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*University of*  
**HUDDERSFIELD**

**A Multimodal Textual Analysis of Non-literary Texts: A Critical Stylistic Approach**

**Shatha Khuzaee**

**A thesis submitted to the Department of Linguistics and Modern Languages  
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for  
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

**June 2019**

**The University of Huddersfield**

To

The spirit of my father,

My loving mother

And

My priceless family

## Abstract

This thesis proposes a version of the Critical Stylistics model that accounts for meaning-making in multimodal online news articles, as non-literary texts, each composed of a linguistic text and still images. A framework integrating Critical Stylistics and Visual Grammar models suggests three multimodal textual conceptual functions developed from Jeffries (2010a): **Naming and Describing**; **Representing Events/Actions/States**; and **Prioritising** which are tested to analyse the images, of the news articles, as texts. Applying Jeffries' (2014) concept of textual meaning, the analysis shows that the linguistic text and images are two independent texts contributing differently but collaboratively to the meanings made and projected in the multimodal texts.

The findings of the search for patterns in the data are that:

1. Images reinforce meanings made by the linguistic text
2. Images extend meanings made by the linguistic text
3. Images add/suppress meanings made by the linguistic text

I argue that a critical stylistic approach is applicable to images, but it needs an equivalent visual model to propose a toolkit that can analyse meaning-making in non-literary multimodal texts. I adopt Jeffries'(2010a) critical stylistic approach and adapt it for images, making use of Kress and van Leeuwen's (2006) model of visual grammar and drawing on their notion that images are texts to create a model for the analysis of multimodal news texts. The model can show how the linguistic text and the accompanying images, while using resources specific to their underlying structures construct textual meanings that result in a coherent portrayal of the world of events reported. The multimodal textual conceptual functions use the notion of co-text to reduce the number of the possible interpretations an image might suggest, producing a more systematic and replicable analysis.

# **A Multimodal Textual Analysis of Non-literary Texts: A Critical Stylistic Approach**

**Shatha Khuzae**

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## **Chapter One: Introduction**

Language and images are two essential modes for making and projecting meanings in literary and non-literary texts. This study is an investigation into the ways language and images jointly make and project meaning in the BBC news online articles on the unrest in Tunisia 2011 as non-literary texts. BBC News online is selected because of its relatively impartial coverage of the events known as the 'Arab Uprising'. The theoretical framework proposed in this study integrates Jeffries' (2010a) critical stylistics approach and Kress and van Leeuwen's (2006) model of visual grammar. The proposed framework suggests a version of critical stylistics that can account for the multimodal meaning-making in online news articles as non-literary texts. In this chapter, I present a brief background of the study that introduces the research gap, which I seek to fill. I then outline the motivation for the study, research questions and aims which rationalise its contribution to knowledge. Finally, the chapter ends with presenting the structure of the thesis.

### **1.1 A brief background and the research gap**

In the past few years, different disciplines within linguistics have contributed to the study of the ways language, image, and other semiotic systems make and project meanings in texts and this endeavour is generally referred to as 'Multimodality'. Some examples include Discourse Analysis (Scollon & Scollon, 2003), Conversational Analysis (Streeck et al., 2011), and Systemic Functional Linguistics (O'Halloran & Fei, 2014). Another linguistic discipline that has started studying meaning-making within multimodality is Stylistics, e.g. Cognitive Linguistics (Forceville, 2009).

As a new branch of stylistics, multimodality research, generally referred to as Multimodal Stylistics, shows a tendency to develop methodologies "to expand the stylistic tool kit with tools geared towards handling the stylistic analysis of multimodal texts" (Nørgaard, 2014: 471). In this respect, McIntyre emphasises that as stylistics develops as a discipline, it should concern itself with multimodal texts because ignoring semiotic systems other than language would produce an impoverished and incomplete stylistic analysis (McIntyre, 2008: 309-311). To this point, Nørgaard et al. (2010: 4) state that multimodal stylistics is interested in how semiotic systems other than language make meaning in literary as well as other types of texts. McIntyre (2008: 310) adds that as stylistics extends its scope, "it would seem natural that it

should encompass more non-traditional multimodal texts” like those Kress & van Leeuwen (2006: 17) mentioned including “print or electronic media, ... newspapers, magazines, CD-ROMS...websites, ...public relations materials, advertisement...informational materials of all kinds”. Despite these encouragements, the existing multimodal stylistic studies have focused mainly on literary texts, e.g. drama performance (McIntyre, 2008), films (Zurru, 2009); hybrid texts (Luke, 2013), and novels (Nørgaard, 2014). Developing frameworks and methodologies applicable primarily to literary texts may produce an incomplete picture of how multimodality works stylistically (see section 2.1.2). My study goes some way towards addressing this gap in the research.

The focus on literary texts has been also considered an issue in the stylistic approach to the critical study of language (Jeffries, 2010a). In her evaluation of the dominant approaches to critical language study, Jeffries observes that while Simpson’s (1993) stylistic approach presents a more rigorous and replicable method than the ones found in critical linguistics and critical discourse analysis, much of the discussion “concerns ideology in literature” (2010a: 14). Therefore, Jeffries (2010a, 2014, 2016) develops the approach of Critical Stylistics to address the issue of meaning-making in different types of non-literary texts aiming at rigorous and replicable analysis. Despite the fact that Jeffries’ (2010a) model provides a defined and coherent approach to the stylistic analysis of non-literary texts, it has been so far applied to written texts only (see section 2.3.3). Consequently, additional work is needed to address the issue of studying the multimodal meaning-making in non-literary texts which has been relatively ignored in stylistics in general and multimodal and critical stylistics in particular.

Therefore, to bridge the gap of studying meaning-making of non-literary texts from multimodal and critical stylistics perspectives, this study suggests the integration of Jeffries’ (2010a) critical stylistics approach and Kress and van Leeuwen’s (2006) visual grammar to propose a model that can analyse non-literary texts multimodally. I suggest that Jeffries’ (2010a) approach provides a method that can be tested and applied to analysing multimodal meaning-making in non-literary texts but it needs an equivalent visual model. I draw on a number of integrative points between the two approaches to address issues of multimodal meaning-making in non-literary texts; suggest a coherent and defined method; and finally test

the applicability of critical stylistics as an approach to analysing multimodal meaning-making in non-literary texts. I will explain these points in the following section.

## **1.2 Motivation for the study**

One motivation for conducting this study is that while a large body of research studies the co-occurrence of language and image, there is no clear method for investigating how they jointly make and project meanings in news texts. This lack can be attributed to the various approaches attempting to analyse different types of news texts composed of text and image having a wide range of research purposes, e.g. educational (Royce, 1999), media and journalism studies (Caple, 2009). It is also because “news story structure has not yet been fully explored [as] theories into the structure of news stories are text-dominant theories” (Bednarek & Caple, 2012: 96). Moreover, multimodal analyses studying online news texts as a whole have been relatively few. This is because some existing studies develop frameworks and methodologies that are applicable to particular aspects of the news texts, e.g. online newspapers homepage design (Knox, 2009) (see section 2.1.3).

Another motivation for this study is that the multimodal analysis of texts has been considered unsystematic due to the proliferation of “infinite details” as indicated by Forceville (2007: 1236) who argues that multimodal analyses provide detailed descriptions of carefully chosen multimodal texts but rarely formulate generalisations or make predictions about multimodality. This is attributed to the way in which multimodal research links its orientation towards “micro-interaction” analyses (Bezemer & Jewitt, 2010: 194) or to issues of culture, history and society (see Machin & van Leeuwen, 2005). Furthermore, Bateman & Schmidt (2013: 3) argue that while many interesting topics may be raised in such analyses, they do little to advance our understanding of how multimodal texts make and produce meanings. The best way to address this concern, regardless of the analytical level, is to develop models and methods for multimodal analysis which attend to the principles of rigour and replication in scientific approaches to knowledge. This will enable us to create testable generalisations.

For these reasons, I decided to design a framework, building on theoretical integrative points from Jeffries’ (2010a) and Kress and van Leeuwen’s (2006) models, through which a more defined and systematic theoretical framework is proposed to account for the process of making and projecting meaning in news articles composed of a linguistic text and still image.

My first integrative point concerns proposing a more defined theoretical framework is built on Jeffries' (2014: 408) argument that "the tools of analysis we need to perform all kinds of text analysis are the same" because "texts make meanings in fundamentally the same way". Although Jeffries' (2014) argument concerns different types of written texts, I test its applicability to images by drawing on Kress and van Leeuwen's (2006) argument that images are texts because they "display regularities that can be made the subject of relatively formal description" (p. 20). They explain that the visual elements depicted in an image are combined in a coherent way that makes them read as a text in a relatively similar way to the linguistic text. This point introduces a more definite theoretical standpoint in which the text and image are considered as two independent, but collaborative texts which jointly make and project meaning. In addition, this argument gives the linguistic text and images similar analytical status, which makes the analysis more systematic in explaining how the linguistic and visual texts use resources specific to their underlying systems to make and project similar textual meanings (see sections 2.1 and 2.2).

The second integrative point concerns suggesting a more replicable multimodal analysis. To do this, I draw on Jeffries' (2014) notion of co-text in which she argues that the meaning in the text is not made because of the underlying language itself but because of the use of that language in the text (p. 409). Again, Jeffries is only interested in language, but I test the applicability of this notion to images by arguing that the co-occurrence of language and image in the same text creates a sort of context, or co-text, that regulates and relatively determines the linguistic and visual choices of meaning in both systems. This is because meaning in the multimodal text is not created because of the linguistic and visual features themselves but because of their co-occurrence and use in that text. I also suggest that the notion of co-text makes the linguistic and visual meaning choices in the text and image co-dependent on, and motivated by, each other in that the interpretation of the linguistic and visual meaning is regulated by the way it is used in the multimodal text. This view allows the analysis to limit the number of the possible interpretations an image might suggest and introduces a more systematic method to address the issue of "infinite details" (see section 4.3).

I pay special attention to these arguments and suggest three interrelated analytical tools on the basis that they embody visual features that can be made the subject of relatively formal description, analysis and interpretation along with their well-defined linguistic equivalents.

These are derived from Jeffries' (2010a) model and comprise Naming and Describing, Representing Actions/States /Events (Transitivity) and Prioritising (Salience) (see section 2.4). Having outlined the motivation for this study, I present the research questions and aims in the next section.

### **1.3 Research questions and aims**

The current study attempts to address the following questions:

1. To what extent can the Critical Stylistics approach provide a method for the analysis of multimodal meaning-making in non-literary texts?
2. Which tools from Critical Stylistics can be used to analyse the meaning that is jointly made and projected in multimodal texts?
3. How can the multimodal analysis of non-literary texts enhance our understanding of what stylistics, as a discipline is able to achieve?

I attempt to answer the questions raised above with the intention of achieving the general aim of this study, which is to create a version of the Critical Stylistics model that can account for the multimodal meaning-making in non-literary texts. To achieve this general aim, I follow a number of objectives:

1. Test the applicability of Jeffries' Critical Stylistics approach to images by integrating its arguments with those introduced by Kress and van Leeuwen's model of Visual Grammar.
2. Explore the tools from Critical Stylistics that can be used to analyse still images as texts.
3. Investigate the linguistic and visual resources that are used to jointly make and project meanings in the news texts selected for the analysis.
4. Find the patterns of meanings constructed in the linguistic text and still images.
5. Examine the implications behind such construction which interpret the way images react to the meanings created in the linguistic text.
6. Establish whether stylistics is able to provide multimodality research within stylistics with a more rigorous and replicable method to better account for the multimodal meaning-making in non-literary texts.

To achieve these objectives and answer the research questions, ten BBC online news articles are used to account for the meanings made in the text and images and decide which tools from Critical Stylistics can analyse images as texts. This in turn tests the applicability of a critical stylistics approach to images. In the first place, I consider the linguistic text and visual image as two independent texts contributing differently, but collaboratively, to meaning-making using the resources specific to their underlying systems to construct similar textual meaning. Secondly, I follow certain analytical procedures in the description, analysis and interpretation. In the description, I identify the features of the text and images within the news texts. Within the linguistic text, I carry out a detailed linguistic analysis making use of the frequencies and percentages, which I manually calculated, of each linguistic feature in relation to the whole data to determine the patterns of meaning constructed through these linguistic features and portraying the participants in the selected articles. This step is important for the analysis because it facilitates examining how patterns of meanings utilised from the detailed linguistic analysis were reflected in the accompanying images. When analysing images, I concentrate on how the image structure uses, as a text, resources of the visual system to make meanings that cohere with, extend, add or suppress, those initiated in the linguistic text. In the interpretation, I demonstrate that the linguistic and visual features are structured, in the linguistic text and image, as text, systematically to make various types of meanings that ultimately produce a coherent multimodal construction of the participants in the events reported.

Having presented the research questions and aims and how the study endeavours to address them, the next section comments on the original contribution of this study.

#### **1.4 Contribution of the study**

It is worth repeating that multimodal analyses of online news texts as a whole have been relatively few (see section 2.1.3). Therefore, studying the multimodal meaning-making of online news texts, as non-literary texts, benefits the field of multimodal news analysis generally and the multimodal and critical stylistics approach to text analysis in particular. The proposed method of using a critical stylistic approach to the multimodal analysis of non-literary texts makes a theoretical and methodological contribution with regard to three distinct points. The first point is that it broadens the understanding of what stylistics as a discipline is able to achieve, by analysing non-literary texts multimodally which have not been

studied in the multimodal and critical stylistics approaches so far. The second point is that it suggests a more defined framework that produces a more replicable and systematic multimodal analysis. The third point is that it tests the applicability of the critical stylistic approach developed by Jeffries (2010a) and uses its tools, which have so far been used in the analysis of written texts only, to multimodally analyse texts consisting of still image and linguistic text.

These theoretical and methodological contributions were also aided by the kind of the data selected and the way the study formulates its questions. In this regard, Forceville (2010: 2607) suggests that if the analyst wants to develop and refine 'tools for analysis', they should do so by systematically analysing a set of data: a) belonging to the same genre, b) communicated in the same medium, c) drawing on the same combination of modes, d) in the light of a clearly formulated research questions. Forceville's suggestion is helpful to understand in which contexts any proposed tools can produce relevant analyses and in which contexts these tools are found to be necessary. Also, Bednarek & Caple (2012: 6-7) state that "cross-disciplinary research projects that include detailed linguistic or semiotic analyses can provide rich multiperspectival results that are empirically grounded and frequently testable and replicable, and often make use of sophisticated analytic frameworks."

The data analysed in my study is located within the online news genres and they are all composed of linguistic text and still images. They are considered as relatively impartial coverage of the unrest in Tunisia in 2011 as indicated by the BBC Trust Report<sup>1</sup>. The articles that constitute the data follow strict editorial guidelines for the production of their linguistic and visual content which makes them suitable object for the present study (see chapter three). This is because the data which can answer the questions in this study and be in accordance with the proposed framework require sample texts that use linguistic text and still images that report some events with a relative level of objectivity. This is important as it helps the analytical framework, which analyses linguistic and visual features regardless of the ideological outlook implied, to focus on describing, analysing, and interpreting the way the underlying structures of the linguistic and visual systems make meaning. The data also focus on a single news event in the context of the 'Arab Uprising' during a specific period so that

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<sup>1</sup> See [http://downloads.bbc.co.uk/bbctrust/assets/files/pdf/our\\_work/arabspring\\_impartiality/arab\\_spring.pdf](http://downloads.bbc.co.uk/bbctrust/assets/files/pdf/our_work/arabspring_impartiality/arab_spring.pdf)

the variables of topic and content are controlled which makes looking at the style used a simple task.

A final note concerning the way that data supports the analysis in this study is that although in some genres, in my case the BBC online news reports (see section 3.1.3 ), most of the meaning is made through language (van Leeuwen, 2005: 131), this does not invalidate the fact that 'secondary modes' have the potential to make and produce meanings. The data should therefore be selected to represent how even modes with a secondary role do have underlying systems to make and produce meanings. Consequently, this view sets a requirement for the analytic method which must be able to describe, analyse and interpret such type of multimodal texts. This interface between data and analytical method is the place where the theoretical development and refinement may take place which I have tried to explain throughout this chapter. Having outlined the research gap, motivations, questions, aims and contribution, the next section presents the structure of the thesis.

## **1.5 Structure of the thesis**

This thesis consists of seven chapters. I present the research gap, motivation, research questions, aims, and the contribution of the study in this chapter. The theoretical and methodological frameworks are developed in chapters two and three detailing the theories that the study uses and providing a description of the data and methods of analysis. Chapters four, five, and six present the analyses performed using the proposed tools established by the methodological framework. Finally, chapter seven discusses the analytical results and conclusions with some suggestions for further research. Below, each chapter is described in detail individually.

Chapter two is review of the literature. The chapter introduces the major field of multimodality detailing its emergence and principles in order to explore its development which promotes the establishment of different approaches to multimodal analysis. In reviewing these approaches, I show the differences between their frameworks and methodologies and those adopted in this study. I then elaborate on the Visual Grammar model explaining its relevance to the present study. Following that, I present the major linguistic approaches to text analysis which have led to the development of Critical Stylistics

in order to explain why this approach is adopted rather than the other linguistic approaches. The final section in this chapter presents the theoretical framework suggested and highlights the contributions of the previous theories and methodologies which can be integrated to develop a more rigorous and replicable methodology for analysing textual meaning in multimodal texts.

Chapter three presents the data and the methodology used to analyse them. The chapter begins with a description of the data under investigation and the procedures adopted to select it followed by the methodology proposed to describe, analyse and interpret it using the three tools mentioned in section 1.2 above, i.e. naming and describing, presenting actions/events /and states (transitivity), and prioritising (salience). The chapter also discusses the problems and challenges that face the analytical process and the way in which they were resolved. The tools proposed in chapter three are the subject of the analysis in chapters four, five and six.

Chapter four presents a multimodal critical stylistic analysis of naming and describing exploring how the linguistic text and still images use resources specific to their underlying systems to name and describe the people and the events reported. The analysis shows that these different resources of meaning-making available to the linguistic and visual naming systems result in constructing either reinforced, mitigated or contradictory portrayal of participants presented by the linguistic system. The chapter also explains how the co-occurrence of the linguistic and visual features creates a sort of context, or co-text, that regulates and determines the meaning choices in both systems to produce a coherent construction of the people and events reported.

Chapter five explores how the linguistic and visual transitivity systems make and project meanings in the multimodal news text using resources available to their underlying systems. The analysis addresses a variety of points. One of these is the need for other models to interpret the meanings introduced by the transitivity choices to better understand their textual effect. Another point is the overlap between the linguistic and visual underlying structures of transitivity and prioritising which account for the way these structures contribute to interpreting similar textual meanings.

Chapter six discusses the ways the linguistic and the visual structures of the information prioritised operate to produce highlighted information in the text and image. The main concern in this chapter is to examine how prioritised information, people, events and places are reflected in the images and how the linguistic and visual structures of information priorities use different semiotic features to make and produce similar meanings.

Finally, chapter seven discusses the results of the analyses presented in the analysis chapters. The chapter summarises the ways text and image jointly make and produce meanings, with the aid of the three suggested tools that reinforce, extend, add or suppress meanings. The three proposed tools for the multimodal analysis suggested as a toolkit, can be also applied to the textual analysis of other non-literary texts. The chapter also comments on the advantages of using the Critical Stylistics approach to analyse multimodal texts and the limitations of the proposed framework. The chapter ends with a number of suggestions and recommendations for future research.

## **Chapter Two: Literature Review**

This chapter reviews the literature that informs the theoretical framework of the study and is broadly divided into five sections: multimodality and its approaches; the model of visual grammar; linguistic approaches to text analysis; theoretical framework; and a summary that sums up the discussion presented in the chapter. The reviewed literature allows me to demonstrate the gaps in the current approaches to text analysis, enables me to make use of theoretical integrative ideas on text analysis and helps me to propose a new framework for the analysis of multimodal texts.

### **2.1 Multimodality**

Multimodality is broadly defined as “an interdisciplinary approach drawn from social semiotics that understands communication and representation as more than language and attends systematically to the social interpretation of a range of forms of making meaning” (Jewitt, 2013: 1). More specifically, multimodal text analysis refers to the analysis of communication and representation in all its forms and focuses particularly on texts which contain the interaction and integration of two or more forms of representation in order to make and produce meaning in texts (O’Halloran, 2011a: 2). In this study, the analysis is of multimodal texts collected from the BBC News online using linguistic texts and still images to report events from the unrest in Tunisia 2011. The meaning of such texts is made by a combination of the linguistic text and still images, viewed as forms of meaning-making. This places my study within a broadly social semiotic approach.

The study of multimodality has its roots in Critical Linguistics which emerged essentially to investigate ideology in language and drew initially on the works of Halliday (1978, 1985). While Critical Linguistics concentrated on language as the only system through which meanings are made and ideologies are detected, multimodality originated in the late 1980s to enlarge the scope of the critical analysis of texts to include, in addition to language, different kinds of visuals analysed from a social semiotic perspective. Hodge & Kress (1988) were the first to apply Halliday’s notion of language as a social semiotic system to other semiotic systems. Their new approach is based on two essential premises. The first one lies in keeping an awareness of the importance of “the social dimension in understanding language structures and processes”, and that is “no single code can be successfully studied or fully understood in isolation” (ibid). The second premise declares that language is not the only

mode through which meaning is made. Rather “it resides so strongly and pervasively in other systems of meaning, in a multiplicity of visual, oral, behavioural and other codes, that a concentration on one mode alone is not enough” (ibid). They also emphasise that “a theory of verbal language has to be seen in the context of a theory of all sign systems” (ibid). Hodge and Kress’s view of meaning-making and how it should be understood and studied can be applied to the BBC news texts. Language and images co-occur in the BBC news articles to report particular news events, so that analysing one system and ignoring the other will not give a comprehensive explanation of how meaning is made in such texts.

The approach Hodge & Kress (1988) introduce is cited as the first step towards the emergence of the field of multimodal text analysis in general and the social semiotic approach to multimodal analysis in particular (Djonov & Zhao, 2014: 3). This is because they outline the central concern of all multimodality research. This is that meaning is made and produced through a range of semiotic systems where language is only one among others, including images, children’s drawings, and sculptures. They establish that the “interdisciplinary dialogue on communication in all its forms and across different institutional contexts” for which the “text and contexts, agents and objects of meaning, social structures and forces and their complex interrelationships” constitute the minimal and irreducible object of semiotic analysis (Hodge & Kress, 1988: viii). They present an interesting analysis of certain linguistic and non-linguistic forms to explain how meaning is produced through different visual and verbal forms. However, their analysis has little to inform the present study because they examine how each form makes and produces meaning separately without explaining how meaning is made jointly when the two forms co-occur.

Kress and Hodge’s (1988) work was developed by Kress and van Leeuwen *Reading Images* (1990) and the two editions of Kress and van Leeuwen *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design* (1996; 2006). These publications keep the essential premises of Kress and Hodge *Social Semiotics* intact with a further aim of developing a ‘grammar’ of images. While Kress & van Leeuwen (1990) were more concerned with developing this grammar by analysing images from children’s picture books with educational aims, the latter two books extend this concern to a wide range of images taken from public media sources including

advertisements, magazine articles, art images and diagrams of various types with a more general aim. They “intend to provide inventories of the major compositional structures which have become established as conventions in the course of the history of visual semiotics, and to analyse how they are used to produce meaning by contemporary image-makers” (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996: 1). In addition, the influence of Halliday’s language theory is articulated more clearly and systematically in these three books than the first one. This is shown in the intention to maintain the application of the principles derived from critical linguistic analysis, e.g. the socio-political aspect of the approaches and frameworks that show interest in the study of multimodality orientation. Therefore, an analysis of multimodal meaning-making explains how it reflects the interests of the meaning maker (Djonov & Zhao, 2014: 3).

Jewitt (2013: 3-5) and Bezemer & Jewitt (2018: 2-5) state that multimodality is based on three central theoretical assumptions of the analysis of texts. The first assumption is that multimodality steps away from considering language as the central mode of representation. From a multimodal point of view, linguistic and non-linguistic systems contribute towards meaning-making in different ways without presuming that the verbal is primary. Therefore, there is a need to attend to all semiotic resources if a more comprehensive understanding of meaning-making is to be achieved (Bezemer & Jewitt, 2018: 2). Moreover, multimodality is interested in the analysis of the whole texts not only because these non-linguistic systems play a vital role in meaning-making, rather than just language, but also with a view to understanding language better (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006: viii). The second central assumption to multimodality, inspired by Halliday’s works, is that all systems including language have been shaped through their cultural, historical and social uses to realise social functions (Jewitt, 2013: 4). In this sense, multimodality considers social context an important factor through which different semiotic systems are formed. Therefore, meaning is made through the selection and configuration of semiotic systems and therefore the interrelation between them is significant. This last point constitutes the third central assumption of multimodality (ibid).

These three theoretical assumptions are essential to the analysis of texts in this study. Firstly, they allow the analysis of the BBC news text to consider image and language as independent but collaborating forms towards making and projecting meaning. Although most of the

meaning is made by language, in the BBC news text, these assumptions give the linguistic text and images similar analytical status which enables me to see how each system contributes to making meaning that produces coherent texts. In addition, the importance they give to the role of context in shaping meaning of a particular semiotic system through its social, cultural, and historical uses is essential to the analysis in this study. This is because the idea of context helps reduce the number of possible interpretations of an image which has been considered an issue against considering multimodal analysis as systematic (Forceville, 2007: 1236). Therefore, the linguistic text and image co-occur in the same text where they are assumed to create coherent meaning to fulfil the representational effect of texts. I consider the notion of context as something related to the co-occurrence of language and image in the same text. This means that the meaning is made not because of the language or image by themselves but because of their special use in that context. They are co-textually related which helps justify the possible interpretations of an image since this interpretation (or interpretations) depends on the context in which the meaning created in the image is assumed to cohere with the meaning created by language. This is more relevant to Jeffries' (2010a, 2014, 2016) concept of 'co-text' in which she argues that it is not the linguistic feature itself that is producing particular meaning but it is the use of that linguistic feature in the text (Jeffries, 2014: 409). Although Jeffries' (2014) concept of co-text concerns the linguistic features only, the analysis shows that the co-occurrence of language and images in the same text can project meaning not because of the image and language themselves, but because of their use in that particular text (see section 4.2.1.2).

In the 1990s and 2000s, O'Toole (1994) and Kress and van Leeuwen (1990; 1996; 2006), developed Halliday's (1978) notion of language as a social semiotic system to encompass other semiotic systems providing the foundations for the social semiotic approach to multimodal text analysis (O'Halloran, 2011a: 3). In this approach, the main concern is to "model the meaning potential of words, sounds, and images as a set of interrelated systems and structures" (ibid). Their works are referred to as "the revival or rediscovery of an important and interesting field of research" (Kaltenbacher, 2004: 192). They were also the first to use the term 'multimodality' in an aim to develop tools and methods towards the analysis of images (Iedema, 2003: :32; Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2014: 107; as cited by Okado-Gough, 2017: 60).

O'Toole's (1994, 1995) work is considered a significant contribution to the functional interpretation of visual communication (Royce, 1999: 107). He developed a grammatical framework to analyse artistic images such as paintings, sculptures, and architectural drawing more on the systemic functional tradition of Halliday's theory (Constantinou, 2005: 603) because of his focus on the idea that semiotic systems have underlying structures that realise their use. O'Toole considers Halliday's work in Systemic Functional Linguistics essential because it "offers a powerful and flexible model for the study of other semiotic codes beside language, and its universality may be of a particular value in evolving discourses about art" (O'Toole, 1995: 19). He also adopts Halliday's linguistic principle of Rank Scale to explore the hierarchy of visuals as meaningful units (Royce, 1999: 48). Although O'Toole presents insightful analyses of different types of artistic images, his framework and the visuals he analyses are beyond the scope of this study. This is due to his grammatical framework which focuses on the description of images rather than interpreting their embedded meanings. In addition, O'Toole concentrates on the analysis of artistic images which are not the type of images investigated in this study.

In contrast, Kress and van Leeuwen's main concern is to establish a grammar of visuals of different types, such as photographs, drawings and diagrams. Moreover, while Kress and van Leeuwen (1996; 2006) adhere to Halliday's metafunctional principle, they aim at a more broaden application of "the meta-linguistic formulations" (Victor, 2011: 27) to "provide inventories of the major compositional structures....and to analyse how they are used to produce meanings by the contemporary image-makers" (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996: 1). Therefore, Kress and van Leeuwen's work is more relevant to the theoretical framework in this study and will be the focus of the discussion in section 2.2. In what follows, section 2.1.1 reviews the approaches that emerged from O'Toole's and Kress and van Leeuwen's works, which are known as the systemic functional-multimodal discourse analysis approaches. Section 2.1.2 discusses multimodal stylistics as also emergent approach from Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996; 2006) model, and 2.1.3 reviews multimodal discourse approaches to news analysis.

### **2.1.1 Systemic functional-multimodal discourse approaches**

As has been mentioned in the previous section, the works in this approach are collectively referred to as the systemic functional-multimodal discourse analysis, abbreviated to SF-MDA (O'Halloran, 2008). The interest in these works is to develop “theoretical and practical approaches for analysing written, printed and electronic texts, three-dimensional sites and other realms of activity where semiotic resources ...combine to make meaning” (O'Halloran, 2009: 444). Djonov (2005) describes SF-MDA as “an analytic practice which tests the application of the key principles of SFL to the analysis of semiotic systems other than language and their interaction with each other and with language in semiosis” (p. 73).

According to O'Halloran (2011a: 122), two groups of works can be distinguished within this approach. The first group is influenced by Kress and van Leeuwen's (2006) works which have “particular orientation to ideology” and interest in deriving “general principles of visual design which are illustrated via text analysis” (ibid). This is in part due to the influence of the social tradition of Halliday's theory on Kress and van Leeuwen's work which considers semiotic systems as affected by social factors which shape the way they are used. This social notion of texts was initially developed for the critical analysis of texts in Critical Linguistic approaches. Therefore, the approaches that follow their work are concerned with the “analysis of all instances of communication that tells ...something about the contexts where they were produced, about social relations. About ideology and the kinds of motivated ideas that are being shared” (Ledin & Machin, 2017: 60). Djonov and Zhao make a similar observation regarding these approaches and state that they address “the ways multimodal meaning-making reflects the interest of meaning-makers, their differential access to semiotic resources, and the norms that govern the semiotic practice” (2014: 3). This influence produced the contextual approaches that “have been developed for speech, sound and music van Leeuwen (1999), scientific texts Lemke (2002b), action and gesture Martinec (2000, 2004), educational research (Jewitt, 2008) and Literacy (Kress, 2003)”.

O'Toole's (1994; 2011) grammatical approach influences the second group which includes “grammatical approaches to Mathematics (O'Halloran, 2005), hypermedia (Djonov, 2007) and a range of other multimodal texts (eg Bednarek & Martin, 2010)” (O'Halloran, 2011a: 4). These approaches are influenced by O'Toole's interest in the systemic analysis of images and how

the semiotic resources of the visual systems are used to produce meaning. Therefore, they are less concerned with the ideological meanings and power relations that images might display (Ledin & Machin, 2017: 61). Other approaches working within the SF-MDA approach are Baldry and Thibaut's (2006) work on video texts and internet sites and many others working in fields such as 3-D sites (Ravelli, 2000; Meng, 2004; Stenglin, 2009). Some of these approaches have dealt with the stylistic analysis of films using its SF-MDA perspective, for example, O'Halloran (2004), Pun (2008) and Tseng (2008). Djonov (2005) presents a comprehensive description and interpretation of the major developments of SF-MDA. The next section introduces the recently emergent stylistic branch that follows the multimodal perspective in the analysis of literary texts.

### **2.1.2 Multimodal stylistics**

As mentioned in section 1.1, multimodality is a new branch of stylistics and is generally referred to as multimodal stylistics. It aims to "develop as systematic descriptive 'grammars' of all semiotic modes as those already developed for the mode of language" (Nørgaard et al., 2010: 30-31). Much of the work in this approach has so far progressed along two lines: a social semiotic approach and a cognitive approach. The former bases its theoretical and methodological framework on Halliday's systemic functional linguistics and social semiotics, which are seen in the works of Kress and van Leeuwen (1996; 2001, 2006) O'Toole (1994), O'Halloran (2004) Baldry & Thibault (2006) and Bateman (2008). The latter bases its theoretical and methodological framework on cognitive theory and is exemplified by the works of Forceville (1996) and Currie (2004) on filmic multimodality. A number of stylisticians draw on the descriptive apparatus of those pioneer thinkers of multimodality in both lines who have developed for modes other than the verbal (Nørgaard et al., *ibid*).

While the social semiotic approach has expanded rapidly in the 2000s with more interest among linguists and other language researchers to investigate the integration of language with other resources (O'Halloran, 2011a: 5-6), stylistics has recently started "to pay attention to the rather enriching research output emerging from scholars working within a systemic-functional tradition and multimodal texts" Nørgaard et al. (2010: 23). Nørgaard points out that stylistics has been predominantly logocentric and that it is only recently when

...film analysis caught the intention of a number of stylisticians (e.g. McIntyre 2008, Montoro 2010) and as technological developments in book production have caused a surge in literature that experiments with images, typography, colour, layout and so on, stylisticians have seen a need to expand the stylistic tool kit with tools geared towards handling the stylistic analysis of multimodal texts. (Nørgaard, 2014: 471)

Therefore, informed by Kress and van Leeuwen (1996; 2001), O'Toole (1994), O'Halloran (2004), Baldry & Thibault (2006), and Bateman (2008), multimodal stylistics emerged as a new branch of stylistics with the aim to broaden the mode and media to which a stylistic analysis can be applied (Nørgaard et al., 2010: 30-31). The interest in this emergent branch of stylistics is in developing tools which apply "to the analysis of explicitly multimodal genres like film, drama performance, iconic poetry, comics, children books, graphic novels and the art book" (Nørgaard, 2014: 471). While Nørgaard et al. state that "proponents of this branch of stylistics are interested in meaning-makings done not only by wording, but also by other semiotic modes involved in literary as other types of text" (2010: 4), most of the works that have been carried out within multimodal stylistics have been confined to different types of literary texts with no instance analysing non-literary texts. For example, McIntyre (2008) combines aspects of Kress and van Leeuwen's (2006) visual grammar with a more traditional stylistics analysis of the dialogue of McKellen's (1995) film version of Richard III. He explains the view that demonstrates "how the verbal and the visual interact... to make a more comprehensive analysis of a filmed play than that captured by a stylistic analysis of the verbal text only" (Nørgaard et al., 2010: 33). Although, the theoretical framework draws on Kress and van Leeuwen's (2006) visual model of transitivity, the use of Film Studies as the other theoretical principle to develop the multimodal stylistic aspects of dialogue and stage/screen directions is irrelevant to the type of analysis undertaken in this study.

The semiotic systems that are the focus of the studies in this approach include: films (Zurru, 2009), conceptual mind style (Montoro, 2010), literature (Gibbons, 2012), literary fiction (Luke, 2013), and novel (Nørgaard, 2014) which require particular integration of theories from literature, film studies, cinematography to account for the way they interrelate with language. This study attempts to contribute to the multimodal stylistic analysis of texts by including the analysis of news articles as non-literary texts, which have been overlooked in the previous literature. It also focuses on another semiotic system, namely still images, which were studied

in relation to hybrid texts (Luke, 2013), and children's picture books, which are also literary in nature. Meanwhile, other studies follow different multimodal approaches to the analysis of news texts of different types. These are discussed in the section below.

### **2.1.3 Multimodal discourse approaches to news analysis**

The growing recognition of the critical role of multimodal research in news discourse is found in many recent studies that adopt Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996; 2006) visual grammar. These works accentuate the importance of multimodal research to encourage dialogue between academic disciplines to better account for multimodality. Fei states that "there is a pressing need to understand the dynamics of meaning-making, or semiosis, in multimodal discourse. Academic disciplines that focus on mono-modality, such as that of linguistics, must come into dialogue with other fields of research ...to facilitate the interdisciplinary nature of multimodal research"(2004: 220).

For instance, Knox (2009) investigates verbal-visual communication in online newspapers homepages. He applies tools from (SF-MDA) and visual grammar building on the work of Halliday (1978, 1985), O'Halloran (2005) and Kress & van Leeuwen (1996) to the emerging genre of newsbites and studies the visual design of the online newspapers homepages of three English-language online newspapers (Knox, 2009: 12). He pays a special attention to the thumbnail images and consider them as the visual equivalents of newsbites in online newspapers (p. 396). He argues that online newspapers are generally oriented towards shorter text which "... cannot communicate the value and ideology of news institution in the way that extended verbal texts have done for centuries" (p. ii). Therefore, "institutions express values visually in their design of newspapers homepages" (ibid). His approach is comprehensive in applying Halliday's metafunctional principle to the analysis of the design of newspapers homepages, newsbites, and thumbnails images to discover the compositional structure that interpret the relationship between them. However, the present study focuses on the microstructure of the multimodal texts where the underlying structures of the verbal and the visual systems, as independent texts, are analysed to describe and interpret the meaning-making process.

Multimodal news analysis has been also seen from the perspectives of media and journalism studies. In this respect, Capel contributes a systematic analysis of the combination of

visual and verbal semiotic resources in image-nuclear news stories. She draws on a range of approaches to the analysis of media discourse focusing on media theory, critical discourse analysis and social semiotics (2009: 18). She further adopts Halliday (1978, 1985) and Kress & van Leeuwen (2006) approaches as the theoretical models underpinning the analysis of the texts in her study, with a focus on aspects of these approaches that are most applicable to the analysis of multi-semiotic texts. While I do not completely agree with the view that the visual dominates and the verbal augments as Goodman (1997) indicates, the online image-nuclear news texts display visuals that have the ability to tell the news story more than the accompanying language. However, if online newsreaders consistently depend on images only to know about the news without the need for language, then it is more likely to suggest that the images are empowered with the capacity to tell the story themselves.

In another direction, Royce (1999) discusses the interrelatedness between visual and verbal semiotic systems in the economic journalistic print media texts of 'The Economist' magazine for educational purposes. He tests the Hallidayan claim of the interrelatedness of systems of meanings and argues that while both verbal and visual modes utilise the meaning-making features specific to their systems, they interrelate in various contexts to project a unified coherent meaning for readers/ viewers (p. 3). This interrelatedness is established on the ideational, interpersonal, and compositional levels of meaning. Ideationally, the verbal and visual are lexico-semantically related by means of the intersemiotic sense relations of hyponymy, meronymy, and collocation. Interpersonally, their interrelatedness is realised through intersemiotic reinforcement of address and intersemiotic attitudinal congruence. Compositionally, their interrelated meanings are integrated through the compositional relations of value, salience and visual framing. The rich analysis presented in Royce (1999) is directed to develop students' abilities in visual literacy to better understand the relation between the verbal texts and the various visuals of charts, tables and diagrams. The present study concerns the way language and image make and project meaning on the ideational level to construct particular worldview in multimodal news texts.

Section 2.1 presents a general overview of multimodality. In reviewing the literature on multimodality, I outline the central theoretical assumptions that constitute multimodality research pointing out their relevance to the present study. The reviewed approaches to multimodal text analysis have applied O'Toole's and Kress and van Leeuwen's works in a wide

range of ways that serve their analytical frameworks and objectives. For example, SF-MDA approaches following Kress and van Leeuwen's contextual approach analyses images whilst focusing more on the image-maker's interest to account for how semiotic systems other than language embed ideological meanings. However, my study presents another argument in terms of how Kress and van Leeuwen's approach can offer a better theoretical principle to the analysis of images as texts. The next section concentrates on Kress and van Leeuwen's (2006) 'grammar of visual design'.

## **2.2 The grammar of visual design**

As founders of the social semiotic approach to multimodal analysis, Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996; 2006) approach to image analysis adopts Halliday's socially-based theory of language. Kress and van Leeuwen (1996; 2006) have been also influenced, in addition to Halliday, by de Saussure's concept of semiology, Barthes' theory of text-image relation, and Arnheim analyses on the semantic dimension of visual structuring (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006: 12, 17, 47,x). Their approach is highly interdisciplinary since they use both semiotics and visual psychology (Ledin & Machin, 2017: 61). Their work adopts a contextual approach to image analysis that retains the ideological orientation found in Kress and Hodge's(1988) early version of multimodal social semiotics approach to text analysis (O'Halloran, 2011a: 4; Djonov & Zhao, 2014: 3).

Kress and van Leeuwen state that they "intend to provide inventories of the major compositional structures which have become established as conventions in the course of the history of visual semiotics, and to analyse how they are used to produce meaning by contemporary image-makers"(Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996: 1). Although multimodality is not only concerned with images and the way they make meaning in texts, Kress and van Leeuwen (1990; 1996; Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006) were particularly concerned with extending the semiotic and the systemic principles that Halliday (1978, 1985) developed for language to still images. This constitutes the main concern in the present study.

For Halliday, semiotics is "the study of sign systems" rather than the study of signs. Therefore it is "the study of meaning in its most general sense" (Halliday & Hasan, 1989: 4). He sees language as one semiotic system that interacts with others stating that "we all the time exchange meanings, and the exchange of meanings is creative process in which language is

one symbolic resource - perhaps the principle one we have, but still one among others” (Halliday, 1978: 4). Halliday explains what he means by social semiotics as follows:

When I say ‘social semiotics’ ...I am simply referring to the definition of a social system, or a culture, as a system of meanings. But I also intend a more specific interpretation of the word ‘social’, to indicate that we are concerned particularly with the relationships between language and social structure, considering the social structure as one aspect of the social system (op cit).

Thus, Halliday’s explanation of social semiotics can also apply to semiotic systems other than language. Moreover, the relationship between the language, or the ‘text’, and its social structures, or ‘context’, which are fundamental in understanding meaning-making in language is also fundamental for all other semiotic systems (Knox, 2009: 90). This relationship between the semiotic system and its social structures introduces the new notion of language as a resource for making and producing meaning rather than the formal rules of correctness. This consequently prepares the way for viewing language as a ‘system-network’, which forms the systemic functional tradition of Halliday’s theory. As such, language as a social semiotic system for making and producing meaning is meant to fulfil three functions simultaneously. These are the ideational, interpersonal and the textual functions which Halliday argues are used to describe language according to its social and functional aspect (Halliday & Mathiessen, 2004 ).

According to Halliday (1978), the ideational function refers to the way language is used to represent experience in the external and the internal world, which is what he calls ‘language as reflection’ (Halliday & Mathiessen, 2004 : 29-30; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014: 30). It is a function where text producers embody in language their particular experience of the real world (Halliday, 1973: 106). It is realised in the transitivity system that serves to construct events and situations in the world as well as the entities and processes involved. The interpersonal function refers to the way language is used to enact relations among participants or what he calls ‘language as action’ (ibid). This function allows text producers to express attitudes and evaluations and is realised in the system of modality. The textual function refers to the way language is used to actualize the ideational and interpersonal

functions and is realised through information structure and cohesion (Halliday et al., 1999: 184). These three functions operate simultaneously to fulfil the communicative function of language.

Kress and van Leeuwen (1996; 2006) extend these social and systemic elements of Halliday's theory of language as the theoretical basis to propose their model of 'visual grammar' and to analyse images as texts. They aimed to develop a theory of visual representation and to produce a 'grammar of visual design' in a way that explains how 'visual grammar' is drawn from an analogy of how language makes meanings in texts (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006: 1). While their model of image analysis is part of the field of social semiotics, they argue that it is different from the previous works found in the broader field of semiotics (ibid). This difference lies in the fact that the previous approaches concentrate on what might be described as visual 'lexis' rather than 'grammar' of images (ibid) because interest has been focused on the meaning produced by individual elements depicted in an image, such as people, settings, or objects. In contrast, they introduce the term 'grammar' to examine the ways in which the elements depicted in images, that is, people, objects, and settings, are combined into a coherent whole in a similar way wherein language elements, words, sentences and clauses, are combined into a meaningful whole or text (ibid). In this sense, the elements depicted in an image relate to each other in a systematic way where they are used to represent the world, on the textual level, in a relatively similar way to the linguistic text which makes them read as texts. Therefore, their approach to image analysis aims, as other functional linguistic approaches, to link form with meaning and to perceive the linguistic and visual "grammatical forms as resources for encoding interpretations of experience and forms of social (inter)action" (ibid).

Kress and van Leeuwen quote Halliday's definition of grammar to make their point clear in that "grammar goes beyond the formal rules of correctness. It is a means of representing patterns of experience... It enables human to present a mental picture of what goes on around them and inside them"(Halliday, 1985: 101). Stating that this view is true for the 'grammar of visual design', they describe the structures used in images to express different meanings emphasising that both linguistic and visual grammar use resources available to their specific systems to express meanings. For example, the analysis in this study shows that the linguistic system uses the syntactic possibilities of information structure, transformational options and

subordination to draw readers' attention to particular information which is singled out via these syntactic possibilities. The visual system uses the element's size, position and placement in the image design to single out the same information that was made prominent via the linguistic resources. In this way, although the linguistic and visual systems use different means available in their semiotic systems, they make similar information more salient and consequently participate in making the text coherent. I present a detailed analysis of this point in chapter six.

The view Kress and van Leeuwen take to describe an image's elements and its grammar is the one that this study draws on because it establishes how the visual elements depicted in an image are combined in a coherent way that makes them read as a text in a relatively similar way to the linguistic text. This is an essential theoretical integrative point between the visual and the linguistic text since the former can "display regularities that can be made the subject of relatively formal description" (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006: 20) which makes its analysis more systematic since it is similar to that of the linguistic text. It also informs the analysis of the linguistic and the visual systems which co-occur in the same text. This theoretical view provides a methodology that deals with the two semiotic systems as independent and collaborative units of analysis and at the same time pay attention to the fact that both systems have their own resources to make and produce, what can be essentially considered as, similar meanings.

Kress and van Leeuwen again use the principle of analogy to establish that the image is an independent semiotic system by making use of Halliday's three metafunctions as explained above. They argue that these three functions are their starting point to view images as a resource for representation and communication because they explain that images ( like language and all other semiotic systems) fulfil these three functions (op cit.). Therefore, they propose that if a particular semiotic resource fulfils the three functions it is likely to be considered as an independent semiotic system (p. 228). Further to this point, they state that a still image is an independent semiotic system because it can be used to encode experience visually, communicate meanings in which relations between image makers and viewers can be enacted, and the image's representation and communication can cohere into meaningful wholes to fulfil the textual function (p. 55).

While Kress and van Leeuwen's argument of the image as an independent semiotic system asserts that their model is influenced by the systemic tradition of Halliday's theory (Ledin & Machin, 2017: 61), it presents an oppositional attitude to that of Barthes' (1977) view of the dependency of the image on the verbal text. Barthes argues that the meaning of images (and other semiotic codes like dress, food, etc.) is always related to as well as dependent on the verbal text in determining their meaning since he believed that images are "too 'polysemous' and too open to a variety of possible meanings" (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006: 18). In contrast, they argue that while Barthes' way of explaining text-image relation accounts for the different communicative relationships between the two systems, it stopped short of explaining that "the visual component of a text is an independently organised and structured message – connected with the verbal text, but in no way dependent on it. And similarly the other way around" (ibid). This is the view adopted in the present study to support the argument that the co-occurrence of the text and image in the same multimodal text creates a sort of co-text that makes the meaning choice dependent on and motivated by both modes which consequently regulates and determines the interpretation of that meaning choice in both of them.

They consequently aim to propose a 'grammar' of the visual that is explained in terms of the underlying principles of the 'grammar' of the verbal system taking into consideration that "language and visual communication can both be used to realise the 'same' fundamental systems of meaning that constitute our cultures. However, each does so by means of its own specific forms, does so differently and independently" (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006: 19). The important point here is that the verbal and visual systems are seen to produce the same kinds of meanings, but they use different methods which are specific to their different semiotic systems. Yet, they emphasise that each mode "has its own possibilities and limitations [where] [n]ot everything that can be realized in language can also be realized by means of images, or the vice versa"(ibid). Therefore, "the two modes are neither fully conflated nor entirely opposed" (ibid). This point has been emphasized by a number of publications on multimodality which explain that each semiotic system offers certain potentials for making meaning so that each mode has its specific affordances and constraints (e. g. Kress, 2010; Jewitt, 2013; Bezemer & Jewitt, 2018).

Kress and van Leeuwen's argument against Barthes' explanation of the text image relationship demonstrates the image as an independent semiotic system from the perspective of fulfilling Halliday's three metafunctions. Therefore, it provides an analogy for the development of their visual grammar. Having outlined that the image can fulfil these three functions, they present a detailed toolkit that functions within the framework of the three metafunctions discussed above.

Kress and van Leeuwen's toolkit adopts much of the lexicogrammatical terminology used by Halliday to account for the three functions. The first adoption is the grammatical system of 'transitivity' which operates on the ideational (Kress and van Leeuwen's representational) meaning and which explains "the world of experience into a set of manageable process types" (Halliday, 1994: 106). The second is the grammatical system of 'mood' which operates on the interpersonal (Kress and van Leeuwen's interactive) meaning in which the clause is "organised as an interactive event involving speaker, or writer, and audience" (ibid p.68). The third is the 'thematic structure' which operates on the textual (Kress and van Leeuwen's compositional) meaning and "gives the clause its character as a message" (p.36) (see section 2.4.2).

Kress & van Leeuwen (2006) emphasise the necessity to keep the operation of the three functions together when analysing and interpreting a visual form because they occur and produce meaning simultaneously due to their multidimensional structures. However, I intend to take the ideational meaning out of the metafunction system and examine what conceptual textual functions an image can perform in constructing the world in a particular way. I argue that, since visuals display certain regularities that can be made the subject of relatively formal description, which allow them to have grammar of their own that makes them read as texts, they can therefore be analysed as independent units to the co-occurring linguistic text. In addition, since these visuals are independent semiotic systems in that they fulfil the three metafunctions, the ideational level of meaning can account for the way they represent experience in the world in a particular way. Therefore, they can perform textual conceptual functions in a similar way to the linguistic text to represent the world in a particular way. This last point introduces the way I intend to test Jeffries (2010a) method of textual analysis and its applicability to analyse images through the set of tools she termed the 'textual-conceptual functions' to analyse texts with a central concern to capture "what the text is doing

conceptually ...to represent the world in a particular way” (Jeffries, 2014: 409). Jeffries’ method of text analysis is presented in section 2.3.3.

Section 2.2 discusses Kress and van Leeuwen’s model of ‘the grammar of visual design’. In the discussion, I focus on the particular aspects of this model that I find more relevant towards proposing the theoretical principle of the way images can be analysed on the ideational level of meaning within the multimodal text. Having presented this part of the theoretical framework, section 2.3 concentrates on the existing approaches to linguistic text analysis with the intention to show why the critical stylistic approach is the relevant approach to this study and the one that can be integrated with Kress and van Leeuwen’s (2006) model of visual grammar.

### **2.3 Linguistic approaches to text analysis**

This section contextualises Critical Stylistics within the existing approaches to text analysis. These approaches are informed by the same linguistic theories that inform multimodality studies, namely Halliday’s theories. They are generally referred to as the critical study of language, and include Critical Linguistics, Critical Discourse Analysis and Critical Stylistics. The discussion in the next three sections summarises the principles that characterise each approach comparing their methods to the one proposed by Critical Stylistics and introducing an argument in terms of the proposed way to test the applicability of its method to analyse multimodal texts. Then, a new method is applied to the critical stylistic analysis of texts taking into consideration how meaning-making is studied in the previous critical stylistic research and further presents the tools for the analysis of multimodal texts. I also outline how the new method offers a systematic approach to analyse meaning-making in multimodal texts.

#### **2.3.1 Critical linguistics**

Critical Linguistics was developed in the late 1970s by a group of linguists and literary theorists at the University of East Anglia, including Roger Fowler, Gunther Kress, Bob Hodge and Tony Trew. Their two seminal books (Fowler et al., 1979; Kress & Hodge, 1979) introduced a new and influential trend in the study of language that has ideological purposes. They integrate the “method of linguistic analysis with a social theory of the functioning of language in political and ideological processes” (Fairclough, 1992: 26). Their approach is defined as “an enquiry into the relations between signs, meanings and the social and historical conditions which govern the semiotic structure of discourse, using particular kind of linguistic analysis” (Fowler,

1991: 5). Their works demonstrated the early foundations of Critical Linguistics (Wodak, 2002: 16; Wodak & Busch, 2004: 110; Rashidi & Souzandehfar, 2010: 57).

Fowler & Kress (1979) set forth the principles, aims, and theoretical underpinnings of their new approach. The principle of their approach lies in its linguistic and critical nature. The approach is considered linguistic because they believe in the power of linguistic analysis in exploring the ideologies buried in texts and further in uncovering the imbalance of power relations and control that resides within them. It is critical in the sense that the linguistic analysis is not only a description of the linguistic features of texts, but also an interpretation of their underlying ideologies that are embedded in the linguistic forms. Therefore, by using linguistic features, the main aim of this approach is to explore “the value systems and sets of belief which reside in texts; to explore, in other words, *ideology* in language”. To achieve this aim, Fowler and Kress based the analytical apparatus on Halliday’s (1978, 1985) Systemic Functional Linguistics in which language is viewed as a system that is created and embedded in a social context, fulfilling the three functions of language discussed in section 2.2.

Based on the view that language is a social system in which ideologies are created and embedded, Critical Linguistics developed a toolkit which consists of five items (Fowler, 1991). These are: “transitivity, syntactic transformations, in particular the agentless passive, lexical structure, modality and speech acts” (Jeffries, 2007: 12). Although Fowler admits that this list is incomplete, he points out that they are “quite often involved in the construction of representation, in signifying beliefs and values when writers are reporting or commenting on the world”(Fowler, 1991: 89). While Jeffries considers them an important step towards the development of an ‘agreed set of analytical tools’ (Jeffries & Walker, 2012: 12), van Leeuwen points out that “many relevant instances of agency might be overlooked” if the analysis “ties itself in too closely to specific linguistic operation or categories” (van Leeuwen, 1996: 33). Jeffries (2010a: 13) also observes that this list lacks a comprehensive coverage of linguistic features. This is due to the way these tools are viewed as belonging to the ideational and interpersonal functions of Halliday. For instance, modality and speech acts are seen as interpersonal elements which gives the impression that the other tools are ideational aspects of language without making clear how they are so (Jeffries, 2010a). In this regard, Jeffries holds an opposing view and considers that “all of the tools of analysis... are primarily ideational in conception, even those which, such as modality, are seen in Hallidayan

approaches as being interpersonal”(ibid). The criticism raised against the incomprehensiveness of the analytical toolkit proposed by Critical Linguistics is one of the essential reasons for the development of Critical Stylistics, discussed in section 2.3.3, as a methodology to address the lack of a comprehensive toolkit to analyse texts. Despite this criticism, the emergence of Critical Linguistics marked a “turning point in the study of the interplay between language and ideology” (Alaghbary et al., 2015: 5), because its analysis “goes beyond the description of discourse to an explanation of how and why particular discourses are produced”(Teo, 2000: 11).

In the following years, the interest of Critical Linguistics’ practitioners in language as a vehicle through which meanings are created and ideologies are embedded has developed into the wide range of approaches known as Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). In the next section, I introduce the broad field of CDA and focus on Fairclough’s approach as it provides the basis, with Critical Linguistics, for the development of Critical Stylistics.

### **2.3.2 Critical Discourse Analysis**

In the previous section, CDA is introduced as a development of Critical Linguistics. CDA is a “special approach to the study of text and talk, emerging from critical linguistics, critical semiotics and ... a socio-politically and oppositional way of investigating language discourse and communication” (Van Dijk, 1996: 1). It also has roots in Classical Rhetoric, Text linguistics, Sociolinguistics, Applied linguistics and Pragmatics (Wodak & Weiss, 2003: 11). Jeffries points out that “CDA began as a left-wing reaction to the hands-off objectivity of early linguistics, when there was clearly so much wrong with the world that was based in texts, and so much information about manipulation and political dishonesty that could be revealed by a few judicious uses of some fairly accessible tools of analysis”(Jeffries, 2007: 195).

According to Machin & Mayr (2012) CDA “typically analyses news texts, political speeches, advertisements, school books, etc.” (p. 12) in a way that is “openly committed to political intervention and social change (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997: 257; cited in Machin & Mayr, 2012: 4). Such a perspective in text analysis has developed into a wide variety of approaches with divergent theoretical and methodological frameworks that are considered a school or paradigm characterised by some basic principles (Wodak & Meyer, 2009: 3). These can be

outlined as follows. Firstly, the approaches are problem-oriented, which necessitates their methodological and theoretical interdisciplinarity or eclecticism. Secondly, these approaches are also characterised by “common interest in demystifying ideologies and power through a systematic and reproducible investigation of semiotic data (written, spoken or visual)” (ibid). Finally, researchers in this field attempt to “make their own position and interest explicit while retaining their respective scientific methodologies and while remaining self-reflective of their own research process” (ibid ). Wodak (2014: 2) defines CDA as “a problem-oriented interdisciplinary research programme, subsuming a variety of approaches, each with different theoretical models, research methods and agendas”.<sup>2</sup> As such, while its origin is rooted in Critical Linguistics, “there is no ‘single tradition’ of CDA, and certainly no agreed set of analytical tools that should be in this practice” (Jeffries, 2007: 12).

Therefore, the types of development in this field expand the scope of the critical linguistic analysis of texts to operate on the micro and macro levels of text analysis incorporating the linguistic and social dimensions of the texts in question interpreted in the light of particular socio-political stances. Another expansion in CDA is the recent interest its practitioners show in the “non-verbal (semiotic, multimodal, visual) aspects of interaction and communication: gestures, images, film, the internet, and multimedia” suggesting that these are one of the shared interests of CDA practitioners (Wodak & Meyer, 2009: 2). This interest was explained by Chouliaraki & Fairclough (1999: 146), Fairclough (2001: 5) and (Chouliaraki, 2010: 17), who discuss how text analysis includes, in addition to linguistic analysis, the semiotic analysis of instances of visual images which are increasingly used as mediated representation to realise forms of power in different text types.

The wide range of heterogeneous approaches found in this field results in three crucial issues for analysts wishing to analyse texts using one of the Critical Discourse Analysis approaches. The first issue is a lack of well-defined theoretical and methodological frameworks. According to Van Dijk, “CDA in itself is not a method of research, but a social movement of socio-

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<sup>2</sup> See Wodak and Fairclough (2013) for full range of definitions of CDA.

politically committed discourse analysts using many different methods of analysis". (Van Dijk, 2011: 621). Although Wodak considers that understanding Halliday's (1978, 1985) language theory is essential for a proper understanding of CDA, she believes that critical analysts are free to focus on "micro-linguistic features, or macro- linguistic features, textual, discursive or contextual features" no matter if "their perspective is primarily philosophical, sociological or historical" (Wodak, 2002: 16). The second issue is, as with Critical Linguistics, a lack of a comprehensive set of tools that guide analysts in the process of analysis. Although Wodak & Weiss (2003: 3) consider the lack of a well-defined set of tools as an advantage that gives CDA its 'dynamics', it has been the main reason for a number of researchers avoiding CDA approaches, (e.g. Ulrike, 2013: 62). The final issue is that the CDA view of being critical is understood as advocating the analysis to show "the role of language in society within an explicitly political perspective, concentrating on the way the interests of dominant groups are furthered through discourse". This leads to the proposition that CDA "is not formal school of thought, but rather a range of stances" (Breeze, 2011: 5). These three issues towards the way text analysis is perceived by CDA make it relatively inappropriate linguistic approach to study the multimodal analysis of texts attempted in this study which aims at addressing the lack of rigour, replicable method in the analysis of multimodal texts. The same applies to Critical Linguistics in which Van Dijk confirms that CDA and Critical Linguistics 'are at most a shared perspective on doing linguistic, semiotic or discourse analysis' (Van Dijk, 1993: 131). This shared perspective has produced three influential approaches in CDA including Fairclough's dialectical-relational approach, Van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach, and Wodak's discourse-historical approach. In what follows, I will concentrate on Fairclough's approach as it provides the basis, with Critical Linguistics for the development of Critical Stylistics.

### **2.3.2.1 Fairclough's dialectal-relational approach**

Fairclough is a significant contributor to the field of CDA whose analytical model became later the core section in the field introducing a theoretical framework that provided guidelines for future research in CDA (Rahimi & Riasati, 2011: 108). Fairclough (1992) considers CDA as a "textually-(and therefore linguistically) oriented form of discourse analysis...abbreviated as TODA" (1992: 37). In 1989, Fairclough widened the scope of textual analysis, suggested by Critical Linguistics, by introducing his three-dimension model of discourse, where linguistic analysis became only one of three levels of analysis. These

three levels are text analysis, processing analysis and social analysis which are “inter-related processes of analysis tied to three inter-related dimensions of discourse” (Janks, 1997: 26). These three dimensions are description, interpretation and explanation.

The linguistic component of this approach to CDA continued to be influenced by, as with CL, Halliday’s SFL in which Fairclough (1985; 1989; 1992; 1993, 1995a; 1999) established his dialectical-relational approach. Inspired by Halliday’s SFL, Fairclough believes in the importance of the social dimension of language in uncovering ideological and power patterns in texts. In his framework, he identifies the dialectic relation between language, linguistic features as micro-structures of discourse, social reality, and social structures as macro-structures of society. These structures are realised through texts as ‘social events’, orders of discourse as ‘social practices’, and semiosis as social structures (Fairclough, 1992: 6-7). The text is a central concept in this approach and is used in its linguistic sense, written or spoken. It is defined as a “product rather than a process- a product of the process of text production” (Fairclough, 1989: 24). Discourse, which is another central concept here, is defined as “the whole process of social interaction of which the text is just a part”(op. cit. ). Therefore, text analysis forms “only a part of discourse analysis” (ibid ) “where discourse involves social conditions determined by the social situation, or the immediate environment in which the discourse occurs... which in turn shape the way texts are produced and interpreted” (p. 25). According to Fairclough, macro-structures of society determine the micro-structures of discourse which in turn reproduce larger social and ideological structures (p. 86).

Two important points make this approach useful. First, it enables analysts to “focus on the signifiers that make up the texts, the specific linguistic selections, their juxtapositioning, their sequencing, their layout and so on” (Janks, 1997: 26). Second, the interconnections of the levels of analysis which “provides multiple points of analytical entry” (ibid), where the analysts “finds the interesting patterns and disjunctions that need to be described, are interpreted and explained” (ibid). However, its linguistic analysis, based on “firm linguistic evidence” (Stubbs, 1997: 2), might lose its value because of its reliance on a particular socio-political stance in the interpretation of those linguistic evidences.

This last point makes Fairclough’s approach the subject of criticism for concerns of the imbalance of using linguistic analysis interpreted in the light of a particular socio-political

stance. For example, Hammersley (1997: 237-248) criticised Fairclough for stressing the need for critical approach that is affected by a Marxist political stance, which Hammersley considers as discredited by modern philosophers, historians and economists. Moreover, Breeze (2011: 500) argues that if the

...central tenets of critical research...should be explicitly designed to fulfil political functions... of inequality, dominance, injustice... rather than what would be the more conventional purpose of research (to observe and interpret phenomenon), then there has to be sound justifications for this. If in the end, the justification is only a matter of individual choice, then there is little incentive for the reader to take this type of research seriously

This adherence to a socio-political stance in interpreting ideologies embedded in the linguistic features of texts was also criticised by some stylisticians. For example, Jeffries doubts the value of CDA achievements that, adhere to Marxist/socialist politics gained by abandoning some of “linguistics’ hard-won scientific credibility by giving up on all attempts at objectivity, rigour and replicability”(2014: 408 ). This was one reason why Jeffries (2010a) developed a framework that offers “a method of finding the ideology in texts whether or not you agree with it” (Op.cit: 409).

With regard to its methodology, Stubbs (1997: 2) points out that the textual interpretation presented by this approach seems to be politically rather than linguistically motivated, which make its principle of interdisciplinarity a confusing one. Widdowson (1995: 159) argues that it should be made obvious whether analysts are using a linguistic approach to analyse linguistic data or a sociological approach for social or political reasons. While he stresses the possibility of joining the two approaches, the issue of the scope of each approach can be confused with that of commitment (ibid). Thus, the interference of the socio-political interpretation and the lack of a well-defined methodology result in regarding this approach as lacking objectivity, rigour and replicability (Widdowson, 1995: 159; Simpson & Mayr, 2010; Machin & Mayr, 2012: 207).

In the following section, I discuss the Critical Stylistics approach, which was developed to address the issues found in Critical Linguistics and the CDA approaches.

### 2.3.3 Critical stylistics

Critical Stylistics (CS) is a recent development of CDA and stylistics. It was firstly used by (Jeffries, 2007) in her book *Textual Construction of the Female Body: A Critical Discourse Approach* and was formally established in 2010 with the publication of Jeffries' *Critical Stylistics: The Power of English*. Jeffries (2014) states that her approach developed *as a* "reaction to the rise of critical discourse analysis as an increasingly influential approach to ideology in language". It attempts to answer "a feeling of frustration in the face of critical discourse analysis's deliberate lack of methodology or framework and its apparent abandonment of many of the achievements of linguistics in its scientific phase of development"(Jeffries, 2014: 408-409 ). Generally, CS is seen as "mainstream text-based stylistics with a particular (critical) purpose" (Jeffries, 2016: 159).

Jeffries argues that while CDA is close in origin to stylistics, both fields "have grown increasingly distant from each other in the intervening decades" (ibid). Therefore, the proposed approach of CS "bridges the gap between ... (CDA) and stylistics" (Coffey, 2013: 30) "seizing and further developing the Critical Linguistic approach to text analysis" (Ulrike, 2013: 76). Thus, CS combines "the text analysis of stylistics with the ideological awareness of CDA" (Jeffries & McIntyre, 2010: 194). This means that CS is seen as more relevant to Critical Linguistics than CDA (Alaghbary et al., 2015) because it brings back Critical Linguistics' interest in the primacy of text in the investigation of ideology. Its remarkable contribution lies in joining CDA and stylistics with a strong emphasis on the tools provided for the analysis of actual linguistic manifestation of social meaning (Nørgaard et al., 2010: 13).

Jeffries'(2010a) approach introduces a method to achieve more rigour and replicable textual analysis by making use of the first and the second levels of Fairclough's approach while dispensing with the third one (Jeffries, 2010a: 12). This is because a textual analysis that is ideologically oriented should not be concerned with a particular political outlook (Jeffries, 2014). She further argues that adopting a particular political outlook to explain meanings in texts, which might be the view of some but not all those interested in these texts, is not part of the textual level of meaning. Instead, her model, presented in section 2.3.1 below, offers "a method of finding the ideology in texts whether or not you agree with it" (ibid). This way of viewing the function of textual meaning reintroduces the objectivity, rigour, and replicability

of ideological text analysis, which disappeared in the CDA approaches affected by the political outlook of analysts. This aspect of the Jeffries' approach is one of the reasons for selecting CS as the framework to conduct the analysis in this study. This is because the analysis is concerned with how linguistic and visual systems produce meanings rather than why they are producing them.

Moreover, CS adopts certain principles that makes it different from other stylistic and CDA approaches. Firstly, while CS believes in the "centrality of text" (Jeffries, 2016: 157) as "the unavoidable basis of all stylistics" (Jeffries & McIntyre, 2010: 1); the range of the texts it encompasses is not limited to literary ones. This is because CS considers stylistic analysis just as "useful and insightful when the data was non-fictional as when it was literary in nature" (Jeffries, 2014: 408). This broad view taken by CS regarding the range of texts as the object of analysis is more relevant to the present study because the data selected are non-literary. Other stylistic approaches, e.g. multimodal stylistics, are still limiting their analysis to literary texts. In order to answer the questions raised in this study and be applicable to non-literary texts, this requires extending the existing frameworks and tools of analysis (see section 2.1.2).

Secondly, although CS was inspired by CDA in using the word 'critical' and in demonstrating that its approach to text analysis is a critical one (Jeffries, 2016: 158), it does not adopt "a particular form of Marxist/socialist politics" (Jeffries, 2014: 408) adhered to by the majority of CDA approaches. Not relating the interpretation of the analysis to a particular political view allows for less biased analysis results since analysts can explore ideologies, whether or not they agree with the socio-political outlook presented by those ideologies (Jeffries, 2014: 409). This relatively less biased interpretation of ideological meanings offered by the CS method explains why this approach was selected to analyse the data in this study because the focus is on how language and image make and produce meanings regardless of their political view. More importantly, this helps me to compare how the linguistic and the visual systems make and project ideological meanings, rather than interpreting why they are using such ideologies.

Thirdly, while CDA approaches were criticised for lacking a well-defined set of tools, CS presents a set of what Jeffries (2010a) calls 'textual -conceptual functions' (TCFs), which are built on justified arguments relating to the theoretical and methodological perspectives of the concepts of text, textual meaning and meaning-making (see section 2.4.1). These tools

can be applied to any type of text in an attempt to “assemble the main general functions that a text has in representing realities” (Jeffries, 2010a: 14) and to uncover the ideologies implied by the linguistic choices that text producers make. Although the author makes it clear how the linguistic orientation (mostly textual) of her approach makes it different from the kind of work carried out by CDA practitioners (mostly contextual), she considers herself to be working within the broader sub-discipline of CDA specifically at the micro-analysis end of the field (Jeffries, 2010a: 3). Her model provides links of how stylistic analysis, which is basically concerned with the analysis of textual structures and choices, should be incorporated to provide comprehensive tools to lead the analyst in his/her attempt to analyse texts, which CDA models and approaches are still unable to provide.

The point that I need to raise here is that CS has been used as a methodology in a number of studies following different approaches and methods within the broad field of stylistics. It has been widely used as the qualitative tool of analysis besides corpus based stylistics studies, (Coffey, 2013; Ulrike, 2013; Evans, 2016), which were interested in newspaper and magazine texts dealing with issues related to feminism and crime offenders. Other studies used CS as a methodology in critical qualitative research with a wide range of data. For example, Owiti (2016) “investigates courtroom interpretation using critical stylistics tools to determine the stylistic and pragmatic changes and their impact on ideation and interpersonal communication in the Target Text” (p. 3). Ibrahim (2018) also uses the CS approach to analyse Kurdish poetry testing the application of the CS toolkit to literary languages other than English. Although these works have shown the effectiveness of the CS approach in analysing different text types as well as mentioning the importance of the contribution of visual image analysis can offer to the field of media text analysis (Ulrike, 2013: 72), no previous study has attempted to test the CS approach to analyse multimodal texts, more specifically, applying the CS approach to analyse still images as texts. This study attempts to bridge this gap and tests the CS approach to analyse the linguistic as well as the visual part of the multimodal news text to see how meaning is made when linguistic text and still images co-occur in the same text.

In the reviewed linguistic approaches to text analysis, I presented the main principles and characteristics of each one explaining that Critical Stylistics is the relevant approach to the present study. Therefore, by paying attention to the gaps in previous research, the next

section accounts for the way CS is used as the framework to propose a new method for multimodal text analysis.

### **2.3.4 The need for a multimodal toolkit**

The CDA approach is used with the question of representation in discourse and is often connected with the object of determining the ideological character of representation (Richardson (1998) cited in Alaghbary et al. (2015)). However, its adherence to a particular socio-political view and lack of a well-defined toolkit to uncover the ideologies buried produce a less rigorous and replicable approach to text analysis Jeffries (2010a, 2014). An equally important issue this study is concerned with is that although CDA refers to the possibility of extending the notion of texts to “cover other symbolic forms such as visual images, and texts which are combinations of words and images” (Fairclough, 1992: 4), few studies have been conducted to specifically include multimodality as an approach to CDA. In this regard, Machin (2016: 322) and Ledin & Machin (2017: 60) argue that the field of multimodal CDA is still in its infancy where only few books have started to appear in which multimodality has been specifically formulated alongside CDA, such as Mayr and Machin (2012); Machin and Mayr (2012); Djonov and Zhao (2014); Abousnougga and Machin (2010)”.

A more important issue is that multimodality, see section 2.1, has also been criticised for lacking “consistency in how terms are used, where authors tend to come up with their own unique meanings” (Forceville, 2010: 2604 ; cited by Ledin & Machin, 2017: 62). It also shared the CDA approaches’ lack of rigour and replicable frameworks and methodologies. These criticisms demonstrate the need for multimodal tools and approaches that clearly keep the aims of critical analysis in being able to reveal ideological meanings in all forms of communication (Machin, 2016: 232).

Therefore, I argue that while CS, which developed a methodology to address the issues of rigour and replicability in the existing CDA approaches, can also be applied to address issues of meaning-making in visuals with greater rigour and a more replicable methodology. The starting point of my argument is based on Jeffries (2014) and Kress and van Leeuwen’s (2006) principle ideas of meaning-making, texts and textual meaning. While Jeffries (2014) observes that “texts make meaning in fundamentally the same way” and that “the tools of analysis that we need to perform all kinds of text analysis are the same” (p. 408), Kress and van Leeuwen

(2006) propose that visual images can be read as 'texts'. This is because they "display regularities which can be made the subject of relatively formal description" (p. 20). These regularities suggest that they have an underlying system that arranges them. McIntyre (2008) states that "the fact that we are able to make sense of images in terms of what they are intended to convey suggests that some sort of grammatical principles must be in operation" (p. 315). To this point, Kress and van Leeuwen (2006: 19) demonstrate that there is a "grammar of images". The way of viewing what the grammar of visuals is, suggests that the analysis of images as 'texts' would be to explore 'what an image is doing in representing the world in a particular way' and how the resources of the visual system are used to account for the way visual meaning is created (see section 2.2). This concern is a central one in Critical Stylistics. Jeffries (2010a, 2014, 2016) usually points out that Critical Stylistics is mainly concerned with capturing "what the text is doing conceptually in representing the world in a particular way" and "how resources of the linguistic system are...used to produce this conceptual meaning" (Jeffries, 2014: 409). Both frameworks focus on demonstrating how the resources specific to their verbal and visual systems can be used to make and project meanings which construct a particular world view that can be described and interpreted. Yet, there is some difference between the two frameworks. While Critical Stylistics possesses a well-established set of tools that are "already well-described in very many semantico-grammatical theories and models" (Jeffries, 2010a: 14) to "represent the different dimensions of the world as constructed by the text" (Jeffries, 2016: 163), visual grammar still needs to develop, or systematically gather, its theoretical apparatus to start building a well-defined toolkit of visual textual functions.

The work undertaken in this study is necessary as it suggests the first step towards proposing a well-defined toolkit that introduces a systematic and replicable stylistic analysis of multimodal texts. It is also necessary since it addresses the lack of analysing non-literary texts multimodally within the field of multimodal stylistics reviewed in section 2.1.2. This toolkit is based on the method proposed by Critical Stylistics to examine the textual conceptual functions and to test their applicability in the analysis of images. They will be discussed in detail in the following section with a view to clarify the way they are applied to examine the meanings created in the images. The following discussion on these tools clarifies that they are considered as a first step because they are essential in the sense that they are indispensable in any linguistic and visual text for making and projecting meaning and as such inescapable in

any text analysis. Moreover, visually they display features that can be made the subject of relatively formal description which make them good candidates to design a coherent multimodal toolkit. Some suggestions are made regarding how the list can be developed to become approximately equivalent to the one established by CS in chapter seven.

## **2.4 Theoretical framework**

The review presented in the previous sections provides the basis for introducing a new method to analyse multimodal texts that are composed of language and still images. This method draws on integrative theoretical points presented by Critical Stylistics and Visual Grammar to propose an integrated framework for the analysis of the data. To develop the new method, I make use of the framework developed in Critical Stylistics to propose each of the tools of analysis drawing on other frameworks to build the visual part of the method. The discussion starts with Critical Stylistics and the tools it provides for the analysis. Then, I discuss the frameworks that are used to build the tools for the image part of the text analysis.

### **2.4.1 The framework of critical stylistics**

Jeffries' (2010a) framework for text analysis is based on Halliday's (1994) systemic theory of the three metafunctions of language use. However, she introduces a different perspective on how Halliday's metafunctions can be used to explain the central issue of Critical Stylistics, which is "what is the text doing in representing the world in a particular way". Jeffries (2010a, 2014, 2016) argues that there is a level of meaning that is placed somewhere between the de-contextual (or semantic) level of meaning (Halliday's textual metafunction) and the contextual (or pragmatic) level of meaning (Halliday's interpersonal metafunction). This level is the co-textual (or textual-conceptual) level of meaning (Halliday's ideational metafunction) where it is taken out of the underlying system of language and linked with the use of language in context, specifically the co-text (Jeffries, 2014: 409). This level, which is referred to as the textual-conceptual level of meaning, is interested in tying the "ideational meaning to the textual level of language- not the underlying systems (Halliday's textual meta-function) nor to the contextual uses of pragmatics" (Jeffries, 2016: 163). This argument introduces the textual-conceptual meaning as the perspective that Critical Stylistics takes on Halliday's ideational function as "the point at which conceptual text worlds are created" (ibid). It also establishes a well-defined theoretical basis for the Critical Stylistics analytical toolkit, as it belongs to the

ideational function of language where all its functions operate to explore the different dimensions that the linguistic features use to construct a particular view of the world (Jeffries, 2014: 412).

The present study makes use of three tools to build its framework and to conduct the analysis. These tools are naming and describing, representing actions, events and states, and prioritising. They are based on well-established semantico-grammatical theories that realize their operation in the texts. It is worth stating at this stage that one reason for selecting these tools is that they display, linguistically and visually, systematic features that can be made the subject of relatively formal multimodal description. Another reason is that they are also chosen because they work for this model and the selected dataset. Other tools (e.g. equating and contrasting) can also work within the model with other type of data, e.g. news texts composed of linguistic text and moving images. These reasons make them suitable means for the description, analysis, and interpretation of the process of meaning-making in the text and image.

In what follows, I present the theoretical basis of each tool and the way they operate in the linguistic text. Discussion on how they work collaboratively with their visual equivalents is presented in section 2.4.2 and in the analytical chapters respectively.

#### **2.4.1.1 Naming and describing**

In Critical Stylistics, naming is a broad term used to cover a number of linguistic practices that are used to structure the noun or the noun phrase which is usually the grammatical subject or object in the sentence. It refers to how an entity or event is labelled (Jeffries, 2007: 63; 2010a: 17) and is informed by the linguistic theories of lexical semantics, generative linguistics and derivational morphology. Three main linguistic practices are of interest to the textual conceptual function of naming and describing. These are choice of noun, noun modification and nominalisation (Jeffries, 2010a: 20). Thus, Jeffries' (2007, 2010a) function of naming establishes a broadening of the category of nominalisation traditionally used in Critical Linguistics and CDA analyses.

The basic unit of analysis in this function is the noun phrase. In this regard, Jeffries stresses that the ideological importance of the noun phrase lies in the notion that they are able to ‘encapsulate’ ideas in a way where a great deal of information is packaged into few selected words (2010a: 19). Each of the three aforementioned linguistic practices has its own linguistic realization and entails different ideological consequences.

The linguistic model proposed in Jeffries’ (2010a) approach is interested in how naming and describing package up information within the noun phrase, which would create a given and unchallenged portrayal as it “does not form the proposition of the clause or sentence, but instead labels something that is ...presupposed to exist” ( p. 21). For example, in the following two sentences there is a change of relationship between the naming entities wherein information is packaged up in the noun phrase of the second example:

- Weeks of protests **ousted** Tunisian president Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali.
- **Ousted** Tunisian president Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali fled to Saudi Arabia after weeks of protests.

In the first example, ‘weeks of protests’ is one entity and ‘Tunisian president Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali’ is the other entity. They have a particular relationship in which one ‘ousted’ the other which forms the proposition of the sentence. The second example puts this action or process, i.e. ‘ousted’ into the nominal structure and in this case, it is no longer asserting it but in fact presupposing it. Thus, the focus changes from ‘ousted’ which is now part of the noun phrase ‘Ousted Tunisian president Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali’ to ‘fled’, which might be the result of this action which makes the ‘ousted president’, which is now given, to ‘flee’.

In addition to the quality of packaging up information in the noun phrase, “[T]hese choices allow us to place people in the social world and to highlight certain aspects of identity we wish to draw attention to or omit...they can have the effect of connoting sets of ideas, values, and sequences of activity that are not necessarily articulated” Machin & Mayr (2012: 77). For example, in my data president Ben Ali is frequently described as ‘deposed’, ‘ousted’, and ‘former’ president. This highlights one aspect of the president’s identity, where it is suitable for the context of the news story and marks the text producers’ intention to draw attention to these specific features and disregard any other different aspects of his personality as ‘president’.

Fowler (1991: 80) considers nominalisation as a potential site for ideology construction in texts because it allows for “habits of concealment” which can hide the identity of participants by changing a process into a nominal, resulting in loss of tense, modality and agency. Another ideological effect offered by nominalisation is the creation of existential presupposition (Jeffries, 2007: 62) which presents indisputable identity construction since it is not part of the sentence proposition. A detailed analysis is presented in chapter four.

Section 2.3.1.2 discusses the textual-conceptual function of naming and shows how the linguistic features are used to construct different meanings in the linguistic text. I will show how the linguistic naming operates jointly with that of the visual in section 2.4.2.2. The next section presents the system of transitivity as adopted by the critical stylistic method.

#### **2.4.1.2 Representing actions/ events/ states: transitivity**

Jeffries’ (2010a) Critical Stylistics bases this textual conceptual function on Simpson’s (1993, 2004) version of Halliday’s system of transitivity. This version is accessible and is “informed by a symbiosis of stylistic and CDA approaches to text analysis” (Coffey, 2013: 155). According to Simpson, transitivity “shows how speakers encode in language their mental picture of reality and how they account for their experience of the world around them” (1993: 88). The system of transitivity focuses on the clause as its unit of analysis which is composed of two essential elements: the process and the participant(s) involved in it (Halliday & Mathiessen, 2004 : 175). In addition, there may be a third element in a clause, the Circumstance surrounding the Process (ibid).

Different types of processes are categorised according to their semantic meaning and each requires different kinds of participants which might represent actions, states of mind, or states of being. The participants involved have different labels depending on the type of processes they are associated with which expresses their relationships to the process. Circumstances are optional elements that provide information in terms of time, place and manner. The following table summarises the number and type of process categories as proposed by Jeffries (2010a).

Main Category	Participants	Sub-categories
Material Action Processes	Actor, (Goal)	-Intention -Supervension -Event
Verbalization Processes	Sayer, Verbiage,	
Mental Cognition Processes	Senser Phenomenon	-Cognition -Reaction -Perception
Relational Processes	Carrier, Attribute	-Intensive -Possessive -Circumstantial

Table (1): Categories of Critical Stylistics' Transitivity System (Jeffries, 2010a)

It is worth noting that behavioural processes were neither included in Simpson's (1993) version of transitivity nor in Jeffries' (2007, 2010a) tools of critical stylistics. Yet, my data show processes that could not be analysed adequately by mental, material or relational processes. Behavioural processes were included in Simpson's (2004) version, and it is worth considering processes like 'were singing and dancing' as behavioural since in this clause, the verbs 'sing' and 'dance' are typical human bodily activity (Halliday & Mathiessen, 2004 : 175). Although both verbs are in the unmarked aspect for material processes, the nature of the action does not carry a necessity for another participant towards which/whom the action is directed (ibid) considers them as near material but I could not group them as totally material because they do not show any intentional action towards any affected participant. Rather, they merely demonstrate human activity when celebrating a particular occasion (in this context Ben Ali's stepping down).

Existential processes are another process type that was not included in the critical stylistics toolkit of transitivity, but were accounted for by Simpson (2004). He emphasizes their stylistic effect in avoiding using material processes and consequently the need for an explicit Actor (Simpson, 2004: 26).

Due to the presence of a number of existential processes in my data, it is necessary to take their ideological implications as a way of avoiding reference to an explicit Actor by nominalising the material process verb into consideration. For example:

- They assaulted him.
- There was an assault.

In these examples, while the Actor of the material action 'assaulted' is explicitly indicated as 'They' in the first, the second nominalises the material action 'assaulted' to be 'an assault' which deletes reference to the Actor completely.

It is also worth explaining that the table above cites attributive relational processes only and excludes identifying processes (with the participants 'token' and 'value'). The reason for this exclusion is that, in addition to the fact that they were not part of the model adopted, no instances of these processes were found in the data under analysis.

Other issues regarding the critical stylistic version of transitivity are accounted for in chapter five. After discussing the tool of representing actions/events and states, the next section deals with the textual-conceptual function of prioritising.

#### **2.4.1.3 Linguistic information priorities (Prioritising)**

According to Jeffries (2014: 415) prioritising is one textual-conceptual function that enlightens the analysis of different ideological meanings resulting from foregrounding/backgrounding information in the clause structure. This foregrounding/backgrounding information is realised through the three syntactic possibilities of information structure, transformation and subordination. Jeffries (2010a: 87) notes that these syntactic possibilities represent a range of ways in which information can be prioritised in English sentences wherein each one has the effect of making some parts of a sentence more prominent than others.

An analysis of the information structure of a sentence involves looking at a sentence and establishing what is the last compulsory element, which carries the focus of a sentence. For example, in the sentence "the worst bit for me was last night" (article No.1) the adverbial is the last compulsory element, carrying the focus; if fronting is used to rearrange the sentence to produce "last night was the worst bit for me", then "the worst bit for me" becomes the focus of the clause. The focus of the information structure can also be changed through

clefing, whereby a certain element is placed in the focal position through an 'it is...' or 'it was...' structure, placing the focus on the clausal complement, for example in "it was ... Mr Ben Ali's wife, Leila Trabelsi, who held the reins of power" (article No.5).

Transformations in English relate to the underlying structure of a sentence. This underlying structure can be changed in a number of ways which changes the focus of a sentence. Although there are many types of transformation, Jeffries (2010a: 84-85) observes two particular transformations. Adjectival transformation, which involves the placing of an adjective within a noun phrase, is one of the aspects of naming discussed in chapter six: the transformation from predicative to the attributive position allows a text producer to place the focus on other parts of the clause, for example in the shift from "Tunisians are resentful and the government does nothing to help them" (article No.1) to "the government does nothing to help resentful Tunisians". Passive transformations involve a shift from an active to a passive sentence structure, which makes the subject of a sentence optional (Jeffries, 2010a: 84), for example in the change from "Troops guarding key public buildings have sealed off the centre of Tunis" to "the center of Tunis has been sealed off by troops guarding key public buildings".

The third means of changing the focus in an English sentence is subordination. This concerns the way in which something that is at a higher syntactic level receives a greater degree of focus than those at a lower level. As Jeffries (2010a: 86) notes, placing something at a lower level makes it less open to questioning, as with the clause "President Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali was forced into exile on Friday after a month of protests in which the government now admits people died" In this example, the clause in which "the government" is the subject comes at a lower level of the clause structure. There is a main clause "President Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali was forced into exile on Friday", with an optional adverbial "after a month of protests" in which the complement is postmodified by a relative clause with "the government" as the subject.

The present study examines how prioritising is used to foreground certain aspects and information about the events and the participants reported. There are overlaps with the textual-conceptual functions of transitivity, naming and assuming. For example, analysis of information about Mr Ben Ali (see chapter six) looks at how prioritising is used to assume the character of a particular speaker who is passive due to losing power, e.g. "Mr. Ben Ali, who has sought refuge in Saudi Arabia, has not so far commented on allegations". The fact that an

individual's loss of power is assumed by naming him 'Mr' rather than 'president' and seeking refuge places the significance of what he does in a certain light (if someone seeks refuge, then not commenting on allegations can be significant in the discourse of toppled presidents).

Having outlined the way the textual-conceptual functions of naming and describing, representing actions/events/states, and prioritising operate within the linguistic text, the next section discusses the way these three textual-conceptual functions operate in the visual text.

#### **2.4.2 The framework of visual grammar**

Considering Kress and van Leeuwen's (2006) argument wherein images can be read as 'texts' because they "display regularities that can be made the subject of relatively formal description" (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006: 20), I assume that the level of textual conceptual meaning which Jeffries (2010a, 2014) argues for, also applies to still images. That is images possess the characteristics of texts and operate on the three levels of meaning in a relatively similar way to linguistic texts, which make them capable of constructing the world in a particular way on the textual conceptual level of meaning. This assumption suggests that Jeffries method and her proposed textual-conceptual functions used to explore meaning-making in linguistic texts can be applied to investigate how images make meaning to represent the world in a particular way on the textual-conceptual level of meaning. In this regard, Nørgaard (2014) states that "the addition of Kress and van Leeuwen's methodology to the stylistic tool kit will provide stylisticians with a consistent approach to — and terminology for — handling language and image" (p. 471).

However, while the Critical Stylistics' toolkit is based on well-established linguistic theories and well-defined theoretical arguments that operate on the ideational level of meaning, Visual Grammar has developed a toolkit to operate on the three levels of meaning. Within the ideational level of meaning, Visual Grammar has developed the visual system of transitivity drawing on the same informing Hallidayan theory used by Critical Stylistics. Yet, there are still other tools that need to be explored on this level of meaning. There is a need to develop, or gather, some theoretical underpinnings within Visual Grammar to develop frameworks for the functions that can operate on the ideational level other than the transitivity system. In this respect, O'Halloran (2009: 17) suggests that "[T]he modelling of semiotic resources other than language may involve a different paradigm from the one used for language where system networks are described using discrete categories". Following this point, both Critical Stylistics

and Visual Grammar possess their own versions of transitivity, drawing heavily on Halliday's transitivity system, to operate on the ideational level of meaning. This means that other frameworks need to be drawn on to account for the functions of naming and prioritising to operate together with transitivity on the ideational level of visual meaning. First, I will present the system of transitivity in Visual Grammar. Then, I will discuss the frameworks that inform the functions of visual naming and visual prioritising as they operate on the textual-conceptual level of meaning. I will also comment briefly on the problem of transferring labels and concepts from language to the visual system as far as the tool of naming is concerned.

#### **2.4.2.1 The transitivity system in visual grammar**

Kress & van Leeuwen (2006) developed a Visual Grammar of representation that, as mentioned before, draws on Halliday's transitivity system. It realises the ideational metafunction where it means "the ability of semiotic systems to represent objects and their relations in a world outside the representational system of culture". According to Kress and van Leeuwen, this sort of grammar can "represent aspects of the world as it is experienced by humans. In other words, it has to be able to represent objects and their relations in a world outside the representational system. That world may of course be, and most frequently is already semiotically represented" (p. 42). Therefore, reading or viewing an image on the ideational (representational) structures focuses on all the entities that are actually present in the visual, whether they are animate or inanimate, elements which represent the situation shown, the current world-view, or the state of being in the world (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996: 43-118). To this point, Kress & van Leeuwen (2006) distinguish two types of processes which are classified to represent two main categories of visual processes. These are Narrative Processes and Conceptual Processes. Generally, narrative processes describe participants depicted in the image as 'doing' something or performing an action. These processes "serve to present unfolding actions and events, processes of change, transitory spatial arrangements" (ibid: 56). Conceptual processes describe the general participants' state of affairs "... in terms of their generalized and more stable and timeless essence and in terms of class, or structure, or meaning" (ibid). Therefore, narrative processes deal with depicted actions and events, rather than depicted states of being which have the essence of constancy and their spatial arrangements are in a sense transitory rather than being concerned with fixed and constant spatial order, as in the conceptual processes (ibid). The range of visual process types are summarised in the following table.

Representational Structures (ideational)	Narrative Representations	Processes	-Action (actor+ Goal) - Reactional (Reactor+ Phenomenon) - Speech & Mental - Conversion - Geometrical Symbolism
		Circumstances	- Setting - Means - Accompaniment
	Conceptual Representations	Classificational Processes	- Covert - Overt ( Single or multi-leveled)
		Analytical Processes	- Unstructured - Structured0#
		Symbolic Processes	- Attributive
			- Suggestive

Table (2): The Transitivity System in Visual Grammar (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006)

Narrative processes resemble material, verbal and behavioural processes in the linguistic transitivity system, where the verb is visualised by a vector. Vectors are oblique lines, often quite strong diagonal lines, that are formed by glances, outstretched arms or facial expressions to express the kind of the action that the depicted participants are doing for or to each other (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006: 46-59). It is worth noting that the types of vectors analysed in the data are in many instances used to extend the meaning utilised by material verbs in the linguistic text. A detailed discussion on how these visual verbs extend the meaning suggested by the linguistic verbs is presented in chapter five.

Conceptual processes resemble the linguistic relational, mental and existential processes where participants are not connected by vectors but “representing participants in terms of their more generalized and more or less stable and timeless essence, in terms of class, or structure or meaning” (ibid:79). These processes are sub-divided into Classificational processes, Analytical Processes, and Symbolic Processes.

Classificational processes are those which “relate participants to each other in terms of a ‘kind of’ relation, a taxonomy: at least one set of participants will play the role of Subordinates with respect to at least one other participant, the Superordinate”. Two types of taxonomies are distinguished as Covert Taxonomy and Overt Taxonomy. The former is realised by a symmetrical spatial arrangement of participants that is “... any similarity between them as members of a particular Superordinate class is enhanced by the symmetrical arrangement in their placement on the page” (Royce, 1999: 63). This type of process is not found in the images of my data. The latter includes participants of Superordinate feature, which is also not found in the images of my data.

Analytical processes are those which connect participants in terms of part/ whole relationships in which one participant represents the whole while others are only members in that whole. This is similar to Carrier/Attribute participants in the linguistic relational possessive processes and which is found in one image in my data. A discussion of this image is detailed in section 5.5.2.2.

Symbolic Processes are those which express what a participant means or is (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006: 105). This type of process is connected to the symbolism of the messages conveyed by the participant relationships depicted in the image, which can be either two participants in the relationship or one. This type of processes is also not found in the images of my data.

After outlining the version of transitivity of the visual grammar, I will discuss the tools for naming and prioritising and outline the way I draw on the current research to propose these tools to extend the functions of the ideational level of meaning suggested by Kress & van Leeuwen (2006). The next section presents the way naming has been dealt with and how my proposed method is different from previous approaches.

#### **2.4.2.2 Naming in visual grammar**

The visual tool of naming has been outlined by Machin (2007) in his book *Introduction to Multimodal Analysis*. He draws on Barthes’ (1973) model of denotation and connotation devoting a chapter entitled *Iconography: the ‘hidden meanings’ of images*. Machin presents systematic discussions and analyses on how this aspect of image meaning works. The naming techniques used by images were analysed on their own with no reference to some

accompanying linguistic text. This makes the meanings utilised from the analysed images unexplained in relation to language, or any another semiotic system, so some comparison can be drawn between the way naming is realised in different systems.

According to Machin, although there is no neutral image, the meanings are generally either denotative or connotative (Machin, 2007: 24). That is, when an image cannot communicate a general or abstract idea, it is used to document or denote particular things, people, places or events (p. 23) depicted in the image, for example a photograph of a house. If images are used to connote meanings, they are used to communicate general values or abstract ideas under the effect of their cultural associations in which the image-maker uses in order to convey these general values or abstract ideas (p. 25). To analyse images at this level, Machin draws on Barthes' (1973) carriers of connotation that are responsible for transporting meanings through sets of cultural associations that sometimes work as a dictionary, such as poses (p. 27).

Another example of dealing with naming is found in Machin and Mayr's (2012) work where texts are analysed by drawing on van Leeuwen's (1996) model of social actors, focusing on specific class of lexical choices, while the images are analysed using some aspects of the interpersonal level of analysis such as distance, gaze and angle. This has been explained in the light of the argument wherein each semiotic system uses the affordances available to its semiotic resources to create meanings (Machin & Mayr, 2012: 96).

In this study, I make use of the works presented above to propose a method which is built on the argument that, like language, an image fulfils the ideational, interpersonal and textual functions. As such, ideationally it displays "regularities that can be made the subject of relatively formal description" (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006: 20) enabling the image to be read as a text realising the level of meaning argued for by Jeffries (2010a), i.e. textual meaning. At this level, like language, an image can name people, things, events and places to construct the world depicted in the image, as visual text, in a particular way. While it might sound problematic to use the label of naming in the visual context, as it sounds more relevant to the linguistic one, I decided to keep it to gain consistency of reference to the same tool. The method I propose consists of three stages of analysis.

At the first stage, I adopt Barthes' (1973) classic two-step analysis: denotation and connotation. This is an important observation step in the analysis since it allows me to consider what elements the image contains and then what associations these elements carry (Machin, 2007: 23). Unlike normal emphasis, which is given to the second level, i.e. connotation, I intended to give equal emphasis to both levels for the reasons I discuss in the next paragraph.

On the first level, images mirror or reflect concrete people, things, places, and events and in this case, they are used to denote or document reality. According to Panofsky (1970: c122), denotation in visual images stands for what all viewers, regardless of their personal context, would recognize what the image is depicting. Thus, asking what an image denotes is essentially asking who and/or what is depicted in an image. In terms of the images found in my data, I can say that they denote, for example, a protester, a policeman, or a street in Tunis. In this regard, I agree with and Machin & Mayr (2012: 50) who argue that this is an important and often undervalued aspect in semiotic analysis since there is a tendency to jump to the next level below. Close attention to describing what is depicted is a crucial first step. This is particularly important to my analysis, because it shows how the finer semiotic choices of people and places in the Tunisian unrest connote meanings, along with their associated values, identities and activities. I also show why I should be attentive to denotation by attempting the commutation test, which derives from a process of linguistic substitution used by the Prague structuralist such as Jakobson & Halle (1956). This test is central to examining denotation which is used by Barthes (1973) and is a characteristic of the work of Kress and van Leeuwen (1996; 2002) and van Leeuwen (2005). Therefore, as I make my observation, I hypothetically change features or qualities in the image, by replacing them with others, or removing them completely and consider what kind of difference this makes. This has allowed me to examine how image producers could draw on a number of features, for example, more or less detail of the image background and its influence on the total denotation of the image. In the analysis of this study, this step is suggested to be equivalent to the linguistic technique of choice of noun as it enables analysis to capture what elements are selected to represent the people, things, places and objects.

On the second level, images will still depict concrete people, places, things and events, but to get general or abstract ideas across. They are used to connote ideas and concepts. Therefore,

the question here is what ideas and concepts are constructed through what is represented, and through the way in which it is represented. At this level, I use the carriers of connotations of poses, objects and settings, which are used to interpret the hidden ideas, concepts and values of the depicted people, places, events and objects (Barthes, 1977; Machin, 2007). These carriers of connotations explain different features and characteristics of the protesters, police and places that are depicted. It is at this level of meaning that I can examine the kinds of identities and values constructed. I suggest that this step of the visual naming model operates in a similar way to the linguistic naming technique of modification as the carriers of connotation encapsulate meanings that modify the denotative meaning presented by the elements depicted. In this respect, Machin (2007: 27) states that we have a dictionary of, for example, poses which can interpret the meanings of the different ways of standing in which people are depicted. However, these associations might be cultural in many cases, rather than semantic as in linguistic naming, which make their interpretation more dependent on how much these cultural meanings are intelligible to the analyst (see section 4.3.2.1).

In this regard, Barthes (1977: 17-19) argues that the image is related to the ideological factors that are opened to interpretations at the connotative level in order to explain how meaning is created through complex semiotic interaction. I examine how the image, as nonverbal language message, construct participants' identity through using its own system of connotation carriers and how these connotations reinforce the meanings constructed by the linguistic text. According to Barthes (*ibid*), the image is characterized by a structural independence associated with what is aesthetic or ideological in order to address the recipient who is able to read it on the connotative level through his cultural and symbolic background. He adds:

When considering the 'symbolic message', the linguistic message no longer guides identification, but interpretation, constituting a kind of vice that holds the connoted meanings from proliferating, either towards excessively individual regions (limiting the projective power of the image) or towards dysphoric values (p. 39).

Therefore, the identities and the values connoted can be interpreted via means of a reasonable explanation which is based on particular parameters that can be tested and verified.

On the second stage of analysis, I make use of Kress (2007: 114-154) and van Leeuwen's (2008: 137-142) three dimensional model of angle, shot and gaze wherever they are relevant to the analysis. Each dimension presents a range of meanings that can be the subject of a relatively formal description as each of them has specific interpretative meaning. Kress (2007) and van Leeuwen (2008) design this model to interpret the relationship between the depicted participants and the viewer, which is the interpersonal function in Halliday's theory. However, I intended to use them to explore how they are used to name the depicted participants in a particular way rather than what relationship with the viewer they establish. In what follows, I will first present the range of meanings each of these three dimensions introduce. Then, I will clarify how I use them as ideational rather than interpersonal dimensions.

According to Kress (2007) and van Leeuwen (2008), images use a range of vertical and horizontal angles. Vertical angles can be high or low in which the former indicate that the represented participants are of a lower status than the viewer while the latter means that the represented participants are of higher status than the viewers. Horizontal angles can be frontal or oblique suggesting the meanings of involvement and detachment of the viewers with the depicted participants respectively. In my analysis, I consider these angles as representational rather than interpersonal as they present more information about the depicted participant constructed through naming. For Instance, in section 4.3.2.3 I argue that the high angle used in image 13, usually connotes participants of less or no power, e.g. children, and therefore constructs the protesters as vulnerable and lacking the power to defend themselves. Similar interpretations of angles are indicated by (Machin, 2007: 115; Bednarek & Caple, 2012: 69; Machin & Mayr, 2012: 100).

Regarding the second dimension, images can have long, medium and close shots which imply different degrees of formal/informal relations with the viewer. I suggest that while the formal/informal meanings still exist, they are part of the depicted participants' construction (see section 4.1.2). Gaze and its directions is explained in relation to offer/demand, left/right and new/given dichotomies which are significant in interpreting different constructions of

participants as positive or negative identity aspects as explained in section 4.2.1.2. For example, Mr. Ghannouchi is constructed as hard working interim prime minister in relation to his demand gaze (looking to the right) which connotes looking forward to the new, to the possible, to the future of a new Tunisia (see Abousnnouga & Machin, 2010).

On the third level of analysis, I follow van Leeuwen's (2008) categories for representing social actors to ascertain what patterns are used to construct participants, for example as groups/individuals, personal/impersonal and what kind of identity such patterns construct. This step in the analysis is essential to support the interpretation utilised using the techniques from the first and second levels of analysis. For example, the police, in image (14) article No. 9, are depicted collectively out of uniform connoting that they are all similar to other protesters highlighting the principle of 'they are all the same' and 'you can't tell them apart' ( p.144). This is interpreted on this level as significant in promoting a context where the police are constructed as a homogenous group, who claim, in the linguistic text, that they are victims of Mr Ben Ali government.

It is worth noting that the parameters on the second and third levels operate interrelatedly to give a comprehensible interpretation of the constructed identity of participants. For instance, the positive representation of Mr Ghannouchi constructed through gaze is supported by pose, a parameter from the first level of analysis, which connotes determination to openly form the interim government with opposition leaders (see section 4.2.1.2).

Having outlined the method, I propose to analyse images on the conceptual textual level of meaning, I will present the final tool I use for the image analysis, namely, prioritising or salience.

#### **2.4.2.3 Visual information priorities (Salience)**

Kress and van Leeuwen (2006: 17) propose a three interrelated systems model to account for image composition which relates the representational and interactive meanings of an image to each other. These three interrelated systems are 'Information Value', 'Salience' and 'Framing'. The first system concerns where the represented participants are placed in the image i.e. can be either centered or polarised. The second system shows how much of the

frame the represented participants occupy and the third accounts for how connected they are to other elements on the page, as shown in Fig (1).

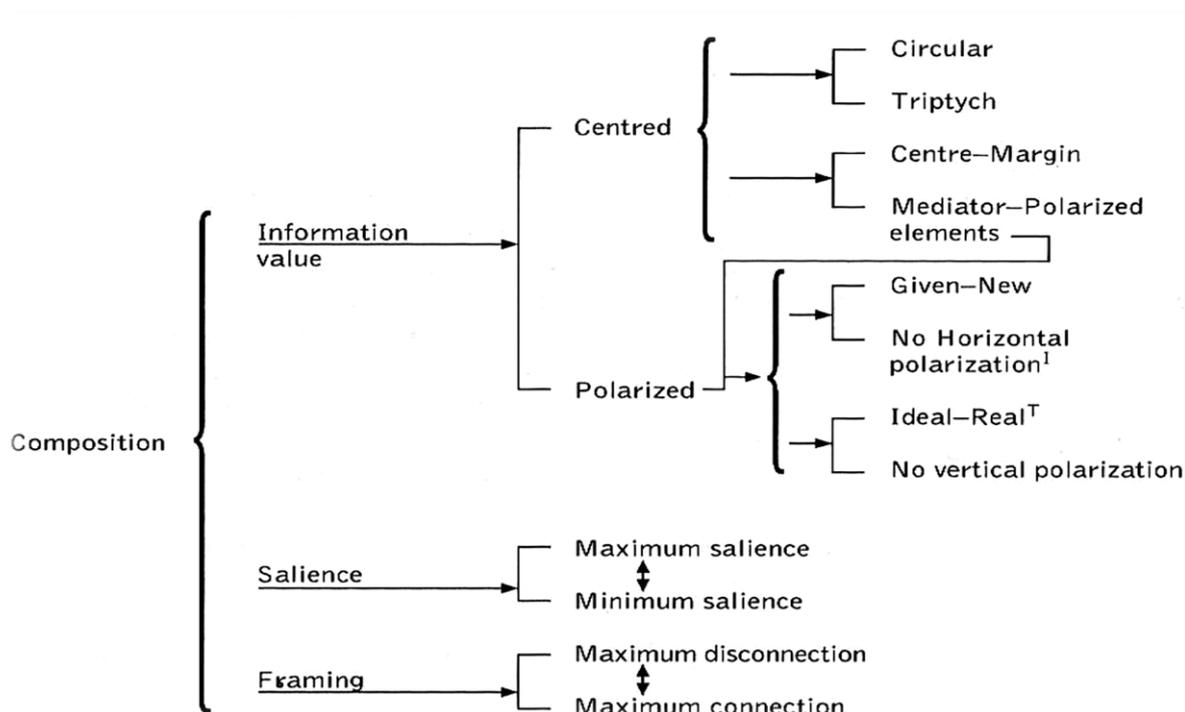


Fig (1): the meaning of composition (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996: 223)

For Kress and van Leeuwen, these three systems apply to individual images as well as multimodal texts where images combine with other texts and images on a page (ibid). While Kress & van Leeuwen (2006) apply this model to the page layout, which functions on Halliday's textual level of meaning, see table (4), it is considered as part of the ideational level of meaning. This is because this function is used in this study to examine how elements in individual images relate to each other through what Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) and Jewitt and Oyama (2001) call 'visual syntax'. It operates when an intention is made to attract the viewers' attention to particular elements in the image, e.g. participants, using the factors of placement in the foreground or background, relative size, contrast in tonal value (colour), differences in sharpness (focus), etc. These factors, called here principles of saliency, have the potential to make particular elements in the image structure stand out so that they gain more attention than others (Machin, 2007: 130). They interrelate and interact to create different degrees of saliency where they show how such interrelatedness is similar to information structure, subordination and transformation in the linguistic tool of prioritising.

The analysis of elements placement in the image structure involves examining the position of elements in the foreground to see if this positioning prioritises a particular meaning by making it more salient and further examining what ideologies are constructed. For example, in image (4p) discussed in section 6.3.2, Mr Ben Ali is foregrounded occupying most of the image size and therefore draws viewers' attention since he is also the most prominent participant in the text who was placed in the main clauses. I suggest that this foregrounded placement is similar to the linguistic concept of the compulsory element in the clause structure. Therefore, moving his placement to another position in the image, or removing him, would alter the focal element of the image and would result in another meaning that might cause incoherence with the overall multimodal structure.

Size is another important visual principle of salience whereby some elements, due to difference in size, are either made to stand out in the image structure or may have minimal size so that no attention is paid to it. For example, in image (15p) discussed in section 6.3.2, Mr Ben Ali is depicted in a relatively large size so that he stands out in the image structure as the most prominent element that attracts viewers' attention.

The principle of colour also participates in making particular elements as well as participants prominent in the image structure. In this respect, Machin (2007: 134-135) clarifies that it is through the saturation, richness and strength of elements' colour that they gain salience in the image structure. In my data richness and strength of some elements' colour in the image play role in making them stand out in the image structure, e.g. images 3p, 13p, and 14p. However, in some instances the prominence of these elements is gained by the cooperation and interrelation of elements placement, size and colour to arrive at the effect required to make these elements and participants stand out in the image structure (see section 6.5.2).

Sometimes, placement, size interrelate and cooperate on their own to make a number of elements stand out in the image structure in which the use of only one of them would fail to make such an effect. This is the case found in some images in the data under analysis. For example, in images (6p) and (13p), discussed in section 6.5.2, a number of similar elements depicted are of a relatively small size. However, they are distributed in different spaces of the image foreground and background which makes them stand out in the image structure as the most prominent elements in the image structure.

The principle of focus examines how sharp and clear some elements are depicted against a blurred, or out of focus, background (Machin, 2007: 137). Although this principle of salience depicts particular elements as more prominent in the image structure without the need to place them in the image foreground or have larger size, it overlaps with these two principles to achieve a maximum effect of depicting a particular element as salient. For example, image (15p), discussed in section 6.3.2, depicts Mr Ben Ali in an out of focus background that gives him a sharper and clearer depiction which overlaps with a foregrounded placement and larger size in relation to all the other elements in the image structure.

In chapter six, I discuss the importance of the recurrent use of the visual principles of placement and size and comment on how this coincides with the written text's frequent use of information structure and subordination.

## **2.5 Summary**

In this chapter, I reviewed the major body of research that informs the present study with the intention to outline gaps in the research that enable me to locate my work and establish where it can contribute to the current research on multimodal text analysis. The literature review also allows me to draw on the relevant theories and methodologies which resemble the basis for the theoretical framework I have selected to use.

In the first section of this chapter, I reviewed the general literature on the social semiotic approach to multimodality. I began by outlining its origins and the different approaches that emerged in the subsequent years showing the differences between them and arguing the relevance of Kress and van Leeuwen's approach to the purpose of my study. I then introduced the model of the 'grammar of visual design' developed by Kress and Leeuwen in section 2.1.1 where I discuss its theoretical framework and present the ways in which I suggest it can be used to form a new method to analyse images as texts which operate on the ideational level. When I finished presenting this part of the theoretical framework, I discuss Kress and van Leeuwen's model of visual grammar showing how images are considered as texts. Then, I reviewed the linguistic approaches to text analysis in section 2.3 with a focus on critical stylistics. This focus was to present critical stylistics as an alternative approach to address issues of criticism that targeted the previous approaches and to argue that its method can be tested to analyse images as texts.

The last section examines the theoretical frameworks presented by critical stylistics and visual grammar which are used to analyze text and image on the textual-conceptual level of meaning. They discuss the ways text and image operate on three textual-conceptual functions adopted from critical stylistics to test their applicability for studying the ideational level of meaning in images as well as language.

## **Chapter Three: Methodology**

This chapter describes the methodology used in this study to apply the theoretical framework discussed in chapter two and to answer the questions raised in chapter one. First, I introduce the source of the data, introduce the data, present a description of the data, and the procedures I follow for the selection of the data as well as preparing them for the analysis. Second, I present extensive discussions of the model proposed for data analysis, the difficulties I faced, and how I resolved them.

### **3.1 Data collection**

According to Bednarek and Capel (2012: 13), regardless of the approach adopted in news analysis, researchers should make an early decision on how to collect the data. Bednarek & Caple (2012) follow Bell (1991) in stating that researchers should make three decisions on three main areas. These are:

- the genres: news, advertising, opinion, and so on (type of content)
- the outlets: the publications, radio stations, and so on (carriers of content)
- the outputs: specific newscasts, programmes and the period to be covered (and the days to be sampled within that period) (Bell, 1991: 12).

To explain this, this section discusses different aspects of the data collected for the analysis. This includes the source of the data, introducing the data, description of the data, and the procedures followed to select and analyse the data. In what follows, each of these aspects of data collection is discussed in a separate section.

#### **3.1.1 The source of the data**

The source of the data for this study is the BBC News website. More specifically, the BBC news articles which are available from the BBC News website search option. This option allows researchers to search for different types of BBC services that are archived on the BBC website, for example, Weather, CBBC, iPlayer, iPlayer Radio and BBC News including international news online from where the data for this study is selected<sup>3</sup>. This makes the BBC News website a popular resource for collecting different types of data for qualitative as well as quantitative

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<sup>3</sup> [https://www.bbc.co.uk/search?q=Tunisia+president+steps+down&sa\\_f=search-product&scope=](https://www.bbc.co.uk/search?q=Tunisia+president+steps+down&sa_f=search-product&scope=)

investigations, for example, Silva (2010); Mortimer (2012); Wahl-Jorgensen et al. (2013); Latham (2013); and Sambrook et al. (2013).

The part of the BBC News website which reports world news covers a wide range of international events which are of high public interest. Reports show that the year 2010-2011, from which the data under investigation are selected, was an extraordinary year for the BBC international news coverage (Sambrook et al., 2013: 3). These events ranged from natural disasters, such as the Japanese Tsunami, to political upheavals, such as the events known collectively as the 'Arab Uprisings'. The latter events, namely the 'Arab Uprisings' defined as a "series of anti-government protests, uprisings and armed rebellions that spread across the Middle East in early 2011"<sup>4</sup>, are the focus in this study. More specifically, data on the events in Tunisia, which was the first Arab country that witnessed the outbreak of these events, are selected as sample data of the BBC coverage of these events during the period 14-24 Jan 2011.

The total events of the 'Arab Uprisings' received extensive as well as relatively impartial coverage from different BBC news outlets and the BBC News online is no exception<sup>5</sup>. The BBC online news articles that report all these events are also available for search on the BBC website search option. The search option poses one difficulty in that it allows a wide range of services and outlets that report the same news event to be the outcome of a single search word. At this point, I was looking for news articles that are composed of linguistic text and still image to design one unified set of data that can work with the theoretical framework discussed in chapter two and answer the research questions raised in chapter one. Moreover, such a set of unified data is important to support the research argument that even modes which have secondary role in making and projecting meaning have their own underlying system that can be described, analysed and interpreted. Therefore, I found it helpful to use particular search words that would give some relevant results of the required outcome. For example, general key words related to the event in question, for example 'Tunisia unrest', or specific key words that characterise the events during the period selected, for example

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<sup>4</sup> <https://www.thoughtco.com/definition-of-the-arab-spring-2353029>

<sup>5</sup> For more information, see:

[https://downloads.bbc.co.uk/bbctrust/assets/files/pdf/our\\_work/arabspring\\_impartiality/arab\\_spring.pdf](https://downloads.bbc.co.uk/bbctrust/assets/files/pdf/our_work/arabspring_impartiality/arab_spring.pdf)  
[http://downloads.bbc.co.uk/bbctrust/assets/files/pdf/our\\_work/arabspring\\_impartiality/follow\\_up.pdf](http://downloads.bbc.co.uk/bbctrust/assets/files/pdf/our_work/arabspring_impartiality/follow_up.pdf)

'President Zine al Abidine Ben Ali stepped down'<sup>6</sup>. Then, I selected the relevant outcome depending on well-defined procedures to collect and design the data that works with the theoretical framework, answer the research questions as well as be representative of the events in the period selected. While I discuss this point in more detail in section 3.1.3. Before that, section 3.1.2 introduces the data to present general idea about the topic and content of the news event reported.

### **3.1.2 Introducing the data**

In the previous section, I mentioned that the data selected for this study are on the unrest in Tunisia during the period 14-24 Jan 2011 which is a key period of the Tunisian unrest as well as the whole of 'Arab Uprisings' events. This is for a number of reasons. The first reason is that it witnessed the stepping down of Tunisia President Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali. The second reason is that it also witnessed the surprising end of an authoritarian leader who fled the country to Saudi Arabia after ruling Tunisia for 23 years. These two key events of the Tunisian unrest resulted in an enormous national and international reaction that made the Tunisian unrest events one of the most covered news items by different BBC news outlets. The third reason is that these two key events of the Tunisian unrest initiated the basis and inspired other uprisings in the Middle East and North Africa such as Egypt, Libya and Syria (Sambrook et al., 2013: 21).

Although reports show that there were relatively low levels of interest among British audiences in the coverage of the Tunisian events because it is not that familiar to most of them (ibid: 3), the extensive coverage these events receive from the BBC reflects a remarkable institutional interest. This remarkable interest reflected in the extensive coverage means that the events are valuable news from an institutional point of view. Consequently, this increases the likelihood of the data to manifest instances of ideological meanings that reflect the interest of the BBC as a news institution.

The data for this study is a set of ten news articles that are published on the BBC News online during the period of ten days 14-24 Jan 2011 that I mentioned in the first paragraph of this section. Each of the ten articles reports the most significant developments in the Tunisian

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<sup>6</sup> See [https://www.bbc.co.uk/search?q=President+Zine+al+Abidine++Ben+Ali+stepped+down&sa\\_f=search-product&scope](https://www.bbc.co.uk/search?q=President+Zine+al+Abidine++Ben+Ali+stepped+down&sa_f=search-product&scope)

unrest during each of those ten days. For example, the first two articles dated 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> Jan 2011, report the events of Mr Ben Ali's stepping down and leaving the country to Saudi Arabia. The following articles report subsequent events which represent the reactions of national and international authorities as well as developments in the demonstrations that reflect a change in the unrest scene. The national reaction is reported in the articles dated 16<sup>th</sup>, 17<sup>th</sup>, and 18<sup>th</sup> Jan 2011, as political leaders' 'efforts' to form an 'interim government' leading to the elections at the end of 2011. The international reaction is reported in the articles dated 22<sup>th</sup> and 24<sup>th</sup>, as 'official' actions taken by some western authorities, such as the French authorities, to 'freeze' Mr Ben Ali's assets and to 'open' official investigations on the legitimacy of those assets. While the Tunisian political leaders tried to hold meetings to announce the 'new national cabinet', protests continued in objection to the inclusion of members of Mr Ben Ali's government in the 'new salvation cabinet'. These events are reported in the articles dated 21<sup>th</sup> and 23<sup>th</sup> Jan 2011. The Tunisian police joining the demonstrations is reported, in the articles dated 20<sup>th</sup>, 22<sup>th</sup>, and 23<sup>th</sup> Jan 2011, as a 'dramatic development' in the unrest scene because they had previously been breaking up these demonstrations to defend Mr Ben Ali government.

The choice of this single news event during this specific period controls the variables of topic and content which facilitate the investigation of the processes of meaning-making that construct the world of the events reported. Having presented a general introduction of the main topic and content of the events reported in the news articles that form the data under investigation, the next section presents a description of online news articles in general and particularly discusses the BBC online news texts. This latter point includes discussions of the structure and layout of online news in general and the BBC online news articles in particular. The section also discusses the arrangement and number of images in the news text and how the reported content is distributed between language and still images.

### **3.1.3 Description of the data**

The summarised content of the news stories reported in the ten articles which I presented in the previous section is done through two semiotic systems. These are language and still images. Generally, almost every online news article consists of a linguistic text that includes "headline, image caption and story" accompanied by "at least one image that is normally a photograph, and sometimes two or three" (Salway & Martinec, 2005: 6). This applies to the

BBC online news texts. The linguistic text is divided into “the first paragraph, which gives an overview of the whole story and is often in bold font/type and the remaining paragraphs...serve to give more details” (ibid). The image caption “often summarises the news story...rather than describe what is depicted in the image”(ibid: 7). According to Bednarek & Caple (2012: 127), news image captions quite often tell more than just what is going on in the image and as a result relate the image to the wider news event and its news value. Therefore, the image caption in the analysis of this study is considered as part of the linguistic text rather than the image.

As far as the images are concerned, they visually report different parts of the events told in the linguistic text. All images in the data are either Reuters or Getty images and are in most cases placed to the right of the linguistic text. Salway & Martinec (2005) consider that the images in online news are used to attract readers’ attention which makes them less essential to understand the events reported by the text whereas the reverse is not true (p. 6-7). This view of the role of images in telling a news story might apply to other news websites rather than the BBC. For example, the images used in Aljazeera news website. These images are sometimes essentially used to attract attention by using dramatic shots of protesters that in a sense motivate readers to complete reading the news report. Upon closer examination of the news text, it becomes clear that the depicted people and events relate to minor details in the news story and many more important details are left without an image<sup>7</sup>. In this regard, Gabony (2014), a BBC lead multimedia trainer, discusses in detail the guidelines followed by the BBC in choosing and cropping photos for the different BBC news outlets. He also stresses the role of images in producing the required effect of creating a well-told news story<sup>8</sup>. For example, the BBC editors are careful when deciding on the size of the photo; its placement in the page layout; the amount of details depicted and its relevance to the news text; and the avoidance of using certain shots that violate the general BBC guidelines of objectivity and impartiality of reporting<sup>9</sup>.

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<sup>7</sup> See <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/africa/2011/01/201112014107109184.html>

<sup>8</sup> See <http://www.bbc.co.uk/academy/journalism/article/art20150629130443978>

<sup>9</sup> See <http://www.bbc.co.uk/blogs/collegeofjournalism/entries/b0333800-2bac-37c4-ad91-caa66701fcc4>

I follow Bednarek & Caple (2012: 111-136) classification of the communicative functions of news images and find out that the images in the selected BBC news articles can show the communicative function of evidence. Bednarek and Caple argue that such images function as evidence of the existence of dire situations and that they enjoy a level of truthfulness and objectivity (Bednarek & Caple, 2012: 115). In this respect, Burgin suggests that news photographs “represent a narrated world, a world of cause and effect, of activities. This world is not achieved in a linear manner as with language, but: ‘in a repetition of ‘vertical’ readings, in stillness, in a-temporality’” (Burgin (1983: 243); cited by Engel (2008: 4)). As will be shown in many instances in the analysis chapters, the images investigated show certain patterns that interpret their role in telling the news story as well as their relation to the linguistic texts. These patterns are either used to reinforce, extend, add, or suppress meanings already introduced in the linguistic text which makes their role essential to promote a good news story telling. These patterns of meanings will be discussed in detail in chapters four, five and six.

With regard to the arrangement of the linguistic text and the image on the webpage, they are displayed in a way that the first image is placed to the right of the first paragraph and at the same level under the headline (Salway & Martinec, 2005: 6) as shown in Fig (2).

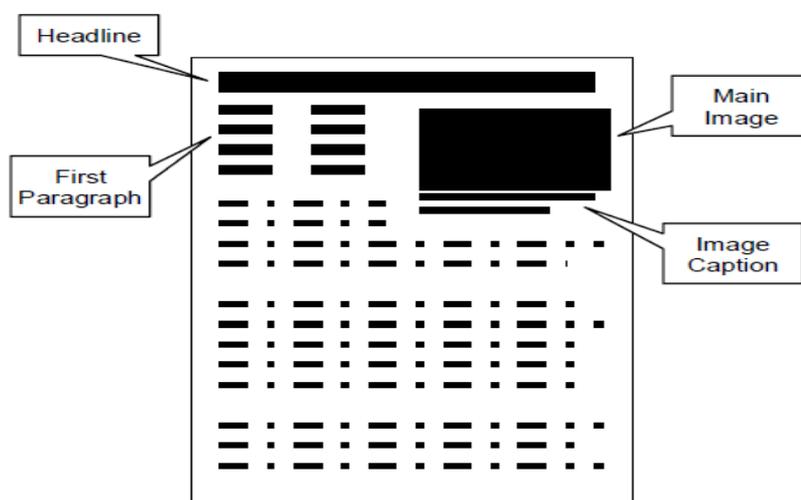


Fig (2): example of the layout of image and text on a news webpage<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup> This figure is adopted from Salway and Martinec (2006: 6)

If an article has a second image, it is also placed to the right of a paragraph that starts another aspect of the news story taking place on the same day as shown in Fig (3).

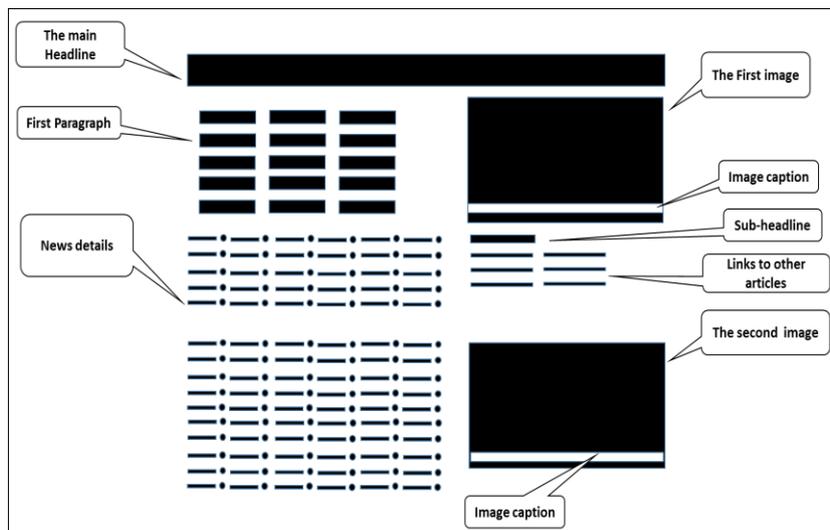


Fig (3): an article with two images

This variation in the number of images divided the articles in the data into two groups in which the first group contains five news articles with two images for each. The second group contains five articles with one image each. Therefore, the total number of images in the data under investigation is 15. A note worth mentioning is that one image, found in article No.2, has been excluded from the analysis because it is a satellite map showing some places in the capital. It lacks the aspects of a news photograph that report part of the events or the people reported. It also has no caption or details related to the events as well as the people reported<sup>11</sup>. Another point worth mentioning is that while all images in my data are displayed to the right side of the article's webpage as shown in Fig (2), only one article has its image placed to the top middle space of the article's webpage. This image also has a relatively larger size than the other images found in the data as shown in Fig (4)<sup>12</sup>:

<sup>11</sup> See appendix 1

<sup>12</sup> I followed Salway and Martinec (2002) in producing figures 3 and 4

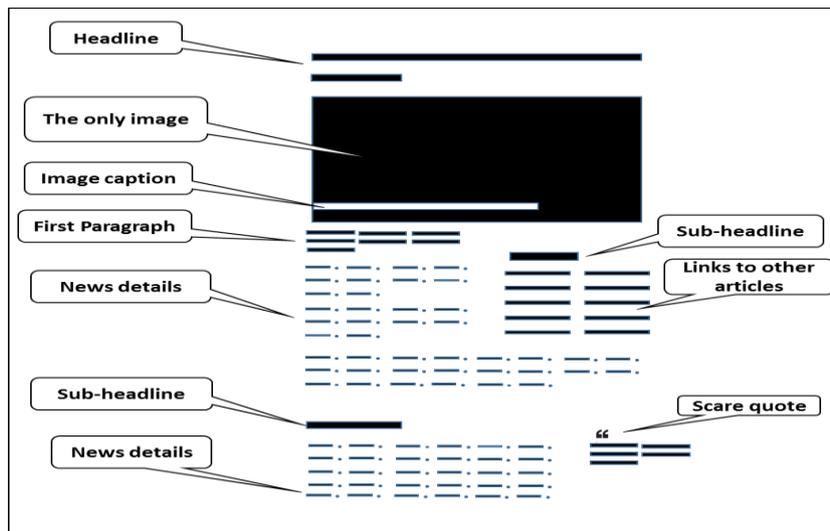


Fig (4): an image placed to the top middle of the news article

The difference in the number, placement and size of images might reflect different intentions of the BBC editors to draw readers' attention to particular aspects of the news story. For example, in my data, the instance where one image is placed to the top middle of the news article, which is image 14, depicts a number of policemen joining the protests which is described in the text as 'a very dramatic development'. This noun phrase was used as an attribute of a relational intensive process to describe 'the police participation in the protests'. Therefore, this way of describing the participation of the police in the text needs to be depicted in an image that has some visual features different from the others. That is, a larger size, a top middle placement, a frontal angle etc. to reinforce its importance as a development in the unrest scene. Therefore, although images play a secondary role in telling the news story because in every article most of the meaning is made through language, they have their own role in reinforcing significant meanings already introduced in the text. It is worth mentioning, as explained in chapter one, that the choice of this type of data, where one semiotic system is of a secondary role in reporting the news, is intentional to prove one of the research arguments. That is even those semiotic systems with minor, or secondary, roles in reporting news events have their own underlying semiotic systems to make and project meaning and therefore have their own role in telling news stories.

Sections 3.1.3 describes the data in terms of several aspects. This includes what semiotic systems participate in telling the news story, how they are displayed on the webpage, what roles are attached to each one, and how different placement of images can reflect editors'

intention to draw readers' attention to significant information introduced in the text. The next section discusses the procedures I followed to select the data, the problems I faced in arriving at the particular set of data and how these problems were overcome.

### **3.1.4 Procedures of data selection**

As mentioned in section 3.1.1, the BBC News website search option posited the problem of allowing a wide range of services and news outlets that report the same news event to be the outcome of a single search word. At some point in this stage, selecting the data was an extremely challenging step as how to arrive at a well-designed set of articles that can be applied to the analytical framework as well as be representative of the events in question. To overcome this challenge, I worked out three steps. The first step I made was that, as mentioned in section 3.1.1, I used particular search words that would give some relevant results for the required outcome. For example, I used general key words related to the events in question, for example 'Tunisia unrest', and 'Tunisia's interim government'. I also used specific key words that characterise the events during the period selected, for example, 'President Zine al Abidine Ben Ali stepped down' and 'Tunisia PM Mohammed Ghannouchi'. Some search words I used gave no results, for example, 'EU reaction to Tunisia unrest', 'Tunisia Unrest 2011', and 'France reaction to Tunisia unrest'. Having a huge amount of data as the outcome of these, and other, search words, I worked out the second step according to which I can select the relevant articles I needed.

In this step, I decided on a number of characteristics that the news article should have so that it is selected and included in the set of data. These characteristics were decided upon in an attempt to arrive at ten articles that can be applied to the analytical framework, answer the research questions, and be representative of the unrest events in Tunisia in the period selected. These are:

1. The selected news item should be a news article on the Tunisian unrest published on the BBC website between 14-24 Jan 2011 from the section 'World /Africa'.
2. The news articles selected should have the combination of text and still image, or images, so that they can be applied to the analytical framework which analyses still images as texts.

3. During this period, sometimes there were more than one news article published on the same day which are concerned with reporting damages to economy and tourism caused by the unrest events. A decision was made to exclude these articles and focus on the articles that report developments in the unrest scene and how these developments affected the political situation in Tunisia during that period.

4. Other news articles which were published during this period and also have the combination of text and image but are analysis articles are excluded because the focus is on how the actual event was reported not its analysis.

5. News items published during the same period which have the combination of text and video; 'In pictures' articles; or radio programme are also excluded because the analytical framework is not applicable to analyse these types of news texts.

After I outlined these conditions that determined what type of news items I should look for, I moved to the third step in which I collected the articles that satisfied all the five characteristics I outlined above. I selected one news article for each of the ten days specified. The total number of words in the ten articles was (4985) words with a total of (282) sentence and 15 images. After that, I saved the articles and their links in a separate folder (see appendix 1) and printed them out to prepare them for analysis. I did a final step in arranging the data in which each article is numbered not dated. For example, article No.1 refers to the article published on the 14<sup>th</sup> Jan 2011, article No.2 is the one published on the 15<sup>th</sup> Jan 2011 and so on.

During the period of a year, I regularly kept using the search option on the BBC news website after collecting the data using more specific search words. For example, I used the headlines of the articles collected, or more specific information gained from the content of the articles under analysis in an attempt to find out if there were relevant articles that my procedures might have missed out. I also revisited the articles collected twice a month during that year using the links I saved to see if there is any change to the content of the articles and discovered that there were no changes. Making sure that I gained the specific ten articles that I needed for the analysis in this study, I worked out other types of procedures that regulate the way these collected articles are analysed. These procedures are discussed in section 3.1.5 below.

### **3.1.5 Procedures of data analysis**

The data collected in the way explained in section 3.1.4 were prepared for analysis following several procedures with the intention to facilitate the analysis process. The first procedure was in accordance with the three tools of analysis explained in chapter two. Thus, to facilitate the analysis process, I created three copies of the same data to be specific for each of the three tools proposed to analyse the different ways of meaning-making in texts. In other words, the first copy was made to analyse the data using the tool of naming, the second copy was specific to the transitivity analysis, and the third was specific for the analysis of prioritising. The copies were numbered after the tools used in the analysis, i.e. copy No.1 (Naming and Describing), copy No.2 (Transitivity), and copy No.3 (Prioritising).

The second procedure was informed by the essential principles of multimodal text analysis explained in chapter two which argued that all semiotic systems contribute to meaning making and projecting independently and as a result they acquire similar analytical status. Therefore, they need to be studied as independent systems of meaning-making. In this respect, Victor (2011: 26) states that “in order to understand the total meanings made in multimodal texts, there is a need to understand how each semiotic resource in itself makes meaning before moving to examine the interplay and integration of resources in their co-deployment in the text.” Accordingly, the linguistic text and the image, or images, were considered as two independent texts and of similar analytical status. Therefore, in the three copies of the data, related to the three tools of analysis, the analysis was carried out as follows. First, I analysed how meaning is made and projected in the linguistic texts making use of the underlying linguistic system that informs each of the three tools of the analysis. I then analysed the meanings made by the accompanying image, or images, making use of the specific underlying visual structures that inform each of the three equivalent tools to the ones performed for the linguistic analysis. This step of analysis was carried out for each article on its own first, then I collect the findings for the data as a whole for the text and image analysis to arrive at the overall multimodal construction of the participants and events reported.

In the process of analysis, while keeping the principle of the similar analytical status of the linguistic text and images in operation, I consider that the co-occurrence of these two systems creates a sort of co-text, or context that motivates and affects the choices of making and

projecting meaning in both systems. In this sense, the meanings constructed in images were created in a co-text with that of the linguistic text, and vice versa, where both are assumed to construct a coherent portrayal that represent the world of events in a particular way. It is worth repeating that the type of co-text intended here is more relevant to Jeffries' (2014: 409) explanation in which meaning is not made by the language, and the image in this study, in itself but because of the use of the underlying features of language, and the image, in that particular text. At this stage of the analysis, this procedure and the way I designed it has helped me to limit the number of the possible interpretations an image might suggest. This is because the linguistic and visual features do not create meanings by themselves but because of their co-occurrence in that particular text which results in constructing a particular world view of the events reported. Therefore, this type of co-occurrence correlates the linguistic and visual features so that both systems show a sort of co-dependency to make and project meanings coherently.

The third procedure arranged the way the linguistic texts and images were analysed for each tool and how the process of analysis was worked out. To do this, I firstly decided to start with the linguistic text in every article and secondly I analysed the accompanying image or images. In analysing the linguistic texts, I followed three interrelated steps. The first step was to find out the number of participants reported in each article. The result was that three groups of participants were found dominant which all the reporting in the news articles revolved around. These three groups of participants are Mr Ben Ali, national and international authorities, and protesters. Having outlined the main groups of participants, I moved to the next step in which I manually counted the frequencies of the linguistic features that realise each of the used tools, and examined how they constructed each group of participants. Frequencies are made for each article first; I then collected the total of all articles frequencies in one table for each group of participants. For example, in the linguistic analysis of transitivity, I counted all the verbs attached to each of the three groups of participants. Next, I created a table for each group separately including the name of the group of participants, verbs attached to each participant, the type of the processes, the frequencies of each process type, the percentage of each process type, and the total of frequencies in the whole data. The third step was to discover the dominant patterns that construct each group of participants. It is important to restate here that this detailed linguistic analysis, with the frequencies and

percentages, is necessary. This is because it outlines the main patterns of linguistic meanings which consequently facilitates exploring how these patterns were reflected in the meanings created by the images and find out the patterns that determine how the image react to the meaning created in the text. More details on these patterns are explained in the following paragraphs.

In analysing images, I took two steps. In the first step, I analysed the images as texts by using the semiotic features specific to the visual system. However, they are not analysed as distinct from the linguistic text. In other words, while images are treated as independent semiotic systems and their analysis is carried out using the resources available to the visual system, the meanings they create are seen as made and projected based on their co-occurrence with the linguistic text. This makes their meanings motivated by the texts in a way that there is a co-dependency with the meanings introduced in the linguistic text. For example, in section 4.2.1.1 the linguistic naming analysis of national authorities of article No.3 shows that the linguistic text names participants formally using the choice of the nouns 'Prime Minister' and 'political leaders'. This formal naming meaning requires visually depicting participants in a formal way. Therefore, the analysis of image 5, which accompanies article No.3 and discussed in section 4.2.1.2, explains that the image uses naming choices from the first and second level of the visual naming model to reflect this formal meaning. So, the denotative and connotative value of the naming choices 'things', i.e. 'formal clothing', 'flag' and 'setting', i.e. official room, from the first level as well as the long shot from the second level construct the depicted participants formally. The visual naming choices are motivated by the linguistic formal naming practices which together create the multimodal naming meaning of formality. As a result, this co-dependency between the linguistic and visual systems played a role in constructing this naming meaning.

The second step was to examine how the meanings created in the images relate to the meanings introduced in the linguistic text. The analysis demonstrated four recurrent patterns of meaning showing how the image react to the meanings constructed in the text in which the image can either reinforce, extend, add or suppress the meanings already introduced in the text. For instance, the example discussed in the previous paragraph is considered as one way in which the image reinforces the meaning constructed in the linguistic text. These four patterns will be discussed in more details in the analysis chapters to show how they interpret

the way the images react to the meanings constructed in the texts and what ideological effects each pattern suggests.

Section 3.1.5 discusses the procedures followed to arrange and prepare the data for analysis. This includes the first procedure in which three copies of the same data were created to be specific of each of the three tools of analysis. Then the second procedure regards each of the linguistic and visual systems as having similar analytical status. This procedure has helped to explore how their co-occurrence produces motivated and co-dependent meanings that also limits the number of the possible interpretations of an image. The third procedure describes the steps followed in the analysis of each of the linguistic and visual systems to examine how meaning is made in both of them. The next section will discuss extensively the methods used for the analysis and how each tool adopted from Critical Stylistics has been tested as to how its method can be applied to the analysis of images by making use of the model of Visual Grammar.

### **3.2 Methods of analysis**

This study integrates the CDA-based Critical Stylistics framework with that of Visual Grammar to analyse multimodal texts. Although there are a number of critical multimodal studies that use the CDA approach to multimodal analysis (Capele, 2009; Knox, 2009; Hiippala, 2013), the present study is unique in adopting the Critical Stylistics' method. The Critical Stylistics' method and tools were used to inform the designing of the multimodal toolkit used in this study and to test the applicability of the Critical Stylistics' method in analysing images as texts. As discussed in chapter one, the rationale behind this study was to try to suggest a more replicable and rigorous method to analyse multimodal texts with a more defined toolkit that can explore what the multimodal text is doing in representing the world in a particular way. The discussions of the analysis in chapters four, five and six show that integrating Critical Stylistics with Visual Grammar was not an easy task, because of the issues involved in dealing with two different semiotic systems as well as the focus on different traditions of Halliday's theories. These are also discussed in sections 3.2.1.1 to 3.2.2.3.

In order to describe the method of analysis, I will first present the tools of Critical Stylistics elaborating on the three tools used for the analysis in this study, outlining the way they were used together with the tools from Visual Grammar.

### **3.2.1 The tools of critical stylistics**

The framework developed in Critical Stylistics consists of a set of tools termed as “textual-conceptual functions” henceforth (TCFs). I will first summarise the tools of Critical Stylistics, then discuss in detail the three TCFs which I used for the analysis in this study. While I briefly outline how I used the tools, detailed discussions of their operation are presented in the relevant analysis chapters so that clarity is achieved. The full list of Critical Stylistics tools as outlined by Jeffries (2007, 2010a) is shown in Table (3) as follows:

Textual–Conceptual Functions	Formal realisations
Naming and describing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Alternative nouns: choice of nouns to name vs to indicate attitude (reference vs ideological evaluation)</li> <li>-Modification within NP: presenting given/assumed information which is hard to challenge being positioned within the pre/post modification of NP</li> <li>-Nominalisation: changing MAI verb into noun head of NP to be passed on as an assumed nominal with pre-/ post modification to identify a referent.</li> </ul>
Equating and Contrasting	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Textual construction of equivalents through synonyms to set semantic appositional relations between concepts</li> <li>-Textual construction of opposites through Antonyms in the form of parallel structures</li> </ul>
Enumerating and Exemplifying	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Two, three or four-part list that engage equivalence or opposition through Hyponymous and meronymous sense relations</li> <li>- the part list in exemplifying is indicative not comprehensive as the one presented in enumerating</li> </ul>
Prioritising	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Information structures: the last obligatory element receives the focal</li> <li>-Transformation- passive /active and adjectival</li> <li>-Subordination: the lower the level of subordinate structure , the less it is open to challenge its content</li> </ul>
Constructing time and space	Deictics and other space indicators
Representing actions/state and events	Transitivity
Hypothesising	Modality: epistemic, deontic and boulomaic
Assuming and Implying	Presuppositions, entailments and implicatures
Negation	The constructions of non-existing worlds
Presenting other’s speech and thought	Speech and thought presentation

Table (3): The tools of Critical Stylistics and their formal realisations Jeffries (2010a)

As has been explained in chapter two, these TCFs operate on what Jeffries (2014: 409) calls ‘textual level’ of meaning which is placed somewhere between the de-contextual- level of meaning (Halliday’s textual meaning) and the fully contextual meaning (Halliday’s interpersonal meaning). That is, they are placed on the ideational level of meaning taking into consideration how the de-contextual and the contextual meanings interfere to produce the overall meaning created to represent the world in a particular way. The linguistic features that formally realise each of these tools offer the analysis a method to capture how ideological meanings result from using them in a particular way. One strength in Jeffries’ (2014) view about this level of meaning is that it exists in all types of texts where all texts make meaning in fundamentally the same way in the sense that “the tools of analysis we need to perform all kinds of text analysis are the same” (p. 408). This is one basic theoretical foundation that I make use of to test the applicability of its method to analyse still images as they are also considered as texts by Kress and van Leeuwen’s (2006) model of Visual Grammar.

Another strength of Jeffries’ model is her explanation that although this list is not intended to be exhaustive, it suggests a more coherent model that enables analysts to explore the functional aspects of text analysis with a central concern of capturing “what a text is doing in representing the world” (Jeffries, 2014). This coherence between the tools listed in table (3) above allows me to extract three essential and interconnected tools to form the first step in proposing a well-defined toolkit for the analysis of multimodal texts from a critical stylistic perspective. These tools are, as discussed in chapter two, naming and describing, representing actions/events/states, and prioritising. Through the analysis process, I observed that their being essential TCFs comes from three interrelated points. The first point is that they are essential TCFs in the sense that the semiotic features, linguistic and visual, realising these three functions are more ubiquitous, in the data under analysis, than the other tools mentioned in the table (3). Other tools are of a peripheral nature in that they do not have a primary role in constructing the identity of participants in the, e.g. exemplifying and enumerating. Some other tools, i.e. representing others speech and thought, have instances in the text but not in images which makes their inclusion in the toolkit irrelevant to the aim of designing a multimodal toolkit.

It is worth reminding that these three (TCFs) selected for the analysis in this study are also chosen because they work for this model and the selected dataset. However, as said in section 2.4.1 other (TCFs), e.g. equating and contrasting, could also work within the model with other types of data, e.g. news texts composed of linguistic text and moving images.

The second point is that these three tools are interconnected linguistically and visually to each other in a way that together they make the analysis more systematic of the linguistic and visual features investigated. Linguistically, they all depend on the lexical, syntactic and semantic resources of language to examine how these resources could be used to package up, or slant, information with ideological consequences (Alaghbary, 2013: 138). Other tools, such as, implying and assuming, investigate ideological implications through the pragmatic force of textual choice, which is hard to explore in images. Negating and hypothesising which investigate ideological meanings through the creation of hypothetical text worlds have very rare instances in my data as news stories usually inform readers about events rather than creating hypothetical text worlds for them to fear, desire or believe.

Regarding the coherence of these tools in images they display visual features that can be made the subject of formal description more than others in the sense that the analysis can use them to analyse and interpret their meanings against the linguistic ones. This aspect of the images makes the third point for the selection of these three tools in that they embody semiotic structures that can be made the subject of relatively formal description which make them good candidates to systematically analysing multimodal meaning-making in texts. The points raised above make these three functions unescapable to be studied and outlined as the first step in proposing a toolkit for multimodal text analysis.

For example, analysis of transitivity choices in the text and image of article No.1 revealed that images not only reinforce the type of the transitivity choices introduced in the text, but also their distribution as major and minor process types (see section 5.5.2.2). This means that the linguistic and visual functions of transitivity and prioritising overlap and co-operate in the text and image to produce coherent meanings. Sometimes this co-operation might cause a difficulty as to which tool an instance belongs to, yet in many cases, linking the linguistic and visual meanings helped in resolving this problem (see section 5.3.2). Within the linguistic

analysis, I also explain how a particular instance is more related to a particular function by providing cross reference to other tools where relevant such as assuming and negating.

In what follows, I will briefly discuss each of the TCFs I used, how I utilised them in my analysis, and how I extend their use to analyse images. In the following three sections, each function is presented in the order they appear in the analysis chapters to achieve consistency of reference.

### **3.2.1.1 Naming and describing**

The tool of naming investigates how linguistic features can be used to name events, people, things, and places. While in Jeffries' (2010a) model this tool examines naming choices in language, I use it as a method to examine naming choices in images that use resources available to the visual system. To this point, I use Jeffries (2010a) model of naming and describing to do two things. The first thing is that I extend the linguistic model of naming and describing which is realised by the three linguistic features of choice of noun, modification, and nominalisation to propose a three levels model to examine naming choices in images. This is not to suggest that the three levels are the visual counterparts of the linguistic naming choices, but to create a model of visual naming that can work with the linguistic one. The second thing is that I used Jeffries model to analyse the naming choices in the linguistic part of the news text and to explore how the three groups of participants I outlined in section 3.1.5 are named and categorised. While I discuss how naming works for visuals in section 3.2.2.1., the rest of this section discusses how I used Jeffries (2010a) tool of naming to analyse the linguistic part of the news texts in my data.

In Jeffries (2010a) tool of naming, the basic unit of analysis is the noun phrase which is usually the grammatical subject or object in the clause structure (Jeffries, 2010a: 20). Therefore, the analysis of the linguistic naming choices, in this study, deals with modification as part of the naming process which includes choice of noun as well as modification. This is because the semantic connotations of a noun, in many instances in my data, do not give in isolation a justifiable interpretation for the use of that noun in some contexts. For example, the noun 'president' is defined as "The head of state of a republic, a representative democracy and

sometimes (in cases of constitutional violations) a dictatorship” (Lingro.com accessed 2017)<sup>13</sup>. This definition suggests either a positive connotation as the ability to lead and legislate or negative connotation as the power to repress and control. In context, although presupposing the position of ‘president’ exists, mentioning it in a structure that contains premodifying structures result in the interpretation of, for example, losing power by force. This explains naming Ben Ali as ‘ousted president’ or ‘deposed president’. Thus, the analysis of the naming choices is dealt with in relation to factors whether the noun chosen is referred to using proper or common nouns with or without a title, attributive adjectives and predicative description.

The analysis of naming choices came up with two types of problem. The first type of problems concerned the analysis of the linguistic part of the text itself and the second type concerned how the meanings gained from the linguistic naming analysis are reflected in the meanings utilised from the visual naming analysis. Within the first type of problem, it was not an easy task to interpret the ample uses of proper nouns that are pre/post modified by different forms of address attached to the participants in the three groups. To overcome this problem, I make use of Simpson’s (1993) analysis of forms of address and their ideological implications to inform the discussion of the different meanings of the forms of address attached to different participants’ personal names in the three groups. Another problem I faced is how to interpret singular/plural and definite/ indefinite forms of the nouns chosen. For this problem, I used van Leeuwen’s (2008) categories of representing social actors to support the interpretation of the use of these noun forms in the noun phrases. These categories also supported the analysis to group similar choices in patterns to account for the overall identity construction attached to different participants (See section 4.1.1. and 4.2.1.1).

In the second type of problems, the linguistic analysis of naming choices came up with more detailed meanings than the ones constructed in the visual naming analysis. This is because of the nature of the linguistic system that allows analysing detailed meanings that affect the interpretation of the nouns chosen. Therefore, I find it reasonable that I use the patterns of meanings utilised from the detailed linguistic analysis of naming choices and explore how they were reflected in the visual analysis of naming choices. For example, in the analysis of the linguistic choices constructing Mr Ben Ali, two major patterns of meanings were utilised.

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<sup>13</sup> <http://lingro.com/dictionary>

These patterns were functional/personal and neutral/negative aspects of a formal individual identity constructed by different pre/post modifications structures. While individual identity in visuals is realised by depicting participants as individuals rather than in groups (Machin & Mayr, 2012: 24), formality of the visual identity construction of functional vs personal and neutral vs negative meanings are realised by the visual naming choices of things, pose, gaze, shot and angle ( see sections 4.1.1.1 and 4.1.1.2).

### **3.2.1.2 Representing actions/events/ states: transitivity**

Representing actions/events/states tool is concerned with the verb element in the clause structure, known as predicator, and the way this verb can represent different identity constructions of the participants reported. Both Critical Stylistics and Visual Grammar versions of transitivity are informed by Halliday's model of transitivity which operates on the ideational level of meaning. The Visual Grammar version of transitivity is discussed in detail in section 3.2.2.2. For the purpose of this section I will focus on Jeffries (2010a) version of transitivity, how I use it, what problems I encountered while analysing the linguistic part of the data using this model and how I resolved them.

To begin, Jeffries' (2010a) version of transitivity is based on Simpson's (1993, 2004) adoption of Halliday's model of transitivity which is described as accessible and applicable to literary as well as non-literary texts (Coffey, 2013: 72). Different stylistic and critical linguistics frameworks had made use of transitivity "as useful for unearthing textual ideologies" Jeffries (2010a: 39), such as (Fowler, 1991; Simpson, 1993; Jeffries, 2007). This tool operates through the choice of the lexical verb that is assigned to four major process types and affects all other aspects of the clause. The most important analytical aspect of transitivity for this study is that it helps to examine who does what to whom/how and as such support the analysis to explore what participants are constructed as more/less powerful/authoritative and examine how these meanings are reflected in images.

In order to facilitate searching for transitivity instances, I divided each article according to the number of sentences it is composed of and underlined each verb in the sentences. Then, I manually searched for the process types related to every one of the three groups of participants so that one group is focused on at a time. After that, I classified the verbs related to the group under focus according to their process types as well as the participants involved

and calculated the frequencies and percentages that stand for the use of each process type. The main reason behind calculating frequencies and percentages was to utilise the specific patterns of meaning that represent each group of participants so that it facilitates exploring how these patterns are reflected in the visual analysis of transitivity choices. This has also helped in exploring what kinds of meaning patterns the images construct in relation to the text they accompany. For example, the three groups were constructed as actors in many instances in which the analysis shows that this construction is gained according to the contextual as well as the semantic implications of the verbs used resulting in portraying participants as powerful/less powerful, weak/strong, affecting/affected and positive/negative. To take one instance, the police were negatively represented in the ten articles as violent actors using fire and tear gas against the protesters as well as cracking down on protests as shown in the examples below:

- Police **used** fire on protesters and dozens died. (article No.3)
- Police **used** tear gas to disperse the protesters in Tunis. (article No.5)
- The UN says as many as 100 people died as the police **cracked down** on the protests. (article No.6)

This negative construction disappears in the accompanying images of the texts where these examples are found. This results in outlining one way in which image react to the meaning constructed in the text in which the images suppress the meanings introduced by the text. This point is explained in detail in section 5.4.2.2.

As with the tool of naming and describing, this tool has shown two types of challenges. The first type of challenge is related to the application of this tool to the analysis of the linguistic text itself and the second is in relation to how meanings gained from the linguistic transitivity analysis are reflected in the meanings utilised from the visual analysis of transitivity choices.

In the first type of challenge, I faced two problems. The first problem was that my data came up with processes which are not part of the four process types introduced by the model of transitivity adopted. These processes are the existential and behavioural processes which were part of the model developed by Halliday (1994) but are excluded from the model adopted. For example, instances like 'there **was** a lot of looting going on at the same time'

and 'We **were singing** and **dancing**' cannot be interpreted as related to the material, relational, verbal or mental processes outlined in the model adopted. Therefore, I find it necessary to add the existential and behavioural processes to the model of the analysis so that a more adequate interpretation is gained from the verbs used.

The second problem was that while verbal processes allow the analysis to categorise a participant as 'Sayer', they do not interpret what kind of 'Sayer' the participant is. In other words, this process type does not offer an interpretation whether this 'Sayer' is confident/unconfident, authoritative/less authoritative, defensive/ un-defensive etc. To overcome this problem, I incorporated (1994) model of quoting verbs meaning potential to help determine what type of 'Sayer' is constructed. For example, in article No.5, Prime Minister Mohammed Ghannouchi is represented as a prominent 'Sayer' in 17 verbal processes in which he did not simply 'announce' the new government, but 'defend' its members and 'insist' that they have "clean hands". Using Caldas-Coulthard (1994) model revealed that the choice of these verbs constructed him as more defensive and less authoritative 'Sayer' (see section 5.4.1.1).

In the second type of challenge, I had a similar problem to the one explained in section 3.2.1.1. That is, the analysis of linguistic transitivity choices came up with more details than those found in the visual analysis of transitivity choices. This is because of the nature of the linguistic system which allows the analysis to explore detailed meanings which can affect the interpretation of the process types used. For example, the analysis showed that contextual information played a role in deciding the degree of intentionality of MAI to the extent that in some instances there is an absence of intention on the part of the Actor to perform the action (see section 5.4.1.1.). To overcome this problem, I have made use of the patterns utilised from the detailed linguistic transitivity analysis interpreting the overall participants' identity construction and explore how these patterns of meaning were reflected in the visual transitivity analysis. For example, the linguistic transitivity analysis related to the national authorities revealed that they were mainly constructed as 'Actor' and 'Sayer'. Therefore, I searched how these two constructions were reflected in the visual transitivity analysis and discovered that these two patterns were reinforced by the images accompanying the texts which construct them as 'Actor' and 'Sayer' (see section 5.4.1.2).

### **3.2.1.3 Linguistic information priorities (Prioritising)**

The tool of prioritising examines how particular information is made more salient in the clause structure to attract readers' attention. In Critical Stylistics, three syntactic possibilities are used to realise information salience in the clause structure. These are, information structure, transformation and subordination (Jeffries, 2010a: 77). Like language, the visual system has its own resources to prioritise elements depicted in the image through a number of principles of visual salience. These principles are element size, placement and focus and will be discussed in section 3.2.2.3. In the rest of this section, I focus on how the three syntactic possibilities prioritised information in the texts and how the prioritised information was reflected in the visual analysis of information priorities.

Each of the three syntactic possibilities mentioned above has specific linguistic features to foreground or background particular elements in the clause structure and therefore suggests some ideological meanings. Within information structure, focal is placed on the last compulsory element in the clause structure so that attention is drawn to it. In transformation, which is realised by passive structure, the focus is on the action performed rather than who performed it, as the agent is placed in the optional 'by phrase'. The effect of salience within subordination is realised by placing information at a lower level structure, resulting in considering the information at this level as less open to challenge to the extent it is sometimes thought of as presupposed. An important characteristic of this tool of analysis is that it overlaps with other tools to arrive at one overall prioritised information.

The analysis of the linguistic prioritising in this study explores how these syntactic possibilities are used to foreground or background aspects and information about participants in the three groups and how such foregrounding/backgrounding of information constructed their identities. Instances of prioritising information for each group of participants in the ten articles were collected; frequencies were calculated and arranged in numbered tables for the three groups to facilitate interpreting the identity patterns resulting from the detailed analysis. Analysis showed that these prioritising instances construct identities through the patterns of being either weak/strong or negative/positive.

I faced also two types of challenge similar to those I encountered in naming and transitivity tools. That is the first type of challenge is related to problems in analysing the linguistic text

using this tool and the second type related to problems of investigating how the meanings utilised from the linguistic analysis are reflected in images and how the image reacts to the meanings constructed in the text.

In the first type of challenge, I faced the problem of the overlap between prioritising and other tools used in the analysis. Although it enriched the analysis to account more comprehensively on a single instance of prioritising, it caused some problems in the discussion arrangements in the analysis chapters. For example, in instances of passive transformation the overlap between prioritising and transitivity is unavoidable as both tools are interested in the verb to reflect implied meanings. Therefore, it was problematic to which analysis chapter the same instance is related, i.e., the chapters of transitivity or prioritising. I tried to refer to the specific way each tool realises the same instance as a discussion strategy to distinguish between the two (see section 6.3.1).

In the second type of challenge, the problem was that detailed meanings gained from the linguistic analysis of information priorities were visually realised by choices from the tool of visual information priorities as well as other tools, i.e. naming and transitivity. Therefore, although there is coherence between the linguistic and visual prioritising techniques that make similar information or participants prominent in the text and image structure, images use the feature of overlap with other visual functions to construct the prioritised linguistic meanings of weak/strong or negative/positive participants. To this point, I suggested that not visualising all the details found in the linguistic text through the same function, i.e. prioritising, is not to be understood as a weakness of the capacity of the visual principles of salience. Instead, I interpreted it as a way in which the image utilises all the potentials found in the visual system, overlap is one of these potentials, to react to the meanings constructed in the text.

Section 3.2.1 discusses the three tools extracted from the method developed in Critical Stylistics and explains how they were used to analyse the linguistic part of the news text in my data. The following section will present the tools I used from Kress and van Leeuwen's (2006) model of Visual Grammar, how I used them and how I integrated them to the tools taken from Critical Stylistics. To do this, I needed to make use of other theoretical foundations and methods to build the tools that work as equivalent to the ones developed in Critical Stylistics.

### **3.2.2 The tools of visual grammar**

As has been explained in chapter two, the model of Visual Grammar is built on the arguments that images can be read as texts and that their semiotic resources can be used to represent and communicate meanings and as such they are considered as an independent semiotic system. Therefore, the framework developed in Visual Grammar consists of tools that analyse images as texts having their own structures as a full semiotic system. These tools explore how images make and communicate meaning on the three levels of Halliday's (1994) ideational, interpersonal and textual meanings. I will first summarise the tools of Visual Grammar that operate on the three levels of meanings, then I will discuss in detail how I use them to propose the tools I suggested for the analysis of images on the ideational level of meaning. The full list of Visual Grammar tools as outlined by Kress and van Leeuwen (1996; 2006) is shown in Table (4) as follows:

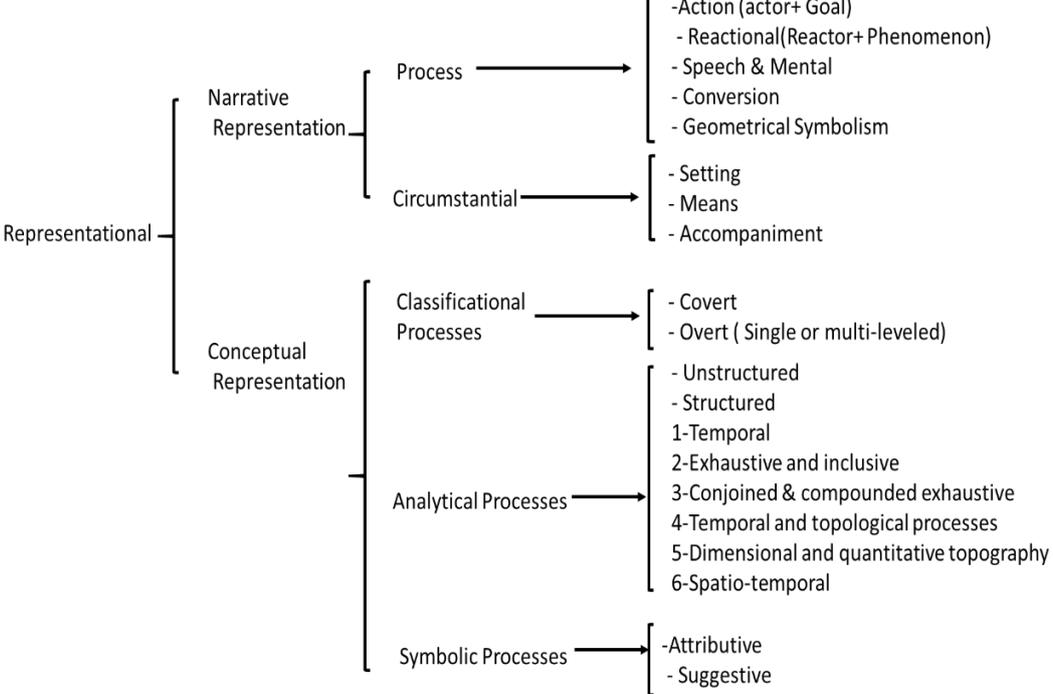
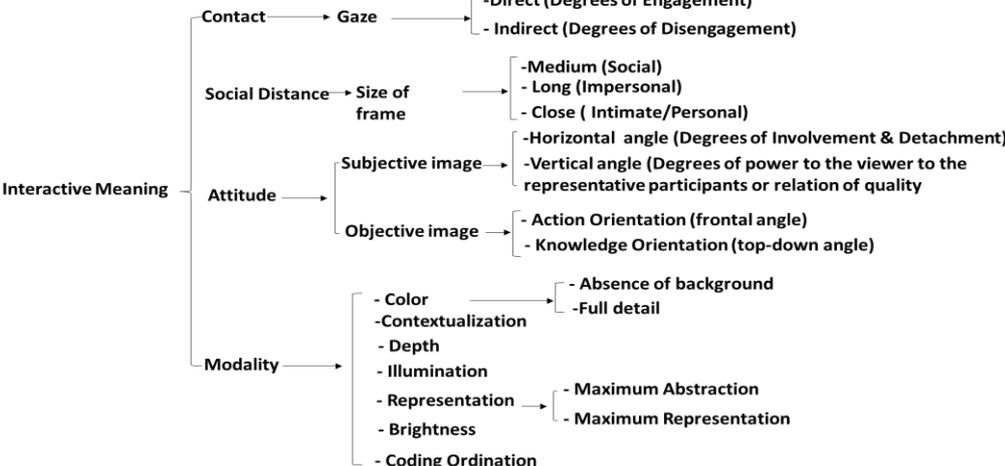
Levels of meaning	The tools
<p>Ideational meaning (Transitivity)</p>	 <p>The diagram shows 'Representational' branching into 'Narrative Representation' and 'Conceptual Representation'. 'Narrative Representation' includes 'Process' (Action, Reactional, Speech &amp; Mental, Conversion, Geometrical Symbolism) and 'Circumstantial' (Setting, Means, Accompaniment). 'Conceptual Representation' includes 'Classificational Processes' (Covert, Overt) and 'Analytical Processes' (Unstructured, Structured, 1-Temporal, 2-Exhaustive and inclusive, 3-Conjoined &amp; compounded exhaustive, 4-Temporal and topological processes, 5-Dimensional and quantitative topography, 6-Spatio-temporal). 'Symbolic Processes' include Attributive and Suggestive.</p>
<p>Interpersonal Meaning (Modality)</p>	 <p>The diagram shows 'Interactive Meaning' branching into 'Contact', 'Social Distance', 'Attitude', and 'Modality'. 'Contact' leads to 'Gaze' (Direct/Indirect). 'Social Distance' leads to 'Size of frame' (Medium, Long, Close). 'Attitude' leads to 'Subjective image' (Horizontal/Vertical angle) and 'Objective image' (Action/Knowledge Orientation). 'Modality' includes Color, Contextualization, Depth, Illumination, Representation (Maximum Abstraction/Representation), Brightness, and Coding Ordination (Absence of background, Full detail).</p>
<p>Textual meaning (composition)</p>	<p>Compositional Structures</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Information Value → elements placement and their relations to each other and to the viewer suggesting specific informational value connected to various image zones :left/right, top/bottom, and center/margin</li> <li>Salience → elements made more prominent to attract viewers' attention to different degrees by certain principles of salience such as placement in the foreground/background, focus, and size</li> <li>Framing → presence or absence of framing devices created by dividing lines or by actual frame lines disconnects or connects elements of the image signifying that they belong or do not belong together in some sense</li> </ul>

Table (4): The tools of the Visual Grammar Kress & van Leeuwen (2006)

I used the tools from table (4) to do two things. The first thing is that while Kress & van Leeuwen (2006) identify transitivity to be the only tool operating on the ideational level, I add naming and prioritising to operate with transitivity drawing on arguments from Jeffries' (2014), discussed in chapter two, as theoretical principles to make this addition. The second thing I did is that I make use of some elements from the interpersonal and the textual tools to inform the tools of naming and prioritising to work on the ideational level with transitivity. These elements and the way I integrated them with the tools proposed will be discussed in sections 3.2.2.1 to 3.2.2.3. In what follows, I present the three tools and describe how they are used and integrated along with their linguistic equivalents to analyse the visual part in the news texts under analysis.

### **3.2.2.1 The tool of visual naming**

The tool of visual naming investigates how images can name people, things, places and events in a particular way through visual naming resources. While Kress & van Leeuwen (2006) did not identify this tool as operating ideationally, I use it as an ideational tool to examine how visual resources in the proposed three levels model of naming choices name people, things, places and events in images (see section 2.4.2.1). The particular visual elements that name participants, places and events are concrete places, people, and things of various kinds depicted in images. On the first level of the analytical model, I adopt Barthes (1977) model of connotation and examined the meanings of these concrete elements paying attention to their denotative value then through the carriers of connotation of poses, objects and settings I interpret the hidden ideas, meanings and values embodied within their concrete depiction. On the second level, I incorporated Kress's (2007) and van Leeuwen's (2008) three dimensions model of shot, angle and gaze, used as part of the interpersonal meaning in table (4) above, to interpret the naming choices which participants, places, and events are depicted with. It is through these connotation carriers as well as features of shot, gaze and angle that I examined the different characteristics of participants which account for the kinds of identities and values constructed in the images. The naming meanings gained through analysing visual elements are categorised in patterns of visual naming meanings on the third level of the analytical model following van Leeuwen's (2008) model of social actors.

The analysis came up with several interesting points that revealed how visual naming choices on the three levels combine and overlap ideationally to reinforce, extend, add or exclude meanings introduced through the linguistic naming choices. For example, the formal naming construction of the national authorities that prevailed in the linguistic texts of the data through various naming choices was reinforced in the images through a number of visual naming choices producing one coherent multimodal naming pattern of formality (see section 4.2.1.2).

There are also instances where both linguistic and visual systems construct similar meanings where the images reinforce the naming choices introduced in the texts. For example, the positive linguistic construction of the protesters as 'impromptu militia' through contextual information is reinforced by the visual naming choices of things, poses and places to connote an unthreatening group of people who are protecting their homes (see section 4.3.2.1).

Other instances showed that certain naming meanings are constructed either linguistically or visually. For example, the vulnerable identity attached to the protesters is constructed visually using high angle to visualise a candle vigil event remembering those killed in the protests which is explained in section 4.3.2.3.

The issue of having more details in the linguistic analysis that images do not cover in the same way was one problem that faced the analysis using the model of visual naming. I resolved this problem by utilising the particular patterns of meaning that unified a particular detailed linguistic analysis and examining how this pattern was reflected in the visual analysis when analysing the images accompanying the linguistic texts in question.

Another problem that faced the analysis was the use of the same image to depict more than one group of participants. This required the use of the same image in different sections to discuss the way naming choices construct the different participants depicted in the image. I followed some technical procedures to distinguish how the same image is used to construct different groups of participants. For example, images (10) and (11) depict the protesters and the police together in different situations of the unrest events and are used in the sections related to these two groups of participants (see sections 4.2.2 and 4.3.2).

### **3.2.2.2 The tool of visual transitivity**

The tool of visual transitivity examines how the visual resources are used to capture processes of representation and construct conceptual relations between the people, places and things depicted in images. The visual transitivity system uses the same verb categories offered by Halliday to think about what is going on between the participants, things and places depicted in an image. Applying Kress and van Leeuwen's (2006) transitivity model to images gave the analysis a more precise toolkit for thinking about action and agency in the images analysed in this study. Application of this system allowed interpreting the visual representation of social actors in the data under analysis as powerful/less powerful, foregrounded/backgrounded, positive/negative and affecting/affected. The system also enabled me to investigate whether there has been deletion of agents and whether the image helps to bring in an abstracted sense of what is going on. The visual transitivity system proposed by Kress & van Leeuwen (2006) modifies Halliday's (1994) six processes to deal with visual representation (see section 2.4.2.1 for full discussion on the visual version of transitivity).

Following Machin & Mayr (2012: 131), I analysed the visual transitivity processes to examine the extent to which they are similar to or different from the linguistic ones. The visual transitivity system can determine if they are similar to the ones used in the verbal text and the effects this can have on the overall representation of the linguistic construction of participants. Moreover, if they are not, it also can answer in what ways and how this affects the overall representation of participants.

It is worth reminding that the visual transitivity analysis treated all images in the data as part of the whole text and therefore visual transitivity choices were not analysed and interpreted in isolation but their analyses were supported by the analyses and interpretations of the linguistic transitivity choices used in the linguistic text they accompany. Therefore, the analyses and interpretations were carried out taking into consideration all the textual and contextual information available in the text to regulate and specify what transitivity choices an image is exactly meant to depict in constructing participants, actions, events and states.

### **3.2.2.3 Visual information priorities (Salience)**

The tool of visual prioritising takes into account how the principles of visual salience make a particular element stand out among other elements in the image structure to attract viewers'

attention. While Kress & van Leeuwen (2006: 177) consider prioritising, or salience in visual terms, as one parameter through which elements on the page layout are related to each other functioning on Halliday's textual level of meaning, as shown in table (2), I used it as part of the ideational level of meaning. This is because I used it to analyse how elements in individual images relate to each other rather than how elements on the page layout relate to each other through what is called 'visual syntax' (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996; Jewitt & Oyama, 2000; cited by Machin, 2007: 129).

The analysis focused on how visual principles of salience make particular people, things, places, and events stand out in the image structure and to what extent this coheres with the linguistic analysis of prioritising of the three groups of participants. The principles of salience I incorporated included the factors of placement in the foreground or background, relative size, contrast in tonal value (colour), and differences in sharpness. These factors have the potential to make particular elements stand out in the image structure so that they gain more attention than others (Machin, 2007: 130). They interrelate and interact to create different degrees of salience where they show overlap with other visual textual conceptual functions in a similar way to that found in the linguistic textual conceptual function of prioritising. It is worth mentioning that the principles of salience that will be discussed in the rest of this section were selected on the basis that they represent the visual equivalents of their linguistic counterparts discussed in section 3.2.1.3. In addition they are more recurrent than the other principles of salience, mentioned in Kress & van Leeuwen (2006); Machin (2007); and Machin & Mayr (2012), in my data.

Analysis of elements placement in the image structure involved examining the position of elements in the foreground/background to see if this positioning prioritises a particular meaning by making it more salient and what ideologies are constructed. For example, in image (4p) discussed in section 6.3.2, Mr Ben Ali is foregrounded occupying most of the image size and therefore he is the most prominent element in the image structure. He is also the most prominent participant in the text who was placed in main clauses through information structure. I suggest that this foregrounded placement is similar to the linguistic concept of compulsory element in the clause structure. Therefore, moving his placement to another position in the image, or removing him, would alter the focal element of the image and would

produce another meaning that might cause incoherence with the overall multimodal structure of the news text.

Size is another important visual principle of salience whereby some elements, due to difference in size, are made to either stand out in the image structure or have minimum size so that no attention is paid to them. For example, in image (5p) discussed in section 6.4.1.2, while political leaders are depicted with a relatively large size which makes them stand in the image structure, other elements in the image are of small size, e.g. the notebook on the table, so that it could be hardly noticed.

The principle of colour also participates in making particular elements as well as participants prominent in the image structure. In this respect, Machin (2007: 134-135) clarifies that it is through the saturation, richness and strength of the elements' colour that they gain salience in the image structure. In my data richness and strength of some elements' colour in the image play role in making them stand out in the image structure, e.g. images 3p, 13p, and 14p. However, in some instances the prominence of these elements is gained by the cooperation and interrelation of the elements' placement, size and colour to arrive at the effect required to make these elements and participants stand out in the image structure (see section 6.5.2).

Sometimes, placement and size interrelate and cooperate on their own to make a number of elements stand out in the image structure where the use of only one of them would fail to achieve such an effect. This is the case found in some images in the data under analysis. For example, in images (6p) and (13p), discussed in section 6.5.2, a number of similar elements depicted are of a relatively small size. However, they are distributed in different spaces of the image foreground and background which makes them stand out in the image structure as the most prominent elements.

The principle of focus examines how sharp and clear some elements are depicted against a blurred, or out of focus, background (Machin, 2007: 137). Although this principle of salience depicts particular elements as more prominent in the image structure without the need to place them in the image foreground or have larger size, it overlaps with these two principles to achieve a maximum effect of depicting a particular element as salient. For example, image (15p), discussed in section 6.3.2, depicts Mr Ben Ali in an out of focus background that gives him a sharper and clearer depiction which overlaps with a foregrounded placement and

larger. Chapter six also showed that the recurrent use of the visual principles of placement and size coincided with text frequent use of information structure and subordination.

### **3.3 Summary**

In chapter three, I presented the methodology followed in this study. In section 3.1, I discussed the source of the data, description of the data, the procedures followed to the collection and analysis of data. Section 3.2 I explained the methods of data analysis which is divided into two sections. In section 3.2.1, I describe the tools of Critical Stylistics and how they were used to analyse the linguistic part of the news text. In section, 3.2.2 I present details on the tools utilised from Visual Grammar to analyse the visual part of the news text.

## Chapter Four: Multimodal Critical Stylistic Analysis of Naming and Describing

This chapter presents an analysis of the linguistic and visual naming choices that label and categorise the participants in the text and image of the selected articles. Linguistically, it is argued that “one of the potentially most influential choices any writer makes is the names s/he uses to make reference” (Jeffries, 2007: 63). Visually, naming choices are vital in exploring “how images may seek to depict specific people and how these people can be used to connote general concepts, types of people, ‘stereotypes’, and abstract ideas” (Machin & Mayr, 2012: 96).

Following Jeffries (2010a: 20), I take the noun phrase as the basic unit of naming. She stresses that the ideological importance of noun phrases lies in the notion that they are able to ‘encapsulate’ ideas in a way where a great deal of information is packaged into few selected choices of words (ibid: 19). A noun, for example, will be always chosen out of a range of alternatives. It will be then of interest, for analysts, to examine what other information is used within the boundaries of the noun phrase. Therefore, the analysis in this chapter deals with modification as part of the naming process, because both choices of noun and modification, actually work together to produce the effects required for naming participants in a particular way (see section 4.3).

Naming is also one ideational visual tool whereby participants are depicted to represent different types of identities using resources specific to the visual system. For the purpose of the analysis in this chapter, I propose a three levels model (see section 2.4.2.2). I adopt Barthes’s (1973, 1977) approach to connotation on the first level, Kress’s (2007) three dimension model of gaze, shot and angle on the second, and van Leeuwen’s (2008) model of social actors on the third.

Barthes’ approach is an essential step of observation as it allows the analysis to state what elements, e.g. people, things, objects and places, are depicted and what associations these elements carry (Machin, 2007: 23). This step could be considered equivalent to the linguistic basic unit of naming analysis, i.e. noun phrase. That is, the elements depicted, i.e. ‘things’, ‘places’ and ‘people’ are the nouns, or the choice of noun in linguistic terms, and their associations, or connotations, are the modifications which would encapsulate the intended meanings (see section 2.3.2.2). However, the associations of the ‘things’, ‘places’ and ‘people’

might be cultural in many cases, rather than semantic as in linguistic naming, which makes their interpretation dependant on how much these cultural meanings are intelligible to the analyst, e.g. the white colour of the protesters' tops discussed in 4.3.2.1.

Kress's model of gaze, shot and angle, interpret the meanings gained from the first level and decide whether participants are constructed positively or negatively. Finally, van Leeuwen's categories of social actors are incorporated on the third level and are important in supporting interpretations utilised from the first and second levels of analysis to find out the patterns that participants are categorised through, such as groups/individuals and personal/impersonal.

In this chapter, I focus on the major linguistic and visual naming choices used to construct the identity of the participants. Linguistically, this includes the choice of nouns, attributive adjectives in noun phrases as well as post-modification through relative clauses and other types of noun modification. Visually, choices of things, objects, poses, and settings are examined to explore their denotation, what associations they communicate and how they overlap and combine with elements of gaze, angle and shot to reinforce, extend or exclude meanings constructed by the text. My analysis of how participants are named in the text and image also includes an examination of aspects of identity that can be constructed by both systems as well as aspects that can be constructed either linguistically or visually.

For reasons of clarity, my analysis deals with the linguistic and visual naming practices constructing each group of participants in the same section. Analysis shows that the feature of overlap between the linguistic choices of naming is also found in the visual naming model which enables a more systematic account for the interpretation of the multimodal naming meanings. In the following sections, I present a multimodal naming analysis of the three groups of participants following the methodologies and procedures discussed in chapter three.

#### **4.1 Multimodal naming analysis of Mr Ben Ali**

Analysis of linguistic naming choices reveals that the choice of noun is a major linguistic practice that portrays Mr Ben Ali's identity and includes two dominant choices. The first choice is full name or surname premodified by titles or postmodified by relative clauses and the second is common nouns preceded by attributive adjectives. These choices convey a

formal individual identity that highlight either the personal or functional aspects of the referent's identity implying several meanings that suggest an intention to foreground the identity of a normal man or avoid official address choices to promote the construction of people losing power.

Analysis of the visual naming choices shows that while the formal individual identity was reinforced in the images, linguistic meanings of functional/personal identity were implied in one way or another in the images. It is worth noting that in this section I link the visual naming choices to the linguistic ones showing how they reinforce particular identity aspects initiated in the text while making use of their co-occurrence to regulate and determine the type of meaning suggested.

#### **4.1.1 Linguistic naming analysis**

As mentioned in the introduction, my analysis deals with modification as part of the naming process, because both practices work together to produce the effects implied by referring to participants in a particular way. According to Coffey "...noun phrase elements work together to produce ...ideological effects" (2013: 119). Therefore, the analysis of the choice of noun is discussed in relation to its modification to uncover the meaning intended by the noun chosen. This is because the semantic denotations and connotations of nouns, in many instances in my data, do not give, in isolation, a justifiable interpretation for the use of that noun. For example, the noun 'president' refers to the head of state of a republic, a representative democracy and sometimes (in cases of constitutional violations) a dictatorship (see section 3.2.1.1). This definition suggests either a positive connotation as the ability to lead and legislate or negative connotation as the power to repress and control. In context, although presupposing the position of 'president' exists, premodifying it by some adjectives produces the meaning of, for example, losing power by force. This explains naming Ben Ali as 'ousted' or 'deposed' president. Therefore, the analysis of the naming choices includes factors such as whether Mr Ben Ali is referred to using proper nouns, with or without title, common nouns, attributive adjectives and/or predicative description. Table (5) shows that four choices of noun are used to name Mr Ben Ali:

Choice of noun	Type of noun	Frequency	percentage
Mr Ben Ali	title	25	53.1%
	with of genitive	12	25.5%
	with 's genitive	10	21.2%
Total		47	100%
President	Title (with Caps) + proper name	13	39%
	Common noun (without Caps) premodified by the adjectives: ex, former, second, deposed, ousted and legal	20	60.3%
Total		33	100%
leader	Common noun premodified by the adjectives:	5	/
dictator	Common noun	1	/

Table (5): Choices of noun referring to President Ben Ali

Before starting analysing the frequencies shown in table (5), it is worth restating that these frequencies are important because they realize the patterns of meaning that construct Mr Ben Ali linguistically. Then, visual analysis will explain that the meanings utilised from these linguistic choices are similar to those constructing him visually.

Table (5) shows that the choice 'Mr Ben Ali' has the highest frequency which, although suggests a formal reference, it constructs an ordinary man's identity, backgrounding the identity of president to imply that the referent does not have the presidential power to rule or command. Close examination of this choice reveals several implied meanings, affected by the context and triggered by the two genitive cases, discussed in section 4.1.1.1. The noun 'president' reflects on the BBC writing style concerning the use of titles with or without initial capitals. In my data, this noun comes as title with initial capital to highlight personal aspects of the president's identity via nomination (Machin & Mayr, 2012: 81), while when it comes with a small letter it promotes functional aspects of the president's identity which sound more official(ibid). These are discussed in section 4.1.1.2. The impact of the attributive structures when this noun is used as a common noun to construct either neutral or evaluative description

of Mr Ben Ali is explored. Discussion on the premodifying structures attached to the noun 'leader', is included in the same section because they suggest similar interpretations. Finally, the choice of the noun 'dictator' reflects the original speaker's attitude towards the president because it is used within the direct speech of an opposition leader.

#### **4.1.1.1 The choice of the noun 'Mr Ben Ali'**

The choice of the title 'Mr' and last name (T+LN) has two textual meanings. The first meaning foregrounds the identity of an ordinary man when it occurs in the contexts of fleeing and conceding power. It also suggests a tendency not to name him as 'president' because he is no longer a president. It is worth noting that the choice of the noun 'Mr Ben Ali' is used instead of 'Tunisia's president' in the articles published after his fleeing where contextual information affects the choice of the noun in each case. For example:

- (1) **Tunisia's president** has stepped down after 23 years in power amid unprecedented protests on the streets of the capital Tunis. (Article No.1)
- (2) **Mr Ben Ali** fled to Saudi Arabia on Friday following a spate of violent protests across Tunisia over unemployment, poverty and corruption. (Article No.6)

The choice between 'Tunisia's president' and 'Mr Ben Ali' is closely related to the transitivity choice in each case. Presidents are more likely to 'step down' not 'flee' while generally, a person named as 'Mr' can flee. This overlap between transitivity and naming interprets the mutual impact of the semantic implications of the verb and noun that influence the choice of both projecting their significance on the change in the textual construction of participants. So, at earlier stages of reporting the unrest, Ben Ali is still referred to as 'president' where he performed actions relevant to those named as such. Later in the unrest reports, he is usually named as 'Mr' with actions that normal men perform when they are in danger, marking a change in constructing his identity from formal to losing power.

In other contexts, the choice of 'Mr Ben Ali' is postmodified by relative clauses which affect representing him as 'president' because of the information in the relative clause:

- (3) **Mr Ben Ali**, who has sought refuge in Saudi Arabia, has not so far commented on the allegations. (Article No.10)

In this example, seeking refuge connotes actions of weak or ordinary men not presidents of countries with power and authority. This indicates that whenever intention, through relative clauses, is made to portray his identity as weak and powerless with no presidential traits, the choice 'Mr Ben Ali' appears in that context.

In the second meaning, the use of subjective and possessive genitives constructs a negative identity. In the subjective genitive, the referent's actions are reduced to agentive identity. For example, 'Mr Ben Ali's flight', 'Mr Ben Ali's rule' which negatively name him as fleeing the country and ruling it abusively. For example:

(4) The official death toll during the unrest leading to **Mr Ben Ali's flight** was 78, though the UN says more than 100 people died. (Article No.9)

(5) Mr Ghannouchi also said on Friday that Tunisia would pay compensation to victims of abuse during **Mr Ben Ali's rule**, Reuters reported. (Article No.8)

The subjective genitive, in these examples, nominalizes the actions 'flee' and 'rule' referring to the genitive substantive which functions semantically as the subject of the verbal idea implied in the head noun. Therefore, the negative actions of fleeing the country and ruling it abusively are referred to as parts of his agentive identity. Flight is defined as "The act of fleeing. (It is noun version of flee)" (Lingro.com accessed 2017). This presupposes that his fleeing and ruling, which are hard to challenge, are aspects of his identity rather than actions performed under certain circumstances which might imply that under different conditions his identity is a negative one.

In the possessive genitive, the impact of negativity is not specific to Ben Ali but includes his government constructing an inclusive negative identity where actions of arrest do not target him personally but target his government or family members. It occurred as either ('s) genitive or –of construction and both have similar function and meaning (Quirk et al., 1985: 321, 1275-76). When the genitive is used with an indefinite modifying noun, it indicates that the two entities in the genitive are separable and, therefore the action performed is not targeting the president himself:

(6) Protests against **Mr Ben Ali's government** began in December, driven by economic grievances and resentment about political repression. (Article No.9)

This example presupposes that the event of protest is against the government collectively not Ben Ali in person due to economic grievance and resentment about political repression. These reasons construct the government as one example of bad ruling body rather than Ben Ali as an example of bad ruler.

#### 4.1.1.2 The nouns 'president', 'President': functional/personal identity

The choice of the noun president is written and used in two ways. In the first way, it is written with a small letter to indicate functional reference to the person reported. In the second way, it is written with initial capital followed by full or surname of the referent to indicate personal reference. For example:

- (7) **Tunisia's president** has stepped down after 23 years in power amid unprecedented protests on the streets of the capital Tunis. (Article No.1)
- (8) **President Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali** was forced into exile on Friday after a month of protests. (Article No.5)

Ideologically, using either of the two choices above indicates a choice between functional or personal identification of the referent (Machin & Mayr, 2012: 79-82). So, in the first example, the functional identity of the referent is constructed by the official action he performed that obfuscates any personal aspect of his identity. In contrast, the choice of the noun 'President' indicates a personal reference in either performing or receiving actions.

In other examples, functional vs personal construction of the president's identity is loaded in the semantic implication of the verb and not in the form of the noun 'president'. For example, the verb 'resigned' indicates that the referent performs an official action of leaving his job while the verb 'flee' indicates personal action performed by someone who feels afraid:

- (9) **President Ben Ali** resigned after weeks of unrest over corruption and unemployment. (Article No.2)
- (10) **Tunisian President Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali** has fled with his family to Saudi Arabia, after being forced from office after 23 years in power. (Article No.1)

The two examples use the noun 'President' as title but the interpretation of functional/personal identity is implied in the choice of verb. So, to 'resign' from a job means to "officially tell somebody that you are leaving your job" (ODO accessed 2017). This tells

nothing personal about the referent and refers to the official action s/he performed. In comparison, 'flee' refers to an action performed personally by someone to "leave a ... place very quickly, especially because you are afraid of possible danger" (ODO accessed 2017)<sup>14</sup>. The choice of the verb 'flee' highlights some personal aspects in the president's identity through the action he performed. Although in both cases his actions can be interpreted as performed unwillingly (see section 5.3.1.), it does not highlight official or personal traits shaping his action.

I conclude that the interpretation of personal vs functional identity implied in the choice of the noun 'president' is explained according to the form of the noun 'president', the contextual information provided by the sentence structure and the semantic implications of the verbs themselves. This point links the discussion to the argument in section 4.2.1 where I suggest that the semantic implication of a noun in isolation does not give a comprehensible interpretation of that noun in context.

#### **4.1.1.3 Attributive adjectives modifying the noun 'president'**

Six adjectives premodify the noun 'president'. These are ex-, former, second, legal, deposed and ousted. The first two premodifiers reflect neutral reference. Their meanings do not necessarily imply evaluative hidden meaning referring to those who used to have a particular position or status in the past. For example:

(11) At Friday prayers, there was none of the heavy security around mosques seen under Mr Ben Ali's rule, nor the customary mentions of **the former president** by imam.  
(Article No.5)

Although presupposing that he held the position of 'president' in the past, the adjective 'former' does not imply that leaving it was by force giving neutral reference to Ben Ali as 'president'.

The premodifiers 'deposed' and 'ousted' are evaluative indicating that he was removed from office by force. According to the Collins dictionary "If a ruler or political leader is deposed, they are forced to give up their position" (*Collins Online Dictionary (COD) accessed 2017*)<sup>15</sup>.

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<sup>14</sup> <https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/>

<sup>15</sup> <https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english>

Using such adjectives in definite noun phrases suggests that their information value is taken for granted. This aspect of naming – where certain qualities are assumed to be true – is related to the idea of the existential presupposition, in which the referent of a definite noun phrase is presupposed to exist (Evans, 2016: 46). They also foreground particular aspects of the referent’s identity and suggest that those who were responsible for deposing and ousting him are less important than the fact that he is now a deposed president.

Having explained how the linguistic naming choices construct Mr Ben Ali’s identity in the text, the next section discusses how this construction was reflected in the accompanying images.

#### **4.1.2 Visual naming analysis**

Mr Ben Ali’s formal individual identity was linguistically realised through choices of proper and common nouns constructing functional and personal aspects of his identity as well as neutral or negative identity aspects triggered by adjective modification. In images, the idea of individuality is expressed by depicting people as individuals rather than in groups (Machin, 2007: 24). Formality of visual construction of the functional/personal and neutral/negative aspects of Mr Ben Ali’s identity is realised I argue by the visual naming choices of pose, gaze, and hand movement. However, the combination and overlap of these choices are motivated by and dependent on the choices introduced by the text.

For example, Mr Ben Ali is named as ‘President’ in articles No.2 and No.5 to highlight a formal identity implying functional/personal meanings. The accompanying images, i.e. image (4n) and (9n), which are the same in both articles having the same caption, visualises this formality through the connotative value of objects, poses and setting overlapping with gaze, angle and shot.

The image depicts him standing in a presidential room dressed in formal clothing (black suit), two flags are seen behind him, one is Tunisia’s flag and the other is his RCD party flag.



Image(4n): Article No.2



Image(9n): Article No.5

While the clothes are important in strengthening the credibility of the linguistic construction of formality, they influence the assessment of the depicted participant informing about his status and viewpoints (Turk 1999: 173). The flags connote sets of shared value meanings in general, like national anthems, loyalty and glory (Machin, 2007: 26). Both, the formal clothing and flags give the image its formal meaning for the formal associations they connote and the way they cohere with the setting to suggest formality of the depicted participant's identity. Hypothetically, deleting the flags, dressing the participant in less formal clothing or changing the setting to a public place, for example, would decrease or suppress the meaning of formality. See analysis of image (15n) below.

Meanings of neutrality are visualised by pose and facial expression, as they show no aggressive or unfriendly impression. Medium shots are important in indicating formality in contexts where participants are dressed formally enabling viewers to connote their act in formal settings (Machin & Mayr, 2012: 97-99). Moreover, the involvement effect created by the frontal angle is decreased by the indirect off-frame gaze and medium shot which encourages considering the participant's action more objectively.

In article No.10, the noun 'Mr Ben Ali' is used 9 times constructing a less formal identity presenting him as less powerful and highlights the identity of an ordinary man rather than that of a 'president'. Image (15n), which accompanies this text, visualises this less formal identity and power by the carriers of connotation overlapping with elements of gaze, shot, and angle.



Image (15n): Article No.10

Image (15n) depicts him as walking in a public place wearing a formal long coat with his back given to some people behind him. The type of setting and pose decrease the formality and power of the depicted participant. The pose implies that he is not involved in an official action, like delivering a speech depicted in image (4n) and (9n). This decreases the importance of his formal clothing and indicates that he is less powerful. The effect of involvement created by the frontal angle is decreased by the indirect off-frame gaze and the medium long shot which indicates that he is not performing official actions can suggest a less powerful participant.

While the overlap between the naming choices outlined above also construct the less formal identity depicted in image (7n), other meanings constructed in the text, like 'deposed', are excluded in the image. This can be interpreted in terms of the mode's limitations and potential to make meanings that the specific mode is best at constructing. According to Kress & van Leeuwen (2006: 24) "Not everything that can be realised in language can be realised by means of images, or vice versa".



Image (7n): Article No.4

The accompanying text reports on a French paper accusing Ben Ali's wife of taking gold, which Tunisian bank officials denied. Such a topic might suggest that he is not the focus of the report and his presence in the image is for the sake of illustration or what Machin (2007: 26) calls a matter of "free association".

#### **4.2 Multimodal naming analysis of national and international authorities**

This group is divided into three sub-groups. These are the government and political leaders, the police, and international authorities. I discuss the multimodal naming choices constructing each group in a separate section.

##### **4.2.1 Multimodal naming analysis of the government and political leaders**

This group of participants receives ample linguistic and visual naming choices. Analysing the linguistic naming choices reveals that plural common nouns and singular proper nouns are two major choices constructing two dominant patterns. These are collective and individual identity. The two noun choices portray formal, political or official, identity of the referents with varying degrees of power and effectiveness created by the type of modification and the effect of contextual information. The overall occurrences of the plural nouns constructing participants' collective identity are more frequent than the proper nouns constructing their individual identity. However, in a few individual articles, the opposite is true. Analysis of the images accompanying these texts shows that they reinforce the individual identity constructed in such texts. This suggests that those texts using proper nouns more than plural nouns cohere with the image constructing individual identity of the participants in this group. However, this does not mean that the visual construction contradicts the linguistic one, but it

coheres on the level of individual articles portraying a reinforced construction of the participants introduced in the text.

In the following two sections, I analyse the linguistic and visual naming choices constructing the participants' identity in this group.

#### 4.2.1.1 Linguistic naming analysis

I mentioned in section 4.2.1 that plural common nouns and singular proper nouns are the major naming choices constructing collective and individual identity respectively. The common nouns are all in plural forms denoting collectively the formal, political or official, status of the referents for example 'politicians' and 'ministers'. The proper nouns, full or surnames, are head nouns in noun phrases premodified by titles referring to the full, political or official, status of the referents constructing their individual identities. For example, 'Prime Minister Mohammed Ghannouchi' or 'PM Ghannouchi'. In what follows, each choice is discussed respectively.

##### 4.2.1.1.1 Plural common nouns

Table (6) shows that plural common nouns have 78 occurrences. There are two types of plural including collective nouns like 'government' and regular plurals like 'ministers'

Choice of noun	Frequency	Percentage
government	34	43.58%
ministers	13	16.66%
cabinet	10	12.82%
administration	7	8.97%
figures	5	6%
leaders	3	3.84%
officials	2	2.56%
groups	2	2.56%
authorities	2	2.56%
Total	78	100%

Table (6): Common nouns referring to national authorities

The nouns in table (6) receive two types of premodification including noun and adjective modification which decide what type of collective identity is constructed. Noun modification includes the choices 'unity', 'salvation' and 'cabinet'. I used the connotative value of the premodifying nouns to interpret the meanings they construct and found that they portray the formal identity of the referents positively. For example:

(12) Tunisia seeks to form **unity cabinet** after Ben Ali fall. (Article No.3)

(13) Interim leader Foued Mebazaa - who was sworn in on Saturday – promised to form a **unity government**. (Article No.3)

In these examples, the noun 'unity' constructs a positive meaning of the nouns 'cabinet' and 'government' owing to the connotative value of the noun 'unity' as the state of being in agreement and working together.

In other instances, the nouns 'salvation' and 'cabinet' premodify the nouns 'government' and 'ministers' to suggest positive ideas about forming this type of government:

(14) The UGTT's deputy head, Abid Briki, told the AFP news agency that such a "**national salvation government**" was in accordance with the demands of the street and political parties". (Article No.5)

(15) **Cabinet ministers** said earlier this week that all political prisoners had already been freed. (Article No.6)

In the first example, the government is presupposed to be a 'national salvation government'. The value of describing the government as salvation one is attached to the original speaker by placing it in scare quotes which makes the truth condition that this government is salvation one related to original speaker's opinion.

In the second example, the general collective and formal reference to 'ministers' is gained by describing them as 'cabinet ministers'. Positive meaning about the identity of 'ministers' is implied in the contextual information positioned in the low level relative clause structure stating that political prisoners have been freed.

As far as adjective modification, it includes the choices 'new', 'political', 'interim' and 'Tunisian'. See table (7). I use (Biber et al., 1999: 508-9) semantic grouping of adjectives to

investigate what sort of information on national authorities is packaged up into the choices of such nouns. I categorise them following Biber et al (ibid ) distinguishing between descriptors and classifiers which allows me to examine the type of national authority constructed and how their portrayal is different from the individual construction of national authorities discussed in section 5.4.1.1.2. While descriptors are typically gradable adjectives “denoting such features as color, size and weight, chronology and age, emotion, and a wide range of other characteristics” (bid), classifiers are typically non-gradable and are grouped into subclasses including “relational, affiliative and a miscellaneous topical class” (ibid)

The semantic group of adjectives	The adj.	Frequency	percentage
Time descriptor 34%	new	17	34%
Evaluative descriptors 6%	fair	1	6%
	prominent	1	
	transparent	1	
Relational classifiers 26%	interim	8	24%
	transitional	1	
	Current	1	
	Previous	1	
	Retained	1	
Topical classifiers 20%	political	9	20%
	national	1	
Affiliative classifiers 16%	Tunisian	8	16%
Total	50		100%

Table (7): Adjectives premodifying common nouns referring to national authorities

As table (7) shows, the descriptor adjective ‘new’ has the highest frequency among other adjectives used in the data. All the rest of adjectives shown in table (7) are classifiers including relational, topical and affiliative. The relational adjectives delimit the referents, like ‘transitional’, affiliative adjectives designate national groups, like ‘Tunisian’, and topical adjectives show the relationship with the noun, like ‘political’.

It is worth mentioning that these premodifying adjectives carry time meaning. I focus on the adjectives ‘new’ and ‘interim’ for their high frequency which affects the overall portrayal of

the nouns referring to national authorities. They indicate meanings of recentness and temporality of the type of authority formed after Ben Ali's resignation. Examining the contexts reveals that these adjectives imply that this type of authority is weak, unacceptable and sometimes negative. For example:

(16) **A new, interim government** has faced continuing protests against Mr Ben Ali's RCD party remaining in office. (Article No.7)

(17) Earlier, political sources said Tunisian politicians were trying to set up a committee of "wise men" to replace **the interim government** after coming under pressure to remove ministers linked to Mr Ben Ali. (Article No.8)

In the first example, the context suggests that such government is not only recent and temporal but also weak, unacceptable and negative. This interpretation is implied in the non-finite clause, underlined, functioning as complement. It is weak because it has no reaction other than facing the presupposed continuing protests which is perceived as more pressing and active. The inclusion of members from the previous government constructs it negatively because they belong to the one which was overthrown because of its corruption.

In the second example, 'the interim government' presupposes that it is intended to last for a short time. This presupposition, positioned in a non-finite subordinate clause, maximizes its value as being taken for granted. Also, setting up a committee of 'wise men' to replace 'the interim government' constructs it negatively by implying that 'the interim government' is 'unwise' and should be replaced by another wise one. In addition, it is constructed as patient by postmodifying it by a temporal non-finite clause triggering a logical presupposition that it is under pressure to remove ministers from the overthrown government.

The adjective 'new' modifies all the collective nouns referring to national authorities in the data. Although its use might suggest some positive meaning, examining its context suggests that being 'new' indicates less convenient and acceptable government. For example:

(18) Mr Ghannouchi's pledges to allow political and media freedoms do appear to have placated some protesters, but others have dismissed **the new government**. (Article No.5)

In this example, although the noun phrase 'the new government' presupposes the existence of such a government, it has not gained acceptance and is not a convenient one. This is because some protesters only feel less angry about it suggested by the verb 'have placated' while others 'have dismissed' it. The positive connotation of the adjective 'new' is reduced to a minimum because the idea that being new is not acceptable or convenient.

Other nouns that refer positively to 'the government' are nouns like 'administration' which invoke the connotation of a professional body of executive officials, given that it is premodified by the adjective 'new' increases its positive identity. The context where this noun phrase is used supports this interpretation. For example:

(19) ..., the General Tunisian Workers' Union (UGTT), has called for **a new administration with no links with the ousted regime**. (Article No.6)

The noun 'administration' premodified by 'new' suggests that it is different from the one that is described, in the prepositional phrase postmodifying it, as 'ousted regime' connoting an authoritarian government removed by force.

The noun 'cabinet' suggests similar interpretation. It is premodified by the adjective 'new' indicating a different type of government:

(20) **Tunisia's new cabinet** has promised to hold free and fair elections within six months but has given no dates. (Article No.7)

The government is presented as 'Tunisia's new cabinet' giving it national identity suggested by the country's name and implying that such an authority is an active committed 'Sayer' promising 'free' and 'fair' elections. The adjectives 'free' and 'fair' with their connotative value add positive meaning to the government, although such positive construction is reduced by not giving a specific date.

The classifiers 'current' and 'transitional' also construct meanings of recentness and temporality when they premodify the noun government. For example:

(21) Primary school teachers were reported to be planning a strike against **the current government**, which could hamper plans to reopen schools and universities this week. (Article No.9)

(22) "I pledge to stop all my political activity after my period leading **the transitional government.**" (Article No.8)

The position of the noun phrase 'the current government' in the prepositional phrase postmodifying the noun 'strike' presupposes the existence of the planned strike against 'the current' government. The use of the preposition 'against' shows that this government is still facing difficulties and has not yet gained the peoples' acceptance.

Other nouns refer to the political or official status of the referents, such as 'ministers' and 'parties'. They are modified either by descriptors or classifiers. For example, the topical classifier adjective 'political' premodifies the nouns 'leaders', 'parties' and 'groups':

(23) Mr Ghannouchi has said he will meet **political leaders** on Saturday in an attempt to form a government. (Article No.2)

(24) **Tunisian political leaders** have started efforts to fill the power vacuum created by the fall of President Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali form of address amid mass protests. (Article No .3)

The adjective 'political' in the first example gives the noun 'leaders' formal description and legitimate criteria that the prime minister is meeting them to be of part the government.

In the second example, the joining of the affiliative adjective 'Tunisian' and topical adjective 'political' adds formality and legitimacy to the identity of the head noun 'leaders' and avoids describing them in another way that might decrease the level of formality and legitimacy.

The above analysis shows that the type of modification determines the type of the collective identity constructing the national authorities. It is because of the connotative value of the nouns as premodifiers that positive identity of new government is achieved, whereas the adjectives, with time meaning, construct the temporality that consequently portrays a less authoritative government.

#### 4.2.1.1.2 Proper nouns

Individual identity of participants in this group is constructed through proper nouns. They are either full names or surnames, see table (8). They receive two types of modification in the form of titles. The first is full names with full description of political or official status followed by the personal names of the referents. The second is the title 'Mr' followed by surname to mark any following mentions of a previously described participant in full name and title. For example, in the first mention of political or official participant in an article, they receive full name preceded by full description of political or official status. Any following mention of the same participant receives surname preceded by the title 'Mr'. For example:

(25) **Prime Minister Mohammed Ghannouchi** has taken over as interim president, and a state of emergency has been declared. (Article No.2)

(26) **Mr Ghannouchi** has said he will meet political leaders on Saturday in an attempt to form a government. (Article No.2)

These two sentences are successive and are taken from article No.2. This style of naming is specific of the BBC and formally gives readers full information about the reported participants because they do not know most of them due to the public nature of such texts reporting international events<sup>16</sup>.

Choice of noun and title	Frequency	Percentage
title+ Full name	17	47.23%
Mr+ surname	19	52.77%
Total	36	100%

Table (8): Choice of proper noun and title

The personal names and titles construct the formal side of an individual's identity as less strong, confident and legitimate. This meaning is gained by the contextual information affecting the interpretation of the personal nouns which participates in portraying participants in this group as strong/weak, confident/less confident and legitimate/less

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<sup>16</sup> Other online news outlets like Al-Jazeera do not follow the same writing style and choose different ways to refer to officials in Tunisia unrest that might suggest more attitudinal view point towards the named officials even if it is the first time they are mentioned. See <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/africa/2011/01/2011117224856588521.html>

legitimate. For example, while 'Mr Ghannouchi' always receives full name and full official description as 'Prime Minister Mohammed Ghannouchi' or as 'Mr' with surname, contextually he is constructed as defensive, less legitimate and less convincing. For example:

(27) **Tunisia's PM Mohammed Ghannouchi** has **defended** the inclusion of members of the old regime in his new government.

(28) **Mr Ghannouchi** - himself an ally of the former president - **described** himself as a "transition" leader and said he **did not claim** to be "legitimate".

(29) **Mr Ghannouchi...** **insisted** that figures from the previous regime who have remained in positions of power - including the ministers of defence, interior, finance and foreign affairs – have "clean hands".

In the examples above, the identity of 'Mr Ghannouchi', although formally named, is constructed as defensive in the first, less legitimate in the second and less confident in the third. This is because of the type of transitivity choices used, as shown in the examples above.

I suggest that while naming choices present part of the referent's identity, such as formality, other textual functions, such as transitivity and negation, overlap to affect the value of such construction. I can say that in these cases the interference of the textual functions do not always contribute to construct the same identity, as acknowledged by Jeffries (2010a), on a number of occasions in my data. Instead, I stress that full interpretation of participants' portrayal comes from some meaningful interplay between different textual functions.

However, naming choices can construct participants' identity on their own as found in the following examples:

(30) **Mr Ghannouchi**, a 69-year-old former finance minister who has been prime minister since 1999, has said he will meet **representatives of political parties** on Saturday to form a government, calling it a "decisive day". (Article No.2)

(31) **Mr Ghannouchi** has said he will meet **political leaders** on Saturday in an attempt to form a government. (Article No.2)

In these examples, 'Mr Ghannouchi' is constructed as a hard working prime minister. He is constructed as a consistent individual whose character is officially singled out in contexts

where other political leaders and parties are referred to collectively to discuss issues of forming a government.

In the first example, he receives formal reference as 'Mr Ghannouchi' postmodified by a relative clause giving a short biography about his age and the different positions he held in the previous government. In contrast, other participants are collectively referred to as 'representatives of political parties' where no similar information is provided about them. This singles him out and presents the official side of his identity which in turn gives him more weight as an official figure who is in charge of holding talks to form the government.

In the second example, the formal reference to his identity as 'Mr Ghannouchi' is also singled out in contrast with the collective reference to other political leaders where he is the official 'Sayer' to reveal his meeting with other political leaders who have no voice in the sentence.

While these naming choices have constructed the participants' identity in the text, the next section accounts for how visual naming choices portray the participants in the accompanying images.

#### **4.2.1.2 Visual naming analysis**

As mentioned in section 4.2.1, the images visualising the participants in this group reinforce the individual identity constructed in the text and this is based on the linguistic naming choices in individual articles. So far, in the linguistic analysis, the individual formal, political or official, identity of national authorities was realised by the use of proper nouns, full or surnames, premodified by titles. In images, the idea of individuality is expressed by depicting participants as individuals. Such depiction is an ideological one because intention is made to depict particular participants individually rather than in groups (Machin, 2007: 24). Moreover, the interpretation of such meaning depends on the overlap between the carriers of connotations from the first level and elements from the second level to construct the participants' identity in a way that coheres with the one introduced by the text. For example, individuals representing national authorities are depicted in official settings, wearing official clothes, striking specific poses, gazing in particular directions taken from different shots and angles. Different combinations of all or some of these elements construct the formal visual meaning reinforcing the linguistic one. In what follows, I discuss how visual individualisation utilises

different combinations of carriers of connotations and overlapping with elements of gaze, angle and shot to reinforce the linguistic naming construction.

#### **4.2.1.2.1 Visual construction of individual identity**

The formal individuals' identity of participants in article No.3 is constructed using proper nouns, full or surnames, premodified by title describing their full or partial political or official status. The accompanying image depicts two political leaders. To the left is Ahmed Ben Brahim, an opposition leader, and to the right is 'PM Ghannouchi'. They are sitting opposite each other and looking at each other in an action of discussing or talking. They both wear black suits. The setting seems to be an official room in which Tunisia's flag, a window and a curtain, a plant in the corner, and a small table with a notebook and a vase of flowers on it can be seen.

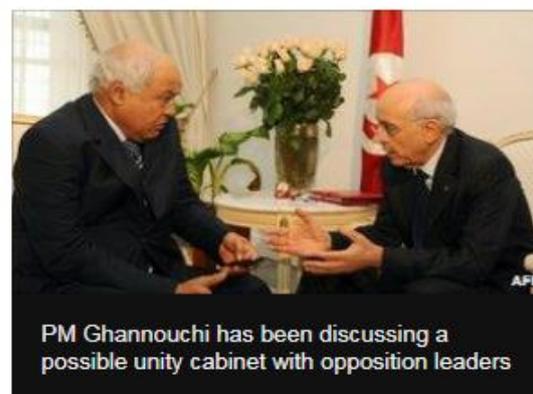


Image (5n): Article No.3

The medium profile shot presents the participants as a phenomenon to be observed and enables other details in the image to be interpreted using the carriers of connotation. The depicted participants' way of sitting: leaning backward/forward, hand palms: open/closed raised up/down, facial expressions with eyebrows raised up or lowered down, shoulders shrugging/ neutral/ lowered down and distance between participants provide interpretative elements that construct the two participants' identity.

The objects and their connotations, i.e. the Tunisian flag and the two participants' clothing are two important props that give the image its formality. In this regard Machin & Mayr (2012: 51-2) argue that the meaning of every object in an image is important because they construct ideas and values that construct different meanings. The Tunisian flag and the two participants'

clothing are the objects that give the image its formal meaning which is not offered by other objects in the image. As a result, the other objects complete the setting details without offering similar meanings of formality. Therefore, hypothetically, deleting the flag from the image or dressing the two participants in casual clothes would decrease, or even suppress, the official and formal meanings of the image. In contrast deleting other objects, like the plant, curtain or the vase of flowers, might not cause a similar decrease of the official or formal meaning of the image. Yet, this would look starker and less amenable to agreement. Moreover, official positions like 'prime minister' and 'political leaders' necessitate formal clothing. I suggest that formal clothing is one visual naming choice that is chosen to depict people who receive formal linguistic construction, using personal names and full description of status. This does not mean they cannot be depicted in informal clothing, but as stated in chapter three, the choices in the image and text are motivated by and dependent on each other creating a context that results in a coherent portrayal of participants. Therefore, a decision to linguistically name a particular participant 'Prime Minister X' in a context where formal actions are performed motivates and necessitates depicting them in formal clothing. In this regard Kress (2004: 112) states that "one of the present tasks of a social semiotic approach to multimodality is to describe the potentials and limitations of meaning which inhere in different modes".

The poses the two participants strike, their facial expressions, hand movement and the distance between them are significant in constructing the meaning of opposition and the type of formal identity of the two. Both participants sit opposite each other with long profile side shot taken from frontal horizontal angle. Mr Brahim is leaning slightly backward raising his eyebrows and shrugging his shoulders which might suggest disagreement with what Mr Ghannouchi is saying. In contrast, Mr Ghannouchi is leaning forward resting his arms on his legs with his two palms open upward with facial expression which indicates that he tries to convince Mr Brahim of what he is saying. The different combinations of these meanings construct Mr Brahim's identity as opposing Mr Ghannouchi whose identity is constructed as trying to deal with the situation positively.

In article No.5, Mr Ghannouchi is the most important participant in the article where the report informs about his efforts of keeping members from the old government in the new one. He is referred to in 10 instances using his full name with full or partial description of his

status. The contexts in which these noun choices are used to construct a formal and official individual identity of a consistent participant, who is in charge of forming and defending the new government, compared to other participants in the article (see section 6.4.2.1).

The accompanying image reinforces the meanings of formality and this is done by the denotative meaning of the image which interprets the particular combination of connotation carriers and the way body language has been utilised. These meanings in turn overlap with elements of gaze, shot and angle. The analysis on these two levels produces the category of individualization of social actors motivated by and dependent on the choices introduced in the text.



Image (8n): Article No.5

Image (8n) depicts Mr Ghannouchi, three soldiers with their machine guns, and two other men who wear suits seen behind Mr Ghannouchi. The setting looks like a corridor or an entrance leading to a room where Mr Ghannouchi is depicted as walking to enter to. Mr Ghannouchi wears a suit, holding some papers and looking at the viewer with a slight smile while the three soldiers are looking at him. The man behind Mr Ghannouchi is looking at one of the soldiers.

The long shot decreases the involvement effect created by the frontal angle and Mr Ghannouchi's demand gaze presenting an impersonal construction of the depicted participant (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996: 48, 126). Mr Ghannouchi's clothing, hand movement, facial expression and pose construct positive identity of a participant named in the text as 'prime minister' who is performing defensive actions trying to convince conflicting parties of possible unity government.

His clothing gives the image its formality and matches with the image caption choice of noun as 'PM'. The pose he strikes, slightly striding forward, as walking to enter a room with his legs slightly apart, connote confidence as not standing still or showing hesitation (Abousnnouga & Machin, 2010: 226). The way he holds the papers gives him a more confident and certain identity as someone who knows what he is doing. The expression on his face gives him a comforting impression of hope, stated in the image caption. The way the soldiers look at him suggests doubt and a sense of being unconvinced, yet they are unthreatening as they lower their guns and seem to do their job in guarding the place. Applying the commutation test, hypothetically removing the soldiers, would make the linguistic meaning of Mr Ghannouchi being less convincing disappear visually. Although it might not be what they feel about the prime minister, their facial expressions reflect this meaning.

The analysis has shown that visual naming choices overlap and combine to reinforce meanings of the main participants introduced by the text and suppress others that might affect portraying a coherent linguistic/visual construction.

#### **4.2.2 Multimodal naming analysis of the police**

This section discusses the naming choices constructing the police identity in the texts and images of the data. The linguistic naming choices of the nouns referring to the police are either collective or plural nouns which construct their formal general identity. Visually, the formal general construction has been reinforced and the construction of the meanings of collectiveness and generality is made through the use of a number of visual naming choices. While transitivity analysis shows that this group of participants is linguistically constructed as negative (see section 5.4.2), the connotative meanings of the nouns chosen and the information packaged up in the structure of the noun phrase do not show this negativity. This has caused some analytical issues on deciding how to analyse their linguistic and visual naming construction. A decision has been made to focus on how the naming choices, within the boundaries of the noun phrase, in the text construct the police identity and examine how these choices and the meanings they embody are reflected in the image. In what follows, I will explain how the linguistic and visual naming choices operate in the text and image to construct a reinforced multimodal depiction of the police while deleting the transitivity meanings only when they are negative.

#### 4.2.2.1 Linguistic naming analysis

Table (9) shows the choices of the nouns used to name the police with the number of times each choice is used.

Choice of noun	Frequency	Percentage
Police	7	29%
the police	8	33%
security forces	4	16%
police officers	2	8%
Tunisia's police	1	4%
policemen	1	4%
riot police	1	4%
Total	24	100%

Table (9): Nouns referring to the police

As table (9) shows, the choice of the noun 'police', has the highest frequency referring formally to them and it has different modification structures. Other choices shown in the table such as 'security forces', 'officers', 'policemen' and 'riot police' also construct a formal collective and general identity of the police without attempting to package up more details in the noun phrase that might suggest positive or negative meanings. In this regard, Renström (2012: 21) argues that news agencies favour nouns with formal or informal meaning that, when referring to the police in unrest events, reflect their respective institutional standards. I can suggest that the choices in table (9) are instances of formality favoured by the BBC when reporting international unrest events in an attempt to show neutrality and objectivity of referring to participants involved in these events. The following analysis focuses on the way these linguistic choices were visualised through the visual naming choices to examine if coherence is achieved in creating a multimodal formal collective identity of the police through naming choices.

#### 4.2.2.2 Visual naming analysis

Different visual naming choices combined on the three levels of the analytical model to produce a reinforced construction of the police identity. To start with, in article No.6, the police are named as 'riot police' which refers to them as "the section of the police force that is trained to deal with people who cause trouble in public places".(Cambridge Dictionary Online (CDO) accessed 2017)<sup>17</sup>. Although this meaning might suggest that those protesting are rioters, the police are positively constructed by being agents of not responding violently to those protesting:

(32) However, **riot police** did not respond with tear gas or water cannon.

The image reinforces this linguistic naming construction by making use of objects and poses and their connotative values on the one hand and their overlap with the elements of gaze, shot and angle on the other. The image depicts one policeman dressed up as riot police with the helmet and part of the riot shield. These objects visualise the linguistic naming choice 'riot police'. The positive identity construction, through transitivity choices as agents of not responding with tear gas or water cannon, is visualised using the naming choices of pose, gaze, shot and angle. These techniques combine to visually reflect the positive construction introduced by the text.

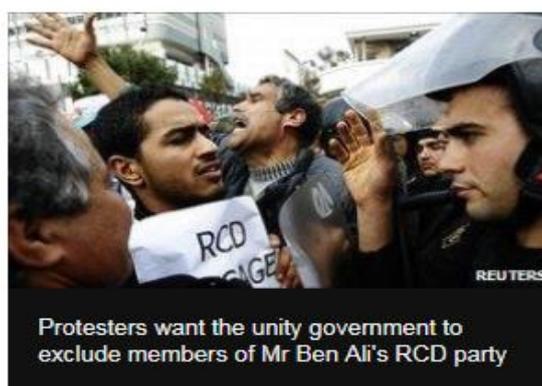


Image (10n): Article No.6

The policeman strikes an unthreatening pose raising the face visor of his helmet with a slight positive smile and gaze indicating no intention to behave violently towards the protester who gives back a rather challenging or angry gaze. The effect of the emotional involvement

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<sup>17</sup> <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/>

provided by a close-up shot is reduced by the horizontal angle and the absence of demand gaze allowing the image to construct him as an exemplar of the collective identity of the noun 'riot police' which may lead to the view that they all dress like him and respond in an unthreatening way like him. Absence of the objects 'tear gas' and 'water cannon' also coheres with the text negating that they use them.

In article No.7, the noun 'the police' is used in the following example:

(33) The UN says as many as 100 people died as **the police** cracked down on the protests.

In this example, while the choice of noun gives no negative meaning, the use of the temporal conjunction 'as' not only triggers a logical presupposition that the police cracked down on the protests, but also suggests that the death of the 100 people took place during the time the police were performing the action of cracking down. The presupposition trigger 'as' maximizes the possibility of them being the cause behind the death of 100 people and constructs a negative identity by attributing such a shocking outcome to their action of cracking down. Viewing the accompanying image, the formal collective meaning introduced by the linguistic naming choice 'the police' is reinforced but the negative action disappears and a more neutral and generic identity is constructed.



Image (11n): Article No.7

Image (11n) depicts five policemen, foregrounded in the image and dressed in riot gear. All of them have their helmets on but it is clear that two of them are holding their shields and raising their face visor. The face of only one of them is seen while the other four are depicted

from behind. The image also depicts protesters backgrounded in the image waving banners, raising their hands and chanting. The setting could be viewed as a public place where people usually gather to protest.

Examining the connotative meaning of these denotations indicates that their poses are neither defensive nor offensive, although four of them are depicted with rear angle standing in front of the crowd. This meaning can be suggested because they do not hold their shields confronting the people in a defensive act, and two of them raise their helmets which suggest no intention to start cracking down on the protests. While the rear angle anonymises their facial expressions, the slight smile on the policeman's face suggests that they are not in an act to crackdown on the protest. The horizontal angle with a slight high shot of the policeman to the front of the image and the absence of demand gaze allows the construction of their generic identity as a phenomenon to observe rather than persons to address. In addition, the absence of riot sticks, tear gas or water cannon decrease the meaning of cracking down on the protests. The meanings of the elements together construct a neutral and even positive identity of the police. This suggests that while the linguistic naming construction was reinforced in the image, the linguistic transitivity construction was absent in the image structure.

In articles No.8 and No.9, the police receive the same linguistic formal collective naming choice, i.e. the police, constructing a positive identity in both articles where their emotional involvement is unjustified in the second article. I first account for the positive identity constructed in both articles' texts and images and then move to the emotional identity constructed in the second article.

In both texts, they are contextually constructed through a relational structure describing their participation in the protest as 'a very dramatic development':

(34) The BBC's Magdi Abdelhadi, in the Tunisian capital, says **the police participation was a very dramatic development** - until a week ago they were defending the now-ousted government of Mr Ben Ali. (Article No.8)

(35) The BBC's Magdi Abdelhadi, in the Tunisian capital, says **the police participation in the protests was a very dramatic development.** (Article No.9)

The noun phrase ‘the police participation’ presupposes that they participated in the protests. This presupposition is put in a relational structure that describes it as ‘dramatic development’. Describing someone/ something as in ‘development’ means that there was “gradual growth of something so that it becomes more advanced, stronger” (ODO accessed 2017), and suggesting that this development is ‘dramatic’ means that it is “sudden ... often surprising” (ibid). This suggests that there was a sudden and positive development in their identity.

The image accompanying this linguistic construction visualises the meaning of ‘the police participation’ and ‘dramatic development’ by the use of different visual naming choices. The first is realised on the denotative and connotative levels of meaning through objects, setting and poses overlapping with choices from the second level using gaze, shot and angle. These choices together construct the collective identity of protester-like identity rather than police-like identity.

Denotatively, they are depicted, for the first time in the data, dressed in casual clothes which are typical of protesters. The setting is a public place usually used in images depicting people in protests. The absence of police uniforms, although still named in the text as ‘police’ and in the image caption as ‘police officers’, is the first visual naming choice referring to the ‘very dramatic development’ because such objects have a symbolic value in categorising and determining the identity of participants (Machin, 2007: 20).



Police officers at a demonstration in Tunis  
did they too were victims of the former  
gime

Image (12n): Article No.8



Police officers who previously defended the Ben Ali regime joined the protests.

Image (14n): Article No.9

The setting in both images is a public place, usually a place for protests in this context, giving the second visual naming choice that they participate in the protests. Their poses, facial expressions and hand movements are the third naming choice that suggests the meanings of the protester-like identity. This is because such poses are typical of protesters involved in waving banners, with facial expressions and hand movements of 'chanting'.

The caption of image (12n) names them neutrally by packaging up information in the noun phrase 'Police officers at demonstration in Tunis'. This noun phrase presents a summarised report of who is depicted in the image, what sort of an event they are participating in and where. The caption also constructs them as 'victims of the former regime' expressed by the relational structure which functions as verbiage. This verbiage has been visualized by another text written on the banner in Tunisian Arabic dialect, stating that "the police are the captive of instructions. No days off. The higher intelligence is the maker of persecution (controlling, pursuing, ambushing)"<sup>18</sup>. Supposing that the BBC News online readers do not speak Arabic or its dialects, they are not given reference to where they might see the meaning of 'victims' in the image. This could cause confusion. One way to resolve this confusion is by considering the effect of the close-up shot and slightly low frontal angle which allow the meaning of being under the domination of the government. The offer gaze also help constructs the meaning of being victims who unwillingly become the regime's tool to suppress and tyrannize people.

Analysing the text of this article revealed that the linguistic naming choice referring to the police, contextually, constructs them as unconfident, doubtful and emotionally involved participants as the following example shows:

(36) **The police** claimed that they were not to blame for the deaths of dozens of protesters since mid-December, with many chanting: "We are innocent of the blood of the martyrs!"

In this example, the police claim presupposes that dozens of protesters died but asserts that they are not to blame for it. The imbalance between the presupposition and assertion is due to the low-level structure where the noun phrase 'deaths of dozens of protesters' positioned

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<sup>18</sup> My translation

in the relative clause functioning as complement. Readers take for granted that protesters died in dozens but have no evidence how the police are not to blame for these deaths. While their chanting 'we are innocent of the blood of martyrs' adds more value to those who die by naming them as 'martyrs' it still does not provide an evidence of how. It only creates an emotional involvement that 'many' are 'chanting' their 'innocence' which entails that the protesters' death was a crime but at the same time do not inform how their innocence can be assessed. This constructs a negative identity which has not been visualised, as image (14n) depicts chanting men perceived as police from the word 'police' fixed on the sleeveless jacket of one of them. Therefore, the image does not show the meanings of being an unconfident, doubtful and emotionally involved 'Sayer'. The visual clue, i.e. the banners, as to the content of what they say is unclear and written in Arabic. The image caption name them as 'police officers' postmodified by a relative clause describing them as defending the regime of Ben Ali 'previously' in reference to the past.

Two points are concluded from the analysis above. The first point is that sometimes linguistic naming choices overlap with other textual functions, i.e. transitivity, to fully interpret the identity of the named participant(s). The second point is that while the linguistic naming choices were reinforced visually, the negative linguistic transitivity choices were absent in the images' structure. This is done by excluding some visual elements that might cause an attitudinal construction or by contradicting the linguistic construction and presenting a more neutral or generic identity of the referents (see section 5.4.2.2).

#### **4.2.3 Multimodal naming analysis of international authorities**

This group of participants includes the western governments of the UK, the US and France as well as a number of international organizations such as the UN and Human Rights Watch. Although they receive linguistic naming choices constructing them as powerful and authoritative participants, they receive no visual representation in my data. In what follows I discuss this linguistic construction commenting on the absence of their visual representation at the end of this section.

Analysis of the linguistic naming choices shows that the 26 naming instances attached to international authorities can be classified into three types according to their linguistic form.

The first type is plural noun phrases premodified by adjectives denoting the nationality of the international authority, e.g. 'Swiss officials'. The second type has the structure of an acronym in definite noun phrases abbreviating either names of countries or international bodies, like 'the UK' and 'the UN'. The last type refers to individual participants in this group by their full name and full description of their official status, for example, 'President Nicolas Sarkozy'. The first two naming choices construct the participants formally and collectively as one authoritative and powerful international body which perform powerful and authoritative reactions giving them more weight and authenticity. The last naming choice individualises international authorities as formal and powerful participants who represent an authoritative and powerful international body responding to the unrest event in Tunisia.

In the first type, the adjectives 'British', 'Canadian' and 'Swiss' premodify the plural head nouns 'governments' and 'officials' constructing one body of international power and avoid assigning actions taken against Mr Ben Ali to individual members of these international authorities. Also naming them as governments and officials suggests a more legitimate identity. For example:

(37) **Swiss officials** ordered a freeze on any funds held there by Mr Ben Ali....

In this example, the naming choice 'officials' collectivises and generalises international authorities (van Leeuwen (1996: 37-40) and Machin and Mayr, (2012: 80). Not mentioning individuals' official names and mentioning general formal forms of address adds more legitimacy to their representation (see Simpson, 1993: 133-135). In contrast, Mr Ben Ali is individualised through nomination and did not receive full name and full status description. This asymmetrical naming practice indicates asymmetrical power between the two participants and adds weight to the legitimacy of the Swiss officials.

A similar interpretation applies when analysing naming choices in the third type referring to participants by full name and full description of status. In this regard, Simpson (1993: 129) argues that titles function as indices of power, formality and social relations. In my data, these titles nominate and formally represent the individuals in this group as powerful participants who perform official reactions individually towards the unrest events in the form of verbal processes. For example, 'President Nicolas Sarkozy rejected', 'Swiss Foreign Minister Micheline Calmy-Rey announced', 'US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton called on'. In this

regard, Simpson (1993: 131-135), argues that the use of names and titles is a significant naming practice which encodes important information about the writer's attitude to the individual referred to in the text. Also, Machin & Mayr (2012: 81-82) state that "the use of functional honorifics makes the speaker appear more important, authoritative, and legitimate".

In my data, these naming choices construct the international authorities as authoritative and powerful. For example:

(38) Swiss Foreign Minister Micheline Calmy-Rey announced a decision to freeze any funds of Mr Ben Ali's held there.

This formal nomination of Ms Calmy-Ray as the 'Swiss Foreign Minister' in comparison to the naming of Tunisia president as 'Mr Ben Ali' indicates how the power difference between the two is enacted using different address forms. While she retained her full name and full description of official status, he receives only title and last name without reference to his official status. These variations in address forms reflect the different power status assigned to the two which makes one participant more powerful and legitimate than the other. It also makes the other look passive and powerless, as he is not assigned an official status to react to actions taken by powerful international authority.

Other international authorities are not nominated but impersonalised using acronyms referring to international bodies like 'the UN' or western government like 'the UK' giving the referent authenticity and power. Such naming choice presents them as a consensual whole that performs official actions towards the unrest in Tunisia and avoids stating that the actions are taken individually which could result in making them sound less authoritative. It is one unified international position that western governments take regardless of its individual members because they all represent one agreeing powerful body performing one unified action.

From the analysis above, two points are concluded. The first one is that titles and choice of noun are important in distinguishing the relative power status assigned to referents. The second point is that the BBC, as text producer, takes the position of pro-international authorities by presenting them as powerful and authoritative in comparison to Mr Ben Ali

who receives no functional address form in contexts where international authorities are performing actions against him.

Although the participants in this group receive linguistic naming choices constructing them as powerful and authoritative participants, they receive no visual depiction in my data. I suggest two reasons for this group not receiving visual construction. The first reason is attributed to the kind of collective/individual construction they receive which makes it somehow inappropriate to be represented visually. In this regard Machin & Mayr (2012: 102) explain that certain participants are not represented in images because it is difficult to visualise them in events like military attack through a semiotic mode that communicate only strategy, professionalism and neutrality. The other reason is that they receive less frequent naming choices than the other groups, i.e. Mr Ben Ali, national authorities and the protesters which might decrease the possibility of being visualised as the topic is more about the unrest events themselves rather than the way they behave in such events.

In what follows, I discuss the multimodal naming choices constructing the protesters' identity.

### **4.3 Multimodal naming analysis of the protesters**

The following two sections discuss the linguistic and the visual naming choices constructing the protesters in the text and image. The analysis shows that the linguistic and visual naming choices are reinforced in the text and image creating a coherent construction of the protesters' identity.

#### **4.3.1 Linguistic naming analysis**

The nouns in table (10) are all in plural forms including unmarked plural 'people', regular plural 'protesters' or collective noun 'crowd'.

Choice of non	Frequency	Percentage
people	22	38.59%
protesters	16	28%
demonstrators	2	3.5
crowd	1	1.79%
Tunisians	12	21%
residents	2	3.50%
militias	2	3.50%
Total	57	100%

Table (10): Naming choices of the protesters

The choices in table (10) construct a collective and general identity of the protesters deleting information about the age, sex, social, economic and educational backgrounds of those protesting constructing them as one homogenous group. The choice of the nouns ‘people’, and ‘Tunisians’ highlights the public and the national identity of the protesters who do not represent any of the political conflicting participants and are not motivated by the interests of the any of them. The use of the noun ‘protesters’ and ‘demonstrators’ indicates neutrality of reference to those protesting and generalizes their identity as one homogenous group of participants.

The noun ‘crowd’, used only once, suggests that the protesters share similar interests which unite them as one undistinguished group. Finally, the noun ‘militia’ which might suggest some negative connotations, implying the idea of a group of armed citizens as opposed to professional soldiers, contextually constructs a positive identity of the protesters who protect their homes (see section 4.5.1.1).

Closer examination of contexts where these choices are used reveals that such choices construct the protesters’ identity in three dominant patterns of generalization, aggregation or identification. In what follows, each of these patterns is presented with their relative discussions and examples.

#### **4.3.1.1 Generalization, aggregation and identification through different plural forms**

The nouns shown in table (10) construct the general identity of the protesters in contexts where they do not receive modification. For example, the nouns ‘protesters’ and

'demonstrators' which connote neutral reference to the people protesting, serve to generalize the protesters as one unit that behaves in a symmetrical way. For example:

(39) **Protesters** want the unity government to exclude members of Mr. Ben Ali's RCD party.  
(Article No.8)

(40) **Demonstrators** are demanding that all members of the RCD party be excluded from any future administration. (Article No.9)

In these examples, 'protesters' and 'demonstrators' are generalized by not receiving any modification that might specify them in a particular way. Thus, they are not few or many, young or old, angry or dissatisfied 'protesters' and 'demonstrators', but they are 'protesters' and 'demonstrators' in general. This generalization deletes all the possible differences between them and presents them as one homogenous whole against the government.

In other contexts, where these nouns receive modification, other meanings are intended. One of the recurrent modifications in my data is realised through the definite or indefinite quantifiers that function as premodification and serve to aggregate them presenting them as statistics. For example:

(41) **Hundreds of protesters** took to the streets again in the Tunisian capital Tunis, urging allies of the ousted president to stop clinging to power. (Article No.6)

(42) On Saturday, **thousands of protesters**, including police, took to the streets of Tunis to demand the cabinet resign. (Article No.7)

In the examples above, the aggregation of protesters, through indefinite quantifiers, did not specify how many hundreds or thousands they were, that is, 300 or 900 and is it 3,000 or 900,000. Therefore, although it indicates the intensity of their numbers, it leaves readers speculating about the 'how many' question which puts in readers' mind that some large numbers of people make the dramatic action of taking to the streets.

Instances using definite quantifiers show the approximate number of people or protesters who 'died' or 'have been killed'. This choice of modification often suggests consensus opinion though it presents itself as merely recording facts (van Leeuwen, 2008: 37). For example:

(43) **At least 78 people** have been killed since a wave of protests began last December  
(Article No.8)

(44) **More than 100 people** have reportedly died in the unrest, the UN said, promising to  
carry out an investigation. (Article No.9)

In these examples, using numbers to record how many people died or killed construct the protesters as statistical facts where the head noun 'people' is either Goal in material process or Actor in a Supervension process. In both cases, they are portrayed as vulnerable deleting reference to who causes their death which results in constructing a victimised identity.

Another pattern that constructs the protesters through adjective modification is identification presenting a positive identity portrayal. For example:

(45) **Tunisian protesters** have been stepping up calls for Prime Minister Mohamed Ghannouchi and his cabinet to resign. (Article No.9)

In this example, the modifying adjective constructs a positive participant as it refers to the nationality of the protesters that legitimises their identity as the people who live on the land of Tunisia and participate in the protest.

The protesters are also identified as 'impromptu militias'. Considering the denotative meaning of the noun, 'militias' would suggest a negative implication because such military groups might threaten the law and order of societies causing violence and destruction. The adjective 'impromptu', which functions as premodifier, indicates that there was no prior planning to organise them which might suggest an additional negative meaning because such groups would act like an army but are not professional soldiers. Interpreting this noun phrase in context affect such negative interpretation arising from the connotative value of such noun phrase in isolation and legitimize such grouping of people:

(46) **Residents** in some areas have armed themselves with sticks and clubs, forming  
**impromptu militias** to protect their homes. (Article No.3)

In the example above, three contextual features change the negative meaning of 'impromptu militias' into a positive one. First of all, those who form the 'militias' are named as 'residents' which connotes a neutral reference to ordinary people who belong to and live in a local area.

They are not named as rioters or supporters of the ex-government. Second, they armed themselves with 'clubs' and 'sticks' which although could cause violence and harm are not as destructive and dangerous as the guns and mortar that militias, in similar countries, normally arm themselves with. Thirdly, their aim is not to cause destruction or violence, but only to 'protect their homes' as the choice of the noun 'homes' connotes not only the buildings but also the emotional notion of families as a valuable existence that should be protected. The sub-heading of the article in which this phrase appears is entitled 'Self-defence' emphasizing that their aim is to defend themselves not to cause disorder has also reinforced this meaning. These contextual elements help to disrupt the negative implication of the noun phrase 'impromptu militias' to the extent that it could legitimize their existence to protect homes and not to threaten people's safety.

In the following section I discuss the impact of using equating, one of Jeffries (2010a) textual conceptual functions, as a naming technique that characterises the positive identity of protesters.

#### **4.3.1.2 Naming through equating**

Equating is used as a naming technique in only a few instances in my data. Yet there is a need to discuss them as they show one important way of representing the protesters positively. Basically, equating is an intensive equivalence which refers to equivalent relations constructed between the subject and the complement of the intensive verb clauses, for example 'the Tunisians are nice people' where 'the Tunisians' and 'nice people' have the same referent. In this case, 'nice people' would be a typical positive characteristic of 'the Tunisians'. In other instances, this structure presents a legitimate identity of the protesters especially when foreigners, the interim government, and other protesters talk about them. For examples 'The Tunisians are resentful and the government does nothing to help them'. This means that 'The Tunisians' and 'resentful' is one thing where 'resentful' refers to a bitter feeling of being angry about something. This resentfulness is legitimate because it arises when someone or some people are treated badly or unfairly which creates sympathy towards them because they are treated unfairly by the government who offers no help.

The analysis above shows that different plural forms construct the protesters' collective identity along the patterns of generalisation, aggregation and identification. In what follows,

I examine how these patterns are reflected in the images using the three levels model designed for this purpose.

### **4.3.2 Visual naming analysis**

The protesters' collective identity was linguistically realised by different plural forms constructing their identity along the patterns of generalization, aggregation and identification. In images, the idea of plural is expressed by depicting participants as groups rather than individuals. Such depiction is ideological even at the level of denotation because an intention is made to present some participants as groups rather than individuals (Machin, 2007: 24). I argue that it is not a neutral choice but a motivated one. It is a motivated choice because the image and text create a context that regulates the choices in both. Moreover, interpretations of the meanings depend on how carriers of connotation combine and overlap with elements from the third level to construct the protesters' identity in a way that coheres with the one presented in the text. For example, the protesters are depicted in particular places wearing specific clothing, striking specific poses, holding specific objects and gazing in different directions taken from particular angles and shots. Different combinations of all or some of these elements construct a visual meaning that coheres with the one introduced by the text. In what follows, I discuss the ways in which visual collectivization construct different interpretations utilised from the different combinations of the carriers of connotations and collaborating with the choices of gaze, angle and shot to present a reinforced visual construction of the one introduced by the text.

#### **4.3.2.1 Visual identification of the protesters**

As mentioned in the introduction of the previous section, visual collectivization is expressed by presenting participants as groups rather than individuals and such depiction is motivated. To elaborate on this argument, I discuss the specific combinations of the carriers of connotation and elements of gaze, shot, and angle from one article and how they were utilised to reinforce the linguistic construction of the protesters.

In the text of article No.3, discussed in section 4.3.1.1, the linguistic naming choice identifies protesters as 'impromptu militias' in which contextual elements interpret such naming choice as constructing a positive identity. Analysing the accompanying image on the level of

denotation and connotation shows that the naming choices used in the image reinforce the meaning introduced by the text.

As far as denotation is concerned, the image depicts a number of men, a car, a stop sign 'قف' written in Arabic, and some houses backgrounded in the image. All are depicted in a setting of what looks like a neighbourhood. The men are distributed randomly around the car. Some hold sticks and clubs and all wear casual clothes with different white tops. Although it is clear that their gazes are directed towards the car, the long shot and oblique horizontal angle make it difficult to examine their facial expressions to see whether they denote aggression or friendliness. Nevertheless, the stop sign, which notifies drivers that they must make sure no cars are coming and stop before proceeding would denote some sort of checkpoint usually placed in streets to alert drivers to stop.



Image (6n): Article No.3

I examine these denotative meanings on the connotative level to interpret their associations exploring the identity they construct. The connotation carriers visualise the linguistic identification introduced by the text on the one hand and they examine whether such identification is positive or negative on the other.

The objects: sticks, clubs and the casual clothes connote that this is some unofficial local force because they lack official force uniform and the weapons such forces use. The absence of uniform and weapons visualize them as 'militia'. Yet they are unified as one group through the white tops and the similar poses they strike(see Machin, 2007: 27, 119) . In Arabic culture, the white colour has a strong positive connotation associated with peace and safety indicating that they are not dangerous or violent but in a position to protect their homes. The similar

poses they strike homogenize them as one disorganized and unprofessional group with no intention to attack connoted by lowering their clubs and sticks.

The setting, neighborhood, creates a sense of peaceful local community where families, who could be vulnerable, live peacefully. This sense is also created through the kind of participants depicted, who look like normal residents with unthreatening poses. This reduces the impression that these men are dangerous or violent and increases the feeling that they are normal people trying to protect their area. Viewers do not know if the depicted participants are a good group of residents, but those participants carry these associations through their poses, the white tops they wear and the setting of the neighborhood (see Machin, 2007: 38). Therefore, the combination of these visual naming choices constructs the protesters positively as a group of people who are not intending harm or violence which in turn reinforces the positive contextual construction created in the text.

In the following section, I discuss the visual generic identity of the protesters.

#### **4.3.2.2 Collectivization: the generic construction**

Visual collectivization also constructs the generic identity of the protesters. This is done through stereotypical representation of clothes, objects and poses (Machin & Mayr, 2012: 101). In images (11n) and (10n) the protesters are depicted as wearing typical clothing of those protesting, holding 'banners', as a typical object almost all protesters usually hold, and facial expressions and hand movement typical of protesters, striking typical poses the protesters might take and chanting as typical action protesters do during protests. Protesters' individuality is suppressed behind these elements categorizing them as a typical example of protesters. According to van Leeuwen (2008: 144) "the members of such groups can ...be all similar to different degrees, in other words, "they're all the same", "you can't tell them apart" principle can be applied to different degrees".



Image (11n): Article No.7

In image(11n), the long shot supports the impersonalization of the protesters (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996: 148) while the effect of involvement suggested by the frontal angle is reduced by the indirect eye contact with viewers, i.e. offer image, which suggests that they are ‘a phenomenon to be observed, not a person addressing the viewer” (ibid: 138). This construction goes in line with the text representing them generically as ‘demonstrators’:

(47) **Demonstrators** are demanding that all members of the RCD party be excluded from any future administration. (Article No.7)

In this example, the noun ‘demonstrators’ is used, with its neutral connotation, without modification deleting any details that classify them in one way or another and serves to present them generally as one group of participants who share the generic character of being ‘demonstrators’.

In image (10n), the generic and impersonal construction of the protesters is achieved using the indirect eye contact with viewers which reduces the effect of the close-up shot as well as the frontal angle that usually personalizes participants. The choice of the offer gaze represents the depicted participants as items of information or objects of impersonal contemplation and gives the impression that these are the typical protesters one might encounter in reality but not suggesting to think of them as ‘one of us’.



Image (10n): Article No.6

Instead, they are a general phenomenon to be observed and not a person addressing the viewer (ibid). This visual construction coheres with the one the text introduces using the unmodified noun 'protesters' to give a generalized reference to protesters.

(48) **Protesters** want unity government to exclude members of Mr Ben Ali's RCD party.  
(Article No.6)

The linguistic choice of the noun 'protesters' is also neutral and general by not giving more information about those named as 'protesters' and suggests that they are typical example of people who object against government members without the intention to construct a positive or negative attitude.

The analysis above shows that different combinations and overlapping of visual naming choices interpret collectivization as instances of constructing the protesters generically and this was done to reinforce the protesters' identity constructed in the text.

In what follows, analysis shows how denotation and the use of high angle construct a vulnerable identity of the protesters who are collectivized, backgrounded and anonymized in the image.

#### **4.3.2.3 Collectivization: the value of denotation and the high angle**

In image (13n), the combinations and overlapping of naming choices construct a vulnerable identity of the protesters. Before I start analyzing the image, it is worth mentioning that the linguistic text, accompanying this image, uses the noun 'Tunisians' to create a general and a more inclusive reference to those who participate in the 'candlelit vigil'. They might include

Tunisians who do not participate in the protest, like the little girl in the image, but they all mourn those killed in the uprising event.

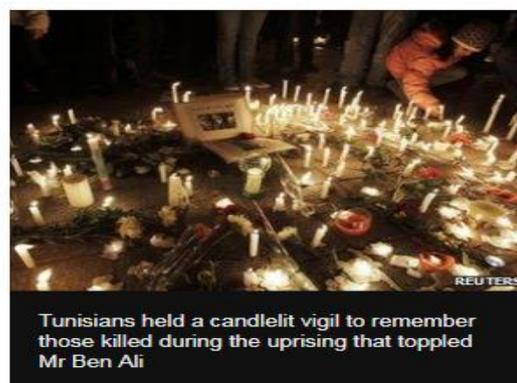


Image (13n): Article No.8

Considering the denotative meaning in the image, it depicts a 'candlelit vigil' which literally denotes an outdoor gathering of people who light candles at night time in memory of lives lost because of some tragic events like disaster, massacre or unrest. It is usually a nonviolent event and is considered as socially valuable practice of honoring the death of innocents as well as uniting and supporting people after such tragic events.

The connotative meaning of this image is carried out by the backgrounding/foregrounding of objects and participants that overlap with the long shot and high angle. The participants are backgrounded and anonymized by showing their legs only while the candles and flowers occupy most of the foreground space in the image. This highlights the value of the candlelight and emphasizes the vulnerability of those killed by the use of high angle. The choice of this angle usually connotes participants of less or no power, for example children, to emphasize their vulnerability and lack of power to defend themselves as well as the negative consequence of the unrest event. (Machin, 2007: 115; Bednarek & Caple, 2012: 69; Machin & Mayr, 2012: 100). The impression of honoring the vulnerability of those killed created by the denotative value of the 'candlelit vigil' and the high angle support the victimization of protesters constructed in the text:

(49) **At least 78 people** have been killed since a wave of protests began last December, although the UN estimates that the death toll has exceeded 100.

(50) The officers insisted that they had not been to blame for **the deaths of dozens of protesters** since mid-December, with many chanting "We are innocent of the blood of the martyrs!"

In the first example, the protesters are aggregated through definite quantifiers presupposing that this number of people is thought to have been killed with an even higher estimation suggested by the UN. Such a proposition victimizes them by making them the Goal of this violent action. In the second example, nominalisation presupposes that there were dozens of protesters whose death is acknowledged. Although in both examples the reason behind their death is deleted by the use of passivation and nominalisation, both constructions victimize the protesters by using a neutral choice of noun that suggests no justified reason of them to be killed in tens or die in dozens.

Image (3n) constructs the protesters as types who are anonymized and backgrounded to highlight a visual factuality by showing an aspect of the violent atmosphere that surrounds the unrest event as a whole.



Image (3n): Article No.2

Denotatively, the image depicts three protesters, some buildings, and smoke spreads throughout most of the picture. One protester is foregrounded while the other two are depicted in the very background of the image. All of them are using their clothes to cover their faces to avoid the smoke. Although these elements are understood to be in a street as their setting, the smoke obfuscates some details in the image and makes it difficult to decide what they are. The very long shot also participates in blurring some details, for example, the kind of buildings: are they government offices, banks, shops or residential buildings. The protesters

are dispersed which denotes that they are involved in some unrest situation and are dispersed by tear gas. The use of long shot might suggest that the event is so serious that even the media cannot get access (Bednarek & Caple, 2012: 72).

Relating these denotations to their connotative values combined with elements of shot and angle, some interpretations can be made. One of these is the long shot which constructs impersonal and generic identity. They are small, with two of them backgrounded: their facial expressions are unclear and the caption gives them no name which adds to their impersonal and generic construction as only types of protesters. Their poses also represent them generically as typical protesters who walk or run through tear gas to avoid it. The involvement effect of the horizontal angle is reduced by the absence of direct eye contact and the long shot which intend to present them objectively as exemplar of the protesters in the Tunisian unrest.

Such choices suppress any specific categorization of the protesters' identity and give the chance to visualize what an unrest event, as a whole, looks like in Tunisia. This has been done by the use of full frame, long shot, the offer gaze, and the backgrounding of protesters.

#### **4.4 Summary**

This chapter has examined how the linguistic and visual systems use resources specific to their underlying structures that name and categorise participants to construct their identity in the text and image. Through the analysis, I outlined a number of points that enable a more systematic analysis of the multimodal naming constructions. One of these is the feature of overlap which is found in the linguistic and visual naming choices. For example, in the linguistic naming analysis of Mr Ben Ali, it has been shown that the overlap between naming and transitivity cooperate in constructing the formal as well as the less official identity of the participant in question (see section 4.1.1.1). Visually, the construction of the formal or less official aspects of Mr Ben Ali's identity is realised in the visual naming through the combination and overlap between the choices of pose, gaze, and hand movement (see section 4.1.2).

Another point is that these overlaps and combinations of visual naming choices are motivated by and dependent on the choices introduced by the text. For example, the interpretation of the visual naming choices of the national authorities depends on the overlap between the

carriers of connotations from the first level and elements from the second level which are motivated by the ones introduced in the linguistic text creating a reinforced identity construction of the participants in this group (see section 4.2.1.2).

The visual analysis of the naming choices constructing the protesters has shown how the choices specific to the visual naming system can interpret naming meanings that construct the protesters' identity. The analysis has also shown that visual naming choices combine and overlap to visualise the naming construction initiated in the text. I can conclude that although they use their own resources to present a visual naming meaning that helps to establish a coherent multimodal portrayal of the participants reported in text and image, their use and combinations are motivated by and dependent on the naming choices initiated in the text.

## **Chapter Five: Multimodal Critical Stylistic Analysis of Transitivity Choices**

This chapter presents an analysis of the linguistic and visual transitivity choices constructing the participants' actions and states of being of the three groups reported in the selected BBC articles on the unrest in Tunisia. Both Critical Stylistics and Visual Grammar rely heavily on Systemic Functional Grammar, adopting Halliday's transitivity system. According to Halliday, transitivity refers to the manner in which speakers encode their experience of the real world via processes of "“goings-on’: of doings, happening, feeling, beings” (Halliday, 1985: 101).

In what follows, I present the linguistic and the visual systems of transitivity. I discuss how I used both systems to analyse the linguistic and visual transitivity choices attached to each participant to get an overall construction of how they are constructed multimodally and ascertain whether the linguistic and visual choices show a coherent or incoherent portrayal of the same participant(s).

### **5.1 Critical stylistics' model of transitivity**

Jeffries (2010a) bases this TCF on Simpson's (1993, 2004) version of Halliday's model of transitivity. Although Jeffries (2010a) adopts this version for pedagogic rather than theoretical reasons, it is accessible and is "informed by a symbiosis of stylistic and CDA approaches to text analysis" (Coffey, 2013: 155). According to Simpson, transitivity "shows how speakers encode in language their mental picture of reality and how they account for their experience of the world around them" (1993: 88). The system of transitivity focuses on the clause as its unit of analysis which is composed of two essential elements: the process and the participant(s) involved in it (Halliday & Mathiessen, 2004 : 175). In addition, there may be a third element in the clause, i.e. the Circumstance surrounding the Process (ibid). Different process types are categorised according to their semantic meaning and each requires different kinds of participants which might represent actions, states of mind or states of being. The participants involved have different labels depending on the type of process they are associated with which expresses their relationships to the process. Circumstances are optional elements that provide information to time, place and manner. The process types, their respective participants, and their sub-categories are shown in table (11) as presented by Simpson (2014).

Category	Participants	Sub-categories
Material Action Processes	Actor, affected participant,	Intention (MAI) Supervension (MAS) Event (MAE)
Verbalization Processes	Speaker, Verbiage, affected participant	
Mental Processes	Experiencer, Experienced	Cognition (MC) Reaction (MR) Perception(MP)
Relational Processes	Carrier, Attribute	Intensive (RI) Possessive(RP) Circumstantial (RC)
Existential Process	Existent	

Table (11): Transitivity categories as outlined by Simpson (2014)

To analyse the instances realising the process types presented in table (11), I followed certain procedures. These are:

1. Dividing each text into numbered clauses.
2. Identifying the processes of each clause by underlining and numbering the process, e.g.:  
  - We're (RI 1) all very happy that Ben Ali has left (MAI 5) the country.
3. Classifying the process types and their distribution in main and subordinate clauses to outline which processes are more important than the others in forming the overall pattern constructing particular participants.
4. Manually counting the frequencies of the process types attached to each participant to find out what is the dominant process type, or types, used to construct them. Interpretation of the meanings implied in the different process types depends on

their syntactic, semantic, and contextual features, which help to outline specific patterns of meanings that construct the identity of the participants. This means, I consider transitivity as a feature of verbs in context not as a verb in isolation, taking an opposing view to Simpson (1993, 2004), Halliday (1973; 1985, 1994; 2004 ), Simpson & Mayr (2010) and Halliday and Matthiessen (2004 ; 2014).

5. Calculating the percentages of each process type by using this formula:

$$X = F/N \times 100$$

X= the percentage of the obtained items.

F= frequency.

N= the total of the items.

6. Drawing conclusions depending on the transitivity patterns discovered and the meanings such patterns may suggest. The patterns of meanings utilised from the detailed linguistic transitivity analysis, including the frequencies and percentages, are important because they facilitate the analysis of the visual transitivity choices as to what extent the meanings of these patterns are reflected in the accompanying images.

In the following section, I present the visual system of transitivity commenting on the way it operates to examine how the process types depicted in the images construct the participants in three groups and the extent to which these choices are similar to or different from the ones analysed in the linguistic text.

## **5.2 Visual grammar model of transitivity**

Transitivity is one basic ideational function in Visual Grammar using the same verb categories offered by Halliday to examine what is going on between depicted participants, i.e. elements existing in images such as people, places and things of various kinds. The visual transitivity system transforms the six process types proposed by Halliday to two major process types. These are narrative and conceptual processes. While in narrative processes “participants are connected by a vector ...represented as doing something to or for each other”, in conceptual processes they are depicted “in terms of their more generalised or more or less stable and timeless essence, in terms of class, or structure or meaning” (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006: 59, 79). These processes are outlined in table (12) as presented by Kress & van Leeuwen (2006).

Representational Structures (ideational)	Narrative Representations	Processes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Action (actor+ Goal)</li> <li>- Reactional (Reactor+ Phenomenon)</li> <li>- Speech &amp; Mental</li> <li>- Conversion</li> <li>- Geometrical Symbolism</li> </ul>
		Circumstances	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Setting</li> <li>- Means</li> <li>- Accompaniment</li> </ul>
	Conceptual Representations	Classificational Processes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Covert</li> <li>- Overt ( Single or multi-levelled)</li> </ul>
		Analytical Processes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Unstructured</li> <li>- Structured</li> <li>1 Temporal</li> <li>2 Exhaustive and inclusive</li> <li>3 Conjoined &amp; compounded exhaustive</li> <li>4 Temporal and topological processes</li> <li>5 Dimensional and quantitative topography</li> <li>6 Spatio-temporal</li> </ul>
		Symbolic Processes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Attributive</li> <li>- Suggestive</li> </ul>

Table (12): The Transitivity System in Visual Grammar

Narrative processes are equivalent to the linguistic material processes. In my data, these processes are more frequent than the conceptual ones which are equivalent to the relational and mental processes. This might suggest that news images are used to visually narrate the actions which are reported in the text more than describing the events, people, and places. For example, image (12t), discussed in section 5.4.2, depicts the police as engaged in a material narrative action of demonstrating and chanting to reinforce the linguistic transitivity

choices that construct them as joining the demonstrations and chanting that they are innocent of the blood of martyrs.

I followed certain procedures to analyse the instances of the visual transitivity choices presented in table (12). These procedures are:

1. Dividing the images in my data according to the number of participants depicted. For example, images depicting Mr Ben Ali constitute one group<sup>19</sup>.
2. Identifying the process types each image depicts and considering the effect of their co-occurrence with the linguistic text in specifying, and analysing their types.
3. Classifying the processes as main and minor depending on the criteria of the space they occupy and their placement in the image foreground and background which give them more salience than the other processes.
4. Examining the extent to which these choices cohere with the ones the accompanying texts use and their effect in making and projecting the meanings already introduced by the linguistic choices.
5. Drawing conclusions on the overall patterns of meanings discovered and the way the resources specific to the visual systems participated in creating these patterns of meaning.

I follow Machin & Mayr (2012: 131) in focusing on the extent to which visual transitivity choices reinforce similar meanings introduced by the linguistic transitivity choices in constructing the participants' identity. This focus supports the analysis to examine whether participants receive coherent transitivity choices and how this affects the overall construction of participants. The system can also answer in what ways the visual choices are different from the linguistic ones and the effect this has on the overall representation of participants. Application of the visual transitivity system to the images in my data allows interpreting the visual representation of major participants as more/less powerful, more/less confident positive/negative and affecting/affected. The system also enables me to investigate whether

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<sup>19</sup> In cases where an image depicts participants related to different groups, e.g. police and protesters, the same image is used in the groups related to the different participants depicted.

there has been deletion of agents and whether the image helps to bring in an abstract sense of what is going on.

As stated in chapter three, multimodal text analysis treated the linguistic text and the image as independent texts giving them similar analytical status. This treatment helps my analysis to show how the two transitivity systems co-operate to construct the major participants in the unrest in Tunisia as powerful/less powerful, affecting/affected, less/more confident, less/more defensive weak/strong and positive/negative. My analysis also views the meanings made and projected in both the linguistic and visual systems as co-dependent on each other forming a context that regulates and motivates the transitivity choices made in the linguistic text and the accompanying images. This view helps the analysis to limit the number of the possible interpretations an image might suggest. This is because its co-occurrence with the linguistic text creates a context that limits those interpretations. For example, in article No.6, (section 5.5.1), the protesters are linguistically represented as 'waving banners' and 'chanting'. The accompanying image, (section 5.5.2), depicts two protesters in which one carries a banner while the other one is depicted as shouting. Considering the linguistic transitivity choices 'waving banners' and 'chanting' as a context for the image, the visual transitivity choices are interpreted accordingly as 'waving a banner' and 'chanting' rather than 'carrying a banner' and 'shouting'. The chapter also discusses instances where linguistic and visual transitivity functions overlap with other linguistic and visual functions to present comprehensive interpretation of the transitivity choices and the participants' identity they construct. For example, interpretations of the linguistic verbal processes discussed in section 5.4.1.1 are supported by Caldas-Coulthard (1994) model of quoting verbs to interpret the identity of 'Sayer'. Visual transitivity choices overlap and interrelate with the visual naming choices of gaze, pose, hand movements and facial expressions to adjust the interpretation of material and verbal processes discussed in sections 5.4.2.2 and 5.5.2.

In what follows, section 5.3 discusses the linguistic and the visual transitivity choices constructing the identity of Mr Ben Ali.

### **5.3 Multimodal transitivity analysis of Mr Ben Ali**

Linguistically, material processes construct Mr Ben Ali as a powerless, weak and defeated actor who performs involuntary actions under the force of more powerful actors or events against him. Visually, although transitivity choices do not always reinforce the patterns of

meanings suggested by the linguistic transitivity analysis in a similar way, the main linguistic transitivity choices constructing Mr Ben Ali, namely material actions, are reinforced in images. Section 5.3.1, discusses the different meanings utilised from the detailed linguistic transitivity analysis.

### 5.3.1 Linguistic transitivity analysis

There are 40 processes attached to Mr Ben Ali. As table (13) shows, material processes are the major transitivity choice constructing Mr Ben Ali as ‘Actor’ with 33 instances making 82 % of the total of transitivity choices attached to him. Verbal and Relational processes play a minor role in representing him with three instances for the former and four instances for the latter. No mental, behavioural or existential processes were used to represent him in any of the articles analysed.

Article No.	Material	Verbal	Relational
1	5	0	1
2	9	2	0
3	3	0	0
4	4	0	1
5	1	0	0
6	1	0	0
7	1	0	0
8	2	0	0
9	2	0	0
10	5	1	2
Total	33	3	4
Percentage	82.5%	7.5%	10%

Table (13): Transitivity choices of Mr Ben Ali

Although the higher occurrences of MAI processes might suggest that Mr Ben Ali is constructed as an active or effective participant, the degree of intentionality of these processes reveals other meanings affected by certain factors. These factors are related to contextual structures as well as the semantic implications of the verbs themselves. They

determine interpreting 'Actor' in these MAI processes as performing actions unwillingly or involuntarily which consequently contribute in creating a pattern of a weak and defeated 'Actor' as will be explained in section 5.3.1.1.

### 5.3.1.1 Degrees of intentionality in material processes

As mentioned in the previous section, the meaning of his role as 'Actor' is affected by certain contextual structures and the semantic implications of the verbs themselves. Mr Ben Ali is represented as engaged in the actions of 'stepped down', 'left', 'flees/fled/has fled', 'conceded power', 'abandoning power', 'boarded a plane', 'had promised to step down', 'dissolved his government', and 'has sought refuge'. These verbs are used in some contexts where overlap between transitivity and assuming provides a comprehensive interpretation on how transitivity constructs participants' identity. For example:

- (1) Tunisian President Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali **has fled** with his family to Saudi Arabia, **after being forced** from office after 23 years in power. (Article No.2)
- (2) The 74-year-old leader **conceded** power **after** protests over economic issues **escalated** into rallies against him. (Article No.2)
- (3) Mr. Ben Ali, who had been in power for 23 years, **fled** to Saudi Arabia on Friday **after** the unrest **culminated** in a giant rally against him. (Article No.3)
- (4) Mr Ben Ali **fled** his country earlier this month **following** a number of violent protests. (Article No.10)

In the examples above, the degree of intentionality of the MAI processes performed by Mr. Ben Ali is affected by two contextual factors making his actions more unintentional to the extent that they are unwilling reactions to other MAI performed by other participants against him. The first contextual factor is the logical presupposition suggested by the temporal clauses (Levinson, 1983: 182) and the complex structure of the sentences suggest that such MAI processes are performed involuntary with minimal or no intention on the part of the actor. The presuppositions: 'protests escalated against him', and 'the unrest culminated in big rally against him', and 'a number of violent protests' are taken for granted since they are mentioned in subordinate clauses. As far as time sequence of the events, they took place first and provide causes for the second action to be performed. These causes make the second

material actions less intentional as they happen in reaction to or under the effect of the first ones.

In this respect, Simpson (2004: 186) suggests that total dependence on the criterion of 'intention' in the classification of material processes with the absence of full contextualisation makes it impossible to know whether or not a particular action was done accidentally or deliberately. This suggestion gives way to the second contextual factor affecting the intentionality of these MAI. So, in the examples above the subordinate clauses preceded by the conjunction 'after' and the prepositional phrases, functioning as adverb of time, preceded by 'following' not only put actions in temporal contiguity, but also imply causal meaning that gives reason for the second action to take place and therefore forcing him to act as conceding power and fleeing.

The choice of the nouns that describe the protests helps show their magnitude and the pressing effect which causes his actions to take place, for example, 'giant rally'. The causal meaning of his actions, which took place after those performed in subordinate clauses as well as the causal implications established by the use of 'after' and 'following', constructs him as performing actions involuntarily and indicates that his actions are not the ones people still in power deliberately perform. Therefore, this overlap between the causal meanings implied in the logical presupposition affects the transitivity choices in showing how degrees of intentionality of the MAI processes operate and result in interpreting such actors as weak, defeated and powerless, performing actions involuntarily.

While contextual factors play a role in interpreting how intentional an action was in the examples above, the semantic implications of other verbs give, in themselves, the sense of unwillingness to perform the MAI. For example, 'conceded power' and 'abandoning power'. The former is defined as "to give something away, especially unwillingly" also "concede (defeat) to admit that you have lost a game, an election" (Oxford English Dictionary Online (OED), accessed 2016)<sup>20</sup>. The choice of this verb adds to the involuntary status of his actions. The verb 'abandon' in '**After abandoning** power in Tunis, Mr Ben Ali **boarded** a plane with his family and **left** the country', implies that an action is performed "because it is impossible or dangerous to stay" (the OED Online accessed 2016) which is used to report the way he left his position as President and in the second place causes him to board a plane. This

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<sup>20</sup> <https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/>

makes his second action more accidental than intentional because it is performed as a consequence of the first one which is also an un-intentional one.

The verb 'flee' also constructs similar meanings. It is usually used to refer to leaving "a person or place very quickly, especially because you are afraid of possible danger" (OED Online, accessed, 2016). This verb has been used in the ten articles of my data in the simple present, simple past and present perfect tenses to report the way Mr Ben Ali left the country<sup>21</sup>. Syntactically, this verb can be transitive and intransitive. For example:

-He fled from the country.

-He fled to the country

-He fled the country

Semantically, in these examples the actor's action, whether transitive or intransitive, neither affect nor benefit any 'Goal' and what is after the verb is the 'Scope' referring to the domain where the action took place (Halliday & Mathiessen, 2004 : 192). Material processes with 'Scope' as a second participant are not affecting or benefiting any Goal but only showing the destination to or from which the action took place. Choosing this verb, instead of more neutral verbs such as 'leave', provides more information on how the president's leaving took place. Therefore, while 'leave' gives neutral meaning on the way he performed the action without implying how, 'flee' provides additional information by semantically suggesting that he left quickly and feeling afraid.

The choice of the verbs discussed above, their meaning in the structure of the sentence, and their semantic implications construct Mr Ben Ali as performing his actions involuntarily. This adds more understanding about intentionality in MAI processes. While MAI are usually used to represent active actors who intentionally bring about a positive or negative change to some goals or those whose deliberate actions rarely influence any object in the physical environment (Kennedy, 1982; Simpson, 1993; Nørgaard, 2003), they are used in my data with minimum or no intention. This has contributed in constructing the identity of a weak and defeated actor who has no intention to perform actions.

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<sup>21</sup> See appendix 4 for full list of examples

The analysis of transitivity choices attached to Mr Ben Ali reveals some theoretical points about MAI as a category in the material processes and how intentionality might be subject to variation under the effect of some syntactic, semantic and contextual considerations. This results in concluding that MAI might not be viewed as one unified category but as a scale including variable levels of intentionality ranging from actions with strong intention to those with little or no intention

### 5.3.1.2 Mr. Ben Ali as 'Goal'

Mr Ben Ali is constructed as 'Goal' in passive structures as 'being forced', 'was toppled' and 'was removed' in the sentences below:

- (5) Tunisian President Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali has fled with his family to Saudi Arabia, after **being forced** from office after 23 years in power. (Article No.2)
- (6) ... Mr Ben Ali **was removed** from office. (article No.3)
- (7) The French newspaper Le Monde said she personally went to the bank to get the gold before her husband, Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali, **was toppled**. (Article No.4)

Using the passive structure in the examples above puts emphasis on the action performed rather than who performed it. Semantically, these verbs suggest some violent action as taking place prioritising Mr. Ben Ali as being affected by these actions which contribute to constructing a weak and defeated participant.

### 5.3.1.3 Mr. Ben Ali as 'Sayer':

As Sayer, Mr Ben Ali is engaged in two verbal processes. These are 'declared a state of emergency', and 'has not so far commented on allegations'. The first instance is given in article No.2 and the second is given in article No.10. While the transitivity system can distinguish a participant as 'Sayer', it does not determine what kind of 'Sayer' is constructed. Therefore, I incorporate Caldas-Coulthard (1994) quoting verbs model to inform the analysis on what kind of 'Sayer' is constructed.

Thus, the verb 'declare', which means "say something officially or publicly" (OED online accessed 2018) is usually used by authoritative speakers. According to Caldas-Coulthard (1994: 306) this verb is an assertive metapositional verb used by speakers who have the power to release official statements. Yet, what Mr Ben Ali 'declared' is a 'state of emergency'

which indicates that there is a current difficult situation that requires such a declaration. The verb 'comment' is used in the negated form constructing him as a passive 'Sayer' who did not reply to other speakers accusing him of corruption. Therefore, it is negation, rather than the choice of the verb, that construct him as a passive 'Sayer'.

The analysis in sections 5.3.1.1 – 5.3.1.3 shows that the different meanings made and projected by transitivity choices produce one dominant pattern of meaning that constructs Mr Ben Ali as weak, passive and defeated participant. The visual transitivity analysis presented in section 5.3.2 discusses how this dominant pattern of meaning is reflected in the images.

### 5.3.2 Visual transitivity analysis

Visually, the linguistic pattern constructing Mr Ben Ali as weak and powerless is not reinforced in a similar way in the images. For example, in article No.2, linguistically, he is represented as engaged in the material processes of 'flees', 'has fled', 'being forced from office', 'conceded power', and 'left the country'. These verbs are either intransitive or have 'Scope' as the second participant which do not affect or benefit any other participant by only giving the action performed or showing the destination to or from which the action took place.

Image (4t), which accompanies article No.2, depicts him as engaged in a non-transactional narrative material action delivering his last televised speech standing in what looks like a presidential office, which according to the linguistic text he is being forced from. While who forces him is mentioned later in the text as 'protests' causing him to concede power, the image depicts him addressing an un-depicted audience.



Image (4t): Article No.2

The choice of non-transactional action helps to visualise him as isolated without those who usually support him implying that he is no longer a strong man surrounded by allies. While his posture, hand movement and facial expression depict him as engaged in a verbal process, those who are meant to be addressed are not visualised. Although the image with its transitivity choice reinforces the text's main transitivity choice constructing Mr Ben Ali, i.e. material processes, it does not visualise the detailed transitivity meanings the text provides.

In article No.4, while the linguistic transitivity choices construct him as passive, defeated and weak through the passive verbs 'was toppled', the image does not depict this meaning. Instead, he is depicted with his wife where linguistically he is constructed as 'giving in' to her requests of taking gold from Tunisian banks.



Image (7t): Article No.4

The image depicts Mr Ben Ali and his wife in a public setting as involved in a narrative material action of waving to the public who are backgrounded. Their facial expressions suggest that this image operates as an illustration of the people reported in the text with less intention to reinforce the linguistic transitivity choices. Yet, the use of the narrative material action reinforces the use of material processes which are dominant in the linguistic text.

In article No.10, the visual transitivity choices reinforce those used in the linguistic text. In the linguistic text, he is represented as engaged in the material processes of 'fled his country', 'sought refuge' and 'a legal case filed against him' and one verbal process as 'has not so far commented on allegations'.

As discussed in sections 5.3.1.1 - 5.3.1.3, the choice of these verbs constructs him as defeated, weak and passive to the extent that he has not commented on allegations against him. He is also represented negatively as the only action he did is fleeing his country and seeking refuge.

Visually, image (15t) accompanying article No.10 depicts Mr Ben Ali as engaged in a non-transactional material action of walking in a way that he is leaving the crowd behind him, or even perhaps 'leaving' his country.



Image (15t): Article No.10

Image (15t) also depicts other participants in material process, backgrounded and blurred, as walking, but not in the direction of President Ben Ali. The posture Mr Ben Ali takes indicates a sense of departing and leaving the crowd behind him with a facial expression that adds an impression of defeat. Depicting him walking alone giving the crowd his back might imply his unwillingness, or inability to face the situation.

In article No.5, which uses the same image used in article No.2 discussed above, Mr Ben Ali is represented as 'Goal' of the passive action 'was removed'. Image (9t), which is a re-contextualization of image (4t), depicts him as engaged in a non-transactional narrative process:



Image (9t): Article No.5

Image (9t) depicts him in his office delivering a televised speech. I found that this image illustrates Mr Ben Ali as the participant being reported in the text as 'was removed' rather than attempting to reinforce the linguistic transitivity choices used in the text. In image (4t), article No.2, the verb 'was forced' constructing him in the same way as the 'Goal' of this passive action.

The linguistic and visual transitivity analysis discussed in sections 5.3.1 and 5.3.2 shows that transitivity choices construct Ben Ali as a passive, powerless and negative actor in the articles analysed. Although the last image shows no direct correspondence to the linguistic transitivity choices, it keeps in line with the general text orientation representing President Ben Ali in material action processes. Posture, facial expression and hand movement attribute to the meaning suggested by the transitivity choice and interpret what exactly participants are depicted as doing.

#### **5.4 Multimodal transitivity analysis of national and international authorities**

As mentioned in chapter four, there are three subgroups constituting this group of participants. These are the new government and political leaders, the police, and the international authorities. Section 5.4.1 discusses the linguistic and the visual analysis of transitivity choices constructing new government and political leaders, 5.4.2 accounts for the

linguistic and the visual transitivity choices constructing the police, and section 5.4.3 deals with transitivity choices attached to the international authorities.

#### **5.4.1 Multimodal transitivity analysis of the new government and political leaders**

Linguistic and visual transitivity processes are distributed between Prime Minister Mohammed Ghannouchi and political leaders. The multimodal transitivity analysis reveals that material and verbal processes are major transitivity choices used to construct these two participants. However, while linguistic transitivity analysis outlines instances of relational and mental processes, visual transitivity analysis shows instances of mental processes only. Both systems show no behavioural or existential processes attached to the two participants. Mr Ghannouchi is the most frequent participant while political leaders come next in having instances of linguistic and visual transitivity choices.

In what follows, section 5.4.1.1 discusses the linguistic transitivity choices and 5.4.1.2, analyses the visual transitivity choices.

##### **5.4.1.1 Linguistic transitivity analysis**

There are 103 processes attached to this group as presented in table (14).

Process type	Mr Ghannouchi	Political leaders	Process type total	Percentage
Material	9	14	23	22.33%
Relational	6	0	6	5.82%
Mental	3	3	6	5.82%
Verbal	39	29	68	66.01%
Total	57	45	103	100%

Table (14): Transitivity choices of new government and political leaders<sup>22</sup>

As shown in table (14), verbal processes are the most frequent transitivity choice which means that the main role attached to this group of participants is that of 'Sayer'. Although the high occurrences of verbal processes might suggest that they have more prominent voice than the other two groups of participants, closer examination reveals that being distinguished as 'Sayer' does not tell the whole story of such construction. Therefore, my analysis uses other tools to support the transitivity system to interpret what identity constructs the participant

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<sup>22</sup>See appendix 2 for full list of process types examples

distinguished as 'Sayer'. That is whether this 'Sayer' is less/more powerful, less/more authoritative, less/more defensive, and less/more confident.

Material processes come next in occurrences suggesting that this group of participants is active and affective. Yet, examining the semantic, syntactic, and contextual features surrounding these processes reveal that they construct a less affective and authentic participant with more defensive and less confident identity especially when they overlap with verbal processes. Analysis of this process type also concentrates on how these features affect and motivate the visual transitivity choices.

Due to the few occurrences of relational processes as well as absence of their visual equivalent in my data, I will not discuss them in this section. This is because they do not affect the overall multimodal representation of participants in this group.

#### **5.4.1.1.1 Verbal processes and the identity of 'Sayer'**

As shown in table (14), the total number of verbal processes is 68. Yet, distinguishing participants, as 'Sayer' does not tell the whole story of such construction because transitivity does not interpret what identity this 'Sayer' has. That is whether this 'Sayer' is less/more authoritative, less/more powerful, less/more defensive or less/more confident. Therefore, I incorporate Caldas-Coulthard (1994) model of quoting verbs to determine what type of 'Sayer' identity is constructed. Classifying the verbal processes according to this model results in three identity patterns of 'Sayer' depending on the category that the verb is related to. These three patterns are discussed in the following paragraphs.

The first pattern includes the category of what Caldas-Coulthard (1994: 306) calls neutral quoting verbs which includes the verbs say, tell, ask, and reply. Neutral verbs of saying introduce what speakers said without the text producer's explicit evaluation (Machin & Mayr, 2012: 59) constructing a pattern of neutral 'Sayer'. These verbs occur in my data with 22 instances attached to this group. Mr Ghannouchi is represented in 15 instances as neutral 'Sayer' while political leaders have seven instances constructing them neutrally. For example:

- (8) Mr Ghannouchi **said** he will meet political leaders on Saturday in an attempt to form a government. (Article No.2)
- (9) Opposition leader Najib Chebbi **told** France's RTL radio that he had held talks with Mr Ghannouchi on Saturday. (Article No.3)

The verbs of saying in the examples above construct the identity of the speakers neutrally without giving evaluation on how they said it, which consequently creates the pattern of neutral identity construction of speakers. They also do not carry guidance as to how readers should think of the speaker or his statement representing such speakers as disengaged or even less personalised (Machin & Mayr, 2012: 59). Therefore, this pattern suggests that the BBC, as text producer, does not interfere to evaluate what original speakers said. As a result, the BBC was neutral and objective in reporting what those speakers said with regard to the events reported.

The second pattern includes the category of what Caldas-Coulthard (1994: 306) calls metapositional and transcript quoting verbs which includes the verbs 'defend', 'insist', 'add', 'repeat', 'refuse', 'deny', 'admit' and 'claim'. These verbs have 32 occurrences and construct the participants in this group as having defensive and less authoritative 'Sayer' identity. According to Caldas-Coulthard (ibid ), these verbs mark text producers' interpretation of what original speakers said (Machin & Mayr, 2012: 60).

Out of the 32 occurrences of this kind of verbal processes, 18 instances are attached to Mr Ghannouchi. The important point for this multimodal analysis is that 11 of these verbs are found in article No.5 constructing him as a defensive and a less authoritative prime minister. I classify these verbs according to Caldas-Coulthard (1994) model of quoting verbs in table (15):

The verbs	Type of verb according to Caldas Coulthard(1994)	No of occurrences
defends, has defended, defended, described (2times),unveiled, did not claim	Metapropositional expressive verb	7
Insisted, vowing (2 times),	Metapropositional assertive verb	3
repeated	Transcript verb	1
Total of occurrences		11

Table (15): Verbal processes attached to Mr Ghannouchi article No.5

As shown in table (15), Mr Ghannouchi is constructed through the verbs of saying ‘defend’, ‘insist’, ‘describe’, ‘unveil’, ‘claim’ and ‘repeat’ which are categorised as metapropositional and transcript verbs. These verbs construct his identity as more defensive and less authoritative. For example, in four different instances he is constructed as defending members of his government insisting that they have ‘clean hands’ as shown in the following sentences:

(10) Tunisia's PM Mohammed Ghannouchi **has defended** the inclusion of members of the old regime in his new government.

(11) The retained ministers have "clean hands", **he insisted** while *vowing* those behind recent street "massacres" would face "justice".

In the first example, he does not simply ‘announce’ the new government, but ‘has defended’ it. The use of ‘has defended’, as a metapropositional expressive verb, implies that he is in a situation to justify his decision which in turn suggests a more defensive and less authoritative status.

In the second example, he ‘insisted’, rather than ‘explained’ how they have ‘clean hands’ constructs Mr Ghannouchi as less authoritative speaker who lacks conviction or forcefulness. It also suggests a “level of persistence that would not be required of someone who was

confident of having authority and respect” (Machin & Mayr, 2012: 64). Moreover, it implies that he is not capable of explaining or it is unlikely that he has an explanation.

There is also the expressive verb ‘unveiled’ in ‘Mr Ghannouchi **unveiled** the new administration on Monday - though three prominent opposition figures were named to key posts’ suggests similar interpretation to the verb ‘defend’. Here, instead of simply announcing the ‘new administration’, which is usual of people in authority who have the agency to ‘announce’ (ibid: 67), he unveiled the new administration’ which suggests that there is something to hide in the first place.

The transcript verb ‘repeat’ in ‘He **repeated** pledges made on Monday ...’ also adds to his less authoritative identity as he repeated ‘pledges’ he had already made before which is suggested by the adverb of time. This gives the impression that he is in a situation in which people are not convinced of his ‘pledges’ so that he needed to repeat them which consequently constructs a less authentic identity.

The third pattern includes the category of what Caldas-Coulthard (1994: 306) calls assertive verbs which includes the verbs announce, declare, and discuss. These verbs construct this group as authoritative speakers and have four occurrences. These verbs have the potential of constructing an official identity of speakers as they have the agentive power to announce and declare official statements. For example:

(12) On Sunday, the interim authorities **announced** that the curfew was being eased because of the "improving security situation".

In this example, the verb ‘announced’ is used to construct the ‘interim authorities’ as legitimate speakers. Machin & Mayr (2012: 60) explain that the verb ‘announce’ is official and formal and is usually used when constructing official groups who have legitimacy and power.

Incorporating transitivity and the model of quoting verbs present a comprehensive interpretation on the ideological importance of verbal processes. This is because distinguishing a particular participant as ‘Sayer’ is not enough to interpret their identity and to explore what ideological meanings are implied behind constructing them as such. This lies in the fact that both tools cooperate to give information about the reporting and the reported

voice and how the reporting voice reports the reported voice as speaking. As such, how the reported voice is constructed as speaking refers to how what they say represents a more/less powerful, confident or authentic identity.

In what follows, I discuss a number of instances in which verbal processes affect the meanings of the material processes. The verbal process operates as a strong commitment of the MAI verb constructing these material actions as less affective because they are not performed. Instead they are intended to be done through the 'Actors' performing verbal action with strong commitment.

#### **5.4.1.1.2 The interrelatedness of material and verbal processes**

Two major points classify and account for the interrelated construction of this group of participants as 'Actor' and 'Sayer'. The first point is that 20 MAI processes construct them as 'Actor' portraying them as active participants in taking the initiative to lead the country after president Ben Ali stepped down. The point worth mentioning here is that these material processes are positioned in projected clauses, which are subordinate clauses, functioning as verbiage of the verbal process. Such cases are set in hypotactic logico-semantic relations suggesting that their MAI are not really performed yet, due to the verb tense and their being embedded within the verbiage. The second point marks a distinctive transitivity feature of the verbal and material processes attached to the new government and political leaders. It is exemplified by the combination of verbal and material intention actions in one verb phrase introducing strong modal commitment. For example:

(13) Tunisia's new cabinet **has promised to hold** free and fair elections within six months  
... (article No.7)

(14) Tunisia's prime minister **has promised to leave** politics. (Article No.8)

(15) The interim cabinet **has promised to release** all political prisoners. (Article No.8)

(16) Authorities **have promised to look into** possible abuses in the deaths of protesters.  
(Article No.9)

In the examples above, verbal and material processes are combined together constructing Mr Ghannouchi and interim government as 'Actor' who perform actions with strong modal commitment expressed by the verb of saying. This means that the material actions are not done but are 'promised' to be done. This combination adds more to the degree of

intentionality of the MAI process and indicates the Actor's strong intention to perform the action. Although giving strong intention to perform actions suggests positivity but it also might indicate less agentive power.

In other instances, the verbal and material processes are positioned in two separate verb phrases. For example:

(17) It **has confirmed** it will recognise banned political groups and **provide** an amnesty for political prisoners. (Article No.7)

(18) Mohamed Ghannouchi **said** he **would quit** "in the shortest possible timeframe".

(19) He **said** he **would retire** from public life after the elections.

The first example is introduced with strong modal commitment suggested by the verbal process. In the second and the third examples, the modal commitment is found in the MAI itself while the verbal process portrays them as neutral participants.

Having outlined the linguistic transitivity choices constructing the new government and political leaders, the next section concerns analysing how the accompanying images construct this group through transitivity choices.

#### **5.4.1.2 Visual transitivity analysis**

In my data, two images depict new government and political leaders as engaged in different actions and states of being. The visual transitivity analysis helps examine whether or not transitivity choices were similar to those used in the text and decide whether participants were represented in a coherent way. It also helps examine the various ways in which similar transitivity meanings are expressed using resources specific to the visual system. In what follows, I discuss how the visual transitivity choices cohere, in the two images, with the linguistic choices examined in section 5.4.1.1.

As explained in section 5.4.1.1, verbal processes are a major transitivity choice in article No.5 constructing Mr Ghannouchi as 'Sayer' who speaks in various situations related to forming a new government. The specific choices of the verbs of saying 'defends', 'has defended', 'insisted', 'vowing', 'described', 'repeated', 'did not claim', 'defended', and 'unveiled' construct him as less authoritative and a more defensive participant. This is because he did

not simply announce his new government but defended its members and he is not explaining how he thinks they have” clean hands” but ‘insisted’ that they have.

While image (8t) does not depict him as speaking, it evaluates his representation as ‘Sayer’ indirectly.



Image (8t): Article No.5

The image depicts him as engaged in material and mental processes. He is the Actor of ‘walking’ to enter an office or room ‘holding’ some papers in his hands (could be thought of as the names and roles of the members of his cabinet). He is the ‘Phenomenon’ in transactional reaction process, which is equivalent to the linguistic MP process, as three soldiers are looking at him.

His gaze, pose and facial expression, which are naming choices, add more meaning to the material and mental processes he is depicted as engaged in. The expression on his face implies a positive attitude which gives the sense that he ‘hopes’, stated by the caption, that pledges of new freedom will placate people angered by old faces in the new government. His posture with the papers in his hands might imply that he is in a position of defending which might be interpreted as equivalent to his linguistic action of defending the decision to include members from the old regime in the new government. It is worth reminding that the notion of co-text explains the possibility of this interpretation. The gaze of the soldiers towards him suggests a sense of doubt which puts his decision, and even pledges, under suspicion. In comparison, his gaze gives the impression that he is dealing with these issues right now. In this regard, Machin & Mayr (2012: 12) state that “When people in images look directly outwards, this can communicate a sense of dealing with issues straight on”. The visual naming choices of facial

expression, posture and gaze overlap with the visual transitivity choice and influence its interpretation to evaluate his linguistic construction as ‘Sayer’. Consequently, the overall visual transitivity construction would be that a coherent representation of Mr Ghannouchi is achieved although the exact linguistic verbal processes are not expressed by the visual transitivity choices.

The second image for this group is image (5t) article No.3. It depicts two political leaders sitting opposite each other in an action of talking to each other which is explained by the image caption as discussing possible unity cabinet.

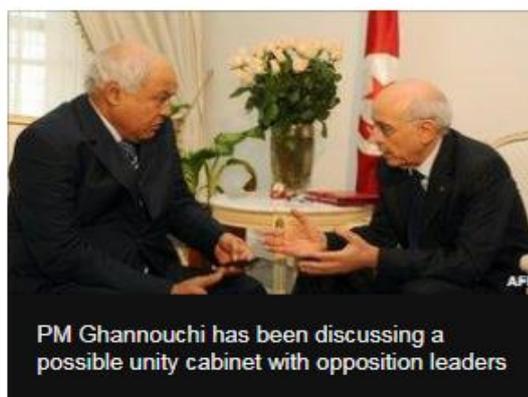


Image (5t): Article No.3

Linguistically, opposition leaders are represented as ‘Actor’ of holding talks with Mr. Ghannouchi who is positioned in a prepositional phrase functioning as circumstance of accompaniment to indicate an equivalent and mutual role in holding the talks. The image depicts them as engaged in a unidirectional transactional action where both are engaged in the action of discussing. The naming choices of facial expression, gaze and posture overlap to interpret this transitivity choice.

For example, considering both participants’ posture shows that both are engaged in an action of discussing. Being an opposition leader, the participant on the left is depicted with a facial expression and hand movement that implies disagreement with what Mr, Ghannouchi, depicted to the right, is saying. Mr. Ghannouchi is in turn depicted with a hand movement and facial expression which gives a sense of a more patience and understanding of a man who is trying to present his suggestions calmly. The point worth mentioning is that linguistically Mr. Ghannouchi is positioned in prepositional phrase functioning as an accompaniment circumstance in ‘Another opposition figure, Ahmed Ben Brahim **has** also **held** talks with Mr

Ghannouchi', to indicate his mutual and equivalent role in performing the action of holding talks. The image visualises such meaning of equivalence by depicting him sitting face to face with an opposition leader to suggest their equivalent status. This is done through the horizontal frontal angle overlapping with medium-long shot.

The analysis has shown that visual transitivity choices can indirectly reinforce the linguistic transitivity ones. The analysis has also shown that the visual naming choices of gaze, pose, hand movement, and facial expression overlap with the visual transitivity choices to elaborate more on the interpretation suggested by those transitivity choices which show how coherence of the participant's portrayal is created via the overall multimodal transitivity analysis.

#### 5.4.2 Multimodal transitivity analysis of the Police

The following two sections account for the linguistic and visual transitivity analysis of the police and security forces.

##### 5.4.2.1 Linguistic transitivity analysis

As shown in table (16), material and verbal processes are the major transitivity choices attached to this group of participants with 18 instances for the former and 6 instances for the latter. To a lesser extent, they are represented as Carrier with five instances. No mental, behavioural or existential processes were attached to them.

Article No.	material	Relational	Verbal
1	4	0	0
2	3	0	0
3	2	1	0
4	0	0	0
5	2	0	0
6	1	0	0
7	1	0	0
8	3	2	4
9	2	2	2
10	0	0	0
Total	18	5	6
Percentage	62.6%	17.24%	20.68%

Table (16): Transitivity choices of the police

Material and verbal processes construct two different identities of this group of participants. While the former processes construct them negatively as performing violent actions against protesters, the latter construct emotionally involved participants who are trying to defend themselves against the deaths of people during the unrest events. The rest of this section discusses their construction as 'Actor', 'Sayer' and 'Carrier'.

#### 5.4.2.1.1 Material processes constructing negative/positive identity

In my data, 15 MAI verbs construct the police negatively as performing violent actions against the protesters and defending the old regime. Only three MAI verbs construct them positively. The negativity of their actions either is attributed to contextual elements or is inherent in the semantics of the verb. For example

(20) Police **responded** with volleys of tear-gas grenades. (Article No.2)

(21) Police **used** fire on protesters and dozens died. (Article No.3)

(22) Police **used** tear gas to disperse the protesters in Tunis. (Article No.5)

In the examples above, the verbs are not negative in themselves but acquire their negativity through context. Thus, the verb 'respond', which means, "to do something as a reaction to something that somebody has said or done" (DOD accesses 2018), is in itself not negative. Instead, the things done as a response decide whether this response is negative or not. Therefore, the adverbial 'with volleys of tear-gas grenades' negatively defines their action as violent. Also, the verb 'use', which means, "to do something with a machine, a method or an object for a particular purpose" (ODO accessed 2018), does not suggest something negative. Thus, the means employed and their purpose are the elements which decide whether this use is negative or not. Therefore, the objects 'fire' and 'tear-gas', which function as object, are responsible for negatively interpreting their actions as violent. Consequently, negative implication is not achieved by the choice of the verb on its own, but through contextual elements surrounding the verb that result in negatively constructing them as violent actors.

As mentioned above, in some cases, the semantic implications of the verbs themselves suggest negative actions. For example:

(23) The police just **started hitting** people. (Article No.1)

(24) ...the police **started throwing** teargas at everyone. (Article No.1)

(25) There were reports that fresh protests on Tuesday **were broken up** by police. (Article No.5)

(26) The UN says as many as 100 people died as the police **cracked down** on the protests. (article No.7)

(27) ...the first victim of the uprising **was killed** by security forces in December. (Article No.8)

The verbs in these examples express violent actions performed by the police irrespective of the context. Therefore, 'start hitting', 'start throwing', 'broke up', 'crack down' and 'kill' imply violent actions regardless of any contextual elements that might determine the verb interpretation. The verbs 'start throwing' and 'start hitting' come under the meaning of 'start something' which usually indicates cause trouble (ODO, accessed 2017). 'Break up' means 'to make people leave something or stop doing something, especially by using force' (ODO, accessed 2017). Although the verb 'crack down' implies preventing some illegal activity, it still suggests a violent action.

As mentioned at the beginning of this section, three instances in my data represent the police and troops positively. In the first instance, the verb 'seal off' constructs the troops positively as guarding key public buildings:

(28) The center of Tunis **has been sealed off** by troops guarding key public buildings. (article No.3)

The verb 'seal off' is defined as 'to prevent people from entering a particular area' and is usually an action of army and police (ODO accessed 2018). Contextual elements also contribute to this positive construction. That is the reason behind sealing off the centre of Tunis is mentioned in the non-finite clause as 'guarding key public buildings'.

In the second instance, the verb 'respond' is used in:

(29) ...riot police **did not respond** with tear gas or water cannon. (Article No.6)

In this example, it is the negated form of the verb that plays a role in changing a contextually negative implication of the verb 'respond' into a positive one implying that the violent action

did not take place. Finally, the verb 'joined' also suggests a positive meaning as shown in the example below:

(30) Police officers who previously defended the Ben Ali regime **joined** the protests. (Article No.9)

The positive meaning of the verb 'joined' in this example comes from the meaning of the verb which indicates the fact that when 'one thing or group joins another, they come together to form one thing or group' (ODO, accessed 2018). This means that the police become part of the protests which makes them similar to those protesting. With the exception of these three examples, the overall material verbs in my data construct the police as performing violent actions against the protesters whether this violent meaning is achieved via the verb itself regardless of its context or with verbs viewed negatively through context. Having explained the way material processes construct the police, the rest of this section discusses the interrelatedness between the verbal and relational processes in constructing their identity as emotionally involved with the unrest events.

#### **5.4.2.1.2 Verbal and relational processes**

In my data, the verbal and relational processes, attached to the police, interrelate to construct emotionally involved and less trusted participants. This is done through positioning their role as 'Carrier' in projected clauses, which are subordinate clauses functioning as the verbiage of the verbal process where their role as 'Sayer' is positioned in projecting clauses, which are main clauses functioning as the reporting clauses (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). For example:

(31) Police officers at a demonstration in Tunis **said** they too **were** victims of the former regime. (Article No.8)

The police in the example above are constructed as 'Carrier' in the projected clause in which the relational verb 'were' describes them as 'victims' of the old regime. Although the verb 'said' is neutral structuring verb (Caldas-Coulthard, 1994: 306), the statement which functions as their verbiage creates a sort of sympathy as the relational verb describes them as 'victims'. With instances using the verbs 'insist' and 'claim' their role as 'Sayer' and 'Carrier' is affected

by the semantic implication of the choice of the verb of saying as explained in the following two examples:

(32) The officers **insisted** that they **had not been to blame** for the deaths of dozens of protesters since mid-December, with many **chanting** "We are innocent of the blood of the martyrs!". (Article No.8)

(33) The police **claimed** that they **were not to blame** for the deaths of dozens of protesters since mid-December, with many **chanting** "We are innocent of the blood of the martyrs!". (Article No.9)

Although the reporting content of the two sentences is somehow similar, the choice of the verb of saying implies two different meanings as to how their identity is viewed. That is, in the first example, the verb 'insisted' indicates that the police are emotionally involved over the deaths of dozens of protesters. This emotional involvement created by the verb 'insist' continued to the next clause where the naming choice, i.e. 'many' of them indicates that a horde is 'chanting' "we are innocent of the blood of the martyrs". Constructing them as 'chanting', which is typically associated with protesters; indicates the legitimacy of their action. The verb 'chant' implies shouting the same words many times, which retains the high emotional tone expressed by the content of the words they chanted. The choice of the verb of saying along with the naming choice indicate collectively how the police were emotionally involved. In the second example, the verb 'claim', which is an expressive metapositional verb (Caldas-Coulthard, 1994: 306) constructs them as less trusted 'Sayer'. This is because the choice of this verb invites doubt as claims can be contested (Machin & Mayr, 2012: 61). As such, the implication of emotional involvement suggested in the first example is replaced by a sense of distrust invited by the use of the verb 'claim' in the second.

Relational processes are also used in two instances to describe their participation in the protest as 'dramatic development' as the following examples show:

(34) ...the police participation **was** a very dramatic development. (Article No. 8)

(35) ...the police participation in the protests **was** a very dramatic development. (Article No.9)

These two instances show that such participation was described as ‘dramatic development’ because of their previous role as ‘Actor’ in defending Mr Ben Ali’s government by cracking down on demonstrations. They are also described as ‘among those protesting’ in:

(36) On Saturday policemen **were** among those protesting. (Article No.8)

The use of the circumstance ‘among’ suggests that their role has transformed from being police to that of protesters portraying them in a positive way that has received visual depiction as will be explained in section 5.4.2.2.

#### **5.4.2.2 Visual transitivity analysis**

The linguistic transitivity analysis shows that while the majority of the linguistic transitivity choices attached to the police are MAI processes portraying them negatively as performing violent actions against protesters, only three transitivity choices construct them positively. Visual transitivity analysis shows that the visual transitivity choices reinforce the positive transitivity construction of the police more than the negative one. Moreover, their role as ‘Sayer’, which was examined in the text, was reinforced by the visual transitivity choices concentrating on the transitivity choice of ‘chanting’. The following visual transitivity analysis discusses these points.

Within the material processes, which construct them as ‘Actor’, three patterns of meanings are found regulating the relation between the linguistic and visual transitivity choices in my data. In the first pattern, the visual transitivity choices do not reinforce the negative transitivity construction introduced in the linguistic text. This is the case found in articles No.2 and No.7 which linguistically construct the police as ‘respond with volleys of tear gas grenades’ and ‘cracked down on’ demonstrations which I interpreted as negative role. The images accompanying these texts do not visualise them as doing so. For example, image (3t) article No.2 does not depict the police as engaged in a material action of responding with volleys of tear gas grenades. However, the result of their action is depicted by visualizing tear gas smoke occupying about a third of the image foreground and centre:



Image (3t): Article No.2

The main transitivity choice in image (3t) is material narrative actions ‘smoke of tear gas is spreading’ and ‘three people are walking through the tear gas smoke’. While the text represents the police as the active agent of responding with tear gas grenades, the image removes them changing their MAI into MAE where the animate agent is not mentioned.

Image (11t) article No.7 depicts them with the full uniform of ‘riot police’ as involved in a narrative material action of ‘standing’ in front of the protesters but not ‘cracking down on demonstrations’ as the text transitivity choice suggests:



Image (11t): Article No.7

In Image (11t), the visual naming choices of facial expressions and poses overlap with the transitivity choice indicating that they do not have an intention to crack down on the demonstration. Thus, the overlap between the visual transitivity and naming choices suggest that they do not agree with the linguistic transitivity choice. This difference in the linguistic and visual transitivity choices might suggest that the news story was more concerned with visualising the information that ‘protests have continued’, as stated in the image caption and the news text, rather than the police’ cracked down on the demonstrations’. However, the

visual transitivity system of still images fails to give the impression of continuity. This is because the visual transitivity system of still images can represent three circumstantial relations including those of locative relations, those representing means and those representing accompaniment (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006: 64-80). As such, other circumstantial relations are not part of still images potentials because “...some relations can only be realised visually and others only linguistically, or some more easily visually and others more easily linguistically. This distribution of realization possibilities across the semiotic modes is itself determined ...by the inherent potentialities and limitations of a semiotic mode” (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006: 46). Yet, the image is supposed to let viewers understand that the unrest event is not finished. According to Mullen, “A news photograph is often not just an interesting picture used to highlight a story, sometimes it is a mode of storytelling that incorporates ideas of truth, reality, cultural value systems, and perception”(1998: 2).

In the second pattern, the visual transitivity choices reinforce the linguistic ones introduced in the accompanying text. This is the case in image (14t) article No.9. The text uses the MAI verb ‘joined’ and the verbal process ‘chanting’ to construct them positively as becoming part of the protests. The image reinforces these two processes by depicting a number of policemen among other protesters involved in a narrative material action of protesting and verbal process of ‘chanting’:



Image (14t): Article No.9

Image (14t) also adds to the meaning of the transitivity choice of 'joined' by making use of the naming choice of 'things' depicting the police dressed up as protesters and waving banners which is typical action protesters usually perform. Their being police is distinguished by depicting one of them occupying the image centre wearing a sleeveless jacket with the label 'police'.

The action of 'chanting' expressed in the text is reinforced in the image by the policeman, who is depicted as being carried by another one and positioned in the centre of the image, as waving a

banner with his two hands and opening his mouth in an action of chanting. Although the content of the chanting, in the image, might not be about their innocence of the blood of the martyrs, the act of chanting itself has been reinforced by the image.

In the third pattern, the visual transitivity choices not only reinforce the meanings introduced by the linguistic transitivity choice, but also extend them. This is the case in images (10) article No.6 and image (12t) article No.8. Image (10t) depicts one policeman engaged in a material action of raising up the glass of his helmet and standing too close to the protester who is waving a banner:



Image (10t): Article No.6

The image not only reinforces the positive construction of the police as not responding with tear gas or water cannon by deleting these objects from the image, but also extends this positive meaning. This is done by the overlap of the naming choices of the posture the policeman takes and his smiling facial expression looking firmly and positively to the protester in front of him. Absence of any weapons, tear canister and water cannon envisage a

compatible reference to the information given in the text. That is, 'did not respond with tear gas or water cannon'. Although, I argue that absence of objects in images could be equivalent to negation in the linguistic text; this argument needs more text/image evidence to be confirmed which my data do not have.

In article No.8, four linguistic verbal processes were used to represent the police as engaged in the verbal actions of 'demand', 'insisted', 'chanting' and 'call for' constructing them as emotionally involved participants as well as an affecting identity.

The choice of the processes in the image accompanying this text has a dual function. They reinforce the choices used in the caption directly and the ones in the news story indirectly.

While the image caption and text use relational process to describe them as 'victims' of the old regime, the image depicts one police officer as engaged in a narrative material process of waving a banner, written in Tunisian dialect, including two sentences with relational processes stating "the police are the captive of instructions, no days off... The higher intelligence is the maker of persecution (controlling, pursuing, ambushing)"<sup>23</sup>. These two sentences explain why the image caption describes them as 'victims' of the old regime.



Image (12t): Article No.8

The verbal process 'chanting' used in the text is reinforced by depicting two police officers as engaged in an action of 'chanting'. One is foregrounded and the other is backgrounded. The naming choices of the facial expression and hand movement of the foregrounded police officer overlap to support interpreting that he is engaged in an action of chanting. The other police who is backgrounded in the image is also engaged in an action of chanting. This

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<sup>23</sup> My translation

interpretation is made possible by the overlap of the naming choices of posture, facial expression and hand movement which create the context of people engaged in a verbal action of ‘chanting’. The foregrounding/backgrounding principle, which is one of the principles of visual salience, is also useful in creating the meaning that there were ‘many’ policemen as existing between the ones in the foreground and the one in the background as parts of others’ heads and faces appear to viewers and therefore coheres with text naming choice, i.e. ‘many’.

### 5.4.3 Multimodal transitivity analysis of International authorities

As mentioned in chapter four, international authorities refer to western governments, the press, and the UN. The analysis of transitivity choices attached to this group reveals that while material and verbal processes are major linguistic transitivity choices used to construct this group, they receive no visual depiction in my data. The following two sections discuss the linguistic transitivity choices and then comment on the absence of the visual transitivity representation.

#### 5.4.3.1 Linguistic transitivity analysis

Verbal and material processes are the major process types attached to this group, see table (17).

Article No.	Material	Relational	Mental	Verbal
1	0	0	0	0
2	1	0	0	3
3	0	0	0	0
4	0	0	0	4
5	0	0	1	1
6	2	0	0	7
7	1	0	0	3
8	0	0	1	2
9	0	0	0	7
10	7	1	1	7
Total	11	1	3	34
Percentage	22.44%	2%	6%	69.38%

Table (17): Transitivity choices of international authorities

As shown in table (17), they are mainly represented as 'Sayer' and 'Actor' with 34 instances for the former and 11 instances for the latter. Few instances construct them as 'Carrier' and 'Senser' with one instance for the former and three instances for the latter. No behavioural or existential processes were attached to this group of participants. Their role as 'Sayer' constructs them as powerful and authoritative participants in my data due to the kind of verbs of saying attached to them. In addition, their role as 'Actor' constructs affective and powerful participants whose actions bring about changes that affect less powerful participants. These two points are discussed in the following sections.

#### 5.4.3.1.1 International authorities as 'Sayer'

As mentioned in the previous section, verbal processes are major transitivity choice that construct international authorities. Most of them are neutral structuring verbs with 23 instances making 67% of all verbal processes attached to them. This indicates that this group of participants is represented as authorial, neutral and sometimes disengaged with what is being stated. For example:

(37) A Swiss judicial source **told** Reuters news agency that an association of Tunisians living in Switzerland had sought the freezing of assets including a building on Geneva's exclusive Rue du Rhone and a Falcon 9000 jet .... (Article No.7)

(38) On Saturday, AFP **quoted** a Canadian official as **saying** that one of the ex-president's brothers-in-law had fled to Montreal. (Article No.8)

(39) The Paris state prosecutor's office **says** it has opened a preliminary investigation into the property assets held by ousted Tunisian leader Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali in France. (Article No.10)

Using the neutral structuring verbs 'told', 'quoted', and 'says' suggests two important points. The first point is that the reported participants are constructed neutrally with no intention to add extra meaning to the way their statements are 'said'. The second point indicates that text producers intend to show objectivity in reporting what the original speakers have said without using reporting verbs with attitudinal meanings.

The verbs 'announce' and 'accuse' indicate the official status of international authorities to produce statements against Mr Ben Ali. For example:

(40) In Geneva, Swiss Foreign Minister Micheline Calmy-Rey **announced** a decision to freeze any funds of Mr Ben Ali's held there. (Article No.9)

(41) The groups - Sherpa, Transparency International France and the Arab Commission for Human Rights - **accuse** Mr Ben Ali of corruption, misusing public funds and money-laundering. (Article No.10)

The verbs 'announced' and 'accuse' are metapositional assertive quote verbs and they reflect the text producers' interpretation of the speaker (Machin & Mayr, 2012: 59-60). In this case, they reflect text producers' intention to present the international authorities as powerful participants.

When this group of participants addresses Tunisian national authorities, more moderate verbal processes are used to indicate their support of the new government. For example:

(42) Meanwhile, US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton **called on** Mr Ghannouchi "to encourage ongoing reforms.

(43) Cabinet ministers said earlier this week that all political prisoners had already been freed. Human rights group Amnesty International **welcomed** that move....

The verbs 'called on' and 'welcomed' suggest that international authorities used a different tone when addressing national authorities to indicate that they support them and are pleased by the steps they are taking. While these verbs construct them as more powerful than national authorities, they also add legitimacy and authenticity to the national authorities.

#### **5.4.3.1.2 International authorities as 'Actor'**

Material processes form the second major transitivity choice used to construct this group of participants with 11 instances. Their role as 'Actor' reflects their effectiveness in acting against Ben Ali and his family. Among the 11 instances, seven are found in the article No.10. They all construct the powerful and active role of different international authorities represented as engaged in the material processes of 'filled a legal case', 'has opened an investigation', 'order a freeze of funds', 'acted to prevent' and 'alleging Ben Ali of corruption'. For example

(44) The Paris state prosecutor's office ... **has opened** a preliminary investigation into the property assets held by ousted Tunisian leader Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali in France.

(45) In Paris, the anti-corruption group Transparency International France and two other associations **have filed** a legal case **alleging** corruption by Mr Ben Ali and his wife.

(46) Ms Calmy-Rey said Bern **acted to prevent** assets being withdrawn and also to ensure that a new Tunisian administration would be able to retrieve assets taken illicitly.

The verbs in the examples above bring about a change in the material world showing the powerful status of those international authorities in changing the status of Mr Ben Ali to be the Goal of their powerful actions.

#### **5.4.3.2 Absence of the visual transitivity representation**

Although international authorities were represented linguistically through transitivity choices, it has not been represented in any of the images in my data. It is of importance that some participants are represented in one semiotic system but suppressed in the other one. This suppression might have different ideological intentions (Machin, 2007: 121). With regard to the absence of images depicting international authorities, I argue that it is attributed to the idea of news focus and relevance. In other words, it is more important to see what is happening to Mr Ben Ali, the Tunisians and the new government than putting images depicting them as 'announce freeze to Ben Ali funds' or 'open investigation into the funds held by Mr Ben Ali. In this regard, Post (1998: 29) states that "In some instances the exclusion of social actors may be based upon which details are deemed relevant to an audience". I could also add that relevance could be extended to the subject matter of the news story where readers are more interested in viewing images of the Tunisian people rather than the international authorities.

#### **5.5 Multimodal transitivity analysis of the protesters**

Multimodal transitivity analysis of the protesters shows that there are three linguistic patterns of transitivity choices constructing their identity. Each of these patterns dominates throughout specific news stories. For example, the first pattern which constructs them as 'Carrier' and 'Senser' is dominant in article No.1 where all the descriptions and feelings about the events reported are given through them. The second pattern that constructs them mainly as 'Actor' and 'Sayer' is the dominant pattern in article No.6, in which they are portrayed as having affecting identity and loud voice. In the third pattern, they are constructed mainly as 'Actor' in either Supervension processes or passive structures and this is the dominant pattern

in articles 7, 8 and 9. The three patterns have been reinforced in the images accompanying the texts. Moreover, the distribution of the linguistic and visual processes into major and minor transitivity choices in the clauses of the linguistic text and the image structure is also reinforced in the two semiotic systems. The following two sections discuss these patterns and how they are reinforced.

### 5.5.1 Linguistic transitivity analysis

Table (18) shows that MAI processes are the main transitivity choice attached to the protesters with 34 instances. Verbal and mental processes have 12 and 9 occurrences respectively; relational processes have six occurrences while behavioural processes have three occurrences.

Article No.	Material	Relational	Mental	Verbal	Behavioural
1	2	6	4	2	3
2	6	0	2	0	0
3	5	0	0	2	0
4	0	0	0	0	0
5	0	0	0	0	0
6	3	0	1	3	0
7	2	0	0	1	0
8	5	0	0	2	0
9	8	0	1	2	0
10	3	0	1	0	0
Total	34	6	9	12	3
Percentage	53%	9%	14%	18%	4%

Table (18): Transitivity choices of the protesters

Although material processes have the highest frequency, examination of their occurrences in individual articles shows that other transitivity processes participate more in constructing the protesters' identity. As mentioned in section 5.5, this is due to the idea that the protesters are constructed in a particular way by specific transitivity choices representing them as having one dominant identity throughout one particular news story. For example, in article No.1, which reports the event of President Ben Ali stepping down, they are represented mainly as

'Carriers' and 'Senser'. To a lesser extent, they are 'Actor' and 'Sayer'. They are constructed as a major provider of all the descriptions and feelings about this key day in the unrest in Tunisia. Relational and Mental processes describe them and their feelings as well as the places they were in during this key day. Readers are allowed into their mental world to see how they think and what do they want and feel. They are represented as engaged in the processes of 'want', 'are resentful', 'are nice people', 'are happy', 'are hoping for new government', 'were hoping he would leave earlier', 'didn't know if we were going to get shot', 'no one seems to know what is going on', and 'was worrying'.

All relational and mental processes which represent the protesters are positioned in main clauses along with material processes representing Mr Ben Ali positioned in subordinate clauses. This shows that descriptions of places and feelings presented by relational processes are prioritised over narration presented by material processes. For example:

- (47) ...news that **he has stepped** down **is not** a surprise.
- (48) We're all very happy that Ben Ali **has left** the country.
- (49) We **were hoping** he would **leave earlier**, but at least he **is gone** now.

These examples bring Jeffries (2010a: 87-88) note on the overlap of her textual conceptual functions into practice. Therefore, what is of importance is not only the transitivity choices used to represent the protesters and President Ben Ali, but also their distribution in main and subordinate clauses. According to Jeffries (ibid p. 86), "... putting something at higher syntactic level may mean that it is more important". Therefore, what is of importance are the processes performed by protesters, usually relational and mental, which are prioritised by being positioned in main clauses, while those performed by Ben Ali, usually material, occur in subordinate clauses. Consequently, mental and relational processes performed by the protesters outweigh the importance of material processes performed by Ben Ali because the latter are considered as given and do not provide new information.

One final important point about the transitivity choices in this article is the use of existential processes and a special variety of attributive clauses that describe events and entities as perceived by the protesters. With existential processes, events and entities described present information on how bad the situation was during the day reported. For example:

- (50) There **was** a lot of looting going on.

(51) there **was** gas everywhere.

The existential processes in these examples hide human agency as to who is responsible for looting and who causes the gas to be everywhere. Moreover, they were reinforced by the visual transitivity analysis, discussed in section 5.5.2.1. The way they are used in images creates a coherent representation of the world of events reported through these linguistic transitivity choices emphasising an intention not to mention any human agency responsible for these negative actions.

The use of a special variety of attributive clauses in which the “Attribute” denotes a quality equivalent to mental process verb, e.g. it was worrying. The instances found in this article all belong to the second type of such a case where the “Carrier” is equivalent to “Phenomenon” and it is ‘that’, ‘this’, or else ‘it’+ postponed clause. The “Attribute” may have adjective/participle or noun as Head (Halliday, 1994: 121). For example:

(52) It **was** completely chaotic.

(53) It **was** impossible to drive.

(54) It **was** worrying.

While these examples add to the descriptive priority over the narrative one, their importance comes from the fact that such description would affect readers’ opinion. According to Reah (1998: 96), “when an idea is expressed by a clause with the relational verb, the writer can influence opinion and ideological stance of the reader”.

In the second pattern, material and verbal processes co-occur to construct the protesters as ‘Actor’ and ‘Sayer’ who have affective identity and loud voice. This is the dominant pattern in article No.6. For example:

(55) Hundreds of protesters **took to the streets** again in the Tunisian capital Tunis, **urging** allies of ousted president to stop clinging to power.

(56) **Waving** banners and **chanting**, they **called for** all links to the old regime to be severed.

The verb ‘took to the streets’ in the example above, gives the impression that they did something dramatic. The verbs ‘demonstrate’ and ‘march’ could have been used but would

seem moderate. It is important to note that along with the aggregation of 'protesters' that describes 'hundreds of protesters' shows the magnitude of the event. The use of the adverb of frequency 'again' triggers logical presupposition which suggests that they have done it before and they did a changing effect to the situation in the country.

Verbal processes exemplified by the verbs 'urging', 'chanting' and 'called for' construct the protesters as having loud voice. In contrast, no verbal processes are attached to Ben Ali or any of his allies. This adds to the sense that 'hundreds of protesters' are making a lot of noise, chanting, calling for and urging allies to leave power which make them more pressing and affecting.

There is only one mental process, where protesters 'want' unity government to exclude members of Mr Ben Ali RCD party:

(57) Protesters **want** the unity government to exclude members of Mr Ben Ali's RCD party.

The use of 'want' is the only opportunity in which the mental world of the protesters is constructed. They 'want' exclusion of the old government. This gives an effect to the supposedly logical way the Tunisian people are behaving and how they think, demanding what is to be their rights. It also enhances the sense of the boldness the protesters have. Those who have been treated unfairly by the old government should demand their exclusion from the new one. This way of representation forms part of the BBC reporting of Arab unrest events portraying the protesters as having such right to revolt against their governments<sup>24</sup>.

In the third pattern, which is the dominant one, in articles.7, 8 and 9 the protesters are mainly constructed as 'Actor' of either a Supervension process or passive sentence. For example:

(58) Tunisia is beginning three days of mourning to honour those who **died** in the unrest.  
(Article No.7)

(59) ...the UN says more than 100 people **died**. (Article No.9)

(60) ...the first victim of the uprising **was killed** by security forces in December. (Article No.8)

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<sup>24</sup> See BBC Trust Report 2013:

[http://downloads.bbc.co.uk/bbctrust/assets/files/pdf/our\\_work/arabspring\\_impartiality/follow\\_up.pdf](http://downloads.bbc.co.uk/bbctrust/assets/files/pdf/our_work/arabspring_impartiality/follow_up.pdf)

In the first two examples, the protesters are represented as 'Actor' in the Supervision process of 'died' which constructs them as vulnerable giving no information of who is responsible for their death. The verb 'kill' in the third example victimises them being the goal of this action performed by security forces.

In my data, all of the instances representing the protesters as 'Actor' in the Supervision and passive structure of the action of 'died' and 'kill' are positioned in main clauses. This makes their construction as weak and vulnerable more important than representing them as 'Sayer', 'Carrier' or 'Senser'.

The analysis has shown that specific transitivity choices with their distribution in main and subordinate clauses construct the protesters as having some dominant identity throughout each of the news stories analysed above. In the following section, I discuss the visual transitivity choices constructing the protesters.

### **5.5.2 Visual transitivity analysis**

Visual transitivity choices representing the protesters depict them as engaged in a number of actions as well as events and states of being. These choices reinforce the linguistic transitivity processes constructing them as 'Actor' and 'Sayer'. In addition, they also extend the transitivity meaning already introduced in the text. This is done by the overlap between transitivity choices with those of visual naming and salience using affordances specific to the visual system that could not be otherwise reflected by the linguistic system.

The following three sections will present discussions and analyses of the main three ways in which images reinforce the transitivity choices already introduced in text.

#### **5.5.2.1 Agency through posture, gaze, facial expression and hand movement**

The visual naming choices of posture, gaze, facial expression and hand movement have been in operation to adjust and extend the meaning constructed by the visual transitivity choices. This is the case in article No.6 where linguistically, as mentioned in section 5.5.1, the protesters are represented as engaged in the actions of 'took to the streets', 'urging allies of ousted president to stop clinging to power', 'waving banners', 'chanting', 'called for all links to the old regime to be severed' and 'want exclusion of old government members'.

These transitivity choices are reflected in image (10t) which accompanies article No.6. The image depicts a number of protesters and one riot police during a moment in the protest.

Although the setting is not that clear, it can be concluded that it is a street resembling the usual setting for such an event. The protesters are depicted as engaged in material, mental and verbal processes. One protester is depicted as engaged in a material action of 'waving a banner' with an incomplete phrase 'RCD DEGAGE'<sup>25</sup>, to be compatible with the image caption stating that 'Protesters want the unity government to exclude members of Mr Ben Ali's RCD party'. Another protester is engaged in a verbal process of 'chanting'. This interpretation is made possible by the man's posture and his hand movement and facial expression (opening his mouth in an act of shouting). In addition, the setting in the image and the use of the verb 'chant' in the text provide a context to support interpreting his action as verbal one, i.e. chanting:

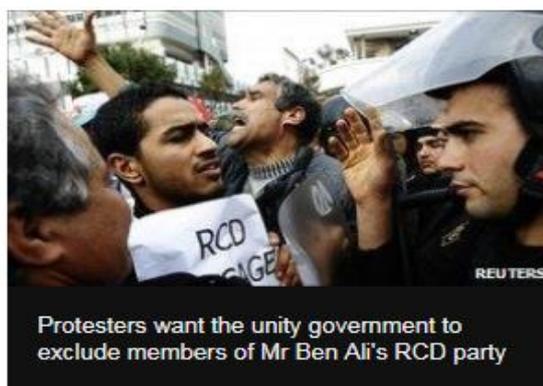


Image (10t): Article No.6

The vector formed by the eye-line between the protester who waves a banner and the police represents them as engaged in a reactional mental process where each one acts as the reactor and phenomenon at the same time. The naming choices of posture and the facial expression colour their actions and reactions and help interpret the protester as determined in that they 'want', expressed by the banner he is waving and the information that they 'want' expressed in the image caption. The interplay between material, verbal and mental processes along with the naming choices of posture, gaze and facial expressions of the represented participants construct the protesters as determined. As a result, the image adds more extension into how

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<sup>25</sup> RCD OUT

affecting and determined the protesters are. This creates a reinforced and coherent portrayal of the protesters' identity.

### 5.5.2.2 Compatibility through size, space and position of visual processes

Compatibility of the linguistic and visual transitivity choices is achieved, in this case, through reinforcing the processes and their distribution in main and subordinate clauses rather than the participants performing them. This means that the transitivity choices overlap with the visual principles of salience (see chapter two), to reinforce the meanings suggested by the linguistic transitivity choices. This is the case of image (1t) article No.1. As explained in section 5.5.1, relational and mental processes performed by the protesters are prioritised over material processes performed by Mr Ben Ali foregrounding the protesters' role as a major source of descriptions of feelings and the places they were in during the day of Ben Ali stepping down. This has been done through placing relational, mental as well as some existential processes in main clauses with material processes in subordinate clauses.

Although the two images accompanying this text do not depict any protester, two different locations are depicted where these two process types are foregrounded over the material processes depicted in the two images. The first image depicts a place where the caption names as 'a street in La Marsa':



Image (1t): Article No.1

The image shows two dominant processes. The first process is unstructured analytical conceptual process, equivalent to the relational process in the linguistic transitivity model, in this type of visual process; there is no action or reaction on the part of the represented participants because they are displayed in terms of "part-whole" structure. The two participants involved in this process are Carrier as "whole" and a number of "parts" as

Attributes. Thus, the street is 'Carrier' and all the parts of this special location (streetlights, trees, fence and smoke) are its 'Attributes'. Smoke, which is one attribute of the setting, forms the second process which is material process with ergative structure as 'smoke is rising'. The larger space the analytical process occupies suggests that it is more important than the material action. The absence of any human agency referring to who or what causes the action indicates a preference to highlight the description of the place through the relational process over narrating the event of 'smoke' is rising'. It might be argued that smoke has the feature of being contextually salient, i.e. it is unlikely to see such kind of smoke in a big city. Such an argument is resolved by the image caption which uses a relational process to inform that 'Multiple locations in Tunisia, including the capital Tunis, and La Marsa (pictured) have been affected'. In addition, the text uses the existential process of 'there was tear gas everywhere' which creates a context suggesting that the action depicted in the image could be interpreted as either relational 'smoke was everywhere' or existential 'there was smoke everywhere'. Therefore, if any of the ergative material, relational or existential interpretation is followed, the result is still absence of human agency. This would reinforce the meaning constructed in the text where the relational and existential processes hide agency and transforms the MAI verb into noun.

The second image in this news story depicts another location where a bank building in which the caption states as being subject to attack in a sign of its being affected by the looting and violence during the protests.



Image (2t): Article No.1

Image (2t) depicts two processes. The first one is relational and the second is material. The relational process is also an analytical one and it occupies most of the backgrounded space of

the image. The 'Carrier' is the bank building and the 'Attributes' are its gate, windows and walls engaged in a relational process of 'was subject to attack' as explained by the caption. It is worth noting that the blackened walls show aspects of damage caused to the building by the events in an "affected/effect/outcome" manner (Bednarek & Caple, 2012: 126). Absence of human agency by the use of this visual transitivity choice is compatible with the linguistic transitivity choices using relational processes. For example, 'the looting there was madness', and 'it was chaotic'. Thus, the image visualises how affected and chaotic the places were expressed by these examples using the similar transitivity choices to present coherent reporting that prefers to hide agency responsible for attacking and looting such buildings.

The material process in this image occupies smaller space and is not referred to in either the text or the image caption. Although it is foregrounded to depict daily activities of some people who drive a car or ride a bicycle, the space it occupies makes it less salient than the backgrounded relational process. The backgrounded process would be more eye capturing to see how looting and chaotic the event was due to its size and its connection to the caption and text. The analysis above has shown that transitivity and visual principles of salience overlap to make meanings that reinforce those introduced by the linguistic transitivity choices that also overlap with those of linguistic prioritising to make and project similar meanings.

### **5.5.2.3 Compatibility through participants' deletion, categorization and action**

This section discusses three more examples to account for the way compatibility between the linguistic and visual transitivity choices is achieved depending on participants' categorization, agency and action where other affordances offered by other visual functions overlap to make these meanings.

The first example is image (3t) article No.2. The text represents security forces as engaged in a material action of cracking down on protests. In the image, they are absent and their action is depicted where three protesters are engaged in a material action of running away and protecting themselves from breathing tear gas in reference that their protest is being cracked down.



Image (3t): Article No.2

By deleting the police from the image, I suggest that this deletion might be considered as an equivalent to the linguistic passive structure as the doer who causes the tear-gas spreading is not visualised. However, this interpretation disagrees with the one used in the text, i.e., active material process in ‘the police cracked down on demonstrations’

The second one is related to Image (6t) article No.3. The text represents the Tunisians as engaged in a material action of arming themselves with sticks and clubs and forming some sort of impromptu militia in an action of protecting their area. The image accompanying this text depicts some men holding sticks and clubs:



Image (6t): Article No.3

In this image, the protesters are depicted as engaged in a material action of surrounding a car with eye vector emanate from them in the direction of the car and their poses suggest that they are in an action of protecting their area. Their posture, holding sticks and clubs, indicates their readiness to defend themselves against any threat. Yet, they are not threatening as they lower their clubs and sticks.

Image (13t) article No.8, also reinforces the linguistic transitivity choices introduced by the text. Linguistically, the protesters, named Tunisians, are constructed as engaged in MAI of holding a candle vigil in an action of honouring those killed in the unrest events. The image depicts some Tunisians where one little girl is represented in MAI of kneeling to fix a candle:

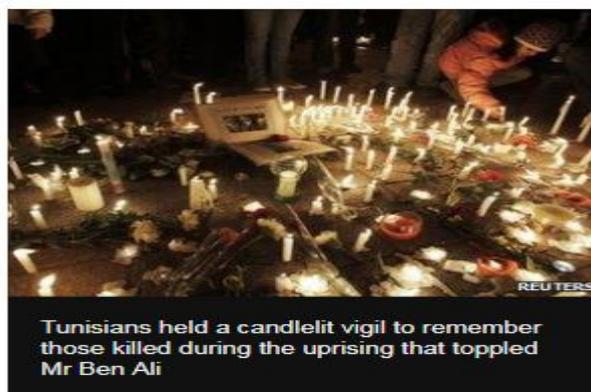


Image (13t): Article No.8

Other participants in image (13t) are depicted as engaged in a material narrative action of standing in front of the lighted candles. While they are anonymised by depicting their legs only, the idea that they are engaged in a material action of standing coheres with the text transitivity choice constructing them as engaged in a MAI of holding a candlelit vigil.

The analysis in this section has shown that visual transitivity system works in collaboration with the linguistic transitivity system to present a reinforced representation of the type of the processes used as well as the participants constructed that would participate in the overall coherent representation of the event as well as the participants reported.

## 5.6 Summary

This chapter has examined how the linguistic and visual transitivity systems construct participants as doing or being. I found that overall, linguistic and visual transitivity systems use material and verbal processes more than mental, relational, existential and behavioural processes. This can be attributed to the nature of news texts that are interested in who does what to whom and who says what.

Analysis has also shown that both of the linguistic and visual systems overlap with other functions and models to present a comprehensive interpretation of the meanings the transitivity choices suggest. For example, the intentionality of the linguistic material processes

was affected by semantic and contextual factors that play role in deciding the degree of intentionality of the actions performed. This results in concluding that the MAI process type is not a unified category. Instead, it is a scale of processes ranging from the full intentional to the least intentional types that participate in constructing either effective actors who bring about positive/negative change or weak and defeated participants who perform actions unwillingly.

The interpretation of the linguistic verbal processes was supported by Caldas-Coulthard (1994) model of quoting verbs to explain the type of identity the 'Sayer' has. This suggests that transitivity alone cannot fully interpret the identity of a participant distinguished Sayer.

Visually, transitivity choices representing certain participants as 'agents' overlaps with visual naming choices to adjust the meaning of agency. These naming choices are pose, gaze, hand movement and facial expressions which in many cases help examine whether the linguistic and the visual agency was reinforced. They also help to add meanings to the visual transitivity choices that were not afforded by the linguistic transitivity choices or the semantic and contextual information of the linguistic verbs.

I found that overall, the visual transitivity system works collaboratively with the linguistic transitivity system in the texts analysed using material and verbal processes as major transitivity choices constructing the participants in the three groups. This suggests that both systems use less instances of mental, relational, behavioural and existential processes to represent the participants in the three groups.

The analysis also shows that linguistic transitivity choices construct participants through the meanings of less/more powerful, less/more affective, less/more confident and less/more willing participants. While some of these meanings were reinforced in the images, other were not. The reinforced meanings indicate that coherence of the multimodal text is achieved by reinforcing similar transitivity choices in text and image. Although other meanings were not reinforced in the images, coherence is achieved by both transitivity systems using the same process types that approximately reflect similar meanings.

## **Chapter Six: Multimodal Critical Stylistic Analysis of Information Priorities**

This chapter presents an analysis of the linguistic and visual information that constructs participants, places and events as more important than others in the text and image of the selected articles from the BBC news online on the unrest in Tunisia. Linguistically, the tool used to explore which information is made important in the clause structure is termed 'Prioritising'. According to Jeffries (2014: 415), this tool explores the way clause structure serves to foreground some information while backgrounding others (ibid) and is realised by the syntactic possibilities of information structure, transformation, and subordination (Jeffries, 2010a: 77). Through these syntactic possibilities, readers have a sense of where to look for salient information which carries ideological meanings that attract their attention (ibid).

In Visual Grammar, the tool used to examine which visual elements are depicted as more prominent than others in the image structure is termed 'Saliency'. Saliency in images is realised by the visual principles of elements' size, colour, focus, placement ( i.e. foregrounding/backgrounding), and overlap (Kress & van Leeuwen (2006: 138); Machin (2007: 130-138)). These principles make elements, participants, or information stand out in the image structure that in some cases carry strong cultural symbols that tell the viewer how to read an image (Machin, 2007: 132). This chapter reports on instances of information priorities found in my data which linguistically foreground particular clause elements constructing the patterns of negative/positive and strong/weak participants. Visual information priorities analysis explores how principles of visual saliency, using resources specific to the visual system, reinforce, extend or exclude patterns of prioritised meanings introduced in the linguistic text and the extent to which the linguistic and visual information priorities create coherent meanings.

In sections 6.1 and 6.2 below, I discuss the linguistic and visual tools of information priorities adopting Jeffries (2007, 2010a, 2014) for the former and Kress & van Leeuwen (2006), and Machin (2007) for the latter.

### **6.1 The linguistic tool of information priorities 'Prioritising'**

As mentioned earlier, the tool that investigates linguistic information priorities is termed 'Prioritising'. Jeffries (2010a) considers it as one textual conceptual function that enlightens

the analysis about different ideological meanings resulting from foregrounding/backgrounding information in the clause structure through the three syntactic possibilities of information structure, transformation and subordination (Jeffries, 2014: 415). These syntactic possibilities, as Jeffries notes, represent a range of ways in which information can be prioritised in English sentences where each one has the effect of making some parts of a sentence more prominent than others (Jeffries, 2010a: 87). The present thesis applies these three forms of prioritising to find out how information about the participants in the three groups is presented in the text. It also tests their visual equivalents outlining their interrelatedness that motivates and regulates the choices of meanings they produce which construct a coherent portrayal of the world of events reported.

Analysing the information structure of a sentence involves looking at a clause and distinguishing which is the last compulsory element, which carries the focus of a clause. For example, in the sentence 'Saturday's deadliest incident was **in Monastir**' (article No.3), the adverbial 'in Monastir' is the last compulsory element in the clause structure, carrying the focus, if fronting is used to rearrange the sentence to produce 'In Monastir was **Saturday's deadliest incident**', then 'Saturday's deadliest incident' becomes the focus of the clause. The focus of information structure can also be changed through clefting, whereby a certain element is placed in the focal position through an 'it is...' or 'it was...' structure, placing the focus on the clausal complement. For example, in "it was **...Mr Ben Ali's wife**, Leila Trabelsi, who held the reins of power; 'Mr Ben Ali's wife' carries the focus of information in this clause structure.

Transformation relates to the underlying structure of a sentence. This underlying structure can be changed in a number of ways that change the focus of a sentence<sup>26</sup>. The two transformations observed by Jeffries (2010a: 84-85) are of interest to the analysis in this chapter. These are adjectival and passive transformations. Adjectival transformations, which involve the placing of an adjective within a noun phrase, are one of the aspects of naming discussed in chapter four. The transformation from predicative to attributive position allows placing the focus on other parts of the clause, for example in the shift from "Tunisians are **resentful** and the government **does nothing to help them**" (article No.1) to "the government

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<sup>26</sup> See Quirk et al. (1985: 57-59) for full discussion of types of transformation.

does nothing to help **resentful Tunisians**". Passive transformations involve a shift from an active to a passive sentence structure, which makes the subject of a sentence optional (Jeffries, 2010a: 84). For example, in the change from "Troops guarding key public buildings have sealed off **the centre of Tunis**" to "The center of Tunis **has been sealed off** by troops guarding key public buildings", the focus changes from 'the center of Tunis' to 'have sealed off' because it is the last compulsory element in the clause structure.

The third way in which focus can be changed in an English sentence is subordination. This concerns the way in which something that is at a higher syntactic level receives a greater degree of focus than those at a lower level. As Jeffries (2010a: 86) notes, placing something at a lower level makes it less open to questioning, as with the clause "President Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali was forced into exile on Friday after a month of protests **in which the government now admits 100 people died**". In this example, the clause in which "the government" is the subject comes at a low level of the clause structure. There is a main clause "President Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali was forced into exile on Friday" with an optional adverbial "after a month of protests" in which the complement is postmodified by a relative clause with "the government" as the subject. While placing the clause "the government now admits 100 people died" at a low structure level suggests that the government admitting peoples' death is unnegotiable, the verb 'admits' refers to the government's reluctance in saying the truth about this unnegotiable issue. This might construct the government negatively as unwilling to accept this fact because they might be guilty.

The present chapter looks at how prioritising is used to foreground certain aspects and information about the participants' identity. There are overlaps with the textual-conceptual functions of transitivity, naming and assuming which, affect the textual construction of participants. For example, analysis of information about Mr Ben Ali looks at how prioritising is used to assume the character of a particular speaker who is passive due to losing power. So, "Mr Ben Ali, who has sought refuge in Saudi Arabia, has not so far commented on allegations", the fact that an individual's loss of power is assumed by naming him 'Mr' rather than 'president' and seeking refuge places the significance of what he does in a certain light. That is, if someone seeks refuge, then not commenting on allegations can be significant in the discourse of toppled presidents.

The chapter also examines the features used by the linguistic and the visual functions to create prioritised information outlining their interrelatedness that motivates and regulates the choices of meaning they produce which construct a coherent portrayal of the world of events reported. For example, information structure, in the linguistic system, operates in a similar way to the visual principle of placement in drawing attention to a particular element in the clause structure (see section 6.3.2). However, while both linguistic and visual information priorities cohere in constructing the same elements as more prominent than the others in the text and image structure, information structure constructs more detailed meanings than those suggested by the use of placement of elements in images. The image utilises these detailed meanings by the overlap between the visual principles of salience with naming and transitivity choices (see section 6.3.1).

The following section discusses how information priorities operate in images through certain principles of salience that make particular elements, participants or information more prominent in the image structure. The section also focuses on the idea that while images use affordances specific to the visual system, they co-operate and interrelate with the linguistic information priorities structures to produce similar meanings.

## **6.2 The visual tool of information priorities ‘Salience’**

Kress & van Leeuwen (2006: 177) consider ‘Salience’ as one visual function that relates the representational and interactive meanings in the image composition or structure. It operates when an intention is made to attract the viewers’ attention to particular elements, participants, things or places in the image using the factors of placement in the foreground or background, relative size, colour, differences in sharpness, etc. These factors, called here ‘principles of visual salience’, have the potential to make particular elements stand out in the image structure so that they gain more prominence than others (Machin, 2007: 130). They interrelate and interact to create different degrees of salience where they show, as the analysis will make clear, overlap with other visual textual conceptual functions in a similar way to that found in the linguistic textual conceptual function of prioritising.

It is worth clarifying at this stage that while Kress & van Leeuwen (2006) consider Salience as a representational and interactive function, my analysis focuses on the representational aspect of salience. This is because the toolkit suggested in my research operates with the linguistic tools developed by Critical Stylistics whose focus is on how the resources of the

linguistic system work to represent the world in a particular way. Therefore, the principles of salience discussed in the following paragraphs concern the way they construct particular elements as more prominent than others in the image structure and the extent to which the meanings of such constructions cohere with the ones introduced in the text. Another point worth mentioning is that there are other principles of visual salience discussed by, for example Kress & van Leeuwen (2006), Machin (2007), Machin & Mayr (2012). However, the suggested principles which will be discussed in the rest of this section are selected on the basis of their equivalence to the linguistic syntactic possibilities presented in section 6.1, and also because they are the recurrent features in the images of my data.

To start with, analysis of elements' placement in the image structure involves examining their position in the foreground to see if this positioning prioritises a particular meaning by making it more salient and the extent this meaning coheres with the one introduced in the text. Then conclusions are drawn as to any meanings constructed as a result. For example, in image (4p) discussed in section 6.3.2, Mr Ben Ali is foregrounded and therefore is depicted as the prominent element in the image structure through this placement cohering with the text which mentions him, or what he did, in main clauses through information structure. I suggest that this visual foregrounded placement is similar to the linguistic concept of compulsory element in the clause structure. This is because moving his placement to another position in the image, or removing him, would alter the focal element of the image which would result in another meaning that might cause incoherence with the prioritised linguistic element.

Size is another important visual principle of salience whereby some elements, due to difference in size, are either made to stand out in the image structure or have minimum size so that no attention is paid to them (Machin, 2007: 132-134). For example, in image (10p), discussed in section 6.5.2, the protesters are depicted in a relatively large size making them the most prominent element in the image structure.

Colour has a similar role in making particular elements as well as participants prominent in the image structure. In the analysis of this chapter, richness and strength of some elements' play role in making them stand out in the image structure, e.g. images 3p, 13p, and 14p. However, in some instances the prominence of these elements is gained by the cooperation and interrelation of elements placement, size and colour to arrive at the effect required to make these elements and participants stand out in the image structure (see section 6.5.2).

Sometimes placement and size interrelate on their own to make a number of elements stand out in the image structure in which the use of only one of them would fail to make such an effect. For example, a number of similar elements depicted in images (6p) and (13p), discussed in section 6.5.2, are of a relatively small size but being distributed throughout the image foreground have made them stand out in the image structure.

Focus, as a visual principle of salience, examines how sharp and clear certain elements are depicted against a blurred, or out of focus, background (Machin, 2007: 137). Although the principle of focus depicts particular elements as more prominent in the image structure without the need to place them in the image foreground or have larger size, it overlaps with these two principles to achieve a maximum effect of depicting a particular element as salient. For example, image (15p), discussed in section 6.3.2, depicts Mr Ben Ali in an out of focus background that gives him a sharper and clearer depiction which overlaps with a foregrounded placement and larger size in relation to all the other elements in the image structure.

In the analysis, I also discuss the importance of the recurrent use of the visual principles of placement and size as the visual equivalents of information structure and subordination which occurs recurrently in the text explaining their mutual role in creating coherent meanings. In section 6.3, the linguistic and visual analysis of information priorities instances related to Mr Ben Ali are discussed.

### **6.3 Multimodal information priorities analysis of Mr Ben Ali**

Analysing instances containing prioritised information related to Mr Ben Ali reveals that, linguistically, information structure, transformation and subordination construct Mr Ben Ali as a passive, weak and defeated participant. The analysis of the images shows that placement, size and focus present Ben Ali as standing out in the image structure. Comparing the linguistic and visual resources of the information prioritised reveals that information structure is the linguistic equivalent of placement in which both were recurrently used to make Mr Ben Ali the prominent element in the text and image structures. Subordination is the linguistic equivalent of the visual principle of size where both have also been used recurrently to construct information about Mr Ben Ali that suggests different meanings. The linguistic and visual prioritising possibilities do two things in a relatively similar way. First, both construct

Ben Ali as the most salient in the texts and images depending on the resources available to the functions of the linguistic and visual information priorities. Second, both overlap with other functions, i.e. naming and transitivity, to construct the detailed meanings of being defeated and weak. For example, in my data, while information structure constructs Mr Ben Ali as the focal element in the clause structure, the meanings of weak, passive and defeated are detailed by information structure overlapping with naming and transitivity choices. The analysis of the images that accompany the texts where this syntactic possibility is dominant reveals that while the principles of placement and size make the same participant salient, meanings of being weak and defeated are gained by the principles of visual salience overlapping with the naming and transitivity choices. In the images, he is depicted as occupying half of the image space positioned in the image foreground that attracts the viewers' attention as the most salient participant depicted in the image. The use of the naming choices of setting, pose and objects combined with angle and shot overlap with his foregrounded position to construct the meanings of being passive and defeated (see section 6.3.2).

In the following two sections, I discuss the instances of the linguistic and visual information priorities and comment on the range of prioritising possibilities each function affords and how such possibilities determine the meanings constructed.

### **6.3.1 Linguistic information priorities analysis**

Table (19) shows that information structure has the highest occurrences in reporting information about Mr Ben Ali with 54 instances. Subordination comes next, with 30 instances and is complex extending to three levels in which in 12 instances, information about Mr Ben Ali is pushed down to the second or third level of subordination. Transformation has only six occurrences, which is the least, presenting him, sometimes his family, as weak, defeated and passive.

Article No	Information structure	Transformation	Subordination
1	5	0	2
2	10	1	0
3	7	0	3
4	8	0	1
5	2	0	0
6	5	3	1
7	0	0	6
8	5	0	7
9	5	1	5
10	7	1	5
Total	54	6	30
Percentage	60%	6.66%	33.33%

Table (19): Information priorities of Mr Ben Ali.

The frequencies of the linguistic prioritising features, shown in table (19), are important because they show that they cohere with their visual equivalents of the visual principles of salience used in the images to construct Mr Ben Ali. These are the visual principles of placement, which is equivalent to information structure; and size, which is equivalent to subordination (see section 6.3.2). It is important to clarify at this stage of the analysis that these frequencies are also important in the sense that they show how the dominant patterns of meaning construct Mr Ben Ali which facilitate examining the extent to which it has been reflected in the image.

As far as information structure instances are concerned, they either prioritise information about Mr Ben Ali or what he did. For example, in instances where he is positioned as the last compulsory element in the clause structure, information constructs him as the target of accusation. For example:

- (1) The groups - Sherpa, Transparency International France and the Arab Commission for Human Rights – accuse **Mr Ben Ali** of corruption, misusing public funds and money-laundering. (Article No.10)

In this example, readers are made to look for who is accused of corruption, misusing public funds and money laundering. While these groups have a voice and are performing the action of 'accusing', 'Mr Ben Ali' is perceived, being placed in object position, as a receiver without an opportunity to deny or react.

In other instances, information about Mr Ben Ali portrays him as a defeated and weak participant. For example:

- (2) The 74-year-old leader conceded **power** after protests over economic issues escalated into rallies against him.

This example provides information that the reported participant is without 'power' and that his action was done unwillingly. Examples like the one above, need more than the function of prioritising to give a full account of the effect of the prioritised element 'power' on the overall construction provided in the sentence. In this regard, Jeffries (2010a: 78) states that "the question of priorities overlaps with many, if not all, of the other tools of analysis". Therefore, the naming choice 'the 74-year old leader', transitivity choice 'conceded' and logical presupposition triggered by the temporal clause 'after protests over economic issues escalated into rallies against him' contribute in showing how the participant is constructed as giving away 'power'. While the naming choice gives information about his age which might suggest the weakness of old people to face difficult situations, the transitivity choice suggests that 'power' was conceded unwillingly under the pressure of the protests motivated by economic problems which increased rapidly and seriously into large public gatherings against him.

The instances that focus on what Mr Ben Ali did using material processes with intransitive verbs make the overlap between prioritising and transitivity unavoidable. This is because it is the actions Mr Ben Ali performed that are given salience since they are the last compulsory elements in the clause structure. For example, the verbs 'flee', 'step down', and 'resign' are used in different tense forms in 17 instances to report the way he left the country and power. For example:

- (3) Mr Ben Ali **fled** to Saudi Arabia on Friday following a spate of violent protests across Tunisia over unemployment, poverty and corruption.

- (4) Tunisia's president **has stepped down** after 23 years in power amid unprecedented protests on the streets of the capital Tunis.
- (5) President Ben Ali **resigned** after weeks of unrest over corruption and unemployment.

In the examples above, the verb is the last compulsory element in the clause structure and therefore is the focus in each case. Although, the second and third examples use formal and neutral verbs to inform readers about the way he left power, the contextual information provided in the clause suggests that his 'stepping down' and 'resigning' is caused by protests and unrest over corruption and unemployment. These causes imply that he was not doing his job properly and consequently portray him negatively as resigning and stepping down (see section 5.3.1).

Now, I comment on the role of subordination in presenting unchallenged information about Mr Ben Ali. This information is positioned on the second or third level of subordination which makes its value judgement indisputable. For example:

- (6) Tunisia is beginning three days of mourning to honour those who died in the unrest **that led to the fall of President Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali**.
- (7) The Paris state prosecutor's office ... has opened *a preliminary investigation into the property assets held by ousted Tunisian leader Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali in France*.

In the examples above, his fall, which connotes a negative end of his presidency, and his holding of property assets in France, which implies being corrupted, are unlikely to be challenged as they are placed on a low level structure. This syntactic possibility makes such information the most unchallenged in the sentence constructing a weak and defeated identity that is unlikely open to be to dispute. According to Jeffries (2010a: 78) "the lower the level of the subordination, the less amenable the structure is to scrutiny and/or objection or disagreement by the reader/hearer". She stresses that this is a significant ideological aspect of subordination as information in such clauses sometimes goes as far as causing presupposition (ibid). It is also worth mentioning that in my data higher frequencies of subordination attached to Mr Ben Ali occur in articles where he is not depicted in the accompanying images. This suggests that he is not the main participant and such information is to be taken for granted without questioning its factuality.

Finally, transformation structure provides information that also constructs a weak and defeated participant. For example:

- (8) **President Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali** was forced *into exile* on Friday after a month of protests in which the government now admits 78 people died.

In the examples above, Mr Ben Ali is the Goal of a more powerful cause, or another powerful participant, that forced him into exile. By focusing on the way he left power, i.e. was forced, he is constructed as passive and defeated.

The analysis above shows that the three syntactic possibilities have prioritised information about Mr Ben Ali that constructs him as weak, passive and defeated. The analysis has also commented on a number of instances where more than one function needs to be in operation altogether to account for the meaning suggested by the prioritised element.

In what follows, I discuss the visual principles of salience that make Mr Ben Ali prominent in the image structure commenting on the degree to which they cohere with the linguistic prioritising instances as well as the type of the meanings reinforced.

### 6.3.2 Visual information priorities analysis

Analysis of the four images depicting Mr Ben Ali in my data reveals that placement, size and focus are the recurrent principles of salience used to make him stand out in the image structure. These principles prioritise certain information that coheres with, as being motivated by and dependent on, that introduced in the text by making him salient. The detailed meanings constructed by the linguistic prioritising structures of being weak and defeated are constructed through using the principles of visual salience overlapping with the visual choices of naming and transitivity. For example, in article No.10, information structure is a major syntactic possibility which presents in the text information about Mr Ben Ali or what he did constructing a weak, passive and defeated participant. For example:

- (9) France investigates **Tunisia's Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali**.

- (10) Tunisian prosecutors ...would be investigating **the foreign assets of Mr Ben Ali and his family**.

- (11) Mr Ben Ali and his wife **fled** to Saudi Arabia on 14 January.

In the examples above, Mr Ben Ali, or what he did, is the last compulsory element in the clause structure making him the focal point as the target of investigation or as the doer of 'fleeing' constructing a weak and suspected participant.

The image accompanying this linguistic construction reinforces the above linguistic information priorities by depicting him as salient via foregrounded placement and large size, and clear depiction against an out of focus background:



Image (15p): Article No.10

In image (15p), the visual principles of placement, size, and focus make Mr Ben Ali stand out in the image structure. He occupies most of the image foreground, from the left to the right and bottom to the top of the image. This placement also makes him large in which the blurred background gives him a focused volume so that viewers would disregard any participant, element or information in the image background. Although such depiction makes him salient in the image structure, the meanings prioritised in the text as the one who fled, and being the target of investigation, are realised in the image through transitivity and naming. (See section 4.3.2 and section 5.3.2). A point worth noting here is that while the linguistic overlap between prioritising and transitivity is unavoidable in the case of intransitive and passive verbs, as explained in section 6.3.1, they are realised differently in the visual system. That is, while transitivity of the visual material verbs is realised by 'vectors' of different kinds, elements of salience are realised by placement, size, and focus against the background which are different techniques to those realising visual material verbs. In addition, visual naming uses techniques

that are not in overlap with those of the principles of salience. That is, naming is realised via denotative and connotative meanings of depicted people, things, places and events regardless of any principles of salience which might add to their meanings but are not essential nor in overlap with naming techniques. Yet, this makes the tool of visual salience, like the linguistic tool of prioritising; need other functions to account comprehensively for the effect of the prioritised element, participant or information. In other words, while placement, size and focus construct Mr Ben Ali as salient, transitivity and naming comment on the meanings of being weak, passive and defeated. It is also possible to suggest that while the linguistic syntactic possibilities draw readers' attention to information that portrays a targeted and weak participant, the image gives the viewers opportunity to see a foregrounded and large size depiction of the reported participant.

In article No.4, the text presents information about an event where Mr Ben Ali's wife is accused of taking gold out of Tunisians banks, an action that was denied by Tunisian bank officials:

(12) Tunisian bank denies gold taken **by wife of president**.

(13) Leila Trabelsi is **the second wife of deposed President Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali**.

(14) They are now **in Saudi Arabia** after fleeing Tunisia.

(15) Leila Trabelsi went **to the bank** in December...

The examples above place different information about Mr Ben Ali and his wife as the last compulsory element in the main clause. For example, 'gold taken by wife of president', 'the second wife of deposed President....', 'in Saudi Arabia', and 'to the bank'. While this information constructs them as the most prominent participants in the text, the image depicts Mr Ben Ali and his wife as occupying most of the image size placed in the foreground part of the image:



Image (7p): Article No.4

Their placement and size overlap with the image background and obfuscate it making it out of focus so that attention is paid to them rather than the details in the image background. Such depiction makes them the most salient participants in the image structure. The main function of the image in this article is to give readers a salient depiction of the participant reported in the text with no intention to visualise the meanings the syntactic possibilities construct. As a result, this image reinforces the text by making the same participants prominent without visualizing other details the text mentions. Such images have a relation of, what Meinhof (1994: 217) calls 'dichotomy' with the text because each one represents an action component of a different event ( see also Bednarek & Caple, 2012: 130).

Two images in my data, depicting Mr Ben Ali, are the same shot and they share two points. The first point is that both images function, due to their position on the webpage, as the images accompanying a minor story with the same heading "Fall from power" and having the same caption. The second point is that both images introduce sub details written in bullet points summarising the main previous events with their dates leading to the stepping down of Mr Ben Ali and linking their content to the main event reported on each day:

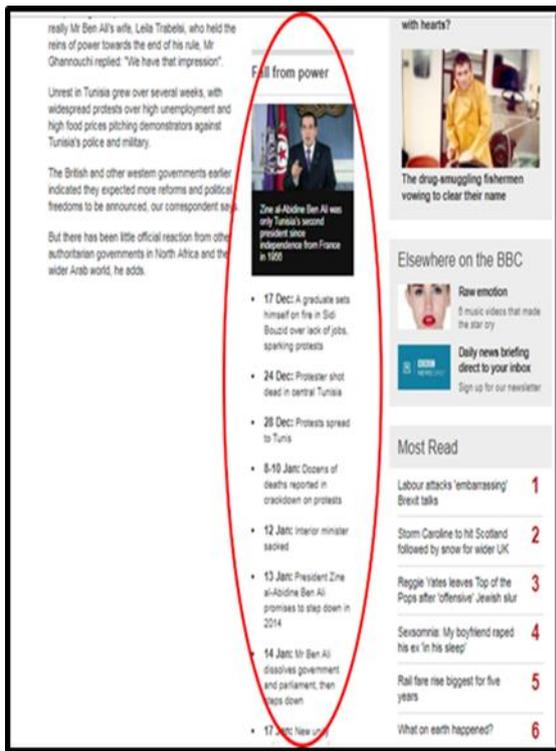


Image (4p): Article No.2

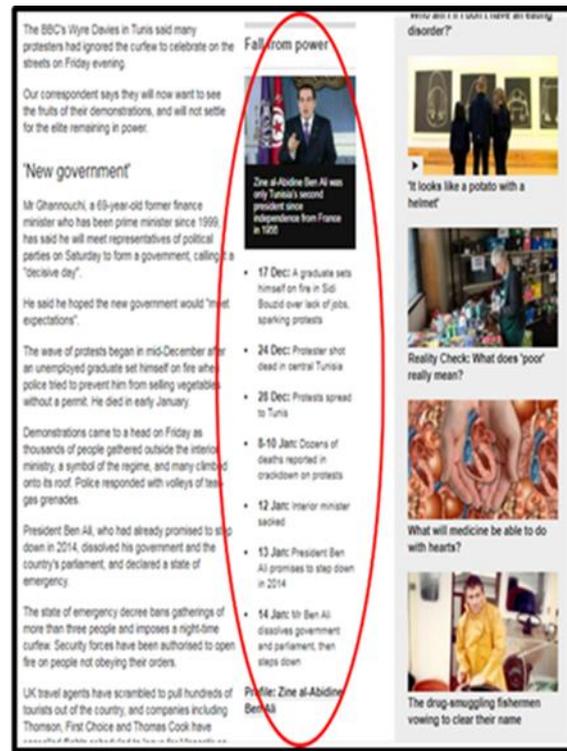


Image (9p): Article No.5

These shared elements pave the way to two interesting points that exemplify the concept of image re-contextualisation. The first point is that both images are connected to the main story as readers are given information about Mr Ben Ali in the main text. The second point is that they are related to the text as regards the way the information is prioritised. In what follows, each image is analysed in relation to the text it accompanies.

In article No.2, information structure uses intransitive verbs in 10 instances to report the way Mr Ben Ali left the country and power. The image depicts him in a foregrounded position occupying the central area of the image where he is seen as involved in a material narrative action of delivering speech:



Image (4p): Article No.2

The image shows none of the actions the text prioritises, yet since he is a recurrent Actor in the main text, it is expected to see an image of that Actor who 'flees', 'resigned', 'arrived' in Saudi Arabia. In this regard, Kress & van Leeuwen (2006: 63) explain that participants distinguished as actors according to transitivity choices are also the most salient participants in the image through size, place in the composition, contrast against the background, sharpness of focus as well as through the 'psychological salience' which certain participants have for viewers. Two interesting points about the principles of visual salience are outlined. The first point is that they overlap, like the linguistic syntactic possibilities, with other visual functions in order to fully account for the effect of the prioritised element, participant or information.

Therefore, in image (4p), for example, Mr Ben Ali is the largest element in the image structure, placed in the foreground, and is the actor of the non-transactional process of delivering a speech realised through the vector created by his off-frame gaze. In the text, although his actions are performed unwillingly, constructing him as weak and defeated, he is the most recurrent 'Actor'. Therefore, intention is made, in text and image, to present Mr Ben Ali as a salient participant that viewers' attention is drawn to.

The second point is that, as demonstrated earlier, while linguistic techniques sometimes use the same syntactic element to realize more than one textual function, e.g., the intransitive verbs serve to realize the function of transitivity and prioritising at the same time, visually these two functions are realised by different visual techniques. Transitivity is realised by vectors while prioritising is realised by element size, placement etc.

In article No.5, the same image is used and is re-contextualised to suit the context of the article. Linguistically, information about Mr Ben Ali is prioritised using transformation and information structure stating that he is forced into exile and he is the second president of Tunisia since independence. These two linguistic syntactic possibilities construct Mr Ben Ali as the salient participant in the clause structure. Although the image does not show how he was forced or how he is the second president, it reinforces presenting Mr Ben Ali as prominent in its structure:



Image (9p): Article No.5

Image (9p) depicts Mr Ben Ali as the most salient element in the image structure without an intention to show the meanings prioritised in the text as to how he was forced into exile or being the second president of Tunisia. In such cases, the image keeps a minimum level of reinforcing the text in making the same element, participant, or information salient so that the whole structure of the multimodal text remains coherent.

In what follows I discuss the multimodal analysis of prioritising instances of the national and international authorities.

#### **6.4 Multimodal information priorities analysis of national and international authorities**

As mentioned in chapters four and five, this group is divided into three sub-groups which are the government and political leaders, the police, and international authorities. I discuss the multimodal information priorities for each sub-group in separate sections so that one group is in focus at a time to account for the linguistic and visual techniques that construct each group as salient and how this results in a pattern prioritising different information for each group.

I discuss the linguistic and visual information priorities of the government and political leaders in section 6.4.1 below.

#### **6.4.1. Multimodal information priorities analysis of government and political leaders**

Participants in this sub-group include Mr Ghannouchi and political leaders. They are made salient via verbal and visual instances using specific types and combinations of linguistic and visual prioritising choices. Analysing the linguistic information priorities shows that information structure is a dominant syntactic possibility where the government and political leaders are placed in the same main clause. This placement realizes one ideological importance of prioritising as it points out the “relevant significance given to different participants by their placing in particular roles as well as their positioning at higher or lower levels of structure” (Jeffries, 2010a: 87). Therefore, the analysis of the prioritising possibilities attached to the participants in this group is concerned with the ways they are either packaged into noun phrases, spelled out in main clauses or embedded in subordinate clauses or phrases.

The analysis of the accompanying images reveals that participants’ placement as well as the size they occupy and the focus they receive draw attention to them that reinforces their salience in the text through information structure and subordination. For example, in article No.5, Mr Ghannouchi is the subject in seven, out of eight, main clauses in the text and is made salient by presenting information about him or his actions in the sentences predicates. In the image accompanying this text, he is placed to the left, which is the same position of a subject in a sentence, occupying third of the image size making him the most salient participant in the image structure through placement, size and focus. The point worth mentioning here is that other meanings, which are realised by the linguistic prioritised information as being a hard-working and defensive prime minister, are visually realised via other visual functions, i.e., transitivity and naming. (See section 4.4.1.2 and section 5.4.1.2).

In what follows, I discuss the linguistic prioritising instances in section 6.4.1.1 then I move to link it to how the linguistic and visual techniques of making participants salient in section 6.4.1.2.

#### **6.4.1.1 Linguistic information priorities analysis**

As stated in the introduction to this section, this group includes Mr Ghannouchi and political leaders. Table (20) shows that there are 47 instances of information structure and seven instances of subordination. Information about Mr Ghannouchi is placed in main clauses in 24 instances giving information about him or his actions of meeting and discussing the new government with political leaders. Political leaders have 19 instances in which information about them is placed in main clauses. In 17 instances, both participants are placed in main clauses showing their relevant importance in the issue of forming a new government. Subordination occurs with few instances and has the importance of placing information already mentioned in previous instances and displaying them as presupposed by readers. I will discuss the importance of this in the coming paragraphs.

Article No	Participants	Information structure	Transformation	Subordination
1	Mr Ghannouchi	0	0	0
	Political leader	0	0	0
2	Mr Ghannouchi	4	0	1
	Political leader	2	0	0
3	Mr Ghannouchi	3	0	2
	Political leader	3	0	2
4	Mr Ghannouchi	0	0	0
	Political leader	0	0	0
5	Mr Ghannouchi	7	0	1
	Political leader	5	0	2
6	Mr Ghannouchi	0	0	0
	Political leader	6	0	1
7	Mr Ghannouchi	1	0	0
	Political leader	2	0	0
8	Mr Ghannouchi	6	0	0
	Political leader	2	0	0
9	Mr Ghannouchi	5	0	1
	Political leader	1	0	0
10	Mr Ghannouchi	0	0	0
	Political leader	1	0	0
Total		47	0	8
Percentage		85.45%	0%	14.54%

Table (20): Information priorities of Mr Ghannouchi and political leaders

As table (20) shows, information structure is a major syntactic possibility that prioritises information about Mr Ghannouchi presenting him or his actions as an important participant in the transitional period after Ben Ali. For example:

(16) Prime Minister Mohammed Ghannouchi has taken over **as interim president**....

(17) Mr Mebazaa, who until Saturday was the Speaker of parliament, has asked **Prime Minister Mohammed Ghannouchi to form a national unity government**.

In these examples, his role in the new government is made as the last compulsory element in the clause structure as the 'interim president', 'prime minister' who is responsible for forming national unity government and the one whose priority is to restore security in the country.

This prioritised information presents him as an important character in Tunisia situation after Ben Ali.

In 17 instances, both Mr Ghannouchi and political leaders are positioned in main clauses and in such cases, Mr Ghannouchi's actions of meeting and discussing the new government with political leaders are prioritised.

(18) Mr Ghannouchi ... will meet **political leaders** on Saturday in an attempt to form a government.

(19) PM Ghannouchi has been discussing **a possible unity cabinet with opposition leaders**.

In the examples above, both Mr Ghannouchi and political leaders are positioned in the main clause. Syntactically speaking, it is 'political leaders' that is prioritised in the first example and 'a possible unity cabinet' in the second showing the relative importance of each in the process of forming the new government after Mr Ben Ali's resignation. The verb 'meet' in the first example and the prepositional phrase 'with opposition leaders' in the second are important in understanding the nature of prioritising. According to Halliday & Mathiessen (2004 348-9), semantically, the verb 'meet' realises a material clause of accompaniment which functions as an extension of the process to the other participant making their role of equal importance. The prepositional phrase 'with opposition leaders' functions as a circumstance of (Accompaniment), which is considered as one important means of salience. This, for Halliday and Matthiessen (ibid), comes from the fact that information occurring later than expected in the clause is also as salient as those coming earlier than expected. Therefore, "despite being embedded in an element that has circumstantial function, it is still participating, even if at a distance, in the process expressed by the clause" (p.349). The choice of the verb 'meet' and prepositional phrase introduced by 'with' make readers look for who are those that Mr Ghannouchi 'will meet' and with whom the talks are being held. Therefore, although syntactically they are placed at different levels of importance, they have equal semantic importance.

In other instances, Mr Ghannouchi is placed in main clauses throughout one article and in such cases, the textual importance of prioritising exceeds the limits of clause structure and plays a role in shedding light on the overall textual portrayal of participants. This exceeding

capacity is vital in viewing the type of information prioritised in each sentence that collectively portrays participants via drawing readers' attention to particular information in each instance. This is the case in article No.5 where out of eight instances of prioritising, Mr Ghannouchi is the subject in seven main clauses presenting different information about him portraying his identity as a hard-working and defensive prime minister. For example:

(20) Tunisia's Mohammed Ghannouchi defends **new government**.

(21) ... Mr Ghannouchi described **Tunisia as going through a "historic change"**.

(22) Mr Ghannouchi ... described **himself as a "transition" leader** ...

(23) Mr Ghannouchi defended **ministers** who retained their jobs in his new unity government.

In these examples, the actions of speaking Mr Ghannouchi performs are given focus presenting him as defending the government and its ministers and describing himself as 'transition leader'. The functions that are in operation together here are transitivity, naming and prioritising. While transitivity presents him as assertive, defensive 'Sayer' (Caldas-Coulthard, 1994: 306), the naming choice portrays him as temporal leader and the government as a unity one which together present him as aiming at a unity government in the temporal period of his leadership. These choices are all spelled out in main clauses so that readers' attention is drawn to the things he said and how he said them that altogether construct an assertive and defensive participant who is not attempting to stay for long.

The use of the intransitive verbs is also important in reassessing his role as interim leader. This is done by the use of the verb 'quit' which means 'to leave a job permanently' (*Macmillan Online Dictionary* (MOD), accessed 2017)<sup>27</sup>. For example:

(24) In a TV interview on Friday, Mohamed Ghannouchi said he **would quit** "in the shortest possible timeframe"

In this example, his leaving is permanent. For Halliday (1985: 193), the clause in the example above is one of "hypotaxis" where one element is dependent (the reported clause) and the other is dominant (the reporting clause). Yet, it is the information in the (reported clause)

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<sup>27</sup> <https://www.macmillandictionary.com/>

that readers want to know , i.e. what 'he said'. I suggest that textually the syntactic possibilities realizing prominent information can be subject to argument as readers here are looking for the new information and in this case 'what he said', which is more important, rather than the information that 'he said'. Therefore, projected and projecting clauses have a special case where prominence is positioned on the projected clause, as the projecting clause provides the verb of saying so that without the content of saying, the verb in itself gives no information.

The analysis above shows the textual importance of prioritising in building accumulative information about particular participants. It also shows that the semantic effect of the verbs and adverbs can shift focus of some elements that are syntactically considered as more salient or important.

In what follows, the two images in my data depicting the new government and political leaders are discussed in relation to the visual principles of salience that make them prominent so that they cohere with the text commenting on the meanings that are not realised by the visual principle of salience.

#### **6.4.1.2 Visual information priorities analysis**

In my data, two images depict Mr Ghannouchi and political leaders. The two images use size, placement and focus as the main visual principles to realize salience and to construct them as the most prominent elements in the image's structure.

As discussed in section 6.4.1.1., in the text of article No.3, these participants receive approximately similar prioritising instances where in five instances both are spelled out in main clauses, to comment on their relative importance in the process of forming new government. The verb 'meet' and the prepositional phrase 'with political leaders' are significant in demonstrating this mutual importance. Visually, two of them are depicted sitting opposite each other as involved in an action of talking or 'discussing' as the image caption suggests:



Image (5p): Article No.3

Before I account for the techniques followed in the image above, it is worth reminding that the analysis deals with image caption as one linguistic instance that in online news articles “often summarizes the news story, like a more literal headline, rather than describe what is depicted in the image” (Salway & Martinec, 2005: 7). Moreover, Bednarek & Caple (2012: 127) demonstrate that quite often news image caption tells us more than what is going on in the image and in this case relates the image to the wider news event. This means that the analysis pays attention to all the linguistic instances in the text that mention the participants to prioritise them or information related to them and considers the image caption as one instance in the article rather than relating it to the image only. So, in the text Mr Ghannouchi and political leaders are mentioned in three instances where Mr Ghannouchi is placed in the predicate position and the political leaders in the subject position. This is visualized by placing political leaders to the left, which is the subject position in language, and Mr Ghannouchi to the right, which is the predicate position in language. This suggests that Mr Ghannouchi is the ‘new’ information and therefore more important than the political leader which is understood as the ‘given’. However, they are placed equally in the image foreground and are given similar sizes as well as a similar level of sitting opposite each other showing their mutual and equal role in the process of discussing new government. This is realised linguistically by the verbs ‘meet’ and ‘discuss’ and by the prepositional phrases ‘with political leaders’ and ‘with Mr Ghannouchi’. I suggest that, at least on the level of description, principles of visual salience, namely placement and size, are efficient to visually realize two things. The first thing is that they realize the linguistic subject-predicate positions in a way that enable readers/viewers to get a reinforced prioritised information. The second thing, they show that participants who are linguistically spelled out in the main clause are considered as having mutual and equal

roles and therefore keep readers aware that the image provides information that reinforces the one given in the text.

This ability of the principles of visual salience is also recognized in the second image, which depicts Mr Ghannouchi. The principle of placement, again, reinforces the linguistic placement of positioning Mr Ghannouchi as 'subject'. In the text, Mr Ghannouchi is the subject in seven, out of eight instances in article No.5. In the accompanying image, he is placed to the left as if showing a reinforced placement of the same participant in text and image so that readers have similar positions to look at when seeking information about Mr Ghannouchi in the article. So, in the text he is the first element in the sentence structure. For example:

(25) **Tunisia's Mohammed Ghannouchi** defends new government.

(26) **Tunisia's PM Mohammed Ghannouchi** has defended the inclusion of members of the old regime in his new government.

(27) **Mr Ghannouchi's** pledges to allow political and media freedoms do appear to have placated some protesters.

(28) **Mr Ghannouchi** ... described himself as a "transition" leader ...

(29) **Mr Ghannouchi** defended ministers who retained their jobs ...

The examples above prioritise different information about the participant placed in the subject position resulting in portraying an identity of a hardworking and defensive participant. This recurrent placement shows a textual importance of prioritising where readers accumulate a set of information about the participant placed as the theme of the information which is given in the sentence predicate, or rheme, of the clause structure. The image presents him as follows:



Image (8p): Article No.5

Image (8p) places Mr Ghannouchi to the left side of the image foreground occupying about third of the image size. This placement reinforces the text mentioning him as the subject which is usually in the left side of the sentences structure. Although the principles of placement and relative large size depict him as the most salient element in the image structure, the other detailed meanings in which the text prioritises a hardworking and defensive participant are realised through the visual functions of transitivity and naming.

Therefore, as discussed in sections 4.4.2.1 and 5.4.2.1.1, material and mental processes supported by the naming choices of gaze, pose and facial expressions suggest a positive attitude that constructs Mr Ghannouchi as dealing with the issues of forming a new government right now with patience and care. I do not consider this as a shortcoming of the visual principles of salience because it relates to the idea of the affordances each visual function affords. In other words, what is not available in the visual function of prioritising can be compensated for through the functions of naming and transitivity (see Bednarek & Caple, 2012).

The analysis has shown that the visual principles of salience are capable of creating a coherent and a reinforced prioritised information in which the same participants are made salient in the text and image structure. In the following section, I discuss the way verbal and visual prioritised information are utilised to present a particular portrayal of the police.

#### **6.4.2 Multimodal information priorities analysis of the police**

The following two sections analyse the linguistic and visual instances that prioritise information about the police and discuss the meanings that are presented as salient in their portrayal. Section 6.4.2.1 focusses on the linguistic instances of information priorities and

their role in constructing a salient negative view towards them. Section 6.4.2.2 analyses the visual principles of salience and their role in making salient different aspects of the police identity that in many cases do not reinforce the ones prioritised in the text.

#### 6.4.2.1 Linguistic information priorities analysis

Table (21) shows that there are 24 instances where readers can find information about the police placed either in main or subordinate clauses.

Article No	Information structure	Transformation	Subordination
1	2	0	1
2	1	1	2
3	1	0	0
4	0	0	0
5	1	0	2
6	1	0	0
7	0	0	2
8	5	0	1
9	4	0	1
10	0	0	0
Total	15	1	8
Percentage	62.5%	4.16%	33.33%

Table (21): Information priorities of the police

As table (21) above shows, in 15 instances the police are positioned in main clauses. In such instances, one dominant information is prioritised concentrating on their negative and violent role of hitting protesters, dispersing them by using tear gas and fire. In eight instances, they are placed in subordinate clauses that present indisputable information giving readers taken for granted negative information about them. Transformation is used once in a main clause where their action of 'opening fire' is shown as legitimised by using the verb 'have been authorised'. In the rest of this section, I discuss how these syntactic possibilities have prioritised different negative information about the police.

In my data, information structure is the dominant syntactic possibility attached to the police positioning them in main clauses in contexts where their violent and negative behaviour against the protesters is prioritised. For example:

(30) **The police** just started hitting people.

(31) **Police** responded with volleys of tear-gas grenade.

(32) **Police** used fire on protesters and dozens died.

In these examples, what the police did is prioritised which constructs violent participants reacting aggressively towards the 'protesters' and 'people' as those who suffered from their hitting and using fire causing the death of dozens. The thing the police used, in the second example, to respond to protests is another information that constructs them negatively as violent participants informing about the violent way they react to the protest event. All such information, spelled out in the main clause, specifies roles attached to the two participants in which the police are criminalised and the protesters are victimised.

Less negative information about the police is prioritised through relational structure, projected/projecting clauses, the negated form of the verb, and the value of the semantic implications of the verb. Relational structure plays a role in prioritising less negative information about the police by describing their participation in the protests as a 'very dramatic change'. For example:

(33) ...the police participation in the protests was **a very dramatic development**.

In this example, information about their presupposed participation is described as 'very dramatic development'. This could be attributed to the way they behave previously.

Another less negative construction is made by projecting/projected clauses because what is of importance is what the police 'said' rather than the fact that they 'said'. For example:

(34) Police officers at a demonstration in Tunis said they too were **victims** of the former regime.

In this example, what they said is the focus creating sympathy towards them as they describe themselves as 'victims' of the former regime which might mitigate the reasons why they behave violently towards the protesters.

In the case of the negated form of the verb and the interplay between negation and prioritising affect viewing the prioritised information as a positive one. In the example, 'However, riot police did not respond **with tear gas or water cannon**' the negated form of the verb affects the interpretation of the prioritised element describing the police behaviour. They are given a positive role by negating the verb stating that the negative behaviour did not take place so that no negative outcome is expected.

The value of the verb connotation affects viewing the prioritised information, referring to what the police did as positive in 'Police officers, who previously defended the Ben Ali regime, joined **the protests**'. The negative information of them defending the Mr Ben Ali regime is enclosed in a relative clause functioning as extra information that is not part of the sentence proposition. What is made prominent is that they 'joined the protest'. The verb 'joined' which means two groups come together so that one thing or group is formed makes their joining the protest positive information. This implies that their previous negative role, put down in a low-level structure by being enclosed in a relative clause as extra information, no longer exists and they have another positive role now which is prioritised.

As far as subordination instances are concerned, they also prioritise negative information, but here they are pushed down in a low level structure that leaves no space for disputing their value as taken for granted information. For example:

(35) Dozens of people have died in recent weeks **as unrest has swept the country and security forces have cracked down on demonstrations over unemployment, food price rises and corruption.** (article No.2)

(36) There were reports **that fresh protests on Tuesday were broken up by police.** (article No.3)

(37) The UN says as many as 100 people **died as the police cracked down on the protests....** (article No.6)

These examples prioritise information about the police as those who 'broke up' protests and 'cracked down' on demonstrations. While the death of people remains the important information, placed in the main clause, the behavior of the police is subordinated and presented as a matter of fact which is not open to negotiation. This creates a pattern of a taken for granted negative behavior attached to the police and therefore constructs them negatively in the data.

Like information structure and subordination, transformation presents similar negative information about the police as those who have been given authority to kill people:

(38) Security forces **have been authorised to open fire** on people not obeying their orders.

Although the example above deletes who gives them such authority, the sentence prioritises the information that they have such an authority to open fire on people which constructs them negatively due to the type of authority they are given.

The analysis above has shown that the three syntactic possibilities prioritise information that focuses on the negative role of the police in the reported period of the unrest events. The analysis has also shown that different textual conceptual functions overlap to affect the interpretation of the prioritised meaning where more than one function should be in operation to fully interpret the prioritised meaning.

In the following section, I discuss the principles of visual salience and how they depict the police in a way that constructs them as prominent in the image structure with meanings that were not the focus of the linguistic text.

#### **6.4.2.2 Visual information priorities analysis**

Placement and size are the recurrent principles of salience utilised in images depicting the police and construct them as salient in the images structures. Foregrounded placement is one recurrent visual principle that makes the police stand out in the image structure. This recurrent choice coheres with the texts where the police are positioned in main clauses as 'Subject' prioritising what they did in the predicate of the same clause; images accompanying such texts prioritise what they did rather than depicting them in person. For example, in article No.2, the police negative behaviour is prioritised in the following examples:

(39) Police responded with **volleys of tear-gas grenades**.

(40) Security forces have been authorised **to open fire on people** not obeying their orders.

The examples above prioritise the information 'with volleys of tear-gas grenades' and 'to open fire on people' which focuses on what the police did constructing them negatively. The image accompanying this text depicts tear-gas smoke:



Image (3p): Article No.2

The image depicts an action of dispersing some protesters where the tear-gas smoke is foregrounded occupying half of the image size starting from the left side of the image, its centre, and most of the image foreground. Its prevalence in the image obfuscates many details in the setting making it the most salient element in the image composition. Making the tear-gas smoke as the most salient element in the image structure coheres with the sentence structure prioritising the phrase 'volleys of tear-gas grenades' as the response of the police. The placement and the small size of the three people in the image create similarity with the text where they are backgrounded in the sentence structure which focuses on the authority given to the police to open fire on them. The image also gives the impression that they are the ones in which the sentence describes as 'not obeying their orders'. In any case, while the police are not seen, the things they did in the texts have been made salient in the image creating a coherent construction.

In article No.6, positive information about the things the police 'did not' do is prioritised where negation and prioritising overlap to construct the police positively as shown in the example below:

(41) However, riot police did not respond *with* **tear gas or water cannon** ....

In this example, it is by negating the verb that the prioritised information is perceived as a positive thing done by the police. In image (10p), that accompanies this linguistic prioritising structure, what is made salient is a policeman foregrounded in the image right side which might suggest that such depiction is 'New' and the positive effect of the linguistic negation is visualised by deleting the things 'tear gas and water cannon':

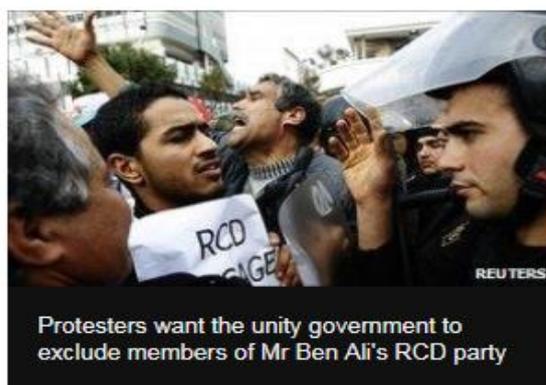


Image (10p): Article No.6

In this image, what is made salient, in the right side foregrounded placement, is that the policeman is depicted without the usual weapons riot police use to disperse protesters. The close distance between the policeman and the protesters might suggest his unaggressive intentions. His empty hand which he used to raise up the glass of his helmet is another evidence of not using tear gas and water cannon. I suggest that linguistic negation can be visualised by deleting the negated elements, in the sentence, from the visual depiction. Deleting elements can also be coloured with some extra meanings, like empty hand and facial expression that add to the positive meaning of the linguistic negation and how it can have positive meanings when related to violent actions the police do in contexts of protests. In another instance, the police are a recurrent participant in article No.8 where in five instances in the text the police are made salient through information structure as shown in the following examples:

(42) Police officers at a demonstration in Tunis said they too were **victims** of the former regime.

(43) On Saturday, thousands of protesters including police, **took to the streets of Tunis** to demand the cabinet resign.

In these examples, what the policemen said in the first example and what they did in the second (see section 6.4.2.1) are prioritised. In image (12p), the first information has been made salient by depicting a number of them occupying the whole of the setting representing a street, while the second one has been made salient by foregrounding a banner (written in Tunisian Arabic dialect) which occupies about a third of the image size placed to the image right side:



Image (12p): Article No.8

Although the setting in the image above is out of focus (Machin, 2007: 137), foregrounding police officers who chant which brings salience to the action rather than the setting, the buildings in the image background indicate that it is a street. In the second example, the sentence structure prioritises the police as ‘victims of the old regime’ (as discussed in section 6.4.1.1). The image visualises their saying through another text written on the banner. The banner states that “the police are the captive of instructions. No days off. The higher intelligence is the maker of persecution (controlling, pursuing, ambushing)”<sup>28</sup>. Although many readers of the BBC online do not speak Arabic or any of its dialects, it is important for the analysis to translate it to find out why it has been given such salient size and placement and whether it shows any connection to the text. Therefore, translating it enables the analysis to explain its salience in the image structure as it reinforces the police saying they were victims of the old regime. The choice of this image with this composition is intended because there is a strong connection between what is stated in the text and what the image depicts.

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<sup>28</sup> My translation

This type of reinforcing is also found in article No.9 where the text prioritises the information that police officers join the protest and were among those protesting. For example:

(44) Police officers, who previously defended the Ben Ali regime, joined **the protests**.

(45) On Saturday policemen were **among those protesting**.

In image (14p), a protest situation is depicted where one police officer is given salience through depicting him foregrounded in the central area of the image with a relevant large size compared to other participants:



Image (14p): Article No.9

The foregrounded position of the police officers in the image above reinforces the text which prioritises the information of them joining the protest. In addition, the central position of the policeman in the image and the white colour of his sleeveless jacket give him prominence and at the same time reinforce the text which prioritises the information that policemen 'were among those protesting'. The image not only depicts him in a foregrounded central position but also surrounded by other participants who are not clearly distinguished as police officers. This might suggest that other participants are protesters giving the opportunity for the image to reinforce the linguistic idea of 'joining the protest' and being 'among those protesting'. I suggest that the visual principles of salience are as efficient as the linguistic syntactic possibilities of prioritising in constructing the same participant as more important to reinforce what participant is made salient in the text. Therefore, focus is being made on the same

participants when reading the text and viewing the image because in both the linguistic and visual systems they are made more important and salient than others are.

In some instances, the visual principles of salience disagree with the linguistic ones by prioritising particular information or elements that were backgrounded or suppressed in the text. This is the case in article No.7. In this article, the police are backgrounded in the clause structure in two instances. This backgrounding was because more important information is reported regarding the event of mourning and the continuing protests against Mr Ben Ali's supporters remaining in power. Therefore, information about them is positioned in subordinate clauses presenting indisputable negative information about them. For example:

(46) The UN says as many as 100 people died **as the police cracked down on the protests.**

In the image accompanying this text, a number of policemen are foregrounded depicted as standing with unthreatening poses to the event of 'protest' seen backgrounded in the image:



Image (11p): Article No.7

While the text backgrounds negative information about them as 'cracking down on the protests', the image disagrees by foregrounding them and presenting them neutrally because they are depicted as standing in front of the protesters with no intention to crack down on the protests.

This disagreement could be attributed to the idea that the article reported different events going on together where the most important one was the three days of mourning the Tunisians held in honour of those killed in the unrest events. Another important event was the continuing protests against Mr Ben Ali's party members remaining in the new government. I found that the possible justification is by suggesting that even if they are

foregrounded in the image, attention is drawn to some other information related to the protest situation and the mourning event presented by the linguistic prioritising instances. In this case the linguistic syntactic possibilities of prioritising affect readers' attention, by the nature of their frequent instances making specific information more salient than others, more than the image is trying to make salient and attracts attention to.

#### 6.4.3 Multimodal information priorities analysis of international authorities

Information priorities about participants in this group are delivered through the linguistic system only, mainly through information structure and subordination. No visual images in my data depict any of the participants in this group. In what follows, I discuss the linguistic instances prioritising information about the participants in this group and then comment on the absence of images depicting the participants of this group.

Article No	Information structure	Subordination
1	0	0
2	0	0
3	3	0
4	0	0
5	1	0
6	4	1
7	1	0
8	0	1
9	0	1
10	5	0
Total	14	3
percentage	82.35%	17.64%

Table (22): Information priorities of international authorities

As I mentioned in the previous paragraph, prioritising information about this group of participants is made through information structure and subordination with 14 instances for the former and three instances for the latter (see table 22). No instances of transformation structure were found in my data attached to participants in this group. These instances construct powerful and authoritative participants. For example:

(47) ... Swiss Foreign Minister Micheline Calmy-Rey announced **a decision to freeze any funds of Mr Ben Ali's held there.**

In the example above, the interplay between the transitivity choice 'announced' and the thing that is announced, i.e. 'a decision to freeze any funds of Mr Ben Ali's held there', interpret the information prioritised as constructing the 'Swiss Foreign Minister Calmy-Rey' as a powerful participant who has the authority to freeze Mr Ben Ali's funds. With instances of subordination, they construct their role as more authentic. For example:

(48) The official death toll during the unrest leading to Mr Ben Ali's flight was 78, **though the UN says more than 100 people died.**

In this example, placing their saying in a subordinate clause suggests that what they say is not open to question and this helps to construct them as more trustful source of information. Therefore, whether information about participants in this group is placed in main or subordinate clauses, they are constructed as powerful which results in one dominant pattern that portrays them as powerful and authentic.

However, this pattern has not received visual depiction in any of the images in my data. This might be related, as explained in sections 4.4.3 and 5.4.3, to the fact that representing participants in one system and removing them from another might have ideological meanings. In this case, I suggest that absence of visual representation of this group is attributed to the fact that news articles visually depict participants that are the most relevant to the news event reported. That is, the events happening to the participants reported in the Tunisian unrest rather than those commenting on or reacting to it. These participants are more important to be visually depicted than the international authorities' reactions towards the event at least in the data selected in this study.

## **6.5 Multimodal information priorities analysis of the protesters**

This section discusses the verbal and visual prioritised information instances attached to the protesters. Section 6.5.1 presents the different syntactic possibilities used to linguistically prioritise information about the protesters. This is followed by section 6.5.2 which accounts for the visual principles of salience commenting on the ways salient information about the protesters is realised. The section focuses also, on how these visual principles of salience link the image to the text it accompanies producing coherent multimodal prioritised elements

commenting on three important points resulting from the analysis of the linguistic and the visual information priorities.

### 6.5.1 Linguistic information priorities analysis

Table (23) shows that there are 53 prioritising instances that make the protesters the focal point in the clause structure.

Article No	Information structure	Subordination	Transformation
1	12	0	0
2	5	4	0
3	4	1	0
4	0	0	0
5	2	4	0
6	3	0	0
7	2	1	1
8	6	0	1
9	5	1	0
10	1	0	0
Total	40	11	2
Percentage	75.47%	20.75%	3.77%

Table (23): Information priorities of the protesters

Table (23) shows that information structure is the recurrent syntactic possibility presenting information about the protesters having 40 instances. Subordination comes next with 11 instances and transformation has the least frequency with two instances only. As stated in section 6.4, these frequencies are important because they are the linguistic equivalents of their visual counterparts, i.e. the placement and size, which show similar recurrence in images. Together, they produce a coherent construction of the protesters' identity through information priorities. They are also important because they interpret the overall patterns of meanings that linguistically construct this group of participants which in turn facilitate examining how this pattern is reflected in the images. The three prioritising possibilities are discussed in the following paragraphs.

Starting with information structure, I classify the protesters' appearance in main clauses to four types depending on the type of the clause structure. These types include information about the things the protesters do placed in the clause predicate; intransitive verbs; attributive clause structure; and coordinate clause structure.

In 18 instances, positive information about the protesters is presented where focus is on the responsive aspect of the protesters' identity. For example:

(49) Some residents formed **impromptu militias** to protect their homes.

(50) Hundreds of protesters **took to the streets** again in the Tunisian capital Tunis, urging allies of the ousted president to stop clinging to power.

(51) Tunisians held **a candlelit vigil** to remember those killed during the uprising that toppled\_Mr Ben Al.

The prioritised elements in the examples above give information about the responses the protesters have in the reported period of the unrest as a whole. The information prioritised in these elements focuses on the things the protesters do in response to the ones the police did, which I will comment on shortly, as forming 'impromptu militia' to protect their homes, taking to the streets in hundreds, and holding a 'candle lit vigil'. This type of information constructs a responsible, active and human aspect of the protesters' identity and portrays them positively as those who do not behave in negative or violent ways.

In other instances, the protesters are mentioned in the predicate of main clauses prioritising their being the 'Goal' of violent actions performed by the police, e.g. 'The police just started hitting people'. In such examples, the prioritised information focuses on how people were victimised. This was also part of the meaning realised by using MAI processes with intransitive verbs.

Intransitive verbs are used in nine instances, where in four instances the focus is on the peaceful actions they perform, and all are found in article No.1, for example:

(52) We're **singing** and **dancing**.

(53) Everybody **was walking about** earlier.

(54) ...people **were clapping** and everything was calm.

(55) Dozens of people **have died** in recent weeks as unrest has swept the country.

(56) More than 100 people **have** reportedly **died** in the unrest.

As the examples above show, the information prioritises that those who are named 'people', 'we' and 'everybody' do nothing other than singing, dancing, walking about and 'clapping'. The choice of these verbs focuses on the peaceful behaviour the protesters show while protesting. Then the rest of the articles mention that those who are named as 'people', 'Tunisians' and 'protesters' 'died' in dozens or in 'more than 100'. The effect of naming, referring to them as 'people' not rioters or even protesters, sheds light on the way the prioritised verb is perceived resulting in creating sympathy towards those who died. Victimisation is also understood from one relational structure:

(57) The official death toll during the unrest leading to Mr Ben Ali's flight was **78**, though the UN says more than 100 people died.

In this example, they are presented as number of deaths which, although it anonymises them, prioritises a shocking number of people whose life has ended just because they protest. Other relational instances prioritise positive and legitimate aspects of the protesters' identity:

(58) ...fundamentally the Tunisians are **nice people**.

(59) The Tunisians are **resentful** and the government does nothing to help them.

The prioritised information in these examples presents a positive aspect of the protesters' identity and a justified feeling of being resentful is highlighted (see section 4.3.1.2) prioritising the idea that Tunisians have the right to protest.

In the rest of the articles, the verb 'died' is used to victimise them and creates sympathy towards them. In the case of coordinate structures which occur in 6 instances, both clauses are of equal importance:

(60) Police used fire on protesters and dozens **died**.

In the example above, although the information that the police used 'fire' and dozens 'died' are syntactically of equal importance, it is the second coordinated clause that receives the

focal importance from its position making it the most salient information because it is the last compulsory element in the coordinated structure (Quirk et al., 1985: 920). Prioritised information via transformation also focuses on the victimisation and vulnerability of the protesters in which the same information is repeated twice in the data:

(61) At least 78 people **have been killed** since a wave of protests began last December.  
(article No.7)

(62) At least 78 people **have been killed** since a wave of protests began last December.  
(article No.8)

In both instances, the verb 'have been killed' is used to focus on their death deleting reference to who killed them which means that the information that they 'have been killed' is the one that is made salient. The overlap between naming, transitivity and prioritising is unavoidable where the naming choice 'people' increase the sympathetic effect of the prioritised information as the ones who 'have been killed' are not rioters or even protesters.

The meaning of victimisation is also found in the examples that use subordination where this meaning sounds more effective as it is presented as taken for granted information by pushing such information down to different levels of subordination. For example:

(63) Police used tear gas **to disperse the protesters in Tunis**.

(64) President Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali was forced into exile on Friday after a month of protests **in which the government now admits 78 people died**.

In these examples, the fact that protesters died has been enclosed in the subordinate clause where in the first example it is put in the non-finite clause "to disperse the protesters in Tunis". In the second example, the information that "78 people died" is placed on the third level of subordination making the value of this information unchallenged.

In other instances, the nominalised information 'the death of protesters' is enclosed in the noun phrase functioning as subject:

(65) **Despite vowing that those behind the deaths of protesters** should face justice, when asked whether he thought Mr Ben Ali himself should face trial, he replied: "I cannot say that."

In this example, the information about the protesters is not placed in subordinate clause but as part of the presupposed subject where the effect of its factuality is not open to discussion as it is not part of the sentence proposition.

The analysis above has shown that different syntactic possibilities have made salient certain types of information about the protesters or their actions. The prioritised information ranges from prioritising the responsible, active and human aspects of the protesters' identity to the information that victimizes them and creates sympathetic feeling towards them. The analysis has also shown that sometimes more than one textual conceptual function operates together to account for the effect of the prioritised information. In what follows, I discuss the visual principles of salience, how they are used and how they are related to the text.

### **6.5.2 Visual information priorities analysis**

The analysis of the images accompanying the texts discussed in 6.5.1 shows that placement, size, colour and focus are the visual principles that operate to prioritise information about the protesters. These visual principles operate as the visual equivalents of the syntactic possibilities of information structure, subordination and transformation discussed in section 6.6.1. The following analysis outlines three important points. The first point is that on the level of individual articles, the image made salient the same elements, information, and/or participants being prioritised in the text resulting in reinforcing the same prioritised element, information, and/or participant. The second point is that in both the linguistic and visual systems, analysis of many prioritising instances requires more than one function to be in operation to account for the effect of the prioritised information. The third point is that while the texts, as a whole, prioritise information that victimizes the protesters, such priority was not that salient in the images as a whole. In what follows, I discuss the first point raised above commenting on the second and third wherever necessary showing the advantages and disadvantages of each one whenever relevant.

Images made salient similar information to that which the text they accompany prioritises in three instances. The first is an example found in article No.3. The text prioritises the following information:

(66) Some residents have formed **impromptu militias** to protect their homes.

(67) Residents in some areas have armed **themselves with sticks and clubs**, forming impromptu militias to protect their homes.

In these two examples, the focus is on what the protesters formed and the weapons they have armed themselves with. Therefore, the elements 'impromptu militias' and 'sticks and clubs' are the salient information. The accompanying image depicts a number of men spread in different parts of the image occupying most of the image spaces:



Image (6p): Article No.3

In image (6p), the principles of placement and size collaborate to make the protesters stand out in the image structure reinforcing the prioritised linguistic information 'impromptu militias'. Although the size of the men individually is not large enough to make them salient, their distribution and number are the features that make them the salient element in the image structure. The two men who hold sticks and clubs are positioned in the central area of the image reinforcing the text in prioritising the weapons they use. Therefore, the way the protesters are distributed and the centrality of two of them holding sticks and clubs suggest that placement and size are not always interpreted in terms of foregrounding/backgrounding big/small parameters. Instead, the number of depicted participants and the way they are distributed in the image are other factors that should be taken into consideration because they jointly give salience to the depicted elements.

The second example where text and image prioritise the same kind of information is found in article No.8. In the text, an event of a 'candle lit vigil' that the Tunisians held is prioritised through information structure. The accompanying image depicts the event of a 'candle lit vigil' as the most salient element in the image structure through colour brightness, placement and size.



Image (13p): Article No.8

In image (13p), what viewers see is a visual depiction of a 'candlelit vigil' where lighted candles occupy almost all the image space and are placed everywhere in the image, from the left to the right and from the bottom to about hitting the image top. The brightness of the candles against the dark and out of focus background also gives them salience over other elements in the image. Once again, it is by virtue of elements number, colour, placement and distribution that salience is achieved and placement, colour and size of elements work collaboratively to arrive at the maximum effect of elements salience. Other details in the image are marginalised, e.g. the people in the background, so that they are not salient and the focus is only on the lighted candles representing the 'candlelit vigil' event. The meaning of victimisation cannot be interpreted through the visual principles of salience. Instead, it is through the second level of visual naming system and the use of angle that this meaning is gained (see section 4.5.2.3.). The important point here about visual prioritising is that, like the linguistic function of prioritising, comprehensive interpretation about the prioritised elements sometimes need more than one function in operation to fully comment on its effect. Therefore, it is through visual naming and prioritising choices that the prioritised meaning of victimisation is fully understood.

The third case where the text and image prioritise a similar kind of information is found in article No.6. In the text, the protesters are placed in main clauses as the subject in the three instances, for example:

(68) Protesters want **the unity government to exclude members of Mr Ben Ali's RCD party.**

(69) Hundreds of protesters **took to the streets** again in the Tunisian capital Tunis.

(70) More than 100 people **have reportedly died** in the unrest, the UN said, promising to carry out an investigation.

These examples show that while the first two examples construct pressing and active participants, the last prioritises their vulnerability. In any case, they are positioned to the left side of the sentence structure being its subject. The accompanying image reinforces the position of the protesters in the three examples above and the meaning presented in the first two examples only:

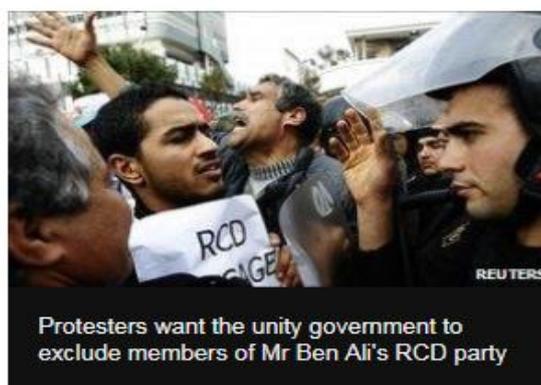


Image (10p): Article No.6

In image (10p), two protesters are depicted to the very foreground left side of the image while a third one occupies the image central area as if showing the readers that these are the protesters who 'took to the streets again' wanting the exclusion of Mr Ben Ali's party. Therefore, the protesters acquire salience from their position in the image whereas their relative large size is acquired through the use of medium to close-up shot. The prioritised linguistic information 'took to the streets' and their wanting 'the exclusion of Mr Ben Ali RCD party' are also made salient. This is done not only by making the protesters salient in the image, but also by depicting them in a protest situation where one protester is waving a banner with an incomplete phrase in French 'RCD DEGAGE', meaning 'RCD OUT'. Therefore, placement, size and their overlap make the protesters as well as the things they did stand out in the image structure.

In one image, in my data, the way visual information priorities make the protesters salient so that they receive similar construction to the one introduced in the text is somehow tricky. This is the case of article No.2. In the text, they are prioritised as follows:

(71) The state of emergency decree bans **gatherings of more than three people** and imposes a night-time curfew.

(72) Security forces have been authorised **to open fire** on people not obeying their orders.

The accompanying image depicts three protesters who are dispersed by the smoke of what seems to be tear gas:



Image (3p): Article No.2

While the text prioritises the information, that the 'gatherings of more than three people are banned and that the police were authorised to open fire on those not obeying their orders, the image does not depict 'more than three people'. Moreover, only one of them is foregrounded in the image right side where he seems to be walking through tear gas, which is the most salient element in the image through size and colour, trying to avoid breathing it. The other two people are seen to the very left background of the image where they are seen as involved in being dispersed because of tear gas emission. This disagreement between the text-image priorities can be explained in the light that it is not what happened to the people that was the focus of the article as a whole, but it is the situation of unrest and its consequences leading to Ben Ali's resignation.

The analysis above has shown that the linguistic prioritising features in the texts were reinforced by the visual principles of salience in the accompanying images consequently prioritising the same elements, participants or information in both systems.

## 6.6 Summary

The analysis in this chapter has shown the ways that verbal and visual systems prioritise particular elements, information, and participants so that they stand out in the structure of

the clause and/or image within multimodal texts. The analysis has demonstrated that the multimodal critical stylistic analysis of information priorities can account for the way multimodal texts make salient particular elements, information and participants. It also explains that both verbal and visual information prioritising resources have shown a number of similarities as well as differences. The main similarity is that both systems overlap with other textual conceptual functions so that full account of the meaning intended is achieved. For example, linguistically, overlap between prioritising and transitivity is unavoidable when using intransitive verbs. This is because it is the action itself that is given salience since it is the last compulsory element in the clause structure (section 6.3.1). The same overlap occurs in images where participants depicted as Actors in images according to transitivity choices are also the most salient participants in the image structure through size, place in the image composition, and contrast against background (see section 6.3.2).

The point of difference is that while linguistic techniques sometimes use the same syntactic element to realise more than one textual function, e.g. intransitive verbs serve to realise the function of transitivity and prioritising at the same time, visually these two functions are realised by different visual techniques. Transitivity is realised by vectors while prioritising is realised by elements of size, placement, focus, etc.

The following chapter concludes the analysis chapters of the thesis in which I discuss how meanings created in both systems are reinforced, extended, added or suppressed and therefore thus assist the capacity of each system in creating meanings independently.

## **Chapter Seven: Conclusion**

This chapter provides discussions on the main concluding points of the research presented in this thesis. First, I go back to the research questions stated in chapter one. Second, I discuss the findings of the analysis and the contribution the study makes. Finally, I present some limitation of the proposed method and suggestions for future research aiming at analysing texts composed of language and still images using the critical stylistic approach.

### **7.1 Research questions**

The analysis presented in this study has answered the research questions which I repeat here:

1. To what extent can the approach of Critical Stylistics provide a method for the analysis of the multimodal meaning-making in non-literary texts?
2. Which tools from Critical Stylistics can be used to analyse the meaning that is jointly made and projected in multimodal texts?
3. How can the multimodal analysis of non-literary texts enhance our understanding of what stylistics, as a discipline is able to achieve?

The questions above underlie two types of aims. Question 1 addresses methodological issues, the last two questions relate to my investigation of the way meaning is made and projected in multimodal texts. I will start with questions 2 and 3 in order to summarise the main findings of the analysis presented in chapter four to six and consider the theoretical implications of the main findings from a multimodal perspective. I will then review how these findings help enhance our understanding of the role of stylistics in providing a more defined method to account for the way textual meaning is made in multimodal text. Finally, I address the question of the applicability of Critical Stylistics approach as a method to analyse multimodal texts.

### **7.2 Meaning-making in multimodal news texts**

My analysis aimed to show how the text and images of online news reports, as non-literary texts, make and project textual meanings as independent texts using resources specific to their underlying systems. These projected meanings show how participants are named and described, how participants are represented as doing or being using transitivity analysis, and how information is made more important in the text and image structures.

Examining the operation of these tools multimodally, the analytical findings show specific recurrent patterns of meanings in which images reinforce, extend, add or suppress meanings already initiated by the linguistic text. The findings also reveal that the co-occurrence of text and image in the news reports creates a sort of context, or co-text that regulates and relatively determines the choices as well as the meanings made in the text and image of the news articles. This is because the meaning is made not because of the linguistic or visual features themselves but because of their use and co-occurrence in that particular text which consequently helps limit the possible interpretations an image might suggest. Therefore, the application of the notion of co-text introduces a more systematic method to the multimodal investigation of meaning-making which produces a more replicable analysis.

It is worth stating that although the linguistic text and still images may have similar analytical status, as discussed in chapters two and three, there are two reasons why the approach taken in this study gives primacy to the former. One reason is the nature of the data in which most of the meaning is made through the linguistic text. The other reason is that the focus is on the joint meaning-making that the text and images construct in order to test the model which means that some aspects of meaning in the data have not been treated because they are either found in the linguistic text but absent in the accompanying images or vice versa (see section 7.4).

### **7.2.1 Reinforcing meaning**

The analysis revealed that one recurrent pattern of meaning-making in my data is that a number of images reinforce meanings made in the texts they accompany. In chapter four, I explained how the linguistic and visual naming choices use resources specific to the linguistic and visual features of naming to present a coherent portrayal that intends to name participants formally. This intention to formality of naming has regulated and determined the choices of meaning used in the text and image to produce the pattern of formal meanings. For example, political leaders receive formal linguistic naming choices using full name premodified by full titles, e.g. "PM Mohammed Ghannouchi". This linguistic naming is visually reinforced by the use of things, i.e. formal clothing and setting which is a presidential office where both overlap to construct the overall formal portrayal of the depicted participants. Therefore, the choice of proper nouns and the titles as premodification cooperate to construct formal naming linguistically. Visually, the connotative meaning of the things and settings cooperate to produce formal visual naming. The linguistic and visual naming

resources use the semantic values of these choices to produce the reinforced meaning of formality (section 4.2.1.2).

Linguistic and visual meanings projected through transitivity choices are reinforced through the processes chosen and their distribution in the text and image structures as main and minor processes. For example, in article No.1 discussed in sections 5.5.1, linguistic relational, mental and existential processes performed by the protesters are more recurrent than material processes performed by Mr. Ben Ali. The importance of the difference in this recurrence has been strengthened by placing the protesters' relational and mental actions in main clauses along with those material processes in subordinate clauses. For example:

- We're all very happy that Ben Ali **has left** the country.

-We **were hoping** he would leave earlier.

- The looting there **was** madness-there **was** gas everywhere.

The result of these choices and their distribution is that those relational, mental, and existential processes, describing the protesters' feelings and the places are more important than the material processes. This constructs the protesters as major providers of their feelings and the places they were in. This linguistic construction motivates and regulates the transitivity choices in the two accompanying images to produce choices that reinforce this construction. The images depict two places with visual analytical conceptual processes, equivalent to the linguistic relational and mental processes that occupy most of the image space along with material processes, as one part of the analytical conceptual processes, occupying smaller space in the images structures. Although neither the protesters nor Mr. Ben Ali is depicted in the images, the recurrent and the more important role of relational and mental processes has been reinforced in the accompanying images (see section 5.5.2.2).

The analysis of information priorities also shows that images reinforce meanings made in the texts by making the same participant, place, thing or event more important than others do in the image structure. However, while visual information priorities reinforce making prominent the same participant or information, the other detailed meanings that were linguistically prioritised were reinforced by other choices such as naming and transitivity. For example, the four images depicting Mr Ben Ali in my data use the principles of placement, size and focus to

make him stand out in the image structure reinforcing the linguistic construction which makes him the most prominent participant in the clause through information structure. However, the images reinforce the meanings of being weak and defeated through the naming and transitivity choices prioritised about him in the text (see section 6.3.2). This was not viewed as an inefficiency of the visual system, but it interprets the overlap between the textual conceptual functions.

### **7.2.2 Extending meaning**

My discussion of the use of resources specific to the linguistic and visual systems showed that images not only reinforce linguistic meanings but also extend them. One example is the positive representation of the police constructed through transitivity choices (section 5.4.2.2). Linguistically, the positive transitivity meaning created through negating the verb 'respond' in 'not responding with teargas or water cannon', is visually extended by depicting a policeman involved in a material process of standing in front of some protesters. The absence of the objects 'tear gas' and 'water cannon' from the image reinforce the positive meaning of 'not responding with teargas or water cannon'. A more positive meaning is constructed by the naming choices of angle, shot, pose and facial expression which overlap with the transitivity choices to extend the positive meaning. So, the front angle and close shot show how they deal with the protesters as the depicted policeman is smiling to the protester standing closely in front of him raising the glass of his helmet in a non-threatening pose.

### **7.2.3 Adding/suppressing meaning**

The idea that images add/suppress meaning initiated in the text is another pattern that is found in the data. This pattern supports the view that each system uses resources specific to their systems where in their co-dependence they help to regulate the interpretation of the meanings constructed which consequently produces a coherent portrayal of the events reported. This is clear in the analysis of transitivity where I explained how the negative linguistic transitivity choices and the violent actions performed by the police which prevailed in the texts are replaced by a less negative or positive visual construction. The visual transitivity choices construct their identity in a way that either suppress elements that visualize the negative linguistic construction, contradict it, or reinforce a positive construction introduced by the linguistic and visual naming choices (section 5.4.2.2). The visual naming

analysis of the police showed that the linguistic formal and collective construction was reinforced with adding a more positive construction presented in a number of instances (section 4.4.2). This does not cause incoherence between the text and image constructions because the main event reported has been coherently constructed which makes such suppressions and additions less recognised than the ones focused on in the reporting of the other important events.

### **7.3 Contribution**

The application of the critical stylistic framework as a way of making the analysis of multimodal texts coherent and systematic is new to the field of multimodality studies and contributes to multimodal texts analysis and stylistics. This application is carried out for the first time on multimodal non-literary texts in my thesis. I use Critical Stylistics rather than Multimodal Stylistics or Critical Discourse Analysis for two reasons. The first reason is that while a multimodal stylistic approach offers tools and methodologies applicable to literary texts, Critical Stylistics offers methodologies and tools that can be applied to different types of texts whether literary or non-literary. The second reason is that I use the critical stylistic approach rather than Critical Discourse Analysis approach because it provides greater systematic, rigorous and a more replicable approach which is needed in my study to account for the way language and images as two independent texts make and project textual meanings. Critical Stylistics has the aim of providing a more comprehensive toolkit applicable to all types of texts because they fundamentally make meaning in the same way (Jeffries, 2014: 408). Although Critical Stylistics aims to reveal ideology as part of its approach to non-literary texts, my study uses this approach basically to describe, analyse and interpret the process of meaning-making in multimodal texts with less focus on the ideologies manifested. The discussion in the previous sections in this chapter has shown the extent to which the critical stylistic approach is applicable to the analysis of multimodal texts in general and the images of such texts in particular. The analysis in my study provides evidence as to what stylistics as a discipline is able to achieve as well as showing the strength of the critical stylistic approach in its applicability to analysing multimodal texts. While a number of studies<sup>29</sup> have acknowledged the efficiency of the critical stylistic approach to mono-modally analyse a wide

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<sup>29</sup> See Coffey 2013, Tabbert 2013, Evans 2016, and Owiti, 2016

range of texts quantitatively and qualitatively, my thesis provides evidence of the applicability of this approach to analyse multimodal texts.

The detailed linguistic analysis of the data in my study has two main advantages. The first advantage is that it provides objective statistical results showing how the features in the linguistic system are used to account for detailed meanings which are on a number of occasions not found in the visual system. The second advantage is that it accounts for major patterns of meanings which facilitate examining how these patterns of meanings are reflected in the images. The way meanings are reflected in images show that the linguistic and visual systems operate jointly to project a coherent portrayal of the participants and the events reported.

My study is a contribution to the broader field of the study of multimodal text analysis. It differs from previous studies with regard to three essential points. The first point is that it suggests a more defined approach which aims at uncovering how meanings are jointly made and projected in multimodal texts which make use of linguistic text and still images. The second point is that it analyses non-literary multimodal text from a stylistic perspective which has not been done before. The third point is that the application of the notion of co-text introduces a systematic method that can produce a replicable analysis of multimodal texts. The methods used in this study explain that the linguistic and visual systems use resources specific of their underlying structures to make and project what can be basically be similar meanings. The study also makes use of the objective statistical detailed linguistic analysis to utilise the dominant patterns of meanings that construct the different participants in my data which help facilitate examining how such patterns of meanings were reflected in the accompanying images. Doing this, I provided evidence on how the utilised patterns of linguistic meanings were reflected in images and the way images react to the meanings made in the texts through a specific set of patterns of meanings. I also found that certain meanings can be made in either the linguistic or visual systems, for example, the meanings that images add or suppress which were not made in the texts they accompany (see section 7.2.3).

#### **7.4 Limitations and suggestions for further research**

While this thesis makes an original contribution to the way multimodal texts can be analysed stylistically introducing more systematic and replicable analysis, it is worth stating that there

are some limitations. The tools selected from Critical Stylistics were chosen because of three main reasons. The first reason is that the textual multimodal resources and features they underlie can be made the subject of relatively formal description, particularly the images. The second reason is that these features are present in all texts which makes choosing them as a first step in proposing a stylistic multimodal toolkit inescapable. Moreover, these multimodal features examined by the toolkit are more ubiquitous in the data under analysis than others which make these tools more important to be outlined. The final reason is that the proposed tools are defined and coherent in the sense that linguistically, they all depend on the lexical, syntactic and semantic resources of language to examine how these resources could be used to package up, or slant, information with ideological consequences (Alaghbary, 2013: 138). Other tools, such as implying and assuming, investigate ideological implications through the pragmatic force of textual choice, which is hard to explore in images. Negating and hypothesising which investigate ideological meanings through the creation of hypothetical text worlds have very rare instances in my data as news stories usually inform readers about events rather than creating hypothetical text worlds for them to fear, desire or believe.

However, other tools were not included due to various reasons. One of these reasons is that while some features appear to have linguistic occurrences, they do not show visual correspondences, for example, representing others speech and thought. This makes studying them irrelevant to the aim of the study which is examining how meaning is made and projected jointly in the text and image of the non-literary texts). Other tools are of a peripheral nature in that they do not have a primary role in constructing the identity of participants in the data under analysis, e.g. exemplifying and enumerating.

Future studies of multimodal texts, composed of language and still images, could nevertheless investigate some of the other tools. One possibility is an analysis of constructing non-existing worlds through the investigation of negation that can enhance more understanding on how the linguistic and visual systems make use of the resources available to their underlying structures to create non-existent versions of the world. For example, my analysis of transitivity choices shows that negating a verb creates a positive representation of the actions performed by the police as 'did not respond with teargas or water cannon' suggesting that the negative action did not exist. Visually, the accompanying image suppresses the things 'teargas' and 'water cannon' from the structure of the image reinforcing that the bad action

did not exist, although this suppression might indicate an overlap between transitivity, negation and naming because what is absent are the things, which are naming choices, i.e. 'teargas' and 'water cannon'. I needed more textual evidence about how negation can be constructed visually. My data show only this example. My analysis reveals that text and image make meaning in fundamentally similar ways using resources specific to their underlying systems.

Another suggestion for future research is to examine how the detailed linguistic meaning in the text may influence the interpretation of the accompanying images. For example, I discuss the issues of the degrees of intentionality in MAI and their role in constructing Mr Ben Ali's identity (section 5.3.1.1); however, these issues are specific to the linguistic system and do not appear to have equivalents in the visual system of transitivity. Therefore, they were not part of the joint meaning making focused on in this study. Nevertheless, it could be enlightening to trace the extent to which intentional/ less intentional content in the linguistic meaning influences the reader's interpretation of the visual part of a joint text.

## **7.5 Concluding remarks**

This research has been an attempt to establish the importance of proposing a more defined toolkit that stylistically addresses the question of meaning-making in multimodal texts. Through the analysis of exploring processes of meaning-making in the text and images of news texts, I have shown how each system use resources specific to their underlying structures to basically project similar meanings. I also show how the notion of co-text produces a systematic method that produce replicable analyses by decreasing the number of possible interpretation an image might suggest. This makes my original contribution to the field of multimodality and multimodal stylistics by testing Jeffries' (2014: 408) argument "that the tools of analysis we need to perform all kinds of text analysis are the same" because "texts make meaning in fundamentally the same way". In addition to testing the applicability of the critical stylistic approach to analyse multimodal texts, I also integrate the visual grammar model to see whether the idea of images are texts can be also tested in exploring the way textual meanings operate visually. Moreover, I have attempted to suggest which tools from Critical Stylistics can be added to the ones proposed in my study, which will aid further analysis.

My contribution to the field of multimodal text analysis and multimodal stylistics has been to suggest a more defined toolkit so that analysis of multimodal text can gain greater rigours and

replicable results that the argument of what stylistics as a discipline is able to achieve is tested and verified. I have argued the efficiency of the critical stylistic approach into the analysis of multimodal texts could be the first step into starting new perspective on how multimodal text analysis can further our understanding of meaning-making in multimodal texts.

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## Appendix 1: the data

### Article No.1:

<https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-12196242>

### Tunisians react as president steps down

14 January 2011

Tunisia's president has stepped down after 23 years in power amid unprecedented protests on the streets of the capital Tunis.

A state of emergency has been declared in Tunisia amid protests over corruption, unemployment and inflation.

On Friday, BBC News website readers in Tunisia spoke about the situation.

### Richard Field, Tunis



Multiple locations in Tunisia, including the capital, Tunis, and La Marsa (pictured) have been affected

Everyone wants President Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali to go now - news that he has stepped down is not a surprise.

I've lived in Tunis for the last four-and-a-half years as a teacher. Tunisia has always been a very safe and relaxed country, but I think this situation was bound to happen. The Tunisians are resentful and the government does nothing to help them.

I decided to go out this afternoon to see whether any shops were open and it was completely chaotic. I was shocked to find that everything had been broken. It was impossible to drive anywhere because of the rubbish, teargas canisters and things smouldering on the street.

There were also a number of large gangs setting fire to things. I had to make my way home carefully, walking through teargas at one point.

At the moment my main problem is the fact that I am running out of food and I have no credit left on my phone, so I can't communicate with anyone.

I hope that the shops will open again tomorrow. I'll just have to wait and see what happens. I am concerned and no-one seems to know what is going on, but fundamentally the Tunisians are nice people so I don't feel too scared.

### **Amel Gaaloul, Tunis**



Buildings in some cities were subject to attack

We're all very happy that Ben Ali has left the country. We're singing and dancing. We were hoping he would leave earlier but at least he is gone.

We managed to work together to throw him out - and a lot of that was down to the internet and social networking.

We are now hoping for a fair and transparent government. Anything can happen now.

Everybody was walking about earlier - with about 200 to 300 people in the middle. The atmosphere was peaceful at first - people were clapping and everything was calm. There were families and a lot of professionals around. I met up with a lot of people I worked with.

But when the police arrived the attitude changed. The police just started hitting people, it was terrible. We didn't know if we were going to get shot. I managed to escape just before the police started throwing teargas at everyone.

At the same time we were all trying to find out what was going on and we were speaking via Facebook and Twitter.

It was worrying as there was a lot of looting going on at the same time - but it was mainly the houses and shops belonging to the president and his supporters.

The worst bit for me was last night. I was supposed to be having a friend come over but the whole area was blocked from 4pm onwards. The looting there was madness - there was gas everywhere.

### **David Wilson, La Marsa**

David Wilson is the headmaster of a British school near the capital, Tunis.

On Friday 14 January, he was preparing to leave the country.

Here, he speaks to the BBC's Tim Wilcox.

**Article No.2:**

<https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-12198106>

**Tunisia: Ex-President Ben Ali flees to Saudi Arabia**

15 January 2011



President Ben Ali resigned after weeks of unrest over corruption and unemployment

**Tunisian President Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali has fled with his family to Saudi Arabia, after being forced from office after 23 years in power.**

The 74-year-old leader conceded power after protests over economic issues escalated into rallies against him.

Prime Minister Mohammed Ghannouchi has taken over as interim president, and a state of emergency has been declared.

Mr Ghannouchi has said he will meet political leaders on Saturday in an attempt to form a government.

Dozens of people have died in recent weeks as unrest has swept the country and security forces have cracked down on demonstrations over unemployment, food price rises and corruption.

**'Regain trust'**

After abandoning power in Tunis, Mr Ben Ali boarded a plane with his family and left the country, amid widespread speculation about where he was travelling to.

French media reported that President Nicolas Sarkozy had rejected a request for his plane to land in France.

**We are at the service of the Tunisian people. Our country does not deserve everything that is happening. We must regain the trust of citizens in the government Mohammed Ghannouchi, Interim leader**

A Saudi palace statement later said Mr Ben Ali had arrived in the country early on Saturday.

"Out of concern for the exceptional circumstances facing the brotherly Tunisian people and in support of the security and stability of their country... the Saudi government has welcomed President Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali and his family to the kingdom," the statement said.

An overnight curfew was lifted on Saturday morning, but AFP news agency reported that central Tunis remained deserted after a night of looting in several suburbs.

Earlier Mr Ghannouchi said his priority was to restore security, in the face of looting and robberies.

"I salute the fact that groups of young people have got together to defend their neighbourhoods but we can assure them we will reinforce their security," he said.

"We are at the service of the Tunisian people. Our country does not deserve everything that is happening. We must regain the trust of citizens in the government," he added.

However, it is not yet clear whether protesters will accept Mr Ghannouchi's interim leadership, or take to the streets for further demonstrations.

## Fall from power



Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali was only Tunisia's second president since independence from France in 1956

- **17 Dec:** A graduate sets himself on fire in Sidi Bouzid over lack of jobs, sparking protests
- **24 Dec:** Protester shot dead in central Tunisia
- **28 Dec:** Protests spread to Tunis
- **8-10 Jan:** Dozens of deaths reported in crackdown on protests
- **12 Jan:** Interior minister sacked
- **13 Jan:** President Ben Ali promises to step down in 2014
- **14 Jan:** Mr Ben Ali dissolves government and parliament, then steps down

## Profile: Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali

The BBC's Wyre Davies in Tunis said many protesters had ignored the curfew to celebrate on the streets on Friday evening.

Our correspondent says they will now want to see the fruits of their demonstrations, and will not settle for the elite remaining in power.

## 'New government'

Mr Ghannouchi, a 69-year-old former finance minister who has been prime minister since 1999, has said he will meet representatives of political parties on Saturday to form a government, calling it a "decisive day".

He said he hoped the new government would "meet expectations".

The wave of protests began in mid-December after an unemployed graduate set himself on fire when police tried to prevent him from selling vegetables without a permit. He died in early January.

Demonstrations came to a head on Friday as thousands of people gathered outside the interior ministry, a symbol of the regime, and many climbed onto its roof. Police responded with volleys of tear-gas grenades.

President Ben Ali, who had already promised to step down in 2014, dissolved his government and the country's parliament, and declared a state of emergency.

The state of emergency decree bans gatherings of more than three people and imposes a night-time curfew. Security forces have been authorised to open fire on people not obeying their orders.

UK travel agents have scrambled to pull hundreds of tourists out of the country, and companies including Thomson, First Choice and Thomas Cook have cancelled flights scheduled to leave for Monastir on Sunday.

The UK, the US and France are among the countries advising against non-essential travel to Tunisia.

Mr Ben Ali, 74, was only Tunisia's second president since independence from France in 1956. He was last re-elected in 2009 with 89.62% of the vote.



### **Article No.3:**

<https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-12201042>

## **Tunisia seeks to form unity cabinet after Ben Ali fall**

16 January 2011



PM Ghannouchi has been discussing a possible unity cabinet with opposition leaders

**Tunisian political leaders have started efforts to fill the power vacuum created by the fall of President Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali amid mass protests.**

Interim leader Foued Mebazaa - who was sworn in on Saturday - promised to form a unity government.

Two days after Mr Ben Ali's flight, the country appears to be mostly quiet. A night time curfew has been eased.

The previous 24 hours had seen widespread violence, including looting, arson and deadly jail riots.

The head of Mr Ben Ali's presidential guard, Ali Seriati, has been arrested. State media say he is accused of fomenting violence and plotting against national security.

A state of emergency remains in force and there is very little economic activity. Schools, government offices and most shops are closed.

**Election demand**

The BBC's Adam Mynott in Tunis says the immediate future of the country, thrown into unprecedented turmoil, is in the hands of the military.

Mr Mebazaa, who until Saturday was the Speaker of parliament, has asked Prime Minister Mohammed Ghannouchi to form a national unity government.

"All Tunisians without exception and exclusion must be associated in the political process," Mr Mebazaa said in a televised address.

Opposition leader Najib Chebbi told France's RTL radio that he had held talks with Mr Ghannouchi on Saturday.



Some residents have formed impromptu militias to protect their homes

Mr Chebbi, who leads the Democratic Progressive Party, said his main demand was that elections should be held "within six or seven months" under international supervision.

Under the present Tunisian constitution a presidential election must be held within 60 days.

Another opposition figure, Ahmed Ben Brahim, head of centre-left Ettajdid (Renewal) party, has also held talk with Mr Ghannouchi - as has Mustafa Ben Jaafar of the Union of Freedom and Labour party, who afterwards called for "real reforms".

Further talks are being held on Sunday.

The exiled head of Tunisia's banned Islamist party, Rached Ghannouchi, said he would return to the country within weeks.

Speaking to the BBC in London, he said Tunisians had got rid of a dictator, but were a long way from bringing down the dictatorship.

## **Self-defence**

On Sunday the interim authorities announced that the curfew was being eased because of the "improving security situation".

## **Fall from power**

- **17 Dec:** Man sets himself on fire in Sidi Bouzid over lack of jobs, sparking protests
- **24 Dec:** Protester shot dead in central Tunisia
- **28 Dec:** Protests spread to Tunis
- **8-10 Jan:** Dozens of deaths reported in crackdown on protests
- **12 Jan:** Interior minister sacked
- **13 Jan:** President Ben Ali promises to step down in 2014
- **14 Jan:** Mr Ben Ali dissolves parliament after new mass rally, then steps down and flees
- **15 Jan:** Parliamentary Speaker Foued Mebazaa sworn in as interim president

## **Profile: Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali**

### **Tunisia holidaymakers back in UK**

Curfew hours - which ran from 1700 (1600GMT) to 0700 (0600GMT) for two nights - will now be between 1800 and 0500.

The centre of Tunis has been sealed off by troops guarding key public buildings.

Residents in some areas have armed themselves with sticks and clubs, forming impromptu militias to protect their homes.

A resident of Nabeul, south of Tunis, Haythem Houissa, told the BBC that he had joined a volunteer group "to help clean up and guard our city".

"The security situation is much better since yesterday," he added.

Some of the recent violence has been blamed on supporters of Mr Ben Ali.

However many attacks appeared to target businesses and buildings connected with the former president and his family.

A hospital source in Tunis told AFP news agency that Imed Trabelsi, the nephew of Mr Ben Ali's powerful wife, had been stabbed to death on Saturday.

Saturday's deadliest incident was in Monastir, about 160km (100 miles) south of Tunis, where fire swept through a prison, killing at least 42 people.

The leader of neighbouring Libya, Muammar Gaddafi, praised Mr Ben Ali, whom he said he still considered the "legal president of Tunisia".

"You have suffered a great loss... There is none better than Zine (Mr Ben Ali) to govern Tunisia," he said in a speech broadcast on state television.

In the past month, protests have swept the country over unemployment, food price rises and corruption. Police used fired on protesters and dozens died.

Mr Ben Ali, who had been in power for 23 years, fled to Saudi Arabia on Friday after the unrest culminated in a giant rally against him.

#### **Article No.4:**

<https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-12209296>

### **Tunisian bank denies gold taken by wife of president**

17 January 2011



Leila Trabelsi is the second wife of deposed President Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali

**The central bank in Tunisia has denied reports that the wife of the deposed president took 1.5 tonnes of gold bars from it before leaving the country.**

A spokesman for the bank said Leila Trabelsi "has never set foot here" nor met its governor.

The French newspaper Le Monde said she personally went to the bank to get the gold before her husband, Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali, was toppled.

They are now in Saudi Arabia after fleeing Tunisia.

Citing French security sources, Le Monde reported that Leila Trabelsi went to the bank in December, the month when the protests against her husband's government began.

It said the bank's governor refused her demand and asked for a written request for the gold, said to be worth 45m euros (£38m). It said the president initially refused to make such an order before giving in to his wife.

The paper said she then left Tunisia before returning to the country, and that the gold bars were reportedly taken to Switzerland.

But a spokesman for the bank, Zied Mouhli, told the BBC that the official in charge of payments "had never received verbal or written orders to take out gold or currency".

He added: "The gold reserves have not moved for years."

## **Article No 5:**

<https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-12213284>

### **Tunisia's Mohammed Ghannouchi defends new government**

18 January 2011



The PM hopes pledges of new freedoms will placate those angered by old faces in his new government

#### **Tunisia's PM Mohammed Ghannouchi has defended the inclusion of members of the old regime in his new government.**

The retained ministers have "clean hands", he insisted - while vowing those behind recent street "massacres" would face "justice".

President Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali was forced into exile on Friday after a month of protests in which the government now admits 78 people died.

There were reports that fresh protests on Tuesday were broken up by police.

Police used tear gas to disperse the protesters in Tunis - though reports suggested that in other parts of the city many Tunisians were getting back to their daily business.

The BBC's Wyre Davies says the new government is now tasked with speedily implementing the constitutional reforms and preparation for free and fair elections which Tunisians have been promised.

He says another urgent challenge is to begin to return economic stability to the country - the crisis is estimated to have cost it some \$2bn (£1.3bn).

Mr Ghannouchi's pledges to allow political and media freedoms do appear to have placated some protesters, but others have dismissed the new government.

"It does not really reflect what people have aspired to," the president of the Human Rights League in Tunisia, Masoud Ramadani, told the BBC.

"The demonstrations all around the country were about corruption, freedom and also were against the party of the president, which was considered as corrupt. But then we see now the ongoing presence of this political party, the presence of these people who represent the old regime."

#### **'Era of freedom'**

#### **TUNISIAN CABINET**

- Mohammed Ghannouchi stays on as prime minister. A Ben Ali ally, he has been in the job since 1999, keeping post throughout unrest
- Interior Minister Ahmed Friaa, appointed by Mr Ben Ali to mollify demonstrators, retains post
- Foreign Minister Kamal Morjane retains post
- Najib Chebbi, founder of opposition Progressive Democratic Party, named as development minister
- Ahmed Ibrahim, leader of opposition Ettajdid party, named minister of higher education
- Mustafa Ben Jaafar, leader of opposition Union of Freedom and Labour, named health minister
- Slim Amamou, prominent blogger who was arrested during protests, is secretary of state for youth and sport

**In pictures: Tunisia's lingering unrest**  
**'1,000 Britons' remain in Tunisia**  
**Tunisian bank denies gold taken**

In the interview with French radio Europe 1 on Tuesday, Mr Ghannouchi described Tunisia as going through a "historic change".

He repeated pledges made on Monday of a new "era of freedom", which would see political parties free to operate and a free press.

He said free and fair elections would be held within six months, controlled by an independent election commission and monitored by international observers.

Mr Ghannouchi - himself an ally of the former president - described himself as a "transition" leader and said he did not claim to be "legitimate".

Despite vowing that those behind the deaths of protesters should face justice, when asked whether he thought Mr Ben Ali himself should face trial, he replied: "I cannot say that."

Mr Ghannouchi defended ministers who retained their jobs in his new unity government, saying that they were "needed" and had always acted "to preserve the international interest".

The foreign, interior and defence ministers all kept their jobs when Mr Ghannouchi unveiled the new administration on Monday - though three prominent opposition figures were named to key posts.

**Fall from power**



Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali was only Tunisia's second president since independence from France in 1956

- **17 Dec:** A graduate sets himself on fire in Sidi Bouzid over lack of jobs, sparking protests
- **24 Dec:** Protester shot dead in central Tunisia
- **28 Dec:** Protests spread to Tunis
- **8-10 Jan:** Dozens of deaths reported in crackdown on protests
- **12 Jan:** Interior minister sacked
- **13 Jan:** President Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali promises to step down in 2014
- **14 Jan:** Mr Ben Ali dissolves government and parliament, then steps down
- **17 Jan:** New unity cabinet announced

**Profile: Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali**

Ahmed Ibrahim, leader of the opposition Ettajdid party, becomes minister of higher education, while Mustafa Ben Jaafar, of the Union of Freedom and Labour, is to serve as health minister.

Najib Chebbi, founder of the Progressive Democratic Party, was named as Tunisia's new development minister.

But Mr Ghannouchi told Europe 1 that the head of Tunisia's banned Islamist party al-Nahda, Rached Ghannouchi, would only be allowed to return to Tunisia if a life sentence imposed on him in 1991 was cancelled by an amnesty.

Responding to a question about claims that it was really Mr Ben Ali's wife, Leila Trabelsi, who held the reins of power towards the end of his rule, Mr Ghannouchi replied: "We have that impression".

Unrest in Tunisia grew over several weeks, with widespread protests over high unemployment and high food prices pitching demonstrators against Tunisia's police and military.

The British and other western governments earlier indicated they expected more reforms and political freedoms to be announced, our correspondent says.

But there has been little official reaction from other authoritarian governments in North Africa and the wider Arab world, he adds.

**Article No.6:**

<https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-12233850>

**Ousted Tunisian leader Ben Ali's family 'arrested'**

20 January 2011



Protesters want the unity government to exclude members of Mr Ben Ali's RCD party

**Some 33 members of ousted Tunisian leader Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali's family have been arrested, state TV has said.**

They were held over the past few days as they tried to leave the country.

In a televised speech, interim leader Fouad Mebazaa vowed a "total break" with the past, an independent justice system and media freedoms.

In a separate development, the new government said it had freed all political prisoners. The reported move comes after weeks of mass protests.

State television showed what it said was gold and jewellery found during raids on the family members' properties. It is not known which family members have been arrested.

Swiss officials estimate Tunisian government officials have put about \$620m into Swiss banks, the Associated Press news agency reports.

In Paris, the anti-corruption group Transparency International France and two other associations have filed a legal case alleging corruption by Mr Ben Ali and his wife.

More than 100 people have reportedly died in the unrest, the UN said, promising to carry out an investigation.

Hundreds of protesters took to the streets again in the Tunisian capital Tunis, urging allies of the ousted president to stop clinging to power.

**All the people who came to this unity government will resign if the elections are not free and fair or the measures we have decided on are not carried out immediately**  
**Najib Chebbi, Unity government minister**

**Tunisia unity cabinet: Your views**  
**Return of Tunisia's opposition**  
**Tunisia's credit rating downgraded**

Waving banners and chanting, they called for all links to the old regime to be severed.

However, riot police did not respond with tear gas or water cannon, the BBC's Wyre Davies in Tunis reports.

While the situation remains tense, curfew hours have been reduced, traffic on the streets is increasing, political cartoons have appeared in the newly free press and some shops and businesses are reopening, our correspondent says.

"I guarantee that this transition government will ensure a total break with the past," Mr Mebazaa said on Wednesday.

"Together we can write a new page in the history of our country."

In his address to the nation Mr Mebazaa also thanked the army for helping to maintain security, saying that the situation was returning to normal.

"We have discovered those responsible for the terror in our country. We have arrested these armed gangs."

### **Private jet**

As the political turmoil continues, Tunisia's national unity cabinet is reported to have postponed its first meeting.

### **TUNISIAN CABINET**

- Mohammed Ghannouchi stays on as prime minister; a Ben Ali ally, he has been in the job since 1999, keeping his post throughout the unrest
- Interior Minister Ahmed Friaa, appointed by Mr Ben Ali to mollify demonstrators, retains post
- Foreign Minister Kamal Morjane retains post
- Najib Chebbi, founder of opposition Progressive Democratic Party, named as development minister
- Ahmed Ibrahim, leader of opposition Ettajdid party, named minister of higher education
- Mustafa ben Jaafar, leader of opposition Union of Freedom and Labour, named health minister but refused to take office
- Slim Amamou, prominent blogger who was arrested during protests, becomes secretary of state for youth and sport

### **Tunisia: Key players**

### **Q&A: Tunisia crisis**

### **Return of Tunisia's opposition**

Ministers in the new interim government are currently discussing how to resolve deep divisions over the inclusion in key posts of members of the former government.

One of them, opposition leader Najib Chebbi, told the BBC's Hardtalk programme he would resign if a free election failed to materialise within seven months.

"All the people who came to this unity government will resign if the elections are not free and fair or the measures we have decided on are not carried out immediately."

Mr Ben Ali fled to Saudi Arabia on Friday following a spate of violent protests across Tunisia over unemployment, poverty and corruption.

Four opponents of Mr Ben Ali resigned from the new unity government within a day of being appointed, in protest at the number of ministers from the old regime who were still included.

In Geneva, Swiss Foreign Minister Micheline Calmy-Rey announced a decision to freeze any funds of Mr Ben Ali's held there.

Ms Calmy-Rey said Bern acted to prevent assets being withdrawn and also to ensure that a new Tunisian administration would be able to retrieve assets taken illicitly.

The ban also applies to any assets held by "his entourage", the foreign ministry said in a statement.

A Swiss judicial source told Reuters news agency that an association of Tunisians living in Switzerland had sought the freezing of assets including a building on Geneva's exclusive Rue du Rhone and a Falcon 9000 jet said to be at Geneva airport.

In other developments on Wednesday, the head of the Arab League, Amr Moussa, linked the upheaval in Tunisia to deteriorating economic conditions throughout the Arab world.

"The Arab soul is broken by poverty, unemployment and general recession," he said at the opening of an Arab League summit in the Egyptian resort of Sharm el-Sheikh.

**Article No.7:**

<https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-12247758>

**Tunisia starts mourning for unrest deaths**

- 21 January 2011



Protests have continued against the deposed leader's political party

**Tunisia is beginning three days of mourning to honour those who died in the unrest that led to the fall of President Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali.**

At least 78 people have been killed since a wave of protests began last December.

A new, interim government has faced continuing protests against Mr Ben Ali's RCD party remaining in office.

It has confirmed it will recognise banned political groups and provide an amnesty for political prisoners.

National flags are flying at half-mast and state TV is broadcasting Koranic prayers.

The BBC's Magdi Abdelhadi in the capital, Tunis, says the state broadcaster has been transformed in the week since Mr Ben Ali fled the country.

From a mouthpiece for the ousted president, he says it is now trying to present itself as the voice of the people, displaying images that glorify angry young men throwing stones at the police.

The announcement of the national mourning came as the government held its first cabinet meeting.

Cabinet ministers said earlier this week that all political prisoners had already been freed.

Human rights group Amnesty International welcomed that move, but said it had received information that several political prisoners linked to the banned Islamist party Ennahda were still in detention.

Tunisia's new cabinet has promised to hold free and fair elections within six months but has given no dates. The constitution says they should be held within 60 days.

There were demonstrations in Tunis on Thursday near offices of Mr Ben Ali's RCD party, as well as reports of rallies in the towns of Gafsa and Kef.

**Fall from power**

- **17 Dec:** Man sets himself on fire in Sidi Bouzid over lack of jobs, sparking protests
- **24 Dec:** Protester shot dead in central Tunisia

- **28 Dec:** Protests spread to Tunis
- **8-10 Jan:** Dozens of deaths reported in crackdown on protests
- **12 Jan:** Interior minister sacked
- **13 Jan:** President Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali promises to step down in 2014
- **14 Jan:** Mr Ben Ali dissolves parliament after new mass rally, then steps down and flees
- **15 Jan:** Parliamentary Speaker Foued Mebazaa sworn in as interim president

Demonstrators are demanding that all members of the RCD party be excluded from any future administration.

Last week four opposition ministers quit the cabinet just one day after it was formed, demanding the exclusion of RCD ministers.

Prime Minister Mohammed Ghannouchi, interim President Fouad Mebazaa - the speaker of the lower house of parliament - and several ministers have quit the RCD to try to distance themselves from Mr Ben Ali.

The RCD has also dissolved its central committee.

It has been a week since Mr Ben Ali fled to Saudi Arabia following a wave of demonstrations.

The UN says as many as 100 people died as the police cracked down on the protests, which started to spread after a man set himself on fire in central Tunisia on 17 December.

Correspondents say political debate in the media and the street has opened up remarkably quickly in a country where political dissent had previously been strictly suppressed.

## **Article No.8:**

<https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-12257631>

### **Tunisian PM Mohamed Ghannouchi pledges to quit politics**

22 January 2011



Police officers at a demonstration in Tunis said they too were victims of the former regime

**Tunisia's prime minister has promised to leave politics after elections being planned in the wake of President Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali's fall last week.**

In a TV interview on Friday, Mohamed Ghannouchi said he would quit "in the shortest possible timeframe".

His interim government has promised to hold polls within six months, but it has so far not set a date.

On Saturday, thousands of protesters, including police, took to the streets of Tunis to demand the cabinet resign.

The BBC's Magdi Abdelhadi, in the Tunisian capital, says the police participation was a very dramatic development - until a week ago they were defending the now-ousted government of Mr Ben Ali.

The officers insisted that they had not been to blame for the deaths of dozens of protesters since mid-December, with many chanting: "We are innocent of the blood of the martyrs!"

They also called for the creation of a police union and better pay.

Later, Tunisians held a candlelit vigil to mark the second of three days of mourning for those killed during the uprising that prompted Mr Ben Ali and his family to flee to Saudi Arabia on 14 January.

### **'Anti-democratic laws'**

Ministers in the interim government are reported to have been meeting in a special closed-session on Saturday to discuss how to restore calm.



Tunisians held a candlelit vigil to remember those killed during the uprising that toppled Mr Ben Ali

Prime Minister Ghannouchi, who was a key ally of the ousted president, made an emotional plea for patience on television on Friday.

He said he would retire from public life after the elections, and promised that all "anti-democratic laws" would be repealed by the transition cabinet.

"I lived like Tunisians and I feared like Tunisians," he said. "I pledge to stop all my political activity after my period leading the transitional government."

At least 78 people have been killed since a wave of protests began last December, although the UN estimates that the death toll has exceeded 100.

Three days of mourning began on Friday. Flags were lowered, and at the Quds mosque in Tunis, an imam prayed for the dead and for democracy, the Reuters news agency reported.

At Friday prayers, there was none of the heavy security around mosques seen under Mr Ben Ali's rule, nor the customary mentions of the former president by imams.

### **'National salvation'**

Mr Ghannouchi has left Mr Ben Ali's ruling Democratic Constitutional Rally (RCD) party and insisted that members of the interim government who served in the previous administration - including the ministers of defence, interior, finance and foreign affairs - have "clean hands".

### **A prime minister who served more than 10 years in a dictatorship isn't able to build a democracy** **Moncef Marzouki, Leader, CPR party**

But the country's main trade union, the General Tunisian Workers' Union (UGTT), has called for a new administration with no links with the ousted regime.

The UGTT's deputy head, Abid Briki, told the AFP news agency that such a "national salvation government" was "in accordance with the demands of the street and political parties".

A protest march backed by the UGTT, called the "Caravan of Liberation", set off from central Tunisia for the capital on Saturday, reaching the town of Regueb by nightfall.

"The aim of this caravan is to make the government fall," Rabia Slimane, a teacher in Menzel Bouzaiane - the town where the first victim of the uprising was killed by security forces in December - told AFP.

Opposition CPR party leader Moncef Marzouki, who returned to Tunisia on Tuesday after two decades of exile in Paris, said Prime Minister Ghannouchi was a "factor of instability".

"A prime minister who served more than 10 years in a dictatorship isn't able to build a democracy," he said.

"Tunisia is at a crossroads, and needs stability, a return of confidence and hope," he added. "This is a delicate phase."

## **Fall from power**

- **17 Dec:** Man sets himself on fire in Sidi Bouzid over lack of jobs, sparking protests
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- **14 Jan:** Mr Ben Ali dissolves parliament after new mass rally, then steps down and flees
- **15 Jan:** Parliamentary Speaker Foued Mebazaa sworn in as interim president

The government has faced continuing protests against figures from the previous regime remaining in positions of power.

Four opposition ministers quit over the issue, just one day after the cabinet was formed.

The interim cabinet has promised to release all political prisoners and said previously banned political groups will now be legal.

It has also announced that 33 members of Mr Ben Ali's family have been arrested.

According to Interior Minister Ahmed Friia, one of those was Imed Trabelsi, a nephew of Mr Ben Ali's wife, who was previously reported to have been stabbed to death.

Mr Ghannouchi also said on Friday that Tunisia would pay compensation to victims of abuse during Mr Ben Ali's rule, Reuters reported.

Mr Ben Ali fled to Saudi Arabia following a wave of demonstrations attributed to economic grievances and resentment about a lack of political freedom.

His extended family was widely despised because of its conspicuous consumption and perceived corruption.

The protests against his rule began after a man set himself on fire in central Tunisia on 17 December.

**Article No.9:**

<https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-12260485>

**Tunisian PM Mohamed Ghannouchi under pressure to quit**

23 January 2011



**Police officers who previously defended the Ben Ali regime joined the protests.**

**Tunisian protesters have been stepping up calls for Prime Minister Mohamed Ghannouchi and his cabinet to resign.**

Protests in Tunis and other cities have continued, while the main trade union has begun a march on the capital.

On Sunday, there is a final day of mourning for those killed in the unrest that led to the toppling of President Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali last week.

Mr Ghannouchi, who long served under Mr Ben Ali, has promised to leave politics after elections.

A vote is expected to be held in the next six months, though no date has yet been set.

The ongoing protests in Tunisia come amid speculation over whether unrest could spread to other countries.

In Algeria, police broke up an anti-government demonstration on Saturday by about 300 protesters calling for greater freedoms.

**'Clean hands'**

Mr Ghannouchi has left Mr Ben Ali's ruling Democratic Constitutional Rally (RCD) party and insisted that figures from the previous regime who have remained in positions of power - including the ministers of defence, interior, finance and foreign affairs - have "clean hands".

**We will look into the reason those who held guns or knives struck those with empty hands who called for bread and freedom**  
**Taoufik Bouderbala, National Commission to Investigate Abuses**

But this has failed to satisfy many opposition figures and protesters.

On Saturday policemen were among those protesting. They had defended the regime of former President Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali before he was ousted last week.

The BBC's Magdi Abdelhadi, in the Tunisian capital, says the police participation in the protests was a very dramatic development.

The police claimed that they were not to blame for the deaths of dozens of protesters since mid-December, with many chanting: "We are innocent of the blood of the martyrs!"

Authorities have promised to look into possible abuses in the deaths of protesters.

"We will look into the reason those who held guns or knives struck those with empty hands who called for bread and freedom," said Taoufik Bouderbala, head of the National Commission to Investigate Abuses, in comments reported by Reuters news agency.

The official death toll during the unrest leading to Mr Ben Ali's flight was 78, though the UN says more than 100 people died.

People held candle lit vigils on the second of three days of mourning for those killed in recent unrest. **'Caravan of Liberation'**

Among those calling for a new administration is the country's main trade union, the General Tunisian Workers' Union (UGTT).

It has backed a protest march dubbed the "Caravan of Liberation", which set off from central Tunisia for the capital on Saturday, reaching the town of Regueb by nightfall.

### **Fall from power**

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"The aim of this caravan is to make the government fall," Rabia Slimane, a teacher in Menzel Bouzaiane - the town where the first victim of the uprising was killed by security forces in December - told AFP news agency.

Opposition CPR party leader Moncef Marzouki, who returned to Tunisia on Tuesday after two decades of exile in Paris, said Prime Minister Ghannouchi was a "factor of instability".

"A prime minister who served more than 10 years in a dictatorship isn't able to build a democracy," he said.

Meanwhile, US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton called on Mr Ghannouchi "to encourage ongoing reforms, and pledged support for transition to open democracy," according to state department spokesman Philip Crowley.

Primary school teachers were reported to be planning a strike against the current government, which could hamper plans to reopen schools and universities this week. They have been closed since the final days of the unrest.

Protests against Mr Ben Ali's government began in December, driven by economic grievances and resentment about political repression.

Particular anger was directed at the former president's family, widely despised for its conspicuous consumption and perceived corruption.

As the protests continued to escalate, Mr Ben Ali and his wife fled to Saudi Arabia on 14 January.

Tunisian officials say they have arrested 33 members of Mr Ben Ali's family. On Saturday, AFP quoted a Canadian official as saying that one of the ex-president's brothers-in-law had fled to Montreal.

**Article No.10:**

<https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-12270294>

## **France investigates Tunisia's Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali**

- 24 January 2011



Prosecutors will look into the properties Mr Ben Ali owns in France

**The Paris state prosecutor's office says it has opened a preliminary investigation into the property assets held by ousted Tunisian leader Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali in France.**

Mr Ben Ali fled his country earlier this month following a number of violent protests.

Separately, the head of Tunisia's armed forces has warned a power vacuum there could lead to a dictatorship.

Gen Rachid Ammar was addressing anti-government protesters.

"Our revolution, your revolution, the revolution of the young, risks being lost... There are forces that are calling for a void, a power vacuum. The void brings terror, which brings dictatorship," he told the crowd.

The investigation in Paris was opened after three rights groups filed a legal case against the former leader over corruption during his 23-year rule.

The groups - Sherpa, Transparency International France and the Arab Commission for Human Rights - accuse Mr Ben Ali of corruption, misusing public funds and money-laundering, the AFP news agency reports.

They estimate the wealth amassed by the former leader and his entourage at \$5bn (£3bn).

Mr Ben Ali, who has sought refuge in Saudi Arabia, has not so far commented on the allegations.

But last week, Tunisian central bank officials denied reports that the wife of the deposed president took 1.5 tonnes of gold bars from the central bank before leaving the country.

In other developments:

- A ministerial reshuffle in Tunisia is said to be imminent, reports say. Earlier, political sources said Tunisian politicians were trying to set up a committee of "wise men" to replace the interim government after coming under pressure to remove ministers linked to Mr Ben Ali.
- The owner of a private television station in Tunisia, Hannibal TV, who was arrested on Sunday, has been released. Larbi Nasra, a relative of the former president's wife, said treason charges against him had been dropped.
- In Algiers, a second Algerian man has died after setting himself on fire, hospital staff quoted by AFP have said - the latest in a series of self-immolations apparently inspired by the one that sparked the protests in Tunisia.
- A senior US envoy, Jeffrey Feltman, is visiting Tunisia to press the government on democratic reforms and new elections, the State Department has said, according to AFP.

- **Other investigations**

Last week, Tunisian prosecutors said they would be investigating the foreign assets of Mr Ben Ali and his family, including possible illegal transactions and foreign bank accounts.

Some 33 members of Mr Ben Ali's family were held over claims that they had plundered the nation's resources.

The move came as Swiss officials ordered a freeze on any funds held there by Mr Ben Ali, which they say was to prevent assets being withdrawn and also to ensure that a new Tunisian administration would be able to retrieve assets if they were taken illicitly.

Last week, the EU also said it was close to agreeing to a freeze of assets belonging to Mr Ben Ali and his family.

# Appendix 2: screen shots of the data

## Article No (1)

The screenshot shows a BBC News article from January 14, 2011. The main headline is "Tunisians react as president steps down". The article text describes the political situation in Tunisia, mentioning President Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali and the declaration of a state of emergency. It includes two photographs: one of a sunset over a city and another of a street scene with a yellow taxi. The article is written by Richard Field and Amel Gaaloul. On the right side, there is a "Top Stories" section with links to articles about Brexit plans, a Premier League striker, and UK employment. Below that is a "Features" section with links to articles about mixed-race individuals in Cambridge, the European Commission, climate change, migrant caravans, and Marie Kondo.

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### Tunisians react as president steps down

14 January 2011

Tunisia's president has stepped down after 23 years in power amid unprecedented protests on the streets of the capital Tunis.

A state of emergency has been declared in Tunisia amid protests over corruption, unemployment and inflation.

On Friday, BBC News website readers in Tunisia spoke about the situation.

**Richard Field, Tunis**

Everyone wants President Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali to go now - news that he has stepped down is not a surprise.

I've lived in Tunis for the last four-and-a-half years as a teacher. Tunisia has always been a very safe and relaxed country, but I think this situation was bound to happen. The Tunisians are resentful and the government does nothing to help them.

I decided to go out this afternoon to see whether any shops were open and it was completely chaotic. I was shocked to find that everything had been broken. It was impossible to drive anywhere because of the rubbish, teargas canisters and things smouldering on the street.

**Amel Gaaloul, Tunis**

We're all very happy that Ben Ali has left the country. We're singing and dancing. We were hoping he would leave earlier but at least he is gone.

We managed to work together to throw him out - and a lot of that was down to the internet and social networking.

We are now hoping for a fair and transparent government. Anything can happen now.

Everybody was walking about earlier - with about 200 to 300 people in the middle. The atmosphere was peaceful at first - people were clapping and everything was calm. There were families and a lot of professionals around. I met up with a lot of people I worked with.

But when the police arrived the attitude changed. The police just started hitting people, it was terrible. We didn't know if we were going to get shot. I managed to escape just before the police started throwing teargas at everyone.

At the same time we were all trying to find out what was going on and we were speaking via Facebook and Twitter.

It was worrying as there was a lot of looting going on at the same time - but it was

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- Europeese Commission**
- The battle on the frontline of climate change**
- Migrant caravan: 'I left without telling my mum'**
- Marie Kondo 'sparks joy' for charity shops**

## Tunisia: Ex-President Ben Ali flees to Saudi Arabia

15 January 2011

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**Tunisian President Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali has fled with his family to Saudi Arabia, after being forced from office after 23 years in power.**

The 74-year-old leader conceded power after protests over economic issues escalated into rallies against him.

Prime Minister Mohammed Ghannouchi has taken over as interim president, and a state of emergency has been declared.



President Ben Ali resigned after weeks of unrest over corruption and unemployment

### Tunisian transition

"We are at the service of the Tunisian people. Our country does not deserve everything that is happening. We must regain the trust of citizens in the government," he added.

However, it is not yet clear whether protesters will accept Mr Ghannouchi's interim leadership, or take to the streets for further demonstrations.

The BBC's Wyre Davies in Tunis said many protesters had ignored the curfew to celebrate on the streets on Friday evening.

Our correspondent says they will now want to see the fruits of their demonstrations, and will not settle for the elite remaining in power.

### 'New government'

Mr Ghannouchi, a 69-year-old former finance minister who has been prime minister since 1999, has said he will meet representatives of political parties on Saturday to form a government, calling it a "decisive day".

He said he hoped the new government would "meet expectations".

The wave of protests began in mid-December after an unemployed graduate set himself on fire when he protested against the government since independence from France in 1956. He was last re-elected in 2009 with 89.62% of the vote.

### Fall from power



Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali was only Tunisia's second president since independence from France in 1956

- 17 Dec: A graduate sets himself on fire in Sidi Bouzid over lack of jobs, sparking protests
- 24 Dec: Protester shot dead in central Tunisia



Are you in Tunisia? Have you been affected by the violence? Send us your comments using the form below.

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## Tunisia **seeks** to form unity cabinet after Ben Ali fall

16 January 2011

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Tunisian political leaders have started efforts to fill the power vacuum created by the fall of President Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali amid mass protests.

Interim leader Foued Mebazaa - who was sworn in on Saturday - promised to form a unity government.

Two days after Mr Ben Ali's flight, the country appears to be mostly quiet. A night time curfew has been eased.

The previous 24 hours had seen widespread violence, including looting, arson and deadly jail riots.



PM Ghannouchi has been discussing a possible unity cabinet with opposition leaders

### Tunisian transition

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### Election demand

The BBC's Adam Mynott in Tunis says the immediate future of the country, thrown into unprecedented turmoil, is in the hands of the military.

Mr Mebazaa, who until Saturday was the Speaker of parliament, has asked Prime Minister Mohammed Ghannouchi to form a national unity government.

"All Tunisians without exception and exclusion must be associated in the political process," Mr Mebazaa said in a televised address.

Opposition leader Najib Chebbi told France's RTL radio that he had held talks with Mr Ghannouchi on Saturday.

Mr Chebbi, who leads the Democratic Progressive Party, said his main demand was that elections should be held "within six or seven months" under international supervision.

Under the present Tunisian constitution a presidential election must be held within 60 days.

Another opposition figure, Ahmed Ben Brahim, head of centre-left Ettajdid (Renewal) party, has also held talk with Mr Ghannouchi - as has Mustafa Ben Jaafar of the Union of Freedom and



Some residents have formed impromptu militias to protect their homes

### Self-defence

On Sunday the interim authorities announced that the curfew was being eased because of the "improving security situation".

Curfew hours - which ran from 1700 (1600GMT) to 0700 (0600GMT) for two nights - will now be between 1800 and 0500.

The centre of Tunis has been sealed off by troops guarding key public buildings.

Residents in some areas have armed themselves with sticks and clubs, forming impromptu militias to protect their homes.

A resident of Nabeul, south of Tunis, Haythem Houissa, told the BBC that he had joined a volunteer group "to help clean up and guard our city".

"The security situation is much better since yesterday," he added.

Some of the recent violence has been blamed on supporters of Mr Ben Ali.

However many attacks appeared to target businesses and buildings connected with the former president and his family.

### Fall from power

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## Tunisian bank denies gold taken by wife of president

17 January 2011

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The central bank in Tunisia has denied reports that the wife of the deposed president took 1.5 tonnes of gold bars from it before leaving the country.

A spokesman for the bank said Leila Trabelsi "has never set foot here" nor met its governor.

The French newspaper Le Monde said she personally went to the bank to get the gold before her husband, Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali, was toppled



Leila Trabelsi is the second wife of deposed President Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali

to get the gold before her husband, Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali, was toppled.

They are now in Saudi Arabia after fleeing Tunisia.

Citing French security sources, Le Monde reported that Leila Trabelsi went to the bank in December, the month when the protests against her husband's government began.

It said the bank's governor refused her demand and asked for a written request for the gold, said to be worth 45m euros (£38m). It said the president initially refused to make such an order before giving in to his wife.

The paper said she then left Tunisia before returning to the country, and that the gold bars were reportedly taken to Switzerland.

But a spokesman for the bank, Zied Mouhli, told the BBC that the official in charge of payments "had never received verbal or written orders to take out gold or currency".

He added: "The gold reserves have not moved for years."

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## Tunisia's Mohammed Ghannouchi defends new government

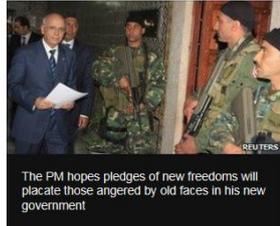
18 January 2011

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**Tunisia's PM Mohammed Ghannouchi has defended the inclusion of members of the old regime in his new government.**

The retained ministers have "clean hands", he insisted - while vowing those behind recent street "massacres" would face "justice".

President Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali was forced into exile on Friday after a month of protests in which the government now admits 78 people died.



The PM hopes pledges of new freedoms will placate those angered by old faces in his new government

### Tunisian transition

There were reports that fresh protests on Tuesday

"It does not really reflect what people have aspired to," the president of the Human Rights League in Tunisia, Masoud Ramadani, told the BBC.

"The demonstrations all around the country were about corruption, freedom and also were against the party of the president, which was considered as corrupt. But then we see now the ongoing presence of this political party, the presence of these people who represent the old regime."

### 'Era of freedom'

In the interview with French radio Europe 1 on Tuesday, Mr Ghannouchi described Tunisia as going through a "historic change".

He repeated pledges made on Monday of a new "era of freedom", which would see political parties free to operate and a free press.

He said free and fair elections would be held within six months, controlled by an independent election commission and monitored by international observers.

Mr Ghannouchi - himself an ally of the former president - described himself as a "transition" leader and said he did not claim to be "legitimate".

Despite vowing that those behind the deaths of protesters should face justice, when asked whether

### TUNISIAN CABINET

- Mohammed Ghannouchi stays on as prime minister. A Ben Ali ally, he has been in the job since 1999, keeping post throughout unrest
- Interior Minister Ahmed Friaa, appointed by Mr Ben Ali to mollify demonstrators, retains post
- Foreign Minister Kamal Morjane retains post

Mustafa Derbali, of the Union of Freedom and Labour, is to serve as health minister.

Najib Chebbi, founder of the Progressive Democratic Party, was named as Tunisia's new development minister.

But Mr Ghannouchi told Europe 1 that the head of Tunisia's banned Islamist party al-Nahda, Rached Ghannouchi, would only be allowed to return to Tunisia if a life sentence imposed on him in 1991 was cancelled by an amnesty.

Responding to a question about claims that it was really Mr Ben Ali's wife, Leila Trabelsi, who held the reins of power towards the end of his rule, Mr Ghannouchi replied: "We have that impression".

Unrest in Tunisia grew over several weeks, with widespread protests over high unemployment and high food prices pitching demonstrators against Tunisia's police and military.

The British and other western governments earlier indicated they expected more reforms and political freedoms to be announced, our correspondent says.

But there has been little official reaction from other authoritarian governments in North Africa and the wider Arab world, he adds.

blogger who was arrested during protests, is secretary of state for youth and sport

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Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali was only Tunisia's second president since independence from France in 1956

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## Ousted Tunisian leader Ben Ali's family 'arrested'

20 January 2011 Share

**Some 33 members of ousted Tunisian leader Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali's family have been arrested, state TV has said.**

They were held over the past few days as they tried to leave the country.

In a televised speech, interim leader Fouad Mebazaa vowed a "total break" with the past, an independent justice



Protesters want the unity government to exclude members of Mr Ben Ali's RCD party

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In a separate development, the new government said it had freed all political prisoners. The reported move comes after weeks of mass protests.

State television showed what it said was gold and jewellery found during raids on the family members' properties. It is not known which family members have been arrested.

Swiss officials estimate Tunisian government officials have put about \$620m into Swiss banks, the Associated Press news agency reports.

In Paris, the anti-corruption group Transparency International France and two other associations have filed a legal case alleging corruption by Mr Ben Ali and his wife.

More than 100 people have reportedly died in the unrest, the UN said, promising to carry out an investigation.

Hundreds of protesters took to the streets again in the Tunisian capital Tunis, urging allies of the ousted president to stop clinging to power.

Waving banners and chanting, they called for all links

Waving banners and chanting, they called for all links to the old regime to be severed.

However, riot police did not respond with tear gas or water cannon, the BBC's Wyre Davies in Tunis reports.

While the situation remains tense, curfew hours have been reduced, traffic on the streets is increasing, political cartoons have appeared in the newly free press and some shops and businesses are reopening, our correspondent says.

"I guarantee that this transition government will ensure a total break with the past," Mr Mebazaa said on Wednesday.

"Together we can write a new page in the history of our country."

In his address to the nation Mr Mebazaa also thanked the army for helping to maintain security, saying that the situation was returning to normal.

"We have discovered those responsible for the terror in our country. We have arrested these armed gangs."

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**All the people who came to this unity government will resign if the elections are not free and fair or the measures we have decided on are not carried out immediately**

Najib Chebbi, Unity government minister

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## Tunisia starts mourning for unrest deaths

21 January 2011

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Tunisia is beginning three days of mourning to honour those who died in the unrest that led to the fall of President Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali.

At least 78 people have been killed since a wave of protests began last December.

A new, interim government has faced continuing protests against Mr Ben Ali's RCD party, recognised in office.



Protests have continued against the deposed leader's political party

It has confirmed it will recognise banned political groups and provide an amnesty for political prisoners.

National flags are flying at half-mast and state TV is broadcasting Koranic prayers.

The BBC's Magdi Abdelhadi in the capital, Tunis, says the state broadcaster has been transformed in the week since Mr Ben Ali fled the country.

From a mouthpiece for the ousted president, he says it is now trying to present itself as the voice of the people, displaying images that glorify angry young men throwing stones at the police.

The announcement of the national mourning came as the government held its first cabinet meeting.

Cabinet ministers said earlier this week that all political prisoners had already been freed.

Human rights group Amnesty International welcomed that move, but said it had received information that several political prisoners linked to the banned Islamist party Ennahda were still in detention.

Tunisia's new cabinet has promised to hold free and fair elections within six months.

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Demonstrators are demanding that all members of the RCD party be excluded from any future administration.

Last week four opposition ministers quit the cabinet just one day after it was formed, demanding the exclusion of RCD ministers.

Prime Minister Mohammed Ghannouchi, interim President Fouad Mebazaa - the speaker of the lower house of parliament - and several ministers have quit the RCD to try to distance themselves from Mr Ben Ali.

The RCD has also dissolved its central committee.

It has been a week since Mr Ben Ali fled to Saudi Arabia following a wave of demonstrations.

The UN says as many as 100 people died as the police cracked down on the protests, which started to spread after a man set himself on fire in central Tunisia on 17 December.

Correspondents say political debate in the media and the street has opened up remarkably quickly in a country where political dissent had previously been

### Fall from power

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- **24 Dec:** Protester shot dead in central Tunisia
- **28 Dec:** Protests spread to Tunis
- **8-10 Jan:** Dozens of deaths reported in crackdown on protests
- **12 Jan:** Interior minister sacked
- **13 Jan:** President Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali promises to step down in 2014
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# Tunisian PM Mohamed Ghannouchi pledges to quit politics

22 January 2011

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Tunisia's prime minister has promised to leave politics after elections being planned in the wake of President Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali's fall last week.

In a TV interview on Friday, Mohamed Ghannouchi said he would quit "in the shortest possible timeframe".

His interim government has promised to hold polls within six months, but it has so far not set a date.



Police officers at a demonstration in Tunisia said they too were victims of the former regime

On Saturday, thousands of protesters, including police, took to the streets of Tunis to demand the

## Tunisian transition

Later, Tunisians held a candlelit vigil to mark the second of three days of mourning for those killed during the uprising that prompted Mr Ben Ali and his family to flee to Saudi Arabia on 14 January.

### 'Anti-democratic laws'

Ministers in the interim government are reported to have been meeting in a special closed-session on Saturday to discuss how to restore calm.

Prime Minister Ghannouchi, who was a key ally of the ousted president, made an emotional plea for patience on television on Friday.

He said he would retire from public life after the elections, and promised that all "anti-democratic laws" would be repealed by the transition cabinet.

"I lived like Tunisians and I feared like Tunisians," he said. "I pledge to stop all my political activity after my period leading the transitional government."



Tunisians held a candlelit vigil to remember those killed during the uprising that toppled Mr Ben Ali

At least 78 people have been killed since a wave of protests began last December, although the UN estimates that the death toll has exceeded 100.

Three days of mourning began on Friday. Flags were lowered, and at the Quds mosque in Tunis, prayers were held for the dead and for democracy, the Reuters

## 'National salvation'

Mr Ghannouchi has left Mr Ben Ali's ruling Democratic Constitutional Rally (RCD) party and insisted that members of the interim government who served in the previous administration - including the ministers of defence, interior, finance and foreign affairs - have "clean hands".

But the country's main trade union, the General Tunisian Workers' Union (UGTT), has called for a new administration with no links with the ousted regime.

The UGTT's deputy head, Abid Briki, told the AFP news agency that such a "national salvation government" was "in accordance with the demands of the street and political parties".

A protest march backed by the UGTT, called the "Caravan of Liberation", set off from central Tunisia for the capital on Saturday, reaching the town of Regueb by nightfall.

"The aim of this caravan is to make the government fall," Rabia Slimane, a teacher in Menzel Bouzaiane - the town where the first victim of the uprising was killed by security forces in December - told AFP.

Opposition CPR party leader Moncef Marzouki, who returned to Tunisia on Tuesday after two decades of exile in Paris, said Prime Minister Ghannouchi was a

A prime minister who served more than 10 years in a dictatorship isn't able to build a democracy Moncef Marzouki, Leader, CPR party

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# Tunisian PM Mohamed Ghannouchi under pressure to quit

23 January 2011

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## Tunisian protesters have been stepping up calls for Tunisian transition

On Sunday, there is a final day of mourning for those killed in the unrest that led to the toppling of President Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali last week.

Mr Ghannouchi, who long served under Mr Ben Ali, has promised to leave politics after elections.

A vote is expected to be held in the next six months, though no date has yet been set.

The ongoing protests in Tunisia come amid speculation over whether unrest could spread to other countries.

In Algeria, police broke up an anti-government demonstration on Saturday by about 300 protesters calling for greater freedoms.

**'Clean hands'**

Mr Ghannouchi has left Mr Ben Ali's ruling Democratic Constitutional Rally (RCD) party and insisted that figures from the previous regime who have remained in positions of power - including the ministers of defence, interior, finance and foreign affairs - have "clean hands".

But this has failed to satisfy many opposition figures and protesters.

On Saturday policemen were among those protesting. They had defended the regime of former President Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali before he was ousted last week.

The BBC's Magdi Abdelhadi, in the Tunisian capital, says the police participation in the protests was a very dramatic development.

The police claimed that they were not to blame for the deaths of dozens of protesters since mid-December, with many chanting: "We are innocent of the blood of the martyrs!"

Authorities have promised to look into possible abuses in the deaths of protesters.

"We will look into the reason those who held guns or knives struck those with

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**"We will look into the reason those who held guns or knives struck those with empty hands who called for bread and freedom"**

Taoufik Bouderbala, National Commission to Investigate Abuses

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## France investigates Tunisia's Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali

24 January 2011

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The Paris state prosecutor's office says it has opened a preliminary investigation into the property assets held by ousted Tunisian leader Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali in France.

Mr Ben Ali fled his country earlier this month following a number of violent protests.

Separately, the head of Tunisia's armed forces has warned a power vacuum there could lead to a dictatorship.

Gen Rachid Ammar was addressing anti-government protesters.

"Our revolution, your revolution, the revolution of the young, risks being lost... There are forces that are calling for a void, a power vacuum. The void brings terror, which brings dictatorship," he told the crowd.



Prosecutors will look into the properties Mr Ben Ali owns in France

**Tunisian transition**

for a void, a power vacuum. The void brings terror, which brings dictatorship," he told the crowd.

The investigation in Paris was opened after three rights groups filed a legal case against the former leader over corruption during his 23-year rule.

The groups - Sherpa, Transparency International France and the Arab Commission for Human Rights - accuse Mr Ben Ali of corruption, misusing public funds and money-laundering, the AFP news agency reports.

They estimate the wealth amassed by the former leader and his entourage at \$5bn (£3bn).

Mr Ben Ali, who has sought refuge in Saudi Arabia, has not so far commented on the allegations.

But last week, Tunisian central bank officials denied reports that the wife of the deposed president took 1.5 tonnes of gold bars from the central bank before leaving the country.

In other developments:

- A ministerial reshuffle in Tunisia is said to be imminent, reports say. Earlier, political sources said Tunisian politicians were trying to set up a committee of "wise men" to replace the interim government after coming under pressure to remove ministers linked to Mr Ben Ali.
- The owner of a private television station in Tunisia, Hannibal TV, who was arrested on Sunday, has been released. Larbi Nasra, a relative of the former president's wife, said treason charges against him had been dropped.
- In Algiers, a second Algerian man has died after setting himself on fire, hospital staff quoted by AFP have said - the latest in a series of self-immolations apparently inspired by the one that sparked the protests in Tunisia.
- A senior US envoy, Jeffrey Feltman, is visiting Tunisia to press the government on democratic reforms and new elections, the State Department has said, according to AFP.

**Other investigations**

Last week, Tunisian prosecutors said they would be investigating the foreign assets of Mr Ben Ali and his family, including possible illegal transactions and foreign bank accounts.

Some 33 members of Mr Ben Ali's family were held over claims that they had plundered the nation's resources.

The move came as Swiss officials ordered a freeze on any funds held there by Mr Ben Ali, which they say was to prevent assets being withdrawn and also to ensure that a new Tunisian administration would be able to retrieve assets if they were taken illicitly.

Last week, the EU also said it was close to agreeing to a freeze of assets belonging to Mr Ben Ali and his family.

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### Appendix 3

#### Transitivity choices representing national authorities

Article No	Material	Relational	Mental	Verbal
1	None	None	None	None
2	-will reinforce -will meet(2) -have authorized	-are -has taken over -has been (3)	-hoped -must regain	-has said(2times) -said(3 times) -has been declared -added
3	-have started efforts -has eased curfew hours -has arrested -had held talks -leads -had also held talks -have eased night time curfew - talks are being held -would return	-was	None	- was sworn in -promised to form -say -has asked -said (4) 1 LA 3 NG -told (2times) -called for -announced
4	None	None	None	-denies -has denied -said -refused -asked -told -added
5	-acted "to preserve international interests" - is to serve	-have -were needed -becomes	-thought	-defends -has defended -insisted -vowing (2 times) -described (2 times) -repeated -admits -told (2 times) -said (2 times) -did not claim -replied(2 times) - defended -saying -unveiled - Responding
6	-have arrested -reduced curfew hours -have postponed meetings -resigned -freed all political leaders -have arrested armed gangs	None	-showed -discovered	-has said -vowed -said (4 times) -saying -thanked -are discussing -told
7	-has faced -provide -held -had freed -has given -quit -have quit -try to distance	-were	-will recognize	-has confirmed -said, says -has promised to hold -demanding
8	-would quit -has not set a date -have been meeting -would retire	-was -have -was -will now be	-made an emotional plea	-pledges to quit -has promised to leave -said (6 times) 4Gha, 2 PL -added

	-would repeal “anti-democratic laws” -has left -served -backed -returned -has faced -quit -have arrested			-has promised to hold -discuss -promised -pledge to stop -insisted -has called for -told -has promised to release -has announced -According to
9	-has begun -served -has left - to investigate -has backed -returned -have arrested	-have remained -have -is -was	-has failed to satisfy	- has promised to leave -insisted -have promised to look into -said (3 times) -calling for -say
10	-were trying to set up a committee -arrested -dropped charges -have released -held	None	None	-has warned -was addressing -told -denied -said (2times)
Total	55	18	8	96

## Appendix 4

The use of the verb flee in the data

- Tunisia: Ex-President Ben Ali **flees** to Saudi Arabia. (Article No.2)
  
- Tunisian President Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali **has fled** with his family to Saudi Arabia, after being forced from office after 23 years in power. (Article No.2)
  
- Mr. Ben Ali, who had been in power for 23 years, **fled to** Saudi Arabia on Friday *after* the unrest culminated in a giant rally against him. (Article No.3)
  
- They are now in Saudi Arabia after **fleeing** Tunisia. (Article No.4)
  
- Mr Ben Ali fled to Saudi Arabia on Friday following a spate of violent protests across Tunisia over unemployment, poverty and corruption. (Article No.6)
  
- The BBC's Magdi Abdelhadi in the capital, Tunis, says the state broadcaster has been transformed in the week since Mr Ben Ali **fled** the country. (Article No.7)
  
- It has been a week since Mr Ben Ali fled to Saudi Arabia following a wave of demonstrations. (Article No.7)
  
- Tunisians held a candlelit vigil to mark the second of three days of mourning for those killed during the uprising that prompted Mr Ben Ali and his family to flee to Saudi Arabia on 14 January. (Article No.8)
  
- Mr Ben Ali **fled** to Saudi Arabia following a wave of demonstrations attributed to economic grievances and resentment about a lack of political freedom. (Article No.8)
  
- As the protests continued to escalate Mr Ben Ali and his wife **fled** to Saudi Arabia on 14 January. (Article No.9)
  
- Mr Ben Ali **fled** his country earlier this month following a number of violent protests. (Article No.10)