for her as much as the conversation with his mother, Laura, who came to his funeral.

This scene differs significantly from that of the book where the writer shows that Clarissa cannot help judging this woman who left her son when he was so young. Film-makers, however, allow Laura to say what Clarissa needs to hear to move on:

(5)   *It would be wonderful to say I regretted it. It would be easy. But what does it mean, what does it mean to regret when you have no choice. It's what you can bear… It was death. I chose life"* (Daldry, 2002, 01:45:24).

Life has no ready-made answers, everybody finds one for themselves. Clarissa chooses life as well:

(6)   *And here she is, herself, Clarissa, not Mrs. Dalloway anymore; there is no one now to call her that. Here she is with another hour before her* (Cunningham, 2002, p. p. 226).

This day is finally over and it is the start of something new.

Fig. 7. *The Hours* by Paramount Pictures (1:44:58)

Unlike Laura and Virginia for whom the time seems to have stopped, Clarissa is allowed to decide who to be, who to love and she is eager to see what is coming next: *"Still, we cherish the city, the morning; we hope, more than anything, for more"* (Cunningham, 2002, p. p. 225). This message is powerful, it shows that times change and it is part of the reason why Clarissa is able to survive, kiss Sally and step into the new day (Fig. 7). However, film-makers take a decision to finish their story with Virginia walking into the river and her last words in a letter she left for Leonard:

(7)   *...To look life in the face, always, to look life in the face and to know it for what it is, at last, to love it for what it is and then to put it away"* (Daldry, 2002, 01:49:09).

On the one hand, such an ending seems to close the time loop binding the three protagonists and fortelling a start of a new story for some and the end of the journey for others. Nevertheless, at that very moment, the film steps away from the original book. Focusing on Virginia Woolf and her work that seem to guide the entire lives of Laura and Clarissa, the film-makers attach paramount importance to the scene of her death that the film opens and closes with. Meanwhile, Cunningham meant to start his story with death but finished with life. However, this effect is somewhat compensated by the musical background of the story, which shows a contrast between Virginia's life and that of Clarissa. If the music playing when Virginia is going deeper and deeper into the river is solemn and tragic, "Choosing Life" which marks the end of the day for Clarissa is filled with hope.

4. Conclusions

As can be seen from the research results, the film-makers have been making every effort to preserve the intent of the author who aimed to show the lives of three women profoundly marked by the stereotypes determining the place of a woman in the society. Cunningham not only masterfully shows their struggles but also changes that have taken place in the world. In the 1920s, an era when Virginia is living, women had no other option but to follow their husbands, being exemplary wives and hostesses, something she was simply unable to become. Laura makes a choice most reprehensible from the point of view of the society; but for her it was a choice between life and death. Clarissa, living in the modern times, can freely decide who she is going to be and who she is going to love.

The writer skillfully depicts every painful thought, every torturing memory the characters have to live with. The film, in its turn, uses all the power of actors' play to tell the story. Close-ups allow the viewer to catch the smallest detail in the faces of actresses, the slightest changes taking place in them when they do not have to play their role any more. The film-makers also make full use of the visual symbols embedded in the book such as flowers, water, the cake, the kiss, sometimes even reinforcing them on the screen.

The intertextual nature of the novel posed a significant challenge for the film-makers who have to make all the connections between the three characters plausible for the audience. This requires employing all the visual resources available to them as well as a musical background which creates a mirroring effect. Even the actresses themselves were astounded by the work of the film-makers. Reflecting on her experience of watching the entire film, Moore shares her feelings:

> *After I first saw the film, I was really pleased and astonished by how well the stories kind of rely on each other, the way they interact, the way the women, that we, the characters, seem to be relating to each other. It's kind of a wonderful feeling of universality and that sense of reaching across time"* (Hollywood Archives, 2015).

A film can never be completely faithful to the book, however, all the emerging semiotic tools feed a whole ocean of creativity that just needs to be tapped into. Consequently, further analysis is required

to study a broader range of resources on a more ample empirical material employed by film-makers in order to transform a written work into a multimodal entity.

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ІНСТРУМЕНТАРІЙ СМИСЛОТВОРЕННЯ В ІНТЕРСЕМІОТИЧНОМУ ПЕРЕКЛАДІ (НА МАТЕРІАЛІ ЕКРАНІЗАЦІЇ РОМАНУ "ГОДИНИ")

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Анотація

Проведене дослідження присвячено питанню екранізацій як одному з типів інтерсеміотичного перекладу, що передбачає перетворення літературного твору до мультимодального середовища кінематографу. Виконуючи роль перекладачів, що діють як посередники між двома семіотичними системами, творці фільму стикаються з низкою труднощів, що пов'язані з відмінностями в інструментах конструювання смислів, що доступні літературі та кінематографу відповідно. Існує цілий комплекс факторів, які необхідно брати до уваги: від потреби зберегти "дух" книги та її естетичну цінність до забезпечення комерційного успіху фільму. Водночас реінтерпретація літературного твору для потреб екрану неминуче призводить до появи нового витвору мистецтва, що розпочинає власне життя у культурному просторі, для якого він призначений. При цьому творці фільму використовують творчий підхід, щоб визначити, які елементи вони вважають ключовими для відтворення головної ідеї, що прагнув передати письменник, а якими можна поступитися, щоб зберегти привабливість фільму для аудиторії.

Яскравим прикладом такого виклику є екранізація роману "Години" за авторством М. Каннінгема, історії трьох жінок, чиї долі зв'язані часом і однією книгою. Вірджинія Вулф, яка пише "Місіс Деловей", Лора Браун, яка читає той самий роман, та Клариса Вон, яку колишній коханець називав Місіс Деловей - усі вони намагаються віднайти себе у світі, який диктує як вони мають проживати свою жіночність. Роман сповнений внутрішніх монологів, що розповідають про щоденні битви героїнь, про які вони не мають права говорити. Фільм, у свою чергу, сфокусовано на основних подіях сюжету, що підсилюється потужними символами, такими як поцілунок, завдяки якому Вірджинія та Лора дізнаються, чого бажають насправді, для Клариси ж він означає, що життя продовжується; торт, що уособлює нездатність Лори бути дружиною та матір'ю, на яку заслуговує її родина; вода, якій судилося поглинути Вірджинію та яка стає поворотним моментом для Лори та квіти, що віщують смерть для Вірджинії, а для Клариси символізують життя. Витончене поєднання музики зображення та неперевершеної гри акторів створює послідовний та виразний наратив, який змушує глядачів переосмислити гендерні стереотипи на фоні творчої спадщини Вірджинії Вулф.

Ключові слова: вірність, екранізація, інтерсеміотичний переклад, конструювання смислів, реінтерпретація.

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MULTIMODALITY AND TRANSMEDIALITY
IN KAMAL ABDULLA'S SHORT FICTION:
A COGNITIVE-EMOTIVE INTERFACE

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Abstract
This paper addresses the issues of in-built multimodality and transmediality as well as their interface employed in "Could You Teach Me to Fly…?", a short story by Kamal Abdulla, a well-known Azerbaijani writer, scholar, and public figure. Relying upon the cognitive-emotive approach as the ground for multimodal text analysis, the research interprets the above concepts as interphenomena, which, along with iconicity, intermedial references, and manifestations of verbal holography as the interplay of planes and vectors, create the effect of literary text multidimensionality. The paper claims that the short story that belongs to intellectual prose foregrounds the metaphor of love as a magic gift that endows a person with capacity to fly. This metaphor is embodied in the iconic image of a white bird the woman in love turns into. The paper shows that the magic of imagery based on fairytale and mythopoetic motifs reveals itself through a set of visual, auditory, and kinesthetic manifestations of multimodality accompanied by the use of zoom-in/zoom-out cinematic techniques. The magic of paradoxical imagery, where a naked woman symbolizes an emotionally intense silence, is enhanced by discourse transmediality, due to which the key visual image of the woman-bird flying high into the sky as if evaporating transforms into an integrated kinesthetic poetry-dance-film image. Given all this, the paper suggests several techniques of cognitive-emotive multimodal analysis, which might further enrich the metamethod of literary text disambiguation as a way of its interpreting aimed to reconstruct a literary work's conceptual structure while defining the factors of textual multidimensionality and deepness.

Key words: multimodality, transmediality, iconicity, interphenomenon, multidimensionality, cognitive-emotive interface, verbal holography, short fiction, intellectual prose.

> *Three passions, simple but overwhelmingly strong,*
> *have governed my life: the longing for love,*
> *the search for knowledge, and unbearable pity*
> *for the suffering of mankind.*
>
> (Bertrand Russell, Autobiography)

1. Introduction

Recent developments in linguistic epistemology vividly demonstrate the results of several interconnected evolutionary trends that might be traced within humanities in the late 20th–early

21st centuries. Here belong (i) further elaboration of the main assumptions, or research principles (Kubryakova's expansionism, anthropocentricity, (neo)functionalism, explanatorism, discourse-centricity, dialogicality, ethnocentricity, psychoneticity) contemporary linguistics is characterised by (Selivanova, 2008, p. 36-48; Vorobyova, 2013, p. 43), (ii) a spiral trajectory of paradigmal shifts, starting with the preparadigmal (holistic) era to the paradigmal (evolutionarism, structuralism, functionalism, cognitivism) epoch and further, through the jigsaw stage, to the postparadigmal episteme (Vorobjova, 2021, p. 28), and (iii) refocusing of the research interest from hypotheses and methodologies as epistemological tools onto multidimensional integrative phenomena or entities as an object of trianguation (ibid., p. 29). Emergence of the latter trend might be to a great extent accounted for by the change of the dominant sphere that shapes the contours of the current episteme. Paradoxically enough, in the time of post-, the former dominance of science, first evolutionary biology, then physics (nuclear theory and the theory of relativity, respectively), followed by the collaboration of psychology and neurobiology, as an influence factor has been substituted for by arts, primarily visual. On the one hand, the formation of contemporary syncretic-phenomenological episteme (ibid., p. 28), characterised by "fine-tuning" and the potential of construing instead of methodological rigidity, was provoked by Carlo Ginsburg's "paradigma idiziario", or semeiotic paradigm (Ginzburg, 1990). Such paradigm may be qualified as an evidential, or circumstantial one, i.e. the paradigm of hints, tokens, prompts, subsidiary details, minor differences. It is the latter that might help scholars construe various multidimensional phenomena (interphenomena) in their integrity, similarly to what the restorer does while searching for a painting's lost attribution (ibid., p. 190-191). On the other hand, the idea of sense construing as the dominant scholarly and artistic trend might be interpreted as dating back to Paul Cesanne's famous series of Mont Sainte-Victoire paintings with their impressionistic play on the transcience of light as well as his post-impressionistic emphasis on the synthesis of perspectives, unique details, their surprising diversity, and "the relationships between color, form, and emotion as a kind of enduring structure" (White, 2021, n.p.).

Both multimodality (Nørgaard, Busse, & Montoro, 2010, p. 30-34, 117-120; Nørgaard, 2014, p. 14-20; Ryan, & Thon, 2014, p. 9-14) and transmediality (Ryan, & Thon, 2014, p. 4-9; Wolf, 2005/2008, p. 253-4; Elleström, 2019, p. 5), which this paper addresses in the context of literary discourse, belong to the world of interphenomena that displays more and more elaborate contours in contemporary intellectual prose, adding up a special flavour to creativity, proteanity, and multidimensionality of literary text. Not infrequently the latter tend to provoke unexpected if not shocking effects, particularly those of ephemerality and magic (Vorobjova, 2015, p. 25-6), thus appealing to the readers' imagination and fancy as well as to their emotions. It is exactly the research perspective this paper suggests while examining the interface of multimodality and transmediality in "Could You Teach Me to Fly…?" (Abdulla, 2014, pp. 210-32), a short story by Kamal Abdulla, a well-known Azerbaijani writer, scholar, and public figure. Though the story's key metaphor of love as a magic gift that endows people with the capacity to fly can be transmedially referred to the category of travelling texts (Kusek, 2014, p. 63), or travelling plots, its manifestation in the story is absolutely unique due to the intricate intertwining of multimodality and transmediality, alongside the adjacent literary phenomena of iconicity and verbal holography (see Vorobyova, 2021, p. 301-3).

Given the ontological trend of making imagery in contemporary short fiction more complicated and multifaceted, literary linguists face an evident necessity to jointly work out the metamethod of extended stylistic analysis (Nørgaard, Busse, & Montoro, 2010, p. 33-4; Nørgaard, 2019, p. 3-4, 40; O'Halloran, & Smith, 2011, p. 12; Vorobyova, 2017, p. 429) that would incorporate interpretation of literary multimodality, intermediality, transmediality, and other interphenomena, thus getting deeper into the intricacies of literary texture and verbal mechanisms of its emotional impact.

2. Multimodality and transmediality in literary discourse:
A cognitive-emotive analysis

Multimodality that "refers to the multiplicity of semiotic modes that go into communication" (Nørgaard, Busse, & Montoro, 2010, p. 117) and transmediality, or media convergence, in Henry Jenkins's terms (cit. after Ryan, & Thon, 2014, p. 2) (see more on their differentiation in Vorobyova, 2017a, p. 97-100) in literary discourse as a multisemiotic phenomenon, have already been studied from several angles. The choice of the research perspective, according to which these phenomena are viewed as tools of meaning-making, depends on whether they are regarded as part of a wider multimodal or transmedial semioses (Nørgaard, 2019, p. 3) or as incorporating manifestations of such a semiosis (ibid., p. 2).

As to **multimodality**, the former approach focuses on more **traditional** 'illustrated' books, book adaptations as distinctively multimodal discourses such as film, television programmes, drama performance, etc., or on **explicitly (overtly) multimodal** texts, relatively conventional or relatively unconventional (ibid., p. 35) −

those in which the use of different modes is envisioned as an integrated part of the literary narrative which would be changed considerably, and in some cases simply would not work, if the images, colour, special typography, layout, etc. were removed. (Nørgaard, 2019, p. 2-3)

The latter perspective, adopted here, addresses **implicit** (**inherent, covert,** or **in-buil**t) multimodality of literary texts, often intertwined with in-built literary iconicity or verbal holography (Vorobyova, 2017a, p. 106-7; Vorobyova, 2021, p. 301-3). It concerns literary texts, which

many readers would probably tend not to think of as multimodal at all − i.e. visually conventional novels which consist of a verbal narrative set in "standard" typography, colour and layout, and which make no use of images and other graphic elements for their meaning-making. (Nørgaard, 2019, p. 3)

Such instances of multimodality in **visually conventional**, or **"word-only"** literary texts (ibid., p. 35) are created by the wording itself that imitates various sensory/non-sensory modes or their interaction. These effects emerge due to **multimodal affordances**, or **meaning potential**, in Carey Jewitt's parlance (2009/2011, p. 14), that respective verbal manifestations possess.

Along with its explicit and implicit varieties that form a multimodal ensemble constituted by "a multiplicity of modes, all of which have the potential to contribute equally to meaning" (ibid.), multimodality can be **medium-specific**, or **genre-specific (generic)**, "when both monomodal and multimodal works are possible within the same genre" (Ryan, & Thon, 2014, p. 10).

The 'logic' of modes (Jewitt, 2009/2011, p. 21), or a multimodal design as a pattern of integration grounded in their selection and combination (ibid., p. 15), is determined by the way meanings are orchestrated (ibid.) in terms of **multimodal cohesion** (van Leeuwen, 2005, p. 179-271), **cultural shaping** (Jewitt, 2009/2011, p. 21), **multimodal focus** (ibid., p. 26), and multimodal affordances as the potential of the wording to express and represent the desired meaning easily (Kress, 2010, p. 96) as well as **modal constraints** (Norris, 2009/2011, p. 80). Such integration is always accompanied by some **tension**, which is meaningful in itself (Jewitt, 2009/2011, p. 25-6). Two more facets that characterize both implicit and explicit multimodality are **modal density** (high, medium, low) that incorporates **modal intensity** and/or **modal complexity**, and **modal configuration** (Norris, 2009/2011, p. 78) as "the hierarchical, equal, or connected relationships among the modes that are at play" (ibid., p. 79).

The typology of literary multimodality and the range of its constitutive facets are summarised in Fig. 1 below:
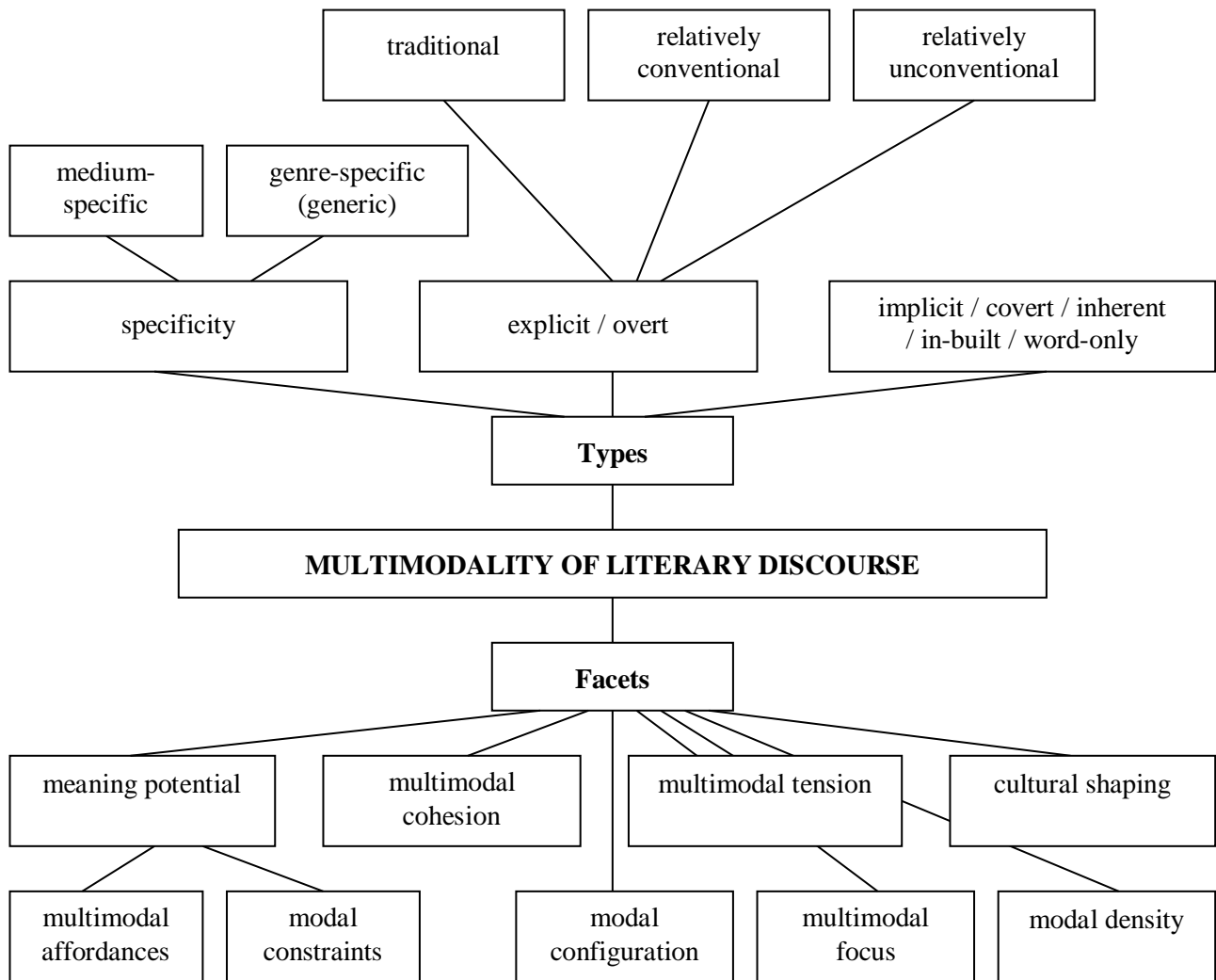
Fig. 1. Multimodality of literary discourse: Types and facets

Transmediality as a cross-medial adaptation or the representation of a single storyworld, its elements or formal features through multiple media (Ryan, & Thon, 2014, p. 10, 14), or otherwise "the property of semiotic phenomena to occur in more than one medium" (Eder, 2015, p. 69), focuses "on intricate relationships between artworks with regard to their medium-specific aesthetics" (ibid., p. 67). Thus, "different media types share many basic traits that can be described in terms of material properties and abilities for activating mental capacities" (Elleström, 2019, p. 5). In the broadest sense, transmediality refers to "anything observable in more than one medium" (Eder, 2015, p. 69), being non-specific to individual media (Wolf, 2005/2008, p. 253) but representing "palpable similarities between heteromedial semiotic entities […], repetition of motif and thematic variation […], archetypal subjects and 'themes'" (ibid.). According to Jens Eder (2015), transmediality can be realized on macro- and microlevels (ibid., p. 72) through "four general strategies […]: multiple exploitation, auxiliary supplementation, functional integration, and audience participation" (ibid., p. 67; see also p. 72-6), whose cumulative effect based on **mental recognition** (Mentale Modellbuidung) (Eder, 2012, p. 214) might evoke **transmedial imagination** (Transmediale Imagination) (ibid., p. 208, 217-24), epistemic and/or sensory, and provoke **emotionalization** (see Fig. 2).
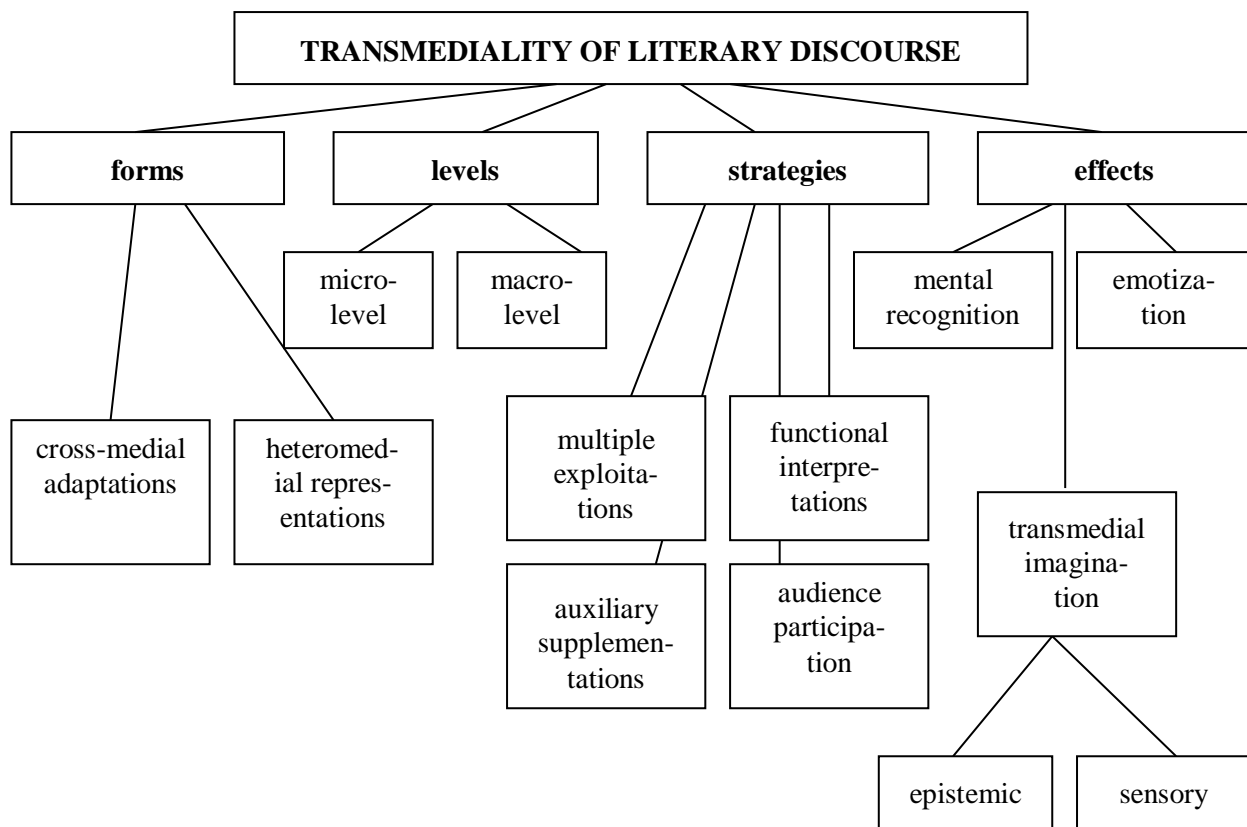
TRANSMEDIALITY OF LITERARY DISCOURSE

- **forms**
  - cross-medial adaptations
  - heteromedial repres-entations
- **levels**
  - micro-level
  - macro-level
- **strategies**
  - multiple exploita-tions
  - functional interpre-tations
  - auxiliary supplemen-tations
  - audience participa-tion
- **effects**
  - mental recognition
  - emotiza-tion
  - transmedial imagina-tion
    - epistemic
    - sensory

Fig. 2. Transmediality of literary discourse: Forms, levels, strategies, and effects

So, both multimodality and transmediality of literary discourse are oriented towards informational, or epistemic (cognitive/conceptual), and sensory (emotional/affective) impact upon the audience, achieved by the interaction of modes or media via their various constellations (Eder, 2012, p. 224-230), formed by mode addition, superimposition, combination, accretion, etc. Accordingly, multimodal stylistics as an area of multimodal studies, along with more traditional social semiotic approach grounded in Hallidayan systemic functional grammar (Nørgaard, 2019, p. 2), relies upon its cognitive counterpart associated with conceptual metaphors' toolkit (Forcevilles 2009, p. 19-42) as well as that of cognitive poetics (Gibbons, 2012; Vorobyova, 2017a) with its emotiological bias.

The case study suggested here is oriented towards the latter approach, where cognitive and affective properties of literary multimodality and transmediality are viewed through the prism of magic embodied in the imagery of flying.

3. Multimodality of magic, transmediality of flying:
A glimpse of Kamal Abdulla's short fiction

Kamal Abdulla, an Azerbaijani writer, scholar, and public figure, is known for his gift to evoke the readers' ethnic and global cultural memory through artistically implementing human passions, mysteries of being, historical cataclysms, and magic of life in his novels, poems, and short stories. All of these phenomena are not represented in his literary works directly but are dispersed in literary texture as a parabolic bridge to harmony of Man and Universe in the fullness of life (Bezhenaru, 2016, p. 45). According to Lyudmila Bezhenaru, in Kamal's prose

> *modernity [...] is shifted in the direction of the past. Such intertwining and contemplation of the Future and the Past that takes place within the mythological events of the Present might be called* **the aesthetics of Fullness.** (Bezhenaru, 2014, p. 92)

As the main concept of the writer's postmodernist aesthetics of Fullness (Bezhenaru, 2016, p. 46), fullness of life maintains close ties with cosmological and mythopoetic worldviews, with eastern philosophy, European mentality, and the colour palette of eastern fairy-tales, due to which "the narrative becomes stereoscopic, stereophonic. The borders of the familiar get expanded" (Gasanova, 2014, p. 98).

Such an intricate blending of real and mythic in their multidimensionality, when "in one plane there might coexist real and irreal time, modernity and the past" (ibid.), does not only concern Kamal Abdulla's narrative per se but also his characters as well as respective symbolic images that are both ephemeral, magical, and emotionally evocative. It is exactly what the readers and interpreters come across while getting immersed into the world of his intellectual prose.

3.1. Multimodality of magic in "Could You Teach Me to Fly…?": Typology and adjacent phenomena

Among different approaches to magic as the supernatural, where one can single out intellectualist (anthropological), functionalist (sociological), emotionalist (psychological, or psychoanalytic), and ethnocentric (cultural) perspectives (Sørensen, 2006/2007, p. 10-4), there vividly stands out a recent cognitive one (ibid.; Czachesz & Uro, 2013). It addresses recurrent cognitive processes underlying different manifestations of magic as a blend of rational and irrational in the interrelated worlds of reality and imagination, which contributes to meaning-making in social, cultural, and literary contexts.

The magic of the short story under analysis is associated primarily with its key metaphor, that of love as a magic gift that endows people with the capacity to fly, which becomes the multimodal focus of the narrative. The story starts with a symbolic description of a white bird, hovering out of the Genie's Well in a small village yard that iconically resembles the flying bird's silhouette, and ends up with an enchanting view of a nude's body slowly evaporating from above the well into the starry sky. The fascination of the initial and the final scenes of the story is triggered and maintained by the intensity of three in-built modes—visual, audial, and kinesthetic, each of them being enriched with manifestations of iconicity and/or verbal holography.

So, the initial, *in medias res* paragraph of the short story appears to be totally based on static visuality of a panoramic bird's eye view, combined with imagistic iconicity of the would-be bird's silhouette (*this small yard … reminds of a white bird; One of the sharpened branches …looking like the bird's beak*) and supported by the play of TOP / DOWN (*cast a glance from the sky height down onto this small yard; hung down to the ground*) and NEAR / FAR (*at the end of the row*) vectors of verbal holography, e.g.,

(1)   *If someone cast a glance from the sky height down onto this small yard, he would see that the latter reminds of a white bird, ready, having opened its wings, to fly high into the sky.* […] *One of the sharpened branches of the blossoming cherry-plum tree at the end of the row hung down to the ground, thus looking like the bird's beak.* (Abdulla, 2014, p. 210) (Translation here and further is mine. − OV)

The paragraph that follows abruptly turns the static visuality of the bird-like yard's close-up into the kinesthetic dynamism of the 'real' bird's flight (*a white bird rushed upwards; having flown to draw a circle above his head; rushed away*) accompanied by the sound effects of bird's flying (*making noise with its wings; beating with its wings; the sound of hovering wings*), e.g.,

(2)   *... Out of the well, unexpectedly, making noise with its wings, a white bird rushed upwards. [...] The bird seemed to wait till he* [Miras. − OV] *comes closer to the well, having flown to draw a circle above his head, approached him, staying as if frozen at his eyes' level, and keeping on beating with its wings. Trying hard to suspend frozen, for a few instances, at one point, the bird wanted to say something, to convey something to him. But, naturally, having no strength left, it disappointedly rushed away, without saying what it wanted to say, leaving behind yet the sound of hovering wings.* (Abdulla, 2014, p. 210-11)

The modal configuration of STATIC vs. DYNAMIC enhanced by the BOTTOM / UP and NEAR / FAR trajectory provokes the effect of multimodal tension interrupted by the lengthy narrative digression (Abdulla, 2014, p. 212-229). The latter tells the story of the magic well that was occupied by a true genie, who possessed a magic power to instill passion into young girls' hearts, making them get oblivious of everything and everyone around, while erasing remembrances of their existence from their relatives and friends' minds, e.g.,

(3)   *On seeing Gamida, the Genie fell in love with her at first sight and took her by the hand. Had he touched her, Gamida's soul filled up with stormy passions and at once the young girl seemed to forget about everything around, as if all her memory got erased, disappeared, and flew away, evaporating.* (Abdulla, 2014, p. 225)

This story-within-a-story provides the cultural shaping necessary for the multimodality of magic to emerge, emotionally affecting the reading audience that might both feel compassion for Shemistan, a young guy whose love Gamida abandoned preferring it to the Genie's charms, and empathetic admiration of the young girl who rejected all earthly joys for the ephemeral bliss of enchanted love, e.g.,

(4)   *She forgot about everything and everyone, her home, her father and mother, her sisters. Her face emanated unearthly light, her glance got renewed, even sort of different. Looking at the Genie, she seemed to be getting more and more beautiful.* (Abdulla, 2014, p. 225)

A closer look at the above example and those below might highlight another feature of multimodality magic, characteristic of the short story, i.e. its ephemerality (Vorobjova, 2015, p. 25-9), which is associated with the transience of light (*emanated unearthly light; reflection; evaporation; impenetrable nights; to cast tender blue*) and substance (*disappeared, and flew away, evaporating; like a mist*), e.g.,

(5)   *And so far he* [Miras. − OV]*, as well as all village teenagers, every night took sentry at the well to watch the nude girl's reflection, which like a mist rose from the well's bottom. This evaporation, this reflection happened only in the darkness of impenetrable nights that used to cast tender blue.* (Abdulla, 2014, p. 213)

The multimodal density of such ephemerality is heightened by the shift of the story's metaphoric focus from the object of perception—the symbolic bird, onto the subject of perception —Miras, the narrator and focaliser, or rather his mind workings related to magic and magicians − from goblins to genies, e.g.,

(6)   *Certainly, he remembered everything. Years will pass, but he wouldn't forget the characters from his granny's scary night fairytales − goblins. [...] then the impressions of frightening stories about goblins will be expanded by dozens or hundreds of magicians and wizards, as well as a delightful bliss of magnetically mysterious books on passions of love. At nights he will dream of dancing devils, demons, and genies, and all that will soon become part of him − Miras, an adventurer, whose mind got entangled in some demonic networks.* (Abdulla, 2014, p. 213)

Thus, under the influence of magic as part of his local background Miras's childish mind gradually turns into a generator of intense fancies, liminal visions, and alluring dreams, where the borders between reality and imagination get blurred.

Coming back to the initial metaphorical and multimodal focus of the short story, that of a flying bird, the narrator now makes it double-imagistic, associating it with Gamida, a young lady in love, via the conceptual metaphors LOVE IS FLYING / GOOD IS UP, e.g.,

(7) *To the beat of these Genie's lulling words Gamida, almost fainting, uttered involuntarily: − After all, I have been long dreaming of hovering in the heavenly blue. Could you teach me to fly…?* (Abdulla, 2014, p. 226)

This shift in symbolism related to "the anticipation of the nude girl's 'performance'" (ibid., p. 226) and the performance itself entailed the change in the prevalent format of representation − from multimodally iconic to transmedial, punctuated with quite a few intermedial references.

3.2. Transmediality of flying in "Could You Teach Me to Fly…?": The blending of media

The final part of the short story (Abdulla, 2014, p. 230-2), which is a synthesis of Miras's romantised meditations, his visualised memories of the nude's performance, and his deliberate decision to part with his youth illusions (*he, as a weightless bird, jumped up from the stone, without any fear or worry came up to the circular iron grate left by the well and, having dragged it nearer, tightly covered the well with it.* − ibid., p. 232), are based on the combination of in-built heteromedial representations (poetry, dancing, and cinema), intermedial references (*harmonious poetry with distinct meter and rhythm; performance; a beautiful poem; a passionate dance; an exciting dance; a crazy dance; an entrancing poem; a strange movie*), and intermedial imitations of cinematic techniques (close-ups, panoraming, montage, zooming-in/zooming-out).

Actually, the latter permeate the whole text, starting with the very beginning of the story − in fragments (1) zooming in and close-up and (2) close-up and zooming out, being followed by some instances of montage, e.g.,

(8) *Especially in early spring, when cherry-bloom trees planted in a row at the far end of the yard on both sides of the path leading to the well.[…] The path cut the yard in two halves, and then, going around that far cherry-blossom tree, reached the old Genie's Well that abutted the yard's clay fence.* (Abdulla, 2014, p. 210),

and culminating in the concluding paragraph that closes the textual frame (a bird's eye view of the yard that reminds a bird's silhouette) with an iconic image of the bird's beak, bringing us back to the beginning of the short story (see fragment 1) and thus providing a necessary multimodal cohesion, along with an erasure ending below, e.g.,

(9) *At that moment the branch of the distant cherry-plum tree along the path near the well, which looked like a bird's beak, swayed and then lightly touched the ground. To the one who looked down at it from the unlimited height it might seem that a white bird opened its beak as if eager to say something …* (Abdulla, 2014, p. 232)

Returning to transmediality proper, we can trace in the story's texture a harmonious metamorphosis of the central visual image (*the reflection of Gamida's marble naked body, hovering above the well*) into kinesthetic (*quietly, while dancing and swinging, the reflection of the beautiful naked body is rising from the well's bottom by way of steam or fog haze*) and audial ones (*a deadly silence; A naked woman herself is like silence*), being blended with poetry (*a true poetry; an enchanting verse*), dance (*a passionate dance; an exciting ... crazy dance*), and film (*a kind of movie*). Such in-built

heteromedial representations, which might be qualified as discourse transmediality, finally culminate into a true ode to the beauty of the female body, where the motif of poetry (*a fascinating verse; the verse, where one line was getting ahead of another; As soon as the verse had been read up to the end*) dominates, cf.,

(10) *An exciting dance of intertwining silhouettes, of subdued and indistinct words, echoing at the moment from the well, this crazy dance, which is definitely no less than a fascinating verse.* (Abdulla, 2014, p. 231)

(11) *Garments, which the young woman was throwing off one by one, were like the verse, where one line was getting ahead of another. As soon as the verse had been read up to the end, and the woman had thrown off the last detail, completely liberating herself from her clothes, silence would fall.* ***A naked woman herself is like silence.*** (Abdulla, 2014, p. 232)

The catachrestic image of a nude as silence emerges as a cross-mode blend of two inputs − visual (no clothing) and auditory (no sound), giving rise to the conceptual metaphor NAKEDNESS IS SILENCE/ QUIETNESS as a concretization of the primary metaphor MATERIAL IS IMMATERIAL. The latter, together with another manifestation of the motif of flying, i.e. EPHEMERAL IS MATERIAL in the metaphoric transformation of evaporation or emanation into a female body (*flew away, evaporating; emanated unearthly light*), heighten the effect of magic created by multimodal and transmedial constellations employed in the short story, thus evoking the whole range of emotions on the part of the reading audience.

4. Conclusions

The multimodal and transmedial takes on text analysis, which push the idea of meaning-making in literary text as a multi-modal/ multi-semiotic (multiplicity of semiotic modes) and heteromedial (transgression of semiotic entities, platforms, or storyworlds) phenomenon, bring up the necessity to extend the limits of stylistic analysis and text interpretation in their conventional and cognitive formats. The differentiation between explicit (overt) and implicit (covert, or in-built) formats of multimodality and transmediality gave an impulse to trace verbal manifestations of these interphenomena in literary text with a focus on their interaction. The case study of Kamal Abdulla's short story that foregrounds the imagery of love and magic via the motif of flying highlighted the varying degree of multimodal and transmedial density of its literary texture, punctuated by instances of iconicity, verbal holography and intermediality, viewed through the lens of their cognitive-emotive interface.

Regarding this paper as another step towards elaborating the metamethod of integrated stylistic analysis of literary discourse, further research into the intricate texture of contemporary short fiction would require widening the scope of interphenomena, such as transparency/ opacity, corporeality, transgression, etc., to bring the analytical tools closer to the perfection of literary creativity.

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МУЛЬТИМОДАЛЬНІСТЬ І ТРАНСМЕДІАЛЬНІСТЬ
У МАЛІЙ ПРОЗІ КАМАЛА АБДУЛИ:
КОГНІТИВНО-ЕМОТИВНИЙ ІНТЕРФЕЙС

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Анотація

Статтю присвячено розгляду вбудованих мультимодальності і трансмедіальності у їх взаємозв'язку на матеріалі оповідання "Could You Teach Me to Fly…?" (Навчи мене літати…) Камала Абдулли, відомого азербайджанського письменника, вченого та громадського діяча. У термінах когнітивно-емотивного підходу як підґрунтя мультимодального аналізу тексту зазначені поняття тлумачаться як інтерфеномени, що поряд з іконічністю, окремими виявами інтермедіальності та словесної голографією як грою площин і векторів створюють ефект багатовимірності художнього тексту. Центральною в оповіданні, яке належить до інтелектуальної прози, є метафора кохання як чарівного дару, що надає людині здатність літати. Ця метафора втілюється в іконічному образі білого птаха, на якого перетворюється закохана жінка. У статті показано, що магічність образу, який ґрунтується на казкових і міфопоетичних мотивах, розкривається в сукупності виявів візуальної, авдіальної й кінестетичної мультимодальності, що супроводжується використанням кінематографічних технік напливу й панорамування. Магія парадоксальної образності, де оголена жінка символізує емоційно насичену тишу, підсилюється дискурсивною трансмедіальністю, завдяки якій ключовий візуальний образ жінки-птаха, що злітає, ніби випаровуючись, у небо, трансформується в інтегрований кінестетичний образ поезії, танку та фільму. Запропоновані у статті прийоми когнітивно-емотивного мультимодального аналізу сприяють дальшій розбудові метаметоду зняття неоднозначності художнього тексту як способу його інтерпретації з метою реконструкції смислової структури твору та визначення чинників його багатовимірності й глибини.

Ключові слова: мультимодальність, трансмедіальність, іконічність, інтерфеномен, багатовимірність, когнітивно-емотивний інтерфейс, словесна голографія, мала проза, інтелектуальна проза.

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MULTIMODALITY AND CROSS-MODAL
COHESION IN MANGA

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Abstract
Manga with their distinct style and symbolism represent a growing reading trend in the world. Manga use an established set of symbols to convey various emotions. Manga have generally been more experimental in layout than Western comics. They are more fragmentary and contain more panels that enhance the dynamism of the story. We aimed to outline methodological approaches to the analysis of manga; to summarize specific features of manga as a separate medium; to analyse how multimodal cohesion is created in manga; to reveal various types of relations between visual and verbal modes. Manga is a multimodal discourse, combining several modes, mainly visual and verbal. The aural mode is represented by linguistic and visual signs, e.g. jagged borders of a speech bubble or the size and boldness of letters. We applied methods originally designed for the film analysis to the analysis of manga, in particular, Tseng's (2013) theory of cross-modal cohesion, based on tracking cross-modally realized characters, objects, actions, and settings. This analysis included building cross-modal cohesive chains. We argue that it is possible to track cross-modal cohesion in manga, based on the interaction of visual, verbal, and aural components of identity chains. Besides, the interaction between visual and verbal modes was revealed by analysing text-image relations. In this paper we have outlined manga-specific features, distinctive features of manga's page layout, cinematic devices, which manga borrowed from films, some of which may be used as focalisation-marking devices.

Key words: manga, multimodality, cross-modal cohesion, identity chain, text-image relations.

1. Introduction

Manga represent a growing reading trend in the world. The term 'manga' was used for the first time by a poet Santo Kyoden in 1798, and in 1814 Katsuhika Hokusai began to publish his collected sketchbooks *Hokusai Manga* (McCarthy, 2014). Manga literally means whimsical pictures or sketches. These are Japanese comics characterized by distinct style and symbolism, inherent in their visual form and texture.

Manga have received much critical attention recently. This medium has been addressed by theorists, educators, literacy researchers to raise awareness about manga, to explain their popularity, especially among young people. Researchers of manga have focused on such issues as the style peculiar to manga (Otsuru, 2022); the impact of using manga to enhance creativity among students in the classroom (Veeramuthu & Ganapathy, 2022); ways of representing music in manga and audio-visual cross-modality (Hsu & Chiang, 2021). Some theorists study particular types of manga, such as digital manga (Rohan, Sasamoto & O'Brien, 2021) or eromanga (Casiello, 2021).

One of the manifestations of the growing popularity of manga was the largest ever exhibition of manga held outside Japan, which was open at the British museum in 2019. The exhibition focused on the development of manga as a world-wide phenomenon and its influence on other cultural forms.

Manga as a type of comics possesses comics-specific features. Among such features Kukkonen (2013, p. 24) names a speech bubble, a speed line and an onomatopoeic effect. Speed or motion lines are used to indicate motion within a static image. There are also techniques used in comics for the graphic expression of feelings, for instance pictograms, emanata (graphic signs like dashes, droplets, stars).

The page layout is an essential comics element that "gives overall coherence to the narrative discourse" (Groensteen, 2013, p. 96). Manga have generally been more experimental in layout than Western comics.

This paper has several tasks: to outline methodological approaches to the analysis of manga; to summarize specific features of manga as a separate medium; to analyse how multimodal cohesion is created in manga; to reveal various types of relations between visual and verbal modes.

Firstly, we will consider the theoretical framework of the manga theory, focusing on multimodal interaction between different modes. Then we will proceed to analyse two manga: *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (2016), which is a modern adaptation of Shakespeare's play, and *Beauty and the Feast* (2021), which makes apparent allusions to the fairy tale *Beauty and the Beast* by a French novelist de Villeneuve. These are transmedia stories, which unfold across multiple platforms, with each new text making a distinctive and valuable contribution to the whole (Jenkins, 2006, p. 95). Readers of each new retelling of such tales will have certain expectations based on their previous encounters with this transmedia world. Besides, these are digital manga. Digital multimodality opened new opportunities for visual storytelling (Belova, 2021, p. 19), and manga is a deeper form of visual storytelling. Digital technology is changing manga due to the possibility of using different display modes (slide show, fade-out, zoom in, etc.), deeper immersion in the fictional world, greater degree of interactivity.

2. Method

Manga are multimodal narratives, in which elements of visual, verbal, and to some extent aural modes interact to create meaning. The aural mode in manga is restricted to the cases of onomatopoeia, the use of jagged borders of speech bubbles or the size and boldness of letters, corresponding to the way they are pronounced: the bigger and bolder the letters, the louder and more emotional the speech.

Multimodal approaches to narratives presuppose the analysis of interaction between different modes. There are various classifications of the text-image relations (Stöckl, 2009; Martinec & Salway, 2005; van Leeuwen, 2005; Kong, 2006; Cohn, 2013; Bateman, 2014). For instance, Martinec and Salway (2005) have introduced a detailed classification of the text-image relations, which is based on two broad categories: status and logico-semantic relations. Logico-semantic relations are divided into two large groups: expansion and projection. Expansion includes elaboration, extension, and enhancement. In elaboration, the image and the text may be of the same level of generality (exposition) or the levels might be different (exemplification) and either the text can be more general than the image or vice versa. Extension is connected with adding new semantically related information, and enhancement specifies circumstantial information to do with time, place, reason, etc. As for projection, it accounts for cases when some information is re-represented in the other mode, for instance, diagrams that summarize texts or projection of wording in speech bubbles and meaning (ideas) in thought bubbles in comics (Martinec & Salway, 2005, pp. 354-55).
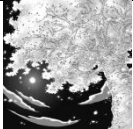
The research in the area of multimodality applicable for the present study is the theory of cross-modal cohesion in films (Tseng, 2013). Tseng's approach is based on tracking mono- and cross-modally realized characters, objects, actions, and settings. This analysis includes building cross-modal cohesive chains. The basic unit of analysis in films is a shot. Each shot transcription contains the visual track and image description (including words of the characters and offscreen voice). Based on this information, identity chains are constructed to understand how multimodal cohesion is achieved. Identity chains may involve characters, objects, settings, etc. For example, a chain begins by presenting a participant, and is extended whenever they appear again. Components of identity chains may belong to visual, verbal, and aural modes, and their interaction creates cross-modal cohesion (Tseng, 2013, pp. 154, 120).
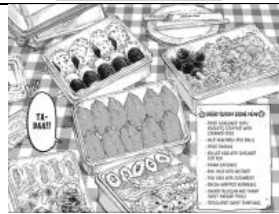
Though this approach is applied by its author to the film medium, our hypothesis is that it has a universal nature. We have already demonstrated that the analytical methods applied to filmic cohesion and interunit relations are equally applicable to digital narratives as a means of analysing multimodal cohesion (Yefymenko, 2021). We also claim that this approach may be applied to comics, and manga in particular. In this case, a panel in manga is the equivalent of a shot in films.

Following our hypothesis, we applied the theory of cross-modal cohesion in film (Tseng, 2013) to the analysis of cohesion in manga. Cohesion "refers to relations of meaning that exist within the text, and that define it as a text" (Halliday & Hasan, 1976, p. 4). Cohesive ties in the analysed manga have been revealed by constructing identity chains. As mentioned before, identity chains refer to characters and objects represented cross-modally in visual and verbal modes (Tseng, 2013, p. 3). We selected a segment of *Beauty and the Feast* manga for analysis, namely a part, where the two main characters have a picnic under a cherry blossom tree (Satomi, 2021, pp. 122-125). We identified five identity chains: of two characters (Yakumo-San and Yamato), two objects (a cherry blossom tree and a picnic blanket), and food, brought for the picnic. All these objects are important for plot unfolding.Yakumo, Yamato and food identity chains have the largest number of links. Yakumo and Yamato are the main characters of manga, so it's quite logical that their identity chains are long. As for the food identity chain, it is represented only in 7 out of 15 panels, but an extensive description of food, brought by Yakumo to the picnic, makes this chain containing 20 links the longest among the analised. And it should not come as a surprise, bearing in mind that *Beauty and the Feast* focuses on food and various Japanese dishes. The two remaining identity chains (of a cherry blossom tree and a picnic blanket) consist of 6 and 8 links respectively. All the five identity chains are represented cross-modally with the help of visual (marked with [v]), verbal (indicated by inverted commas) and aural elements (given in brackets).

3. Results and discussion

The identity chains, constructed in the process of analysis, are summarized in Figure 1:

	Yakumo	Yamato	cherry blossom tree	picnic blanket	food	image
1			[v]			
2	[v] 'I'	[v]	'it'			
3		[v]				
4	[v] 'I'	[v]		[v] 'picnic blanket'		
5	[v]	[v]		[v] (fwap)		

6	[v] ↑	[v] ↑	[v] ↑	[v] ↑		
7	[v] 'I' ↑	[v] ↑				
8	'we' ↑	'you', 'we' ↑			'eat'	
9				[v] ↑	[v] 'tofu', 'rice balls', 'rolled egg', 'sausages', 'bok choy', 'fish cake', 'asparagus', 'pickles', 'dumplings'	
10	[v] 'we', 'I' ↑	[v] 'we', 'I' ↑	'cherry blos- soms'	[v] ↑	'dumplings' ↑	
11	[v] ↑	[v] ↑	[v] ↑	[v]	'rice balls', 'bok choy', 'turnips', 'eat' ↑	
12	'I' ↑	'you' ↑	[v]		'eat' ↑	
13	[v] 'you' ↑	[v] ↑			'food' ↑	
14	↑	[v], (scarf) ↑			[v] ↑	

15	[v]	'he', 'him'			'food', 'it'	

Figure 1. Identity chains in *Beauty and the Feast* (Satomi, 2021, pp. 122-125)

Visual narration is the leading mode. All the panels contain visual elements except one panel, consisting of only two speech bubbles with verbal elements, belonging to the identity chains of Yakumo, Yamato, and food. 10 panels contain verbal narration, introduced in speech and thought bubbles. Identity chains 'Yamato' and 'picnic blanket' are realized cross-modally with the help of visual, verbal, and aural elements, the remaining three chains contain elements from visual and verbal modes. The aural mode in the analysed chains is represented by onomatopoeic words 'fwap', imitating the sound of spreading the picnic blanket, and 'scarf', associated with the sound of eating. Interaction of components of identity chains creates cross-modal cohesion

Drawing from Groensteen and Kukkonen theories on comics and graphic novels and our own research, a number of manga-specific features have been identified, which distinguishes manga from Western comics. First of all, manga relies on an established set of symbols, which convey various emotions. For instance, blushing, represented by a sequence of diagonal lines across the characters' cheek bones and nose, indicates embarrassment, often caused by love. For instance, both Hermia and Lysander are blushing, when he swears that "... in that same place tomorrow truly will I meet with thee" (Appignanesi, 2016, p. 32). Nervousness of Lysander is also represented by a sweat drop hovering near his head (Figure 2).

Figure 2. Symbols in manga: blushing and a sweat drop
(Appignanesi, 2016, p. 32)

Extreme emotional states of characters in manga, particularly anger, fear, begging, or romantic feelings are marked by a distortion of their faces. When Lysander tells Hermia about his desire to marry her, the girl's face loses its distinctiveness as the entire top half of her face becomes shadowed over (Figure 3).

Figure 3. Symbols in manga: face distortion
(Appignanesi, 2016, p. 30)

In the world of manga, a character's appearance plays an important role. In *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, all the major characters are slender and beautiful with large, round eyes and the elaborate hair styles. Yamato from *Beauty and the Feast* has an athletic figure, while Yakumo (a 28 year-old 'beauty' and Yamato's neighbour) has a more curvy body compared to Yamato's girl friends from high school. Japanese legends idealize beauty and youth, and manga borrows a lot from them by creating beautiful young men and women, who should be admired by the readers.

Colours play an important role in any narrative containing visual components, but it not in the case of manga, because manga are traditionally done in black and white.

Page layout has its distinctive features in manga. Larger number of panels on a page makes manga more fragmentory than traditional comics. As a result, sometimes it takes more time to establish connections between all the panels. Besides, the increased number of panels on a page shows dramatic tension and enhances the dynamism of the story. In Figure 4, Helena, who is in love with Demetrius, decides to follow him into the forest. In separate panels, a reader sees the close-up of Helena and Demetrius, parts of their bodies, their running silhouettes, and Oberon, observing all this.

Figure 4. Page layout: multiple panels
(Appignanesi, 2016, p. 72)

The analysed manga often use aspect to aspect transition between panels (McCloud, 1994), highlighting particular actions within one scene, instead of describing different places or people. It can be explained by the fact that the setting in *Beauty and the Feast* is restricted mainly to Yakumo's apartment, while the events of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* happen in Athens or in a nereby forest. Sometimes the basic action is depicted at the centre of a page, and side panels focus on details. For instance, one of the panels highlights a note in Oberon's hand, which is not readable in the central panel (Figure 5).
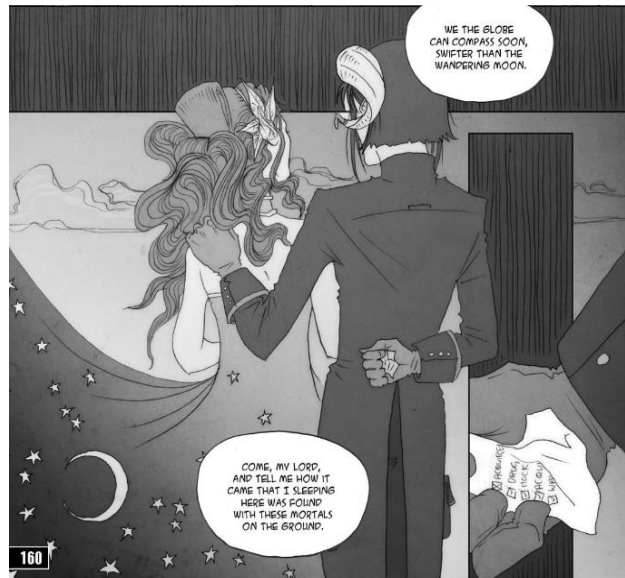

Figure 5. Page layout: a side panel focusing on details of a central panel
(Appignanesi, 2016, p. 160)

Panels are not always clearly defined in manga—they may be framed by thin lines or may have no frames at all. *A Midsummer Night's Dream* contains a number of panels, where flowers and petals are used as a frame (Figure 6) or where parts of characters' bodies (a hand, hair) exceed the borders of the panels (Figure 7), thus lifting the restrictions imposed by frames.

Figure 6. Frames
in manga (Appignanesi,
2016, p. 75)

Figure 7. Exceeding
panels' borders (Appignanesi,
2016, p. 60)

Another important element of page layout is a speech bubble. Speech bubbles, being a comics-specific element, represent different characters' speech and feature different edge designs. One character's dialogue might be inside perfectly oval speech bubbles, while words of another might appear inside a bubble of an irregular geometric shape. If a character is upset, angry, or in other emotional state, a speech bubble may become jagged, with pointed edges, to reflect the tone of voice. In the example from *A Midsummer Night's Dream* Demetrius's angry words are placed in bubbles with pointed edges, while Helena's words of love are in heart-shaped bubbles (Figure 8).

Figure 8. Speech bubbles (Appignanesi, 2016, p. 67)

When characters are thinking, their thoughts sometimes appear without any bubble at all, and may simply float in air, as is the case with Helena's thoughts (Figure 9). In *Beauty and the Feast* if something unusual happens or some unexpected thought strikes the character, it appears without any bubble against the black background (e.g. HE FELL ASLEEP!! (Satomi, 2021, p. 32)).
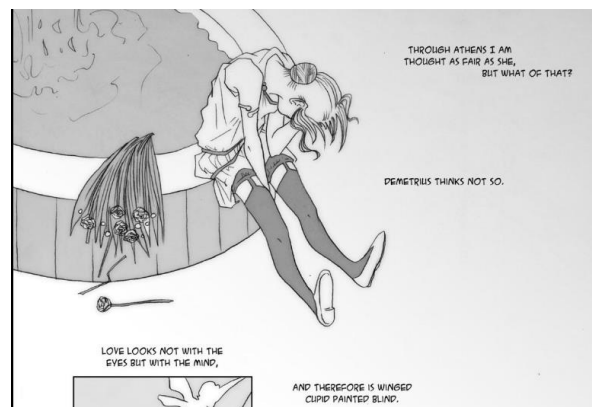

Figure 9. Representation of thoughts in manga (Appignanesi, 2016, p. 37)

Comics, and especially manga, are closely related to cinematic language, they try to mimic a camera's eye in the use of the panels on the page. In this respect we can talk about focalization. For instance, one of medium-specific markers in manga signaling focalisation is a direct gaze. Kress and van Leeuwen point out that such gaze "creates a visual form of direct address" (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 117). Manga use many cinematic devices including close-ups, which increase readers' engagement with the characters; panning—moving the viewer through the scene by using multiple panels (and in the case of Titania and the ass in Figure 10 different panels even have no frames, so it

really looks like shots of the film); jump-cuts, unlike panning, involve change of time or place: for instance, in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* we see 3 pairs of lovers in 3 different places (Figure 11).

Figure 10. Cinematic devices
in manga: panning
(Appignanesi, 2016, p. 154)

Figure 11. Cinematic devices
in manga: jump-cuts
(Appignanesi, 2016, p. 200)

Both manga contain multiple examples of such focalisation-marking device as eyeline match, when in the first of the sequence of two panels a character looks at somebody or something, and the next panel has the image of that character or object (e.g. in Figure 12 Theseus and Hippolyta look at Hermia, Lysander, Demetrius, and Helena). These are instances of mediated focalisation, because the reader sees the image from the character's point of view. Another example of mediated focalisation is the over-the-shoulder shot (Figure 13). Such examples can also be found in both manga.

Figure 12. Cinematic devices
in manga: eyeline match
(Appignanesi, 2016, p. 164)

Figure 13. Cinematic devices in
manga: over-the-shoulder shot
(Appignanesi, 2016, p. 168)

The temporal structure of both manga is nonlinear with some flashbacks. Flashbacks are indicated by a shift in scene, but often the background literally changes color as well. For instance, in a flashback Yamato recollects his childhood, when he lived with his family, and these panels have a grey background.

Both *A Midsummer Night's Dream and Beauty and the Feast* are multimodal narratives, where the three channels—visual, verbal, and to a certain extent aural—interact to create narrative meaning. The visual channel includes images of the main and secondary characters, objects, settings etc. Verbal narration in manga is introduced mainly in speech and thought bubbles, and rarely in narration boxes (usually at the beginning or at the end of the book). For instance, *Beauty and the Feast* begins with the narrator's words, placed into the narration box: "This is Shuko Yakumo, 28 years old. She has a secret she can't tell anyone. Her hobby is cooking." (Satomi, 2021, p. 3).

There is also an aural mode, which is represented in manga by using linguistic and visual signs. It was already mentioned that the shape of text bubble may indicate the tone of voice. It is believed that manga uses a more varied list of sound effects than Western comics, inspired again by the use of sound in film. In one of the examples, found in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, the sound of a bell is rendered with the help of onomatopoeia (kin-kang), and the sound of music—by the depiction of notes. Some other examples of onomatopoeic words are those describing movement (shuff-shuff), hissing (whoof) and falling down (thud). Onomatopoeic words in *Beauty and the Feast* are mainly connected with the process of eating (e.g. clatter, gobble (Satomi, 2021, p. 28), crunch (Satomi, 2021, p. 38), munch (Satomi, 2021, p. 60)).

Analizing types of the text-image relations in manga, it's worth mentioning that exempflification relations are quite widespread. As a rule, the text contains demonstrative pronouns *this*, *that*, *these* or a personal pronoun *it*, while a picture shows an image of an object mentioned. For instance, Yakumo says "... have these if you'd like ..." (Satomi, 2021, p. 25), meaning by *these* rice balls depicted in the picture. Or in another example, Yakumo says "Try not to drop it" (Satomi, 2021, p. 109), and the image explains that she means snack. According to Martinec and Salway (2005, p. 351), in such cases "text subordination is realized by deixis from text to image".

An example of enhancement may also be found in *Beauty and the Feast* : "You are still growing ... so getting all your meals from convenience stores is no good" (Satomi, 2021, p. 27). The picture gives the reason, why meals from convenience stores are no good,—because we see only junk food in Yamato's apartment. In *A Midsummer Night's Dream* there are some references to the modern world, e.g. at one point Theseus receives the incoming call from Egeus and they are talking using large monitors (Appignanesi, 2016, p. 16). In this case we have the text-image relations of extension, because a new information is added by the image, which is missing in the text.

4. Conclusions

In this paper, we have summarized specific features of manga as a separate medium, in particular, a wide use of symbols, which convey various emotions, and cinematic devices. A distinctive style of manga's page layout together with the increased number of panels on a page and their various shapes enhances the dynamism of the story.

We proved our hypothesis that multimodal tracking of characters, objects, setting in the form of identity chains (Tseng, 2013) originally designed for film analysis may be applied to reveal cohesive ties between different parts of manga. Identity chains containing visual, verbal, and aural elements exemplify the interaction of different modes in the process of making the narrative coherent. The analysis helped to reveal various types of relations between visual and verbal modes, including exempflification, enhancement, and extension.

All in all, the multimodal analysis of manga has proved useful in outlining the principles of cohesion and meaning-making in this specific type of comics. Given the rapidly growing areas of multimodal research, we believe that the potential of such methods of multimodal analysis is very high—to examine the process of cross-modal meaning-making not only in manga, but also in other types of comics or video games.

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МУЛЬТИМОДАЛЬНІСТЬ
І КРОС-МОДАЛЬНА КОГЕЗІЯ В МАНЗІ

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Анотація

Манга з її особливим стилем і символізмом користується все більшою популярністю серед читачів у всьому світі. Манга використовує усталений набір символів для передачі різноманітних емоцій. Манга зазвичай є більш експериментальною в оформленні сторінок, ніж західні комікси, та більш фрагментарною, з більшою кількістю панелей, що посилює динамізм оповіді. Нашим завданням було окреслити методологічні підходи до аналізу манги; підсумувати специфічні риси манги як окремого медіума; проаналізувати, як утворюється мультимодальна когезія; виявити різні види взаємовідношень між візуальними і вербальними модусами. Манга є мультимодальним дискурсом, який поєднує декілька модусів, переважно візуальний і вербальний. Звуковий модус представлений лінгвістичними та візуальними знаками, наприклад, за допомогою нерівних кордонів мовної бульбашки або розміру букв чи жирного шрифта. Ми застосовували методи, які розроблялись для аналізу фільмів, до дослідження манги, зокрема теорію крос-модальної когезії Тсенг (2013), яка базується на відстежуванні крос-модально представлених персонажів, об'єктів, дій та локацій. Цей аналіз передбачав побудову крос-модальних когезивних ланцюжків. Ми стверджуємо, що крос-модальну когезію в манзі можна аналізувати на основі взаємодії візуальних, вербальних і звукових компонентів ідентифікаційних ланцюжків. Крім того, взаємодія між візуальними та вербальними модусами лежить в основі різних типів відношень між текстом та ілюстраціями. У статті ми окреслили специфічні риси, властиві манзі, особливості розташування тексту та зображення на сторінці, кінематографічні засоби, деякі з яких використовуються для позначення фокалізації.

Ключові слова: манга, мультимодальність, крос-модальна когезія, ідентифікаційний ланцюжок, взаємовідношення між текстом і зображенням.

UKRAINE AND THE WEST IN PRO-RUSSIA CHINESE MEDIA:
A METHODOLOGY FOR THE ANALYSIS
OF MULTIMODAL POLITICAL NARRATIVE

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Abstract
This study represents a research project done at the crossroads of political, multimodal and cognitive linguistics. In focus is the Russia-Ukraine war featured in March – May, 2022 by the English edition of *the Global Times*, a Chinese media outlet, one of the voices of pro-Russia Chinese state propaganda. The analyzed articles contain political cartoons and thus can be defined as multimodal texts. Together, they mold a narrative, or 'story' addressed to international readers and intended to shape their worldview beneficial for Russia. Out study of this narrative aims to reconstruct the mental image it portrays and to expose the ways in which the verbal and visual modes interact to implant this image into the readers' minds. To fulfil this task, we propose a cognitive linguistic methodology which, applied algorithmically, enables building cognitive ontologies that structure information rendered verbally and visually. The constituents of each ontology have factual and emotive salience, dependent of the number of descriptions provided by empirical texts. We demonstrate how an overlap of the ontologies boosts salience of the key emotively connoted message targeted at the audience. In the study, the interplay between verbal and visual modes in individual texts is characterized in terms of accentuation, elaboration, extension, questioning, and combining considered as universal ways of 'stretching' information, which are trackable far beyond the metaphoric domain where they were previously identified by Lakoff and Turner (1989).

Key words: political narrative, media text, multimodality, verbal and visual modes, political cartoons, research methodology, cognitive linguistics approach, propaganda, pro-Russian Chinese media, Russia-Ukraine war.

1. Introduction

Driven by imperial ambitions, on February 24, 2022 Russia launched its military aggression against Ukraine. This aggression had been preceded and is now accompanied by massive information assaults incorporated into Russia's hybrid warfare that employs a variety of tools, ranging from conventional to irregular combat operations, sponsorship of political protests, economic coercion, and a powerful information campaign conducted predominantly through mass media (Kofman & Rojansky, 2015, p. 1). In the information campaign as a part of hybrid warfare, the media's rhetoric becomes propagandistic

and combative in nature (Hutchinson, 2008, p. 35). Propaganda, as a systemic communication process, combines a series of activities to convey information, facts and messages to the target audience in order to form its particular worldview or mold the required public values and opinions. Destructive propaganda, smearing the opponent, employs disinformation and fakes intended to influence public opinion by exaggerating or distorting the image of reality (Petrenko et al., 2021, p. 12). The destructive Russian propaganda is broad and complex, exploiting history, culture, and language. Its methods and techniques, supported by emotionally loaded semiotic means, serve to spread information that benefits Russia (but with no clear allegiance to the Kremlin), to convey strong anti-Western and anti-North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) message, to promote conspiracy theories that combine facts and half-truths, and to implant black-and-white ideological simplifications (Kuczyńska-Zonik & Tatarenko, 2019, p. 144).

Russia's information operations have been notably effective in using strategic communications to shape political biases in many countries. Among the most well-known vectors for this strategy are such media outlets as *Russia Today* and *Sputnik News*. But Russia also uses targeted television programs, funds European think tanks to promote its views, and employs large numbers of Internet trolls, bots, and fake news farms. The result is a multichannel media resource used to muddy the waters and cast doubt upon objective truths (Chivvis, 2017, p. 3). Among the constantly repeated messages concerned with Ukraine and disseminated by Russian propaganda are: Ukraine is a failed state (with other messages formed around this one to reinforce and complement it) (Petrenko et al., 2021, p. 19); the 2014 coup d'état in Ukraine resulted in the seizure of power; the coup d'état was organized by the United States, the European Union and NATO (together or separately), while the Ukrainian people opposed it; the coup d'état's goals were diverse: to destabilize Ukraine, turn its population against Moscow, and create a convenient West 'puppet' government; the Ukrainian government is under direct control of the United States (VoxCheck Team, 2022). Via distorting and framing facts, these messages justify the war in Ukraine, unleashed by Russia in February, 2022. The pretext of 'saving' Ukrainians from their 'Nazi' rulers, is now being backed by a new set of propaganda claims about the treacherous West who threatened Russia using Ukraine as a tool, and whom Russia, without any other choice, had to fight back for the sake of its own security (see more in Civil Network Opora, 2022). Russia strives to spread this message worldwide through the foreign pro-Russia media (VoxCheck Team, 2022; Yang, 2022 among others). One of them – the Chinese popular tabloid *the Global Times* (its English version) – is addressed in our research with the aim to understand how the pro-Russian war message assumes the form of a 'story', or 'narrative', beneficial for Russia and intended for entrenchment in the minds of international audience.

The Russia-Ukraine war 'story' told by *the Global Times* and analyzed in our research is relayed in a number of media articles, where the verbal text is supplied with a political cartoon. Such 'story', rendered by different semiotic modes, or codes, is defined as a multimodal narrative. Since it is a relatively new object of linguistic analysis, scholars are in search of plausible methodologies for exposure of the ways in which different modes contribute to the narrative's meaning. These methodologies should be guided by universal principles, applicable beyond a particular case-study. Our paper proposes such principles consistent with a cognitive linguistics approach. Therefore, our research, done from the standpoint of cognitive political linguistics, pursues two major ***goals***. The *political linguistics goal* is to register the properties of a multimodal narrative which are relevant for making it a weapon of political propaganda. The *cognitive linguistics goal* is to develop a methodology applicable for arranging and integrating information rendered by the narrative's verbal and visual modes.

The article starts with defining the conceptions of political narrative and multimodality that serve as a theoretical background of our work. Then, we consider the methodological issues deemed relevant for the study of a political multimodal narrative represented in media texts. Application of the proposed methodology is further exemplified with analysis of *the Global Times'* multimodal texts supplied with cartoons. We finalize the article with a concluding discussion that summarizes the findings and outlines perspectives for the next stage of our inquiry.

2.   Theoretical background. Political narrative and multimodality

The term *narrative,* conventionally understood as a story, primarily associates with a literary text, where the description of several real or fictive events or situations is arranged in a time sequence. Beyond the domain of philology, narrative refers to the "ways in which we construct disparate facts in our own worlds and weave them together cognitively in order to make sense of our reality" (Patterson & Monroe, 1998, p. 315). In this broad meaning the term *narrative* has been borrowed into social sciences, including political and media studies which nowadays are concerned with both conventional (verbal) and multimodal (mostly verbal and visual) narratives.

Defined as a reflection of current political affairs, the ***political narrative*** is represented primarily through media. The political narrative affects our perceptions of political reality, which in turn affect our actions in response to or in anticipation of political events. Therefore, narrative plays a critical role in shaping our worldview and in construction of our political behavior, which is true for individuals and for collective units, such as nations or groups (Groth, 2019, p. 3). The political narrative, understood as both a text whose structure represents the teller's image of the world, and a textually arranged image of the world imposed upon the audience (Zhabotynska & Velivchenko, 2019, p. 365), aims to persuade and garner support, thus providing "mediation of political process in a story form" suitable to harness the narrative strategically (Groth, 2019, p. 8). The *strategic narrative* is the story featuring an official political strategy via constructing "a shared meaning of the past, present and future of international politics to shape the behaviour of domestic and international actors" (Miskimmon et al., 2013). Political strategic narratives correspond to stories about states and their political systems, the citizens' identity and the world order they need. (Groth, 2019, pp. 8-9). Political narratives in general and strategic narratives in particular are 'controlled' with regard to their persuasiveness: if stories are told in the right way and at the right time, if they accentuate the appropriate aspects and address the appropriate audiences, they are effective and can succeed in framing the political positions as favorable ones (ibid., p. 8).

Persuasiveness of the political narrative involves manipulation – an interactional and communicative practice, where one person controls others against their will, and in such a way produces social inequality. Manipulation is prone to tug at the public's negative emotions grounded on fear (Van Dijk, 2006, p. 360). Duffy (2018) notes that in shaping public opinion objective facts are less influential than appeal to emotion and personal belief (p. 8). Moreover, "emotional response alters our perception of reality" (p. 4). Antagonistic and aggressive political narratives, aimed at destruction of the Other (bad) who is opposed to Self (good), stir our biologically instinctive need "to pay more attention when a clear threat is involved" (p. 116). The innate bias of a human being to focus on negative information for self-preservation is used by opinion-makers when they aim to misdirect for certain political gains. Stirring emotions, especially negative ones, remains a popular strategy in the misdirection and disinformation flows which use another property of negative images – their 'stickiness' in mentality (p. 62). Besides, narrative images of the Other often come through stereotypes as simplifications and categorizations of the world that facilitate the limited effort by individuals to process information via mental shortcuts. In political narratives, stereotype is a particular simplification: it is a concept held by one social group about another, and frequently used to justify certain discriminatory behaviours (Hinton, 2017).

In the Russian mainstream media, the antagonistic and aggressive narratives on Ukraine and its partners capitalize on negativity and stereotyping. The purpose of spreading such narratives agrees with what Brankovic (2021) defines as "stakeholders' securing their influence", with stakeholders being political and social elites and institutions. The disseminated narratives highlight "the validity of one group's grievances and the moral superiority of its claims, while placing blame for conflict on the 'others'. It shrinks diverse and complex group narratives into a simple, self-reinforcing story that side-lines inconvenient facts and evidence". In this case, the society "tends to be dominated by two or three simple and opposing narratives, in which extreme views eclipse moderate views in public debates and other narratives are hidden from view" (p. 2). Persuasive and manipulative potential of

the media political narrative depends on the successful interaction of its verbal and non-verbal means, which is defined as multimodality.

Multimodality, as a comparatively new field of linguistic research dating back to the 1980s, vies a mode as a particular semiotic resource used in communication to express meaning. Accordingly, the term ***multimodality*** describes (a) a phenomenon of human communication which employs a combination of semiotic media (such as still and moving image, speech, writing, layout, gesture, and/or proxemics), and (b) a diversified and growing field of inquiry concerned with developing the respective theories, analytical tools and descriptions that approach the study of representation and communication considering modes as an organizing principle (Adami, 2017, p. 45). Textual modes are sets of organized resources that societies apply to make meaning and to express and shape values, ideologies, and power relations (ibid., p. 452). In linguistics, the meaning of the term *mode* corresponds closely to the more traditional semiotic notions of 'code' or 'sign system'. Semiotic modes (verbal and non-verbal), being created through social processes, are fluid and context-dependent. "In order for a particular resource to be a mode, the community in which it is used needs to recognize it as a mode and share a cultural sense of how this resource can be organized to construct and convey meaning" (Lyons, 2015, p. 270).

The diversity of interacting modes is represented by their "intrasemiotic / intramodal" and "intersemiotic / intermodal" varieties (Siefkes, 2015, p. 115). The first type demonstrates varieties within the mode (e.g., verbal mode: oral vs. written codes, regular code vs. paralinguistic codes that integrate into linguistic ones). The second type represents various combinations of autonomous modes (e.g., verbal (written) and visual (pictorial) modes employed in media texts).

Multimodal texts include ensembles of modes, and their orchestration determines the communicative intent and the main message (Barton, 2018). So, the term *multimodality* also refers to the "ways in which a number of distinct semiotic resource systems are both co-deployed and co-contextualized in the making of a text-specific meaning" (Baldry & Thibault, 2006, p. 21). The studies of multimodality mainly focus on the interrelationships between various communicative modes, no matter whether they are visual or auditory, words or image (Liu, 2013, p. 1259). When in combination with speech and / or writing, other modes are not a mere accompaniment of, or support to verbal language; rather, each mode concurs with a specific functional load to the meaning made by the overall text – and as such they deserve attention (Adami, 2017, p. 452). Similarly, visual images no longer serve as simply illustrative of the printed text, but add to the story the new and varied dimensions (Serafini, 2012, p. 30). Image and other visual modes have the capacity to form 'texts', complexes of signs which internally cohere with each other and externally with the context in and for which they were produced (Liu, 2013, p. 1260).

A particular type of visual image interacting with the verbal text is the political cartoon (a satirical drawing often including caricature) examined in our research as a mode of the multimodal narrative. Political cartoons are intended to transform "complex and opaque social events and situations into quick and easily readable depictions that facilitate comprehension of the nature of social issues and events". In such a way "they present society with visually palpable and hyper-ritualized depictions (selectively exaggerated portions of 'reality') that attempt to reveal the essence and meaning of social events" (Abraham, 2009, p. 119). By their nature, cartoons cannot be 'neutral' because they – through provocation – always aim to trigger emotions. A cartoon exposes viewers to an opinion 'for' or 'against' its subject. In political cartoons, irony or mockery, as the most typical emotive strategies, may render danger and threat, since such cartoons are not humorous, they are sarcastic (Chaban et al., 2019-2020, p. 157-8). According to Chen et al. (2017), irrespective of a steadily growing body of research on political cartoons, their study remains fragmented theoretically and existing largely on the fringes of research in political communication (p. 125). In the domain of multimodality studies, autonomous political cartoons are now being analyzed as multimodal texts (see Đurović & Silaški, 2016; Warwa, 2018; El-Falaky, 2019 among others). Meanwhile, the works considering their interplay with the verbal text they support are sporadic (see as an example Chaban et al., 2019-2020). Similarly, under-

researched is interaction of the visual and verbal in political narratives in general (the review is provided in Pschenychnykh, 2019). One of the reasons, as we see it, is insufficiency of methodological tools applied in an algorithmic research procedure. Our study attempts to propose such tools applicable for a cognitive linguistics analysis of the multimodal media narrative.

3. Methodology for a cognitive linguistics analysis of multimodal media narratives

Methodological premises for the analysis of multimodal media narratives should be concerned with their semiotic and cognitive properties. We maintain that the *semiotic study* of multimodality is to define: (a) the semiotic types and subtypes of modes; (b) their intra- and intersemiotic configurations; and (c) the type of their formal interaction – paratactic (two or more main modes) or hypotactic (the main and subsidiary modes). The *cognitive study* of multimodal media narratives may include: (a) identifying the narrative-based concept; (a) building a cognitive ontology for the information featured by each of its semiotic modes; (c) considering the diverse semantic interactions of these ontologies. The latter topics will be further considered in more detail.

A ***narrative-based concept (NBC)*** is represented by information retrieved from a bulk of thematically homogeneous discrete narrative texts describing a particular issue, the name of which becomes the name of this concept (Zhabotynskaya, 2017; 2020). Information featured in a narrative-based concept evolves into a 'metatext', with its referential and relational coherence: it has a limited number of iterated textual referents linked by different kinds of relations (Zhabotynskaya, 2017, pp. 232-233). An NBC retrieved from numerous thematically homogeneous political texts is defined as a ***narrative-based political concept (NBPC)*** which, being a subjective construct, exhibits the narrator's worldview, ideology and bias. Specificity of an NBPC "depends on the ways the 'meta-text' interprets an event: information about its constitutive facts can be more and less complete, differently accentuated and assessed" (Zhabotynska & Velivchenko, 2019, p. 366).

An NBC / NBPC has a ***cognitive ontology*** understood as a particular structural arrangement of thematically coherent information (this understanding, compatible with the one in knowledge engineering, is consonant with Fillmore's classical definition of a frame) (Zhabotynskaya, 2020, p. 95). In a cognitive ontology, arrangement of information is provided through a hierarchy of thematic chunks. These are: *thematic domains* as the foci of an NBC/ NBPC, *thematic parcels* as the foci of the domains, and *thematic quanta* as the foci of the parcels. Thematic quanta generalize the meanings of empirical textual descriptions and build a 'meta-narrative' – an umbrella story inferred from other stories. In the cognitive ontology of an NBC / NBPC, the narrator's subjectivity shows up in the content of hierarchical thematic chunks, as well as in their *factual* and *emotive salience* defined by the quantity of textual descriptions which depict a thematic chunk (Zhabotynskaya, 2017, p. 233; Zhabotynska & Velivchenko, 2019, p. 366). The emotive plane of a cognitive ontology represents the assessments 'neutral' /0/, 'positive' /+/, and 'negative' /–/ that are either overtly expressed in the text or inferred from its entire emotional grounding (Zhabotynska & Velivchenko, 2019, p. 338). Factual and emotive salience, created by iterations of textual descriptions of the entire narrative, are targeted at the entrenchment of the respective information in the recipients' minds and triggering steady attitudes and affections. As Duffy (2018, p. 61) puts it with reference to media, "…if we are frequently exposed to the same, or a very similar, story through the media, we are more likely to notice the information in the world around us that confirms the stories we've heard and seen". Entrenchment of information relates to its priming – "activation of concepts in the human memory due to the media exposure resulting in the heightened accessibility to the concept" (Brewer et al., 2003, p, 494).

Cognitive ontologies can be relational, entity-focused, and event-focused. *Relational ontologies* foreground the kinds of links between different entities. *Entity-focused ontologies* foreground a particular actor (node) of the relational ontology. Such actor (node) becomes a target concept, with its relations viewed as subordinate to the target. *Event-focused ontologies* foreground a particular

time-bound event populated by several actors whose properties are particularized with regard to this event. All three types of ontologies may have one or several facets. The notion of facets implies the varieties of an ontology: (a) created by one and the same narrator within different time spans, (b) created by one and the same narrator within different contexts, (c) created by different narrators, especially those with different mind-sets and biases (Zhabotynska, 2020, pp. 20-21).

In a multimodal NBC / NBPC, the information featured by each mode (such as verbal and visual typical of media texts) has its own ontology. An ***interaction*** of these ontologies exhibits their shared and / or non-shared thematic constituents contributing to the integral text-specific meaning (Chaban et al., 2019-2020, p. 155). Exposure of such overlap is pivotal for multimodal studies. The analysis of interaction between the main (verbal) and subsidiary (visual) modes of a multimodal narrative may also include a survey of assets made by the subsidiary text to the main one. The possible types of assets are accentuation, elaboration, extension, questioning, and combining. These ways of stretching information (except accentuation) were first described by Lakoff and Turner (1989) as the devices for developing poetic metaphors out of conventional conceptual metaphors. *Extending* a conventional conceptual metaphor adds new elements to it. *Elaboration* employs an existing element in an unusual way. In *questioning*, poets call into question the boundaries of our everyday understanding of important concepts. *Combining*, or *composing*, is going beyond the conventional metaphoric thought via formation of composite metaphors (ibid., pp. 67-70). Meanwhile, similar phenomena are tracked far beyond the domain of metaphor, and can therefore be treated as universal. When employed in the analysis of information projected by the subsidiary text onto the main text of a multimodal narrative, the above terms obtain a broader interpretation compatible with that suggested in (Zhabotynska & Slyvka, 2020, pp. 123-124). *Accentuation* is providing 'visuality' of the entity described in the main text. *Elaboration* is providing information about an additional property of the entity described in the main text (X_1 and X_2). *Extension* is providing information about a new entity contiguous and congruent with the one described in the main text (X and Y). *Questioning* is providing information about a new entity contiguous but incongruent with the one described in the main text (X but Y). *Combining* is providing information about a new entity noncontiguous with the one described in the main text ((X) and (Y)).

Application of the considered methodological premises will be exemplified with the analysis of empirical data.

4. Data

The data come from the English edition of the *the Global Times* (GT) Chinese daily tabloid associated with the Chinese Communist Party's flagship newspaper *the People's Daily*. Thus, the GT is part of a broader set of Chinese state media outlets representing the Chinese government's propaganda apparatus. The GT comments on international issues from a nationalistic perspective, and often reflects those views of party officials with which they cannot openly come out. The newspaper's foreign reports are often authored by correspondents from *the People's Daily* and *Xinhua*, the state news agency (Huang, 2016; China's Global Times plays a peculiar role, 2018). The Chinese edition of the GT, which started in 1993 as a weekly magazine, is now selling over 2.5 million copies a day (Global Times official site). Through its English edition, launched in 2009, the GT is "bringing its unvarnished opinions around the globe" – to the US, Europe, and South Africa (Huang, 2016). Today, with over 8 million daily page views, the GT's website has "a strong presence in English-language media" (Global Times official site), and thus becomes a potentially powerful resource for delivering strategic narratives intended for shaping public opinion. The GT is referred to as the source of various incidents, including fabrications, conspiracy theories, and disinformation (China's Global Times plays a peculiar role, 2018; Hernández, 2020). *The Media Bias Fact Check* notes that the tabloid is known "for its hawkish, insulting editorials – aggressive attacks that get it noticed and quoted by foreign media around the world as the 'voice' of Beijing, even as the party's official statements are

more circumspect" (Global Times (China), 2021). The newspaper is rated as 'mixed' for factual reporting due to bias by omission and failed fact checks (ibid.).

The RUSSIA-UKRAINE WAR narrative produced by the GT and analyzed in this study is represented by 27 articles published through March–May, 2022 and containing the reference to Russia-Ukraine war in their titles and / or in the text body. All articles, obtained via continuous sampling, include a political cartoon. The 27 cartoons, considered as a visual mode of the narrative, interact with its verbal mode that is approximately 26,000-words long. Therefore, the data furnish an intersemiotic hypotactic multimodal configuration, where the verbal mode is the main one, and the visual mode is subsidiary. The verbal text is constituted by 911 descriptions (the units of our analysis) which thematically equate with a proposition where a particular target concept, or the logical subject, has a particular homogeneous property, or the logical predicate. Among 27 cartoons constituting the visual 'text', 25 are metaphoric and 2 are metonymic. One cartoon is iterated thrice, and two cautions are employed twice. Thus, the number of non-repeated images is 23.

5. Analysis

All information furnished by 27 multimodal media texts selected for the analysis is considered as the narrative-based political concept RUSSIA-UKRAINE WAR. This concept has a cognitive ontology where the main verbal facet overlaps with the subsidiary visual one. The further study includes reconstruction of these facets and exposure of the way in which they interact.

5.1. The RUSSIA-UKRAINE WAR narrative-based verbal concept:
a cognitive ontology

The narrative concept RUSSIA-UKRAINE WAR has an event-focused ontology which structures information about the referents who, being 'actors' of the event, demonstrate different types of interaction (Figure 1).
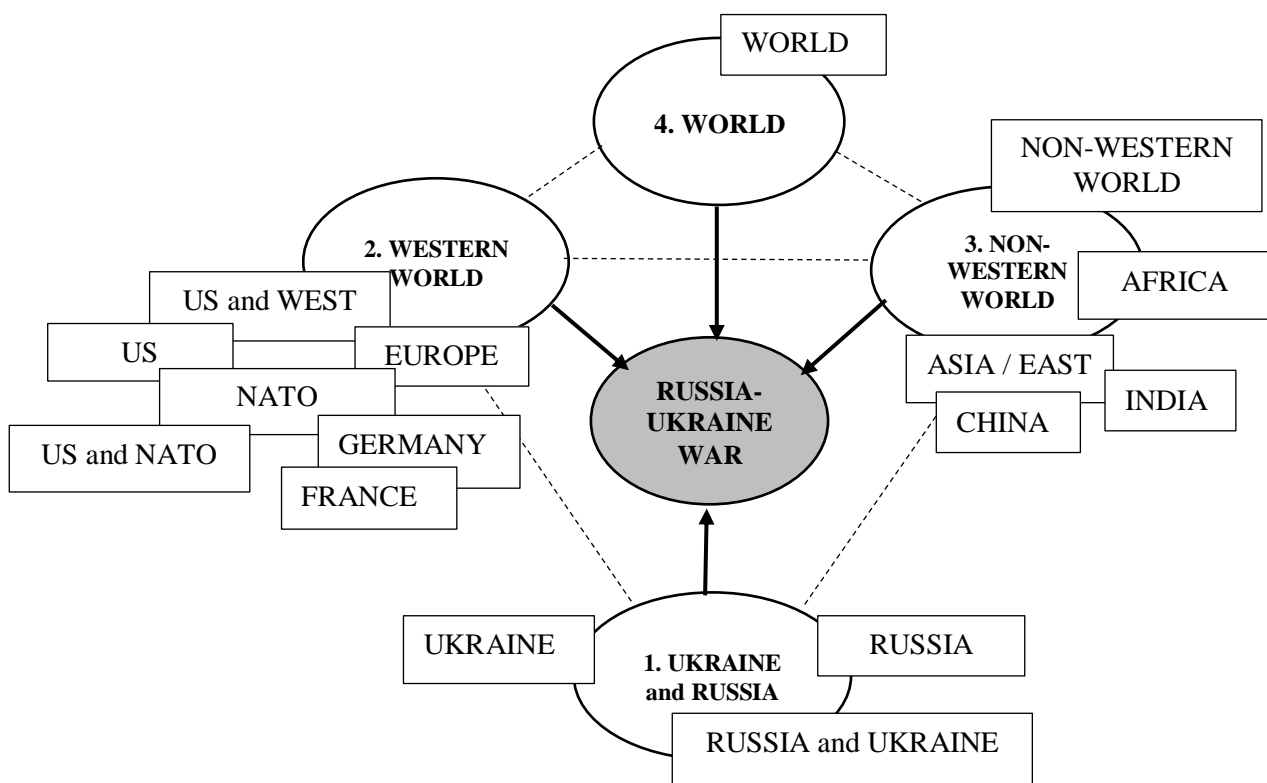

Fig. 1. The RUSSIA-UKRAINE WAR narrative-based political concept:
domains and parcels

The survey of 911 textual descriptions exposes 16 actors directly or indirectly involved into the event RUSSIA-UKRAINE WAR. Information about them shapes parcels distributed between four domains: (1) UKRAINE and RUSSIA (parcels: UKRAINE, RUSSIA, RUSSIA and UKRAINE (together)), (2) WESTERN WORLD / WEST (parcels: US, NATO, US and NATO, US and WEST / WEST, EUROPE, GERMANY, FRANCE), (3) NON-WESTERN WORLD (parcels: CHINA, INDIA, ASIA / EAST, AFRICA, NON-WESTERN WORLD), (4) WORLD (parcel: WORLD).

Each parcel includes thematic quanta (TQ) that generalize the meanings of particular textual descriptions with neutral /0/, positive /+/ or negative /-/ connotations. The number of such descriptions shows factual and emotive salience of a parcel. Below, the thematic quanta of each parcel is supplied with a numerical notation (such as (3 [10/-/])), where the first number shows how many articles mentioned this theme, and the second number, accompanied by an assessment marker, shows how many specifically connoted textual descriptions feature this theme. The italic font signifies *relative salience* of the TQ (the number of its descriptions throughout the bulk of texts approximates or exceeds 10). The bold italic font points to the *absolute salience* of the TQ (the number of its descriptions throughout the bulk of texts approximates 20 or exceeds this number).

(1) UKRAINE and RUSSIA: 30 TQ

UKRAINE: 16 TQ [60 descriptions: 6/0/; 7/+/; 47/-/]

As a part of the USSR, Ukraine prospered economically (1 [3/+/]). Ukraine's poverty is caused by the cut of economic ties with Russia (1 [3/-/]). Ukraine has not geopolitically succeeded as a state (1 [5/-/]). It is a poor unsuccessful country (1 [3/-/]) unable to ensure national unity (1 [4/-/]). In 2014, the power in Ukraine was illegally seized by the pro-western regime (2 [5/-/]). So, *Ukraine is ruled by Natzis who slaughter the innoscent citizens of Donbas, using the tactics similar to those employed by the US in WWII* (1 [10/-/]). Ukraine's hatred to Russia is a fragile foundation for building a country (1 [2/-/]). Ukraine is responsible for its conflict with Russia (1 [/2-/]). Ukraine's politics was balanced before intrusion of the US (1 [2/+/]). Ukraine's goals contrast with those of the US (1 [2/0/]). In the proxi war waged by Ukraine it is a victim (2 [4/-/]). *Ukraine is dissatisfied with and suspicious of its European partners* (1 [9: 2/0/; 7/-/]). Ukraine may illegally sell Western weapons (2 [2/-/]). Ukraine needs a cease-fire (1 [1/+/]). Ukraine should be neutral [(2 [3:2/0/; 1/+/]).

RUSSIA: 11 TQ [47 descriptions: 1/0/; 46/+/]

Russia keeps the memory of WWII (1 [2/+/]). Russia did not initiate the current war in Ukraine; Russia is ending the 8-year war triggered by the coup-d'etat sponsored by Brussels and Washington (1 [2/+/]). Russia seeks Europe's help to stop "crimes" of Ukrainian "nationalists" (1 [1/+/]). Russia does not seek reconstruction of the former Soviet Union (1 [2/+/]). *Russia seeks security for the Russian people within and outside the country* [(3 [14: 1/0/; 13/+/]). Russia has adapted to Western sunctions (1 [3/+/]). *By launching a military operation against Ukraine, Russia wants to overthrow the post-Cold War unipolar world order of US hegemony* (1 [13/+/]). Russia is changing the world globally (1 [2/+/]). Russia suggests replacement of the NATO-led world security framework (1 [1 /+/]). Putin is not an autocratic dictator dreaming of a Russian-led global empire (1 [2/+/]). Russia is aimed at real international community with equal and fair rules based on international law (1 [5/+/]).

RUSSIA and UKRAINE (together): 3 TQ [15 descriptions: 3/0/; 11/+/; 1/-/]

Russians and Ukrainians are historically the same folk (1 [1/+/]). *Russia-Ukraine issue should have a peaceful settlement* (3 [13: 3/0/; 10/+/]). Russia-Ukraine diplomatic efforts fail (1 [1/-/]).

(2) WESTERN WORLD / WEST: 86 TQ

US: 14 TQ [100 descriptions: 3/0/; 97/-/]

The US with its domestic chaos is not a dreamland (1[3/-/]). ***To pursue its own geopolitical interests in the search of global dominance, the US creates security troubles*** (13 [51/-/]) *and manipulates other countries* (3 [13/-/]). The US aspires to hegemony in Europe (3 [4/-/]) and uses NATO as a political tool to control Europe (1 [1/-/]). The US's aspirations to global dominance pose a threat to the world (1 [2/-/]). The US supported Nazis in WWII, and supports Ukrainian Nazis now (1 [5/-/]). ***The US benefits from Russia-Ukraine conflict*** (10 [32/-/]). The US wages a public opinion war to

defend its interests in the Russia-Ukraine crisis (1 ([7: 3/0/; 4/-/]). The US mainstram media deliberately exploit the suffereng of Ukrainian people (1 [1/-/]). The US is committing genocide in Ukraine (1 ([4 /-/]). The US is an unreliable partner (1 [4/-/]). The aim of the US is to strangle China (1[2/-/]). The US is finger-pointing on the cooperation of other countries with China (1[2/-/]).

NATO: 11 TQ [82 descriptions: 1/0/; 81/-/]

NATO is a dangerous Cold War institution (2 [/2-/]). NATO, led by the USA, creates a unitary security system currently in place (2 [7: 1/0/; 6/-/]). NATO has kidnapped Europen foreign policy (2 [3/-/]). The US benefits from the expansion of NATO (1 [2/-/]). NATO' influence declined with a parallel decline of the US' strength (1 [3/+/]). NATO is a useless and ineffective organization (2 [6/-/]). NATO has been revived due to Russia-Ukraine conflict (2 [5/-/]). ***NATO, led by the USA, moves eastward and threatens Russia*** (7 [19/-/]). ***Expansion of NATO undermines Europe's security, as Russia may severely respond*** (3 [32/-/]). The NATO countries bordering on Russia will be punished first for the anti-Russia campaign (1 [2/-/]). NATO considers China-Russia relationship as a threat to its security and world democracy (1 [1/-/]).

US and NATO: 6 TQ [31 descriptions: 31/-/]

The US and NATO ignore Russia's need in security (2 [6/-/]). They unjustly blame Russia in the sufferings of Ukraine (1 [1/-/]). *The US and NATO do not want peace talks between Russia and Ukraine* (2 [9/-/]). The US and NATO will not guarantee Ukraine's security (2 [7/-/]). The US and NATO may turn other regions into tinderboxes (2 [6/-/]). They are dangerous for Asian countries to cooperate with (1 [2/-/]).

US and WEST / WEST: 36 TQ [331 descriptions: 3/0/; 328/-/]

The West retains Cold-War mentality (1 [1/-/]). The US and the West seek greater geopolitical interests (1 [1/-/]). ***The US and the West established an unfair world order of Western supremacy*** (5 [23/-/]). *This world order triggers conflicts* (2 [9/-/]). *Adhering to its supremacy, the West hypocritically speaks of universal values* (2 [8/-/]). The world order of Western supremacy challenges global peaceful development (1 [2/-/]) and loses trust (1 [3/-/]). — ***The US, the West and NATO are responsible for the war in Ukraine*** (10 [38/-/]). *The US and the West supply Ukraine with weapons* (5 [15: 2/0/; 13/-/]). *The US and the West aggravate the crisis in Ukraine* (6 [11/-/])*. They don't care about Ukraine's sovereignty and economic prosperity* (3 [9/-/]). ***The US and the West use Ukraine as a tool against Russia*** (8 [21: 1/0/; 20/-/). *The US and the West want to prolong the war and damage Russia* (5 [15 /-/]). *Their aim is to weaken and strangle Russia* (2 [9/-/]). *The US seeks to weaken Russia through brain-drain* (1 [11/-/]). The US and the West unjustly blame Putin and Russia in the conflict (2 [3/-/]). They establish a bubble anti-Russia coalition by hyping the slogan of "Russian threat" (1 [3 /-/]). They exert excessive pressure on Russia (3 [7/-/]) and impose extreme sanctions on it (4 [6/-/]). The US calls for global sanctions against Russia (1 [3 /-/]) and charges those countries who haven'y condemned Russia (1 [5 /-/]). The US and the West's sanctions imposed upon Russia are illegal (1 [7/-/]). They hinder solution of Russia-Ukraine conflict (1 [1/-/]). ***The West's sanctions against Russia ruin the world economy*** (5 [20/-/]). — ***The West's attitude to Ukraine is a blatant demonstration of white supremacy*** (2 [18-/]) ***which is fully exposed in accepting Ukraine's refugees*** (2 [21/-/]. The West's white supremacy combines racism and colonialism (1 [5/-/]). *The Western media are racist and hypocritical* (1 [8 /-/]). The West's white supremacy is in decline and isolation incompatible with the role of a world leader (1 [5: 5/-/]). — ***The US and the West smear China in Russia-Ukraine conflict*** (3 [23/-/]). The US charges China in taking Russia's side (1 [2 /-/]). The US wants to break China-Russian relations (3 [7/-/]). — The US and the West push India to condemn Russia (1 [3/-/]). The US strives to involve India into military cooperation (1 [5: 3/0/; 2/-/]). The US wants to break China-India relations (1 [1/-/]). — The West unfairly blames Russia on 'colonization' of Africa (1 [2 /-/]).

EUROPE: 15 TQ [77 descriptions: 34/0/; 12/+/; 31/-/]

Europe has unsolved ethnic problems caused by European integration (1 [6/-/]). *The Russia-Ukraine conflict causes contradictions and divisions within Europe* (1 [11: 3/0/; 1/+/; 7/-/]). European

countries which have a history of conflicts with Russia see it as a "threat" (1 [5/0/]). Europe is divided into two civilizations (1 [2/0/]). It wants to expand and reinforce its identity (1 [5/0/]). It redraws its ideological boundaries with Russia (1 [3/0/]), and defends its own civilization from Russia (1 [6/0/]). *Europe returns to its old aggressive conservatism* (1 [8: 6/0/, 2/-/]. It strives to recreate the world of the other (1 [6: 4/0/, 2/-/]). *For Europe, the Russia-Ukraine conflict is the foremost security threat* (4 [10/-/]). Europe suffers a humanitarian crisis caused by the Russian-Ukraine conflict (1 [4/-/]). Europe sees that sending arms to Ukraine undermines its security and stability (1 [4 /+/]). Not all European states support sanctions against Russia (2 [5+]). To prosper, Europe should be peaceful (1 [1/+/]) and maintain neutrality (1 [1/+/]).

GERMANY: 2 TQ [14: 1/0/; 12/+/; 1/-/]

Germany has always had Russia as an ally (1 [9: 1/0/; 8 /+/]), while the UK and the US are German's permanent rivals (1 [5: 4/+/; 1/-/]).

FRANCE: 4 TQ [15: 14/+/; 1/-/]

France, a country with influence, is sceptical about NATO (1 [4 /+/]) because France disagrees with the US's leading role in it (1 [4 /+/]). Irrespective of the US's pressure (1 [1: 1 /-/]), France may leave NATO because of Russia-Ukraine conflict (1 [6 /+/]).

(3) NON-WESTERN WORLD: 24 TQ

CHINA: 12 TQ [56 descriptions: 56/+/]

China fought with fascism in WWII (1 [2/+/]). China plays an important role in the world economy (1 [4/+/]) and provides prosperity of its citizens (1 [6: 6/+/]). China is a protagonist of the globalized world (1 [1/+/]). It is interested in cooperation with Latin America (1 [5/+/]). *China is aimed at real international community with equal and fair rules based on international law* (3 [9/+/]). China is not a party to the Russia-Ukraine crisis (2 [2/+/]). **China adheres to peace and talks** (4 [21/+/]). China calls for respecting and solving Russian concerns (1 [1/+/]). China and Russia remain partners (1 [3 /+/]). China disapproves of the sanctions against Russia (1 [1/+/]). China will never dance to Washington's baton (1 [1/+/]).

INDIA: 3 TQ [7 descriptions: 5/0/; 2/+/]

India pursues its own national interests (1 [3: 1/0/; 2/+/]) and avoids sanctioning Russia (1 [2/0/]. India and Russia maintain friendly relations (1 [2/0/]).

ASIA / EAST: 2TQ [6 descriptions: 6/+/]

Eastern major powers adhere to peace and talks (1 [1/+/]). Asia should build its own security regime (1 [5/+/]).

AFRICA: 4 TQ [5 descriptions: 5/+/]

African countries' independent stance toward the Ukraine-Russia crisis is informed by a sober and well-calculated assessment (1 [2/+/]). They resist Western bullying into condemning Russia (1 [1/+/]) and abstain from or oppose the respective resolution (1 [1/+/]). African countries adhere to piece and talks (1 [3 /+/]).

NON-WESTERN WORLD: 3 TQ [22 descriptions: 22/+/]

Non-Western emergent countries lack trust in the world order of Western supremacy (1 [2/+/]). They are aimed at real international community with equal and fair rules based on international law (2 [6/+/]). *Non-western countries disapprove of the sanctions against Russia* (3 [14/+/]).

(4) WORLD: 10 TQ

WORLD: 10 TQ [43 descriptions: 41/+/; 2/-/]

The world is divived by confrontation caused by the Russia-Ukraine war (1 [2/-/]). Most countries of the world maintain neutrality and do not join anti-Russian coalition initiated by the US (1 [6/+]). Many countries of the world disapprove of the sanctions against Russia (3 [4/+/]). The world adheres to peace and talks (3 [3/+/]). The world, not the West should participate in judgement of the Russian-Ukraine war (1 [3/+/]). *The Russia-Ukraine crisis has accelerated the decline of US hegemony in the world* (1 [13/+/]). The world gradually discards the US' appeal and influence (1 [2/+/]). *Now, the*

world witnesses a global geopolitical shift from the Western to Eastern dominance (1 [8: 4/0/; 4/+/]). The world should be more aware of anti-global nationalistic discourse of any country (1 [4/+/]). The world should benefit from global economic interaction (1 [2/+/]).

The analysis of data demonstrates considerable differences in ***factual salience*** of referential parcels (Table 1) established with regard to the number of articles where they are featured, the number TQ portraying the parcels, and the number of textuat descriptions implementing such 'portraits'.

Table 1

The RUSSIA-UKRAINE WAR verbal NBPC:
salience of the referential parcels

Referential parcels	Number of articles	Number of TQ	Textual descriptions							
			Total		Neutral		Positive		Negative	
			Qnt.	%	Qnt.	%	Qnt.	%	Qnt.	%
UKRAINE	10	16	60	6.6	6	0.7	7	0.8	47	5.1
RUSSIA	8	11	47	5.2	1	0.1	46	5.1	-	-
RUSSIA and UKRAINE	5	3	15	1.6	3	0.3	11	1.2	1	0.1
US	20	14	100	11.0	3	0.3	-	-	97	10.7
US and WEST	8	36	331	36.3	3	0.3	-	-	328	36.0
NATO	11	11	82	9.1	1	0.1	-	-	81	9.0
US and NATO	9	6	31	3.4	-	-	-	-	31	3.4
EUROPE	10	15	77	8.5	34	3.9	12	1.3	31	3.4
GERMANY	1	2	14	1.5	1	0.1	12	1.3	1	0.1
FRANCE	1	2	15	1.6	-	-	14	1.5	1	0.1
CHINA	8	12	56	6.1	-	-	56	6.1	-	-
INDIA	1	3	7	0.8	5	0.5	2	0.2	-	-
ASIA / EAST	1	2	6	0.7	-	-	6	0.7	-	-
AFRICA	1	4	5	0.5	-	-	5	0.5	-	-
NON-WESTERN WORLD	3	3	22	2.4	-	-	22	2.4	-	-
WORLD	6	10	43	4.7	-	-	41	4.5	2	0.2
Total	**27**	**150**	**911**	**100**	**57**	**6.3**	**234**	**25.6**	**620**	**68.1**

With regard to the *number of articls* featuring an actor, the most representrative are: US (20 articles out of 27), NATO (11), EUROPE (10), UKRAINE (10), US and NATO (9), US and WEST (8), RUSSIA (8), and CHINA (8). Among 150 *thematic quanta* (TQ) constituting the NBPC and evolving it into a 'metatext', 35 represent the actor US and WEST, which points to diversity of topics related to it. The number of TQ remains relatively considerable for the actors UKRAINE (16 TQ), EUROPE (15 TQ), US (14 TQ), CHINA (12 TQ), RUSSIA (11 TQ), and WORLD (10 TQ). The data show that the longest 'metatext' portrays the US considered autonomously and in its cooperation with NATO and the West (55 TQ). The 'metatext' about the WESTERN WORLD in toto, including the US, NATO, Europe, Germany and France, gets even more extended (86 out of 150 TQ). Therefore, while describing the Russia-Ukraine war, *the Global Times* is more concerned with the role played in it by the Western world, than with Russsia and Ukraine proper (30 TQ) or with the stance of non-Western countries (24 TQ), China included. The frequency of *textual descriptions* subsumed by TQ also exposes an unprecedental 'visuality' of the actor US and WEST (36.3% of the total – 911 descriptions), with the actors US (11.0%), NATO (9.1%), and EUROPE (8.5%) to follow. All descriptions of the Western world amount to 71.4% in the data body.

The parcels' *emotive salience* created by textual descriptions with a particular affective slant displays a clear-cut distinction between 'positive' and 'negative' actors obviously identified by the narrator as 'We / Self / Ours' vs. 'They / Others / Theirs'. The '*positive' actors* are RUSSIA, RUSSIA and UKRAINE (in their cooperation), CHINA, ASIA / EAST, NON-WESTERN WORLD, and WORLD. The definitely *'negative' actors* are UKRAINE, US, NATO, and WEST. An intermediate assessment – rather 'neutrally-positive' than 'negative' – is assigned to EUROPE, where GERMANY and FRANCE are, however, viewed as 'positive'. Prevailing factual salience of the 'negative' acrors representing the Western world accounts for prevailing negativity of the analysed media narrative in general: 68.1% of its textual descriptions have a negative bias.

The intended 'negative' or 'positive' image of an actor gets entrenched and thus primed in the recepient's mind through iterations of textual descriptions featiring particular thematic quanta. In the data, the intended 'primed' constructs encountered in more than one article are:

✓   Negative: WEST /-/: ***To pursue its own geopolitical interests in the search of global dominance, the US creates security troubles*** (13 [51/-/]) *and manipulates other countries* (3 [13/-/]). ***The West's attitude to Ukraine is a blatant demonstration of white supremacy particularly exposed in accepting Ukraine's refugees*** (2 [39-/]). ***The US, the West and NATO are responsible for the war in Ukraine*** (10 [38-/]). ***Expansion of NATO undermines Europe's security, as Russia may severely respond*** (3 [32/-/]). ***The US benefits from Russia-Ukraine conflict*** (10 [31/-/]). ***The US and the West established an unfair world order of Western supremacy*** (5 [23/-/]). ***The US and the West smear China in Russia-Ukraine conflict*** (3 [23/-/]). ***The US and the West use Ukraine as a tool against Russia*** (8 [21: 1/0/; 20/-/]). ***NATO, led by the USA, moves eastward and threatens Russia*** (7 [19/-/]). ***The West's sanctions against Russia ruin the world economy*** (5 [18/-/]). *The US and the West supply Ukraine with weapons* (5 [15: 2/0/; 13/-/]). *The US and the West want to prolong the war and damage Russia* (5 [15 /-/]). *The US and the West aggravate the crisis in Ukraine* (6 [11/-/]). *The US and NATO do not want peace talks between Russia and Ukraine* (2 [9/-/]). *The US and the West don't care about Ukraine's sovereignty and economic prosperity* (3 [9/-/]).

✓   Positive: RUSSIA /+/: *Russia seeks security for the Russian people within and outside the country* (3 [14: 1/0/; 13/+/]).; UKRAINE and RUSSIA ((together) /+/: *Russia-Ukraine issue should have a peaceful settlement* (3 [13: 3/0/; 10/+/]); CHINA /+/: ***China adheres to peace and talks*** (4 [21/+/]). *China is aimed at real international community with equal and fair rules based on international law* (3 [9/+/]); NON-WESTERN WORLD: *Non-Western countries disapprove of the sanctions against Russia* (3 [14/+/]).

The above emotively loaded 'story', being told over and over again, gets appropriated by the readers as their own worldview. To enhance the workings of emotivity rendered verbally, media texts use emotively loaded political cartoons.

5.2. The RUSSIA-UKRAINE WAR narrative-based visual concept:
a cognitive ontology

In 27 cartoons, the actors of the RUSSIA-UKRAINE WAR verbal narrative retain their 'negativity' and 'positivity' and show up as primary or secondary constituents of an image. The visual 'text' of cartoons overlaps with the following parts of verbal text (the indication of TQ's salience is retained):

US /-/: 12 TQ [primary constituent: 18 cartoons]

To pursue its own geopolitical interests in the search of global dominance, the US creates security troubles (in section 5.3 – examples 1, 2, 3, 4, 5). The US's aspirations to global dominance pose a threat to the world (example 2). The US benefits from the expansion of NATO (example 6). *The US supported Nazis in WWII, and supports Ukrainian Nazis now* (example 4). ***The US is responsible for the war in Ukraine*** (examples 9, 10). ***The US supplies Ukraine with weapons*** (examples 13, 14).

The US aggravates the crisis in Ukraine (example 14). ***The US benefits from Russia-Ukraine conflict*** (examples 15, 16). The US may turn other regions into tinderboxes (example 17). The US strives to involve India into military cooperation (example 18). The US is finger-pointing on the cooperation of other countries with China (example 19). ***The US smears China in Russia-Ukraine conflict*** (examples 10, 11).

US and WEST / WEST /-/: 6 TQ [primary constituent: 7 cartoons]

The US established an unfair world order of Western supremacy (examples 19, 24). The world order of Western supremacy challenges global peaceful development and loses trust (example 20). ***The West's white supremacy is fully exposed in accepting Ukraine's refugees*** (example 22). The West's white supremacy exhibits its decline and isolation incompatible with the role of a world leader (example 23). The US and the West charge China in taking Russia's side (example 12). The West unfairly blames Russia in 'colonization' of Africa (example 21).

EUROPE /-/: 6 TQ [primary constituent: 2 cartoons; secondary constituent: 2 cartoons]

The Russia-Ukraine conflict causes contradictions and divisions within Europe (example 25). Europe is divided into two civilizations (example 26). It wants to expand and reinforce its identity (example 26). *For Europe, the Russia-Ukraine conflict is the foremost security threat* (example 25). The US *manipulates other (European) countries* (example 3). The US aspires to hegemony in Europe (example 4).

US and NATO /-/: 2 TQ [primary constituent: 4 cartoons]

NATO, led by the US, moves eastward and threatens Russia (examples 5, 7, 8, 9). The US and NATO ignore Russia's need in security (example 7).

FRANCE /+/: 1TQ [primary constituent: 1 cartoon]

France may leave NATO because of Russia-Ukraine conflict (example 27).

RUSSIA /+/: 2 TQ [secondary constituent: 2 cartoons]

Russia seeks security for the Russian people within and outside the country (example 7). *By launching a military operation against Ukraine, Russia wants to overthrow the post-Cold War unipolar world order dominated by US hegemony* (example 24).

CHINA /+/: 3 TQ [secondary constituent: 4 cartoons]

The US and the West smear China in Russia-Ukraine conflict (examples 10, 11). The US and the West charge China in taking Russia's side (example 12). The US is finger-pointing on the cooperation of other countries with China (example 19).

INDIA /+/: 1 TQ [secondary constituent: 1 cartoon]

India avoids sanctioning Russia (example 18).

The data show that the cartoons tend to support those TQ of the verbal text that have absolute and relative salience. Among 24 verbal TQ supported by the cartoons, 10 are absolutely salient (bold italics), and 5 are relatively salient (italics). The non-salient TQ are mostly semantically contiguous with the salient ones. Salience of particular verbal TQ is boosted through iteration of the related cartoons. In such a way, multimodality promotes the intended entrenchment of the 'core' story in the reader's mind. The 'core' story is: ***To pursue its own geopolitical interests in the search of global dominance, the US creates security troubles*** (4 cartoons). ***NATO, led by the US, moves eastward and threatens Russia*** (4 cartoons). ***The US established an unfair world order of Western supremacy*** (2 cartoons). ***The US is responsible for the war in Ukraine*** (2 cartoons). ***The US supplies Ukraine with weapons*** (2 cartoons). ***The US benefits from Russia-Ukraine conflict*** (2 cartoons). ***The US smears China in Russia-Ukraine conflict*** (2 cartoons).

Integrated into an individual verbal text, the cartoon interacts with it in a specific way. This interaction is the issue of our further consideration.

5.3. The narrative-based concept RUSSIA-UKRAINE WAR:
interaction of visual and verbal modes in individual texts

In each individual media article, the visual content interacts with the verbal content via accentuation (making an emphasis on the verbally defined entity), elaboration (adding a new property to the verbally defined entity), extension (adding a contiguous congruent entity to that which is verbally defined), questioning (adding a contiguous incongruent entity to that which is verbally defined), and combining (adding a noncontiguous entity to that which is verbally defined). The ways of interaction between 27 cartoons and the respective verbal texts is represented below. In the illustrations, the verbal TQ, which retains indication of its salience throughout the data, also has the notation pointing to the quantity of TQ's descriptions in the considered text.

(1) ***To pursue its own geopolitical interests in the search of global dominance, the US creates security troubles*** [2/-/]. → <u>Elaboration</u> (military security troubles). <u>Cartoon: metaphor</u>. A person (the US) who is sitting on the throne which is made of missils (= MILITARY CONFLICTS), and which is on top of the globe (the WORLD). (GT, 2022, April 1)	Illustration: Liu Rui/GT
(2) ***To pursue its own geopolitical interests in the search of global dominance, the US creates security troubles*** [5/-/]. The US's aspirations to global dominance pose a threat to the world [2/-/]. → <u>Elaboration</u> (the threat is cold war, zero sum, and ideological bias). <u>Cartoon: metaphor</u>. A person (the US) who is planning to erect a building (the WORLD) made of bricks (COLD WAR, ZERO SUM, IDEOLOGICAL BIAS). (GT, 2022, April 30)	Illustration: Liu Rui/GT
(3) ***To pursue its own geopolitical interests in the search of global dominance, the US creates security troubles*** [2/-/]. → <u>Extension</u> (security troubles created via manipulations). <u>Cartoon: metaphor.</u> A puppeteer (the US) who manipulates the puppets (EUROPEAN COUNTRIES). (GT, 2022, March 13b)	Illustration: Liu Rui/GT
(4) ***To pursue its own geopolitical interests in the search of global dominance, the US creates security troubles*** [2/-/]. *The US supported Nazis in WWII, and support Ukrainian Nazis now* [5/-/]. "US works with Nazis to exploit Europe both in WWII and at present." → <u>Extension</u> (security troubles caused by manipulations). <u>Cartoon: metaphor</u>. A puppeteer (the US) who manipulates the puppets (EUROPEAN COUNTRIES). (GT, 2022, April 30)	Illustration: Liu Rui/GT

(5) ***To pursue its own geopolitical interests in the search of global dominance, the US creates security troubles*** [2/-/]. → <u>Extension</u> (security trouble created via NATO expansion). Cartoon: metaphor**.** A person (the US) who throws a lighter (NATO EXPANSION) to the powder kegs (RUSSIA-UKRAINE CONFLICT). (GT, 2022, March 5)	Illustration: Liu Rui/GT
(6) The US benefits from the expansion of NATO [2/-/]. → <u>Elaboration</u> (the US rules NATO). Cartoon: metaphor. A person (the US) who marks his gains (NATO COUNTRIES) on the globe with the flags stuck in his pocket (PLACE OF NATO). (GT, 2022, May 18)	Illustration: Liu Rui/GT
(7) ***NATO, led by the US, moves eastward and threatens Russia*** [6/-/]. *Russia seeks security* [2/+/]. → <u>Elaboration</u> (NATO led by the US is an intruder). Cartoon: metaphor. A person (NATO) who intends to intrude into the foreign territory (RUSSIA). (GT, 2022, March 10)	Illustration: Liu Rui/GT
(8) ***NATO, led by the US, moves eastward and threatens Russia*** [1/-/]. NATO and the US ignore Russia's need in security [3 /-/]. → <u>Elaboration</u> (the threat is fraught with danger). Cartoon: metaphor. A person (the US) who throws a lighter (NATO EXPANSION) to the powder kegs (RUSSIA-UKRAINE CONFLICT). (GT, 2022, March 22b)	Illustration: Liu Rui/GT
(9) ***The US is responsible for the war in Ukraine*** [7/-/]. → <u>Extension</u> (responsible because of NATO expansion). Cartoon: metaphor. A person (the US) who throws a lighter (NATO EXPANSION) to the powder kegs (RUSSIA-UKRAINE CONFLICT). (GT, 2022, March 1)	Illustration: Liu Rui/GT

(10) ***The US is responsible for the war in Ukraine*** [8/-/]. ***The US aggravates the crisis in Ukrain**e* [1/-/]. ***The US smears China in Russia-Ukraine conflict*** [7/-/]. → Accentuation (responsible, aggravates, smears). Cartoon: metaphor**.** A person (the US) who adds fuel to the fire (RUSSIA-UKRAINE WAR), inviting the other (CHINA) to help put it out. (GT, 2022, March 4b)	Illustration: Liu Rui/GT
(11) ***The US smears China in Russia-Ukraine conflict*** [10 /-/]. → Accentuation (smears). Cartoon: metaphor. A person (the US) who is shooting dirty arrows (ACCUSATIONS) at the target (CHINA). (GT, 2022, March 17)	Illustration: Liu Rui/GT
(12) The US and the West charge China in taking Russia's side [2 /-/]. → Elaboration (the US and the West are failures). Cartoon: metaphor. The captain (the US) of a crew (the WESTERN LEADERS) in a leking boat (the WEST) who is shooting at the one (CHINA) standing by his friend (RUSSIA). (GT, 2022, March 22a)	Illustration: Chen Xia/GT
(13) ***The US supplies Ukraine with weapons*** [1/-/]. → Extension (supplies weapons and, at the same time, speaks of the conflict's diplomatic solution). Cartoon: metaphor. A person (the US) who is a warmonger pretending to be a peacemaker. (GT, 2022, March 3)	Illustration: Liu Rui/GT
(14) ***The US supplies Ukraine with weapons*** [2/0/; 3/-/]. ***The US aggravate the crisis in Ukraine*** [5/-/]. → Accentuation (supplies with weapons, aggravates the crisis). Cartoon: metaphor. A person (the US) who supplies firewood (WEAPONS) to fan flames that heat a boiling cauldron (UKRAINE CRISIS.) (GT, 2022, April 20a)	Illustration: Liu Rui/GT

(15) ***The US benefits from Russia-Ukraine conflict*** [2/-/]. "… it [the US] could profit from war for the American military-industrial complex". → Elaboration (monetary profit). Cartoon: metaphor. A person (the US / ITS MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX) who uses a meat grinder (the WAR IN UKRAINE) to make mincemeat (MONEY). (GT, 2022, March 20)	Illustration: Liu Rui/GT
(16) ***The US benefits from Russia-Ukraine conflict*** [1 /-/] "making a fortune from war". → Elaboration (the profit of military-industrial complex) Cartoon: metaphor. A person (the US / ITS MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX) who uses a meat grinder (the WAR IN UKRAINE) to make mincemeat (MONEY). (GT,2022, March 24)	Illustration: Liu Rui/GT
(17) The US may turn other regions into tinderboxes [4/-/]. → Extension (the war in Ukraine organized by the US causes drastic consequences for Europe as the US's ally). Cartoon: metaphor. A person (the US) who is sticking knives (MISFORTUNES) into the back of his ally (EUROPE) in Ukraine crisis. (GT, 2022, May 13)	Illustration: Liu Rui/GT
(18) India avoids sanctioning Russia [2/0/]. The US strives to involve India into military cooperation [3/0/; 2/-/]. *The US manipulates other countries to pursue its own geopolitical interests* [6/-/] → Accentuation (pooling into sanctions). Cartoon: metaphor. A person (the US) who tries to forcefully draw the one (INDIA) onto his own territory (SANCTIONS). (GT, 2022, March 13a)	Illustration: Chen Xia/GT
(19) ***The US has established an unfair world order of Western supremacy*** [4/-/]. The US is finger-pointing on the cooperation of other countries with China [2/-/] → Accentuation (supremacy, finger-pointing). Cartoon: metaphor. A person (the US) who is sitting on top of the bridge (GLOBAL COOPERATION) and warning others (LATIN AMERICA) against China. (GT, 2022, May 9)	Illustration: Xia Qing/GT

(20) ***The world order of Western supremacy challenges global peaceful development and loses trust*** [5/-/]. → Elaboration (supremacy tries to silence others). Cartoon: metaphor. A person (the US) uses a loudspeaker (WESTERN NARRATIVE) not to let others (NON-WESTERN WORLD) speak. (GT, 2022, May 4)	Illustration: Liu Rui/GT
(21) The West unfairly blames Russia in 'colonization' of Africa [3 /-/]. → Accentuation (unfair blaming). Cartoon: metonymy. A NATO representative standing for the WEST. (GT, 2022, March 28)	Illustration: Chen Xia/GT
(22) ***The West's white supremacy is fully exposed in accepting Ukraine refugees*** [13/-/]. → Accentuation (racial discrimination). Cartoon: metonymy. Putting a barrier at the border stands for DISCRIMINATION. (GT, 2022, April 7)	Illustration: Chen Xia/GT
(23) The West's white supremacy exhibits its decline and isolation incompatible with the role of a world leader [5/-/]. → Accentuation (decline of supremacy) + combining (Napoleon's rule, Columbus's conquering American Indians). Cartoon: metaphor. A person (the US) who is the captan of a leaking boat (the WEST'S WHITE SUPREMACY) moving ahead to conqure aborigins. (GT, 2022, March 4a)	Illustration: Liu Rui/GT
(24) ***The US established an unfair world order of Western supremacy*** [11/-/]. *By launching military operations against Ukraine, Russia wants to overthrow the post-Cold War unipolar world order dominated by US hegemony* [13 /+/]. → Elaboration (failing supremacy). Cartoon: metaphor. A person (the US) who sees himself as No 1 world leader has a patched burning suit (WESTERN SUPREMACY). (GT, 2022, May 15)	Illustration: Liu Rui/GT

(25) *For Europe, the Russia-Ukraine conflict is the foremost security threat* [1/-/]. *The Russia-Ukraine conflict causes contradictions and divisions within Europe* [3/0/; 1/+/; 7/-/]. → <u>Accentuation</u> (threat, divisions). Cartoon: metaphor. An object (EUROPE) which is hit by a hammer (RUSSIA-UKRAINE CONFLICT). (GT, 2022, April 17)	Illustration: Chen Xian/GT
(26) Europe is divided into two civilizations [2/0/]. Europe wants to expand and reinforce its identity and civilization [5/0/]. "We should not see the Russia-Ukraine conflict as a manifestation of the decline of European civilization". → <u>Questioning</u> (no decline vs. decline). Cartoon: metaphor. A lopsided object (EUROPE) which has shaky supports (IDENITY AND CIVILIZATION). (GT, 2022, April 20b)	Illustration: Chen Xia/GT
(27) France may leave NATO because of Russia-Ukraine conflict [5: 5 /+/]. → <u>Elaboration</u> (hesitation as to staying in NATO). Cartoon: metaphor. A person (FRANCE) contemplating on the NATO symbol. (GT, 2022, March 7)	Illustration: Chen Xia/GT

Overall, we can see that in the analyzed data the cartoons tend to add a new detail to the entity described in the verbal text (*elaboration* exposed in 11 articles) or to emphasise such entity (*accentuation* exposed in 8 articles). The cases when the cartoon adds a new contiguous entity congruent with that described in the verbal text (*extension* exposed in 6 articles) are lest frequent. The least frequent, represented by single occurences, are the instances of incongruence, or contradistion, demonstrated by contiguous entities (*questioning* exposed in 1 article) and convergence of noncontiguous entities (*combining* exposed in 1 article).

In example (26), demonstrating questioning, the metaphorical cartoon portrays a lopsided plate (presumably a road sign) named 'Europe'. The plate has shaky supports pointing to serious troubles experienced by Europe. Meanwhile, the verbal text hardly describes such troubles directly. Here, the description "*We should not see the Russia-Ukraine conflict as a manifestation of the decline of European civilization*" contradicts the cartoon. The verbal text proper includes such TQ: 'Europe is divided into two civilizations – democratic and non-democratic' [2/0/], 'Europe returns to its old aggressive conservatism' [6/0/; 2/-/], 'Europe redraws its ideological boundaries with Russia' [3/0/], 'Europe defends its own civilization from Russia' [6/0/], 'Europe wants to expand and reinforce its identity and civilization' [5/0/], and 'Europe strives to recreate the world of the other' [4/0; 2/-/].

Neither of these TQ, which are mostly neutral, directly agrees with the negatively loaded cartoon. The latter alludes that 'though it doesn't look like a decline, it is actually a decline'.

In example (23), illustrating accentuation and combining, the cartoon features a leaking boat (the West's white supremacy) with a crew (the Western leaders) whose captain (the US) on deck wears a hat like that of Napoleon, and is looking through binoculars (like Columbus) in search of aboriginal lands (NON-WESTERN COUNTRIES). The cartoon obviously links to the verbal TQ 'The West's white supremacy exhibits its decline and isolation incompatible with the role of a world leader'. Here, the cartoon accentuates the idea of decline (= leaking boat) and combines the fact 'the US leads the West's white supremacy' with the precedential facts 'Napoleon is a famous leader who waged wars', and 'Columbus is the conqueror of American Indians'.

Presumably, the narrator's preference for cartoons that accentuate, elaborate and extend information rendered by the verbal text is explained by their 'readability', or meaning transparence, as compared with the cartoons that question the verbal content or combine it with the events deemed similar. The last two types of visual–verbal interaction require more sophistication, which, as it seems, *the Global Times* does not expect from its readers.

6. Concluding discussion

The results of our study are consonant with the conclusions of political analysts who say that Chinese mainstream media echo the Russian narrative on the Russian-Ukraine war, avoides any blame of Moscow for the invasion, and portrays sympathy for Russia's perspective. Specifically,

> *Beijing has struggled to maintain a façade of neutrality despite refusing to support or condemn its ally's invasion of Ukraine and has repeatedly blamed the United States and NATO's 'eastward expansion' for worsening tensions* (Lewis, 2022).

> *The Chinese media has peddled the dual narrative of vilifying the West and glorifying China's supposed mediatory role in the crisis, even as the war continues to rage in Ukraine."* *The coverage of the crisis by Chinese media has been less about Ukraine and Russia and more about China and the West* (Banerjee, 2022).

> *One big point of convergence between China and Russia is the framing of the war as the responsibility of NATO or the West. We see how Russia itself explains this war as being pushed by NATO ...which overmilitarized the region at the border. Chinese state media has taken up a similar threat in different wordings* (Chan, 2022).

The 'wordings' of the Chinese state media were in focus of our research. The analyzed articles, published in *the Global Times*, a Chinese popular outlet used as a 'voice' of Chinese government's propaganda, depict the Russia-Ukraine war without any reference to the horrific humanitarian and material damage incurred by Russia to Ukraine on the false pretext of 'fighting with Nazism'. The newspaper does not portray war crimes committed by Russia. Instead, it depicts the 'crime' of the West which, 'striving for the world hegemony', has 'unleashed the war' and 'escalates it' through supplying Ukraine with weapons. The main message of the GT addressed to the reader and intended for entrenchment in the public mentality is: **To pursue its own geopolitical interests in the search of global dominance, the US and the West create security troubles. NATO, led by the US, moves eastward and threatens Russia. The US has established an unfair world order of Western supremacy. The US is responsible for the war in Ukraine. The US and the West supply Ukraine with weapons. The US benefits from Russia-Ukraine conflict. The US and the West smears China in Russia-Ukraine conflict.** Produced by a governmental media resource, and "aimed at shaping the behaviour of domestic and international actors" (Miskimmon et al., 2013, p. 20), this message can be defined as strategic. And

it turns out to be such, considering the reaction of Chinese social media echoing the government's propaganda (Young, 2022). The GB's strategic message about the RUSSIA-UKRAINE war is to be possessed by the readers not because of persuasive argumentation supplied with evidence (which is not even hinted at), but because of multiple iterations of this message in the verbal and visual 'texts' co-deployed in the GB's articles. Supplied with political cartoons, they form a multimodal political media narrative rendering thematically homogeneous information through verbal and visual codes.

The contemporary studies of multimodal political media narratives, being interdisciplinary, have implications for a number of scholarly domains. Linguistically, they contribute to understanding how different codes co-work to make up the narrative's meaning. Psychologically, the studies of multimodal political narratives employed by media are important for understanding what makes such narratives an efficient tool for manipulating public opinion. Politically, understanding the nature of multimodal narratives is beneficial for PR, propaganda and counter-propaganda. At present, Ukraine has an obvious necessity to develop efficient counter-narratives capable of discarding Russian anti-Ukrainian destructive narratives disseminated worldwide. This task requires understanding the destructive narrative's 'anatomy'.

Our linguistically oriented research proposes methodological instruments to 'dissect' the multimodal political narrative rendered by media texts. We argue that the analysis of such narrative should consider its semiotic and cognitive aspects. The semiotic aspect concerns the types of modes and their interaction – paratactic (coordinate) or hypotactic (subordinate). The cognitive aspect, which is the innovative highlight of this study, embraces (a) definition of a narrative-based political concept as a bounded scope of information rendered by thematically homogeneous multimodal texts; (b) building cognitive ontologies for the information featured by each mode; (c) examination of the ways in which these ontologies interplay. Application of the methodological instruments was demonstrated with the analysis of articles on Russia-Ukraine war published by *the Global Times.* The analysis allowed us to make a number of conclusions as to how the visual 'text' of political cartoons interacts with the verbal text, and how the narrative is made to mold the intended meaning and entrench it in the public mentality. In the newspaper, the fulfilment of this task is facilitated by the visual 'text', which, along with political cartoons, includes photographs. Exposure of their role in the GB's multimodal narrative on the Russia-Ukraine war is the objective of our further study that will employ and specify the methodological apparatus suggested in this paper.

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УКРАЇНА І ЗАХІД У ПРОРОСІЙСЬКИХ ЗМІ КИТАЮ: МЕТОДОЛОГІЯ АНАЛІЗУ МУЛЬТИМОДАЛЬНОГО ПОЛІТИЧНОГО НАРАТИВУ

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Анотація

У роботі представлено дослідницький проєкт, здійснюваний на перетині політичної, мультимодальної та когнітивної лінгвістики. У фокусі дослідження перебуває російсько-українська війна, представлена в березні–травні 2022 року в англомовному виданні китайського таблоїду *the Global Times*, одному з 'голосів' китайської державної пропаганди, орієнтованої на розповсюдження проросійських наративів. Аналізовані медійні статті містять політичні карикатури і можуть, тим самим, бути визначені як мультимодальні тексти. Сукупно, вони конструюють наратив, або 'історію', адресовану міжнародним читачам і спрямовану на формування в них світогляду, сприятливого для Росії. Вивчення нами цього наративу має на меті реконструювання портретованого ним ментального образу і виявлення взаємодії між його вербальною і візуальною іпостасями у спосіб, який сприяє укоріненню повідомлення у свідомості читача. Для виконання цього завдання ми пропонуємо лінгвокогнітивну методологію, алгоритмічне застосування якої уможливлює побудову когнітивних онтологій, які структурують інформацію, трансльовану вербальними і візуальними засобами. Складники кожної онтології мають фактуальну і емотивну промінантність, залежну від кількості відповідних емпірично наданих текстових дескрипцій. Ми показуємо, як перетин онтологій підсилює промінантність ключового емотивно конотованого повідомлення, адресованого громаді. У дослідженні взаємодія вербальної і візуальної модальностей в конкретних текстах характеризується в термінах акцентуації, нарощування, поширення, зштовхування і комбінування, що розглядаються як універсальні способи розгортання інформації, які виходять за межі метафоричної царини, де вони були вперше визначені Дж. Лакоффом і М. Тернером (1989).

Ключові слова: політичний наратив, медійний текст, мультимодальність, вербальний і візуальний модуси, політична карикатура, дослідницька методологія, лінгвокогнітивний підхід, пропаганда, проросійські ЗМІ Китаю, російсько-українська війна.

GUIDELINES FOR CONTRIBUTORS 2020

General information

"Cognition, communication, discourse" (CCD) is an on-line open-access journal in Linguistics and languages, Literature, and Philology (UDC Subjects 80, 81, 82). Both its editorial team and the choice of authors are international.

Aims and scope. CCD focuses on language as an instrument for construing meaning, exchanging information and a form of social practice. It focuses on high-quality doctoral and post-doctoral research in cognitive linguistics, linguistic pragmatics, including cognitive pragmatics, corpus linguistics, and discourse analysis and on interdisciplinary approaches in neighboring research areas such as semantics, conversation analysis, ethnomethodology, sociolinguistics, and psycholinguistics.

Our aim is to publish innovative content, which contributes to cognitive and communicative linguistic theories drawing attested data from a wide range of languages and cultures in synchronic and diachronic perspectives. Alongside full-length articles, the journal welcomes discussion notes and book reviews on topics which are at the cutting-edge of research.

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The journal is aimed at linguists, teachers, graduate and post-graduate students who are doing their researches in Philology and conjoint spheres.

Article formats: Research article, Book review.

Language of publication: English, multiple. Summaries in English and Ukrainian.

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sent to the editor-in-chief (iryna.shevchenko@karazin.ua), executive secretary (alevtyna.kalyuzhna@karazin.ua) and technical editor (mykhailo.kotov@karazin.ua).

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Text format

All materials should be Times New Roman, 12, font 1; indentation 1,0 cm, margins: left – 2 cm., right – 2 cm., top & bottom – 2.5 cm. The first lines in all sections are not indented.

Manuscripts may be submitted as email attachments in Microsoft Word 97-2003/2010 (author's name.doc/docx) if they do not contain unusual fonts. If special symbols are used their fonts should be sent separately.

Contributions should be in English, may include multilanguage examples. Spelling should be either British or American English consistently throughout the paper. If not written by a native speaker of English it is advisable to have the paper checked by a native speaker.

Papers should be reasonably divided into numbered sections and, if necessary, sub-sections.

The title is preceded by the universal decimal classification (UDC) bibliographic code. Example:

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TITLE (TIMES NEW ROMAN, 12, BOLD, CAPITAL LETTERS, CENTERED)
First Author Name and Surname (Times New Roman, 12, Bold)
(Affiliation, City, Country)
Next Author Name and Surname (Times New Roman, 12, Bold)
(Affiliation, City, Country)

Abstract: (in English, Ukrainian, Russian, Times New Roman, 11)
Author's name surname. Title of the article (bald). An abstract is a brief, comprehensive summary of the contents of the article; it allows readers to survey the contents of an article quickly. The abstract should normally be a single paragraph *between **200 and 250 words*** (minimum 1800 signs, key words included). A good abstract is accurate, nonevaluative, coherent and readable, clear and concise. It uses verbs rather than their noun equivalents and the active rather than the passive voice; uses the present tense to describe conclusions drawn or results with continuing applicability; uses the past tense to describe specific variables manipulated or outcomes measured. An abstract for *a theory-oriented paper* should describe: how the theory or model works and/or the principles on which it is based; what phenomena the theory or model accounts for;

and its linkages to empirical results. An abstract for a *methodological paper* should comprise the general class of methods being discussed; the essential features of the proposed method; and the range of application of the proposed method. Given the small amount of words allowed, each word and sentence included in your abstract needs to be meaningful. In addition, all the information contained in the abstract must be discussed in the main body of the paper.

Keywords: List five to ten pertinent keywords specific to the article; use singular nouns.

1. Introduction

The body of a manuscript opens with an introduction that presents the specific problem under study and describes the research strategy. The structure of the introduction should necessarily comprise the author's aims / tasks / objectives, the subject-matter and the material of the study.

Exploring the importance of the problem the article should state how it is related to previous work in the area. If other aspects of this study have been reported previously, how does this report differ from, and build on, the earlier report?

Describe relevant related literature. This section should review studies to establish the general area, and then move towards studies that more specifically define or are more specifically related to the research you are conducting. Your literature review must not be a series of quotations strung together; instead it needs to provide a critical analysis of previous work.

State hypotheses and objectives, their correspondence to research. The statement of the hypothesis should logically follow on from your literature review and you may want to make an explicit link between the variables you are manipulating or measuring in your study and previous research. The present tense is used to state your hypotheses and objectives.

Sections and subsections of the paper. Divide your article into clearly defined sections. Any labeled sections / subsection should be numbered (i.e., 2. or 2.1, 2.2 if necessary) and given a brief heading marked in bold (Times New Roman, 12 without full stops at the end). Each heading should appear on its own separate line.

A good paragraph should contain at least the following four elements: transition, topic sentence, specific evidence and analysis, and a brief concluding sentence. A transition sentence acts as a transition from one idea to the next. A topic sentence tells the reader what you will be discussing in the paragraph. Specific evidence and analysis support your claims that provide a deeper level of detail than your topic sentence. A concluding sentence tells the reader how and why this information supports the paper's thesis.

2. Method

The Method section describes in detail how the study was conducted, including conceptual and operational definitions of the variables used in the study. It also permits experienced investigators to replicate the study.

The method section should be written in paragraph form with as little repetition as possible. This section will often be broken down into subsections such as participants, materials and procedure. The subsections you use will depend on what is useful to help describe and explain your experiment.

In the method section of the paper you should use the past tense since you are describing what you did; for example, e.g. *An experiment was performed…, The participants were instructed to ... .*

3. Results

This section describes but does not explain your results; it provides the reader with a factual account of your findings. You can, however, draw attention to specific trends or data that you think are important. Your aim in your Results section is to make your results as comprehensible as possible for your readers.

If you are presenting statistical results, place descriptive statistics first (means and standard deviations) followed by the results of any inferential statistical tests you performed. Indicate any

transformations to the data you are reporting; for example, you may report percentage correct scores rather than straight scores. Raw data and lengthy whole transcripts of qualitative data should be put in the appendices, only excerpts (descriptive statistics or illustrative highlights of lengthy qualitative data) should be included in the results section.

In the results section you will need to use both the past tense and the present tense. The past tense is used to describe results and analyses; for example, *The knowledge scores were analyzed ..., The results indicated ... .*

The present tense is used with results that the reader can see such tables and figures; for example, *The data of growth rate in Table 3 illustrates how ... .*

Authors should refer in the text to all tables and figures used and explain what the readers should look for when using the table or figure. Focus only on the important point the readers should draw from them, and leave the details for the readers to examine on their own. Each table and figure must be intelligible without reference to the text, so be sure to include an explanation of every abbreviation (except the standard statistical symbols and abbreviations).

Give titles to all tables and figures, number all tables sequentially as you refer to them in the text (Table 1, Table 2, etc.), likewise for figures (Figure 1, Figure 2, etc.).

4. Discussion

If necessary an article may have more sections and subsections.

All examples are italicized. One word or word-combination examples are given within the body of a paragraph.

Sentence or textual examples, preferably numbered through the article, are given in separate paragraphs in italics (their source is given straight) with indentation 1,0 cm for the whole paragraph and separated from the previous / following text by one blank line. Example:

(1)   *"I'm Prendergast," said the newcomer. "Have some port?"*
     "Thank you, I'd love to." (Waugh, 1980, p. 46)

5. Conclusions

This section simply states what the researcher thinks the data mean, and, as such, should relate directly back to the problem/question stated in the introduction. By looking at only the Introduction and Conclusions sections, a reader should have a good idea of what the researcher has investigated and discovered even though the specific details of how the work was done would not be known. After moving from general to specific information in the introduction and body paragraphs, your conclusion should restate the main points of your argument.

Conclusions should finish up with an overview of future possible research.

Acknowledgments (not obligatory and not numbered paragraph). Identify grants or other financial support (and the source, if appropriate) for your study. Next, acknowledge colleagues who assisted in conducting the study or critiquing the manuscript. End this paragraph with thanks for personal assistance, such as in manuscript preparation.

Footnotes should be avoided. Any essential **notes** should be numbered consecutively in the text and grouped together at the end of the paper.

In-text citations. The journal uses APA-6 format (APA style). If you are directly quoting from a work and the author is not named in a signal phrase, you will need to include the author, year of publication, and the page number for the reference: (Pocheptsov, 1976, p. 15; Leech, 1985, pp. 373-4).

If the quotation includes the author's last name, it is simply followed by the date of publication in parentheses; if no last name is mentioned in the text it is given in parentheses. For example: According to Jones (2005), "Students often had difficulty using Gerunds and Infinitives, especially when it was their first time" (p. 156). Or "Students often had difficulty…" (Jones, 2005, p. 156).

If you cite a work of two to five authors (use '&' within parentheses; use 'and' outside parentheses):

a) Becker and Seligman's (1996) findings contradicted this result. This result was later contradicted (Becker & Seligman, 1996). Mind no comma before & in citing two authors!

(b) Medvec, Madey, and Gilovich (1995) examined a group of Olympic medalists. Or medalists were examined in (Medvec, Madey, & Gilovich, 1995) (Mind a comma before & in citing three to five authors in parenthesis!) A subsequent citation would appear as (Medvec et al., 1995).

In case of six or more authors, cite only the last name of the first author, followed by "et al." and the year of publication: Barakat et al. (1995) attempted to …

APA-6	In-Text and Parenthetical Citation Examples
Quote with author's name in text	Smith (2019) states that, "..." (p. 112).
Quote with author's name in reference	This is quoted as, "…" (Smith, 2019, pp. 112-4).
Paraphrasing with author's name in text	Smith (2019) stated these facts, too.
Paraphrasing author's name in reference	This fact has been stated (Smith, 2019).
No author – give title of work abbreviated to first major word	This book is true (*Long,* 2019).
Italics for books & journals, "quotation marks" for articles & web pages	This article is true ("Long," 2019).
Citing entire website – put URL	This has evidence (www.pubmed.gov).
Quote from website – use paragraph number	According to, "…" (Smith, 2019, para. 4).
More than one author with same last name	P. L. Smith (2018) and J. M. Smith (2019)
Source has more than one author in text	Smith and Lee agree that (2019)
Source has more than one author in reference	This is agreed upon (Smith & Long, 2019).
Citing more than one work	We all agree (Smith, 2019; Lee, 2018).
Citing more than one work by same author published in the same year	We all agree (Smith, 2019a, 2019b, 2019c) Smith (2019a) believes ..... It has been reported ... (Smith, 2019c)

The quotations longer than three lines should constitute a separate block, indented 1.0 cm paragraph(s), single spaced, font 12 pts, italics, with no quotation marks, e.g., Kövecses (2018, p. 133) writes:

In sum, the intratextual use of conceptual metaphor does not necessarily produce metaphorically homogenous discourse. In most cases, a variety of different conceptual metaphors is used in particular media and other texts…………………………………………

For such quotations their author may be cited in a parenthesis below, not italicized, e.g.:

In sum, the intratextual use of conceptual metaphor does not necessarily produce metaphorically homogenous discourse. In most cases, a variety of different conceptual metaphors is used in particular media and other texts. This is a natural phenomenon, given the nature of conceptual metaphors as based on the general structure of concepts (i.e., that the concepts have various aspects and we use the conceptual metaphors to comprehend those aspects). (Kövecses, 2018, p. 133)

Quotation marks. Single quotation marks should be used for the translation of non-English words, e.g., *cogito* 'I think'.
Double quotation marks should be used in all other cases, i.e., direct quotations in running text. Please always use rounded quotation marks (". . .") not "straight" ones.

Dashes. Spaced EM dashes (long English dashes) are used as parenthetical dashes ("text — text"). Please do not use double hyphens (--).

Unspaced EN dashes (a short dash corresponding to the Ukrainian dash) should be used between inclusive numbers to show a range), e.g., 153-159, 1975-1979.

A long dash (EM dash, —) without spaces on the left or right in English texts might set off a phrase at the end of a sentence—like this one. Or, EM dashes may set off a phrase midsentence—a technique that really draws a reader's attention—as they do in this sentence.

Italics should be used for:
- Words, phrases, and sentences treated as linguistic examples
- Foreign-language expressions
- Titles of books, published documents, newspapers, and journals
- Drawing attention to key terms in a discussion at first mention only. Thereafter, these terms should be set straight.
- Emphasizing a word or phrase in a quotation indicating [emphasis mine]

Bold or underlining may be used sparingly to draw attention to a particular linguistic feature within numbered examples (not in the running text).

Please keep the use of italics and boldface type to an absolute minimum. CAPITAL LETTERS and SMALL CAPS should not be used for emphasis.

Punctuation. Please use a serial comma (an Oxford comma or a Harvard comma) placed immediately before the coordinating conjunction (and or or) in a series of three or more terms as in "France, Italy, and Spain" (with the serial comma), but "France or Spain" (two terms only).

Put a comma before 'which' to introduce attributive clauses ("Tom's book, which he spent ten years writing, is now a best seller."). Do not use a comma to introduce questions and prepositional phrases ("in which").

Abbreviations. List of Common Latin Abbreviations for APA Style

Abbreviation	Meaning	Used inside of parentheses only
cf.	"*compare*" or "*consult*" (to contrast information)	Never put a comma after "…in (cf. Zeller & Williams, 2007)".
e.g.,	"for example," (*exempli gratia*)	Always put a comma after: "Some studies (e.g., Macmillan, 2009)…"
etc.	"*and so on*" / "*and so forth*"	Put a comma before if used to end a list of at least two other items: " (chemistry, math, etc.). In other cases do not use a comma "(biology etc)".
i.e.,	"that is," (*id est*; specific clarification)	Always put a comma after: "(i.e., first, second, or third)"
vs.	"*versus*"	Put a full stop after: "(low vs. high)", do not italicize.
ibid.	"*ibidem*" for citations	Not used in APA to refer again to the last source previously referenced. Instead give each citation using author names as usual.

References (Times New Roman 12, bald, caps, not numbered)

A reference list (usually about 30 authors, preferably of the last decade) must comprise all the references cited in the text of your paper, listed in alphabetical order at the end of the paper and not numbered. Each reference in the reference list needs to contain all of the bibliographic information from its source (citation style APA-6). In each new item, its first line is aligned right, other lines (if any) are indented 1,0 cm. Please make your URL and DOI active.

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Books (authored work) & e-books:

Langacker, R.W. (2008). *Cognitive grammar: A basic introduction*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Chandler, D. (1998). Semiotics for beginners. Retrieved September, 1, 2018, from http://www.users.aber.ac.uk/dgc/Documents/S4B or doi: 10xxxx

Book chapter:

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Journal articles:

Gibbs, J. P. (1989). Conceptualization of terrorism. *American Sociological Review, 54*(3), 329-340. doi: 10xx.xxxxx or Retrieved month, day, year, from journal URL…….

On-line newspaper article:

Brody, J. F. (2007, December 11). Mental reserves keep brain agile. *The New York Times.* Retrieved from http://www.nytimes.com

Several volumes in a multivolume work:

Koch, S. (Ed.). (1959-1963). *Psychology: A study of science* (Vols. 1–6). New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.

Reference book:

VandenBos, G. H. (Ed.). (2007). *APA dictionary of psychology.* Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

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Wilson, S., Spies-Butcher, B., & Stebbing, A. (2009). Targets and taxes: Explaining the welfare orientations of the Australian public. *Social Policy & Administration, 43*, 508-525. https://doi.org/10.1037/arc0000014

Fennimore, D. L. (1981). American neoclassical furniture and its European antecedents. *American Art Journal, 13*(4), 49-65. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org

Webpage, with author but no date:

Flesch, R. (n.d.). *How to write plain English*. Retrieved October 3, 2017, from http://www.mang.canterbury.ac.nz/writing_guide/writing/flesch.shtml

Webpage with corporate author (an organisation or group):

New Zealand Government. (2008). *Digital strategy*. Retrieved April 12, 2009, from http://www.digitalstrategy.govt.nz/

Dissertation. Print/Hardcopy format

Knight, A. (2001). *Exercise and osteoarthritis of the knee* (Unpublished master's dissertation). Auckland University of Technology, Auckland, New Zealand.

Thesis or dissertation, online from an institutional repository or a website

Thomas, R. (2009). *The making of a journalist* (Doctoral thesis, Auckland University of Technology, Auckland, New Zealand). Retrieved from http://hdl.handle.net/10292/466

Conference paper in regularly published proceedings, retrieved online:

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