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FAIR TRADE: NEGOTIATING MEANING IN MULTIMODAL TEXTS

Jim Martin

0. Modes of meaning

Embarking on a new millennium, social linguistics faces the challenge of hybridity – the multi-voicing of our post-colonial world. For this it needs models of multilinguality (language, dialect, register and code), of multifunctionality (ideational, interpersonal and textual meaning) and of multimodality (verbiage, image, sound and action). In response, social semioticians influenced by Halliday's functional linguistics have suggested mapping multifunctionality across modalities, as outlined for verbiage and image in Table 1 below.

metafunction: modalities:	naturalising reality	enacting social relations	organising text
verbiage			
- Halliday 1994	ideational	interpersonal	textual
image			
- Kress/van Leeuwen	representation	interaction/modality	composition
- O'Toole 1994	representational	modal	compositional
- Lemke 1998a	presentational	orientational	organisational

Table 1. Multifunctionality for the modalities of verbiage and image.

This in turn raises the issue of whether these same modes of meaning can be deployed for analysing relations across modalities in multimodal texts. The answer given for ideational meaning (e.g. Lemke 1998a, b, O'Halloran 1999) and for textual meaning (e.g. Kress/van Leeuwen 1996) is yes, as outlined in Table 2 p. 312.

VERBIAGE/IMAGE RELATIONS	<i>naturalised reality</i> (ideational)	<i>social reality</i> (interpersonal)	<i>semiotic reality</i> (textual)
	elaboration '='	[this paper]	Ideal/Real
	extension '+'		Given/New
	enhancement 'x'		Centre/Margin
	projection '*'		

Table 2. Ideational and textual relations across modalities.

In this paper I'll be extending these initiatives by exploring the interpersonal dimension of verbiage/image relations, focussing on evaluation.

1. Interpersonal resources (mood, modality from Halliday 1994, and beyond)

In systemic functional linguistics (hereafter SFL) interpersonal meaning is realised through grammar and lexis, and includes both interactive and evaluative meaning. Following Halliday 1994, both O'Toole and Kress & van Leeuwen take interactive grammar (mood and modality) as point of departure for their work on images, backgrounding evaluation; Lemke 1998 uses a balance of interaction and evaluation. For verbiage/image relations, however, it seems to me that evaluative meaning (Hunston & Thompson 2000) provides the more promising point of departure.

Martin (2000a, b) suggests a model of evaluative meaning including three main systems – ATTITUDE, ENGAGEMENT and GRADUATION. Of these, attitude focuses on evaluation. It includes consideration of affect, our emotional reactions:

1. When Gladdie was 'bout three years old, they took her from me... What could I do? I was too frightened to say anythin'... I cried and cried when Alice took her away... I thought of my poor old mother then, they took her Arthur from her, and then they took me. She was brokenhearted. God bless her. [Morgan 1987: 340-341]

Alongside judgement, our ethical stance on behaviour:

2. Alice said she cost too much to feed, said I was ungrateful. She was wantin' me to give up my own flesh and blood and still feel grateful. Aren't black people allowed to have feelings? [Morgan 1987: 340-341]

And appreciation, our aesthetic orientation to phenomena:

3. I remember the first silent movie I ever saw was on Jack Dempsey, the boxer and I thought it was wonderful... Later on, Gracie Fields and Bob Hope became two of my favourites. [Morgan 1989: 85]

Attitude, being prosodic in nature, tends to colour phrases of discourse. In examples 4-6, we see the foregrounding of splashes of affect, judgement and appreciation in a pattern transcending clause boundaries (the emotion, ethics and aesthetics of our attitudinal stance).

AFFECT (emotions; reacting to behaviour, text/process, phenomena)

4. John Howard says he knows how vulnerable people are feeling in these times of economic change. He does not. For they are feeling as vulnerable as a man who has already had his arm torn off by a lion, and sits in the corner holding his stump and waiting for the lion to finish eating and come for him again. This is something more than vulnerability. It is injury and shock and fear and rage. And he does not know the carnage that is waiting for him if he calls an election. And he will be surprised. [Bob Ellis What's race got to do with it? SMH Opinion 17: 22/6/98]

JUDGEMENT (ethics; evaluating behaviour)

5. The first European settlers declared that the land had belonged to no-one and the indigenous Australians were shunted aside, often with appalling brutality... We have no need - nor any use - for guilt. This generation cannot be held responsible for the cruelty of previous generations. But to ignore Mabo would be the final cruelty; and we would be held responsible - by the world and by future generations of Australians. And they would be right to hold us responsible. There is much in Australian history of which we can be tremendously proud - for here in Australia we have created a modern, tolerant, free, prosperous and democratic society. But we must understand that Australia's success has had a price - and surely the highest price has been paid by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians. They often paid with their lives; with their rights; their dignity and happiness; with their land. P J Keating Mabo - an address to the nation. Canberra. 15/11/93

APPRECIATION (aesthetics; evaluating text/process, phenomena)

6. In 1983, the new school headmaster (Mr Terry Lewis) brought considerable excitement to the Yuendumu community by his interest in and support of traditional Warpiri culture and language. One of his more modest suggestions was to make the school look less 'European' by commissioning senior men to paint the school doors with traditional designs. The results were more spectacular than anyone envisaged.

Both European and Aboriginal residents of Yuendumu took considerable pleasure and pride in the achievement. Visitors to the community were equally enthusiastic, and word about these remarkable paintings began to spread. My own response was to see this accomplishment as a major one for contemporary international art as well as an achievement in indigenous culture. For me, these doors seemed to strike a chord with issues and images that were being negotiated in the art galleries of Sydney, Paris and New York. E Michaels Afterword Yuendumu Doors. Canberra: AIS 198

There is a sense in which affect can be taken as the core system (the embodied feelings we're born with and tune into our culture), whereas ethics and appreciation are institutionalisations of feeling in contexts where social behaviour needs to be controlled and things need to be valued in relation to their social significance. Figure 1 outlines this perspective on evaluative orientations.

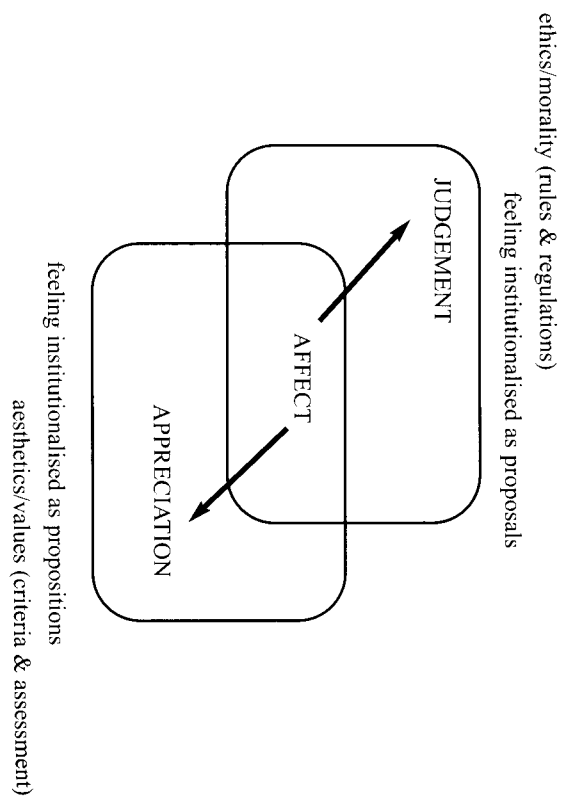


Figure 1. The institutionalisation of feeling as judgement and appreciation.

2. Texturing appraisal

The ways in which discourse, especially written discourse, predicts the meanings about to be made and accumulates meanings that have been made is reviewed in Martin 1992, 1993. The basic texturing strategy seems to involve treating Halliday's Theme^Rheme and (Given)^New structures for the clause as fractal patterns which can be mapped onto larger units, including paragraphs and whole texts. A map of this design is offered as Fig. 2.

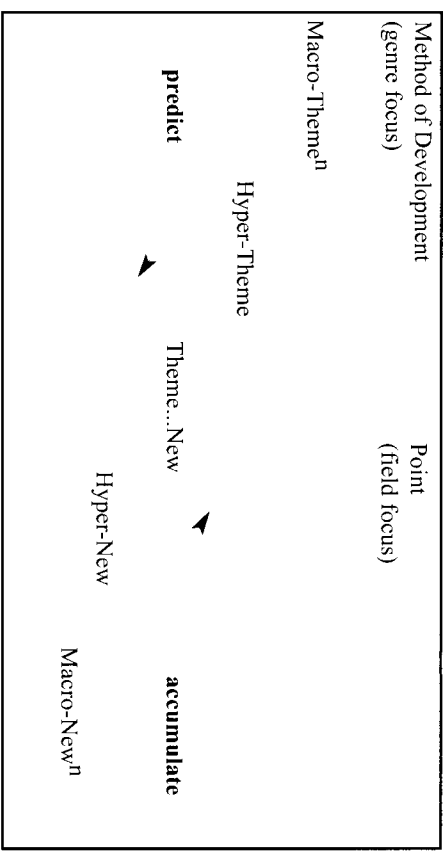


Figure 2. The layered texture of prediction and consolidation.

In many registers, there appears to be a correlation between higher order Theme and New and evaluation. If we reconsider Fries' (1981/1983) classic analysis of text 7, for example, we see that the paragraph's hyper-Theme establishes judgement (wisdom, chance) as method of development.

7. The English Constitution - that indescribable entity - is a living thing, growing with the growth of men, and assuming ever-varying forms in accordance with the subtle and complex laws of human character. It is the child of wisdom and chance.

The wise men of 1688 moulded it into the shape we know, but the chance that George I could not speak English gave it one of its essential peculiarities - the system of a cabinet independent of the crown and subordinate to the Prime Minister. The wisdom of Lord Grey saved it from petrification, and set it upon the path of democracy. Then chance intervened once more. A female sovereign happened to marry an able and pertinacious man, and it seemed likely that an element which had been quiescent within it for years - the element of irresponsible administra-

tive power - was about to become its predominant characteristic and change completely the direction of its growth. But what chance gave change took away. The Consort perished in his prime, and the English Constitution, dropping the dead limb with hardly a tremor, continued its mysterious life as if he had never been. (Fries 1983:123-124)

And narrative genres typically deploy evaluation at the beginning and end of the story to make their point. The anecdote below (from Plum 1988) draws on affect to preview and later reinforce the reaction the narrator wishes to share.

8. Abstract

GP: Can you think of an incident over the years that was particularly funny?
GD: Yes, I'll tell you one funny thing, and this is funny too when I come to think of it.

Orientation

When my little nephew was born, my girls would've been at the time about eight and five years of age.

Remarkable event

The new little nephew came home from hospital and my youngest daughters went to visit him and she said to him, she said to Aunt Harriet, "Aunt Harriet, when is James going to open his eyes?"

Reaction

In other words, she thought he was like a baby puppy dog, that she was used to, whose eyes don't open till they're about ten or twelve days old. And of course they all thought that that was terribly funny that Amanda was mixing James up with dogs.

Coda

I think that would be about the funniest thing that I've ever had, you know, with the dogs. (Plum 1988: 107)

One of the resources which is used in narrative and other genres to provoke evaluation is imagery (Martin 2000a). A good example of this was presented in text 4 above, realising affect:

For they are feeling as vulnerable as a man who has already had his arm torn off by a lion, and sits in the corner holding his stump and waiting for the lion to finish eating and come for him again

In some registers, the use of imagery to provoke evaluation appears to correlate with hyper-New (Martin in press). In text 9, the impact of WWII on Australian manufacturing is treated as a greenhouse effect, by way of naturalising the positive effects of war.

9. The Second World War further encouraged the restructuring of the Australian economy towards a manufacturing basis.

Between 1937 and 1945 the value of industrial production almost doubled. This increase was faster than otherwise would have occurred. The momentum was maintained in the post-war years and by 1954-5 the value of manufacturing output was three times that of 1944-5. The enlargement of Australia's steel-making capacity, and of chemicals, rubber, metal goods and motor vehicles all owed something to the demands of war.

The war had acted as something of a hot-house for technological progress and economic change (from Martin 1992).

In such examples the metaphors offer a relatively concrete reconstrual of one field as another (war industry as horticulture for example) which provokes a reappraisal – a mapping of the value of one thing onto another. This raises the question of whether images can function in a similar way to imagery by establishing an evaluative orientation to text.

For example, in the recount which Mandela 1995 uses to sum up his life in *Long Walk to Freedom*, two paragraphs culminate with the imagery of chains:

10. But then I slowly saw that not only was I not free, but my brothers and sisters were not free. I saw that it was not just my freedom that was curtailed, but the freedom of everyone who looked like I did. That is when I joined the African National Congress, and that is when the hunger for my own freedom became the greater hunger for the freedom of my people. It was this desire for the freedom of my people to live their lives with dignity and self-respect that animated my life, that transformed a frightened young man into a bold one, that drove a law-abiding attorney to become a criminal, that turned a family-loving husband into a man without a home, that forced a life-loving man to live like a monk. I am no more virtuous or self-sacrificing than the next man, but I found that I could not even enjoy the poor and limited freedoms I was allowed when I knew my people were not free. Freedom is indivisible; **the chains on any one of my people were the chains on all of them, the chains on all of my people were the chains on me...**

When I walked out of prison, that was my mission, to liberate the oppressed and the oppressor both. Some say that has now been achieved. But I know that this is not the case. The truth is that we are not yet free; we have merely achieved the freedom to be free, the right not to be oppressed. We have not taken the final step of our journey, but the first step on a longer and even more difficult road. **For to be free is not merely to cast off one's chains**, but to live in a way that respects and enhances the freedom of others. The true test of our devotion to freedom is just beginning.

I don't have an image of South Africans in chains to hand; but I do have one of Australian Aborigines. It seems to me that such an image

can function in a very similar way to imagery, to drive home the point that living without freedom feels just like living in chains.



Aboriginal prisoners in chains, 22 August 1906, East Kimberly, NW Australia. Courtesy Klaatsch Collection, A/V Archives, AIATSIS.

3. Appraisal and image

The Illustrated Long Walk to Freedom (1996) offers a number of opportunities to explore the evaluative orientation of verbiage/image relations. The original *Long Walk to Freedom* for example contains the following text (note in passing the culminative imagery, underlined below):

11. Diligent as we were in gathering news and information, our knowledge of current events was always sketchy. Happenings in the outside world were muffled by the fact that we heard of them first through rumour: only later might they be confirmed by a newspaper account or an outside visitor.

In June 1976 we began to hear vague reports of a great uprising in the country. The whispers were fanciful and improbable: the youth of Soweto had overthrown the military and the soldiers had dropped their guns and fled. It was only when the first young prisoners who had been involved in the 16 June uprising began to arrive on Robben island in August that we learned what had truly happened.

On 16 June 1976 fifteen thousand school children gathered in Soweto to protest at the government's ruling that half of all classes in secondary schools must be

taught in Afrikaans. Students did not want to learn and teachers did not want to teach in the language of the oppressor. Pleadings and petitions by parents and teachers had fallen on deaf ears. A detachment of police confronted this army of earnest schoolchildren and without warning opened fire, killing thirteen-year-old Hector Pieterse and many others. The children fought with sticks and stones, and mass chaos ensued, with hundreds of children wounded and killed and two white men stoned to death.

The events of that day reverberated in every town and township of South Africa. The uprising triggered riots and violence across the country. Mass funerals for the victims of state violence became national rallying points. Suddenly the young people of South Africa were fired with the spirit of protest and rebellion. Students boycotted schools all across the country. ANC organisers joined with students to actively support the protest. Bantu education had come back to haunt its creators, for these angry and audacious young people were its progeny. (1995: 575-576)

For *The Illustrated Long Walk to Freedom* this is abridged as 11' below; and the middle paragraph is relocated to function as marginalia for a full page photograph of Hector Pieterse being carried from the fray. The marginalia appears on page 146, to the left of the photo on 147; the remaining verbiage appears overleaf on 148.

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147

Part of p. 146 and p. 147 of *The Illustrated Long Walk to Freedom*.

My South African colleagues tell me that this photo is a very well known one in South Africa. It was published at the time of the riots and was apparently pivotal in swaying public opinion. Certainly the image of a young child dead in an older boy's arms, and the anguish on that boy's face and that of girl accompanying him is emotionally sensational — whatever one's national background or political allegiance. For me, at least, it dramatises my reading of Mandela's account of the Soweto uprising, both previewing and amplifying the reaction induced by Mandela's imagery (progeny haunting creators). As texture, the photo functions as an evaluative Theme, naturalising the stance from which ensuing verbiage can be read.

Turning to Australia, the remarkable government report *Bringing Them Home* (1997) on the generations of Aboriginal children taken from their families and placed in alternative care deploys both images and imagery in a similar way to establish evaluative orientations to ensuing text. On page 186, for example, at the beginning of a major section in the effects of institutionalisation, we have a photograph of Sir Charles and Lady Gardiner with Abbot Gomez inspecting the children of St Joseph's Orphanage in Western Australia; dozens of stolen children are lined up in rows on either side of the inspecting dignitaries. For me, the sight of so many children, so young, aligned like soldiers on parade is an extremely poignant one.



The Governor Sir Charles and Lady Gardiner with Abbot Gomez inspecting the children of St. Joseph's Orphanage, New Norcia, WA

Courtesy Baltye Library 74244P

I remember all we children being herded up, like a mob of cattle, and feeling the humiliation of being graded by the colour of our skins for the government records.

Confidential submission 332, Queensland: woman removed in the 1950s to Coorambah Girls' Home.

Reinforcing the point is the Aboriginal voice inscribed below the photograph, with imagery reinforcing the point of the image:

12. I remember all we children being herded up, like a mob of cattle, and feeling our humiliation of being graded by the colour of our skins for the government records.

In the verbiage which follows, bureaucratic discourse is intermingled with quotations from members of the stolen generations – the evaluation established by image and imagery in this sections higher order Theme is reinforced prosodically throughout the text.

On page 90 we find a similar pattern. The photograph this time is from a newspaper, and features six young stolen children under the Heading 'Homes Are Sought For These Children'. One of the children (the lightest skinned) has been marked with an 'x' by someone wishing to adopt the child. See image p. 323.

Below, imagery is used to reinforce the image as follows:

13. We was all bought like a market. We was all lined up in white dresses, and they'd come round and pick you out like you was for sale.

This by way of orientation to the report on the stolen generations of Tasmania.

These are powerful images, and the report is full of them. They typically precede the verbiage they are orienting readers to. If we make an analogy to clause grammar, the appropriate connection as far as I can see is not to Given information but to interpersonal Theme – to comment Adjuncts encoding a speaker's disposition towards the message:

14. Unfortunately, there was little we could do.



Courtesy 'Between Two Worlds' Australian Archives.

We was bought like a market. We was all lined up in white dresses, and they'd come round and pick you out like you was for sale.

A residential admission 1955. New South Wales woman fostered at 10 years in the 1970s, one of a batch of 13 children all removed, signed by foster father and forced to have an abortion

I clearly remember being put in line-ups every fortnight, where prospective foster parents would view all the children. I wasn't quite the child they were looking for.

Unsubstantiated evidence 1933. Victorian man removed at 2 months in the 1960s, institutionalised for 3 years before being fostered by a succession of other families

If so, then we need to expand the framework offered by Kress & van Leeuwen 1996 for textual relations to include Theme/Rheme alongside Given/New, Ideal/Real and Centre/Margin. And in the examples considered here, the function of the Thematic image is an interpersonal one; it is deployed to naturalise the evaluation of the verbiage which follows. Accordingly, it seems appropriate to expand the coverage of image/verbiage relations outlined in Table 2 above to include appraisal as a resource for relating image to verbiage, and to allow for its systematic positioning as image Theme to verbal Rheme. In suggesting this I don't intend to foreclose the possibility of images construing evaluation in Ideal/Real, Given/New or Centre/Margin structures.

VERBIAGE/IMAGE RELATIONS	<i>naturalised reality</i> (ideational)	<i>social reality</i> (interpersonal)	<i>semiotic reality</i> (textual)
	elaboration '=' extension '+' enhancement 'x' projection '' '' etc.	APPRAISAL	Theme/Rheme Ideal/Real Given/New Centre/Margin etc.

Table 3. Appraisal as Theme in image/verbiage relations.

4. Re/contextualisation

By way of emphasising the contextualising power of images I'd like now to return to *The Illustrated Long Walk to Freedom* and consider the recontextualisation of text 15 from *Long Walk to Freedom* (previewed as text 10 above).

15. I was not born with a hunger to be free. I was born free - free in every way that I could know. Free to run in the fields near my mother's hut, free to swim in the clear stream that ran through my village, free to roast meaties under the stars and ride the broad backs of slow-moving bulls. As long as I obeyed my father and abided by the customs of my tribe, I was not troubled by the laws of man or God.

It was only when I began to learn that my boyhood freedom was an illusion, when I discovered as a young man that my freedom had already been taken from me, that I began to hunger for it. At first, as a student, I wanted freedom only for myself, the transitory freedoms of being able to stay out at night, read what I pleased and go where I chose. Later, as a young man in Johannesburg, I yearned for the basic and

honourable freedoms of achieving my potential, of earning my keep, of marrying and having a family - the freedom not to be obstructed in a lawful life.

But then I slowly saw that not only was I not free, but my brothers and sisters were not free. I saw that it was not just my freedom that was curtailed, but the freedom of everyone who looked like I did. That is when I joined the African National Congress, and that is when the hunger for my own freedom became the greater hunger for the freedom of my people. It was this desire for the freedom of my people to live their lives with dignity and self-respect that animated my life, that transformed a frightened young man into a bold one, that drove a law-abiding attorney to become a criminal, that turned a family-loving husband into a man without a home, that forced a life-loving man to live like a monk. I am no more virtuous or self-sacrificing than the next man, but I found that I could not even enjoy the poor and limited freedoms I was allowed when I knew my people were not free. Freedom is indivisible; the chains on any one of my people were the chains on all of them, the chains on all of my people were the chains on me. It was during those long and lonely years that my hunger for the freedom of my own people became a hunger for the freedom of all people, white and black. I knew as well as I knew anything that the oppressor must be liberated just as surely as the oppressed. A man who takes away another man's freedom is a prisoner of hatred, he is locked behind the bars of prejudice and narrow-mindedness. I am not truly free if I am taking away someone else's freedom, just as surely as I am not free when my freedom is taken from me. The oppressed and the oppressor alike are robbed of their humanity.

When I walked out of prison, that was my mission, to liberate the oppressed and the oppressor both. Some say that has now been achieved. But I know that this is not the case. The truth is that we are not yet free; we have merely achieved the freedom to be free, the right not to be oppressed. We have not taken the final step of our journey, but the first step on a longer and even more difficult road. For to be free is not merely to cast off one's chains, but to live in a way that respects and enhances the freedom of others. The true test of our devotion to freedom is just beginning.

I have walked that long road to freedom. I have tried not to falter. I have made missteps along the way. But I have discovered the secret that after climbing a great hill, one only finds that there are many more hills to climb. I have taken a moment here to rest, to steal a view of the glorious vista that surrounds me, to look back on the distance I have come. But I can only rest for a moment, for with freedom come responsibilities, and I dare not linger, for my long walk is not yet ended. [Mandela 1995: 750-751]

A slightly abridged version of this recount of Mandela's life is reworked in *The Illustrated Long Walk to Freedom* as follows (Martin 1999a). Across the pages (202-203) we have a image/text triptych mediated by the recount, with the photo of a young boy to the left, and a bigger photo (which takes up all of page 203 and spreads over a fifth of page

202) taken from the back of the crowd at the Mandela's presidential inauguration, featuring the South African flag (as outlined in Fig. 3).

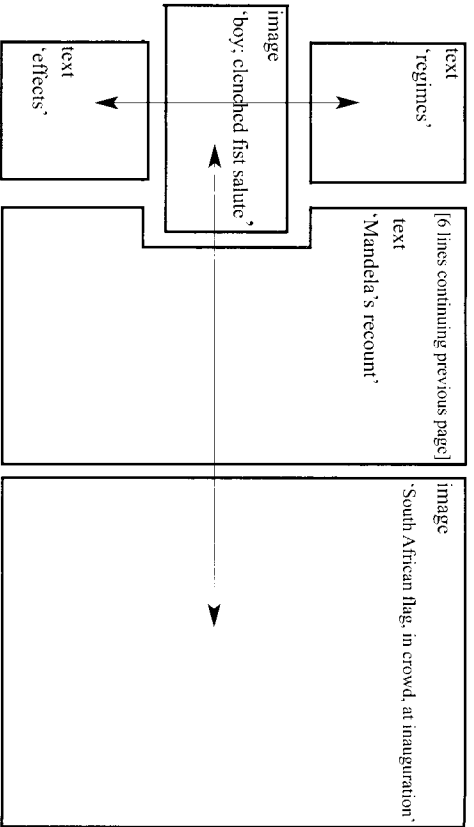


Figure 3. Verbiage/image relations in Mandela 1996: 202-203.

Down the left-hand margin of page 202 we have the triptych formed by an image of a young boy and the following notes:

[above photo of young boy] On the day of the inauguration I was overwhelmed with a sense of history. In the first decade of the twentieth century, a few years after the bitter Anglo-Boer war and before my own birth, the white-skinned peoples of South Africa patched up their differences and erected a system of racial domination against the dark-skinned peoples of their own land.

[below photo of young boy] The structure they created formed the basis of one of the harshest, most inhumane, societies the world has ever known. Now, in the last decade of the twentieth century, and my own eighth decade as a man, that system had been overturned forever and replaced by one that recognised the rights and freedoms of all peoples regardless of the colour of their skin. [Mandela 1996:202]

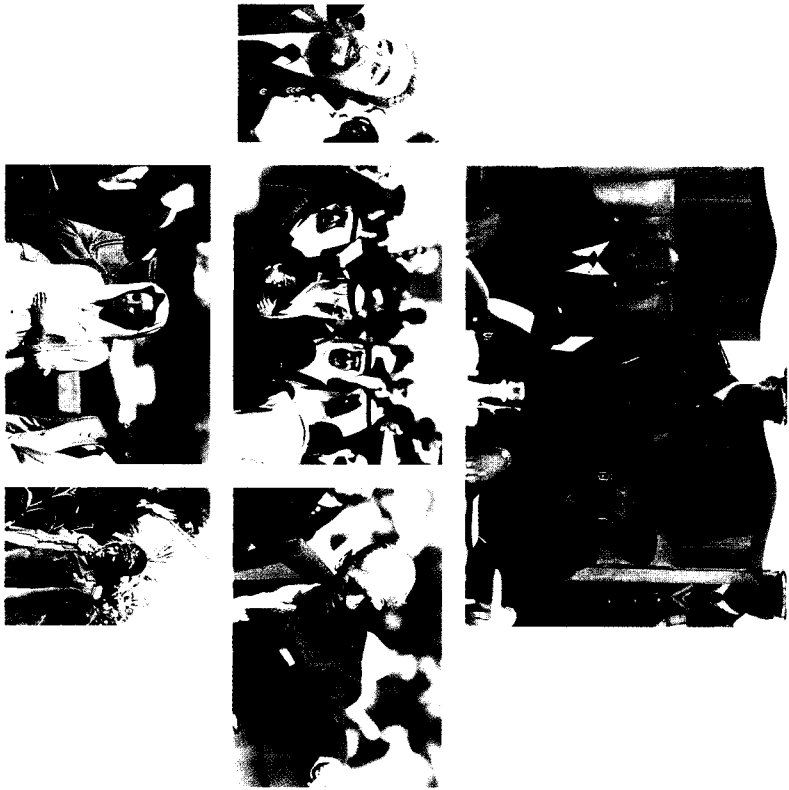
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The structure they created formed the basis of one of the harshest, most inhumane, societies the world has ever known. Now, in the last decade of the twentieth century, and my own eighth decade as a man, that system had been overturned forever and replaced by one that recognised the rights and freedoms of all peoples regardless of the colour of their skin.



Mandela himself does not appear in either photo in this verbiage/image text; but he does appear on the previous page 201, sitting on stage next to his daughter on inauguration day.



201

Page 201 of *The Illustrated Long Walk to Freedom*.

The relevant marginalia appears on p. 200:

The ceremonies took place in the sandstone amphitheatre formed by the Union Buildings in Pretoria. For decades this had been the seat of white supremacy, and now it was the site of a rainbow gathering of different colours and nations for the installation of South Africa's first democratic, non-racial government. On that lovely autumn day I was accompanied by my daughter Zenani.
 Foreign dignitaries included Fidel Castro (right), the Duke of Edinburgh (far right), Benazir Bhutto (below right) and Yasser Arafat (below far right).

In previous work (Martin 1999a) I considered verbiage/image relations in these texts from the perspective of Kress & van Leeuwen 1996, an analysis which tends to background evaluation. Here I'd like to be more explicit about appraisal. In doing so I'll attempt to take up a reading position sympathetic to Mandela and his political aspirations; alternative resistant or tactical reactions to these multimodal texts are of course possible, but will not be canvassed here.

Kress & van Leeuwen's composition principles are relevant to this discussion, and are summarised in Fig. 4 below (to which we might append the orienting Theme to Rheme left-to-right structure introduced above).

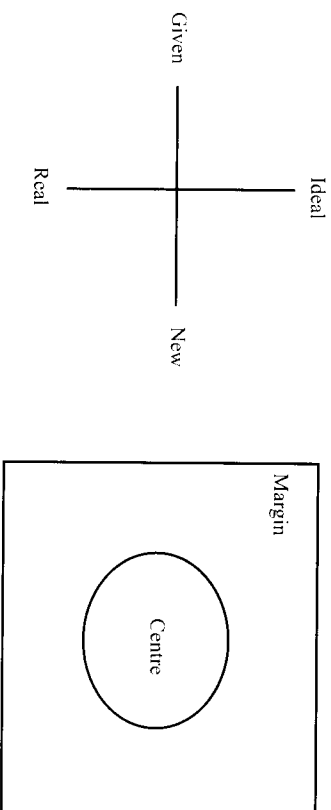


Figure 4. Information values for composition (Kress & van Leeuwen 1996).

The multi-image text on p 201 appears to be organised with respect to both the Centre/Margin and Ideal/Real principles. The largest photo is of Mandela and his daughter, positioned as Ideal above 5 smaller images of Castro, Bhutto, Arafat, the Duke of Edinburgh (!) and a group of Arab leaders. At the same time, the Arabs form the centre of a circle of 5 photos, including Mandela and his daughter at the top. All

shots are taken from below: as viewers we look up towards power, with the Mandelas at the apex of our reading. The Mandela photo itself partakes of both Ideal/Real and Given/New principles, with the South African coat of arms above clearly visible on the back of the chairs above both Nelson and Zenani's heads and Nelson to the left as Given to Zenani's New.

As far as affect is concerned, both Mandela and his daughter look grave ('overwhelmed with a sense of history'); Castro registers surprise and Arafat is all smiles, while the Arabs, Bhutto and the Duke have relatively unaffected expressions on their face. As for judgement, the overwhelming value construed by the images is 'rebel' power – since apart from the Duke (whose somewhat ironic presence serves perhaps to highlight the 'otherness' of the others) the dignitaries presented have long been post-colonial thorns in western hegemony's side. The multi-image composition as a whole functions as interpersonal Theme for the pages which follow. My impression of the orientation given is that of strength and solemnity, as opposed to say triumphant celebration; certainly the inauguration has not been constructed as a victory dance for Mandela or the ANC.

Turning to pages 202-203 we have two multimodal triptychs to consider. There are strong vectors linking these triptychs to the preceding page, since the gaze of both the young boy and the crowd is to our left. We can't be sure what the young boy has noticed, but we can be fairly certain the crowd is staring at Mandela on stage (p. 201's Ideal). The Mandela image on p 201 thus resolves the gaze, as textual Given to the following pages' News.

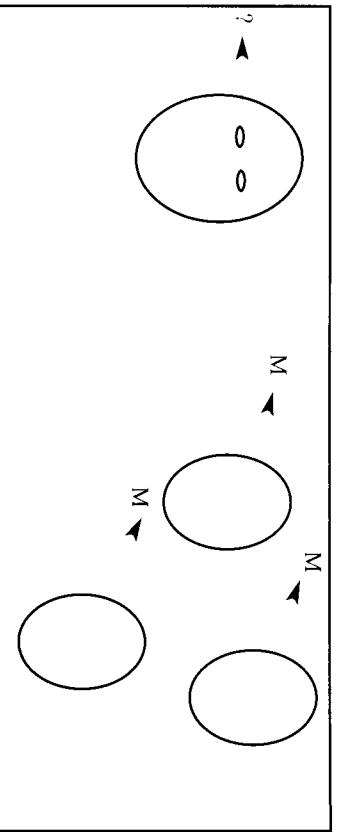


Figure 5. Gaze vectors for the young boy and crowd.

The top-down triptych on the left-hand side of page 202 features the image of a young boy. This photo, in naturalistic colour, features the head and upper torso of a primary school aged African (medium shot). He is in the foreground, facing us, at eye-level, but focussing on something out of frame to our left. His right arm is raised in a clenched fist salute which forms a vector at a 45% angle to the triptych, reinforced by a parallel stripe on his sleeve and the fact that he is leaning to our right. The boy is wearing an orange shirt with white horizontal stripes on its body, 4 of which form a vector at 90% to his salute. Behind him is a crowd of what appear to be other school children, out of focus, some of whom are also saluting.

As far as appraisal in concerned, the key features appear to be the boy's facial expression; and the black power salute. The face seems to express neither the joy of liberation or the anger of protest, but rather wariness – as if he has just noticed something to his right, that has to be assessed. And the salute is ambiguous – evoking perhaps the Soweto protests noted above, or possibly it celebrates inauguration day; Mandela 1995 (in photos between pp 402-403) refers to this gesture as the *Afrika* salute, underlining its indigenous solidarity function.

This triptych deploys its marginalia to note the inauguration of a new republic and erection of the former apartheid regime above, as Ideal; below, as Real, Mandela relates the effect on people of first the old regime (harsh and inhumane) and then the new (respect for their rights and freedoms of all peoples regardless of the colour of their skin). Mediating these messages is the hybrid image of the boy, either protesting (apartheid) or celebrating (inauguration).

now	'inauguration'
then	'system of racial discrimination'
[photo]	['protest/celebration']
then	'harsh, inhumane society'
now	'right and freedoms of all peoples'

As a whole, the triptych functions as Given in the left/right triptych (see Fig. 6 below), and in addition as interpersonal Theme. As Given, it represents perhaps the past, with the boy symbolising Mandela's youth – although with the important renovation that this child WAS born with a hunger to be free. As orienting Theme, this text projects a note of caution onto the proceedings, since wariness and ambiguity (of

the salute) are mediating Ideal and Real. Once again, any sense of triumphant celebration is being toned down.

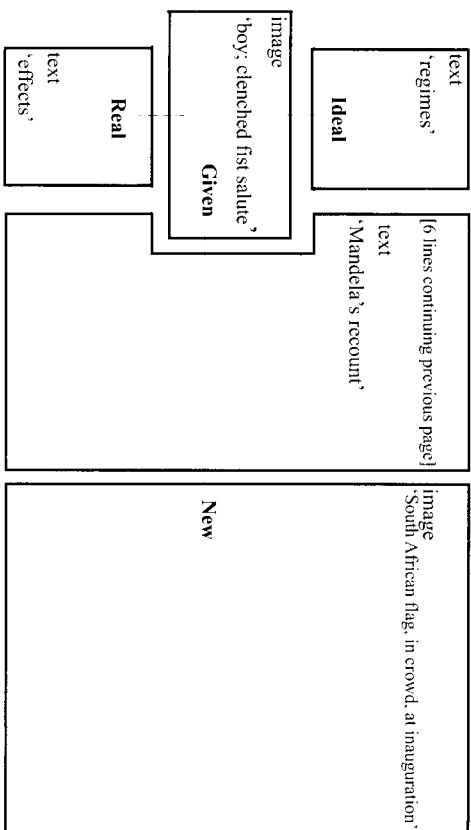


Figure 6. Ideal/Real & Given/New for the multimodal triptychs.

The much larger photo in naturalistic colour which forms the left/right triptych's New is dominated by a large South African flag (medium shot). It is being held, at a 45% angle, by someone in a large crowd; the vectors formed by the flag's design are at 90% to the flagstaff, towards the lower right hand corner of the image. The flag is at eye-level (since we are standing higher up, a few rows back). The crowd is overwhelmingly African; we see only the backs of their heads, out of focus in the immediate foreground, in focus around the flag, and increasingly out of focus towards the stage. Their gaze forms an unresolved vector towards the centre of the stage, which is outside the frame of the photo in the distance to our left.

The key appraisal feature here would appear to be the flag, symbolising perhaps both liberation and unity. The vectors in the two images construct a strong cohesive bond between the salute and the flag, involving Arheim's 1982 opposition of hold (lower right to upper left diagonal) and release (lower left to upper right diagonal) – as outlined in Fig. 4. Again, a mixed message – the future beckons (solidarity and celebration), but there are many more hills to climb (wariness).

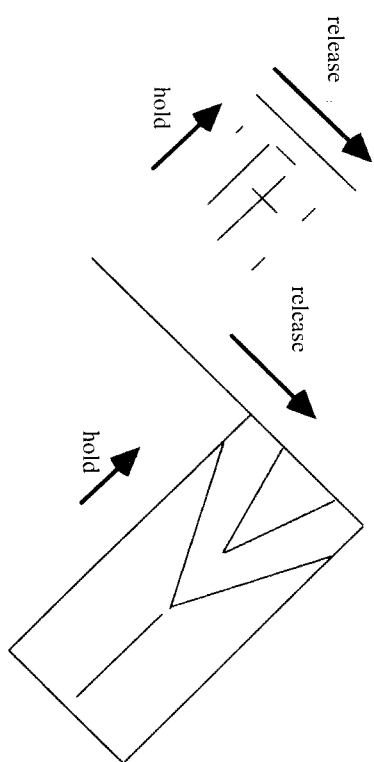


Figure 7. Hold and release vectors for the salute and flag.

Mediating the two photos is the verbal recount. I would argue that alongside enhancing the meaning of Mandela's recount, the interlocking multimodal triptychs also extend it. The key meaning here is the boy's salute, which seems at first blush to contradict Mandela's Orientation: "I was not born with a hunger to be free." Recall however that it was this salute which mediated Ideal with Real, through its ambiguity in the left-hand triptych, and which resonated strongly with the flag in the right-to-left one. The very meaning which is hard to reconcile with Mandela's recount is in fact foregrounded as the apex of the semiotic vortex constructed by the multimodal text.

I suspect that the culminative meaning here has to do with regeneration. The margin notes recontextualise Mandela's recount with respect to the wider context of South African history (*in the first decade of the twentieth century...now, in the last decade of the twentieth century*). Another aspect of this is the absence of Mandela himself from the images here. As Mandela comments in his margin notes, the apartheid system had been "overturned forever"; Mandela's journey has in this sense ended. The interlocking triptychs construct his legacy – one nation, united, underpinned by a generation of empowered youth for whom the freedom to respect and enhance the freedom of others is point of departure. By Mandela 1996 the long walk has almost ended; the triptychs make way for others to carry on. For me, the overwhelming value here is that of grace, in every meaning of the term – the gracefulness with which the recount itself unfolds, the charm of its rhetoric,

the goodwill to all peoples, the cautious optimism, the absence of bitterness, the foregoing of triumphant celebration, the generous and trusting handover of responsibility... I can't help admiring the texture, and the Mandela it construes for me.

6. Fair trade

In this paper I have argued that one function of images in multimodal text is to co-articulate attitude (including affect, judgement, appreciation). In doing so they operate in a way similar to imagery, provoking a reaction in readers of multi-modal text – typically in positions that preview the value of following text (as higher order interpersonal Themes). Fig. 8 extends Martin 2000a to include this evaluative function.

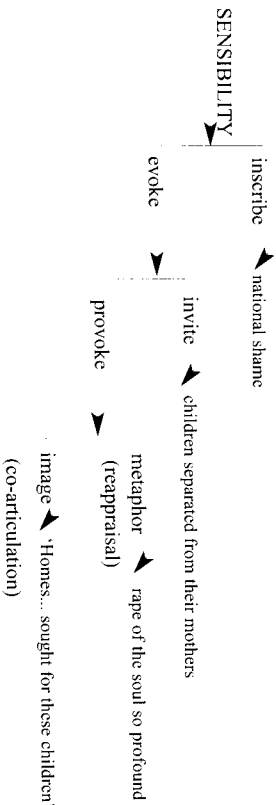


Figure 8. Images and the construal of evaluation.

Further to this, I would suggest that as far as interpersonal meaning is concerned, verbiage/image relations are more concerned with appraisal than mood or modality. In light of the orienting thematic function of images, an additional compositional principle needs to be appended to Kress & van Leeuwen's 1996 framework – based on Halliday's 1994 notion of interpersonal Theme (as in Table 3 above). The left is not simply Given, but has a positive forward looking function, instigating and naturalising a reading position for the evaluation of verbiage/image texture that ensues.

Verbiage/image relations thus play an important role in aligning

communities around shared values - a rhetoric of sensibility complementing sense relations. In Bakhtin's terms, the axiological and ideological are two faces of discourse, and I'm arguing here that the axiological dimension is essential to understanding verbiage/image relations in multi-modal text.

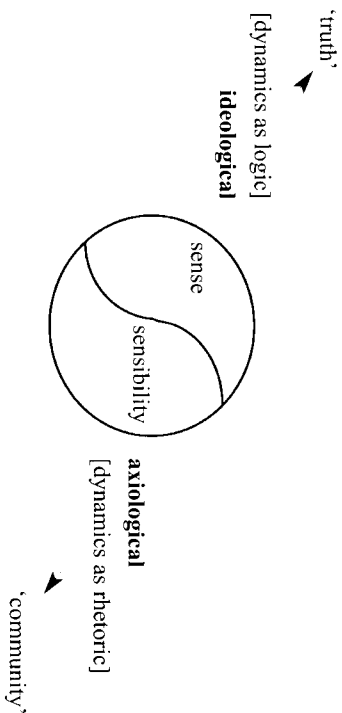


Figure 9. Ideological and axiological dimensions of discourse.

It remains to further explore the axiological across modalities (including for example sound/music, van Leeuwen 1999, and action, Martinec in press). And to further explore the role of humour in multimodal text (extending Egging & Slade's 1997 work on verbiage) – we need a better account of what the Duke of Edinburgh is doing on p 201 of Mandela 1996! Evaluation has our theories of semiosis under pressure; add in humour and irony and the pressure becomes extreme. And that's what new frontiers of description are for.

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