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Tanulmányok

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MULTIMODAL METAPHORS IN TV COMMERCIALS OF FOUR POLISH BEER BRANDS¹

0. Introduction

A central concept in Cognitive Linguistics, metaphor is considered “not just a matter of language, but of thought and reason” (Lakoff 1993: 208). Therefore, if people think metaphorically, metaphors should be omnipresent in all aspects of our lives. Initially, most cognitive linguists engaged in the study of the linguistic manifestations of metaphor but recent years have witnessed a thriving young interdisciplinary area of research which focuses on metaphor in multimodal discourse. Under this new approach, metaphor may also be expressed in a wide variety of nonverbal ways and hence is expected to occur simultaneously in multiple modes, such as visuals, written and spoken language, gestures, nonverbal sound, or music (cf. Forceville 2008; 2009). In light of this, commercials seem well suited for the study of multimodal metaphor since the key to success for a good commercial is ‘to deploy a good metaphor’ (Forceville 2008: 273). Accordingly, this study offers an analysis of multimodal metaphors found in 12 television commercials of four Polish beer brands: *Książęce*, *Lech*, *Warka*, and *Żywiec*. This paper argues that both cultural context and the promotional strategies used for each beer brand play a crucial role in the creation of multimodal metaphors in TV commercials of beer.

1. Background

1.1. From Conceptual Metaphor Theory to multimodal metaphor

Metaphor is a central concept in Cognitive Linguistics, defined as ‘understanding one thing in terms of another’ (Lakoff–Johnson 1980: 5). Unlike the traditional theories of language, Cognitive Linguistics views metaphor as a system of mappings (correspondences) between two domains: the *source domain*, which refers to concrete concepts, and the *target domain*, which, in principle, pertains to more abstract concepts. The source domain is therefore used to understand the target domain and the two domains are, in general, irreversible (Kövecses

¹ A tanulmány szóbeli, első változata a Budapesti Műszaki és Gazdaságtudományi Egyetemen működő Visual Learning Lab 7. nemzetközi konferenciáján hangzott el, 2016. november 11–12-én. Az írásos változat megjelentetését, nyelvi lektorálását a VLL támogatta (<http://www.vll.bme.hu>). A tanulmányok szakmai lektorálását Benedek András és Veszelszki Ágnes végezte el. Nyelvi lektor: Horváth Péter Iván.

2010). Metaphors involve conceptual mappings which occur in the brain (see the Neural Theory of Metaphor proposed by Lakoff and Feldman – briefly outlined in Kövecses 2010: 86–88) and metaphorical expressions are their linguistic manifestations. However, it should be noted that if metaphor is conceptual in nature, it should also be realised in non-linguistic ways. As Forceville and Urios-Aparisi point out: “Indeed they *must* do so, for if researching nonverbal and not-purely-verbal metaphor does not yield robust findings, this jeopardizes the Lakoff-and-Johnsonian presupposition that we think metaphorically” (2009: 4). Therefore, it can be expected that the realisations of metaphor would occur not only in language but also in a variety of other modes. Different modes may not express the meaning identically and hence one mode is not fully ‘translatable’ into other modes (Forceville–Urios-Aparisi 2009). For these reasons, metaphor research should focus on various modes and should not be restricted to language.

1.2. Defining monomodal and multimodal metaphor

1.2.1. What is mode?

Mode (also called modality) is “a complex of various factors” which can be defined as “a sign system interpretable because of a specific perception process” (Forceville 2009: 22). In this approach, each mode is linked to one of the five senses, resulting in the following list of possible modes: (1) pictorial or visual mode; (2) aural or sonic mode; (3) olfactory mode; (4) gustatory mode; and (5) tactile mode (Forceville 2009: 22). Such categorisation, however, is vague and inadequate for the purposes of studying monomodal and multimodal metaphor. For example, the sonic mode may not only include spoken language, but also music and non-verbal sound. However, as Forceville (2009) points out, providing a satisfactory definition of mode or an exhaustive list of all possible modes still remains an open issue for scholars engaged in this young area of study. At this stage, he proposes to take into consideration at least the following modes: (1) pictorial signs (i.e. visuals); (2) written signs (i.e. written language); (3) spoken signs (i.e. spoken language); (4) gestures; (5) non-verbal sounds; (6) music; (7) smells; (8) tastes; (9) touch (Forceville 2008; 2009). These modes, and possibly other ones as well, can be applied in rendering monomodal and multimodal metaphors.

1.2.2. Monomodal metaphor

Forceville defines monomodal metaphor as one “whose target and source are exclusively or predominantly rendered in one mode” (Forceville 2009: 23). This means that monomodal metaphor exploits one mode only therefore it can be realised exclusively via spoken or written language yielding metaphorical linguistic expressions, or visually, that is, as pictorial metaphor. As far as pictorial metaphor is concerned, Forceville (2007) defines four subtypes of this type of monomodal metaphor:

- *hybrid metaphor*: this metaphor conflates the visually rendered source and target domains into a single gestalt, which is physically impossible;
- contextual metaphor: the target is placed in a visual context, which evokes the visually absent source;
- *pictorial simile*: both target and source are visually present and juxtaposed to imply shared visual traits;
- *integrated metaphor*: the target is presented visually in a way that resembles another object (the source) without contextual cues (i.e. only the posture or position of the target points to the source).

Although pictorial metaphor is only realised in one mode, it may also be involved in rendering multimodal metaphor, as indicated by Forceville (2007, 2008) and this study.

1.2.3. Multimodal metaphor

Forceville describes multimodal metaphor as one “whose target and source are each represented exclusively or predominantly in different modes” (Forceville 2009: 24). Therefore, unlike monomodal metaphor, multimodal metaphor involves at least two modes. In other words, metaphor counts as multimodal if its source and target are represented in two different modes, and if its source is, for example, introduced through spoken language, non-verbal sound and image, and the target is cued only in one of these modes (cf. Forceville 2009 for a detailed explanation of the difference between monomodal and multimodal metaphor in the example of *cat is elephant*). Deciding if any metaphor counts as monomodal or multimodal may be challenging as the source and the target domains may be represented in multiple, yet exactly the same modes. Metaphor can also be realised in one mode, for example, via spoken language, and may be reinforced by another mode, for example, visually. As Forceville proposes, monomodal and multimodal metaphor should be seen “as extremes on a continuum rather than as two distinct types” (2008: 280). Therefore, some examples of multimodal metaphor may be less prototypical than others.

1.3. Previous studies on metaphor in beer advertising

Beer brands and beer advertising have been of interest to several metaphor scholars. Geeraerts (2006; originally published in 1999) studied metaphorical and literal brand names of beer. Although Geeraerts analyses names of Belgian beer brands, his study comprises a cross-cultural perspective as well (mostly through a comparison with Dutch beer brands and the importance of beer in Dutch culture).

In his studies which focus mostly on the theory and workings of monomodal and multimodal metaphor, Forceville (2007, 2008) provides analyses of various commercials broadcast in Dutch television, including beer commercials. He discusses the following creative metaphors: beer is wine, brand cuvée beer is quality wine, bavaria beer is olympic torch, palm beer is a belgian horse. Forceville points out that "we should not forget that metaphors are best interpreted by analyzing them in context (...), and by taking cognizance of which is the audience to be addressed" (2008: 275).

The importance of cultural context in multimodal metaphor analysis was brought into focus by Lantolf and Bobrova (2012), who offer a study of beer metaphors in American and Ukrainian TV commercials of beer, arguing that cross-cultural variation in mappings and entailments of metaphor results from differences in the conceptualisation of happiness, beer drinking, friendship, and patriotism in the two cultures and languages. Lantolf and Bobrova (2012) provide a detailed discussion of the multimodal metaphors happiness is drinking beer and beer is a person, which was often the case in the analysed American and Ukrainian TV commercials. According to their paper, Ukrainian beer commercials also render the metaphor love for the motherland is drinking beer. Furthermore, Bobrova (2013) in her dissertation analyses American and Russian TV commercials of beer, and American and Ukrainian TV commercials of vodka. She discusses the following metaphors found in American beer commercials: happiness is drinking beer, desired beer is a precious commodity, beer is a person, miller lite is a national flag, beer is a special beverage, bud light beer is a magic object, budweiser is medicine, and miller lite beer is a life saver. As far as Russian beer commercials are concerned, Bobrova identified the following multimodal metaphors: happiness is drinking beer, beer is a person, beer is a scientific invention, beer is a magic liquid, beer is a concert, beer is an interesting object, beer is new Russia, and the metaphoric chain permission is green and beer is permission. Bobrova (2013) emphasises the importance of studying multimodal metaphor as a cultural phenomenon, arguing that multimodal metaphor should be explored in its cultural context, possibly by conducting comparative analyses which include various languages and cultures. Based on her findings, she argues that similarities and differences in metaphors, their structure and elaborations, result from cultural variation and discrepancies in the conceptualisation of happiness, friendship, masculinity, and patriotism.

1.4. The importance of brand identification

Multiple studies have shown that recognition of a brand name may have a considerable influence on consumers' choice, since "subjects who are aware of one brand in a choice set tend to choose the known brand even when it is lower in quality than other brands they have had the opportunity to sample" (Hoyer–Brown 1990: 147). Allison and Uhl (1964) indicated that consumers are unable to detect their preferred brands in blind taste tests. According to the same study, beer drinkers are not able to recognise their preferred beer from others in blind taste tests, but they tend to rate their preferred brands higher when those were identified.

2. Aims of the study

Commercials seem to be well suited for the study of multimodal metaphor since the key to success for a good commercial is “to deploy a good metaphor” (Forceville 2008: 273). Moreover, multimodal metaphor cued in the commercials must be effortlessly understood by the viewers and for this reason it can be expected that commercials would point to elements of cultural background relevant for a specific metaphor and a particular audience. Therefore, cultural context plays an important role in both the construction and comprehension of metaphors (cf. Kövecses 2005), and this notion also seems to be valid for multimodal metaphor in TV commercials of beer (Lantolf–Bobrova 2012; Bobrova 2013). However, in this paper I argue that not only cultural context but also advertising strategies used for each beer brand play a crucial role in the creation of multimodal metaphor in TV commercials of beer. Brand awareness is of key importance for a brand’s success since consumers’ choice tends to be based on the recognition of a product rather than on its quality, also as far as beer is concerned (Hoyer–Brown 1990; Allison–Uhl 1964). For this reason, advertisements and TV commercials of a brand need to exploit advertising strategy, which will draw viewer’s attention and present a positive image of the brand. A deft use of metaphor may play a crucial role in TV commercials since, as Kövecses points out, “an appropriately selected metaphor may work wonders in promoting the sale of an item” (2010: 65).

In light of the above, this study aims at exploring the role of both cultural background and branding strategies on metaphor creation in TV commercials of Polish beer brands.

3. Data collection and methodology

This research aims to offer a detailed qualitative analysis of the collected data. For this reason, it is based on a relatively small corpus of 12 TV commercials. The corpus comprises of the commercials of four Polish beer brands: *Książęce* (4 TV commercials), *Lech* (2), *Warka* (3), *Żywiec* (3). The selected brands are well-known and popular in Poland. The commercials were collected on the brands’ YouTube channels and they were launched in the years 2014–2016 (for the full list of the selected TV commercials, see Appendix).

As far as the research methodology is concerned, my procedure consists of the following six steps inspired by a model of Forceville (2002) and Bobrova (2013):

- 1) Identifying potential metaphors by answering the question: is there a concept understood through another concept?
- 2) Identifying the modes involved in rendering a metaphor.
- 3) Identifying the two concepts involved in metaphor.

- 4) Deciding which one of the concepts is the target and which one is the source domain.
- 5) Identifying metonymies which point to the target or the source domain.
- 6) Examining the mappings between the potential target domain and the potential source domain to find out if the two concepts are indeed involved in metaphor.

4. A study of multimodal metaphor in Polish beer commercials

4.1. Książęce

The beer brand Książęce addresses their commercials to connoisseurs, as they present their products as masterpieces in every respect yielding the metaphor *ksiażęce beer is a masterpiece*. This metaphor is realised in some linguistic metaphorical expressions (spoken mode), such as *piwne yin i yang* 'the yin and yang of beer', or *harmonijna kompozycja nut karmelu i chmielu* 'a harmonious composition of caramel and hop notes'. These expressions are accompanied by a well-known piece of orchestral music, which is *In the Hall of the Mountain King* by Edvard Grieg (music mode), and also by moving images (visual mode) of beer ingredients 'dancing' around a glass of beer.

Table 1:
Multimodal metaphors and modes used in TV commercials of Książęce beer brand

Metaphor	Target cued in modes				Source cued in modes			
	Spoken language	Written language	Visual	Music	Spoken language	Written language	Visual	Music
Książęce beer is a masterpiece	X		X		X		X	X
Książęce beer is wine	X		X		X		X	
Książęce beer is a mystery	X	X			X	X	X	
Knowing is seeing	X				X		X	
Książęce beer is a living organism	X		X		X		X	

The TV commercials suggest that the Książęce beer is not only a masterpiece in its own category, but it is also as excellent and elegant as wine. The metaphor *beer is wine* is cued by using "winespeak" (cf. Caballero 2009). The taste of beer is described as if it was wine – it can be *bogaty* 'rich', *łagodny* 'mild', *rześki* 'fresh, lively' or *delikatny* 'delicate'. Moreover, in each of the analysed commer-

cials, the presentation of a type of beer involves instruction on how to pour the beer and recommendation of a particular type of glass and food (in spoken language and visual mode). These practices are also associated with wine rather than beer. In one of the commercials, the high quality of wine is also emphasised via the metaphor beer is an elegant dish, as beer is served on a platter and the dining table is covered with a white cloth, which reminds the viewer of a meal in an elegant restaurant. This contextual metaphor also adds to the metaphor beer is wine, since beer is presented as a high quality beverage which can be consumed in elegant places and at special occasions.

Another metaphor exploited by the brand is *książęce beer is a mystery*, which is manifested even in the brand's slogan *Książęce. Nie jedno do odkrycia* ('Książęce. Not one to uncover'). A common scenario in the commercials is unravelling part of the mystery by introducing the ingredients. A case in point is the commercial of one of the brand's products called *Czerwony Lager* 'Red Lager'. First, the words *Sprawdźmy, co kryje się pod kapslem* ('Let's see what is hidden under the bottle cap') can be heard, which point to the metaphors *książęce beer is a mystery* (because the secrets are hidden inside the bottle) and *knowing is seeing* (because the mystery will be unravelled by showing the ingredients). Then, we can see a bottle cap and subsequently a dining table with a cloth on it, whose shape is similar to the shape of the bottle cap. These two images yield the pictorial simile a cloth is a bottle cap. Finally, the metaphors *książęce beer is a mystery* and *knowing is seeing* are expanded by showing that beer is poured into a glass on the table and, shortly after that, the ingredients are presented around the glass of beer.

Lastly, the *Książęce beer brand* also uses the multimodal metaphor *książęce beer is a living organism*, which is rendered, for example, in the commercial of *Książęce Złote Pszeniczne* (wheat beer of *Książęce brand*). This metaphor is manifested via spoken language and visuals, since the metaphorical linguistic expression *zaowocują chłodnym orzeźwieniem* '[taste of ingredients] will bear fruit of cool refreshment' is accompanied by a moving image of cereal grass growing from a glass of beer (yielding the hybrid metaphor *beer is wheat*).

4.2. Lech

The TV commercials of *Lech beer* in the analysed corpus are based on the metaphors *Lech beer is a person* (or even *beer is a friend*) and *happiness is drinking beer*. These commercials are addressed mostly to male viewers, since a man is always the main character and women play no more than an accompanying role in these commercials. There is a male narrator telling a story about how *Leszek Chmielewski* helped him to solve his problem and changed his life. *Leszek Chmielewski* is a fictional character in the commercials. The name *Leszek Chmielewski* stands for the name of the *Lech beer*: *Leszek* is a diminutive form of *Lech*, which is not only the name of a beer brand, but first of all a male name in Polish; *Chmielewski* is a Polish family name formed of the word *chmiel* 'hop'.

Therefore, the name Leszek Chmielewski already points to the metaphor Lech beer is a person, however, without the visual context, it can represent the source domain only. The male narrator does not mention that the story about Leszek Chmielewski actually pertains to the Lech beer. It becomes clear that the name metonymically refers to the Lech beer when the target is presented visually, especially because such scene is usually accompanied by the words *I wtedy pojawił się Leszek* ('And then Leszek showed up'). The main character expresses his gratitude and respect towards Leszek Chmielewski, introducing him even as a friend (e.g. *Leszek Chmielewski to mój stary kumpel* 'Leszek Chmielewski is my old mate') and as a result, yielding the metaphor beer is a friend. Moreover, Leszek Chmielewski (and consequently Lech beer) is presented as an innovative and brilliant person who changes his friends' lives by helping them to solve their problems, giving them new ideas, and inspiring them.

Interestingly, the main characters (narrators) are always foreigners from various parts of the world. This may suggest that the Lech beer is appreciated all around the globe. The narrator in one of the commercials is a barber who lives in Brazil and he is telling a story about a day when a famous football player visited his barbershop and did not like any of the hairstyles proposed to him. Then, the barber opened a bottle of beer and the cap fell on a ball cap of a perfume bottle, which gave him the idea of a new haircut in the shape of a cap (yielding the pictorial simile haircut is a bottle cap). This new hairstyle and the barber became famous in the whole country, and all men in Brazil wanted to have such a haircut. Therefore, this commercial also exploits the metaphor happiness is drinking beer, since beer enables people to solve problems. This scenario is also applied in other TV commercials of this beer brand, which take place in various parts of the world (e.g. Brazil, Africa, Asia, Arctic regions). The stories are witty, surprising, and the commercials often apply wordplay. For example, the narrator in one of the commercials is an Asian man who owns a restaurant but has very few customers since it is a hot summer and the air-conditioning in the restaurant is broken. One day he sees a bottle of Lech beer in an ice bucket which is toppled over (we cannot see by whom) and the ice spills out on the floor. Seeing this, the restaurateur comes up with the idea that he can cover the floors in the restaurant with ice and people can walk on it. He also changes the name of the restaurant to *Wok on ice*, which is a wordplay based on phonetic similarity of the words *wok* and *walk*. Therefore, the name *Wok on ice* also refers to fire walking. This ingenious idea brings a big success to the restaurateur and his restaurant becomes very popular. Thanks to the witty stories, showing gratefulness and respect for Leszek Chmielewski (and therefore the Lech beer via the metaphor Lech beer is a person), the narrators can be easily associated and liked by the viewers and, in this way, positive feelings towards the brands are aroused.

Finally, at the end of the commercials a green fingerprint can be seen with the shape of a beer bottle and the Lech logo (sometimes the fingerprint is on a bottle cap), which cues the hybrid metaphor beer bottle is a fingerprint. This may evoke the connotation that one's hand is the place where a bottle of Lech beer belongs therefore also the thought that it is very natural and obvious that many people like to drink this beer. The green colour of various visual elements (e.g.

the green lights outside and inside the restaurant named *Wok on ice*, the green vehicle in which the Asian men sits when telling the story, green streetlights in Brazil in the commercial with the barber) points to the beer brand via the metonymy green colour for Lech beer/brand. It is not a coincidence that this metonymy is applied, since it may strengthen the association between the colour and the brand and perhaps with beer in general. What it means is that the viewers may later show a tendency to look for green bottles when buying beer therefore it increases the probability that the consumers will choose the Lech beer.

Table 2:
Multimodal metaphors and modes used in TV commercials of Lech beer brand

Metaphor	Target cued in modes				Source cued in modes			
	Spoken language	Written language	Visual	Music	Spoken language	Written language	Visual	Music
Lech beer is a person (a friend)			X		X			
Happiness is drinking beer	X						X	

4.3. Warka

The three commercials of the Warka beer brand analysed in this paper are addressed to male viewers. The central metaphor in these TV commercials is Warka brand is men's planet, which is based on the metonymy planet for brand. This metaphor is rendered already by the title *Planeta Warka* ('Warka Planet'), which is presented via spoken language and visuals/written language, since at the beginning of the commercial we can see a planet and the title, which includes a logo with the name of the brand.

Table 3:
Multimodal metaphors and modes used in TV commercials of Warka beer brand

Metaphor	Target cued in modes				Source cued in modes			
	Spoken language	Written language	Visual	Music	Spoken language	Written language	Visual	Music
Warka is men's planet	X	X	X		X	X	X	X
Happiness is drinking beer	X		X		X		X	

During the whole commercial a man's voice can be heard, which tells a story about the Warka Planet, a stereotypically perfect world for all men. This voice is accompanied by music characteristic of adventure films, although it may also

evoke the film series *Star Wars*. The metaphor is possibly reinforced by the music as well, since *Star Wars* is set in a far galaxy a long time ago, and the commercials of the brand not only use images of a planet but also similar narration (e.g. the first one of the commercial series starts with the words *Pierwsi osadnicy pojawili się tu, kiedy życie mężczyzn na Ziemi stało się nie do zniesienia* 'first inhabitants came to the planet when man's life on Earth was no longer tolerable'). The scenes of the commercials show that men lead ideal lives on the Warka Planet based on stereotypes: they can watch plenty of football and no one disturbs them ('even dogs know when they should walk themselves'), women are highly attractive and admire men, and most importantly, there are no obstacles or circumstances that prevent men from having a beer with friends. This means that Warka commercials also exploit the metaphor happiness is drinking beer, which is cued via spoken language (e.g. 'every flat on this planet have a door which opens straight to a pub', 'pubs and free beer is funded from the taxes' – point to both target and source) and visually by showing male friends having a beer, or pouring beer into a glass straight from beer fountains. Both metaphors are rendered in the last scene of each analysed commercial. First, three hands are shown raising and clinking beer bottles (which points to the metaphor happiness is drinking beer, with the mapping enjoying friendship → sharing beer). At the same time, in the background we can see a lake in the sunset, which looks like a bottle cap with the logo of the brand (rendering the contextual metaphor setting sun is a bottle cap, which is based on the metonymy bottle cap for setting sun). Therefore, this pictorial metaphor emphasises that the Warka planet is a perfect place, since even the sun looks like a bottle cap. Finally, the commercial ends with the words *Warka – męski świat* ('Warka – man's world'), which again suggests that the Warka planet is an ideal world for all men.

4.4. Żywiec

The beer brand Żywiec has probably the most complex commercials, if we look at the metaphors used in them and compare them to the commercials of the other brands. While each brand discussed on the previous pages consistently uses the same scenario in its commercials during one campaign (which may last for several seasons), the brand Żywiec makes several TV commercials, which are more varied and richer in metaphors. Thus, the analysis of TV commercials in this section is much longer than in the previous ones.

The brand often advertises its beer by addressing life metaphors, based on the metonymy life for beer, which probably results from the similarity of the words *życie* 'life', *żyć* 'to live', and the brand's name *Żywiec*. The central metaphor in some TV commercials of this brand is therefore *żywiec* beer is life, with the mapping: enjoying life → drinking Żywiec beer. This metaphor is applied, for example, in the commercial *Żywiec. Chce się Ż* ('Żywiec. One wants to live/feel alive/have a Żywiec beer'). The TV commercial comprises of ten scenes in which the target domain beer is addressed by presenting various metaphorical expressions which are manifestations of the conceptual metaphors of life: life is a jour-

ney, life is an adventure, life is freedom, life is an object. However, this commercial exploits many other multimodal and monomodal metaphors and also metonymies. Every scene ends with a sentence which would normally contain the word *życie* 'life' or *żyć* 'to live' (in the correct inflected form), but in the commercial this word is replaced only with its first letter *Ż*. While text is written in white (or black in the last scene, probably because of the white background), the letter *Ż* is always red. The viewer may not notice till the last two scenes that the commercial is advertising beer, but there are some hints such as the letter *Ż* and the colours white and red, which are typically used by this beer brand (yielding the metonymy white and red colours for *żywiec* beer).

This commercial applies written language and the visual mode. The visuals are used to introduce and reinforce a metaphorical expression by giving some cues regarding the source domain, sometimes also the target domain. The metaphor becomes fully comprehensible when a linguistic expression appears at the end of a scene (pointing to both the source and the target).

The first scene presents a man in winter scenery. He is wearing only swimming trunks and he is running and jumping into an air hole in a frozen lake where he joins (as it can be assumed) his friends. While he is emerging from the water, a sentence appears: *Ż pełną parą* 'live/*Żywiec* full steam ahead' (that is, with all possible energy and enthusiasm). The visual cues which reinforce the metaphor are: running, which stands for fast motion and introduces the metaphors life is a journey and intensity is speed, and steam over the air hole, which also implies fast motion through the metonymy cause for effect, and points to the metaphors life is a journey and intensity is speed via metaphorical linguistic expression. The expression *Ż pełną parą* 'live/*Żywiec* full steam ahead' involves the metonymy cause for effect, since it points to the knowledge of the workings of a steam engine in which the pressure of steam produced by boiling water is used to produce mechanical motion and start the engine. This means that the production of steam (cause) enables fast motion (effect). Furthermore, this metaphorical expression is supported by the following mappings of the metaphors life is a journey and intensity is speed:

intensity is speed

fast motion → high intensity

slow motion → low intensity

life is a journey

traveller → person leading a life

motion along the way → leading a life

driving a vehicle fast → living intensively, with all possible energy and enthusiasm

Table 4:
Multimodal metaphors and modes used in the TV commercial Żywiec. Chce się Ż

Metaphor	Target cued in modes				Source cued in modes			
	Spoken language	Written language	Visual	Music	Spoken language	Written language	Visual	Music
Life is a journey		X				X	X	
Taking an objective standpoint is looking at something (life) from outside		X				X	X	
Life is an object		X				X	X	
Life is freedom		X				X	X	
Żywiec beer is life (+ life for beer)		X	X			X	X	

In the second scene there is an astronaut floating in space and looking at the Earth. Shortly the words *Spójrz na życie z dystansu* 'look at life/Żywiec from a distance' can be seen along with another astronaut accompanying the first one. This metaphoric expression is based on the conceptual metaphors life is a container and taking an objective standpoint is looking at something from outside (accordingly, on the objective standpoint metaphor, i.e. taking an objective standpoint is looking at the self from outside; cf. Lakoff–Johnson 1999; or Kövecses 2005).

life is a container

content of the container → actions

being in the container → being involved in actions

being outside the container → not being involved in actions

taking an objective standpoint is looking at something from outside

being inside (in the container) → subjectivity

being outside (the container) → objectivity

physical distance → emotional distance

The image of the astronaut floating in space and looking at the Earth points to the metonymy place for action since Earth is the place where people live their lives and their day-to-day actions (metonymically mapped as the Earth) can be observed from physical distance (which is metaphorically related to emotional

distance). The scene visually reinforces the source domain of the metaphor taking an objective standpoint is looking at something from outside.

In the third part of the commercial, there is a couple sitting on a sofa and the young man makes a shy attempt to embrace the woman with one of his arms, which itself can be interpreted as a visual or perhaps a gesture mode expressing affection towards the woman. Then a sentence appears: *Bierz Ż w swoje ręce* 'take your life/Żywiec into your own hands'. This metaphoric expression is a manifestation of the metaphor life is an object (with the mapping: a person taking an object into her/his hands → controlling life). The metaphor is blended with the metaphor people are objects (with the mapping: taking an object into hands → hugging a person). Relationships are understood here as a part of life therefore the two metaphors are supported by the metonymies relationship for life (more generally: part for whole) and person involved in relationship for relationship.

In the sixth part there is a finger theatre playing a scene inspired by martial arts. The male character in the middle of the stage is breaking a puffed corn snack (which looks like a piece of wood) with his head, and the female characters on both of his sides are looking at him with admiration. The male character evokes connotations with a strongman performing in a 19th century circus. The sentence shown in this part is *W Ż łam zasady* 'break the rules in life/Żywiec'. Therefore, this metaphoric linguistic expression points to the two conceptual metaphors life as objects and life is adventure, and visuals are reinforcing the source domain of the first one.

The ninth scene features bottles of different types of *Żywiec* beer and men's hands that are reaching for the beer. This scene and the sentence *Ż po swojemu* 'live/Żywiec in your own way' is supported by the metaphor life is freedom. Visuals underlie this metaphor via the metonymy ability to choose for freedom.

The last scene of this commercial features only one bottle of beer with the sentence *Chce się Ż* ('One wants to live/feel alive/have a *Żywiec* beer'). The expression renders the main metaphor of the TV commercial, *żywiec* beer is life, and it is based on the metonymies life for beer (mapping: drinking beer → enjoying life) and result for cause (enjoying life as a result of drinking beer).

The metaphors *żywiec* beer is life and life is adventure are also central for another commercial of the beer brand *Żywiec*, which was broadcast on television in 2016 (*Ż od 160 lat* 'Ż for 160 years'). The 1-minute commercial comprises five scenes. Each takes approximately 12 seconds and ends with a short sentence (usually in the imperative without the exclamation mark). Similarly to the commercial *Chce się Ż* ('One wants to live/feel alive/have a *Żywiec* beer') broadcast in 2015, the word *żyć* 'to live' is replaced with the letter *Ż*, which also stands for the *Żywiec* beer. The short sentences showed as written text in the commercials are *Ż nowoczesnie* ('live progressively / in a modern way'), *Ż elegancko* ('live elegantly'), *Ż kolorowo* ('live colourfully'), *Ż tu i teraz* ('live here and now' – manifestation of the metaphor life is a chance), *Po pierwsze Ż* ('First: live'). The-

se linguistic expressions can be also translated with the word *Żywiec* therefore they point to positive features of this beer: *Żywiec is progressive/modern*, *Żywiec is elegant*, *Żywiec is colourful* (therefore *multifarious, exhilarating*), *Żywiec here and now* (which also means that *Żywiec* facilitates enjoying every moment in life), *Żywiec first* (which also implies that *Żywiec* is the main thing in life). The sentences are often introduced in a witty and whimsical way. This is the case in the first scene set inside a 19th century brewery. While a group of brewers are posing for a picture, evidently taking it very seriously, the photographer and his assistants are fooling around, taking a selfie while holding beer mugs and making funny faces. The scene ends with the words: *Ż nowocześnie* (1. 'live progressively / in a modern way'; 2. '*Żywiec* is progressive/modern'), therefore points to another positive feature of this brand: innovativeness.

Table 5:
Multimodal metaphors and modes used in the TV commercial of *Żywiec* beer brand *Ż od 160 lat*

Metaphor	Target cued in modes				Source cued in modes			
	Spoken language	Written language	Visual	Music	Spoken language	Written language	Visual	Music
Life is adventure		X			(X)		X	
<i>Żywiec</i> beer is the champion		X	X			X	X	
<i>Żywiec</i> beer is life		X	X			X	X	

This part of the commercial also introduces the main multimodal metaphors *Żywiec* beer is life (with the mapping: enjoying life (together with friends) → drinking beer (with friends)) and life is adventure, based on the metonymy breaking the rules for adventure. The second metaphor is rendered mainly in visuals and written language and, to some extent, also in spoken language. During the commercial we can hear the song *Rebel Rebel* by Pigeon John, whose text is a manifestation of the metaphor life is adventure, and perhaps also life is a journey (*Rebel, rebel, where are you driving with the lights off?*). However, since the song is in English, some of the viewers may not understand it therefore not everyone would comprehend it metaphorically. The metaphor life is adventure is used here to create an image of the *Żywiec* company as the top beer brand, which achieved such a big success because it was never afraid of standing out and doing things its own way. This success is also highlighted by another metaphor: *Żywiec* beer is the champion. The metaphor is rendered in two modes: visual (the man standing in the pose of victory, reminding of Michelangelo's sculpture of David, laurel on his arms, a bottle of *Żywiec* Porter in his hands) and written language (via the expression *Ż elegancko* 'live elegantly' or '*Żywiec* is elegant').

In the third *Żywiec* commercial analysed here, titled *Żywiec. 160 lat* ('*Żywiec*. 160 years'), a multimodal metaphor is rendered: *Żywiec* beer is a mixture of tra-

dition, passion, and place. Both the source and the target domains are manifested in two modes: spoken language and visual. The commercial starts with the words *W browarze w Żywcu od 160 lat tworzymy piwa żywieckie z tych samych składników* 'For 160 years in the brewery in Żywiec, we have been brewing Żywiec beer by using the same ingredients'. The ingredients are introduced both in spoken language and visually via metonymy. The ingredients and images are the following:

- tradition + picture of the Archduke Albrecht from the House of Habsburg (A person who established a tradition for the tradition)
- passion + the picture of brewers (brewers for their passion)
- place + a miniature of the first brewery in a bowl (miniature of a place for the place)

The three objects are later placed on a beer barrel. When the objects are pulled down into the barrel by working a mechanism, a bottle of beer and a glass of beer are pulled up and placed on the surface of the barrel.

Table 6:
Multimodal metaphors and modes used in the TV commercial *Żywiec. 160 lat*

Metaphor	Target cued in modes				Source cued in modes			
	Spoken language	Written language	Visual	Music	Spoken language	Written language	Visual	Music
Żywiec beer is a mixture of tradition, passion and place	X		X		X		X	

While the first two of the analysed commercials introduce Żywiec beer as an inextricable part of our lives through the metaphor *Żywiec beer is life*, and present positive features of this brand (describing beer as progressive, modern, elegant, innovative, multifarious, exhilarating, helping to enjoy every moment in life), the third commercial points to important values and characteristics of Żywiec brand: tradition, passion, and the place (brewery in Żywiec, a town in south-central Poland). Commercials of the Żywiec beer are addressed to many groups of viewers in various ages, including women, who are almost as much present in the commercials as are men.

5. Conclusions

The analysis of multimodal metaphors used by the selected Polish beer brands (*Książęce, Lech, Warka, and Żywiec*) indicates that the three brands use different sets of metaphors to create their own images that would stand out from the other ones. The first brand in this study, *Książęce*, addresses its commercials to connoisseurs, people that can appreciate good beer. The advertisers want the

viewers to think that the Książęce beer is of very high quality and excellent taste. For this reason, they employ such metaphors as Książęce beer is a masterpiece, Książęce beer is wine, and Książęce beer is a mystery. The commercials of the beer brand Lech render the metaphors beer is a person (a friend) and happiness is drinking beer, as they introduce Lech beer as Leszek Chmielewski, an innovative and brilliant person who changes his friends' lives by helping them to solve their problems, giving them new ideas, and inspiring them. The beer brand Warka mostly addresses its commercials to men as it uses the metaphor Warka brand is men's planet and happiness is drinking beer, and exploits stereotypes about men's biggest dreams in a way that is intended to be amusing and funny. The last brand, Żywiec, uses in its TV commercials the most complex sets of metaphors compared to the other two brands since the product is often introduced via various life metaphors (such as life is a journey or life is adventure). The TV commercials present positive features of this brand (describing beer as progressive, modern, elegant, innovative, multifarious, exhilarating, helping to enjoy every moment in life). One of the TV commercials points to important values and characteristics of the Żywiec brand: tradition, passion, and the place (brewery in Żywiec). Moreover, the beer brand Żywiec addresses its commercials to many groups of consumers, including men and women of various ages.

Furthermore, this study provides further evidence that cultural background has an influence on the creation and comprehension of metaphors in TV commercials. Beer plays an important role in Polish culture and it is presumably the most popular alcoholic beverage. Therefore, the cultural background may encourage rendering metaphors such as beer is a masterpiece or beer is wine. Commercials of the beer brand Warka use metaphors based on socio-cultural context as they introduce the metaphor Warka beer is men's planet, which exploits popular stereotypes about men in Poland (stereotypically beer and football lovers). TV commercials of the Lech beer, metaphorically introduced as a person, not only point to positive features of the beer but also emphasise some traits that are possibly valued in Poland, especially the skill of creative problem solving. The TV commercial *Żywiec. Od 160 lat* ('Żywiec. For 160 years') comprises of five scenes whose context is based on various periods and places (2nd half of the 19th century, Warsaw in the 1930s, a beach by the Baltic sea in the 1970s, a 21st century pub, and a modern brewery). Although this context does not seem to play a crucial role in rendering and understanding the metaphors, it may draw viewers' attentions and address various age groups. Moreover, TV commercials of the brand Żywiec, by advertising beer through life metaphors, provides information on the conceptualisation of life in Polish. However, it can also be observed that the context of commercials is often largely influenced by globalisation (e.g. we can easily imagine that the scene in a pub, shown in the above mentioned commercial *Żywiec. Od 160 lat*, is actually taken from a Hollywood film).

In light of the above, this study indicates that an advertising strategy applied by a brand not only plays an important role in creating the brand's image, but it also influences the choice and construction of metaphors. For this reason, I suggest that research on multimodal metaphor in TV commercials should consider the influence of both cultural background and advertising strategies.

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Appendix: List of the TV commercials

1. Książęce Złote Pszeniczne (2015): <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ISfn9zeM5oU>
2. Książęce Czerwony Lager (2015): <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=klbiSBGnoWM>
3. Książęce Ciemne Łagodne (2015): <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VjGuyMqyTUQ>
4. Książęce Burgundowe Trzy Słody (2015):
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=b9VJ_Bh0Yoc
5. Lech Premium – Restaurator (2014): <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T9xbr2ZiikU>
6. Lech Premium – Fryzjer (2015): <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-aqN0VHDKrw>
7. Planeta Warka 1 (2016): <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AGtG0Cplu7M>
8. Planeta Warka 2 (2016): <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TJZbHZtFmNw>
9. Planeta Warka 3 (2016): <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=diUXoNLa-Jw>
10. Żywiec. Chce się Ż (2015): <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5i7NEdRQ44s>
11. Żywiec. Ż od 160 lat (2016): <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zXgldJSY22s>
12. Żywiec. 160 lat (2016): <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kNYY7jsc35s>

Havasmezői, Gergely

VISUAL ELEMENTS IN ONLINE NEWS²

0. Introduction

“Those poor fellows on the online platform have to deal with image questions all by themselves”, a photo editor told me, unsatisfied with how journalists are left alone in a profession that is not their own and how this affects the quality of his beloved paper. The editor worked for a big Hungarian traditional newspaper that had, as most of them do, a successful online version. However, the print and online versions were not created equal. They greatly differed in the importance and treatment of visual elements, mainly photos. This study aims to shed light on how image use in the online versions of traditional print newspapers differs from that in journals which are exclusively online, first by analyzing data of image use (a quantitative method), then by interviewing the professionals involved (a qualitative method). The study is a direct follow-up on a previous paper (Havasmezői 2016). This paper seeks to answer three main questions:

- 1) How many visual elements are there in the top Hungarian online newspapers?
- 2) What roles do they play?
- 3) What inside mechanisms govern their use?

1. Visual elements in the online media

Visual elements in the online media increasingly have the potential to become content parts of articles. “Images have become organic parts, main content elements of papers” (Tasnádi 2012). In her PhD thesis, Gonda (2015: 23) claims that literacy in an online environment means not only the ability to decode verbal information but also the interpretation of visual elements. Of the “digital native” generation (the now-student generation), she states that for them “text is less informative than images” (Gonda 2015: 20). A number of analyses handle visual elements as parts of the text (Petőfi–Benkes 2002: 13; Lózsai 2012; Veszelszki 2010: 12; Gonda 2015: 16). Online news stories containing text and photo are generally not even considered to be “multimedia” (Steensen 2011: 319), indicating that images have penetrated audience expectations so thoroughly that they are not seen as being very different from text.

² A tanulmány szóbeli, első változata a Budapesti Műszaki és Gazdaságtudományi Egyetemen működő Visual Learning Lab 7. nemzetközi konferenciáján hangzott el, 2016. november 11–12-én. Az írásos változat megjelenését, nyelvi lektorálását a VLL támogatta (<http://www.vll.bme.hu>). A tanulmányok szakmai lektorálását Benedek András és Veszelszki Ágnes végezte el. Nyelvi lektor: Horváth Péter Iván.

Online and offline audiences thus expect different storytelling methods. The online audience long had the chance to get used to images as self-standing content elements. In other words, images carry a decodable meaning independently of the text and contribute to the content of the article just like the text does. A case in point is infographics, which speeds up information processing by compression (Veszelszki 2014).

Thus we have good reasons to assume that audiences demand more visual elements in articles, but also to think that visual elements are very useful for journalists. Images and other visual elements (graphics, videos, social excerpts, map windows, etc.) offer many advantages in journalism. "The visual code transforms the verbal code. One of the fundamental reasons is the globality of the Internet, where cultural and national restrictions of expressions are disadvantages. The other reason is that the logic of the visual code matches nonlinear reception better than verbal code" (Aczél 2012: 130). "The vitalizing factor of the Internet is its experientialism" (Szűts 2012). Online galleries have the potential for "compelling and innovative visual storytelling" (Caple 2014: 356). Visual arguments are evocative, communicate messages compressed, create a sense of realism, and involve the audience stronger than verbal arguments (Aczél 2012: 50).

Online journals have to follow and meet these evolving traits, habits and expectations. However, not all media use these opportunities. Traditionally, papers used mainly photographs (Fondevila-Gascón et al. 2013: 52), and although online editors tend to like technical novelties, their journalistic attitude and practices often lag behind (Steensen 2011).

Visual elements traditionally took a back seat, primarily before the advent of the Internet. In the era of the print press, the text-based (and often monochrome) style even signed a certain dignity, in contrast to tabloids rich in colors and images (Barnes 2011: 231). Press photographers and their profession consistently retained an inferior status throughout cultures and legal systems (Reich – Klein-Avraham 2014: 627). This inferiority manifested in the roles of images (being mere addendums to the text), in the limited authority of the photographer, and in the separation of photographers from their works (photos becoming the property of the paper, cf. Reich–Klein-Avraham 2014: 625–627). In the era of digital photography, this trend is only reinforced by the ease of creating, uploading, editing, and sharing digital images, by the stock photo industry and the great number of press photographers laid off (Reich–Klein-Avraham 2014: 627).

From the beginning of the 2000s journalists increasingly needed to become familiar with the creation of still and dynamic visual content (Tófalvy 2015; Kuyucu 2014: 180). Since 2007 the media industry has increasingly organized daily work in the 'hub and spokes newsroom model' (introduced by The Daily Telegraph), where print and online editors work next to each other in constant interaction (Caple 2014: 355). The convergence of online and offline newsrooms brings about generational, methodical and other differences, but overall the voice of online journalists has become ever stronger within the industry (Tófalvy 2015). The practice of training journalists in photo skills is spreading (Caple 2014: 355,

357). This, however, does not mean that images captured (or created) by journalists are more likely to become meaningful content elements. 'Some journalists are merely looking for something to perk up their story so it looks good on the page and do not see it as a way to tell a story', a designer said (Smit-de Haan-Buijs 2014: 349). There are no common, accepted policies in graphic editing (Smit-de Haan-Buijs 2014: 348; Caple 2014: 361); designers do not have enough journalistic experience and journalists do not know enough about image editing (Smit-de Haan-Buijs 2014: 348).

The work of increasingly multi-skilled journalists does not result in a better quality: indeed, one study uses the term "de-skilling" and explains the danger it poses to professional photography (Caple 2014: 357). "As experience with attempts to make traditional and digital news desks work together reveals, convergence is an arduous process that does not always produce the desired outcome of multi-skilled journalists working efficiently with each other. (...) Journalists have a hard time developing new skills and are not accustomed to the working ethos of other departments and sub-cultures" (Smit-de Haan-Buijs 2014: 344). "Like journalism, photography is not a well-defined profession anymore; it has become a form of activity" (Tasnádi 2012).

Online journalism is thus left behind by technological developments. Linear text is preferred over hypertext and multimedia (Steensen 2011: 320).

The Hungarian media market is undergoing a shift, as shown by the significant changes that three of the eight portals experienced during this research. *Magyar Nemzet Online* (henceforth *MNO*), which rapidly lost its readers due to political changes, received a brand new design. (The data in the previous study came from the old design, whereas this study used the new one). *VS*, which the previous study called the visually most conscious online paper, collapsed because of a political scandal. Both online and offline *Népszabadság* shut down entirely, also mainly for political reasons.

2. Analysis of visual elements

2.1. Methods

The methods of analysis were the same as in the preceding study (Havasmezői 2016: 113). I analyzed image usage in the eight most visited Hungarian general-interest news portals (selected based on public audited data³) to find out whether or not the trends outlined above apply. I divided the newspapers into two groups. In this study, "traditional media" means those with a print version, which is why their online versions are less important. By contrast, "new media" means exclusively online media. *168 Óra Online*, *Magyar Nemzet Online*, *Népszabadság*

³ Page view data between 1 January 2015 and 31 June 2015 on the joint list created by Gemius and Digitális Közönségmérés Tanács ('Digital Audience Measurement Council', a Joint Industrial Council of the leading Hungarian digital companies): <http://dkt.hu/hu/menu/ola.html>. As of 16 May 2017, the data is no longer available.

Online, and *Válasz.hu* belong to the “traditional” media group, while *!!444!!!*, *Index*, *Origo*, and *VS.hu* belong to the “new” media group. I saved and analyzed the papers’ own articles published on the day of sampling (14 July 2016, except for *168 Óra*, which was unavailable for some time; that paper was sampled on 10 October 2016).

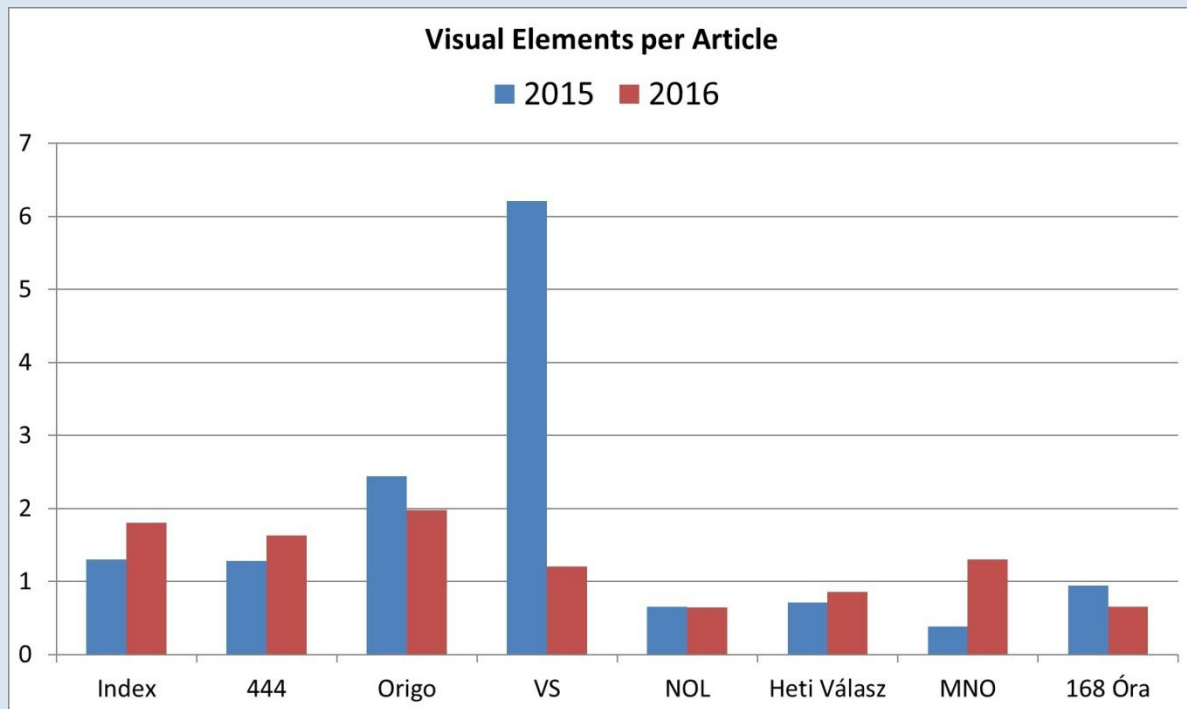
It is important to note that I decided to count all visual elements that were edited purposefully into the article: photos and drawings, gif-pictures (self-repeating, moving pictures with only a few frames; cf. Veszelszki 2015), Facebook, Twitter, Flickr, YouTube and other inserts, Google Maps inserts, graphics, and charts. The reason is that the boundaries between objects and images are blurred in terms of both appearance and functionality. A gif image is essentially a small video; a real video may be started by clicking on a static cover frame; maps are moveable and zoomable; a Facebook insert may contain scrollable comments and other elements; charts are often interactive. Simple photos can be interactive, too: clicking on them may open a full-screen image or a photo gallery.

I did not, however, count advertisements as images even when they were spatially embedded inside the articles. The reason is that there is no direct connection between the content of the article and the content of the advertisement, and journalists and editors do not have an influence over the advertisements.

2.2. Results: image frequency (an increase)

The ‘traditional’ group shows a marked improvement in the amount of visual elements (0.86 visual elements per article compared to 0.60 in 2015), due mainly to the brand new design of *Magyar Nemzet Online*. *MNO.hu* now uses more than three times as many images as it did a year before (1.30 visual elements per article compared to 0.38 in 2015). The site received a full re-design in the fall of 2015 and became much more image-oriented: it has large pictures and a clear layout, and the articles that have images on the main page are visually dominated by them. *NOL* and *Válasz.hu* use about the same amount of visual elements; *168 Óra* shows a decrease (though at such low article count it could easily be a day’s fluctuation).

Figure 1:
Visual elements per article in 2015 and 2016



The “new” group reveals a decrease in the amount of visual elements compared to their number in 2015 (1.65 visual elements per article, compared to 2.32 in 2015). However, this is due to the collapse of only one paper. *VS.hu* suffered a truly great fall: during April 2016 the paper found itself in the middle of a national scandal involving public money and many of its journalists left, leaving *VS* a shadow of its former self. This is reflected by both the length of its articles (about half of those in 2015) and by the images involved (1.20 per article, compared to 6.21 in 2015). Both *Index* and *444* show an improvement and *Origo* uses just a bit less visual elements than it did a year before (a negligible difference in such a small sample).

Both groups illustrate exactly half of their articles with a front-page image. The use of lead images shows a slight increase in the “new” group and a bigger one in the “traditional” group, the latter again owing mainly to the re-design of *MNO*.

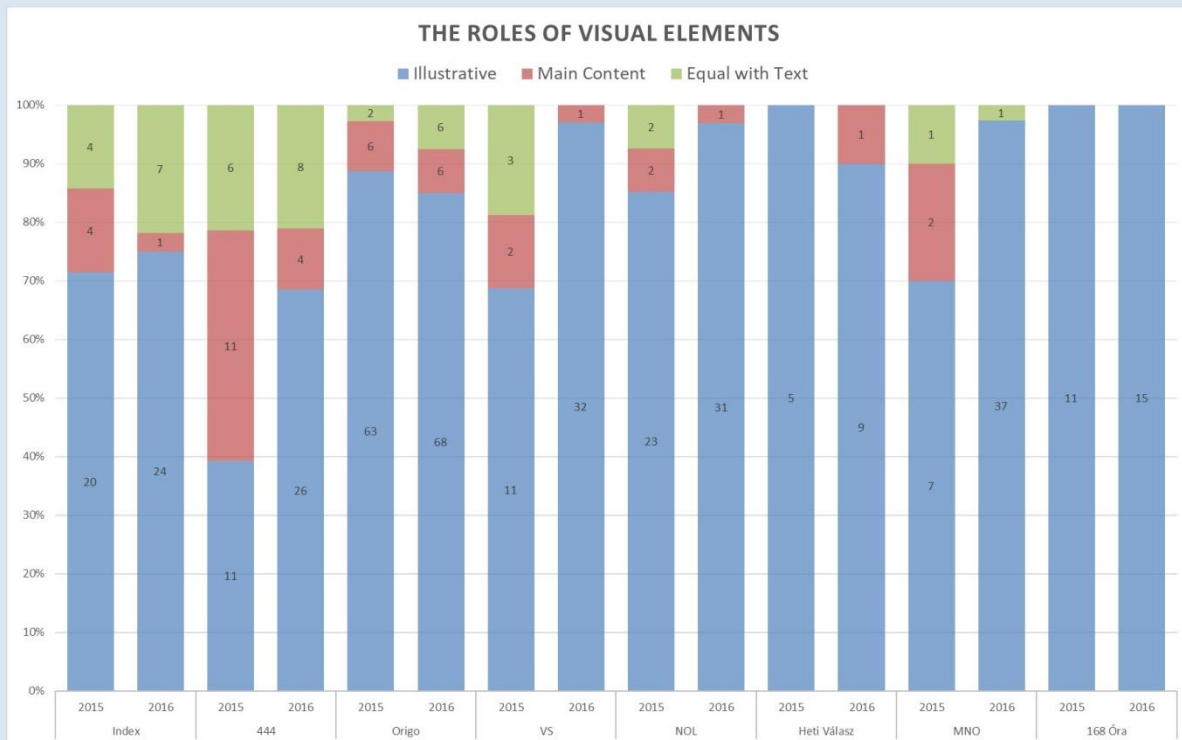
Overall, the “new” group still uses many more visual elements: three times more than the “traditional” group per character (one visual element per 1,330 characters on average in the “new” media, one per 3,315 characters in the “traditional” media), and two times more per article (1.65 visual elements per article in the “new” media, and 0.86 in the “traditional” media).

2.3. Results: images as self-standing content elements (a decrease)

In my previous paper (Havasmezői 2016) I showed that the traditional, merely illustrative role of images is clearly dominant in the leading Hungarian online newspapers. Images were rarely used as self-standing content elements.

A year later both “traditional” and “new” papers show even worse ratios. 97% of “traditional” articles with visual elements use them only for illustration purposes. The number is 82% for the “new” papers (as opposed to 87% and 73% in the previous year, respectively). The approximately 10% overall decrease of meaningful images may be a mere fluctuation (again, one day’s data is not conclusive), and it definitely owns something to the collapse of the formerly very creative *VS*. But the data at least show clearly that there are no improvements whatsoever, despite the interesting wishes and promises articulated in the interviews.

Figure 2:
Distribution of image functions among articles that contain at least one visual element
in 2015 and 2016



(The chart shows the number of articles. For instance, the first column means that in the 2015 sample *Index* had 20 articles that used illustrative visual elements only, 4 articles that used visual elements as main content, and 4 articles where visual elements had the same content role as the text.)

Images that play an equal role with the text and those that interact with the text are also rarely used (7.19% and 0.72% of all articles that have images in them, respectively). A mere 5% of articles that include visual elements are about those visual elements (i.e. articles where the main content is an image or a video), compared to 13% in the previous year.

3. Interviews

3.1. Methods

My intention was to support the data with a qualitative analysis based on interviews with the chief photo editors of the papers. I asked these professionals of the aforementioned portals for an interview. I was granted the opportunity to talk to three people, one from the “traditional” group and two from the “new” group. I conducted structured interviews including both pre-selected and improvised questions concerning three main topics: 1) the organizational policies and practices of the paper, 2) the personal and professional preferences of the editors, 3) their views on the changing profession. Because of the nature of their insights, they preferred to remain anonymous.

3.2. Interview #1: “Traditional” paper

The photo editor of one of the great Hungarian “traditional” papers talked about the hardships of applying legacy offline policies to online portals. The print version of the paper has dedicated photo editors as a matter of course while the online version does not. One of the reasons is that the online version operates 24 hours a day (with a night duty) and this demands instant decision-making. This would require at least three full-time photo editors every day. Because of a rotational system in which every offline journalist is sometimes given online duties, they can’t afford to send their journalists to photo courses. (This would mean sending the whole staff.) *“The poor journalists [at the online version] have to deal with image questions all by themselves”*, he said.

He stressed that this is also reflected in quality: those who select, edit and modify images are not professionals. This causes daily problems as they often do not even know which events are covered by the print papers’ own press photographers, and even if they do, they cannot afford to wait for the print version’s professionally edited photographs.

At least in theory, photos require a different treatment for online and offline display. It would take different color and contrast level settings to get the best possible professional look on both screen and paper. Resources also pose problems: online journalists, even if they try to be creative, do not have the knowledge about photo agencies, priorities in image purchasing and connections that professional photo editors do. They often fall into the trap of using legally dangerous images, such as images from social networks (this practice too often ends in litigation). *“We try to help them as much as we can, but often we don’t have the time”*, the editor said.

He also talked about the opportunities that online tools offer. He would like to see online photo galleries and minute-to-minute live photo reports, but these would require developments and manpower that the paper, one of the greatest

in Hungary both on- and offline, cannot yet afford (despite plans to do so). *“Reader expectations grow faster than we can adapt”*, he concluded.

The editor agreed that most of the images are used merely for illustration, *“a corroboration of the text”*, he said.

3.3. Interview #2: “New” paper

The editors of one of the greatest online Hungarian newspapers painted a very different picture. Since the paper is exclusively online, the chief photo editor has power over every article and image. Although it is not possible to have their own photos (or other visuals) for every article, it is a stated goal to have at least one illustration for all of them.

They acknowledge that online papers use more and more visual elements. They also consciously tend to give more serious roles to images: they try to give them “more room” and preferably use them as content elements (*“I published three articles that were about images just in the last month”*, one of them said). However, they emphasized that *illustration* is not a pejorative term if the image is used well. *“Images have to have a crucial supplementary role in the article. When one uses images only for the sake of displaying something on Facebook or on the front page, that’s just compulsive usage”*, they agreed.

The paper’s press photographers attend only the most important events. After that their pictures get edited: every image goes through an editor. The paper actively supports journalists’ training in photography and there are promising results. They also monitor readers’ behavior; they found that images tend to attract readers to the article but once they started reading they usually jump through images without attention (except, of course, when the main content is the image/video, etc. itself).

The chief photo editor of the paper has strong personal policies. He bans stock photos, believes in the audience-attracting power of better quality images, embraces citizen journalism, actively supports in-house graphics, and sometimes uses images for the sake of the visual education of the audience, even if those articles are not expected to have many readers.

The editors also talked about their plan to revive the kind of “long form” multimedia journalism that defined VS’s Mega column (Havasmezői 2016: 118). In these articles they intend to try the same approach as VS did, the one where dynamic and static visual elements and text all have the same importance in terms of content.

3.4. Comparison of the interviews

The editor of a great “traditional” newspaper (one that has both print and online versions) said that the print version has photo editors but the online version does not. The people selecting, editing and modifying images for online use are not professionals and this causes daily problems, even litigations. Photos require a different treatment for online and offline display, which is not granted. Resources also pose problems. The editor would like to see online galleries and minute-to-minute live photo coverage but resources are missing. *“Reader expectations grow faster than we can adapt.”*

The situation is different at one of the greatest “new” (exclusively online) newspapers. A chief photo editor covers the whole paper; he has strong personal policies, supports in-house graphics, and often uses images for the sake of the visual education of the audience. Editors intend to give more serious roles to images consciously and to preferably use them as content elements. They actively support journalists’ training in photography and monitor readers’ behavior. It is a goal to have at least one illustration for every article; all images go through an editor.

4. Conclusions

I studied the frequency and functions of visual elements in the most visited Hungarian online newspapers and conducted interviews to support my findings. I divided the papers into two groups: “traditional” (those having a primary print version) and “new” (those exclusively online). I did not limit the study to simple pictures because the boundaries between the types of visual elements are indeed blurred.

Comparing the data from the previous year and this year I found that the papers in the “new” group still use many more visual elements than those in the “traditional” group (even though the previously least image-conscious paper uses a new, visually oriented design). “New”media uses three times more images than “traditional” media per character and two times more per article. Overall, there are slightly more visual elements in the newspapers than a year before.

However, the rate of images as content elements shows no increase at all, and they remain a small fraction of all images. Papers in the ‘new’ group are still much more likely to use visual elements as self-standing content elements or at least as equals with the text.

This research gave me two insights into the operation of papers. The first is that the collapse of VS’s staff and funds caused a massive decrease in the number of images (together with the halving of the average length of articles); this indicates that the use of images may require a conscious effort on behalf of a healthy staff. (Sadly, VS explicitly refused to participate in the interviews.) The second insight is that an image-centric re-design does not necessarily mean that

images gain importance in themselves. Although *MNO* received a full new design, much more image-oriented and visually clearer than the previous one, the ratio of articles that use images in an equal role with the text or as self-standing content elements did not grow at all as images remained limited to their illustrative role.

The interviews helped me understand these results. They confirmed what the overall data suggested: images are much less important in the online versions of “traditional” papers than in the exclusively online ones. They also revealed some interesting inside mechanisms. Because of their insights we can conclude that organizational problems, legacy policies, the traditional inferior status of press photo professionals, and the process of de-skilling all play a role in the different image use of “traditional” and “new” online papers in the Hungarian scene, too. On the other hand, there are new trends, audience expectations, and new technical possibilities, manifesting at least in wishes and plans. The factors listed in the relevant literature can be identified in both the Hungarian and the international papers.

A repeated study could allow for an analysis of trends as they develop. Research based on a wider sample could show if certain fluctuations are due to small daily differences or general policies. The constant flow of changes in the online environment makes it necessary to repeat such studies from time to time.

The online public grows accustomed to images as self-standing content elements. Therefore digital media needs to combine visuality and text. In the process of the “pictorial turn”, even more papers will certainly use images as self-standing content elements that are equal to the text.

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Kisebb közlemények

Balogh Andrea

THE (IN)VISIBILITY OF TEXT IN VIDEO GAMES⁴**1. Introduction**

On the surface, the video game is a visual genre: gamers use various platforms to manage their avatars (their in-game characters) in diverse virtual worlds to attain numerous goals. Besides that, there are many elements in the background affecting the game and the player's success, which are based on texts. These are the two major attributes, which one usually sees in a game advertisement: the promise of lifelike visuals and/or a complex story. As another side of this duality, the content descriptors in video game rating systems include both dominant visual ones (violence, drugs) and textual ones (bad language) (for example, PEGI 2017).

In this paper I focus on the textual components, because usually they are less striking and while the players might also pay them less attention, they are essential for successful gaming. I mention the so-called Easter eggs (the messages concealed in the game, insider jokes), the inscriptions and translations, the lore (the full background) of the video games, and related to that, the factors of how the players can meet these texts. Especially, I will present various forms of lore, because these are the most important aids in learning inside the game (what the task is and how one should proceed to execute them, what the reason is behind the tasks – story elements, game mechanics, etc.). My aim is to illustrate the (in)visibility of text in video games, and why we have to search for it nevertheless.

2. Text in video games

Behind the colorful and vivid in-game pictures, there is a whole world of complex instructions: the source code, the fundament of computer programs is written in one or more programming languages (W1). This is what moves the elaborated art assets. From the basics, there is a duality of visual and textual elements in video games. This remains on the users' side, too: they can see and interact with components, both visual and textual (pictures, models, 3D environment, texts).

⁴ A tanulmány szóbeli, első változata a Budapesti Műszaki és Gazdaságtudományi Egyetemen működő Visual Learning Lab 7. nemzetközi konferenciáján hangzott el, 2016. november 11–12-én. Az írásos változat megjelentetését, nyelvi lektorálását a VLL támogatta (<http://www.vll.bme.hu>). A tanulmányok szakmai lektorálását Benedek András és Veszelszki Ágnes végezte el. Nyelvi lektor: Horváth Péter Iván.

There are plenty of spaces where we can find text in video games, if we examine them closer. In this part, I highlight three different sections: the menu (from the framework of the games), the narration, which connects the voice of the game with the gamer, and the Easter eggs (a highly anticipated element of games).

2.1. The menu

The first thing we experience (most of the time) from the game is its main menu. Usually, we do not spend too much time here, but a game without a user-friendly interface is definitely at a disadvantage. It has to be clear and informative, with only the necessary points: new game, load, settings, extras. During the evolution of video games, the model of the perfect menu has changed a lot. Gamers now search for their regular words and actions, and the typography of this first scene has to connect to them and adapt to the game's design standards. The text is usually not replaced by pictures as the two work together. There are also other menus which have to reflect the main menu's format, but their size and use depends on the game's style.

2.2. The narrator of the game

The voice and sound of a video game is really important to the players. In an FPS (first person shooter), it tells them when their weapon is ready or out of ammo, or from which side they can get an attack (W7). In an RPG (role-playing game) the story is usually told in conversations, the understanding of which is quite important for a better game experience. These conversations can be translated by professionals or fans in the case of an international franchise, either in the form of subtitles or the dubbing of the full game. Usually, players of such games can choose multiple languages. English is the most common, but users can also select their native tongues, if available, for voice-lines and/or subtitles. This function can be a helpful tool for foreign language learners (W8).

I have already mentioned video game rating systems and the way in which they give marks, and how much the verbal side of a game can affect this process. Unlike other rating systems, the American ESRB can give a game lower marks for including songs with vulgar lyrics (ESRB 2017).

2.3. Easter eggs

Easter eggs are intentional inside jokes which are concealed in the game (W2). They carry some hidden message from the programmers, or unlock a new, usually funny feature. These jokes can go as far as a secret level or stage of the game. For example, in Diablo (1996) it was rumored that a secret "cow" level existed. It did not, but the developers incorporated this idea into the second installment of the franchise (W3). There are also textual references: the first one

was probably made in 1978, in the Atari game Adventure, where the game's creator hid his name in the game ("Created by Warren Robinett"), because in that time programmers were not included in the credits (W2). Another example is from the game League of Legends (2009). The champions (the playable characters we can control during a match) have some coded voice-lines for movement, jokes or taunts (W4). These lines can have really complex backgrounds, and may take inspiration from other media. For example, there is a female hero who has a taunt: *In the name of Demacia, I will punish you!* This is a reference to the anime/manga Sailor Moon, where the main character says: *In the name of the Moon, I will punish you!* (W5). In Dead Space (2008), there are texts on the walls, written in mysterious hieroglyphs. During the game, you can find a way to decrypt these. They can be both impressive messages and funny comments for the player (W6).

3. Video-game lore

Lore in video games means the full background: the origin of the characters, cities, the history of nations; legends, knowledge about the whole fictional world. It is a really important part of the game, because if the player wants to accomplish tasks successfully in this fictional world, (s)he has to adapt to its rules.

For example, as a simple adventure game task, you as the player see that there is a dragon on the map. You have your basic sword and some other items which you get at the beginning of the adventure. Common gaming conventions suggest that if there is an enemy, you have to defeat it. After you find the dragon, you try to battle with it. Most of the time, this is a complete failure. First of all, you have to learn the rules of the world you play in: which types of weapons are effective against which type of enemy, who your enemies are (i.e. if dragons are truly your enemies), who your allies are, what kind of powers your character can use during the game, etc. Such information can be found in the game's lore (as text), and you have to search for it.

Usually, the game starts with a tutorial, where the player can learn the basic game mechanics. It gives the player visual help (it literally points to the part it wants to describe). Besides, there are a lot of short texts to explain the fundamental features.

Games may include an encyclopedia that contains information about their fictional universe. For example, descriptions of the people and creatures inhabiting the world, short stories, and tips that can aid the player in fights or help in interactions with other characters.

3.1. The hidden lore

A rather widespread method among games is the incorporation of a hidden lore: creators hide some information about the lore so that the players have to work harder to piece together the information. The method is similar to that of Easter eggs, but this information is much less out of the game's context, and it may have an impact on the player's perspective and performance if (s)he can obtain the knowledge. For example, in the game *Portal* (2007), if the player explores all the areas of the levels, (s)he can find references about the concept of the world and a hint about the end of the game (the sentence *The cake is a lie*, written on the walls, also turned into an Internet meme meaning: "your promised reward is merely a fictitious motivator" [W9]).

3.2. The influence of the game type

The lore is not equally important in all video games. The type of game is a huge deciding factor. Is it a really fast, interaction-based, multiplayer FPS which has a really small space for narrative, or is it an RPG with a detailed background, main and side quests, and numerous other characters? I would like to showcase a few examples of how game developers can use the lore depending on the type of game they are making.

World of Warcraft (WoW, 2004) is the most well-known MMORPG (Massively Multiplayer Online Role-playing Game). It is a huge complex open online world that is really story-driven: the lore here is one of the main drives of the game. Thus, the players are also given the time and opportunities to discover this rich environment. WoW lore offers different perspectives of the world's history, depending on which faction, race and class the player chooses. There is a lot of reachable lore along the storylines which can be unlocked by missions, obvious or hidden. The players can also find a lot of Easter eggs which refer to other games (i.e. *Plants vs. Zombies*) or work as an inside joke (W10).

The Witcher 3 (2015) is an open world single-player role-playing game. It has only one main character which the player can control, and the story depends on the decisions the player makes during the game. Conflicts can be resolved in either a kind or a rude manner, with violence or by careful diplomacy. This is still a story-driven game with different endings where the player does follow a main storyline, but also has the chance to get acquainted with other parts of the environment. The lore is really complex and the written content of the game is 750,000 words (450,000 in dialogues and 300,000 as other text – menu, encyclopedia, help, etc. [W11]).

Dark Souls (2011) is an action-adventure game, highly respected among gamers for its hard but fair difficulty. The lore in the game is similar to the playing style it requires: it is obscure, the back story of the game is detailed in the item descriptions, so it needs the player's dedication to unlock and fit together the pieces. It contains good examples of hidden lore: players can beat the game without

knowing really much about the world they are playing in. This feature brings the game closer to the fast paced, less narrative driven game types, but there is an opposite example.

The MOBA (Multiplayer Online Battle Arena) League of Legends (2009) is a really fast game: after the player enters a game, (s)he chooses a character (one out of 134), and plays in a team of five to achieve victory within approximately 40 minutes. In this situation, the lore comes from media other than the game itself, but it is visually referenced in the game and features heavily at the first steps of it. There are stories which introduce the characters and thematic sites where the players can get acquainted with the regions where the champions belong (see W12). The company was able to build this outside lore for many reasons: first of all, for the advertisement of the game, their merchandise, their e-sport events and also to strengthen the loyalty of their players or to show a different side of their game, and the talent of their colleagues.

As we can see, there is not only one way for developers to use the lore of their game. The creator has a lot of freedom to decide how to utilize it during the development of the game.

3.3. The amount of text and interaction

Besides the game type, there is another relevant factor about lore and text: the balance between interactivity and dependence on the narrative (Figure 1). This gives us four different categories, with divergent game types and goals.

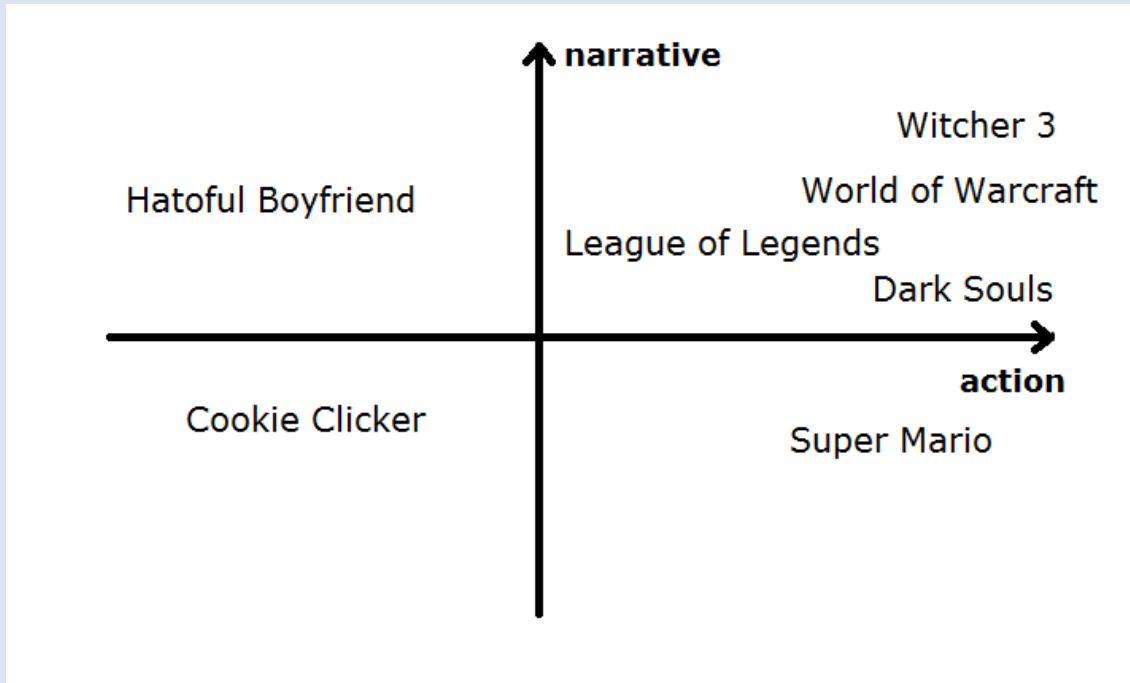
There are games with no or very little lore, which usually build their brand on their various levels, interactions, and puzzles, such as the platforming game Super Mario (1985–). The story gives only a vague, wide frame (someone kidnapped the Princess and the player has to rescue her) to the diverse maps, enemies, and other obstacles for the skillful players.

On the other hand, there are games where the interaction is really minimal, but the narrative has a huge importance. Prototypical games belong to the genre of visual novels: in these, the player usually reads a story on a static screen, mainly interacts while there is a conversation, and the story moves on according to the choices made during the conversations (W13). Some of these games have role-play elements to them, such as Hatoful Boyfriend (2011), where the player can sometimes choose from different activities (going to the library instead of helping one of the teachers, or choose between music and sports activities). Different activities result in various meetings and conversations with the characters. These increase the player's statistics that affect the end of the game, too.

The examples in section 3.2 (Dark Souls, League of Legends, The Witcher 3, and World of Warcraft) are the third part of this classification: they have rich narrative content but also require a great deal of interaction from the players.

Clicker or idle games are the opposite. They have almost no narrative and need the least interaction: the players only have to click with the mouse button (for example, Cookie clicker [2012]). The game merely rewards this action and this positive feedback makes these games really addictive (Davis 2013).

Figure 1.
The relationship between interaction and narrative based games



4. Conclusion

My aim in this paper was to emphasize the textual components of video games. I applied the term (in)visibility, because I think that while the players might also pay them less attention, the introduced texts are essential for successful gaming. These game related texts are natural and necessary for the gamers. If they do not find them, it generates an awkward situation and people may leave the uncomfortable game behind.

On the other hand, these textual elements are really important because they are built into the games during their development, and during and after the gameplay, when the players refer to or just talk about these games, they have to rely on the words and formulas the game creators have given them. Despite that normative role, the lore and the missions connected to it are one of the main motivators of players (cf. Bartle 1996; Yee 2006). I think these elements may be or be felt invisible sometimes, but their effect on the game and on the players is inevitable and really important for drawing attention. Further research could provide us detailed information about other in-game text styles or specialize in a game type to examine the relationship between text and players.

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Hári Dániel

EMBER ÉS GÉP KOMMUNIKÁCIÓJA A SCIENCE FICTION FILMEKBEN

*„Olyan fikció, amely reális kérdésekkel foglalkozik:
az ember származásával, a jövőnkkel...”
(Arthur C. Clarke)*

1. Bevezető

Médiaelemző dolgozatomat a vizuális kommunikáció témakörébe helyezve, egy mozgóképcsoport alkotásait elemezve készítem el. A szóban forgó filmes kategória a science fiction műfaj. Amennyiben magyar szövegkörnyezetben, hiteles fordítás keretein belül szeretnénk beszélni a témáról, leginkább úgy hivatkozhatunk az ilyen jellegű produkciókra, mint természettudományos fikciókra. Ez egyben tükörfordítás, másfelől viszont hitelesen lefesti azt, amiről a sci-fi stílusvilága szól.

Az alábbiakban rövid elméleti áttekintés után dolgozatom további részében arra vállalkozom, hogy kiemelkedően jelentős science fiction műveken keresztül felvázoljam, hogy a nagyszerű és elismert alkotók miként mutatják be az ember és gép kommunikációját, hogyan képzelik el a robotika és a negyedik ipari forradalom jövőjét, illetőleg milyen sorsot jósolnak magának az embernek, aki a mesterséges intelligencia feltörő kutatásaival folyamatosan azon dolgozik, hogy egy magánál okosabb és életképesebb létformát hozzon létre.

2. Elméleti háttér

2.1. A mozgóképalkotás és a science fiction

Az egyik legismertebb amerikai filmtudós, Steven Jay Schneider leírása szerint a műfaj lényege a fantázia és a valóság találkozása, melynek keretein belül alternatív kép születik bolygónkról, fajunkról, társadalmunkról és nem utolsósorban jövőnkéről. Mindezek mellett a science fiction műveknek mindenképpen érinteniük kell az új technológiák témaköreit, ezek erkölcsi vonatkozásait (Schneider 2009: 7). Utóbbi különösen fontos, hiszen a minőségi sci-fi mozgóképek nagy általánosságban eme erkölcsi konfliktusokból építik fel lényeg cselekményük magját és döntő részben az események folyamatát is.

Maga a filmművészet, mint egyben egészen újfajta, hamar meghatározóvá váló médium, a tizenkilencedik század végén, a fotó örököseként, továbbgondolása-

ként jelent meg. A reprodukciók ezentúl nem a megállított időre, hanem a mozgással átélhető időre helyezték a hangsúlyt. A kibontakozásról szóló kezdeti korszakot nevezzük az ősfilm időszakának (Szilágyi 2012: 291).

A mozgókép a vizuális kommunikáció meglehetősen nagy sebességgel fejlődő médiuma. Százhusz éves fennállásán belül több ízben is morális pánikot gerjesztett, először a hangosfilmmel, majd a színes film megalkotásával, manapság pedig a terjeszkedő CGI-technológia, azaz a nagy tért nyerő, számítógéppel animált látványvilág kapcsán.

A 21. század fordulóján túl már gyakran posztmodern filmekről beszélhetünk. Eme kategória alkotói továbbfejlesztik a szerzőiséget, a korábban felhalmozott mozgóképes sablonokat hivatkozás nélkül adaptálják saját filmjeikbe (Szilágyi 2012: 336). Eme alkotási tendencia legkiemelkedőbb alakja kétségtelenül a forgatókönyvírói minőségében kétszeres Oscar-díjas Quentin Tarantino.

Ebben a szövevényes, sokirányú és számos egymástól eltérő réteggel rendelkező folyamatban, amelyet filmtörténetnek nevezünk, a science fiction mindig meglepően jól megtalálta helyét. Olyan műfajról van szó, amelynek történetei valamilyen természettudományos fejlődést állítanak konfliktusok középpontjába, majd ebből kiindulva elképzelik a felhozott problémakör esetleges alakulását, illetőleg az általa generált morális, erkölcsi kérdéseket, valamint a lehetséges megoldásokat, hogy így végül alternatív jövőképet prezentáljanak, rendszerint erőteljes társadalomkritikával kiegészítve az alkotások összességét.

2.2. Politika a sci-fiben

A tudományos-fantasztikus műfaj gyakorta foglalkozik disztópiákkal, azaz antiutópisztikus társadalmi berendezkedésekkel, amelyek a felszínen tökéletesen működnek, valójában azonban teljes felépítésük a polgárok totális elnyomására alapoz. Eme zsáner műveiben különösen fontos a politika, ami azonban a sci-fi műfaj más stílusú produkcióiban, még az űropera legnépszerűbb képviselőjeként számon tartott *Star Wars*-franchiseban is fontos szerepet kap.

Tóth Csaba politológus és science fiction-szakértő szerint a politika, mint az élőlények együttélését elősegítő rendszer, minden tudományos-fantasztikus mű világában megjelenik. A science fiction alkotásai gyakran abból indulnak ki, hogy a jövő jobb lesz, mint a jelen. Ezt általában úgy magyarázzák, hogy a fiktív jövőbeli emberiséget poszt-politikai állapotban festik le, egy olyan világban, ahol politikamentes szempontok alapján születnek meg a döntések (Tóth 2016: 6). Ez persze csak a politikai alapból építkező science fiction történetek egy részére igaz, hiszen jelentős számú képviselő művel van jelen a már említett antiutópisztikus berendezkedés is a műfaj világában.

3. Filmelemzés

3.1. *Mr. Robot*: az ember és a komputer kapcsolata

Mielőtt tényleges tudományos-fantasztikus művekről ejtenék szót, az utóbbi évek egyik legfontosabb televíziós sorozatát emelném ki. A *Mr. Robot* című produkció eddig két évadot élt meg, történetének középpontjában pedig egy fiatal számítógépes zseni áll, aki akaratán kívül kirobbant egy elektronikus, online zajló forradalmat a fennálló társadalmi elittel szemben. Ez a mű nem igazán sci-fi, úgy is fogalmazhatunk, hogy szociodrámaként vagy pszichothrillerként olyan társadalmi állapotot mutat be, amely felállított tendenciái alapján, a néző által látott úton továbbhaladva eljuthat egy olyan disztópikus felállás keretei közé, amely alternatív jövőképként már definíció szerint is erősítheti a science fiction műfaját. Egyelőre nem tudhatjuk, hogy a készítőik tervezik-e a történet ilyen irányú továbbgondolását a későbbi szezonokban, az viszont biztos, hogy egyre nagyobb mértékben digitalizálódó társadalmunk egyik jellegzetes kommunikációs velejáróját láthatjuk megjelenni ebben a produkcióban. A főhős szociálisan gyengén funkcionáló karakter. Nehezen érteti meg magát embertársaival, reakcióit gyakran félreértik, ugyanakkor kiválóan eligazodik komputere programsorai között és az online világ útvesztőjében. A *Mr. Robot* főhősén keresztül olyan világot mutat be, amelyben hatékonyabban képes érvényesülni, céljait elérni az az egyén, aki az átlagnál jóval magasabban érti a számítógép kommunikációs mintáit, mint az, aki a „klasszikus”, emberek közti társadalmi helyzetekben képes helytállni.

3.2. *Terminátor*: az első kudarc

A nyugati civilizációban korábban három ipari forradalom zajlott le. A gőzgép megjelenése, a gyármechanizmus és az automatizáció után az úgynevezett negyedik ipari forradalom a gazdaság intelligens információs rendszerekbe való integrálására helyezi a hangsúlyt (Turzó, 2016). Ez tulajdonképpen azt jelenti, hogy az emberi tudomány mindent megtesz annak érdekében, hogy a korábban személyesen ellátott munkafolyamatokat gépi, komputer által vezérelt műveleteken keresztül valósítsa meg. Nem csupán a fizikai munka területeiről van szó, hanem a mérlegelés és döntéshozás felületeiről is. James Cameron meghatározó klasszikusaiban, a *Terminátor – A halálosztó*, valamint a *Terminátor 2. – Az ítélet napja* című filmekben ezt a folyamatot gondolja tovább, hogy bölcs tudományos-fantasztikus gondolkodóként óva intsen a gépekre ruházott túlzott felelősség okozta esetleges veszélyforrástól. Ezekben a mozgóképekben ugyanis globális háborúba, egyfajta új, gépi kontextussal bíró középkorba süllyed az emberiség, miután az amerikai hadvédelmi rendszerként létrehozott Skynet számítógép legnagyobb ellenségként a komplett emberi fajt ítéli meg, így önkényesen elpusztítására tör, a komputerhálózat tulajdonképpen öntudatra ébred. James Cameron olyan jövőt képzel el, amelyben az ember és a túlságosan intelligenssé tett gép kommunikációja zsákutcába jut. A komputer tervezői túl nagy szabadságot adnak a kifejlesztett algoritmusnak, ami így nem képes értelmezni az emberi fennhatóság tényét megfogalmazó üzenetet, mivel alkotói el sem tudták volna kép-

zelní, hogy kreálmányuk esetlegesen ellenük fordulhat. Cameron történeteivel tehát tulajdonképpen az informatikai fejlődéssel járó, óriásira növekedett emberi felelősségre hívja fel a figyelmet. A *Terminátor*-franchise legújabb, Alan Taylor által rendezett, *Genisys* alcímmel rendelkező részében ezt a tendenciát az okos eszközök térnyerésére képezi le a forgatókönyv, a lényegi tartalom azonban nem változik.

3.3. 2001: *Úrodüsszeia*: a második kudarc

Az utóbbi években a kibontakozó új ipari forradalom keretein belül a mesterséges intelligencia kutatásai óriási előrelépéseket értek el, és a fejlődés olyan nagymértékű és gyors ütemű, hogy a hétköznapi emberek tömegei jóformán fel sem fogják, hogy az eddig moziban látott és regényekben olvasott jövőképek, ha nem is pontosan ugyanúgy, de valamilyen módon egymásután valósággá avanzsálnak. Azonban ez nemcsak a kényelmesebb és fejlettebb életvitel, hanem a veszély lehetőségét is magában hordozza (Nagy 2016).

Eme veszélyforrás egy esetleges megvalósulási formáját dolgozza fel Stanley Kubrick, a huszadik század egyik legnagyobb hatású amerikai filmrendezője *2001: Úrodüsszeia* című, 1968-as science fiction mozgóképeben. Már a bemutatói évjárat alapján egyértelmű, hogy ez az alkotás évtizedekkel előzte meg korát, és nem csupán témavilága, hanem vizuális megvalósítása szempontjából is. A történet fő cselekményszálán két űrhajóst követhetünk nyomon, akik egy földönkívüli eredetű kommunikációs csatorna pontos kiindulási helyét kutatják, utazásuk során pedig egy fejlett mesterséges intelligencián alapuló fedélzeti számítógép, a HAL 9000 segíti munkájukat és mindennapi életüket. Ez a gépi működésforma nem csupán hiteles konverzációra képes, hanem még olyan nonverbális kommunikációs technikák művelésére is van kapacitása, mint például a szájról olvasás. Ez utóbbinak köszönhető a cselekmény fordulópontja, ugyanis amikor a főhős és társa elhatározzák, hogy lekapcsolják a számítógépet, HAL ajkaik mozgását figyelve értesül a számára kényelmetlen információkról, majd ezt követően az emberi legénység ellen fordul. Azok ellen, akiket minden körülmények között támogatnia és segítenie kellene, akiknek engedelmeskednie alapvető funkciója lenne. A mesterséges intelligencia pálfordulását itt a *Terminátorban* láthatóhoz hasonló gondolkodásminta eredményezi. HAL 9000-be a küldetés minden másnál fontosabb mivoltának információját táplálták, így amikor a komputer úgy érzeke-li, hogy emberi utazótársai veszélyeztetik a misszió célját, feljogosítva érzi magát radikális lépések megtételére, így a gyilkosság elkövetésére is. A kommunikáció lehet egyenrangú, azaz szimmetrikus, vagy egyenlőtlen aszerint, hogy a kommunikáló felek közül megnevezhető-e domináns fél az interakció szempontjából (Buda 1974: 113). Ezúttal tehát megint az ember és gép kommunikációjának kudarcáról beszélhetünk, hiszen ebben a filmben is a kommunikációs minta egyenlőtlensége, az emberi fennhatóság az, amit a mesterséges intelligencia semmibe vesz, vagy esetlegesen nem is képes értelmezni, ennek pedig életveszélyes eredményei lesznek a cselekmény későbbi részében.

3.4. A robotika alaptörvényei és az *Én, a robot*

A negyedik ipari forradalom, a folyamatos digitális fejlődés egyik kiemelkedően jelentős vonzata a robotika előretörése. Az élet egyre több területén jelennek meg ma még inkább kezdetleges, de folyamatosan egyre összetettebbé váló robotok, amelyek idővel akár komoly segítséget is nyújthatnak majd mindennapi életünkhöz. Persze, csak akkor, ha közben betartják a robotika három alaptörvényét. Egy olyan egyszerű szabályrendszerrel van szó, amelyet a robotika témakörének első komoly gondolkodója, Isaac Asimov sci-fi író, a műfaj egyik legnagyobb legendája alkotott meg.

A három alaptörvény a következő:

- „1. A robotnak nem szabad kárt okoznia emberi lényben, vagy tétlenül tűrnie, hogy emberi lény bármilyen kárt szenvedjen.
2. A robot engedelmeskedni tartozik az emberi lények utasításainak, kivéve, ha ezek az utasítások az első törvény előírásaiba ütköznenek.
3. A robot tartozik saját védelméről gondoskodni, amennyiben ez nem ütközik az első vagy második törvény bármelyikének előírásaiba” (W1).

Alex Proyas 2004-es tudományos-fantasztikus témájú, futurisztikus műve, az *Én, a robot*, mely bevallottan Asimov alapján készült, ezeket a kérdéseket feszegeti, megkísérli feltárni mélyebb rétegeiket, és eme gondolatfolyamon keresztül megfejteni a robotizáció erkölcsi dilemmáinak kérdéskörét. Az *Én, a robot* az elképzelt nagyvárosi jövőkép kontextusában tulajdonképpen egy krimi történetet mutat be, amely a bűnügyi műfajra jellemzően egy gyilkosság körül formálódik, a főhős nyomozó viszontagságos útját dolgozza fel. Ám ebben a gyilkossági ügyben fontos szerepet játszik egy intelligens robot, Sonny, aki a cselekmény folyamatos mozgatórugójaként van jelen. Olyan társadalmat fest le a produkció, amelyben a robotok mindennapi háztartási eszközként funkcionálnak, ám ezt a konzervatív főhős nem nézi jó szemmel. Az *Én, a robot* az alkotó és alkotása kommunikációs konfliktusait igyekszik megragadni. Ezzel pedig rátérnék azon sci-fi alkotásokra, amelyek a mesterséges intelligencia, a robotok és androidok témakörében gondolkozva teremtő erőként festik le az embert. Olyan, isteni szerepbe avanzsáló lényként, ami megalkot egy másik létformát. Hiszen az *Én, a robot* arra próbál rájönni, hogy az egyszerű, hitelesen és emberszerűen működő gépek mikor lépik át azt a határt, amelyen túl már intelligens, érző lényekként kell gondolnunk rájuk. Azért, hogy eme okfejtése hatásos legyen, a film az egyik legkényesebb társadalmi témát, a gyilkosságot emeli be konfliktusába. A gép felelősségre vonásának kérdését feszegeti. Azt kérdezi: Vajon hol van az a pont, amelyen átlépve a gépek, a robotok felelősséggel tartoznak saját tetteikért? Hol van az, a pont, ahol már bíróság elé állíthatók és elítélhetők adott esetben gyilkosság büntettségért? Ez a történet úgy festi le a robotizációt, mint olyan jelenséget, ami idővel képes lesz a komplett társadalmi kommunikációs rendszert át- szabni általa, hogy beemel a komplex öszképbe egy egészen új ágenst, nevezetesen az intelligens gépet.

3.5. Ember-gép kommunikáció a testen belül: *Páncélba zárt szellem*

Ezen a vonalon továbbhaladva megint egy olyan filmet elemeznék röviden, amely az embert a játékidő végére teremtő státuszba emeli. Mamuro Oshii animéje, a *Páncélba zárt szellem* című, 1995-ös kultusz-sci-fi ugyanis komplex jövőkép formájában beszél a robotikán alapuló társadalomról és a mesterséges intelligencia veszélyeiről. Animeművészetnek nevezzük a japán animációs filmgyártást, az ázsiai szigetország művészeinek alkotásait, amelyek olyannyira egyedülálló, félreismerhetetlen stílusjegyekkel rendelkeznek, hogy az évtizedek során önálló műfajként érvényesültek. Ez az anime. A műfaj egyik legtöbbet idézett darabja a *Páncélba zárt szellem*, amely történetében a robotikus, illetőleg a szerves létformák keveredésének eredményeként megszülető kyborgokkal dolgozik. A kyborgok olyan emberek, akik a testükben elhelyezett nagyarányú gépi implantátum miatt különálló szociális kategóriát képeznek. Saját egyéni testükön belül, tudathasadásszerűen egyesül az ember-gép kommunikáció, és ez az a vonulat, ami a film egyik főszálaként funkcionáló karakterdrámában intraperszonális konfliktust gerjeszt a főhősnőben. Mindezen túl a *Páncélba zárt szellem* legfontosabb feldolgozott témaköre a mesterséges intelligencia megnevezésében azonosul. A cselekmény vezérkonfliktusának gócpontjában egy Bábjátékos nevű terrorista áll, akiről idővel kiderül, hogy egy ember által alkotott gondolkodó komputerprogram, ami autodidakta módon jutott el egy olyan magas fejlettségi szintre, amelyen a létezés alapvető kérdéseit, az élő mibenlétét és a halandóságot feszegeti. Ennek az animációs mesterműnek tehát egy egészen érdekes problémakör áll a középpontjában. Oshii azt feltételezi, hogy az ember-gép kommunikáció előbb-utóbb eljuthat egy olyan pontra, ahol az ember a húsvér létezésen túlra léphet, és gépi programalapú folyamatoknak köszönhetően képessé válhat arra, hogy teljes értékű, gondolkodó és érző élőlényt teremtsen.

3.6. A Replikáns-dilemma

Hasonló módon gondolkodik Ridley Scott 1982-es klasszikusában, a *Szárnyas fejedelemségben*. Ez a mozgóképmű a science fiction irodalom egyik kiemelkedően jelentős alakja, Philip K. Dick *Álmodnak-e az androidok elektronikus bárányokkal?* című regénye alapján készült, ám a könyv által ábrázolt antiutópiához képest jóval sötétebb, veszélyesebb és félelmetesebb jövőképet tár a befogadó elé. Ebben a világban az ember már jócskán túl van azon a ponton, ahová a *Páncélba zárt szellem*-ben épphogy eljutott. Ebben a történetben a tudomány régóta képes az emberhez hasonló androidokat előállítani. Ezek az úgynevezett Replikánsok, akik kezdetben az emberi létezés segítőként voltak jelen, ám később kiutasították őket a Föld bolygóról (a film olyan jövőképet feltételez, amelyben fajunk már gyarmatosított más égitesteket). Azonban néhány kiemelten fejlett, emberszerű android, a Nexus 6-os modellkészlet képviselői visszaszöknek a szülőbolygóra, hogy számon kérjék teremtőjüket, a gyártóprogram vezető tudósát rendkívül rövid élettartamuk, azaz működési idejük kapcsán. A szóban forgó időtartam mindössze négy esztendő. René Descartes „*Gondolkodom, tehát vagyok*” alapvetésére építve a Replikánsok önmagukat teljes értékű élőlényként

tartják számon, hiszen eredeti elképzeléseket és ok-okozati összefüggéseket képesek létrehozni fejükben. Ugyanakkor fizikai állóképességüket és erejüket tekintve jóval többek az embernél, így teljes létjogosultságukat követelik. A film részletesen kidolgozott negatív karaktere, Roy Batty jogosnak ható érvrendszer alapján követeli meg az emberekével egyenlő bánásmódot. A *Szárnyas fejvadász* tulajdonképpen úgy ábrázolja a Replikánsokat, mint ember által alkotott, de az embernél többre képes, ám rövidebb élettartammal bíró élőlényeket, akik minden ezen jellemzőik alapján ijesztő módon az evolúciós folyamat következő lépcsőfokának tekinthetők. E gondolatkört egy korábbi filmelemzésemben részletesebben is kifejtettem (Hári 2016).

3.7. A kiterjesztett és a virtuális valóságok gépei

Egyre több kutatás folyik a robotok, mint akár szexuális segédeszközként is felhasználható gépi alkotások kifejlesztése körül. A 24.hu által idézett szakemberi vélemény szerint akár már 2070 környékére bevett szokássá válhat a robotokkal való közösülés gyakorlata (Dévai 2016). Már a *Szárnyas fejvadász* is megpendíti eme lehetőség vonulatát, amikor hűsvér főhősét egy Replikánssal történő szexuális interakcióban ábrázolja, viszont az HBO jelenleg futó, vadonatúj sikersorozatában olyan társadalmat láthatunk megelevenedni, amelyben ez a cselekvésmód bevett, normatív gyakorlat. A *Westworld* című televíziós produkció Michael Crichton azonos című, magyar forgalmazásban *Feltámad a vadnyugat* elnevezésű, 1973-as mozgóképen alapul. A sorozat meg nem határozott jövőképében a civilizált nyugati társadalom legfőbb szórakozási formájaként a Westworld nevű kalandpark szolgál, amely tökéletes leképezése a kiterjesztett valóság (augmented reality) fogalomkörének (W2). Ebben az elképzelt, de reálisan ábrázolt jövőképben élve nincs szükség AR-szemüvegekre, hiszen a valóság kiegészítését profi tervezők által kidolgozott androidok szolgáltatják. A látogatók aszimmetrikus kommunikációs felállásban teljes fennhatóságot élveznek a gépi lények fölött. Szabadon meggyilkolhatják őket, de az androidok által benépesített bordélyházba betérve szexuális kapcsolatba is léphetnek velük. A *Westworld* azt sugallja, hogy napjaink, szabadidejének nagy részét a különböző képernyők és fikatív valóságok között élő fiatalsága lehet a jövő bölcs, meghatározó és irányító rétege. Hiszen a korábbi másodlagos valóságtér – a kiterjesztett valóság – ebben a futurista felfogásban elsődlegessé válik.

Végül a 1990-es évek egyik legjelentősebb amerikai sci-fi alkotását vizsgálom néhány mondatban. A Wachowski testvérek *Mátrix* című alkotásáról van szó, ami úgy beszél az ember-gép interakcióról, hogy cselekményét egyedien megalkotott virtuális valóság köré építi fel, amely a jelenetek nagy részének színteréül is szolgál. Ebben a történetben egy, a korábban említett filmek néhányához hasonlóan aszimmetrikus kommunikációs modell valósul meg, viszont a domináló fél ezúttal nem az ember, hanem a gép. A cselekmény főhőse fokozatosan megismeri a szörnyű titkot, mely szerint a világ, amit eddig valóságnak hitt, csupán az intelligens gépek által megalkotott virtuális tér, amelyben a tudtukon kívül a rajtuk uralkodó és élősködő mechanikus létformának életenergiájukat adó emberi

lények tudata tölti el azt az időt, ami alatt tulajdonosának testére szüksége van a hatalmon lévő robotikus társadalomnak. Ebben a filmben tehát fordul a kocka, hiszen egy olyan jövőképet látunk, amelyben az emberi lény csupán szolgál, alattvaló, nem is élőlénynek tekintett eszköz a gépek számára. Így a maroknyi lázadó csapat tölti be azt a szerepet, amit példának okáért a *Szárnyas fejedelmek* a Replikánsok játszottak. Létjogosultságot követelnek egy, a másik fél által uralt világban. Viszont a *Mátrix*-ban nem az emberiség képezi ezt az uralkodó fajt, hanem a gépi társadalom. A science fiction világában ennyire képlékeny is lehet az, hogy mi a jó és mi a rossz. Hiszen a *Mátrix* pozitív hőseinek motivációi alig különböznek a *Szárnyas fejedelmek* negatív figuráinak indokaitól.

4. Konklúzió

A science fiction műfajú mozgókép alkotói a stílusvilág irodalmának nagyjai nyomán ilyen, jól elkülöníthető, ám számos ponton mégis egymással rokonítható módokon mutatják be az ember-gép kommunikációs felállást. A legfőbb közös pont eme vizuális médiatermékekben és egyben összetett művészeti alkotásokban az, hogy legyen szó intelligens számítógépekről, androidokról, robotokról, kyborgokról vagy virtuális valóságokról, a legfőbb mögöttes tartalom rendszerint az alkotói óva intés, a figyelmeztetés, ami azt mondja, hogy az embernek felelősséget kell vállalnia tetteiért és tudományaért. A mesterséges intelligenciát és a robotikát kötelessége úgy kutatni, hogy az még véletlenül se válhasson fajunkat hátráltató, negatív erővé a negyedik ipari forradalom nyomán egyre komplexebbé váló, globális társadalmi rendszerben.

Filmográfia

2001: Űrodüsszeia/2001: A Space Odyssey (Stanley Kubrick, 1968)
Csillagok háborúja/Star Wars (George Lucas, 1977)
Én, a robot/I, Robot (Alex Proyas, 2004)
Feltámad a vadnyugat/Westworld (Michael Crichton, 1973)
Mátrix/The Matrix (Wachowski testvérek, 1999)
Mr. Robot (Sam Esmail, 2015-)
Páncélba zárt szellem/Kôkaku Kidôtai (Mamuro Oshii, 1995)
Szárnyas fejedelmek/Blade Runner (Ridley Scott, 1982)
Terminátor – A halálosztó/The Terminator (James Cameron, 1984)
Terminátor 2. – Az ítélet napja/Terminator 2: Judgement Day (James Cameron, 1991)
Terminátor: Genisys/Terminator Genisys (Alan Taylor, 2015)
Westworld (Lisa Joy, Jonathan Nolan, 2016-)

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- W1 = Újra kell írni a robotika három törvényét. *Index*, 2009. http://index.hu/tudomany/2009/07/28/ujra_kell_irni_a_robotika_harom_torvenyet/
- W2 = Látványos poklot hozhat el a kiterjesztett valóság. *Origo*, 2016. <http://www.origo.hu/techbazis/20160525-ijesztoen-latvanyos-a-kiterjesztett-valosaggal-teli-jovo.html>

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