Multimodality and discourse viewpoint configuration:
A case study of UK political posters*

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Roh, Jung Hwi, Wooyong Jin, Eunsong Kim, Hayoung Kim, and Iksoo Kwon. 2019. Multimodality and discourse viewpoint configuration: A case study of UK political posters. Linguistic Research 36(2). 289-323. The aim of this paper is to provide a cognitive semantic analysis of multimodal viewpoint phenomena by conducting a case study of political campaign posters from the United Kingdom's Conservative and Labour parties. It provides a qualitative account of a selection of posters within the framework of Discourse Viewpoint Space (Dancygier and Vandelanotte 2016), specifically exploring discourse viewpoint configurations in the posters with a special focus on their texts (e.g., lexical choices and style), visual images, and the viewpoints of different participants (i.e., current speaker/addressee and represented speaker/addressee). We collected 87 posters from the Advertising Archives (http://www.advertisingarchives.co.uk) in August 2018. We categorized the selected posters into three types: (1) those explicitly encoding the speaker, (2) those explicitly encoding the addressee, and (3) those explicitly encoding both. We take a detailed look at each type, focusing on whether the viewpoint of the current interlocutor is aligned with that of the represented interlocutor, assuming that the current speaker is equivalent to those who design the posters, and the current addressee to those who view the posters. Based on this inductive functional taxonomy, this paper discusses how the multimodal posters’ political messages are constructed and construed in terms of the levels of hierarchical viewpoint networks, which include local perspectives and more comprehensive discourse viewpoints, as well as viewpoint alignment between the participants. The study shows that the viewpoint configurations of the posters are key to the articulation of the intended messages such that they fit the values of the two political parties. The study also supports the claim that multiple viewpoints are intrinsic to meaning construction, and to the conceptualization of multimodal expressions (Sweetser 2012). (Hankuk University of Foreign Studies)

Keywords campaign poster, political poster in the UK parliament, multimodality, viewpoint, Discourse Viewpoint Space, mental space, cognitive semantics
1. Introduction

Posters, unlike works of art such as paintings and poems, are in general intended to convey directive messages to trigger viewers’ courses of action. They thus entail interactions of multiple viewpoints. On the one hand, those who design and convey intended messages via this medium have as addressees the potential viewers of the poster; on the other hand, posters also represent, explicitly or implicitly, characters of the fictive (in Pascual and Sandler’s 2016 sense) conversation embedded in the poster’s narrative. The relevant construal is generally obtained only after accessing the multiple viewpoints—the represented character’s viewpoint and the poster maker’s viewpoint—that are intersubjectively invoked in the posters.

Political posters offer excellent examples of this multiplicity of viewpoints, precisely because the point of a political poster is to indicate, as clearly as possible, who its producers are; that is, they represent one political party as opposed to the rival parties. In addition, political posters tend to employ the tactic of enactment, in which a conversation between fictive protagonists is staged and framed from the producer’s perspective. For example, let us assume a poster that consists of a picture of candidate X and a line of text, We need to change. The mere juxtaposition of the text and the image does not necessarily mean that candidate X actually uttered these words. Nevertheless, the juxtaposition naturally suggests a causal link between the two signs in the two different modalities: this protagonist made this utterance. In a viewer’s mental space, the candidate produces a token of this utterance to some addressee, and

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1 This study follows Dancygier (2012: 61) in its understanding of viewpoint as an interlocutor’s mental space that serves as a filter through which events are narrated. The notion pertains to the senses in general; that is, it is not limited to, e.g., spatial, temporal, epistemic, or ideological senses (see Section 2.1).
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thus the message is conveyed to the viewer. Intriguingly, although such an image of a candidate could not be an actual speaker engaging in an actual conversation, viewers of the poster would have no problem understanding the intended message of the poster ("Vote for me"), as if the candidate in the mental space of the poster were talking directly to the viewer outside the poster space. In other words, the staged conversation is embedded in the poster for the purpose of encouraging the viewers to take a certain course of action, in this case, voting. This kind of structural embedding indicates that the construal of political posters necessarily involves interactions among multiple viewpoints. In this respect, political posters make an outstanding example of viewpoint phenomena wherein a producer’s viewpoint and a represented character’s viewpoint are intertwined, resulting in dynamic and emergent construals. Even more intriguingly, the multi-layered viewpoint structure stems from the combination of multiple channels of information, the non-verbal images and the verbal texts; in other words, the multimodal nature of posters means that their interpretation requires accessing multiple viewpoints.

This paper argues that it is crucial to figure out what kinds of viewpoints are involved and how they interact to construct meanings in multimodal (verbal/ non-verbal) signs. It shows that political posters make an outstanding example of viewpoint phenomenon, and specifically conducts a case study of political campaign posters from the two major parties in the parliament of the United Kingdom (UK): the Conservative and Labour parties. It delves into the meaning constructions of these multimodal data (i.e., data that combine two different modes, linguistic expressions and visual images) by examining explicit lexical choices and images. Presenting numerous examples, the study keeps a narrow focus on patterns of viewpoint interaction and alignment among participants (i.e., current/represented speakers and current/represented addressees) to provide qualitative accounts of the selected images within the framework of Discourse Viewpoint Space (Dancygier and Vandelanotte 2016).

The remainder of this paper proceeds as follows. Section 2 begins by discussing the theoretical background to explain the theoretical apparatus used in the data analysis. Then, after a brief introduction of the phenomena in focus, the data collection procedures are described, as is the taxonomy that is employed to systematically analyze the data in the ensuing sections. Section 3 provides
cognitive semantic analyses of salient examples of the types of data within the framework of Discourse Viewpoint Space. In Section 4, two cases that do not fit the three main categories are presented and discussed. Lastly, Section 5 summarizes the overall discussion.

2. Preliminaries

This section first explicates the theoretical background of the notions of viewpoint and multimodal phenomena. It then briefly describes the study’s dataset, the criteria for the data collection, and the categorization of the data.

2.1 Theoretical background

This study shows that multiple viewpoints in a hierarchical network motivate the construal of political posters, drawing on a fundamental assumption of Cognitive Linguistics that conceptual structure pertains not only to linguistic phenomena but also to non-verbal modes (Borkent 2017; Dancygier and Vandelanotte 2017a, 2017b, 2017c; Lou 2017; Retkittke 2017; Sweetser 2017; Kwon et al. 2016; Lee et al. 2016; Eggertsson and Forceville 2009; Yu 2009; Bergen 2003).

To begin with, the notion of viewpoint is not a new topic. Most research on the topic focuses on matters such as focalization (e.g., Bal 2009; Genette 1980) and speech and thought representation (Fludernik 1993; Banfield 1982) within narrative discourse (e.g., narratology, stylistics, poetics, etc.) (cited in Vandelanotte 2017: 157). In accord with this line of research, the present study assumes that the term viewpoint describes not only a spatiotemporal notion, but rather a comprehensive one that is multimodally and intersubjectively construed in discourse.

Furthermore, this study argues that viewpoints are hierarchically ordered so that they form a network, rather than being merely juxtaposed. According to Dancygier et al. (2016: 15), a viewpoint network is not arbitrarily constructed. For example, the construal of a narrative discourse requires that cognizers access multiple viewpoints (invoked in speech, thoughts, attitudes, and emotions of
characters, etc.), from which emergent meanings are constructed interactively and
dynamically so that the cognizers interweave the meanings with their own
viewpoints and further re-enact them in a network. Free Indirect Discourse, as
shown by Dancygier et al., illustrates that viewpoints are interwoven and
hierarchically ordered. Take a look at the following examples (from Dancygier et
al. 2016: 1):

(1) She thought: I may be president tomorrow.
(2) She thought that she might be president the next day.
(3) She was lost in thought: she might be president tomorrow!

As Dancygier et al. explain, while Direct Discourse minimizes the responsibility
of the narrator and also minimizes the distance between readers and the character,
as in (1), Indirect Discourse maximizes them, as in (2). Free Indirect Discourse,
as in (3), has a blended feature: when a viewpoint is selected for ‘local (low-level)’
purposes (e.g., as I in Direct Discourse), it still engages with ‘global (higher-level)’
viewpoint construction (e.g., as She in Indirect Discourse). This is possible because
the hierarchical structure of the network enables the conceptualizer to access its
elements by zooming in or zooming out on the given context.

Notice that this line of research differs from those in formal linguistics that
concentrate on analyzing logophoric pronouns (i.e., a reflexive pronoun whose
antecedent does not occur in the sentence itself; e.g., Culy 1997; Cantrall 1974)
and related syntactic operations (Kuno 1987). Rather, following an assumption
of Cognitive Linguistics (Dancygier and Vandelanotte 2017; Dancygier et al. 2016;
Dancygier and Sweetser 2012), this study argues that a cognitively motivated
theory accounts for the meaning construal of multimodal products in terms of
viewpoint phenomena. Specifically, it argues that the Mental Space Theory
(Dancygier and Vandelanotte 2016; Fauconnier 1997) explicates the construal
process of political posters in an elegant and structured way. The mental spaces
that discourses or narratives evoke are conceptual packages of knowledge
accommodating interlocutors’ viewpoints. Mental spaces are constructed as
humans think and talk, and these spaces can combine with each other to build
up complex conceptual structures. Because they always presuppose the presence
of cognizers, every constructed mental space inevitably involves viewpoints.
Combining viewpoints with mental spaces in a hierarchical way, the framework of Discourse Viewpoint Space offers an account for viewpoint phenomena (Dancygier and Vandelanotte 2016). Discourse Viewpoint Space refers to a top-level space in a viewpoint network in discourse, which supervises local viewpoint spaces and regulates the construal of the given stimulus based on simultaneous access to local viewpoints. Within the network, interlocutors can freely access other viewpoint spaces beyond temporal and spatial constraints—even the viewpoint spaces of imagined participants. The network is formed based on interlocutors’ intersubjective meaning negotiations via conceptual compression of multiple viewpoints. With this theoretical background, the data in focus will be analyzed in Section 3.

2.2 Phenomena in focus and data collection

The two major political parties in the UK parliament are the Conservative and Labour parties. The rivalry between the two has persisted since they were founded, and is based on the different fundamental values of the political ideologies that they espouse. The Conservative party supports a free-market economy by promoting private property and encouraging enterprise. The Labour party, in contrast, positions itself as the voice of the low-paid working classes and trade unions and emphasizes the protection of workers’ rights and a fairer redistribution of wealth, via, for example, greater government intervention in the economy. These different ideologies fuel political disputes over various issues in the UK such as taxation, foreign policy, unemployment, and so forth.2 This paper argues that the differences permeate the ways in which political campaign posters are conceptualized and construed.

The dataset was selected as follows. It was obtained from the Advertising Archives, which is a web-based archive retaining mainly British and American advertisements produced after 1850.3 The keywords ‘Conservative party poster’

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3 Advertising Archives, http://www.advertisingarchives.co.uk/en/pages/about-page.html (accessed on August 21, 2018). Some of the retrieved data were excluded as they did not fit our criteria: non-posters (56 tokens), posters not from the major parties (23 tokens), and posters that contain referentially inaccessible elements (61 tokens). Redundant data (i.e., posters that appeared more
and ‘Labour party poster’ were used to search the archive for the relevant data. A total of 87 posters were obtained. We categorized these 87 posters into three major types in terms of the referents (i.e., the speaker and the addressee), which we identified via lexical choices\(^4\) such as pronouns and imperatives and/or visual images. In this study, the terms current speaker (CS, henceforth) and current addressee (CA, henceforth) refer to the poster maker and the poster viewer, respectively, both of which reside in the current deictically central domain. The terms represented speaker (RS, henceforth) and represented addressee (RA, henceforth) refer to the protagonist and the intended addressee depicted explicitly in the posters.

The posters in the dataset were sorted into three major types (see Table 1): Type 1 consists of posters explicitly encoding the speaker (16 tokens); Type 2, posters explicitly encoding the addressee (54 tokens); and Type 3, posters explicitly encoding both the speaker and the addressee (17 tokens). What this study means by explicitly encoded is that the protagonist is linguistically and/or graphically represented in the poster so that its referent can be identified with ease. Section 3 looks at each of these three types in further detail with a specific focus on whether the viewpoint of the current interlocutor is aligned with that of the represented interlocutor.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Explicit element</th>
<th>Number of tokens</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) Speaker</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) Addressee</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) Speaker &amp; Addressee</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Based on this taxonomy, this paper draws generalizations about how political messages in posters are construed, and how the posters employ viewpoint alignment between participants. It does so by delving into the posters’ hierarchically constructed viewpoint networks, which include local perspectives and more comprehensive discourse viewpoints.

The analyses in Section 3 demonstrate how the intended messages of the

\(^4\) This study is only concerned with the posters’ salient text to obtain a clear taxonomy of the types of data.
posters are built up by exploring diverse levels in the viewpoint networks and how multiple participants interact to construct Discourse Viewpoint configurations. This way of conceptualizing message construal presupposes at least two different spaces in a network: a narrative space and a discourse space (Dancygier and Vandelanotte 2016). See Figure 1.

![Figure 1. The basic conceptual structure of viewpoint spaces](image)

This structure parallels direct/indirect speech and thought representations where a main clause subject narrates an embedded clause situation (e.g., John said that you should vote for him). In other words, just as a speaker embeds what has been said by someone else in a discourse and relays it to an addressee in a speech and thought representation construction, a CS narrates a political message framed in a type of discourse (monologue or dialogue) and relays the message to a CA via a poster. The conceptual similarity can be represented as in Figure 1: the embedding relationship in the speech and thought representation construction is reflected in the figure, which shows the discourse space embedded in the narrative space. It is noteworthy to mention that this mental-space representation is a consequence of cognizer’s abductive reasoning based on his or her cognition of an actual use of signs: upon his or her receipt of a message via linguistic or multimodal signs, one can trace back the conceptual structure invoked by his or her counterpart’s performance of the sign. That is what this study aims to model within the theory of Discourse Viewpoint Spaces. This elegant way of representation is shown to be effective especially when multiple viewpoints of interlocutors – whether it is a speaker or an addressee or a blended vantage point – interactively contribute to constructing meanings.
3. Data analysis

3.1 Posters with an explicitly encoded speaker

This section is concerned, first, with the type of poster in which the speaker is encoded explicitly by means of deictic referential expressions such as person pronouns (e.g., I) and/or an image of a person with the potential to be considered an interlocutor. There are two sub-classes of this type, depending on whether or not the viewpoint of the poster maker (CS) is aligned with that of the represented speaker (RS), which can be determined easily due to the explicit presence of the interlocutor.

3.1.1 Speakers with aligned viewpoints

Figure 2 clearly exemplifies the type in which the CS’s viewpoint is aligned with the RS’s. In this poster, the visually represented protagonist is depicted as if she were making a supportive statement for the Conservative party (i.e., “Tory”; the poster producers) by indicating that she supports the party because they care about the expenses of the members of parliament (i.e., “MPs”).

![Figure 2. A poster from the Conservative party](image)

The multimodal combination in Figure 2—an image of a woman and a line
of text I've never voted Tory before, but they're serious about sorting out MPs' expenses, or more specifically, the combination of the deictic expression I in the text and the image of the woman (the represented speaker)—constructs meanings relying on an interaction between interlocutors at different levels. In the quoted utterance, the RS says that she had never supported the Conservative party before, but nevertheless that she would this time because the party cares about the MPs' expenditures. Zooming out, poster viewers (CAs) infer that the utterance is meant to represent their viewpoint. Because the CAs do not take part in the speech event that the quoted statement evokes, such an inference relies on multiple viewpoints at different levels interacting with each other. Considering that the Labour party had been criticized for members' inappropriate expenditures, the poster can be construed as criticizing Labour and supporting the Conservative party.

Discourse Viewpoint Space theory accounts for this construal with the conceptual structure shown in Figure 3.

![Figure 3, Discourse Viewpoint Space representation of Figure 2](image-url)
In the figure, the innermost discourse space represents a conversation between the RS and the unidentified addressee and thus includes the utterance *I’ve never voted Tory before, but they’re serious about sorting out MPs’ expenses.* This conversation is re-enacted in the higher narrative space. That is, the discourse space is re-framed by another viewpoint and thus embedded in the higher space in which the poster maker (CS) intends to frame the re-enacted conversation for the CA. The discourse viewpoint space, in which the overall construal of the poster is obtained, includes the narrative space, a belief space of the poster maker, and a background space, all of which are to be accessed for the construal. The background space contains the background knowledge of the political scandal in 2009 concerning the misuse of the MPs’ budget; the poster maker’s belief space, aligned with the CS’s belief, indicates that the Conservative party would make use of the parliamentary budget in a transparent way by taking the matter seriously. The example in Figure 2 thus illustrates a case in which the viewpoint of the RS (the pictured woman) is aligned with the viewpoint of the CS (marked with dotted ovals and lines in the representation), which is intended to motivate an overall supportive construal of the poster for the Conservative party.

### 3.1.2 Speakers with non-aligned viewpoints

In some of the posters where the speaker is explicitly represented, the viewpoint of the CS is not aligned with that of the explicit RS. Figure 4 exemplifies this sub-type. Here, the CS (Labour) frames the RS (Michael Howard, a Conservative) as a con man who patronized voters with contradictory statements after publicizing a controversial taxation policy.\(^5\)

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\(^5\) The claimed effect of Michael Howard’s pledge to cut taxes turned out to be invalid, as it allegedly relied on double counting, bogus figures, and massive cuts in public services (https://www.theguardian.com/money/2005/jan/17/tax.publicservices, accessed in August 2018).
The poster in Figure 4 was produced by the Labour party in 2005 for the general election. This figure includes features of interest other than the image of Michael Howard and the text I can spend the same money twice. First, the wavy style of the text is significant as a way of indicating the illusiveness and distortedness of the message being conveyed. Second, the RS is swinging a pocket watch, in an image invoking a hypnotist. The hypnotist evokes a frame structure that includes a hypnotist, a patient, a hypnotist’s instrument (the pocket watch), a hypnotic treatment, the manner of the treatment, etc. This multimodal compression of the image of Michael Howard swinging a pocket watch and of the wavy text with the deictic expression I yields the following emergent construal: the RS is untrustworthy because his words are deceptive. This construal is reinforced by the stereotypical folk knowledge that hypnotists manipulate patients by making them unconscious of external stimuli.

The construal is motivated by the conceptual structure modeled in Figure 5.
The innermost discourse space includes the utterance *I can spend the same money twice*. The speaker in this space is Michael Howard, while the addressee is not specified, but is later to be aligned with the CA. Because this utterance is enacted in the poster for the CA (poster viewers), the discourse space is embedded in the higher space, the narrative space. The overall construal is not obtained until multiple mental spaces are accessed simultaneously in the Discourse Viewpoint Space, including the narrative/discourse space, a poster maker’s belief space, and a background space. In the Narrative space, the utterance *I can spend the same money twice* is re-framed as a hypnotic utterance in accordance with the poster maker’s viewpoint; the poster maker’s belief space contains the current speaker’s belief that the economic burden on the people will increase if the Conservative party takes office; the background space contains facts about the tax cut proposed by Michael Howard.\(^6\) The interaction of these

\(^6\) One of the anonymous reviewers sharply pointed out that it seems arbitrary to decide what kind of information is selected and accommodated by the background space. The background space is another way of representing Base space in mental-spaces theory, and this omnipotence of Base space has indeed been critically pointed out in some of the mental-spaces research such as Kwon (2012:183). Considering its definition that Base space accommodates every relevant piece of
spaces in the discourse viewpoint space leads to the construal that Michael Howard is not to be trusted and should not be voted for. This poster clearly illustrates a case where the viewpoint of the RS (Michael Howard) is not aligned with that of the CS.

3.2 Posters with an explicitly encoded addressee

In this section, we examine cases in which protagonists, specifically addressees, are explicitly encoded by the posters either verbally or non-verbally. Important cues of how the addressees are encoded are deictic expressions in texts and images of a person and/or part of a person. This type also contains two sub-classes, depending on the viewpoint alignment relationship between represented addressees and current addressees.

3.2.1 Addressees with aligned viewpoints

Figure 6 provides a typical example of the first category, where the CA’s viewpoint is aligned with that of the RA. In this case, the poster maker is strongly suggesting that one should support the Conservative party by voting for Churchill.

interlocutor’s mutually shared knowledge of the real world (Croft and Cruse 2004: 33; Fauconnier 1997), one nevertheless can efficiently represent the meaning construal thanks to the notion of Base space, by focusing on the relatively salient part of information in context. In this vein, the authors contend that to accommodate relevant information in the background space would not bleed the main argument of this paper, and would rather help efficiently model the conceptual structure involved in the construal.
Figure 6 is a Conservative party poster from 1945. It consists of the text *Confirm your confidence in Churchill. Put it there!* and an image of a ballot paper with someone’s hand marking X on it. Specifically, the deictic expression *your*, the imperative sentences, and the image allow viewers to imagine a hypothetical situation in which someone (RA) is voting for Churchill. In addition, it can be inferred that the represented protagonist works as the addressee referred to as *you* in the text. With the help of this multimodal pairing, viewers are able to align their viewpoint with that of the represented protagonist marking the ballot paper. In other words, the CA’s viewpoint is aligned with that of the RA.

The viewpoint configuration involved in this construal can be modeled as a Discourse Viewpoint Space network as shown in Figure 7. It requires at least three viewpoint spaces. It first constructs an individual discourse space, which refers to a hypothetical space where represented participants (speaker/addressee) have their conversations. Because the RS (who takes the role of a character speaking the texts in the poster) is not clearly specified, it is marked as a question mark in the discourse space.
However, the RA is explicitly depicted as you in the poster, and is therefore marked as “you” in the discourse space. Because this fictive conversation is re-enacted in the poster, this discourse space is conceptually embedded in the narrative space where a poster maker conveys his/her intended message by narrating it. As noted above, CS and CA refer to poster maker and poster viewer, respectively, in the narrative space. From this configuration, it could be inferred that the RA is aligned with the CA (marked with dotted ovals and lines in the representation). Furthermore, the poster maker’s belief that Winston Churchill is the best candidate contributes to the following construal: voters should support Winston Churchill of the Conservative party.

3.2.2 Addressees with non-aligned viewpoints

Figure 8 exemplifies the second sub-class, in which the CA is not aligned with the RA. Figure 8 is a poster from the Labour party in the 1990s, which consists of a combination of an image depicting a politician (John Major) paired
with the text *Come in number 10, your time’s up*, meaning ‘the current Conservative
Prime Minister is incompetent, and now that it is time to vote for a new one,
vote for Labour’. In this case, the Labour party chose to depict the opposition
party member (the Conservative John Major) to symbolize a number of
problems, particularly, an economic downturn and unemployment issues. The
phrase ‘number 10’ refers to 10 Downing Street, which is (usually) the residence
and office of the Prime Minister of the UK. This metonymic link (Dancygier and
Sweetser 2014) motivates the construal that the expression *number 10* stands for
the Prime Minister (here, John Major).

At first glance, it might not be clear whether the represented protagonist in
the image plays the role of speaker or addressee. However, the moment that we
access the poster’s verbal text, and the image depicting him with his head buried
in his hands, it is not hard to figure out that John Major takes the role of
addressee in the discourse context. In addition, the first part of the text *Come in
number 10* may cause ambiguity regarding whether it refers to the depicted
politician (John Major) or another (not represented in the poster). In other words,
the addressee of the first part of the sentence could be different from that of the
second part, or they could both refer to the same person. However, after
accessing the second clause, *your time’s up*, paired with the visual image, the
ambiguity is resolved. Thus, with a combination of image and text, the poster
conveys a clear political message that the Conservative government should not be in charge anymore, so the viewer should vote Labour.

Figure 9 models the viewpoint configuration involved in this construal.

The conceptual modeling in Figure 9 indicates that at least five viewpoint spaces are accessed in the construal. The discourse between the (implicit and unspecified) RS and the RA (John Major) forms a discourse space as basic input. Still, the RS is unspecified, whereas the RA is clearly encoded in this poster. This space is embedded in the narrative structure where the CS narrates the Labour party’s viewpoint to viewers (the CA). Meanwhile, this construal is relevant to Labour’s belief that John Major failed to control the unemployment rate. Additionally, the background knowledge that John Major did cause the economic downturn, and that number 10 metonymically refers to the Prime Minister of the UK, are integrated into the ultimate configuration of the Discourse Viewpoint Space network.
3.3 Posters with an explicitly encoded speaker and addressee

This section discusses exemplary posters that show how both explicit speakers and explicit addressees contribute to meaning construction. Figure 10 is a poster from the Labour party, which indicates that the viewpoint of the CS (poster maker) is aligned with that of the RS (unspecified speaker), and at the same time that the viewpoint of the CA (poster viewer) is not aligned with that of the RA (the Conservative John Major).

![Figure 10. A poster from the Labour Party in the 1990s](image)

This poster from the Labour party in the 1990s contains a visual image of a politician (John Major) and the text *Sorry, but we’re going to have to let you go*, meaning “the Conservative Prime Minister (John Major) did a terrible job, so vote for Labour instead of giving another opportunity to the Conservatives.” At first glance, it might not be clear which role the represented protagonist in the image plays: the speaker or the addressee. The moment the viewers access the verbal text, however, they would quickly recognize who is talking to whom here: the use of the first-person plural *we* (RS) indicates that the viewpoint of the RS is aligned with that of the CS (Labour) because *we* semantically refers to an agent who wants the Conservatives out. Notice that the pronoun is used with its exclusive sense: it excludes the visually represented addressee, John Major.
Because 'Mr. Major' (RA) cannot be the CA (poster viewer), Figure 10 provides a case where speakers with aligned viewpoints and addressees with non-aligned viewpoints interact.

To fully understand the political message of this poster, we need to access at least four spaces, as in Figure 11. The discourse between the RS (Labour) and the RA (John Major) forms a discourse space, which is the basic input, and which is re-enacted and thus embedded in a higher narrative space.

Considering that the text itself is an expression used to fire someone, it can be inferred that the poster maker intentionally selects this phrase to criticize the opposition's handling of the unemployment issue. The viewpoints of the CS and the RS seem to be aligned with each other (as marked by dotted ovals and lines in the representation). It is noteworthy, however, that incongruity between the discourse space and the narrative space occurs because the intention of offering an apology to Mr. Major does not match the intention of the CS in the narrative space. The RS's utterance Sorry, but we're going to have to let you go, implies that the speaker would prefer not to fire you but has no choice. The CS's intention,
however, is to strongly criticize Mr. Major (RA) by dismissing him in a hypothetical context with a phrase that all of the people who had lost their jobs might have heard. The inconsistency of viewpoints is resolved by zooming out from the discourse space so that the context of the narrative structure is re-assessed as ironic, providing the conceptual resolution of the inconsistency at the Discourse Viewpoint Space level (for a discussion on how a sense of irony arises, see Tobin and Israel 2012).

This construal is also related to background knowledge about Labour’s belief that John Major failed to control the unemployment rate, and that the rate rapidly increased from 1990 to 1993 when John Major was Prime Minister. Figure 10 thus exemplifies the poster type in which speakers’ viewpoints are aligned but addressees’ viewpoints are not. By integrating multiple viewpoint spaces, the poster conveys the political message that many citizens in the UK suffered job loss because the Conservative government (led by John Major) failed in labor policy, so vote Labour.

In the final sub-type of poster, the viewpoints of the CS and RS are not aligned, but the viewpoints of the CA and RA are aligned. Figure 12 is another poster from the Labour party, this one designed in 1929. To begin with, the poster consists of at least three components: the inner text, *The man at the top: “Equality of Sacrifice—that’s the big idea, friends! Let’s all step down one rung!”*; the image of the four men on a single ladder that is standing in water; and the outer text, *Sacrifice? Vote Labour.* The protagonists presented visually in the poster represent people in various economic strata; thus, the inner text’s imperative would result in the unfortunate situation that the lowest people are unfairly drowned. The meaning that emerges is “British society unfairly imposes the privileged class’s views on the disadvantaged in the name of equality. If you think this is unreasonable, vote Labour.”
This interpretation can be accounted for by examining viewpoint interactions with the help of the linguistic and visual cues in the poster. The inner text is a direct quotation of the RS, and both the RS and the RA are accessible based on the expressions the man at the top (RS), friends (RA), and the usage of us in Let’s, which includes the RS and the RA. The interlocutors are also visualized in the image as the four men on the ladder. Based on the text and the image, poster viewers can easily recognize that the chubby man on the highest rung is the RS and the three men under him are the RA. The visualization of their positions on the ladder, their stereotypical outfits, and their salaries engraved on their coats shows their socio-economic status. Lastly, the poster’s outer text, Sacrifice? Vote Labour, is located outside of the poster discourse. With this meta text, the poster

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7 From this imaginary scene, it can be inferred that the ladder metaphorically represents the hierarchical structure of social class in British society (via the conceptual metaphor STATUS IS VERTICALITY). Further discussion of the metaphorical conceptualization involved in the construal is, however, beyond the scope of this study (for more on conceptual metaphor systems, see Lakoff and Johnson 1999).
maker (CS) is taking a dubious stance toward the situation depicted in the poster, where the man at the top (with the highest salary) forces the others to sacrifice equally. The meta text thus implies that the CS’s viewpoint is not aligned with the RS’s, but is aligned with the viewpoints of the addressees; poster viewers are likely to sympathize with the other three men, not with the man at the top.

The conceptual structure of the viewpoint network constructed in Figure 12 can be modeled as shown in Figure 13.

![Figure 13. Discourse Viewpoint Representation of Figure 12](image)

In the representation in the figure, the discourse space contains the fictive conversation between the RS and RA, and this fictive conversation space is conceptually embedded in the narrative space formed by the CS and CA. The
utterance would sound noble if it had been used by itself (without an image). The discourse situated in the image of the four men on a single ladder in the water, however, makes visible the radical difference in how each man would experience the ‘equality of sacrifice’, especially the man at the top and the man at the bottom. The incongruity induces the ironic construal: if all four people go one step down, the man at the top would remain out of harm’s way while the man at the bottom would be drowned, and the other two would be drenched at the least. In other words, the one who can afford the most would sacrifice the least, whereas the one who is already suffering would have no choice but to sacrifice the most. This ironic construal relies on a conceptual incongruity that arises only when the narrative space that embeds the discourse space is available, so that the narrative space and the discourse space are simultaneously accessed.

Meanwhile, the ironic construal is contained in the meta text domain where the outer text Sacrifice? Vote Labour resides. In this space, the CS evaluates the narrative space construal and takes an emotionally negative stance toward it, obtaining the interpretation “If you do not want this undesirable situation (where sacrifices are demanded inappropriately) to happen, please vote Labour.” The overall ironic construal thus relies on background information and the CS’s belief as well as what is encoded in the poster. The background information grounds the viewpoint configuration; the poster came out the same year the Great Depression began, and Britain’s economy was already in a recession before that; it can be inferred that sacrifice was generally being demanded of individuals to restore the nation’s economy. In addition, the poster maker’s belief helps frame the conveyed message of the poster, because to their view, the envisioned equality of sacrifice is not the appropriate way to achieve a better economy.

4. Discussion: Complex cases

In this section, we will examine two pieces of data that do not fit any of the three main categories. Although the posters we have analyzed in Section 3 show varying patterns of the encoding and aligning of viewpoints, their narratives
share a common conceptual structure: only one layer of discourse space containing a monologue is embedded in the narrative space. We will first look at a case in which there are two layers of discourse space, and then move on to another case in which the embedded discourse is a dialogue.

4.1 Multi-level discourse spaces

Figure 14 is a poster from the Conservative party campaign for the 2009 European Parliament election; it criticizes Gordon Brown, the then Prime Minister and the leader of Labour, for rejecting the EU treaty referendum he had earlier promised in his election manifesto. What makes it conspicuous is that it sets up multiple levels of discourse space, with each of the spaces having its own pair of RS and RA. As there are two pairs of RS and RA in this datum, it cannot be put in one of the categories we have established on the assumption that there is only a single pair of RS and RA in each poster.

Figure 14. A poster with multi-level discourse spaces

The poster contains a two-faced image of Gordon Brown, and two groups of text represented in different colors and sizes. The utterances in small red letters are Gordon Brown’s; this can be inferred from their position relative to the image (i.e., near his mouth) and the use of quotation marks. Interestingly, while
both quotes are taken from what Gordon Brown had actually said about the referendum, they seem to contradict one another. By interacting with the image in the center, the quotes yield the following reading: Gordon Brown says that there will be no referendum, then turns around and says that he will hold the referendum as promised earlier. Meanwhile, the headline in white text contains a pun between *U-turn* and *EU-turn*; it draws on the stereotypical public image of Labour, which is notorious for political U-turns (i.e., overturning or changing their own political decisions or stances), aiming to convince voters that they should press Labour to make another U-turn on the EU referendum by voting Conservative. Because the sarcastic voice this headline conveys is not in favor of the Labour party, it is unlikely that Gordon Brown is also the speaker of the headline text.

This construal is motivated by a distinctive conceptual pattern, which can be elucidated within the framework of Discourse Viewpoint Space. The headline and Gordon Brown’s utterances set up two separate layers of discourse space: the headline, which comments on Gordon Brown’s possible overturing of his refusal, constitutes a higher-level space (Discourse space 2) that embeds the quoted discourse (Discourse space 1). This relation is modeled in Figure 15 below, along with the entire network of viewpoints involved in the construal of the intended message.

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8 Note, however, that the utterances *No referendum* and *The referendum I promised* originally belong to separate mental spaces; two different discourse situations are compressed into one (Fauconnier and Turner 2002: 92). We will not discuss this in detail here, as our intention is to focus on the alignment relation between the poster makers/viewers in the real world and the characters represented in the posters.
Discourse space 1 contains the quoted utterances, with a specific speaker encoded by an image and a deictic expression. On the other hand, Discourse space 2, the headline, contains no linguistic cues regarding the speaker’s identity; it only invokes the presence of the addressee, which it does through the imperative. The interaction between the two spaces yields the interpretation that the addressee of Discourse space 2 is urged to make Gordon Brown change his stance on the EU referendum. Meanwhile, the linguistic item *next U-turn* in the headline presupposes that there had been at least one previous instance of a “U-turn” made by Labour. In the narrative space, this implication interacts with the background knowledge that the Labour government had often been criticized for making political U-turns.

Zooming out to the narrative space, where the real-world poster maker (i.e., the Conservative party) and the viewer reside, the cognizer understands that the current speaker’s viewpoint is not aligned with Gordon Brown’s. The poster viewer is to be aligned with the unspecified addressee of Discourse space 2. This higher-level space then conspires with the two other input spaces in order to construct the Discourse Viewpoint Space, where the overall construal of the
poster is obtained. Notice that the higher-level space is accommodated in Discourse Space, not in Narrative Space (cf. Figure 13), because the text in this poster *Make Labour’s next U-turn an EU-turn* represents an utterance made by a represented speaker; in contrast, part of the text that Figure 12 contains *The man at the top said:* belongs to Narrative Space, because it has a different viewpoint (narrator, CS) from the one (RS) behind the rest of the text (i.e., *Equality of Sacrifice—that’s the big idea, friends! Let’s all step down one rung!*). The background space contains knowledge regarding Gordon Brown’s promise and refusal to hold the EU treaty referendum, and the other space is concerned with the poster maker’s belief that people should vote Conservative if they want the referendum to be held as promised. The dynamic interaction of the three spaces yields the following interpretation in the Discourse Viewpoint Space: voters should support the Conservative party in the upcoming election to make the Labour government overturn their refusal of the EU referendum. As we have seen, more than one layer of discourse space is involved in the construal, distinguishing this datum from the previous cases.

### 4.2 Dialogue

Figure 16 is a poster designed by the Labour party for the 1987 general election, in which the Conservative government is criticized for cutting the public education budget. What makes this datum distinctive from the previous ones is that it quotes a dialogue; the characters take turns in a single discourse situation instead of having a fixed speaker and addressee.
The poster contains a fictive discourse between a boy and a girl, in which the poster maker’s sarcastic stance toward the current situation (public education budget cuts) is implied. Each utterance is presented inside a speech balloon to indicate who the speaker is. Here, the boy is asking the girl if he could carry her books home from school, presumably in the hope of winning her favor. His offer, however, is turned down for a somewhat unexpected reason: the girl has no books for him to carry. The surrounding political context, that is, that the Conservative government had severely curtailed spending on public education, is given in the caption below the image. Because this poster was made by the Labour party, the conveyed message is that the Labour party should be voted
for in the upcoming election in order to bring public education back to normal.

The construal can be modeled as shown in Figure 17. This time, the characters in the discourse space both take the role of *interlocutors* instead of *represented speaker/addressee* as in the previous, monologic cases.

This innermost space is embedded in the narrative space, where it interacts with a background space containing information about the Conservative government’s budget cuts affecting public schools. From this higher-level viewpoint, the cognizer understands that the unsuccessful romance between the protagonists is connected to a broader context of education budget policy, and that the girl’s school could not afford to buy textbooks for their students. Additionally, the poster maker’s belief that the public schools need to receive adequate funding from the government (so that they can afford textbooks) is accessed. Through the interaction between multiple viewpoints, the overall construal of the poster is obtained in the Discourse Viewpoint Space: voters should support Labour if they want public schools to be sufficiently funded.
This datum is significant in that its overall construal relies on the viewpoint interaction in a dialogue, rather than on static, monologic CS-RS and CA-RA relationships.

This section has examined two exceptional cases: one in which a discourse space embeds another discourse space, and one in which the discourse participants exchange roles. It has been shown that, despite their complexities, these posters’ meaning construction can be accounted for in a unified fashion in terms of Discourse Viewpoint Space networks; the overall construal is obtained as the top-level Discourse Viewpoint Space supervises the overall construal and resolves any conflict between local viewpoints.

5. Conclusion

This study has provided cognitive semantic analyses of political campaign posters from the two major political parties, the Conservative and the Labour party, in the UK. The analyses make a significant case study of multimodal viewpoint phenomena because they are concerned with pairings of two different channels, linguistic expressions and visual images, whose construals necessarily rely on how meanings are constructed and on how multiple viewpoints in a network of multiple levels interact. Within the framework of Discourse Viewpoint Space, this study has clearly shown that the viewpoint configurations in the posters conspire to make the intended messages fit the political parties’ identities. The study’s terminology—current speaker, current addressee, represented speaker, and represented addressee—was useful for constructing its taxonomy of campaign poster types. The following three major types were analyzed: (1) those explicitly encoding the speaker, (2) those explicitly encoding the addressee, and (3) those explicitly encoding both. Each of the types was investigated with special attention to whether the viewpoint of the current interlocutors aligned with that of the represented interlocutors. Employing this inductive functional taxonomy, this paper also discussed minor but intriguingly complex cases, and made an attempt to draw generalizations on how political messages are constructed and construed in political posters in relation to diverse levels in a viewpoint network and to viewpoint alignment between participants. This case
study supports the claim that viewpoint configuration and interaction at multiple levels in a network is crucial in constructing meaning out of multimodal phenomena.

It is noteworthy that more than a few cases deviate from a canonical meaning construction in political posters, in that the poster makers employ an image of the opposition party’s leader. With this tactic, they seem to flout the default intention underlying political posters (i.e., promoting a candidate by making the candidate visible with a positive message). The makers of these political posters would never want to encourage people to vote for their political opponents, but they rely on the viewers to see the poster maker’s intention by realizing that the viewpoints of the poster maker and of the represented participant (their political opponent) are not aligned. When the viewpoints of the speakers are not aligned, the viewers are in a position to access the poster maker’s intention of indirectly criticizing the opponent’s party by re-enacting a narrative involving the opponent from the maker’s perspective. This cognitive configuration of multiple viewpoints in different alignment relationships can lead naturally to an ironic construal, as discussed in Section 3, but there is a need for further systematic research on the conceptual motivation between unaligned viewpoints and ironic senses.

References


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### Selected data

Figure 2
http://www.advertisingarchives.co.uk/?service=asset&action=show_preview&asset=87514

413

Figure 4
http://www.advertisingarchives.co.uk/?service=asset&action=show_preview&asset=38501

Figure 6
http://www.advertisingarchives.co.uk/?service=asset&action=show_preview&asset=39402

Figure 8
http://www.advertisingarchives.co.uk/?service=asset&action=show_preview&asset=1445

Figure 10
http://www.advertisingarchives.co.uk/?service=asset&action=show_preview&asset=24071

Figure 12
http://www.advertisingarchives.co.uk/?service=asset&action=show_preview&asset=17485

Figure 14
http://www.advertisingarchives.co.uk/?service=asset&action=show_preview&asset=87518

556

Figure 16
http://www.advertisingarchives.co.uk/?service=asset&action=show_preview&asset=8312

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