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VISUAL VARIATIONS OF VIOLENCE
THE METONYMIC FRAMING OF VIOLENCE IN THE
FEATURED IMAGES OF ONLINE NEWS ABOUT
AFRICA

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Doctoral dissertation

Alexandra Nagy-Béni

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I vividly remember the first time I met my mentor, Réka Benczes. It was the first class of an elective course that didn't start in the end, but the encounter definitely got me started. As a student majoring in communication and media studies, she opened very exciting new doors by introducing me to the world of metaphors and metonymies. She did all this with the grace and expertise that characterizes her work in all areas. One could not wish for a more wonderful and reliable mentor than her – she was and continues to be my lighthouse. I will forever be grateful for her support and for showing me the path I now consider my calling.

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1   Introduction

Different news articles about the same topic often offer a variety of perspectives: an article written about a certain type of violence might emphasize the perpetrator's role in the action, while another might show the sufferings of the victims, and yet a third might focus on the wider consequences for the environment. In communication and media research, these different perspectives are known as "frames", which, when used in news media are capable of influencing the opinion of the readers in multiple ways. The present thesis introduces a method for effectively detecting frames in news images via metonymic relationships.

For most citizens, the news media is the primary source of information on complex and abstract issues about which we have no personal experience, and a fine example of which, namely violence in Africa, is discussed in the present thesis. Not only do the media select the issues they report on, they also choose the ways in which they do so. Research into these mechanisms is relevant since issue coverage is bound to have a tangible effect on public opinion and public reactions to not-so-distant and not-so-abstract affairs.

For this reason, the general aspiration of the dissertation can be formulated as wanting to delve into the possibilities of examining the visual representation of violence via metonymic frames. In terms of its literal meaning, *representation* means "to portray", "to image", "to offer a depiction of something else", but in the light of the media, it stands for more than something that not only reflects but also constructs, thus it has social significance (Hall, 1997). The mode of representation can change the deep-rooted reality, and as a result influence and modify the perception of an entire event. Consequently, the research of representation not only analyses what the media portrays, but also how it does it, which is central to framing theory.

Figurative framing, which explores the role of figurative language types such as metonymy, offers an interesting insight into the power of such framing devices in shaping public opinion. As will be demonstrated, metonymy serves a wide range of rhetorical functions, such as strengthening ideological positions, which makes it suitable to be seen as a framing device. Its potential is even more significant in the visual domain, given that the role of visuals in mediated events is ever-increasing. Visual inputs contribute to the conceptualization process by highlighting particular aspects of discussed topics, thus adding to the construal of representations – in this specific case, the representation of violence as seen in the featured images of online news about Africa.

In order to establish the topic, the following subsection introduces the concepts of metonymy and framing. Section 1.2 presents the notion of metonymic framing in a visual mode, referring to the shortcomings of visual metonymy research. After that, Section 1.3 unveils the communicative context of the research, the news genre, including the case enabling the testing of the developed method: metonymic framing of violence in Africa as seen the featured images of news. The description of the main concepts and the current state of research related to them is followed by the clarification of the relevance of the dissertation. From this follows the formulation of the objectives of the thesis.

1.1 Defining metonymy as a framing device

One of the key concepts of the dissertation is metonymy, the meaning of which is rooted in the cognitive linguistics tradition. Metonymy, one of the most common cognitive and cultural processes (Kövecses, 2006), refers to a relationship in which there is substitution: we use X to stand for Y (Kövecses & Radden, 1998; Radden & Kövecses, 1999). In the sentence "let's do a headcount", "head" stands for the whole person, so a human being is replaced with one physical attribute: the head. These substitution-based relationships are everyday in our language use, and their interpretation is automatic.

In the complex world around us, in which it is impossible to pay attention to every little detail, metonymic thinking simplifies mental processing as it allows us to focus on the most relevant and accessible nuance in the given situation, and through it to arrive at the whole concept (Kashanizadeh & Forceville, 2020). In addition to this elementary function, metonymy can also be used as a rhetorical tool for humour, sensation and persuasion (Kövecses & Radden, 1998; Vezovnik & Šarić; 2020).

The rhetorical function, which is based on this very property of metonymies, namely that they highlight certain features of a given phenomenon, while relegating others to the background, makes metonymy an effective framing device. The concepts of *frame* and *framing* prove to be very productive, since several fields of science, from sociology to cognitive linguistics and media science, use the term.[1] Although the cognitive linguistic interpretation cannot be neglected, this thesis uses framing in the sense of *media framing*, as it is proposed in the media science discourse.

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[1] Differences in meaning are mentioned in the following subsection and discussed in more detail in Section 2.

Relying on the most frequently cited definition, to frame is "to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described" (Entman, 1993, p.52). To give a regrettably current example, the leading Hungarian news portals, for example, present the Russo-Ukrainian War through a kind of military frame, emphasizing the role of the perpetrators, i.e., mostly soldiers (Nagy-Béni & Szabó, 2023). The problem is defined in the light of the actions of the perpetrators (problem definition), which causes a lot of damage and suffering (causal interpretation), which suggests that these acts of violence should be condemned (moral evaluation) and stopped as soon as possible. This example highlights the multifaceted meaning arising from highlighting even one element of the perceived reality. These processes are at the centre of framing theory.

Despite the fact that scholars agree that frames are often mediated by figurative language types, such as metaphors and metonymies in texts that offer a particular interpretation of events (among others, Charteris-Black, 2004; Catalano & Waugh, 2013; Burgers, Konijn & Steen, 2016; Catalano & Musolff, 2019), no definition has yet been offered as to what we mean by *metonymic framing*. This niche is even more evident in the literature on visual metonymies. Since the thesis interprets metonymic framing in the visual mode, the next subsection introduces this notion.

1.2 Defining metonymy in the visual domain

As early as 2009, Forceville pointed out that the examination of non-verbal metonymies is more suitable for revealing their inherent power and nuanced, unnoticed effects than the analysis of their verbal counterparts. Although the ubiquity of (verbal) metonymy logically implies the frequent occurrence of nonverbal manifestations, visual metonymies have so far been pushed into the background behind verbal counterparts (Benczes, 2019).

This does not mean that there is no discourse on visual metonymies at all, in fact this discourse is becoming more and more active. One of the most productive "sites" of visual metonymies is the world of advertising (see Qui, 2013; Pérez-Sobrino, 2016; Kashanizadeh & Forceville, 2020; Chatti, 2022; Hidalgo-Downing & O'Dowd, 2023). Others have identified visual metonymies in children's books (Guijarro, 2019; Puspitasari, 2022) and in political campaigns (Goehring, Renegar & Puhl, 2017; Benczes, 2019; Tasić & Stamenković, 2022). The puzzle is

more about the exact steps along which visual metonymies can be identified, because authors do not offer details about the process and aspects of analysis and identification.

Recognizing this deficiency, Chatti (2022), for example, adapted the Visual Metaphor Identification Procedure (VisMip) proposed by Šorm and Steen (2018) to accommodate visual metonymies, but the result is a list of five vague steps, treating metonymies as one visual element (among other visual elements). Hidalgo-Downing and O'Dowd (2023) developed an ad-hoc annotation procedure, which, among other things, is also suitable for identifying visual metonymies and, although transparent, considers the world of advertising, so it could not be fully adapted to the present research due to genre differences.

Examining publications that detected visual metonymies in news images (new genre being the communicative context of the research, see Catalano & Waugh, 2013; Catalano & Musolff, 2019; Vezovnik & Šarić, 2020), it can be concluded that the methodological solutions are even more obscure, because the process and aspects of analysis and identification are not discussed. All this leads to the conclusion that anyone who devotes themselves to the analysis of visual metonymies is hitting a difficult road. Tóth (2017) mentions that it is their implicit nature that makes the identification of metonymies much less clear and unambiguous than identifying metaphors, for instance. Overall, with regards to analysing visual metonymies in online news images, it was necessary to set up an own protocol (as seen in Section 6) to account for this niche and to fulfil the objectives listed in one of the below subsections.

In addition to the methodological shortcoming, it is important to point out another gap, namely that although the mentioned studies all imply that visual metonymies are effective framing tools, *visual metonymic framing* has not yet been defined. The dissertation also reflects on this deficiency (see Section 3.3).

1.3   The communicative context: news genre

The dissertation examines the theoretical and methodological potential inherent in visual metonymic framing in the light of the news genre. News is the primary source for offering interpretations of the world, organizing our knowledge, and giving meaning to chains of events (Andok, 2015). Even though interest and trust in news is decreasing (Reuters Institute, 2023), online news seems unavoidable to a certain extent. The communicative context of the research, i.e., the news genre, which provided the units of analysis for the identification of visual metonymies, is further narrowed in the two subsections below, thereby presenting the specific case on which the developed analytical framework was tested.

1.3.1 Violence in the news

"If it bleeds, it leads" – one of the well-known credos of news production on the one hand, captures the seemingly inseparable connection between violence and the news genre, and on the other hand, illustrates the essence of one of the most enduring news values: violence, conflict and negative events have always been considered newsworthy (Harcup & O'Neill, 2001; Bednarek & Caple, 2017; Hall, 1973/2019). In order to involve readers more deeply in a news story, news outlets increasingly construct news values visually.

Media portrayals have evolved into highly visual entities, encompassing images of victims, perpetrators, family members, graphic diagrams, geographical locations, weapons, or a crime scene. These visual components of news convey information immediately and vividly, often depicting in full colour what might require several paragraphs to articulate in words. Visual representations of violent news generally aim to enhance the immediate accessibility, human interest, and overall communicative influence of news products on media audiences (Greer, 2007).

Although violence, defined as "a behaviour that is intentional, unwanted, nonessential and harmful" (Hamby, 2017, p.168), is proliferant in the world of news, only a few studies examine the visual metonymic framing of violence (which is not surprising given that visual metonymies are a priori interpreted and identified by little research in the news genre). For example, Goehring, Renegar and Puhl (2017) found that in a campaign against domestic violence in Hungary, shifting responsibility and agency to the victim was done through the use of visual metonymies. Catalano and Waugh (2013) further reinforce the ideological potential of visual metonymic framing by drawing attention to the fact that Latinos are portrayed negatively, while the Wall Street/CEOs category is portrayed positively in online crime reports through visual metonymies. Still, it can be concluded that the analysis of forms of violence through metonymies in any form of media communication is rare in the literature. Thus, their identification in the featured images of online news about violence is novel.

1.3.2 Africa in the news

The case that provides the focus of the research and thus makes it possible to test the developed analytical framework is related to Africa and news about Africa. For a long time, the continent appeared in Western news reports through the frames of underdevelopment, exoticism, poverty, instability, hunger and violence (Hawk, 1992; Mengara, 2001; Tsikata, 2014; Bunce, 2015).

Dominant news sources such as the BBC and CNN have played a significant role in shaping the narrative about Africa.

However, since the last decade, several researchers see a new narrative on the rise concerning reports on Africa, which builds on a more positive frame set (Nothias, 2014; Ojo, 2014, Obijiofor & MacKinnon, 2016; Zhang & Matingwina, 2016; Bunce, 2017). Despite the fact that the so-called changing narrative is echoed in several studies, certain frames and topics appear to be stable and stagnant over time. One such dominant and recurring theme in the news is violence.

Moreover, observing literary accounts, it surfaces that violence is inherently and historically linked to Africa (at least from the age of discoveries, when the representation of Africa started to be dominated by European travellers, missionaries, merchants and writers, see Section 4.2.2). Even though a lot of time has passed since the peak of the barbaric, savage, and thus violence-dominated narrative, these characteristics are still echoed in studies to this day. While research into visual communication is increasing and scholars agree on its potential, the visual depiction of Africa in online news seems to be a less researched area. Moreover, metonymic framing has never been applied to news about the continent. For a number of reasons, therefore, inquiry into how violence in Africa is presented via visual metonymies is important to address.

1.4 The relevance of the thesis

After having presented the topic of the research above, having provided the definitions of the key concepts, and having pinpointed the main results and shortcomings of the research related to them, as a logical continuation and summary of the previous three subsections, the relevance of the dissertation is explicitly clarified in this section.

The review of literature indicates that despite the fact that more and more studies deal with the role of visual metonymies in various fields (e.g., marketing messages, political discourse) and thus also with visual metonymic framing, on the one hand, there is little research on the role of metonymies in the light of the news genre and news photography, and on the other hand, they do not provide detailed methodological guidance for the identification of visual metonymies. Furthermore, neither metonymic framing nor visual metonymic framing has yet been defined in the literature. This niche is particularly puzzling because of the ubiquity of metonymies. Thanks to its rhetorical function and its inherent substitution-based salience, it is an effective framing device. Thus, the theoretical and practical development of visual metonymic framing proves to be a relevant objective for the present dissertation.

Regarding the communicative context, it can be said that the metonymic interpretation of violent news is in its infancy, regardless of violence being a prominent news value across time and space. The media representation of Africa has been examined at many accounts from various cultural backgrounds over time, yet a gap emerges in the field of visual research and metonymic framing. From this point of view, not only the proposed methodology, but also the chosen case is completely of novel nature.

Thus, the visual metonymic framing of the featured images of violent news about Africa is relevant both for streamlining the literature and clarifying concepts, as well as for subsequent research investigating violent acts. With this, the thesis incorporates the notions of cognitive linguistics, media framing theory and visual communication to advance work examining the above research gap. The dissertation thus examines how the abstract concept of violence becomes graspable through metonymic relationships by introducing the concept of visual metonymic framing and testing the proposed analytical framework.

Finally, as far as the public relevance of the topic is concerned, there are several wars going on in the world at the moment of finishing the dissertation. Their impact goes beyond the local level and affects everyone indirectly. For this reason, it is particularly important to examine through which interpretive frameworks the media – people's main source of information in such cases – portrays the events. The (visual) framing of violent events can have an impact on micro and macro (even policy) levels. Consequently, it is especially important and novel to set up a model that enables the investigation of the narratives (along with their implications) that are prioritized by visual substitutions in online news.

1.5 The aims of the thesis

Continuing the above discussion, the objectives of the dissertation can be summarized along three main aspects. To formulate the first goal, it is necessary to position the research itself within scientific discourse. The present thesis is written from a communication and media science background. Although the approach draws a lot from the tools and concepts of cognitive linguistics, it is important to state that the author of the thesis is not a cognitive linguist. Therefore, the results are primarily interpreted from a media science perspective, not overpowering the cognitive linguistic aspects.

It follows that the first main aim of the dissertation is to highlight the compatibility and productive applicability of cognitive linguistic tools and concepts in media science research. Quite precisely, the thesis uses the concepts and toolkit of Conceptual Metaphor and Metonymy

Theory (CMMT) to understand framing in online media, more precisely in visual online media. During the process, the following sub-goals were set:

- to define metonymic framing,
- to define visual metonymic framing,
- to reveal whether the principles determining vehicle choice and thus influencing our thinking and language use are visually projected, and
- to advise an analytical framework that facilitates the application of the Violence ICM (motivated by the Action ICM and Complex event ICM as seen in Section 2.1.3.1 and Section 2.1.3.2).

Therefore, the research is located at the intersection of cognitive linguistics, visual communication and media framing, and its general purpose is to reflect on the challenges of visual metonymy research (detailed in Section 2.1.6).

Consequently, the second main aim of the dissertation is to enrich the literature of visual metonymy on both theoretical and practical levels. From a theoretical point of view, the thesis wants to assign further validity to the importance of research on visual metonymies, and from a practical point of view it aims to methodologically support such research. The dissertation is ambitious in terms of setting up an analytical framework that helps to investigate the visual representation of any violent act through uncovering the underlying metonymic relationships.

The third main goal is to test, critically evaluate and present the potential of this model. To do this, the substitutions that can be found in the depiction of violent events are analysed on the sample of African news. The choice is justified by the fact that literature on the representation of Africa in the news reveals that the continent has been historically intertwined with violence. In this way, it is a suitable case study that made it possible to achieve the above goals. At the same time, it is important to emphasize that the outlined approach and method go beyond this specific case, as it can be applied to better understand the visual representation of any violent event. And the news of violence has always played a central role in the everyday news flow, which is unlikely to change in the future, thereby guaranteeing the relevance of the research.

1.6 Research questions and analytical framework

The investigation into the metonymic framing of violence in the featured images of online news about Africa is guided by two research questions. The first research question starts from the

fact that violence is always a complex event, therefore the sequence of events can be interpreted through the metonymies of the Complex event ICM.

RQ1: Which SUBEVENTS are used to visually represent the COMPLEX EVENT of violence?

The second research question is based on the fact that violence is not only a complex event, but more specifically a complex action, therefore the visual representation of violence (across its different types) is best understood through the metonymic relations of Action ICM.

RQ2: Which metonymic relationships of the Action ICM are used to visually represent different types of violence?

In order to answer the research questions, an analytical framework, examining the substitutions through which violence is depicted in online news via detecting the metonymic relations of the Action ICM and the metonymies of the Complex event ICM, was set up. The analysis entails the following steps:

1) Categorization of the units based on the type of violence.
2) Metonymy-based analysis of images:
   a. Identification of sequentiality in the image (identification of the SUCCESSIVE SUBEVENTS FOR COMPLEX EVENT metonymies of the Complex event ICM).
   b. Identification of relationality in the image (identification of the metonymic relationships of the Action ICM).

The model was validated on a sample of 289 units of analysis. The sample, including articles from BBC Africa and CNN Africa in the period 2011-2020, was compiled in a semi-automated manner. Details of the sampling process can be found in Section 6.1. To facilitate the analysis and the coding of featured images based on the sub-metonymies of the Complex event ICM and the metonymic relationships of the Action ICM, using the two, the different acts of violence were outlined in the form of scenarios (thus providing the subscenarios of the Violence ICM as seen in Section 6.2.1.3). The specific steps of the analysis and the aspects taken into account during the coding are detailed in Section 6.2.

From the research questions and the proposed analytical framework, it can be seen how the concepts and tools of cognitive linguistics were adapted to fit the media science research focus of the thesis. Section 2 offers further details on the interpretation of the used concepts and tools, while Section 5 discusses the research questions in more detail and proposes related hypotheses.

1.7 The structure of the thesis

The thesis consists of two main parts and eight chapters. The first part outlines the theoretical background of the research. Accordingly, Section 2 provides an insight into the literature on metonymy, discussing – among others – its definition, taxonomy and functions, with a specific focus on visual metonymy, highlighting the main applications and challenges of the subdiscipline. After that, the media science interpretation of framing theory is presented, with a focus on news framing and the framing role of metonymies. Section 2 concludes with the introduction of the proposed definition of metonymic framing. Next, Section 3 places metonymic framing in the visual modality by presenting an arguing for the role visuals play in the framing process and introducing a particularly productive area of investigation: the world of online news. Thus, the text arrives at the definition of visual metonymic framing. Section 4 elaborates on the topic, which is in the focus of the research, i.e., violence in Africa. For this end, violence is defined, scrutinizing on its potential typology. Finally, the prevalence of violence in relation to the case in the focus of the research, that is, Africa, is presented.

The second part of the dissertation starts with Section 5, which details the research questions and introduces the related hypotheses. It also outlines the boundaries and extent of the study. Section 6 overviews the methodology, first describing the sample and then the steps of the analysis. Section 7 presents the results of the research and provides the discussion of the results. The final section, Section 8 concludes, discusses the applicability of the research, summarizes the scientific significance of the thesis and proposes recommendations for further research.

2 Metonymic framing

The presentation of the theoretical background of the dissertation begins with Section 2. The sections in this chapter firstly present the concept of metonymy in a cognitive linguistic interpretation, secondly clarify the concept of framing according to the tradition of media studies, and thirdly combine the two, offering a working definition of metonymic framing that has not been defined in the literature so far.

2.1 Metonymy

In the present chapter, one of the key concepts of the dissertation, metonymy, is discussed. Metonymy is considered to be one of the most common cognitive and cultural processes (Kövecses, 2006). However, before defining the concept, it is necessary to briefly introduce conceptual frames, because in the cognitive linguistics approach, metonymic relationships are created within conceptual frames. Then, the most common types of metonymies are presented, and finally the visual metonymies that are key to the research are discussed.

We interpret the complex world around us through frames, which, according to the cognitive linguistics tradition, are structured mental representations of our knowledge of the world (Kövecses & Benczes, 2010). We rely on these frames during our conversations and actions. Furthermore, they entail common interpretations that are known and accepted by the members of a given community, which is why we can also talk about cultural differences. One of their most important features is that they organize our experiences in an idealized and schematized way – Lakoff (1987), for example, calls them an idealized cognitive model (ICM). The frame, in this sense, is not an exact copy of reality, but rather an idealized, schematized version of it.

Kövecses (2006) notes that the same idea, i.e., what a frame is, is named in many different ways in the literature. In addition to *frame*, the following can be mentioned: *script, scenario, scene, cultural model, cognitive model, idealized cognitive model, domain, schema* etc. Variations occur even within a given author, e.g., Kövecses uses many of them interchangeably, because the underlying idea is the same: the coherent organization of human experience. At the same time, it is important to emphasize that throughout the dissertation, Lakoff's (1987) *idealized cognitive model* terminology is used, because the *frame*, or more precisely, *framing*, is introduced in a different sense in Section 2.2. To avoid possible confusion, I refer to structured mental representations of an area of human experience as an idealized cognitive model (ICM).

2.1.1 Defining metonymy

Although conceptual metonymies were already mentioned in the seminal book by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) – and shortly after Lakoff (1987) highlighted their role in the structuring of categories – it was only discussed in one chapter, stating that metonymic concepts appear in our everyday thinking and speech. Although the focus of *Metaphors We Live By* was on conceptual metaphors, it can be said that in the forty years since then, interest in metonymies has gradually caught up to studies on metaphors. Kövecses and Radden's 1998 and 1999 publications were crucial in this process, in which they laid the foundations of metonymy research and offered a comprehensive and integrated theoretical framework of metonymy from a cognitivist point of view.

For Littlemore (2015, p. 4) "metonymy is a figure of language and thought in which one entity is used to refer to, or […] 'provides access to', another entity to which it is somehow related". Panther and Thornburg (2007) list four elements that must necessarily be included in the definition of metonymy: firstly, metonymy is a cognitive process, secondly, it is based on contiguity, thirdly, target content is foregrounded, and fourthly, the strength of the metonymic link varies. These definitions are not appropriate for the thesis, because they do not prioritize idealized cognitive models. Although controversial points still arise regarding the description of metonymy (so much so that Benczes, Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez & Barcelona (2015) and Blanco-Carrion, Barcelona & Pannain (2018) edited separate volumes on the subject, while the challenges of delimiting and classifying metonymy provided the focus of Tóth's (2017) doctoral dissertation), the dissertation does not aim to discuss them. Rather, it starts from the Kövecses-Radden definition, which is the most widely accepted in the literature.

In the cognitive linguistic sense, metonymy refers to a relationship in which there is substitution: we use X to stand for Y (Kövecses & Radden, 1998; Radden & Kövecses, 1999). Within the framework of the Conceptual Metaphor and Metonymy Theory (CMMT), "metonymy is a cognitive process in which one conceptual entity, the vehicle, provides mental access to another conceptual entity, the target, within the same idealized cognitive model" (Kövecses, 2006, p. 98; Kövecses & Radden, 1998, p. 39; Radden & Kövecses, 1999, p. 20). The two entities are part of the same ICM, so the transfer takes place within the same ICM (Kövecses & Benczes, 2010). Kövecses (2006) provides the following example to demonstrate the process: "Washington denied the charges". The vehicle, which is the element that stands for another elements, is "Washington", while the target, for which the vehicle stands, is the U.S. government. When we hear the sentence, we understand that it was not the city that acted, but

the government. All of this is interpreted through the Government ICM, which includes – among other elements – the president, the cabinet members, the buildings, and their locations. Within this, it is understandable that the place where their government is located (Washington) can stand for the U.S. government. The substitution thereby activates the PLACE FOR INSTITUTION[2] metonymy. The substitution is also conceivable in the opposite way, if I declare that "I live close to the University". In this case, the institution of the university stands for the place where the university is located, thus activating the INSTITUTION FOR PLACE metonymy (Radden & Kövecses, 1999). At the same time, it is important to point out that the case of metonymy is not just a matter of one entity substituting another, but also of a new, complex meaning created by the relationship.

According to Kövecses and Radden (1998), metonymy is a natural part of everyday language use. However, in addition to the social-communicative function, it can also be used as a rhetorical tool for humour, sensation, persuasion and/or gaining approval. What's more, Littlemore (2015) argues that precisely because of its subtle nature, metonymy can be effectively used as a manipulative tool. Politicians, for example, often use it to emphasize the positive attributes of their own group, while highlighting the negative attributes of the out-group. For instance, observing the persuasion strategy enacted by George W. Bush to promote the preventive war in Iraq, Ferrari (2007) cites the following sentence from the former president: "Add your eyes and ears to the protection of our homeland". The "eyes" and "ears" metonymically stand for looking and listening out for potential bombers (PART FOR WHOLE metonymy). Appealing to the in-group, the citizens are addressed as one entity, highlighting their protective role.

Metonymy is an everyday part of our communication, because it is impossible (at least very rare) to examine every possible nuance of meaning during a single utterance (Kashanizadeh & Forceville, 2020). Metonymic thinking allows us to focus on the most relevant and accessible nuance in the given situation, and through it to arrive at the whole concept. When we ask someone to think of France, they might think of a place they've been to or seen in a movie, or an iconic building like the Eiffel Tower or the Louvre, during which train of thought the Eiffel Tower metonymically stands for France. Or – to give a stereotypical example of the topic that is the focus of the research – if a person who relies on international news to learn about distant

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[2] Conceptual metaphors and metonymies are formatted in small capitals according to the traditions of cognitive linguistics (Kövecses, 2005). Therefore, this formatting is used throughout the text.

events thinks about Africa, they might associate the continent with the flagship of humanitarian programs, that is, with the image of starving children.

In the introduction of many research papers dealing with metonymies, there is the statement that compared to metaphor research, the number of studies dealing with metonymies is more modest, as if metonymy was the "less appreciated – but even more ubiquitous – sister" of metaphor (Benczes, 2019, p. 19). In contrast to metonymy, metaphor is "understanding and experiencing one thing in terms of another" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 5), that is, a metaphoric relationship can be understood as A IS (LIKE) B, while a metonymic relationship is better viewed as A IS RELATED TO B. Although the two concepts are perceptibly separated at the level of definition, in practice the line between the two is much more blurred. For this reason, the next subsection briefly presents patterns of interaction involving both metaphor and metonymy.

2.1.2 Metaphor-metonymy interaction

The combination of metaphor and metonymy (sometimes referred to as "metaphtonymy") involves the incorporation of a metonymy in either of the two metaphorical domains: the more concrete source domain and the more abstract target domain. In the conceptual metaphor of LIFE IS A JOURNEY, JOURNEY is the source domain through which the more abstract target domain, LIFE, becomes tangible and comprehensible (Kövecses & Benczes, 2010).

In the verbal domain the metaphor-metonymy synergy can be exemplified by the following sentence: *The end of term is approaching*. The verb *approaching* activates the TIME IS A MOVING ENTITY conceptual metaphor, while the *end of term* activates the Scale ICM by using the END OF THE SCALE to stand FOR THE WHOLE SCALE. The metaphor indicates that there is not much time between the speaker's present and a future event, while the use of the Scale ICM (further discussed in Section 2.1.3) demonstrates that we often use metonymic patterns to measure time and space. The interpretation of the sentence is achieved through the interaction of metaphor and metonymy.

In the linguistic discourse, the interaction between metaphor and metonymy was first discussed and classified by Goossens (1990) and later expanded by Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez and Díez (2002). They consider the interaction to be a conceptual matter. If this is the case, then it must be reflected not only on the verbal level, but also on the nonverbal and multimodal level. Pérez-Sobrino (2016) examined the possibility of this more closely in her analysis of advertisements, which showed that the interaction of metaphor and metonymy, the so-called "metaphtonymy", occurs more often than metaphors and metonymies on their own in the analysed advertisements.

Her results highlight the effectiveness of the mechanism in connecting the product and brand (through metonymy) and highlighting the product's positive features (through metaphorical mapping).

On a sample of Iranian and Dutch print advertisements, Kashanizadeh and Forceville (2020) relied on the typology of Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez (2000) to further detail the visual and multimodal metaphor-metonymy interactions. For their purposes, metonymy is defined in a way that does not reduce it to only one communicative mode (i.e., means of communication, such as verbal or visual/pictorial etc.):

1. "A metonymy consists of a source concept, which via a cue in a communicative mode (language, visuals, music, sound, gesture ...) allows the metonymy's addressee to infer the target concept/structure.
2. Source and target are, in the given context, part of the same conceptual domain.
3. The choice of metonymic source makes salient one or more aspects of the target that otherwise would not, or not as clearly, have been noticeable, and thereby makes accessible the target under a specific perspective. The highlighted aspect often has an evaluative dimension" (Forceville, 2009, p. 58).

In the verbal modality, Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez (2000) identified four patterns of metaphor-metonymy interaction: (1) metonymic expansion of a metaphoric source; (2) metonymic expansion of a metaphoric target; (3) metonymic reduction of a metaphoric source; and (4) metonymic reduction of a metaphoric target. In their study of visual and multimodal advertisements, Kashanizadeh and Forceville (2020) demonstrated that these interaction patterns are not only present in the verbal modality. Hidalgo-Downing and O'Dowd (2023) also argue for the importance of these interactions in their analysis of metaphoric and metonymic conceptualisations of climate change, global warming, pollution and activism in non-commercial advertisements. In their corpus they specifically point to the frequency of the EFFECT FOR CAUSE and CATEGORY FOR SALIENT PROPERTY metonymies (further discussed in Section 2.1.3) interacting with metaphors, thus making the metaphorical correspondences more meaningful.

As can be seen from the abovementioned examples, the metaphor-metonymy interaction was primarily investigated in advertisements, at least as far as the visual or multimodal scene is concerned. This is not surprising in light of the fact that marketing messages effectively achieve their goals through the use of non-literal (or figurative) language and figurative images

(McQuarrie & Phillips, 2005). Furthermore, Pérez-Sobrino, Littlemore and Houghton (2019) found that metaphor-metonymy combinations used in advertisements are not only processed faster than simple operations, but they are also more strongly appreciated.

The question arises whether this interaction plays a similarly important role in other visual genres, such as press photos. Without ignoring the importance of and relationship to metaphor, the present dissertation puts metonymy (and its use in online news to represent violent events visually) in its focus. At the same time, the research also considers the possible appearances of metaphor-metonymy interaction in online news (see Section 6.2.5). After the discussion of "metaphtonymy", in the following sections, metonymy is further detailed.

2.1.3 Types of metonymies

Metonymies can be grouped along three main lines: structural metonymies (e.g., source-in-target, target-in-source), categories defined on the basis of modality (e.g., verbal, visual) and topical categories (e.g., MEMBER OR CATEGORY FOR CATEGORY). According to Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez (2000), metonymies can be grouped in two basic categories: source-in-target and target-in-source. In the saying of sailors, "All hands on deck", the HANDS (source) stand for the SAILORS (target). This relationship is often referred to as the PART FOR WHOLE metonymy by other scholars (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Radden and Kövecses, 1999; Kövecses & Benczes, 2010). The target-in-source relationship is exemplified by the sentence "She's on the pill", where the whole domain, PILL (source) stands for one of its subdomains, CONTRACEPTIVE PILL (target). This category is frequently termed as WHOLE FOR PART metonymy by other scholars, and as will be seen below, in the typology of Radden and Kövecses (1999), these belong to the "whole ICM and its part(s)" configuration.

As for the modality-based categorisation, Forceville (2006) contends that it is not an easy task to define what is meant by "mode" (used as a synonym for "modality" here). Without the need to exhaustively list all possible modes, it can be stated that we can encode our messages to be transmitted in different ways. Forceville's (2020) extended list, focusing on the relationship between sensory perception and mode, covers the following: (1) visuals; (2) written language; (3) spoken language; (4) bodily behaviour; (5) sound; (6) music; (7) olfaction; (8) taste; and (9) touch. The dissertation mainly examines the visual mode, but due to the frequent coexistence of text and image, the term *multimodal* is also often mentioned. It is used to refer to communication in which visual messages are accompanied by written language or the manifestations of other modalities (e.g., music, sound).

The topical typology is further discussed below, because its two occurrences, namely the Action[3] and Complex event ICMs[4], play a central role in the research. Some of the most common metonymic relations include WHOLE FOR PART (e.g., *America* is at war), PART FOR WHOLE (e.g., we need more *hands* here) and PLACE FOR INSTITUTION (e.g., *Berkeley* is firing professors), etc. (Radden and Kövecses, 1999; Feng, 2017).

For a more detailed presentation of metonymy types, I rely on the adaptation of Littlemore (2015), in which the taxonomy of Radden & Kövecses (1999) is summarised. The authors do not claim that the list is exhaustive, yet it turns out to be the most exhaustive typology available in the literature, because it contains the most embedded metonymic routes in our language use. This taxonomy starts from the fact that metonymy-producing relationships can be listed under two general configurations: the whole ICM and its part(s), and parts of an ICM. The grouping was motivated by the fact that our thinking about the world is organized in the form of structured ICMs, which we perceive as wholes having parts. The idealized cognitive models corresponding to the configurations are listed below, highlighting one metonymy with one example for each. The examples are adapted from Barcelona (2019, p. 67), Kövecses (2006, pp. 98-104), Littlemore (2015, p. 22) and Radden & Kövecses (1999, pp. 43-54). At the same time, in the case of the latter, the examples are mostly decontextualized, so they were placed in context for better observation. The taxonomy is followed by the detailed introduction of the Action ICM and Complex event ICM, because they play a central role in the research presented in the second half of the dissertation.

The "whole and its parts" configuration includes the following ICMs:

- Thing-and-part ICM, e.g., PART FOR WHOLE
  (1) "I'll go to England this summer", where England (PART) stands for Great Britain (WHOLE)
- Scale ICM, e.g., UPPER END OF THE SCALE FOR THE WHOLE SCALE
  (2) "How old are you?", where old age (UPPER END OF THE SCALE) stands for the age (WHOLE SCALE)
- Constitution ICM, e.g., MATERIAL CONSTITUTING AN OBJECT FOR THE OBJECT

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[3] The names of the ICMs are capitalized based on Kövecses & Radden (1998) and Radden & Kövecses (1999).
[4] The literature also refers to the same model as Complex event ICM and Event ICM. From the point of view of the dissertation, it is important to emphasize complexity, therefore the text relies on the Complex event ICM form used by Kövecses & Radden (1998) and Kövecses (2006).

(3) "She disappeared in the woods", where wood, the material of trees, stands for the forest

- Complex event ICM, e.g., SUBEVENT FOR WHOLE EVENT

(4) "Jay and Denise are to walk up the aisle", where walking up the aisle (SUBEVENT) stands for the whole wedding ceremony (WHOLE EVENT)

- Category-and-member ICM, e.g., CATEGORY FOR A MEMBER OF THE CATEGORY

(5) "She's on the pill", where the whole category of pills stands for contraceptive pills, a particular member of the category

- Category-and-property ICM, e.g., SALIENT PROPERTY FOR CATEGORY

(6) "The bypass in room 6 rang the bell", where bypass (SALIENT PROPERTY) stands for the patient who had bypass operation (CATEGORY)

The "part and part" configuration includes the following ICMs:

- Action ICM, e.g., INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION

 (7) "I shampooed my hair", where the shampoo (INSTRUMENT) stands for washing the hair (ACTION)

- Perception ICM, e.g., PERCEPTION FOR THING PERCEIVED

 (8) "The venue offers a gorgeous sight", where sight (PERCEPTION) stands for the thing seen (PERCEIVED)

- Causation ICM, e.g., CAUSE FOR EFFECT

 (9) "You should continue with the healthy exercises", where the exercise (CAUSE) results in good health (EFFECT)

- Production ICM, e.g., PRODUCER FOR PRODUCT

(10) "I've got a Ford", where Ford (PRODUCER) stands for the car (PRODUCT)

- Control ICM, e.g., CONTROLLED FOR CONTROLLER

(11) "The presidential limousine just arrived", where the limousine (CONTROLLED) stands for the driver (CONTROLLER)

- Possession ICM, e.g., POSSESSED FOR POSSESSOR

(12) "He married money and became an MP", where money (POSSESSED) stands for the person who has money (POSSESSOR)

- Containment ICM, e.g., CONTAINER FOR CONTENT

(13) "I'll have a glass to celebrate", where glass (CONTAINER) stands for wine (CONTAINED)

- Location ICM, e.g., INHABITANTS FOR PLACE

  (14) "The French hosted the World Cup", where French people (INHABITANTS) stand for France (PLACE)

- Sign and reference ICM, e.g., WORDS FOR THE CONCEPTS THEY EXPRESS

  (15) "Please refrain from using four-letter words", where four-letter word stands for swear words (and the concepts expressed by them)

- Modification ICM, e.g., MODIFIED FORM FOR ORIGINAL FORM

  (16) "LOL, replied the daughter", where LOL (MODIFIED FORM) stands for laugh out loud (ORIGINAL FORM)

So, based on the Radden and Kövecses (1999) taxonomy, sixteen metonymy-producing relationships, i.e., conceptual relationships within an ICM from which metonymy might emerge, can be classified into two configurations.

Before presenting the Action and Complex event ICMs in more detail, it is worth briefly mentioning the MEMBER OF CATEGORY FOR CATEGORY metonymic relation, as it highlights that metonymy is not only a cognitive but also a cultural phenomenon. In the mentioned metonymic relationship, it is believed that one member of the category represents the category better than the other members, and we associate it with these stereotypical members when we think of the category as a whole (Kövecses & Benczes, 2010). These members have a special status and can result in the development of prototypes, which can contribute to shaping our social expectations. We often have access to an entire category only through knowing one member, and it may happen that our experiences with the member form our stereotypes or prejudices about the category. It could be the case that through knowing an Italian girl, I form an opinion about Italians in general. A more emblematic and far-reaching example of this phenomenon is the case of the "Afghan Girl", the 1984 photographic portrait of Sharbat Gula, taken by photojournalist Steve McCurry (which appeared on the cover of National Geographic magazine). The woman in the picture embodied the group of displaced refugee women, deserving of the Western viewer's compassion and became a symbol of Afghanistan to the West (Mackie, 2012). Generalization based on prototypical members is a common feature of thought and shows that metonymy is also a cultural phenomenon.

2.1.3.1 The Action ICM

The Action ICM belongs to the so-called "part and part" configurations, meaning that in these metonymic relationships, a part of the ICM stands for another part of the same ICM. The

following types of metonymic relationships are listed under the Action ICM. The list and the examples are extracted from Kövecses and Radden (1998, p. 54-55) and Radden and Kövecses (1999, p. 29). Examples that appeared in the form of a word were expanded to reduce the decontextualized nature.

(17) a. AGENT FOR ACTION: "to author a book", where "author" (AGENT) stands for writing (ACTION)

b. ACTION FOR AGENT: "the writer of the book", where the ACTION of writing motivates "writer" (AGENT)

(18) a. INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION: "to ski", where the "ski" (INSTRUMENT) stands for skiing (ACTION)

b. ACTION FOR INSTRUMENT: "to use the pencil sharpener", where the ACTION of sharpening motivates "sharpener" (INSTRUMENT)

(19) a. OBJECT FOR ACTION: "to dust the room", where "dust" (OBJECT) stands for dusting (ACTION)

b. ACTION FOR OBJECT: "to have a bite", where the ACTION of biting motivates "bite" (OBJECT)

(20) a. RESULT FOR ACTION: "to landscape the garden", where "landscape" (RESULT) stands for landscaping (ACTION) as in the result of an effort to organize the garden

b. ACTION FOR RESULT: "to watch the production", where the ACTION of producing motivates "production" (RESULT) as in the result of an effort to produce a movie

(21) MANNER FOR ACTION: "to tiptoe into the room", where the manner of the movement ("tiptoe") stands for the movement (ACTION)

(22) MEANS FOR ACTION: "He sneezed the tissue off the table", where "sneezed" (MEANS) stands for the ACTION of removing the tissue from the table

(23) TIME FOR ACTION: "to summer in Paris", where "summer" (TIME) stands for the ACTION of going on holiday

(24) DESTINATION FOR MOTION: "to porch the newspaper", where "porch" (DESTINATION) stands for the ACTION of distributing the newspaper

(25) INSTRUMENT FOR AGENT: to use the "pen" for writer, where "pen" (INSTRUMENT) motivates reference to the writer (AGENT)

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It can be seen from the above that the generic nature of Action ICM results in a large number of metonymic relations, such as the one between the AGENT of the ACTION and the ACTION, or the OBJECT involved in the ACTION and the ACTION. Hence, this is considered to be a productive subgroup of the "part and part" configuration. Despite the "part and part" configuration, it can be seen that most relationships take ACTION as the target of metonymy (e.g., AGENT FOR ACTION). At the same time, in other cases (e.g., DESTINATION FOR MOTION) the ACTION is a vehicle, and the target is another part.

Regarding the MANNER FOR ACTION metonymic relationship, Littlemore (2015) stated that although it is very common in English, other languages encode information about the manner of movement in a different way. It is also interesting that while Kövecses and Radden (1998) mention the example of "shampooing one's hair" to illustrate the INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION relationships, Littlemore (2015) mentions the example under the OBJECT INVOLVED IN THE ACTION FOR THE ACTION metonymic relationship. From these findings, it can be concluded that some of the metonymic relationships of the Action ICM are specifically linguistic features, so they do not occur in the visual modality (for example, the MEANS FOR ACTION metonymic relationship cannot be captured in a pictorial representation). In addition, although the above are all linguistic examples, they suggest that the distinction between objects and instruments requires careful consideration in a visual analysis as well. Among other things, the purpose of the dissertation is to examine which metonymic relationships of Action ICM can be identified at the pictorial level. The method of identification is described in detail in Section 6.

2.1.3.2 The Complex event ICM

Contrary to the Action ICM, the Complex event ICM belongs to the "whole and its parts" configuration, which is probably the most common source of metonymies, in the form of WHOLE FOR PART and PART FOR WHOLE. Kövecses (2006) points out that PART FOR WHOLE metonymies, traditionally called synecdoche, are often consciously created and as such are more frequent, or more frequently recognised as WHOLE FOR PART metonymies. One particular relationship within this configuration – which also supports the previous statement – is the one of the Complex event ICM. There are many events in life, which are very complex, and in the language of the Conceptual Metaphor and Metonymy Theory, they consist of several subevents that form parts of the whole. I rely on the example used by Kövecses and Benczes (2010) to demonstrate the Complex event ICM.

(26) Anna is in the hospital.

Those places, in this example the hospital, where someone stays for a long time, suggest complex events. After hearing the sentence, we understand that Anna is probably receiving some kind of treatment in the hospital. This treatment could have several phases, for instance. Another interpretation of the sentence can be that someone thinks that Anna is visiting a patient in the hospital, which is why she is staying there. For both meanings, the PART OF THE WHOLE THING FOR THE WHOLE THING metonymy prevails.

The statement "Anna speaks English" is also motivated by the Complex event ICM, because speaking is only part of the whole knowledge of a foreign language, co-present with other skills such as reading, writing, etc. The Complex event ICM can be divided into two further types of metonymies. Since events evolve over time, subevents can follow each other in succession or appear simultaneously (Kövecses & Radden, 1998):

(27) CO-PRESENT SUBEVENTS FOR COMPLEX EVENT: Anna speaks English

(28) SUCCESSIVE SUBEVENTS FOR COMPLEX EVENT: They stood at the altar

From the point of view of the dissertation, the second type, i.e., the use of successive subevents instead of the complex event, is of vital importance. In this case, initial, central and final subevents can all represent the complex event. In example (28), the INITIAL SUBEVENT stands for the COMPLEX EVENT, i.e., the entire wedding ceremony. If we say "Mother cooks dinner" the CENTRAL SUBEVENT stands for the COMPLEX EVENT, i.e., entire process of preparing food that also includes the preparation and serving, while if I say "I have to grade a lot of papers" the FINAL SUBEVENT represents the COMPLEX EVENT, i.e., the entire process, including reading and final evaluation. Consequently, we can differentiate between three sub-metonymies: INITIAL SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT, CENTRAL SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT, FINAL SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT (Kövecses & Radden, 1998; Kövecses & Benczes, 2010).

It is important to note that the above examples of the Action and Complex event ICMs all come from the verbal modality, and these ICMs have not yet been specifically examined in the visual modality. Accordingly, it can happen (and has happened, as reported in Section 6.2.1.2) that, for example, only certain metonymic relations of the Action ICM can be identified in the visual mode.

These two ICMs were chosen because of violence's interpretation as a complex action (see Section 4.1.3). A tentative version of this approach was tested by Béni (2022) on a smaller sample of African news included in the present research, where the two ICMs proved to be very

productive in terms of the number of identifiable metonymic connections. Using the same method, Béni and Szabó (2022) found in their research on online Hungarian news reports about the Russo-Ukrainian war that the featured images of the articles were consequence-focused (via the RESULT FOR ACTION metonymic relationship) and perpetrator-focused (via the AGENT FOR ACTION metonymic relationship).The implementation of the Action and Complex evet ICM and the steps of the analysis in the visual modality are detailed in the methodological part of the thesis (Section 6.1.3).

2.1.4 Functions of metonymy

After defining metonymy and presenting its types, this chapter discusses its various functions, highlighting those that are particularly relevant to the news genre. One of its main functions is the referential function already mentioned by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), which suggests that we interpret a more complex, abstract entity by replacing it with a simpler, more concrete entity, e.g., using Brussels, the place of the institution to refer to the European Union, the institution itself (Benczes, 2019). This function can easily be seen in action in news production, and even in its visual modality. Staying with the example, the European Union is often represented with its flag in news coverage, through the metonymy FLAG FOR INSTITUTION (Benczes, 2019; Tasić & Stamenković, 2022).

The highlighting function of metonymy shows how certain properties of a phenomenon can be made salient and others pushed into the background depending on which information the communicator wants to position as important (Littlemore, 2015). Forceville (2012) successfully detected this function in non-linguistic form as well. Examining the relationship between music and sound in documentaries, he found that music is frequently used to foreground meaningful information in a scene.

The evaluative function of metonymy is particularly common when it comes to communication about groups of people or nationalities. Borrowing from the Bank of English, Littlemore (2015) illustrates this function with the following example: "The Italian is far more bothered with how he looks". This kind of use of the REPRESENTATIVE MEMBER OF CATEGORY FOR CATEGORY metonymy is viewed as insulting and stereotyping.

Littlemore (2015) also attested that metonymic thinking triggers very creative forms of expression in art, music, film, and the world of advertising (as seen in several examples throughout the thesis). Elaborating on a campaign by Greenpeace against the use of environmental-damaging paper for toy packages, Rocci, Mazzali-Lurati & Pollaroli (2018)

conclude that multimodal metonymies condense complex relationships, which evokes the audience's sympathy through the selection of well-known, foregrounded elements (for example, the tiger as a beloved animal, or the figure of Barbie).

From the point of view of the dissertation, however, it is more important to emphasize the rhetorical function, which often appears in the form of taking sides in ideological debates and positioning (from this point of view, it is related to the evaluative function). In political communication, for example, this function is often used to glorify one's own group (and highlight the negative traits of the out-group). But this is not only a feature of political communication, the function plays an equally important role in journalism. An example of this is provided by Pinelli's (2016) research, which shows that the metonymic framing of the reports on the Beslan school hostage crisis depended on the political orientation of the newspapers. In the case of the pro-government papers, "Russia" metonymically stood for the Russian people and the Russian government, while in the anti-government news sources it was only a substitute for the Russian people, excluding the government (PLACE FOR INHABITANTS metonymy). Thus, metonymy played a significant role in framing the identity of those involved.

The purpose of this subsection was to briefly point to some common functions of metonymies, which are also relevant for the thesis. In addition to serving a referential function, metonymy is involved in highlighting, evaluating, positioning and persuading (for a more detailed description on the functions of metonymy see Littlemore, 2015). Some functions are already exemplified in previous sections, while others will be on the agenda in later chapters. Next, metonymy-producing relationships are discussed.

2.1.5 Principles determining vehicle choice

The taxonomy of Radden and Kövecses (1999) reveals that many metonymy-producing relationships characterize our language use, but still, on what basis do we choose the vehicle? The authors have collected the principles according to which some vehicles are more preferred than others. Already Langacker (1993) highlighted this reconciling function of metonymy, contrasting our need for accuracy with thinking and conversing about entities that have cognitive salience for us. The principles can be classified into cognitive and communicative categories following the X OVER Y formula. The source of the principles is provided by Kövecses and Radden (1998) and Radden and Kövecses (1999), while – where possible – the examples are either taken from Section 2.1.3, or are provided by Littlemore (2015), who used real-world data to illustrate the principles.

2.1.5.1 Cognitive principles

The principles that ensure cognitive salience can be further divided into three categories based on conceptual organization. At the same time, these categories interact with each other and overlap. The first stems from human experience, which is rooted in our anthropocentric world view. The second is perceptual selectivity, which is based on the fact that our construction of the world is influenced by our perception. And the third is cultural preferences, which highlight another key feature of metonymy: the influences that guide our categorization of the world. The principles are listed below, supplemented by an example.

Our human experience is shaped by our everyday interactions with the world. The following principles embody our preference for humanness over non-humanness:

- HUMAN OVER NON-HUMAN, which accounts for our preference for default cases, such as PRODUCER FOR PRODUCT (e.g., "I've got a Ford")

- SUBJECTIVE OVER OBJECTIVE, which accounts for our preference for our subjective world view, as seen in PERCEPTION FOR THING PERCEIVED (e.g., "The venue offers a gorgeous sight")

- CONCRETE OVER ABSTRACT, which accounts for our preference for tangibility and visibility, as seen in CONTAINER FOR CONTENT (e.g., I'll have a glass to celebrate) considering that what's inside the container is typically invisible

- INTERACTIONAL OVER NON-INTERACTIONAL, which accounts for our preference for entities we interact with such as PARTS of the WHOLE (e.g., "I'm sitting behind the wheel" as reference to driving)

- FUNCTIONAL OVER NON-FUNCTIONAL, which accounts for our preference for the need to observe things functionally, as seen in the pervious example, where the steering wheel is more functional to driving a car than its doors or windshield wipers

The next subgroup of principles relates to perceptual selectivity:

- IMMEDIATE OVER NON-IMMEDIATE, which accounts for our preference for spatial, temporal or causal proximity, as seen in the EMOTION FOR CAUSE OF EMOTION metonymy (e.g., "This person is my joy"), which is a special case of the EFFECT FOR CAUSE metonymy

- OCCURRENT OVER NON-OCCURRENT, which accounts for our preference for real, occurrent experiences, as seen in the ACTUAL FOR POTENTIAL metonymy (e.g., "He is an

angry person"), which is a special case of the Event ICM (referring to an event's actuality or potentiality)

- MORE OVER LESS, which accounts for our preference for the UPPER END OF A SCALE FOR THE WHOLE SCALE (e.g., "How tall are you?")

- DOMINANT OVER LESS DOMINANT, which accounts for our preference for referring to the WHOLE by picking its biggest, most powerful PART (e.g., using "England" to refer to "Great Britain")

- GOOD GESTALT OVER POOR GESTALT, which accounts for our preference for perceiving gestalts as a WHOLE rather than separate PARTS (e.g., using the "car" to refer to its body when saying "The car needs washing)

- BOUNDED OVER UNBOUNDED, which accounts for our preference for entities that have a clear cut-off point, as seen in "The classic Hollywood movie", where the city is bounded but the concept adhered to it has unclear boundaries

- SPECIFIC OVER GENERIC, which accounts for our preference for definite instances, as seen in the SPECIFIC FOR GENERIC metonymy (e.g., "A spider has eight legs", where the indefinite *a* makes the statement general), which is a special case of the Category-and-member ICM

Lastly, as Lakoff (1987) already pointed it out, some members of a category are more salient than others. The corresponding cultural principles include the following:

- STEREOTYPICAL OVER NON-STEREOTYPICAL, which accounts for our preference for our understanding of certain categories via their stereotypical members or property, as seen in "Boys will be boys", where their unruliness is evoked

- IDEAL OVER NON-IDEAL, which accounts for our preference for culturally bound social constructs of desirability, as seen in the case of paragons, i.e., perfect example of a property or category (e.g., for a long time David Beckham was considered the paragon of the category of professional football players)

- TYPICAL OVER NON-TYPICAL, which accounts for our preference for typical members of a category (e.g., "I've got a bad cough", where "cough" stands for the cold as a typical symptom)

- CENTRAL OVER PERIPHERAL, which accounts for our preference for spatial centrality, as seen in "You are not from here, are you?", used in German to refer to stupidity (as living on the periphery of culture

- INITIAL OR FINAL OVER MIDDLE, which accounts for our preference for referring to complex events by highlighting their initial or final phases, as seen in "to pull the trigger", where the initial phase is used to describe the entire event
- BASIC OVER NON-BASIC, which accounts for our preference for basic members of a category, especially when vague approximations, such as "I've told you a hundred times" (where "hundreds times" stands for several times) are being used
- IMPORTANT OVER LESS IMPORTANT, which accounts for our preference for highlighting important members of a category, such as identifying a country with it's capital city
- COMMON OVER LESS COMMON, which accounts for our preference for common member of a category, such as "aspirin" for pain-relieving tablets
- RARE OVER LES RARE, which accounts for our fascination with rare members of a category, as seen in Lakoff's (1986) example of a DC-10 crash, after which people refused to board such an aircraft

Radden and Kövecses (1999) add that there are more principles, but they overlap significantly with the above. What they all have in common is that they highlight culturally given reference points that influence our perception of the world.

2.1.5.2 Communicative principles

Regarding the communicative principles, two are distinguished: one focusing on clarity, and the other on relevance. In Langacker's (1993) example, "The dog bit the cat", we can easily understand that the dog bit the cat with its teeth. In our use of language, this metonymic expression (rooted in the WHOLE FOR PART metonymy) seems more natural and clearer than literally saying "The dog's teeth bit the cat".

The determining nature of the other communicative rule, RELEVANT OVER IRRELEVANT, becomes evident when it is contrasted with other cognitive principles. The sentence "The ham sandwich wants the check" can be interpreted in the context of Restaurant ICM in a conversation between waiters. For waiters, the served food is a very relevant point of reference when identifying guests. In this context, the sentence is functional, not offensive. At the same time, it reverses the HUMAN OVER NON-HUMAN principle, which highlights that in certain situations one principle might override the other.

The above categorization summarizes the principles that influence the linguistic manifestations of cognitive and communicative salience. Since the research presented in the second half of the dissertation examined the metonymic relationships in the visual modality, the aim of the thesis

is also to reveal whether the principles influencing our thinking and language use are visually projected. As can be seen in Section 5, certain principles played an important role in setting up the research hypotheses, and in Section 7.2.8 I discuss to what extent they characterise the choice of visual metonymic relationships. For this, however, it is essential to present visual metonymies in the next section, paying special attention to their application possibilities and limitations.

2.1.6 Visual metonymies

As mentioned in the previous subsection (and as the title of the dissertation also suggests), the research interprets metonymies in the visual modality. For this, however, it is necessary to review the main milestones, possibilities and challenges of the literature on visual metonymies.

Recently, the study of visual metaphors has received a great deal of scientific attention, but conceptual metonymies have also come to the fore. Forceville (2006) was the first to point out that multimodal representations, i.e., interpretations mediated through different sign systems (visual, written, spoken, tactile, olfactory, etc.), spread faster and more easily than their verbal or written counterparts, thus the study of their metaphorical and metonymic manifestations provides information on the constant and changing elements of intercultural communication. In this context, for researchers, "the study of nonverbal metonymy is the logical next step" (Forceville, 2009, p. 56).

Although the ubiquity of (verbal) metonymy logically implies the frequent occurrence of nonverbal manifestations, visual (and multimodal) metonymies have so far been pushed into the background behind verbal metaphors (Benczes, 2019). In addition, Forceville (2009) calls our attention to the fact that the examination of non-verbal metonymies is more suitable for revealing their inherent power and context dependence than the analysis of their verbal counterparts, thus pointing out the nuanced and unnoticed effects of metonymies.

2.1.6.1 Applications of visual metonymy research

So far, visual metonymies have been mainly researched in commercial advertisements. The corpus-based account of Pérez-Sobrino (2016) is most often cited, in which she named three novel metaphor–metonymy interactions in multimodal use. Qiu (2013) also investigated the interaction of multimodal metaphor and metonymy in a UK campaign reminding of the importance of the seat belt. A similar approach is taken by Kashanizadeh and Forceville (2020) when analysing Iranian and Dutch print advertisements. Virág (2022) incorporated the identification of multimodal metonymies into the analysis on the figurative conceptualization

of the Parliament on Hungarian editorial cartoons. Chatti (2022) tried to foreground the analysis of visual metonymies by adapting the VisMip procedure (Šorm & Steen, 2018) developed for identifying visual metaphors to identify visual metonymies in automobile branding.

Guijarro (2019) identified visual metonymies in children's books, but also placed them in a verbal context, so his approach is rather multimodal. Puspitasari (2022) examines metonymies in Japanese children's books in a similar approach. The investigation of visual metonymies in political discourse was initiated by Benczes (2019) on the example of a Hungarian political campaign. In addition, observing a campaign on violence against women, Goehring, Renegar and Puhl (2017) found that the objects on the posters metonymically stood for the perpetrators of the violence.

O'Neill (2022) approaches visual metonymies in a semiotic sense (as a "visual shorthand") to explore how polar bear imagery has become equated with climate change (via polar bear images standing for the wider debate). As polar bear images have become a visual metonymy in all their complexity over time, they represent many different values, attitudes and approaches in the climate change discourse. Similarly complex and ethically burning questions are raised by the cases when pictures of children become metonymically powerful. The photograph of Kevin Carter capturing a vulture eyeing a starving Sudanese baby metonymically symbolised famine, while the image of Alan Kurdi, which depicts the toddler's body lying on the shore of the Aegean Sea during the so-called European migration crisis, represented the dangers threatening fleeing children and their families (Durham, 2018).

The relevance of metonymy in second language acquisition is stressed in Moritz and Marinić's (2023) recent study on teaching English as a second language to young Croatian learners. In their results, they point out that since metonymy, be it verbal or visual, is acquired by children earlier during language acquisition than metaphor, visual metonymies are therefore used with preference in textbooks - among other things - to interpret expressions and emotions, as a tool for humour and to evaluate concepts. Based on these studies, it can be concluded that metonymies fulfil referential, highlighting, evaluative and rhetorical functions in the visual mode as well.

Notwithstanding, an important finding for the dissertation is that few people have examined visual metonymies in the light of the news genre. For instance, Catalano and Waugh (2013) examine visual metonymies through the analysis of financial discourse appearing in the news and compare them with their verbal counterparts. Catalano and Musolff (2019) compare the

visual representation of unaccompanied youth and immigration officials in American news reports. At the same time, it can be said that both studies are not exclusively focused on metonymy, metaphor analysis is an equally important part of them. In their analysis of Brexit reports, Tasić and Stamenković (2022) emphasize the role of visual metonymies (e.g., REACTION FOR EMOTION) in news images. In this case, the study does not specifically focus on news images, they only appear as one element in the creation of visual narratives, in which seemingly greater importance is attributed to political cartoons.

Vezovnik and Šarić (2020) discuss two metonymic principles in relation to news photography: on the one hand, a photo always stands for the thing it represents (for example, a photo of a statue stands for the concrete work that is, say, in the square); on the other hand, the object depicted in the picture is always only a part of the whole that surrounds it (for example, the park surrounding the square). A photograph always only shows a fragment of reality, and in this sense, metonymies are also partial representations. At the same time, the treatment of all photographs as metonymies does not represent analytical value, so several steps are applied to identify metonymic relationships during the subsequent analysis as well.

2.1.6.2   Challenges of visual metonymy research

Little research has so far specifically dealt with visual metonymies, so it is difficult to find guidelines for their correct identification during the course of analysis. As mentioned, Chatti (2022) adapted the VisMip procedure to accommodate visual metonymies. For this end, the following steps were sketched:

1. "Establish general understanding of the image;
2. Identify the conceptual roles of the visual units;
3. Determine whether the connection between these visual units is one of contiguity;
4. Verify that contiguity is intra-domain;
5. If 4 and 5 are true, then mark visual metonymy" (Chatti, 2022, p. 427).

This approach can be useful if the aim of a research is not only to detect visual metonymies, but also to identify other visual elements, since the steps serve to identify visual metonymies (among other visual elements). At the same time, establishing the specific metonymies and metonymic relationships requires additional steps. Furthermore, the steps used to identify visual metonymies in a sample of advertisements may not be fully transferable to the genre of news images.

Examining the publications that detected visual metonymies in news images, it can be said that the authors do not offer too many details about the process and aspects of analysis and identification. In the methodological part of their article, Catalano and Musolff (2019) write about the "detection of metaphors and metonymies", for which the context and captions of the images were also taken into account, and although they provide many examples, they do not detail the specific steps they followed in the analysis. Catalano and Waugh (2013) write about the "identification and classification of key metonymies" and, although they offer a summary table, they do not specify under what considerations the metonymies listed as a result of the visual analysis were detected. And although Vezovnik and Šarić (2020) make several important observations about the functioning of metonymies, in their methodology they write about the "coding of visual metonymies, metaphors and symbols", but they also do not offer a detailed guide. What's more, from their results it seems that the three visual elements occurred only separately.

All this leads to the conclusion that anyone who devotes themself to the analysis of visual metonymies is hitting a difficult road. Tóth (2017) concludes that there is much less empirical data on metonymy compared to metaphor, and that metonymy is mostly investigated by intuitive-introspective methods. It can be assumed that the reason for this lies in the fact that it is much more difficult to detect metonymies and lay down the aspects along which a visual element can be considered a metonymy. Its implicit nature makes the identification of metonymies much less clear and unambiguous than identifying metaphors.

Based on the review of literature, the most methodologically transparent study was published by Hidalgo-Downing and O'Dowd (2023) about the role of multimodal metaphor and metonymy in non-commercial advertisements on environmental awareness and activism. They also noted the lack of a framework to identify visual and multimodal metonymies and developed an ad-hoc annotation procedure, the steps of which are described in great detail. More detailed protocols like this (as well as Pérez-Sobrino, 2016; Chatti, 2022) identified visual metonymies in the field of commercial (and non-commercial) advertisements. Therefore, in order to achieve the goals of the dissertation and to answer the research questions with regards to analysing visual metonymies in online news images, it was necessary to set up an own protocol (as seen in Section 6).

As can be seen from the above applications, previous research has identified visual metonymies in the light of broader topics such as migration (see Benczes, 2019; Catalano & Musolff, 2019) and financial discourse (see Catalano & Waugh, 2013), resulting in the identification of many

different metonymies. The present thesis has chosen a narrower focus: as explained in Section 4.1.3, it examines violence solely through the metonymies of the Action ICM and Complex event ICM. In this sense, not only the chosen topic is fixed (in which all metonymies are then identified), but also the ICMs that best describe the topic (in this case, violence). Therefore, the narrower focus refers to the range of analysed metonymies.

Overall, it can be concluded that the study of visual metonymies poses an exciting puzzle. Although on a theoretical level metonymy seems to be a perfect tool for news producers, who are constantly competing to stand out from the flood of information, due to its conceptual shortcut nature (Littlemore, 2015), on a practical and methodological level the equation is not that simple at all. Albeit more and more studies put metonymies on the agenda, there are only a few works that specifically focus on promoting the study of visual metonymies. Within this, a conspicuous lack is the explicit definition of visual metonymies as a framing device (as the following subsections point out). And what points to an even bigger niche is the lack of a clearly defined procedure that enables the identification of visual metonymies. The unavoidable nature of the phenomenon and the research potential inherent in it give the motivation of the present research.

In Section 2.1, I presented the main milestones, definition, types and challenges of metonymy research interpreted in the cognitive linguistics tradition. In order to be able to introduce the concept of metonymic framing, it is necessary to present framing theory in its media science understanding in the next section.

2.2   Framing theory

Why is it that we have different interpretations of violent events with a global impact, such as the Russo-Ukrainian War? Why does a dispute arise between family members or good friends about who read what about the event? How is it possible that one sees it as "war" and the other as "special operation" (Urman & Makhortykh, 2022)? The news media are the primary source of information on complex matters, such as the violent acts that are analysed in the present dissertation. Not only do the media select the issues they report on, but they also choose the ways in which to do so, which is central to the concept of framing. To frame is "to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described" (Entman, 1993, p.52).

When the audience is unfamiliar with a certain topic, the frames through which the given topic is presented offer a source of orientation. A typical example is the column of international news as readers often lack first-hand experience and information about distant happenings. People frequently learn about foreign places, people, and events through both textual and visual media (Messaris, 1997; Perlmutter, 1998). For example, in an approach to map touristic hot spots in Africa based on Instagram images, Paül i Agustí (2020) shares that the presentation of tourist destinations is generally socially constructed, in which images taken and shared on social media by visitors play an increasingly important role in framing those places. Frames also play an important role in defining problems, they are able to convey moral value judgments, the political and ideological implications of which necessarily arise from selection and salience (Entman, 1993; Holling, 2019).

A fundamental distinction must be made between media frames and audience frames. Media frames are working routines for journalists, which have been defined as "central organising ideas" and "patterns of interpretation", the key function of which is to render the complexity of the world in a comprehensible way (Scheufele, 2000; Geise & Baden, 2015; Hellmann, 2020). Meanwhile audience frames are defined as "mentally stored clusters of ideas that guide individuals' processing of information" (Entman, 1993, p. 53).

It is equally important to distinguish frames from topics. The topic is generally the subject that is written about, a label that summarizes the social experiences covered by a given story (Pan & Kosicki, 1993). A frame can be thought of as an umbrella that brings together the different parts of a story into a coherent whole, highlighting certain features and directing the readers' attention to them. Reese (2010) considers frames to be more general than topics, which are thus able to encompass several topics. "Frames organize and structure, and thus are bigger than topics" (p. 18). For example, in the research of Mellese and Müller (2012), regardless of the topic (be it politics or economy), the crisis frame was the most dominant in the news about sub-Saharan Africa. It is important to note, however, that Pan and Kosicki (1993) equate the terms *frame* and *theme*, but due to the similarity of *theme* and *topic*, this thesis consistently uses the term *frame*.

As it unfolds in the coming chapters, the dissertation examines framing, more precisely metonymic framing in the light of online news. For this purpose, it is important to discuss two key concepts in separate subsections: news framing and figurative framing. Only then can metonymy be discussed as a framing device and metonymic framing be defined.

2.2.1 News framing

D'Angelo and Kuypers (2010) equate news framing to media framing because they consider news to be the most influential unit that communication researchers use to understand framing processes in the media. Conceptually, news frames can be defined as "a central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events, weaving a connection among them" (Gamson & Modigliani, 1987, p. 143). By highlighting certain approaches in the offering of interpretation and value judgment, news frames perform a selective function.

Mellese and Müller (2012) draw attention to the fact that two news entities rarely frame an event in the same way because their framing style is adapted to the audience, the purpose of the organization, and possibly its ideology. In this way, framing is an essential step in news production, leading to framing effects that provide a specific interpretive framework for readers, thereby informing them. Media framing often reflects the polarized media landscape, in which news portals deliberately choose their framing tools in order to promote their political agenda, so the framing of political debates in the news inevitably results in a certain degree of bias (Entman, 2010; Liu et al., 2019). For instance, in their study about the metaphoric framing of fled people in Hungarian online media, Benczes and Ságvári (2022), shed light on the different labels – and thus potentially different connotations – used by pro-government (preference for "migrant") and non pro-government news sources (preference for "refugee").

The most common typology of news frames distinguishes between issue-specific frames and generic frames. The former refers to frames specifically relevant to the analysed event and adapted to it, while the latter goes beyond topical limitations and can be used to analyse different news events (De Vreese, 2005). Furthermore, news frames can be identified inductively and deductively: the former analysis avoids pre-defined frames and operates with those emerging during the analysis, while in the deductive approach researchers work with a previously developed or predetermined set of frames.

News websites frame distant events in a way that is relevant and engaging to the audience, which relies on mental models to make sense of these geographically distant affairs. "A mental model is a temporary cognitive representation of a problem or situation" (Scheufele & Scheufele, 2010, p.115). In terms of news framing, the mental model is also referred to as the cognitive frame. Readers have a mental model before reading a particular article, but news framing can change those models, especially if the patterns of framing are consistent. Thus, over time, members of the audience may even change their cognitive frames that were

previously thought to be ingrained. Scheufele (2004) calls this the altering effect of media frames on audience schemas.

One might wonder: what role do news frames play amidst the changing technological landscape? With the advent of social media platforms and online news portals, the importance of news framing has not diminished, as a significant portion of news sharing on social media platforms involves sharing from institutionalised news outlets. Thanks to social networks, the dissemination of news goes far beyond the scope of news portals, so the frames used can have a wider impact than ever before (Lecheler & de Vreese, 2019).

Finally, it is important to mention the subject of news framing, that is, what type of information researchers analyse. The majority of news framing studies analyse texts, the direction of which is usually referred to as verbal or textual framing. Less attention has been paid to visual framing (i.e., the analysis of images) and to multimodal framing, which is the combination of different communication forms (e.g., image, gesture) and modalities (e.g., verbal, visual) (Moernaut, Mast & Pauwels, 2020). The importance of visual elements and their framing power is discussed in more detail in Section 3.

2.2.2 Figurative framing

A further "facet" of framing theory that needs to be included in the discourse is figurative framing. It has been attested that figurative language types like metaphor, hyperbole and irony play an important role in shaping public discourse (Burgers, Konijn & Steen, 2016). Staying with the family of figurative, i.e., non-literal language types, it can be assumed that we can talk about a similar application in the case of metonymy. In fact, several researchers (among others, Charteris-Black, 2004; Catalano & Waugh, 2013; Catalano & Musolff, 2019) have demonstrated the importance of examining the role of metaphors and metonymies in news framing as they are believed to be powerful tools that lead readers to a specific interpretation of any event (Pinelli, 2016).

At the same time, a closer look at the literature reveals that studies in media texts have so far tended to favour metaphorical framing, and rather refer to the investigation of the role of metonymies in framing as a future research direction or an extension opportunity (see e.g., Demjén & Semino, 2020). It has been observed on several accounts that frames are often mediated by catchphrases or metaphors in texts that offer a particular interpretation of events (Miller & Ross, 2004). For instance, Holling (2019) – in her research about violent frames –

places special emphasis on the analysis of metaphors used in the news, because they "reinforce discursive constructions of the violent, crime-ridden city facet of the frame" (p. 257).

Although the thesis does not approach the topic specifically from a rhetorical point of view, it is important to mention that Gamson and Modigliani (1989) consider both metaphors and visual images as important rhetorical framing devices that enhance the vividness of a report. Not to mention the combination of the two, i.e., visual metaphor. Metaphors are largely used in the analysis of political discourse, examining and supporting how metaphorical frames affect reasoning (Boeynaems et al., 2017).

In addition, figurative language types play an important role in the presentation of conflict events. For example, Pinelli (2016) investigated the role of metaphor and metonymy in Russian news in relation to the terrorist attack at Beslan School. The so-called migration crisis has also yielded a line of research analysing the interpretations offered by metaphors and metonymies (see e.g., Vezovnik & Šarić, 2020; Benczes & Ságvári, 2022). For instance, Tóth, Csatár and Majoros (2018) examined the conceptualization of migrants in Hungarian online news, detecting metaphoric patterns which almost exclusively convey a negative attitude towards migrants, which can greatly influence the approach and sentiment of the wider audience. When investigating the role of metaphors and metonymies in framing the transplantation discourse, Brdar and Brdar-Szabó (2020) pointed out that framing wasn't achieved solely by means of metaphors with metonymy contributing and playing an important role. More recently, the figurative framing approach has also been used to examine both online and offline discourse about the Covid-19 pandemic (see for instance, Wicke & Bolognesi, 2020; Gui, 2021; Szabó & Béni, 2021) and environmental awareness and activism (Hidalgo-Downing & O'Dowd, 2023).

Approaches that incorporate metonymies seem to support Littlemore's (2015) statement, according to which similarly to metaphor, metonymy "plays a key role in the development of patterns of reasoning" (p.101). However, the concept of metonymic framing rarely appeared in the literature. Forceville (2009), presenting the role of metonymies in art films, mentions in one instance that metonymic framing prioritizes the experience of the protagonist. And Thornton (2002), examining the framing of dissent in contemporary China, uses the term "metonymic framing strategy", which advances social mobilization in the observed case. At the same time, none of the authors specify what they mean by metonymic framing, that is, no definition has been provided thus far.

From the above, it can be seen that the role of figurative language types in framing is being investigated by an increasing number of research on various topics. Even within this, metaphorical framing received more attention than the idea and applications of metonymic framing. That is why the next section gathers further examples of the possibilities of metonymic framing and finishes by providing a working definition.

2.3 Metonymy as a framing device

The above line of thought allows us to conclude that not only metaphor, but also metonymy is capable of highlighting and hiding ideological positions. The ideological potential inherent in metonymies can be traced back to the fact that complex events can be simplified with their help, highlighting certain characteristics of a given situation or action and placing others in the background (Vezovnik & Šarić, 2020). For example, in the case of the images depicting acts of violence examined in the empirical research, it is not possible to interpret the entire event in its full complexity, but rather the perpetrator or the powerless victim may come to the fore via visual metonymic relations.

Since visual representations always only show a part of reality, the interpretation process consists of continuous decision-making, in which certain metonymic relationships are highlighted and others are kept in the background, thus framing the news stories. For example, it is impossible to represent a group as a whole, so there will always be members who stand for the whole through the MEMBER OF CATEGORY FOR THE CATEGORY metonymy (Feng, 2017). This is also exemplified by the cases of the "Afghan girl" and Alan Kurdi above. As written in Section 2.1.3, this can lead to the formation of prototypical members and, through them, stereotypes. This process can have profound consequences when the media shapes our opinions about people with whom we have no personal experience (Catalano & Waugh, 2013). And shaping perception in this way can have an important impact on the lives of the people depicted, especially if they are powerless. For example, it could be investigated whether the emblematic persons made salient through the MEMBER OF CATEGORY FOR CATEGORY metonymy were used to support acts of war or to spread political messages supporting refugees.

Examining metonymic framing in the Hungarian government's 2017 anti-EU campaign, Benczes (2019) concluded that the multiple and interlocking uses of visual metonymy contributed greatly to the success of the campaign, because it effectively compressed complex relationships into an easily digestible, simplified form. Thus, metonymies effectively highlight certain aspects of the sender's preferred frames in political advertisements.

In their study on online news pieces and official documents about migrant children and border officials in the U.S., Catalano and Musolff (2019) detected several verbal and visual metonymies that dehumanize and criminalize child migrants (along with metaphors that justify the militarization of the border). Reflecting on the ideological power of metonymies, such framing, for instance, feeds anti-immigration discourse and legitimizes decisions made by a given administration.

Guan and Forceville (2020) used an even more innovative approach when they examined the role of metaphors and metonymies not only verbally and visually, but also musically in Chinese promotional videos. In their results, they establish that metonymies are key means of conveying meaning. In their analysis, PART FOR WHOLE metonymies were the most dominant (e.g., ICONIC PARTS OF THE CITY FOR THE CITY), which is not surprising in the case of city promotion videos. At the same time, they draw attention to the importance of cultural background, distinguishing the identification and interpretation of metonymies between global and local audiences.

The above proves that metonymies can be used as framing devices in many ways to achieve different sets of goals. For the purposes of the dissertation, it is crucial to reflect on the different interpretations of *frame* within cognitive linguistics and media science. The phenomenon is fascinating "as it seems to lead two lives at the same time, though with some overlap" (Brdar & Brdar-Szabó, 2020, p. 318). It is an equally key term in both cognitive linguistics and media research (and in a broader sense in sociology and psychology).

As explained in Section 2.1, in the cognitive linguistics tradition, the *frame* is synonymous with the idealized cognitive model (ICM), which helps us interpret the complex world around us in the form of structured mental representations (Kövecses & Benczes, 2010). Similarly, the most widely accepted definition of media framing (Entman, 1993) reveals that the *frame* helps us interpret the complex events of the world around us in the media science sense of the word. At the same time, while in the cognitive linguistics interpretation the frame is an idealized and schematized representation, the media science approach emphasizes the competition between the different frames with the concept of salience.

The focus of this paper is served by the media science interpretation of the *frame*, which is why the term *idealized cognitive model* is used in the discourse on metonymy (as explained in Section 2.1). So, to define metonymic framing, the first part of the expression, metonymy, was taken from the cognitive linguistics tradition, while the second part, framing, stems from the media studies tradition. The following working definition is suggested for *metonymic framing*:

Metonymic framing is the selection of some aspects of the perceived reality via making one conceptual entity which provides mental access to another conceptual entity within the same idealized cognitive model salient, with the aim of providing interpretation patterns and/or positioning an event, situation in a communicative context.[5]

After arguing for the importance of a more in-depth study of metonymic framing and proposing a multidisciplinary definition, in the next section I argue why it is worth studying metonymic framing in the visual modality. To this end, I introduce the field of visual communication in a general way, explain the concept of visual framing, and then introduce the concept of visual metonymic framing. Finally, I present the world of online news, which serves as the source of the research sample.

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[5] The communicative context refers to the environment that surrounds the communication, in which the communication goal is embedded. The communicative context of the thesis is the news genre, more specifically, online news images.

3   Visuals as framing devices

In his 1973 essay, Hall comes to the conclusion that "in the modern newspaper, the text is still an essential element, the photograph an optional one" (p. 226). After 50 years, it can be stated that this position has changed, the success of news stories in many cases depends on the quality and strength of the images that illustrate them. Already between 1985 and 1994, the proportion of visualized information (primarily in the forms of graphs) in newspapers increased to 142% (Zacks et al., 2002). On the one hand, the image offers a way of interpreting and seeing the given entity, and on the other hand, it shapes the relationship between the outside world and the inner world. In this way, it conveys information that can be interpreted differently than textual messages (Gallagher, 2015). Hereinafter, *image* refers to any mediated picture, especially ones formed by a lens, as in e.g., *the featured image of an article*. In this chapter, I argue for the importance of examining visuals, especially their role as framing devices.

3.1   The rise of visual communication

One of the thriving branches of communication research focuses on visual communication, visual rhetoric, and visual meaning-making, which examine, among other things, the representation of the world through images and hence the evolution of collective ideas of social identity and values (Gruber & Haugbolle, 2013). The advancement of the Internet has made it possible to connect global systems in which images are spreading faster and are consumed by a wider audience than ever before. At the same time, it is important to note that visual representations are not achievements of the modern age, narratives with images have been helping cultural understanding for centuries. Visual communication has been used to shape intercultural interpretations in various advertisements, political campaigns, and other compelling messages in the past decades (Messaris, 1997). Nevertheless, contemporary media offer new, cross-cultural ways of producing and disseminating images.

In order to make sense of geographically and culturally distant affairs and events, we rely on mental models that are based on prior experience, existing knowledge and incoming information – the means of which is provided by different media platforms (Powell, 2017). Visual inputs contribute to this process by highlighting particular aspects of discussed topics, thus adding to the construal of representation – in the case of this dissertation, the media representation of violent acts connected to Africa.

Images have long been considered visual verifications that can be used to attract the attention of the audience to a given story, thus encouraging engagement (Powell et al., 2015). Moreover,

visuals are capable of fostering an emotional connection and providing eye-catching cues for selections between the overflow of news pieces (Powell, van der Meer & Peralta, 2019). Given that visual experience is one of the most dominant ways of learning and visuals are processed by the brain on an emotional basis, they are inherently affect-laden (Grabe & Bucy, 2009).

Following the work of Rodriguez and Dimitrova (2011), *visuals* refer to pictures, photographs, illustrations, drawings and other graphic devices "that can be examined or evaluated for the frames they convey" (p.51), thus the term implies a broader category than *images*. Visuals, which are believed to be accessed faster than words, are in constant interplay with their contexts. Regarding their communication-related potential, visuals and texts play unique but complementary roles in multimodal framing, hence the fusion of these modalities occurs when consuming the news (Powell, 2017).

Photographs enrich the text with a new dimension of meaning. As Barthes (1957/2015) claims "pictures are more imperative than writing, they impose meaning at one stroke, without analysing or diluting it" (p.110). By definition, a photo captures an object, person, or event that exists or existed at a given moment, which proves the existence of the depicted thing or the occurrence of an action, regardless of whether the circumstances of the photograph or the photograph itself is modified or manipulated. Citing a stereotypical example (from the point of view of Africa, chosen as the case for the research), it is a conscious and effective journalistic choice to open the article about hunger in Somalia with a picture of starving children, instead of a diagram showing raw data. The depicted children become more present than those millions who might be summed up in a diagram (Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca, 1971).

Despite the fact that, in the classical sense, the function of news photos is to document reality, the reception of images is not a passive process: the audience connects with them, forms an assessment and positions themselves in the world based on them (Kjeldsen, 2017). When examining the role of text and images on the example of a conflict in Central Africa that was little-covered on Western news portals, Powell et al. (2015) found that image-alone conditions resulted in stronger framing effects that text-alone conditions. This result is consistent with the above line of research illustrating the power of visuals and leads the discussion to the following subchapter.

3.2   Visual framing

Framing theory is considered to be one of the main domains for visual research (Coleman, 2010). News stories may include a variety of visual components, such as photographs,

drawings, cartoons, videos, graphs, maps etc. that contribute to the framing process. Following from this, framing can be understood as a metaphor for contextualisation (Bock, 2020), while visual framing can be defined as "the selection and visual accentuation of certain aspects of the perceived reality in a communicative context through the specific structuring and interpretation patterns and/or advise on appropriate action for a given situation" (Brantner, Geise & Lobinger, 2013, p.7).

Goffman already recognised the potential lying in photographs in his 1979 research on gender frames. One of his findings is related to connecting the image of women and the behaviour of children, pointing out that women were more likely to be visually framed as childlike than men. As stated by Messaris and Abraham (2001), "the special qualities of visuals…makes them very effective tools for framing" (p. 220). They are many times regarded as more convincing and credible than textual clues (Powell et al., 2015), in addition to being less intrusive when capturing the essence of an issue or event (Rodriguez & Dimitrova, 2011).

Due to their resemblance to real-life experience, pictures are believed to be encoded more quickly and easily, as well as have a stronger psychological impact, which results in better remembering (Grabe & Bucy, 2009; Geise & Baden, 2015). Despite visual framing effects being more intuitive and salient, they are also less controllable and their meaning – depending on the type of message and the availability of prior knowledge – might appear more heterogenous.

As proposed by Jungblut and Zakareviciute (2019), visuals can either reinforce, complement or contradict the textual frames of an article. The scenarios of redundancy, supplementation and divergence offer further details about how media outlets interpret ongoing events. Investigating the consonance/dissonance of visual and textual elements can uncover instances where the different modes of framing potentially show the different sides of a story. Tasić and Stamenković (2022) offer a typology based on similar foundations specifically for the categorization of verbo-pictorial (i.e., multimodal) metonymies. In the first category, with image-dominant metonymy, the message is carried by the visual mode, with text-dominant metonymy, the text fulfils this task, while with complementary metonymy, the two modes contribute equally to communicating the message. Section 6.2.1.1 reflects on the relationships between visual and textual elements in the rest of the dissertation.

The majority of papers on visual framing investigate conflictual events such as wars (Fahmy, 2010; Powell et al., 2015; Makhortykh & Sydorova, 2017; Jungblut & Zakareviciute, 2019) and

racial, gender stereotyping (Abraham & Appiah, 2006; Romney & Johnson, 2020). This does not exclude conflict in Africa (as seen in Mellese & Müller, 2012; Zeng & Akinro, 2013; Hellmann, 2020); however, other types of events or entities lack body of knowledge (Coleman, 2010). More recently visual framing has also been applied to research a wider range of topics, for instance female circumcision and genital cosmetic surgery (Bader, 2019), mask wearing during the Covid-19 pandemic (Batova, 2020) and natural disaster-related social media messages (Lee, Lim & Shi, 2022).

Even though studies on visual framing saw an expansion in the past two decades due to the realisation that visuals had been neglected as framing devices of media messages, there are still some questions which have rarely been explored. These include, but are not limited to:

- the definition of visual framing, which still offers a ground for debate (Brantner, Geise & Lobinger, 2013; Bock, 2020);
- the question of generic frames used in textual analysis and whether they are suitable for visual inquiry as well (Coleman, 2010);
- the analysis of the moving image (Glück, 2018);
- the clear definition and empirical application of multimodal framing (Mellese & Müller, 2012; Geise & Baden, 2015; Jungblut & Zakareviciute, 2019; Moernaut, Mast & Pauwels, 2020);
- the methodological tools that adequately conceptualise the role of visuals as framing devices (Rodriguez & Dimitrova, 2011; Brantner, Geise & Lobinger, 2013; Geise & Baden, 2015);
- the negligence of the unique properties of visual communication in favour of literal descriptions (Bock, 2020).

Some of the above questions have been included in academic work on visual framing, however, they have not been adequately theorised. In order to exploit the potential theoretical statements and contributions of visual framing to framing analyses in general, scholars call for further theory building (Coleman, 2010; Brantner, Geise & Lobinger 2013; Geise & Baden, 2015; Bock, 2020).

The aim of the dissertation is not to reflect on all these challenges, as it interprets the news images along a narrower focus: along the concept of visual metonymic framing. Still, I am hopeful that I can contribute to the general definitional problem by examining a subfield of visual framing. And what is perhaps even more important is that the aim of the thesis is to set

up a new analytical framework, which can further the discussion about the methodological conceptualisation of the role of visuals as framing devices.

3.3 Visual metonymic framing

The above subsection uncovered that visual framing signifies a notable direction within visual studies due to its ability to interpret images. It is also considered to serve as an extension of word-based studies, but its practical application proves to be problematic, which leaves room for arbitrary decision-making in the research process. That is why a narrowed focus, that of visual metonymic framing is proposed in the present dissertation to facilitate the analysis of the featured images of violent news.

The importance of the approach is further validated by the lively statement, which also highlights the role of the current technology scene. "In the age of social media networks, visuals are framing devices on steroids, so much so that many times, the visual is the message" (D'Angelo et al., 2019, p. 22). Visual framing research that can predict how people perceive problems and what problem solutions they formulate will flourish as technology advances. The line of research that measures the manipulation mediated by the new digital technology and its impact also draws attention to this. The visual elements that steadily surround us everywhere in today's visual culture play a key role in these processes.

As I argued in Section 2.3, the property of metonymies, that they highlight certain features of a given phenomenon, while relegating others to the background, makes them an effective framing device. On the other hand, this is also a useful outcome if the communicator wants to strengthen their own point of view, thereby influencing the opinions of others (Littlemore, 2015). As Vezovnik and Šarić (2020) put it, the ideological potential of metonymies lies in this very property. By projecting the positioning function of metonymy onto the news genre and referring to the working definition of metonymic framing, these properties can also be interpreted in the world of news images. So, it can be assumed that news images highlight certain characteristics of a given situation or action and place others in the background. From this follows the compatibility of the concept of metonymic framing with the visual modality. Therefore, I propose the modification of the working definition as follows:

> Visual metonymic framing is the selection and visual accentuation of some aspects of the perceived reality via making one conceptual entity which provides mental access to another conceptual entity within the same idealized cognitive model salient, with the aim

of providing interpretation patterns and/or positioning an event, situation in a communicative context.

In this section, the concept of metonymic framing was introduced in the visual modality, thereby narrowing the focus of the research. In the next chapter, the world of online news is described, because the research presented in the second part of the dissertation examines visual metonymic framing in the opening images of online news.

3.4 Online news

One of the main manifestations of telling different stories is found in the universe of news, which offers an interpretation of the world, organizes our knowledge, and gives meaning to the chain of events (Andok, 2015). Narratives in news also provide a basis for individual decisions and coordinate our perceptions. Due to the different ways of presenting reality, Fulton et al. (2005) refer to narratives as powerful framing tools and as one of the significant manifestations of representation.

Throughout time the news genre has been defined by many scholars from many perspectives as – including but not limited to – a distinguishing component of newspapers (McQuail, 2010), rituals (Carey, 1992), cultural elements (Schudson, 1995), key institutions in the mediation of threat (Silverstone, 1993), reports, constructed realities, information providers and so on (Andok, 2013). With the focus of the research in mind, the dissertation relies on Andok's (2006) definition, according to which news are historically established, well-communicated, social symbols. By this is meant that they are able to bring the variety of events that take place in the world into such a symbolic form that it can be incorporated into the opinions and knowledge of the community, so that it expands it. When it comes to news about Africa, it is important to keep its historicity in mind, as well as reflect on those symbols that contribute to the frames.

Nowadays, the above definition is complemented by key features of the online feed, such as immediacy, cost-effectiveness of information dissemination, the ability to constantly update articles, and the ability to interact with the audience (Hasan & Hashim, 2009). Due to the favourable features, media companies are constantly expanding their online services.

With the advent of the digital age, the history of news entered a new phase, in which recipients can consume more information through more channels than ever. In addition, the potential for news production has expanded: almost anyone can become a content creator. In a sense,

traditional news media no longer dominates, but rather the audience decides what counts as news (Anderson, Downie Jr., & Schudson, 2016).

Internet as a medium allows greater interactivity, while links provide instant connections. During linking, the news provider (or, if applicable, the user) connects new information to a text document, image or video, creating new content. The reader of the news item (or, if applicable, the other users), by clicking on the link, confirms the viewpoint presented in the news item (Szűts, 2013). Online journalism is less formalized and requires a new kind of expertise. Its practice follows the principle of the digital media pyramid: it starts with the most essential information (the lead answers the who, what, when, where, why, how questions), refers to previous articles published in the given topic and reports, illustrates, potentially places advertisement to then finish the article with references (Andok, 2013).

The three phases of online news production are distinguished by Chung, Nam and Stefanone (2012). The first is the reproduction of traditional print materials. The second is complemented with the creation of original content and linking, while the third includes the willingness to rethink the online community and try new forms of storytelling. The latter was the main purpose of the Everyday Africa project, which was launched in 2012 to combat stereotypical narratives by portraying the everyday life of people across Africa (Jacobs, 2016). However, in a recent inquiry, Hungerford et al. (2022) conclude that although the site opposes and combats some stereotypes, such as the one portraying the continent as a place plagued by war and disease, the platform reinforces other stereotypical narrative elements, such as exoticism, thus maintaining the colonial gaze.

Furthermore, the development of digital media prioritises the aspect of immediacy and primacy in the news competition (Allan, 2006; Anderson, Downie Jr. & Schudson, 2016). Content flows through several media platforms, media consumption is concentrated, while technologies are converging. In the world of media convergence[6] potentially every story can be told, and every brand can be sold (Jenkins, 2008). But to what extent is this possibility realised in practice?

One of the state-of-the-art stages of representation research examines whether the advancement of digital technologies and the advent of the Internet has opened the space for new narratives. The appearance of newer and newer information-gathering platforms are fragmenting

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[6] "By convergence, I mean the flow of content across multiple media platforms, the cooperation between multiple media industries, and the migratory behaviour of audiences who will go almost anywhere in search of the kinds on entertainment experiences they want." (Jenkins, 2008, p. 2)

audiences; thus, the increasing number of channels can reduce and disperse the impact of negative representations (Fürsich, 2010).

From the above, it can be seen that online news has become completely pervasive by now. This is also confirmed by the Reuters Institute's Digital News Report 2022, which revealed that online news consumption is growing year by year worldwide, with the most trusted brands (e.g., BBC) often benefitting disproportionately (Reuters Institute, 2022). At the same time, an important result is that – although it is still higher compared to the pre-covid times – interest in news and trust in news have decreased, the latter significantly. The report also identifies a new behaviour called "selective news avoidance", which suggests that users consciously limit their news consumption on certain topics (e.g., political and Covid-19 news). Still, online news seems unavoidable to a certain extent. In addition, the proliferation of online news also means the emergence of online databases that facilitate the collection of valid samples for a research corpus with minimal technology proficiency. Considering all this, the units of analysis in the proposed research are provided by online news articles (see more in Section 6.1).

After validating the relevance of the source of the sample used in the research, in the next section two more key concepts are discussed: violence and the choice of Africa as a case study.

4   The focus of the research: violence in Africa

In the previous chapters, the theoretical approach of the research was discussed. The subchapters detailed how the concept of metonymy from cognitive linguistics was combined with the concept of framing from media studies, thus proposing a definition for metonymic framing. After that, the definition was further narrowed to the field of visual communication, arriving at the concept of visual metonymic framing. The present section takes somewhat of a more practical tone and presents the topic of the research. First, the concept of violence, its types and its role as news value are elaborated on. It is followed by the description of Africa, which serves as a case study for the research, focusing on the power of media representation research and the historical roots of the image of violence linked to the continent.

4.1   The topic in focus: violence

The 20th century has been called the long century of violence with the rise of new types of political violence, forms of destruction and the number of victims (Keane, 1996). In 1996, violence was declared a significant public health problem by the World Health Assembly (World Health Assembly, 1996). This was followed by another benchmark, the 2002 World Report on Violence and Health, which put the prevention of violent acts on the agenda and emphasized the impact of their different definitions on policy and practice (Rutherford et al., 2007). Academic life also tried to keep up with the diverse manifestations of violence, as a result of which more and more definitions, often containing overlapping characteristics, were published (Pontara, 1978; Bufacchi, 2005; Hamby, 2017).

Violence is a social phenomenon present in the collective imagination of most societies (Peral, Millán & García, 2018). Since the Neolithic era, violence has been a part of the life of most existing societies, and this is also reflected in their norms, since every legal code from the Code of Hammurabi to the present day includes the use of violence as a source of maintaining power. Despite its everyday presence, we face difficulties in conceptualization, as it is a polysemic concept whose boundaries are not clearly delineated (O'Moore, 2006).

4.1.1   Defining violence

The problem is rooted in the many manifestations of violence and the different research perspectives from which it can be approached: sociological, anthropological, psychological, biological, etc. To this day, the World Health Organisation uses the definition put forth in the abovementioned 2002 World Report on Violence and Health, according to which violence is

"the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment, or deprivation" (Krug et al., 2002, p. 23). This definition is based on an intentional act that causes physical or mental harm to those who suffer from it. Despite recognizing the difficulty of defining a term as diffuse as this, there has been no notable attempt by the organisation to update and narrow the definition since the publishing of the report.

Bufacchi (2005) distinguishes between violence as force and violence as violation, tracing the distinction back to the etymology of the word. The word originates from the Latin 'violentia', meaning vehemence, impetuosity. But since an act characterized by excessive force often results in the violation of rights or norms, violence is often merged with violation, which comes from the Latin 'violare' and means infringement. However, this distinction does not prove to be fruitful since a violation of law can also occur without the use of physical force or vice versa. This only adds to the confusion rather than clarifying the definition.

Violence can be defined as "a behaviour that is intentional, unwanted, nonessential and harmful" (Hamby, 2017, p.168). The chosen definition combines elements of four approaches – the exemplar approach, the social psychology approach, the public health approach and the animal research approach – in order to distinguish violence from other behaviours, thereby excluding, for example, accidents and including, for example, child abuse and sexual offenses. The definition delineated by Hamby (2017) proves to be the most comprehensive in the literature and the most helpful for the purpose of the dissertation.

On the one hand, a precise definition avoids the underestimation of non-prototypical acts of violence (e.g., bullying), and on the other hand, it enables the execution of more effective prevention programs and the more precise identification of causes and consequences (Hamby, 2017). For better comprehensibility, it is worth taking the definition into parts. The use of "nonessential" in the definition serves to distinguish violence from aggression, which is rooted in animal research. The goal of nonessential human violence is not survival or integration, it is not legitimate and could be replaced by a nonviolent alternative. Along this line of thought, it can be argued that self-defence, as an essential behaviour, for example, is classified as aggression, not violence.

It may seem obvious that violence is unwanted, but there are actions that make "unwanted" an important element in the definition. There are acts that often cause physical injuries and are not

unwanted (Parrott & Giancola, 2007). This includes numerous medical treatments, collisions in contact sports or horseplay, which is widespread among young people, which in many cases fulfils an adaptive social function (Maccoby, 1998). The joint use of "unwanted" and "nonessential" is necessary to exclude cases that are nonessential but wanted (e.g., dental intervention) or unwanted but essential (e.g., self-defence), but are not considered violence.

The "harmful" characteristic must also be understood in light of the other three, and its necessity is given by those everyday events, such as interpersonal conflicts or quarrels, which, although may be nonessential, unwanted and intentional, do not have a harmful effect on our health, and therefore cannot be classified as violence. As with the other elements, in the case of "harmful", it also arises at which level an act can be considered harmful. Hamby (2017) – after systematically reviewing several guidelines – links the threshold to the lasting health (physical or psychological) impact.

In relation to intentionality, the author makes the important stipulation that not only those actions are considered violent in which the perpetrator admits his intent to commit them. Instead, Hamby (2017) ties intent to engaging in a dangerous and reckless act in which the harmful outcome is foreseeable even if one does not overtly declare that intent. As an example, the case of sexual violence can be mentioned, when the intent to harm is denied, but the damage caused by the behaviour of the perpetrator is still foreseeable.

Based on all this, the dissertation treats violence as a subset of aggressive behaviour, which is most effectively distinguished from aggression by its nonessential nature. Despite the derived definition, the literature does not use it uniformly, which is why the purpose of this work is also to promote this clear and precise definition, which helps in the distinction of the two terms that is of key importance for the below research.

4.1.2 Types of violence

After presenting the difficulties in defining violence and indicating the definition relevant to the dissertation, it is equally important and essential from a practical point of view to write about the categorization of violence. Following the 2002 World Report on Violence and Health, violence can be categorised based on who has committed the violence and based on the nature of violence (Rutherford et al., 2007). The former typology entails self-directed, interpersonal and collective violence, while the latter differentiates between physical, sexual, psychological and involving deprivation or neglect. However, these categories are not mutually exclusive. As it is clear from the above, the physical and psychological effects of violence most often go

together, and – as we have already seen examples in history – a collective act might include both armed attack and sexual abuse.

Attempts at a general typology are rare in scholarly sources; however, there are some fields of study that received more attention in literature. One such outstanding focus is the one on intimate partner violence (with a special focus on intimate partner femicide), which has been approached from – among others – self-reported domestic violence perpetrators' exposure to violence in their family of origin (Fowler, Cantos & Miller, 2016), women's use of violence in intimate relationships (Babcock, Miller & Siard, 2003; Swan & Snow, 2002) and which has also been applied on an adolescent sample (Messinger et al., 2014)

Typologies of political violence, especially its subtype, electoral violence can also be found (Birch & Muchlinski, 2020; Harish & Toha, 2019; Wood, 2018), uncovering the use of violence to suppress voter participation and/or to intimidate candidates and government bodies. Finally, and without claiming to offer an exhaustive list of research into violence typologies, Galtung (1990) introduced the concept and typology of cultural violence which refers to those aspects of culture "that can be used to legitimize violence in its direct or structural form" (p. 291).

Nevertheless, the present dissertation does not intend to focus on one specific type of violence, it intends to start from a broader list, on the basis of which the most frequently occurring acts of violence in a given corpus can be identified. This purpose is better served by a comprehensive list. Several of such categorisations have been put forth by international organisation, such as the Council of Europe and the World Health Organisation, but this dissertation proceeds with the violence categories of the Child Rights International Network (CRIN). The organisation lists the following:

1) Physical and psychological violence
   a) Abduction
   b) Bullying
   c) Death penalty
   d) Domestic violence
   e) Extra-judicial execution
   f) Gang violence
   g) Harmful traditional practices
   h) Honour killings
   i) Infanticide

j) Judicial use of physical punishment

k) Kidnapping

l) Physical abuse

m) Physical punishment

n) Psychological abuse

o) Psychological punishment

p) State violence

q) Torture and cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment

2) Neglect

a) Abandonment

b) Dangerous, harmful or hazardous work

c) Deprivation

d) State neglect

3) Exploitation

a) Pornography

b) Sex tourism

c) Sexual exploitation

d) Slavery

e) Trafficking

f) Violence at work

(Child Rights International Network, n.d.)

It is important to point out that the above list serves as a starting point for setting up the categories of violence determined during the research. Given that the organization specifically deals with violence against children, the list cannot be fully adapted to the sample forming part of the dissertation, but it provides a good basis for the categories. Some types of violence can be directly transferred to the sample, while others are dropped, and new ones are added. The transformed list and the definitions of the types of violence relevant to the research can be found in Section 6.2.1.1.

4.1.3 Visual metonymic framing of violence

The analysis of forms of violence through metonymies in any form of media communication is rare in the literature. For example, Goehring, Renegar and Puhl (2017) investigated the role of visual metonymies in a Hungarian media campaign against domestic violence and found that the perpetrator is replaced by household objects, thus shifting responsibility and agency to the

victim. In her analysis about the terrorist attack at Beslan School, Pinelli (2016) uncovers how two different newspapers framed the event differently using – among others – the NATION FOR THE PEOPLE metonymy, thus offering different interpretations that reflect the political orientation of the papers.

Catalano and Waugh (2013) further reinforce the ideological potential of visual metonymic framing in their analysis of online newspaper crime reports of Latinos and Wall Street/CEOs. The analysed visual metonymic relationships negatively portray and distance Latinos (e.g., DISTANCE FOR (UN)FAMILIARITY metonymy), while suggesting a positive image of the Wall Street/CEOs category. The former group is depicted in the form of mug shots typical of crime reports, while the latter are depicted during an activity that has nothing to do with a police arrest (e.g., walking with a lawyer). Regardless of the type of news, the portrayal and framing of those involved in an event has a significant impact on the evolution of public perceptions and even on the consequences for society as a whole (e.g., in the form of government policies).

For the present dissertation, I propose the analysis of violent news pieces via the Action and Complex event ICMs. Because violence presupposes some kind of action, news about violent events can be analysed through the Action ICM. As detailed in Section 2.1.3.1, the Action ICM includes relationships such as those between an ACTION and an INSTRUMENT used in the ACTION, an ACTION and the RESULT of this ACTION, etc. (Kövecses and Radden, 1998). Visually speaking, if we project the metonymic relationships onto violent acts in what might be called the Violence ICM, then the AGENT can be, for example, a murderer, the INSTRUMENT used to inflict harm can be a weapon, while the RESULT can be a bloody carpet.

Meanwhile, the Complex event ICM states that events may involve several distinct subevents and phases. As argued in Section 2.1.3.2, in this sense we can talk about initial, central and final phases. One can imagine a picture of, for example, a soldier standing with a gun in their hand, but there is no sign of violence (yet). In this case, the INITIAL SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT metonymy would be activated. However, if the picture shows a ruined house, it can be assumed that the situation was caused by, for example, an explosion. This occurrence would evoke the FINAL SUBEVENT FORM COMPLEX EVENT metonymy. Since violent acts are always complex, the use of the Complex event ICM allows for a better understanding of the sequentiality of such cases. The application of the Action ICM and Complex event ICM on the sample of news images depicting violent events is further discussed in Section 6.2.1.2. In the next subsection, I

present why violence played, plays and will play a central role in our everyday news consumption.

4.1.4 Violence as a news value

Although in the context of political news, Hall (1973/2019) already believed that the most salient news value is violence, which can be used to increase the value of even intrinsically non-violent news. In his train of thought, the endowment of political news with violence grabs the reader's attention and may even scandalize him, because violence is conceived of as something that should be regulated in our society.

Chandler and Munday (2020) concisely define news values as "the informal journalistic criteria adopted in the editorial selection, prioritization and presentation of events" (p. 552). News values endow events with familiar features and status, thus serving as a kind of bridge between stories and people (Hall 1973/2019). News values can also be seen as an operative step that helps selection between news. As described above, selection is also an important feature of the framing process, but in this latter case certain elements of the already selected news story come to the fore. Nevertheless, framing and newsworthiness are connected (Mellese & Müller, 2012).

There are many lists of news values in the literature, and they all have in common that violence is included in some form. Galtung and Ruge (1965) were the first to systematically write about news values (although they referred to it as "news factors"), for them violence can be categorized as "reference to something negative". For Golding and Elliott (1979), the categories of "negativity" and "drama" include violent news.

In Harcup and O'Neill's (2001) research, violent, conflictual, and tragic events can be categorized as "bad news". Finally, in the comprehensive work of Bednarek and Caple (2017), everything that is conflictual, criminal is included under the "negativity" news value. News value taxonomies need to be re-examined from time to time – reflecting on new media formats and cultural differences – and they must "remain open to inquiry rather than be seen as a closed set of values for journalism in all times and places" (Zelizer, 2004, p. 55).

Section 3.2 already discussed the rise of visual elements and their role in news framing. From the point of view of the dissertation, however, it is important to dwell on a further characteristic: namely, that they attract and involve the readers more deeply in a news story, so they are able to construct news values (Bednarek & Caple, 2007). Considering visual resources that construct the "negativity" news value, the authors mention the depiction of events that a given society deems negative, such as violence and norm-breaking behaviour. The news value is also evoked

by negative facial expressions and certain camera movements, but these technical aspects do not form part of the research, so they will not be further detailed.

Summarizing Section 4.1, it can be concluded that the world of news and violence are connected in many ways. The saying "if it bleeds it leads" captures the essence of this time-proven news value. Despite the fact that we are witnessing the rise of new media formats, the news still serves as a compass for topics about which we have no personal impression. For this reason, the world of online news is also a fruitful field for this dissertation. After breaking down the title of the thesis and explaining the key terms, in the following sections the case that provides the focus of the research is presented.

4.2   The case in focus: Africa

Today, it has become almost commonplace to state that globalization has led to an increasing connectivity between the economies and political entities of the world and has called forth the need for people to expand their knowledge about the world (Fürsich, 2010). Africa's relevance for research is not only validated by the global networks, turbulent historical past, linguistic and cultural diversity, and economic potential. Over the past fifty years, the question of who is telling Africa's history has become particularly important (Bunce, Franks & Paterson, 2017).

When making sense of geographically and culturally distant affairs and events, we rely on mental models that are based on prior experience, existing knowledge and incoming information – the means of which is provided by different media platforms. News websites frame distant events in a way that is relevant and engaging to the audience. However, such presentation often leads to simplified broadcasting that combines true and false elements, e.g., when controversy broke out after CNN relied on the familiar violence narrative to make the story of the 2012 protests in Nairobi easy to comprehend (Gurevitch, Levy & Roeh, 1991; Ogola, 2015; Powell, 2017).

How the media informs us about distant events has always mattered and has always been a matter of discussion, contestation (Bunce, Franks & Paterson, 2017). However, the media representation of Africa is considered relatively marginalized compared to other continents (Ogunyemi, 2017). The significance of this is manifold, because "as globalization and migration continue to encourage the interaction of different peoples and cultures, so the media portrayal of different parts of the world plays an increasingly important role in either discouraging or promoting respect for other cultures" (Scott, 2009, p. 535). Because representations can produce a common cultural understanding, problematic (i.e., limited)

representations can have negative consequences for decision-making and thus contribute to perpetuating social and political inequalities (Fürsich, 2010).

In addition, the line of literature that analyses media narratives about Africa is particularly relevant to the choice of topic. As discussed below, there is a sharp debate between those scholars who perceive a positive shift in the news coverage of Africa and those who question the diversification of these reports. In this respect, the media representation of Africa is idiosyncratic in nature. Although many scholars have used framing theory to study news about Africa, the number of those who approached the matter through the visual channel is negligible. While research into visual communication is increasing and scholars agree on its potential, the visual depiction of Africa in online news seems to be a less researched area. Moreover, metonymic framing has never been applied to news about the continent. For a number of reasons, therefore, inquiry into how violence in Africa is presented via visual metonymies is important to address.

4.2.1 Africa in the news

A considerable amount of research has concluded that Africa and the developing world is featured less in the international news flow than the global north (Ankomah, 2008; Ogola, 2015; Scott, 2017; Nothias, 2018). In addition, the representatives of the critical approach emphasize that news articles covering the world's poorest regions are characterised by misinformation. For instance, Africa's representation tends to convey the message of alienation, distance, and diversity based on generalization. Ebron (2002) and Mahadeo and McKinney (2007) argue that the continent is in many cases framed by global news as a scene of ethnic struggle, famine, poverty, and unstable political systems.

Nonetheless it is important to acknowledge that the interpretation of Africa is a complex task. The mediated portrayal of the continent gives way to different interpretations and perceptions. As Mudimbe (1988) explains, Africa as a coherent ideological and political unit was born during the European expansion, but this perception has since undergone many reinterpretations by local and diasporic intellectuals, ideological apparatuses, educational institutions, traveller reports and the media.

For a long time, critics have accused news reports about Africa of being episodic, simplistic and negative in tone, as well as homogenising the continent, overemphasizing humanitarian missions, simplifying ethnicities, and highlighting "rescue operations" led by the West (Hawk, 1992; Tsikata, 2014; Bunce, 2015). Moreover, these reports operate with sensationalism, cover

reports about catastrophes, tribal conflicts, and frame non-African actors as either victims or helpers (Palmberg, 2001). Representation based on the above characteristics is both powerful and dangerous: it deepens negative stereotypes, reinforces neo-colonial power inequalities, and undermines intercultural togetherness (Abdullahi, 1991; Bunce, 2015). Furthermore, Jarosz (1992) and Mengara (2001) notice a certain Western fascination with Africa which objectifies, exoticizes and contrasts the continent with the "Enlightened West". Based on the above findings it seems that "attacking the Western media's one-dimensional coverage has become almost as obligatory a part of African conflicts as stalemated peace talks" (Wrong, 2017, p. 31).

On the other side of the coin are the news-producing media outlets, which rarely have the budget to send correspondents to different parts of the world. Many opt for local journalists, who, in turn, have drawn attention to two major limitations. Firstly, they are expected to produce marketable and newsworthy articles. Secondly, media outlets are not willing to employ locals who do not follow the main norms of international journalism, such as the principle of objectivity.[7] As a result, it is common practice to rely on materials from a country's news agency and/or the world's leading news agencies instead of independently gathering international news and running foreign news bureaus (Ojo, 2014; Bunce, 2015). Another aspect should be mentioned from the same perspective, namely that the essence of news in the traditional sense is to inform the non-specialist audience in the most effective, concise way possible. This is a particularly difficult task when reporting on complex, distant events, especially considering our ever-shrinking attention span (Wrong, 2017).

However, it must be noted that several researchers see a new narrative on the rise concerning reports on Africa, which is believed to be much more varied and positive in tone (Nothias, 2014; Ojo, 2014, Obijiofor & MacKinnon, 2016; Zhang & Matingwina, 2016; Bunce, 2017). A content analysis by Bunce (2017) found that the international news coverage of Africa has become less negative in certain columns, even though the wider media market is still characterised by varying positions. The start of this paradigm shift can be traced back to the now-famous 2011 *Economist* cover titled "Africa Rising", which was welcomed warmly by

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[7] Unfortunately, I could not find specific figures on how many journalists and photojournalists are employed by BBC Africa and CNN Africa, but it is assumed that the number is low. On the other hand, it can be seen from their news reports that in some more "important" countries, such as Nigeria or Somalia, they do have correspondents. As an informal conversation with Molly Dugan, Professor of Journalism at California State University revealed, many international news organizations are reluctant to send journalists to Africa due to security concerns and a lack of public interest in the region. Using a current war example as a comparison: in the Russo-Ukrainian War, the Ukrainian government regulates but also supports the presence of the media. Meanwhile, in the War in Sudan there is no stable governing body that would recognize journalists as non-combatants, thereby protecting them. There are local journalists, but they too face limited access.

politicians, business professionals and others eager for a forward-looking narrative. As seen in Figure 4.1, the exemplar of this new reporting was in stark contrast with the 2000 "Hopeless Continent" cover of the same magazine, which is used to illustrate the long-standing critique on the continent's unbalanced media coverage (Nothias, 2012).

Figure 4.1 Montage of (left) The Hopeless Continent (The Economist Newspaper Limited, May 13, 2000) and (right) Africa Rising (The Economist Newspaper Limited, December 3, 2011)

But is Africa really on the rise according to its news coverage? Gabay (2018) questions the novelty and mere existence of the change and criticises the reductive nature of the debate since the conceptualisation of "emergence" is based on Western norms. It is important to note that the idea of a narrative change also arose in the light of Western media.

Examining the online news and focusing on new imperialism, Paterson and Nothias (2016) concluded that although the topics are changing, the news are still characterised by the familiar representation repertoire, which reinforces enduring stereotypes. In addition, an interview conducted by Nothias (2014) uncovered that the picture of the boy depicted on the iconic "Africa Rising" cover is essentially a stock photo, the skin colour of which has been altered because "he was in just the right position for a kid running with a kite" (p. 330). Thus, symbolic representation and generic models supersede real-life events, places, and people. Furthermore, Bunce (2017) warns that neither the Afro-pessimism believed to be dominant in the 1990s, nor

the Afro-optimism that took over the former narrative in the 2010s[8], can be attested fully. Consequently, statements about the change of narrative must be handled with caution as the meaning and implications of new representations require in-depth research (Bunce, Franks & Paterson, 2017).

Despite the rise of visuality, it appears that Africa's news coverage has rarely been explored in the visual mode. Most of the studies are predominantly textually embedded and only a few search results incorporate visual analysis (Palmberg, 2001; Harding, 2003; Nothias, 2014; Becker, 2017; Hellmann, 2020). For instance, Nothias (2014) found that the visual narratives conveyed through iconic magazine covers representing Africa can contribute to the discursive (re)inscription of Africa's difference. The author highlights the potential in analysing Africa's media representation through visual means as a productive tool of understanding the continental narrative.

The studies presented thus far provide evidence that even though the so-called changing narrative has been reflected in several studies, certain frames and topics appear to be stable and stagnant over time. As the Everyday Africa project already mentioned in Section 3.4 illustrates, it is apparently difficult to completely move away from stereotypical narratives. Béni and Veloso (2022), for instance, shed light on how some frames of Africa, such as a diverse continent and a place of exotic wonders and wilderness worthy to be explored by the outside world, seem to be stagnant over time. Violence is a similarly dominant and recurring topic in news reporting. In her content analysis of international newswires, Bunce (2017) found that although the overall coverage has become less negative, reports on conflict and crime increased in the analysed period (1994-2013). However, it must be noted that analyses that reflect on the positive-negative tone of articles often raise methodological questions, since this aspect is largely subjective.

In a study comparing sub-Saharan news from BBC and Al Jazeera, Mellese and Müller (2012) found the crisis frame (murder being the most common subframe) to be the most significant, considering both textual and visual framing. Although Al Jazeera positions itself as the "voice of the South", its reporting did not differ that much from BBC online (at least in the time frame of the research). In their attempt to examine the news coverage of Africa by a Belgian

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[8] The Afro-optimism vs. Afro-pessimism debate is between those scholars who subscribe to a more positive tone in media representation and those who continue to see a predominantly negative news coverage that questions the continent's ability to cope with poverty, underdevelopment, governance, and health problems (Nothias, 2012; Hellmann, 2020).

alternative news magazine, Mahieu and Joye (2018) found that negative events, such as terrorism are still highly dominant. A final insight into the complexity of the matter comes from Hellmann (2020), who explored that the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Somalia are primarily framed through the "failed state" visual frame in European newspapers, especially tabloids. Furthermore, the violence variable was coded most frequently, though the reporting differed by media market, e.g., the author found more violent images in Spanish and German newspapers than in Dutch and UK newspapers.

Overall, it can be concluded that although the coverage may differ, news of violent acts still appears in studies of Africa's media representation to this day. For a focused and narrowed approach, in the present thesis I examined the visual metonymic framing specifically of news that cover violent acts. However, in order to understand that violence is inherently linked to Africa, it is necessary to make a brief historical detour in the next subsection.

4.2.2 Africa in literary accounts: the land of the noble savage[9]

Some of the stereotypical frames that stand out from the news analyses, such as the presentation of African people as helpless, can be traced back to colonial times, when the wider public was informed about Africans primarily through literary works. Africans were depicted as waiting to be ruled by "white" people, which – in Kipling's classic term – was the "white man's burden" (Zhang & Matingwina, 2016).

One of the defining and often cited works is Joseph Conrad's novel *Heart of Darkness*, which presents Arica as a different world that can be contrasted with European civilization (Achebe, 1977). In the literary account the continent and its people are characterised by savageness, frenzy, primitiveness, barbaric rites and are presented as inferior "Others", dehumanized inhabitants. In addition, explorers (e.g., Livingstone and Stanley) and missionaries painted a picture of a "human zoo" that needed guidance, which idea morally justified colonialism (Abdullahi, 1991).

For centuries, the representation of Africa dominated by Europeans was a faintly outlined sketch, highlighting a peripheral city and port, as well as the dark, dangerous, but intriguing roads to the interior. The slave trade, cannibalism and various tribal rites were rumoured from the time of Herodotus until the 18th and 19th centuries (Gallagher, 2015). The outlined map

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[9] The "noble savage" is a literary character, the concept of an uncivilized man belonging to non-European cultures, who "symbolizes the innate goodness of one not exposed to the corrupting influences of civilization" (Britannica, n.d.).

showed an uncertain, alien world. The idea of a "dark continent" particularly excited the Western imagination, which believed to discover the alter ego of the European Enlightenment in the continent and found a reference point to better understand themselves.

As a result of the Berlin Conference of 1884-85, the previously undefined interior was filled in, and the European mission to enlighten Africa began (Gallagher, 2015). However, the view of the continent remained and forced into an idealized, European idea. Palmberg (2001) emphasizes that in the 19th century, the continent's primitiveness was mostly expressed with different connotations: it simultaneously denoted purity, pristineness, underdevelopment etc.

After the wave of independence in the twentieth century, many African states decided to hire Western PR companies in order to improve their image. Among the governments of the continent, significant allocation of funds aimed at developing brand personality and country image (Gallagher, 2015). So, the relationship between Africa and the world, primarily Europe, has developed in a special way throughout history, considering that the latter has felt the right to define the portrayal of Africa for a long time. But the independence movements that gained strength from the middle of the twentieth century defied European dominance and aimed, among other things, at restoring the authenticity of the concept.

Unsurprisingly, critical scholars have accused Western news organizations of writing about conflicts in Africa without sufficient background knowledge and in a simplified manner. Framing violent and conflict events as ones fuelled by "tribal hatred" has been noted by several scholars (e.g., Harrow, 2005). What we know today as the Rwandan genocide appeared as "tribal warfare" in 1994 on the front page of The New York Times, which characterised those involved as "savage" and "bloodthirsty". Because of these patterns, it is a common phenomenon that African journalists do not trust the reports of "Western" journalists about African conflicts (Wahutu, 2017).

In his study about the "failed state" frame (already mentioned in the above subchapter), Hellmann (2020) contrasted two news images to showcase how alternative portrayals challenge the characteristics of the Afro-pessimistic discourse. However, it is conspicuous that the rather prevalent "failed state" frame implies the narrative that portrays Africa as barbaric, inhospitable and incapable of self-governance. Despite the fact that a lot of time has passed since the peak of the barbaric, savage, and thus violence-dominated narrative, these characteristics are still echoed in studies to this day, thereby validating the examination of the visual representation of violence in an African context.

At this point in the dissertation, it is important to explicitly state one of the main limitations of the research. From the above, it is clear that in order to learn about any story, it is necessary to analyse different reports (if possible, not only from one cultural background). From an ethical point of view, it would be better to compare, say, an African news portal with a "Western" one. On the other hand, due to possible language barriers and scope limitations, as well as the reason that the research treats Africa as a case study, therefore subordinated to the novel application of visual metonymic analysis, the sample (as can be read in Section 4.1) consists of articles from two long-standing "Western" news portals. However, I trust that it is possible to uncover such valuable patterns on this narrowed sample, which is worth building future research on. In the next section, after a short summary, the research questions and related hypotheses are detailed. Then, additional limitations arising from the approach are discussed.

5 Research questions and hypotheses

In the above, the meaning of and the relationship between the key concepts of the dissertation were outlined. In Section 2, 3 and 4 the theoretical foundations of the dissertation were laid. Firstly, the definition of metonymy in the cognitive linguistic sense was introduced. Although, in a quantitative sense, metonymy research lags behind metaphor research, practitioners of the field agree on the ubiquitous role of metonymies and the importance of metonymy research. The examination of visual metonymies constitutes a more novel field, but the potential inherent in it is significant.

This first part of the thesis also drew on media science when discussing the notion of framing. The concept of frames has been defined by many disciplines; however, in the dissertation I adapted its media science interpretation (as in media framing). Framing theory represents a widely researched field, at the same time, the role of figurative language types, such as metonymy, in the framing process represents a new research direction. The unification of the cognitive linguistic definition of metonymy with the media studies approach to framing resulted in a proposed definition for metonymic framing.

The idea of metonymic framing is examined in the visual modality. To this end, Section 3 is devoted to underlining the power of visuals as framing devices. The intersection of metonymic framing and visual communication yielded another novel definition, that of visual metonymic framing. Thereby, on a theoretical level (and also on a practical level), the thesis offers a new, refined approach to metonymy that can be applied in visual media discourse.

Section 4 then described the context of the research: the topic being violence and the case being Africa, on the example of which the examination of the visual metonymic framing of violence in online news is detailed in the upcoming sections. After presenting the difficulties in defining violence and the accepted definition in Section 4.1, it became clear that violence refers to an action consisting of a series of complex subevents. It follows from this that violence can be examined through the Action and Complex event ICMs, which also provide a practical reference point for research.

Finally, in Section 4.2, I presented the topic of the case study, based on which I explored the visual metonymic relationships in the research. It can be stated that the representation of Africa is constantly evolving through a complex network of relationships. Research on Africa's media portrayal (especially in Western outlets) has become increasingly central over time, probably due to the fact that it has been marginalized for a long time compared to other continents.

The purpose of the approach is therefore to explore the metonymic substitutions through which violence is visually depicted in the featured images of online news about Africa. To further clarify this, the research questions and the hypotheses, that allowed to achieve the research objectives, are presented below.

The research interprets the visual metonymic framing of violence in online news from two interconnected perspectives. The first perspective examines the sequentiality of the events, i.e., whether the chosen featured image evokes the entire action through the initial, central or final phase of violence. In this interpretation, the Violence ICM is supported by the Complex event ICM (as elaborated on in Section 2.1.3.2). The first research question reflects on this perspective.

RQ1: Which SUBEVENTS are used to visually represent the COMPLEX EVENT of violence?

One of the basic assumptions of metonymic models is that some members of the category are more salient than others. Regarding the Complex event ICM, the INITIAL OR FINAL OVER MIDDLE principle introduced by Radden and Kövecses (1999) state that the initial or final phase may be seen as being more important than the central phase. In addition, when it comes to covering violent acts in the news, it is important to note that the editorial guidelines of the sampled news websites, that are BBC and CNN, state that explicit depictions of violence are only possible in the most justified cases (BBC, n.d.; CNN, n.d.). Since the explicit part of a violent act can be linked to the central phase in the Complex event ICM, the following hypothesis is formulated.

H1: The INITIAL SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT and FINAL SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT metonymies are more preferred than the CENTRAL SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT metonymy in the visual depiction of violence.

The second perspective reflects on relationality by projecting the metonymic relationships of the Action ICM onto violent acts in what might be called the Violence ICM, with the goal of exploring the metonymic relationships across different types of violence, in order to highlight possible differences and similarities regarding the visual representation of different acts of violence in online news. The second research question can thus be formulated in the following manner.

RQ2: Which metonymic relationships of the Action ICM are used to visually represent different types of violence?

Radden and Kövecses (1999) collected the principles that govern the choice of vehicle and target in default cases of metonymy (see Section 2.1.5). One such principle states that the characteristics of our human-centric world are reflected in our language and thinking, resulting in a preference for HUMAN OVER NON-HUMAN. Furthermore, events that have a "human" face are considered to be newsworthy. Bednarek and Caple (2017) call this phenomenon the news value of personalization, which is just as important for visual elements as for textual ones. It follows from all this that the second research question is supplemented by a hypothesis expecting an anthropocentric result.

> H2: Regardless of the type of violence, the AGENT FOR ACTION and PATIENT FOR ACTION metonymic relationships are more preferred than the INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION, RESULT FOR ACTION and PLACE FOR ACTION metonymic relationships in the visual depiction of violence.

5.1 Limitations of the approach

As with most research, the present dissertation has its limitations. Therefore, in the remainder of Section 5 the scope of the thesis is discussed, clarifying those models, theories and approaches that do not form part of this work. Among others, the research does not apply a visual rhetorical approach and does not reflect on manipulation – neither the manipulation of images, nor manipulation by images. Moreover, the research does not examine how news items are processed inside media organisations.

Despite the importance of audience frames, they are not part of the analysis. The proposed approach focuses on the issuer's side, not the decoding of the images by recipients, the process of which is generally based on mentally stored ideas (Entman, 1993). Although the dissertation focuses on media frames, it must be noted that the extent of their influence can only be attested when combined with audience frames (Glück, 2018). Meaning associations do not only arise from news frames, but the audience also interprets them based on their existing knowledge and life experiences (Pan & Kosicki, 1993). In this way, testing the reception of the metonymic frames identified in the images seems a logical next step in the research process.

The word *Africa* is historically burdened; thus, it is capable of evoking controversial interpretations. As Scott (2017a) points out, the ontological definition of Africa is of key importance in any similar research; that is, outlining whether the researcher understands a geographically delimited area, a social construct, or other entity under *Africa*. Due to the

diversity of the continent and since it only appears in the research at the case study level, I focus on the geographically delimited area, which was kept in mind when interpreting the results.

As Nyamnjoh (2017) warns, academics exist in organizations and societies similar to the producers of representations, such as journalists and news editors, from which it is difficult to extricate oneself to write about sensitive issues like violence or diverse places like Africa with as much sensitivity and sensibility as an African would. Researchers (we) are dealing with worlds that they (we) embody, and not just their (our) perceptions, rationalizations or visions. This led me to cautious and considered decision-making in every research step.

Finally, despite the fact that the scientific discourse on the possible change of narrative is a very lively thread in literature, the present research does not aim to reflect on it. At the same time, it is important to mention this in any study analysing African news. It must be noted though that when presenting the research results, the emphasis was on the metonymic representation of violence, not on the African aspect.

To sum up, Section 5 first briefly summarized the theoretical chapters, then presented the research questions and related hypotheses. Finally, it limited the scope of the approach. Additional, specifically methodological limitations are included in Section 6.5. The next section presents the methodological choices that were used to answer the research questions and to determine whether the hypotheses are correct.

6   Methodology

A metonymy-based image analysis was conducted to answer the research questions and examine the hypotheses. Given that the thesis seeks to understand a phenomenon within a real-world context, the approach of the research is qualitative. The research relies on the collection, analysis and interpretation of qualitative data, such as text and photographs. The goals of the research are exploratory on the one hand, and descriptive on the other. It is exploratory in the sense that it seeks to understand a persistent phenomenon (i.e., substitutions used in the featured images of online news about violence) and aims to test the feasibility of the proposed analytical framework. Given that there is no previous example of the outlined approach, the exploratory nature of the study can facilitate the development of the methods to be employed in any subsequent study. And the research is descriptive in the sense that it first observes the chosen phenomenon and then describes what was observed (Babbie, 2020). Although it also reflects on the reasons presumably behind the observations, they could only be validated with an explanatory approach (e.g., incorporating the recipients' perceptions).

Section 6.1 presents the sample selected for the research, including the steps of the sampling process, and the aspects according to which the final sample was formed. This is followed by Section 6.2, which offers the detailed description of the method, showing step by step how the gathered data were interpreted during the analysis.

6.1   Sample

The investigation covers the period 2011-2020. On the one hand, this period is long enough to draw general conclusions and get an insight into the examined questions. On the other hand, since African news reports are in the focus of the study, it must be mentioned that scholars investigating the media representation of Africa generally refer to 2011 as the herald of a shift in narrative (Nothias, 2014; Ojo, 2014; Bunce, 2017).[10] The dissertation does not aim to reflect on the "changing narrative", but since I am testing the analytical framework presented below on the sample of African news, it is important to mention this overlap.

The news items forming the sample of the study were collected from BBC Africa and CNN Africa. The choice of the media outlets is validated by several aspects. Firstly, BBC and CNN are among the most influential English-language news websites worldwide and have had a

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[10] Scholars also state that this is best captured by The Economist's "Africa Rising" cover, which was also an apology from the editors for their 2000 cover that portrayed Africa as the "Hopeless Continent" (Frankema & Waijenburg, 2018).

longstanding hegemonic position in global news provision. In this case, influence is measured in the number of readers, in which respect the ranking of SimilarWeb is relevant. SimilarWeb offers web analytics, and one of its features compares the leaders of different industries. For the sake of this research, I relied on their ranking category titled "News and Media", which attests the leading role of the chosen news websites. The statistics have shown several times that BBC and CNN are at the top of the list among English-language online news outlets (see for instance Turvill, 2020; Majid, 2021; 2023). I do not claim that the examination of these two news portals represents all media coverage, but I trust that they will demonstrate trends that promote research into a broader range of media. Secondly, the focus on Africa's media representation – albeit unspoken – has always predominantly reflected on Western media portrayals. Therefore, the investigation of a leading British and American news portal is valid from this point of view. Thirdly, both BBC and CNN have separate columns and staff for publishing news about Africa (BBC Africa and CNN Africa). The targeted search option thus facilitated the sampling process.

The sampling was conducted in three steps in a semi-automated manner. As Figure 6.1 demonstrates, the first step resulted in the gathering of the population, which contained all eligible links. The second step entailed the reduction of the full sample to a representative one. Lastly, the sample was cleaned manually so that it contained only those elements that regard some form of violence (and also align with the definition of violence). These steps are elaborated on in the next section.
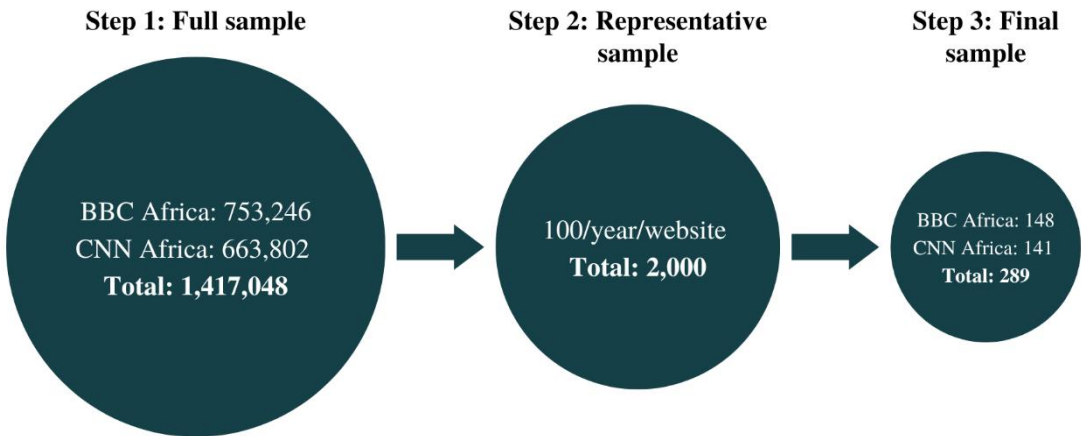

Figure 6.1 Steps of the sampling process highlighting the reduction in the number of URLs

6.1.1 The sampling process

Firstly, the full sample was selected in a way that it contained all articles that were published under BBC Africa and CNN Africa in the chosen period. For this purpose, I relied on the database of Wayback Machine. The Wayback Machine is a digital library providing free access to web archive for researchers, scholars, and the general public. It is also more and more widely used by social scientists to analyse web information over time (Hashim & O'Connor, 2007; Arora, Youtie & Shapira, 2016). Given that the present dataset is based on a ten-year time interval, the site was a suitable choice for accessing the necessary links. Regarding the process, a python selenium script was used to gather (crawl) all links from 2011 to 2020 for the following URLs: cnn.com/africa, bbc.com/news/world/africa.[11] The raw sample contained 1,417,048 links (753,246 URLs pointing to BBC Africa and 663,802 URLs pointing to CNN Africa).

It was necessary to reduce the number of units in order to better manage the data. Therefore, in the second step a representative sample containing 2,000 URLs was set up. This was accomplished through the random sampling of 100 URLs on a yearly basis for both websites (i.e., 100 articles/year/website). Practically speaking, this process entailed assigning randomised numbers to all URLs in the full sample using the Excel software. The units were then ordered based on the random numbers from smallest to largest, allowing to sample the first 100. This would have been the "ideal scenario"; however, in most cases more than 100 URLs had to be visited to select 100 adequate units. More precisely, 1,536 unfitting URLs were dropped in the case of BBC Africa, while the sample was cleaned from 609 URLs in the case of CNN Africa.

During the cleaning process, I first removed the duplicates. Then, the representative sample was cleaned of additional elements based on pre-defined exclusion criteria. One of the factors that motivated the exclusion criteria was that the articles must have had a featured image since that was the focus of the analysis (described in Section 3). Moreover, they had to follow the classic news structure also known as the inverted pyramid – headline, featured image, lead, body and tail (Andok, 2013) – to facilitate the categorization of the items (described in Section 6.2.1.1). Consequently, URLs directing to the following were removed:

- general front pages of certain columns, such as BBC's Business column (BBC, n.d.),
- so-called country profiles occurring in the BBC sample, such as "Algeria country profile" (BBC, December 23, 2019),

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[11] I would like to thank Norbert Kis-Szabó for the technical assistance.

- video news pieces without static images and/or text occurring in both samples, such as "Pygmy hippo caught on camera in Liberia" (BBC, December 19, 2011),

- articles without images occurring in both samples, such as "Naval forces disrupt pirate activity off Somali coast" (CNN, July 21, 2011),

- "In Pictures/top shots" series without text occurring in the BBC sample, such as "In pictures: Kenyans go crazy for skating" (BBC, April 9, 2012),

- photo galleries without text occurring in the CNN sample, such as "The search for Nefertiti" (CNN, October 1, 2015),

- and audio slideshows occurring in the BBC sample, such as "Audio slideshow: A tale of two Ethiopian women fighting hunger" (BBC, June 19, 2012).

While the first step was completely automated, the second step was semi-automated as several units had to be excluded manually. The setting up of the representative sample greatly facilitated the third step of the cleaning.

6.1.2 The final sample

As a third and last step, the sample containing 2,000 URLs was narrowed down to include only those units which contained reference to violence. The process was executed manually and closely followed the definition that the thesis adopts in the discourse on violence. Based on this, violence is "a behaviour that is intentional, unwanted, nonessential and harmful" (Hamby, 2017, p.168). For this step, I considered the full length of the articles.

Closely following the definition allowed only the most relevant units to be included in the final sample. The "intentional" qualifier was particularly important, based on which events ending in death but – in the absence of a reference to the perpetrator – not clarifying the nature of death (natural vs. induced) were excluded from the final sample (e.g., "Italy chocolate tycoon Pietro Ferrero dies in S Africa"[12]). Headlines relating to death by non-human forces (e.g., natural forces) were also excluded (e.g., "Is crude oil killing children in Nigeria?"[13]), as well as units connected to violent actions committed against non-human (e.g., animal) victims (e.g., "Six lions killed in Kenyan capital Nairobi"[14]). Furthermore, mere reference to the perpetrator(s)

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[12] See https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-13122520
[13] See https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-42168902
[14] See https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-18522190

was not sufficient if the article did not reflect an intentional act (e.g., "Who are Nigeria's Boko Haram Islamist group?"[15]).

As a result of the abovementioned steps, I arrived at the final sample consisting of 289 units. Figure 6.2 presents the distribution of the 289 elements by year and website.
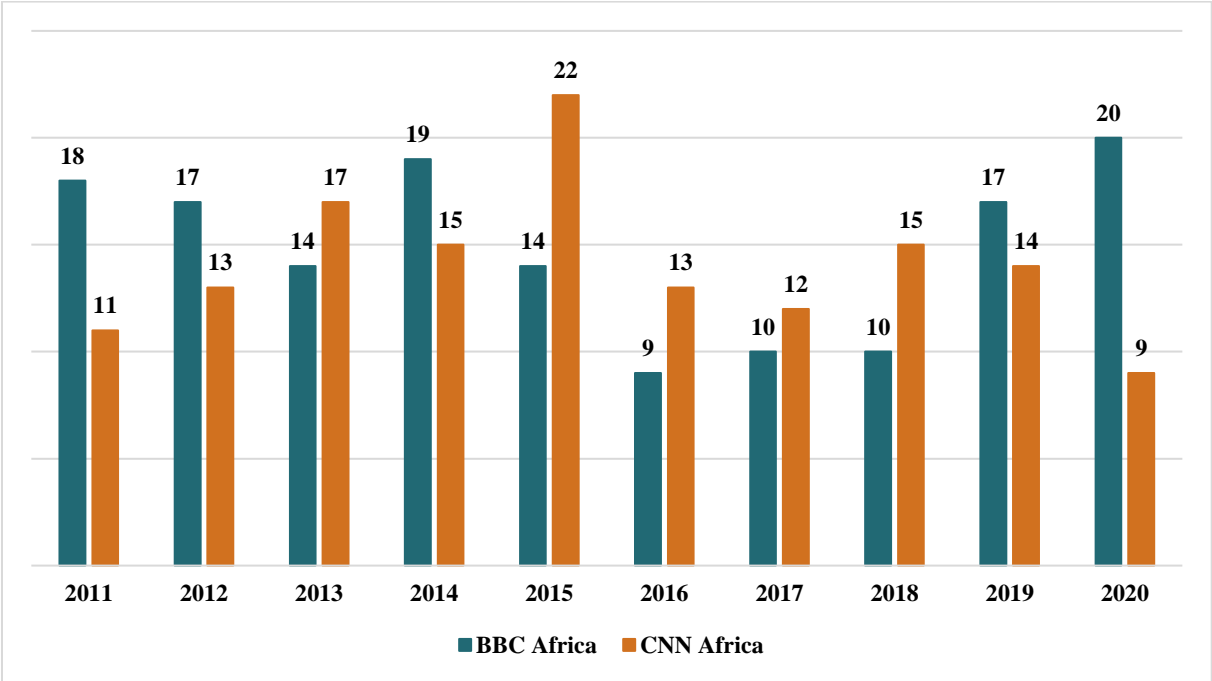
Figure 6.2 Distribution of units of analysis in the sample by year and website

All in all, the sample for the analysis was set up in a semi-automated process, which first required gathering a full sample containing all links directing to BBC Africa and CNN Africa for the period 2011-2020. This was then reduced to a representative sample, and finally, cleaned manually for units relating to violence. The steps of the analysis are introduced in the following chapter.

6.2   Method

A metonymy-based analysis was conducted on the featured images of the news articles. The featured image (also known as post thumbnail) of an online article is the opening picture that represents the whole article. If an article does not have a featured image in the classical sense, then one of the images of the article functions as an opening image, the existence of which is important because it is the first thing the reader encounters in the news feed (along with the headline). In fact, it has been attested that 55% of readers spend less than 15 seconds on

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[15] See https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-13809501

pageviews and usually read only 20% of the text, but this attention is in more than 90% of the cases focused on the beginning of content, i.e., headlines, leads and featured images (GO-Gulf, 2018). It is precisely because of this trend that news portals carefully choose the headlines and featured images of their articles.

The analysis of the images was preceded by the categorization of the news items based on the type of violence, such as homicide, sexual abuse etc. (as provided in Section 4.1.2). Then, the images were examined from two perspectives: firstly, focusing on the sequentiality of events using the Complex event ICM, and secondly exploring the metonymic relationships of violence as an Action ICM on the basis of relationality. Thus, the analysis followed the following steps:

1) Categorization of the units based on the type of violence.
2) Metonymy-based analysis of images:
   a. sequentiality: identification of the SUCCESSIVE SUBEVENTS FOR COMPLEX EVENT metonymies of the Complex event ICM, and
   b. relationality: identification of the metonymic relationships of the Action ICM.

The specific steps of the analysis and the aspects taken into account during the coding are detailed in the following chapter.

6.2.1 Steps of the analysis

6.2.1.1 Categorization of the units based on the type of violence

Although the focus of the dissertation is on the visual representation of violence, audiences consume visual and verbal information together (Coleman, 2010). Image and text can interact in many ways to achieve a communicator's desired goal. Therefore, when categorizing the news items according to the types of violence, the whole article was considered. This facilitated the designation of collectively exhaustive and mutually exclusive categories (Neuendorf, 2017). Due to this fundamental principle often used in content analysis, I classified each news item into only one category. Since the featured image itself appears as a metonymic illustration of the text, on account of it representing the whole article, the textual elements of the news report were the guide in the categorization. At the same time, additional steps were necessary in practice, because in 23% (n=67) of the cases the articles mentioned several types of violence. Given the focus of the research, these units were classified according to the category that was dominantly positioned in the featured image.

At this point in the presentation of the categorization, it is necessary to discuss the relationship of the image and the caption, the textual element most closely related to the image. In their study about the framing of Sub-Sharan Africa in the news, Mellese and Müller (2012) interpret the caption as the direct context of the image and thus take it as an equivalent source for coding the visual content. For the coding of the textual frames, they considered the headline and first three paragraphs of the article, while the visual frames were determined based on the combination of the featured image and caption. This approach made me think about the role and function of the caption in the research. Undoubtedly, its role in clarifying the intended meaning of the press photograph in its particular context is important. Still, I was concerned about the extent to which the inclusion of the caption represents a limitation in providing a reliable method of visual analysis.

As a first step, I examined the captions accompanying the images of the sample, paying attention to what information they contained. In 89% (n=258) of the featured images, I identified an informative caption in the sense that it offers some level of context to the image. At the same time, the degree of informativeness varies, as some captions were four words long, while others described the image with a whole sentence. Nevertheless, these images were put into context by the captions. In the remaining 11% (n=31), the pictures were not accompanied by a caption. This had two forms of appearance: in one case, the images were completely free of any textual cue (n=12), in the other case, the source (e.g., Getty Images, AP) was indicated in the lower right corner of the images (n=19).

It can also be seen from the proportions that handling the image-caption relationship was a difficult issue during the analysis. On the whole, relying on the typology of Tasić and Stamenković (2022) already mentioned in Section 3.2, and taking into account the focus and goals of the dissertation, I interpreted the featured images providing the units of analysis as images based on image-dominant metonymy, in which the visual mode "has a more decisive influence on the appropriate understanding of the target concept than the verbal mode" (p. 382).

In this approach, the caption is an additional textual element, which may not always be relevant in the correct interpretation of metonymies and metonymic relationships. At the same time, it is important to clarify that in the case of images that are supplemented by an informative caption, it was possible to include the caption in the interpretation process. On a practical level, this was only necessary for a few units of analysis. These cases are listed below, thus closing the section on the image-caption relationship:

- The full length of the articles (including the captions) was considered in the third step of the sampling process (see Section 6.1.2). No additional role was attributed to other textual cues, such as the headline and the text of the article.

- When categorizing the news items according to the types of violence, the whole article (including the caption) was considered (see more in this Section) in order for each article to be classified into only one (that is, the visually prominent) category of violence. No additional role was attributed to other textual cues, such as the headline and the text of the article.

- The captions of the images were also considered when determining whether agents or patients were portrayed in the images where this was not immediately obvious (see more in Section 6.5).

Continuing with the categorization of the units based on the type of violence, the categories were delineated in an inductive manner, i.e., making inferences based on the observation of the sample. However, the categories were not named arbitrarily, but were rather motivated by already existing categorizations, such as the one presented in Section 4.1.2. Some types of violence were directly transferred to the sample (e.g., kidnapping, torture, slavery), others were transferred with minimal changes (e.g., child abuse, homicide, human trafficking, sexual abuse) while others were dropped (e.g., abandonment, deprivation, pornography), and new ones were added (e.g., armed conflict, assault, genocide, terrorism). The definitions of the types of violence occurring in the sample came from a number of sources. These included the following:

- the *Oxford English Dictionary* and *Cambridge Dictionary*, the dictionaries of the top two English-language academic publishers, Oxford University Press and Cambridge University Press,

- Hamby (2017) as her work on defining violence is the most comprehensive in the literature, and

- Amnesty International (n.d.), whose aim is to act against law violations during armed conflicts, thus they have a detailed description of what armed conflict entails (which served as an important addition when defining the relevant category).

Accordingly, the articles were classified into one of the following categories (presented and defined in an alphabetical order based on the above sources):

- Armed conflict: armed fighting – often a political conflict – between two or more countries or groups resulting in loss of civilian life and violations of human rights.

- Assault: a sudden, violent attack on someone with hostile intent and weapons, which produces injury.

- Child abuse: the intentional, cruel and/or violent maltreatment of children by adults, in the forms of physical and emotional abuse, neglect, or any combination of these.

- Genocide: the deliberate and systematic destruction and extermination of part or all of a national, ethnic, racial, or religious group.

- Homicide: the act and crime of killing another human being, whether premeditated (murder) or unintentional (manslaughter).

- Human trafficking: the action or practice of subjecting people to relocation, transfer or coercion through force or fraud for the purposes of exploitation for profit.

- Kidnapping: to steal, to carry off a person by illegal force, usually in order to demand money in exchange for releasing them.

- Slavery: including references to both the ancient form, i.e., the activity of legally owning other people who are forced to obey you, and the modern form, i.e., the condition of being exploited by others, for personal or commercial gain, and of having no power to control the work conditions.

- Sexual abuse: abusive and assaultive sexual behaviour by one person upon another, against their wishes, or without their agreement.

- Terrorism: the unlawful or unauthorized use of violence and intimidation, especially against civilians, in the pursuit of political aims.

- Torture: the act of inflicting severe bodily pain, as punishment or to persuade someone to do something or to give information.

Although there are overlaps in the categories, the goal was to separate the types of violence as best as possible, thereby enabling the comparison of metonymic relationships in the different manifestations of violence. The occurrence rate and distribution rate of the types of violence are presented in Section 7.1.

6.2.1.2 Metonymy-based analysis of images

Once the categorization of the news items was done, the focus shifted to the main units of analysis: the featured images of the sampled articles. Since violence is a complex action, the images were examined through the Action and Complex event ICM (for a detailed description of these see Section 2.1.3). The Action ICM includes relationships such as those between an ACTION and an INSTRUMENT used in the ACTION, an ACTION and the RESULT of this ACTION, etc.

Meanwhile, the Complex event ICM states that events may involve several distinct subevents and phases, such as initial, central and final phases. In this sense, the Complex event ICM allows for a better understanding of the sequentiality of violent events.

In the first step, the occurrence of the Complex event ICM was coded. Since events evolve over time, subevents can follow each other in succession, thus the SUCCESSIVE SUBEVENTS FOR COMPLEX EVENT metonymy was examined. In this case, initial, central and final subevents can all represent the complex event (Kövecses & Radden, 1998). Consequently, I differentiated between three sub-metonymies:

- INITIAL SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT,
- CENTRAL SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT,
- FINAL SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT.

Therefore, in this step PART FOR WHOLE metonymies were identified, which occur more often than WHOLE FOR PART metonymies because it is easier to notice them, since, as described in Section 2.1, abstract concepts are often reached through their much more concrete, tangible elements. This is also the case for the SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT metonymy. What's more, the recognition and understanding of subevents makes it possible to recall the entire complex event. In the current case of image analysis, the sub-metonymies occurred in the sample in the form of the following examples:

- INITIAL SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT: images that depict either perpetrators ready to act or victims in their state before a violent act,
- CENTRAL SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT: images that depict characters in the midst of action,
- FINAL SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT: images depicting the aftermath of violent acts, such as injured people or ruins.

Figure 6.3 demonstrates the sub-metonymies in the form of a three-in-one photo montage, which features (a) soldiers ready to act (reference to INITIAL SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT sub-metonymy), (b) arsonists in the middle of action (reference to CENTRAL SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT sub-metonymy), and (c) ruins (reference to FINAL SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT sub-metonymy).

Figure 6.3 Montage of (a) Ethiopia "launches military attack inside Eritrea" (BBC, March 15, 2012), (b) Africa viewpoint: Nigerians at war with each other (BBC, June 6, 2011), and (c) Somalia explosion: At least 75 people killed in Mogadishu (CNN, October 15, 2017)[16]

Section 7.2.1 details the examples one by one and elaborates on the occurrence of the metonymies in the sample.

In the second step, the metonymic relationships of violence as an Action ICM were coded. It is a "part and part" configuration, in which the relationship of some parts of the idealized cognitive model results in metonymic relationships. Kövecses and Radden (1998, p. 54) note that "the most natural manifestation of the part-and-part configuration appears to be the relationship between the relational entity and one of the participants of an Event ICM". The Action ICM contains a variety of elements that may be related to the ACTION; however, in most metonymic relationships ACTION is the target domain (Kövecses & Benczes, 2010). Below are listed the frequent metonymic relationships occurring in the sample, which arose on the basis of metonymy within the ICM:

- AGENT FOR ACTION: images that depict perpetrators of violent acts, such as murderers or soldiers,
- INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION: images that depict a tool that can be used as an aid to inflict a violent act, such as weapons,

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[16] The headlines of the news items are used to caption and cite the images that are implemented in the text to exemplify the findings, all other information about the news items can be found in the Appendix.

- PATIENT FOR ACTION[17]: images depicting the targets and victims of the violent act,
- PLACE FOR ACTION: images depicting the location of the violent act on a map or street view (without the appearance of agents and/or patients[18]),
- RESULT FOR ACTION: images depicting the aftermath of an act of violence, such as ruins.

Within this step, more than one metonymic relationship could have been detected in the same image, since it often arose, for instance, that the violent ACTION was accessible through both AGENT and INSTRUMENT (e.g., in an image depicting an armed soldier). Another common occurrence is the coexistence of PATIENT FOR ACTION and RESULT FOR ACTION relationships (e.g., an image depicting a victim among the ruins). Therefore, the metonymic relations of the Action ICM are not separate, distinct categories, but rather complementary and co-occurring characteristics. In practice, this means that one image can reveal several metonymic connections. This aspect was, of course, taken into account when calculating the distribution rates by firstly counting all the coded metonymic relationships (which in this way is more than 289), secondly counting each metonymic relationship separately, and thirdly, proportioning the number of each relationship to the total number of visual metonymic relationships.

Figure 6.4 demonstrates the metonymic relationships in the form of a four-in-one photo montage, which features (a) perpetrators (reference to AGENT FOR ACTION metonymic relationship) armed with weapons (reference to INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION metonymic relationship), (b) the victim of a violent act (reference to PATIENT FOR ACTION metonymic relationship), (c) a map (reference to PLACE FOR ACTION metonymic relationship), and (d) the aftermath of a violent act (reference to RESULT FOR ACTION metonymic relationship).

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[17] This metonymic relationship is not included in the linguistic examples presented in Section 2.1.3.1. However, following Peirsman & Geeraerts (2006), it was necessary to include it in the Action ICM when transferring it to the visual modality. The authors interpret the term *patient* in a broad sense, where appropriate they consider that the result can also be the patient of the action. At the same time, the dissertation interprets the PATIENT FOR ACTION relationship as one relating to the target or endurer of the action and applies it exclusively to human entities.

[18] The PLACE FOR ACTION metonymic relationship was coded only in cases where there were no people (agents, patients) depicted in the images, so the given image specifically focuses on the scene of the act of violence. This provision is important because otherwise this metonymic relationship could be coded for each image, since each image is made in a specific location, but this method of procedure would make the results redundant and would not provide analytical value.

Figure 6.4 Montage of (a) Nigeria unrest: Suicide bomb targets church in Jos (BBC, February 26, 2012), (b) Freed German hostage calls Boko Haram captivity "total darkness" (CNN, January 21, 2015), (c) Nigeria raid: Suspected Boko Haram gunmen kill 12 (BBC, November 23, 2013), and (d) Somalia explosion: At least 75 people killed in Mogadishu (CNN, October 15, 2017)

Similarly to the above montage, Section 7.2.2 details the examples one by one and elaborates on the occurrence of the metonymies in the sample.

6.2.1.3 Violent actions as scenarios

To facilitate the analysis and the coding of images based on the sub-metonymies of the Complex event ICM and the metonymic relationships of the Action ICM, using the two, the different acts of violence were outlined in the form of scenarios.[19] Lakoff (1987) uses the example of going somewhere to demonstrate that often PART of an ICM is used to stand for the WHOLE. If somebody asks another person "How did you get to the party?", the answer might be "I drove", in which case the centre stands for the whole ICM (the centre being the drive to the destination). But if someone were to answer "I hopped on a bus" then the embarkation, i.e., the initial phase would stand for the whole ICM.

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[19] The word *scenario* is used in its Lakoffian sense, i.e., consisting of an initial state, a sequence of events, and a final state. "The scenario is a WHOLE and each of these elements is a PART" (Lakoff, 1987, p.286). There are several interpretations of "scenario" in the literature, for example Musolff, who defines it as "a less schematic subtype of frame insofar as they include specific narrative and evaluative perspectives, which make them attractive for drawing strong inferences in political discourses" (2016, p. 30). He differentiates the term from frames in the sense that scenarios include narratives and are built upon the beliefs of communities (Benczes & Szabó, 2020). However, here I follow Lakoff's definition, because his use of the term is the most relevant from the point of view of the research.

These structured scenarios are based on the idealized cognitive models (detailed in Section 2.1) that are highly schematic. The scenarios of the different types of violence are outlined in Table 6.1, which tries to capture this idealized, schematic nature. To the best of my knowledge, no such classification exists in the literature, so when preparing the table, I relied heavily on the definition of violence I used in the thesis (Hamby, 2017 see Section 4.1.1) and the definitions of the distinct types of violence (see Section 6.2.1.1 above), as well as the terminology of the Action ICM. The passive language used in the central and final phase is meant to emphasize the action itself (its manner and intensity), not the role of the agent.

Type of violence	Initial phase	Central phase	Final phase
Armed conflict	Groups of agents intend to physically harm each other while also harming civilian patients.	Harm is inflicted on patients by agents repeatedly, over a period of time in (a) certain place(s) with (an) instrument(s) and vice versa.	Both civilian patients and agents are harmed physically and/or psychologically, while human rights are violated. The act of violence is non-essential and unwanted.
Assault	Agent intends to physically harm patient, thus producing injury.	Physical harm is suddenly inflicted on patient by agent with (an) instrument(s) in a certain place.	Patient is physically and/or psychologically harmed and injured by agent. The act of violence is non-essential and unwanted by patient.
Child abuse	Adult agent intends to treat underaged patient in a cruel or violent way.	Underaged patient is mistreated by adult agent over a period or in a one-off action in a certain place.	Underaged patient is psychically and/or psychologically harmed by adult agent. The act of violence is non-essential and unwanted by patient.
Genocide	Group of agents intend to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group of patients.	Patients are fatally harmed and/or caused serious bodily or mental harm by agents repeatedly, over a period of time in (a) certain place(s) with (an) instrument(s).	Group of patients are fatally harmed and/or caused lasting bodily and mental harm by agents. The act of violence is non-essential and unwanted by patients.
Homicide	Agent intends to fatally harm patient.	Harm is inflicted on patient by agent in a single action with an instrument in a certain place.	Patient is fatally harmed by agent. The act of violence is non-essential and unwanted by patient.
Human trafficking	Agent intends to limit patient's movement and/or free will by selling patient or making money from	Patient is harmed by agent by using force, fraud, or coercion to obtain some type of labour or commercial	Patient is physically and/or psychologically harmed and exploited by agent. The act of violence is non-essential

	work patient is forced to do.	act in (a) certain place(s).	and unwanted by patients.
Kidnapping	Agent intends to abduct or carry away patient by force or fraud often with a demand for ransom.	Harm is inflicted on patient by agent by unlawfully seizing and carrying patient off.	Patient is detained and physically and/or psychologically harmed by agent. The act of violence is non-essential and unwanted by patient.
Slavery	Agent intends to force patient by physical threats to work for little or no pay.	Patient is deprived from power and control by agent and physical harm is inflicted on patient by forcing patient to work for agent in a certain place against patient's will.	Patient is physically and/or psychologically harmed and deprived of human rights by agent. The act of violence is non-essential and unwanted by patient.
Sexual abuse	Agent intends to coerce and exploit patient sexually.	Harm is inflicted on patient by agent in a certain place by making patient take part in sexual activities against patient's will.	Patient is physically and/or psychologically harmed by agent. The act of violence is non-essential and unwanted by patient.
Terrorism	Group of agents intends to harm or threaten group of civilian patients to achieve political, economic, religious or ideological goals.	Civilian patients are threatened by agents by causing death or bodily harm in (a) certain place(s) with (an) instrument(s).	Civilian patients are fatally harmed by agents. The act of violence is non-essential and unwanted by patients.
Torture	Agent intends to cause severe physical pain as a form of punishment or as a way to force patient to do or say something.	Severe physical harm is inflicted on patient by agent repeatedly, over a period of time in (a) certain place(s) with (an) instrument(s).	Patient is severely harmed physically and/or psychologically by agent. The act of violence is non-essential and unwanted by patient.

Table 6.1 The scenarios of the different types of violence

6.3 Intercoder reliability

During the second stage of the analysis (i.e., metonymy-based analysis of images), a second coder was incorporated into the process to provide validation of the analysis, i.e., to assert that the outlined scheme is not limited to use by only one individual. When analysing any type of content, it is recommended to involve a second coder due to the reliability check, even if a significant part of the analysis is performed by the principal investigator (Neuendorf, 2017). Intercoder reliability is especially crucial when human coding is employed.

A classification had to be made when choosing the second coder: the person had to be a person who is aware of Conceptual Metaphor and Metonymy Theory, thus able to interpret the visual projections of the Action ICM and the Complex event ICM. The requested coder was provided

with detailed instructions and a coding form, thus ensuring compliance with the analysis protocol.[20] As a rule of thumb, 10% of the sample was randomly selected to be analysed by the second coder. This was followed by the calculation of Cohen's kappa.

The Action ICM and the Complex event ICM were treated as two separate variables when calculating Cohen's kappa. The statistics stood at 0.72 for the former and at 0.65 for the latter which is considered to be substantial agreement in the criteria proposed by Landis and Koch (1977). Although the literature agrees on the importance of the reliability check, opinions differ on the choice of the statistical indicator, its standards and criteria. However, the thesis does not aim to delve further into this topic; the values obtained are treated as sufficient in providing basic validation of the coding scheme.

6.4 Sample analysis

In order to further clarify the steps described above, this subsection presents a sample analysis, trusting that it has additional illustrative power in terms of the methodological considerations. The article titled "11 killed in two Boko Haram attacks in Cameroon" (CNN, November 29, 2015), was chosen for this purpose – see Figure 6.5.

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[20] I would like to thank Lilla Petronella Szabó for using her expertise as a second coder to help with the analysis.

Figure 6.5 Overview of news item N°208 used for the sample analysis (CNN, November 29, 2015)

The first step of the analysis was the categorization of the units based on the type of violence. The full length of the article was considered in this step, including the headline, the featured image, the caption and the text. The text reveals that "people were killed in separate attacks by the Nigeria-based Islamist group Boko Haram", who employed suicide bombers to execute the attacks. The used terminology (e.g., suicide bombers) and the fact that Boko Haram is designated as a terrorist group classify the news item in the category of TERRORISM.[21]

The metonymy-based image analysis was conducted in the second step. The featured image depicts two soldiers seated on a tank. Both are armed with guns. The soldiers seem to be casually waiting, there is neither direct, dynamic sign of action (which would classify the image as CENTRAL SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT), nor any sign of aftermath (e.g., wounds, injuries, which would classify the image as FINAL SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT), hence the image was

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[21] From here on, violence categories are listed in small capitals, thereby making them stand out more from the text.

coded as INITIAL SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT metonymy. If one takes a closer look at the caption, it becomes clear that the people captured are Cameroonian soldiers patrolling as part of a deployment against Boko Haram. From the point of view of the visual metonymic analysis, it does not matter that the picture does not show Boko Haram soldiers, because the analysis of the images is not done on the level of categorization (i.e., in view of the types of violence), but in light of the more general Violence (as action) ICM.

Since the picture shows two soldiers about to be deployed in the company of weapons, the AGENT FOR ACTION and INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION metonymic relationships were coded. More precisely, the soldiers are the agents, and the rifle and the tank are the weapons, so the SOLDIER (AGENT) stands FOR the VIOLENCE (ACTION), and the RIFLE and the TANK (INSTRUMENT) stand FOR SHOOTING (ACTION). The next subsection reflects on those cases where the analysis was not so clear.

6.5   Limitations of the methodology

As with most research, the present dissertation has its limitations. First of all, it is necessary to emphasize the limitation arising from the size and composition of the sample: the research only looks at the online versions of two leading newspapers, therefore findings cannot be generalised to the overall press, nor do they account for cross-cultural media representation and frames. Nevertheless, I trust that they demonstrate trends that promote research into a broader range of media and provide the basis for later comparative studies.

What is more crucial is that to the best of my knowledge, no previous study has analysed violent news through metonymic relationships, although the definition and characteristics of violence suggest that the approach is applicable. Not to mention that, although the literature on visual metonymies is growing (see Section 2.1.6), little has been said about its methodological implementations so far. Thus, the methodology was set up from scratch, which might have shortcomings, although its tentative version has already been tested in two previous studies (see Béni, 2022 and Béni & Szabó, 2022). In all cases, I tried to formulate the methodological considerations (e.g., the fact that several metonymic relationships might be identifiable in the same image) as clearly as possible, respecting the works of the cited practitioners of cognitive linguistics.

The greatest challenge was the categorization of the types of violence, as there is no uniform typology available. Hence, I endeavoured to merge several sources to outline the definitions that proved to be the most suitable, during which aspects that might seem crucially important

to others could have been inadvertently left out. Even after the definitions were settled, the goal to classify each news item into only one category was challenging. In those cases (23%, n=67) where an article made reference to several types of violence, the news items were classified according to the category that was dominantly positioned in the featured image and its accompanying caption due to the visual focus of the research. The captions of the images were also considered when determining whether agents or patients were portrayed in the images where this was not immediately obvious.

Figure 6.6 offers an example of the procedure related to the limitations just mentioned. Regarding the categorization, the news item was classified as KIDNAPPING. Although the text mentions a previous murder and a terrorist organization, the word "hostage" in the headline and the phrase "taken by an armed gang" in the caption clarify the central theme of the article. Furthermore, just by examining the picture, it would not have been clear whether the depicted person was the perpetrator or the victim of the given act of violence, but the caption clarifies that the victim can indeed be seen in the picture (which can thus be connected to the PATIENT FOR ACTION metonymic relationship).

French hostage Marie Dedieu held in Somalia dies

🕒 19 October 2011

Marie Dedieu was taken by an armed gang from her home on Manda island

Figure 6.6 French hostage Marie Dedieu held in Somalia dies (BBC, October 19, 2011)

As discussed in Section 6.2.1.1, handling the image-caption relationship in such research is not an easy decision. The complete removal of the visual element from its context would have proven to be wrong, so the textual elements, especially the captions, had a clarifying role in the analysis. At the same time, this limits the potential functions of the caption, which should be examined more closely in future research that specifically looks at how the image and caption interact.

Secondly, when it comes to the sub-metonymies of the Complex event ICM, the formula seemed simpler in theory: one of the three phases is coded for each image. In practice, however, the situation was not so simple. In the case of images depicting people, there were cases where the caption had to be consulted in order to determine the identity of the person (agent or patient) and, on the other hand, whether it depicted the person in the initial or final phase. The method failed in the case of thirty images (10% of the full sample), where only the PLACE FOR ACTION metonymic relationship was coded, because the given location reflects both the initial, central and final phases of the violent act. This exception is further discussed in Section 7.2.4.

In connection with the central phase of the Complex event ICM, the question may arise as to in what sense we can talk about its visual metonymic salience (without the presence of other components, e.g., agent or patient). Although historically there have always been exceptions to the rule (for example, the representation of the Vietnam War in the American media was extremely explicit based on the central phase, which had a significant impact on the public's disapproval of the war), the main problem regarding the issue is access (Dugan, 2023). Media workers typically do not have access to the central phase. They may take pictures before and after the events, but typically do not witness the actual violence. In the current technological scene, most images depicting the central phase are from users.[22] Overall, this limitation makes it even more necessary to examine the occurrence of the central phase rather than oversimplifying the issue by saying that it involves access restrictions.

Thirdly, it is necessary to reflect on the difficulties of identifying the metonymic relationships of the Action ICM. As illustrated in Figure 6.6 above, if the role of the given person was not

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[22] The use of images from non-journalists (the so-called user-generated content) raises interesting questions. The BBC, for example, has a policy of identifying images as "unauthenticated" if their source has not been verified. This is because the BBC has previously been criticized for using amateur videos during the Arab Spring without explaining to the audience where they came from (Dugan, 2023). Determining the authenticity of a video or image takes time, and sometimes the source cannot be identified. Media outlets are often hesitant about these images when they cannot determine where they came from. However, most images depicting the central phase come from these sources. Based on all of this, it can be presumed that voluntarily shared content on social media platforms provides a livelier space for central phase documentation. This may be worth exploring at length in another study.

clear solely based on visual cues (so, for example, the person could not be clearly identified as a soldier), the textual cues (the captions of the images) were considered to decide if the images portrayed the agent or the patient of the action and thus correctly detect the metonymic relationships. Furthermore, three cases (1% of all coded metonymic relationships) were classified as OTHER because either a mismatch appeared between the violent act depicted in the featured image and the violent act described in the news item, or the OBJECT (FLAG) FOR AGENT (TERRORIST GROUP) FOR ACTION (VIOLENCE) metonymic chain was activated. These instances are described separately in Section 7.2.4.

Based on the results of Peréz-Sobrino (2016) and Kashanizadeh and Forceville (2020), the possibility of metaphor-metonymy interaction in news images is also discussed. For this, one of the metonymic relationships of the Action ICM, PATIENT FOR ACTION, offers a case study. Although a detailed examination of the interaction is not the aim of the dissertation, the possibility of interaction must be addressed. In order to avoid false construction and interpretation, the identified metonymy types were examined one by one, relying on Lakoff's (1994) metaphor list, looking for a possible trend in metaphor activation. The result of this case study is reported in Section 7.2.5.

So far, there have not been many attempts in the literature to identify metonymic relationships on a visual level (as explained in Section 2.1.6). This is a challenge in itself, but at the same time it is a logical next step due to the progress of research on visual metonymies. Previous research has identified visual metonymies in the light of broader topics such as migration (see Benczes, 2019; Catalano & Musolff, 2019) and financial discourse (see Catalano & Waugh, 2013), resulting in the identification of many different metonymies. The present research has chosen a narrower focus: it examines violence solely through the metonymies of the Action ICM and Complex event ICM. Therefore, during the image analysis, only the metonymies of these two ICMs were identified. This, however, does not mean that there were no images that activated other ICMs. For example, in Figure 6.7, the burnt and wrecked car not only evokes the RESULT FOR ACTION metonymic relationship of the Action ICM, but also the Possession ICM by the activation of the POSSESSED (CAR) FOR POSSESSOR (VICTIMS) metonymy. This case also highlights the ubiquitous nature of visual metonymies, and although these cases are not dealt with separately during the research, they revealed the possibility of future extensions of the research.

Figure 6.7 8 people, including French aid workers, killed in an armed attack in Niger (CNN, August 10, 2020)

Finally, setting up the scenarios was not smooth either. Although it follows from the preceding discourse that the Action ICM and Complex event ICM can be outlined in this way, it was difficult to make the scenarios sufficiently schematic, but still separate the types of violence. The result of the effort is the specific language seen in Table 6.1, which combines the characteristics used in the definitions of the types of violence (differentiation) with the terminology used in the available metonymic literature (Kövecses & Radden, 1998; Radden & Kövecses, 1999), such as agent, patient, etc. (schematization).

7   Results and discussion

7.1   Types of violence

The distribution of the types of violence in the sample showed to what degree the different acts of violence were reported by the news sites. As it can be seen from Figure 7.1, HOMICIDE occurred most often (20%, n=57), followed by three other prominent types of violence: TERRORISM (18%, n=51), ARMED CONFLICT (15%, n=44) and ASSAULT (15%, n=43).[23] The ratios were calculated and plotted for the entire sample (N=289).
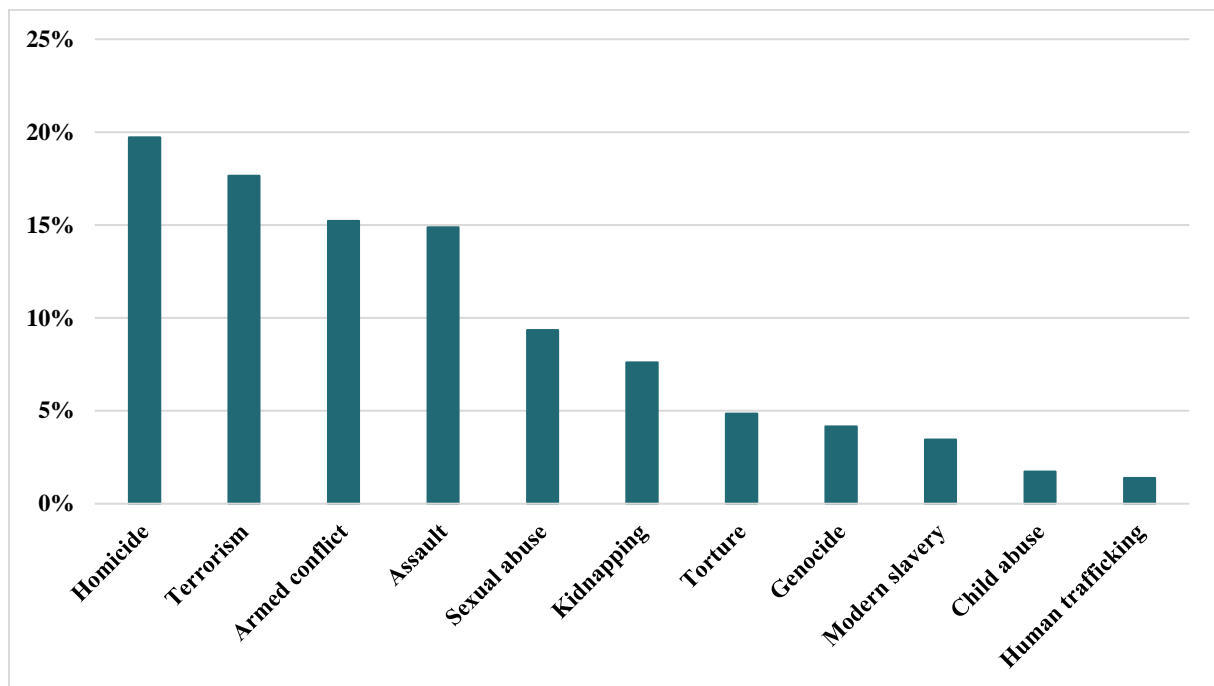
Figure 7.1 Distribution of types of violence in the sample

From the point of view of categorization, the comparison shown in Figure 7.2 is more interesting: the clustered column chart compares the occurrence of different types of violence in BBC Africa and CNN Africa. Although the aim of the analysis is not to compare the two news portals, the fact that there are no significant differences between the news items categorized under different types of violence lends further validation to the categorization. Interestingly, the ratio of the HOMICIDE and TERRORISM categories by website mirror each other: proportionally, BBC Africa placed the same emphasis on HOMICIDE (25%, n=37) as CNN Africa on TERRORISM (23%, n=33) and vice versa. In addition, the two news portals covered the additional categories in a similar amount, the difference is nowhere more than 6%. Still, the notable differences are briefly discussed in Section 7.2.5.

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[23] The ratios are first presented in percentage form, and then numerically throughout Section 8.
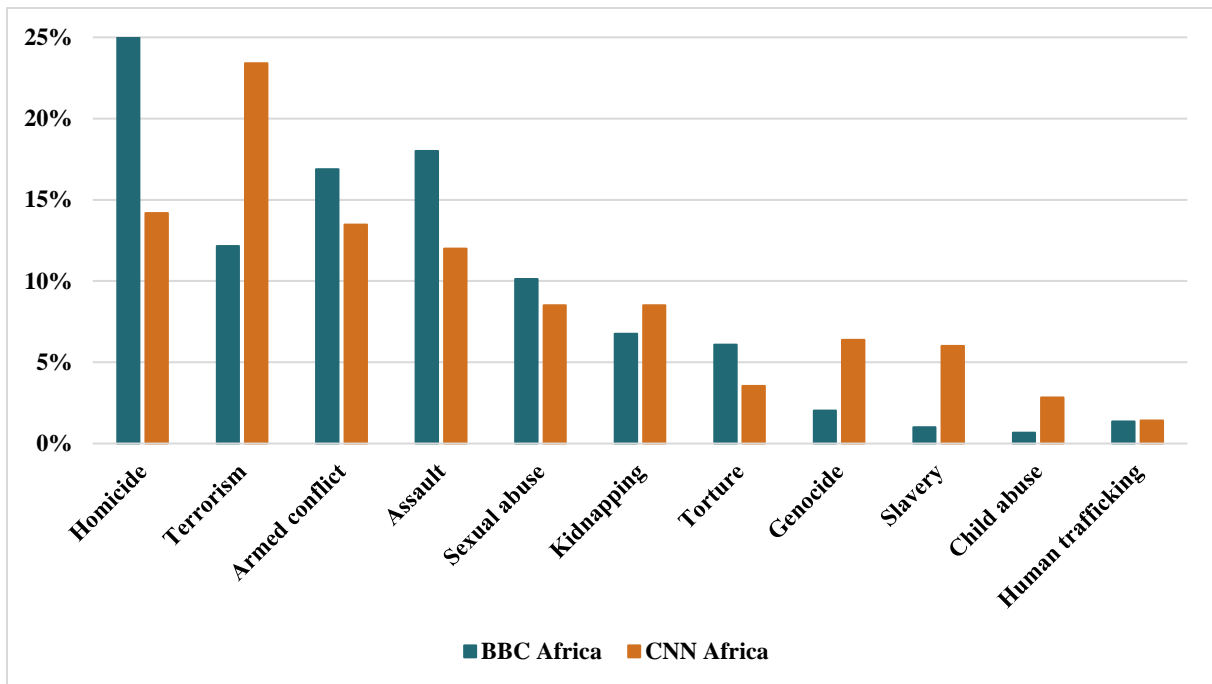
Figure 7.2 Distribution of the types of violence in the sample in the light of the two websites

The charts above show the results of the categorization. However, in order to use them to answer the research questions, it is necessary to examine them in connection with the results of the other phases of the analysis. In the following, the answers to the research questions are sought by presenting the results of the metonymy-based analysis.

7.2 Metonymy-based image analysis

The present chapter, following the order of the research questions and the order of presentation in the methodological chapter, first discusses the results obtained from detecting the sub-metonymies of the Complex event ICM and the metonymic relationships of the Action ICM separately. It then describes the two levels in relation to each other. Finally, it highlights some notable exceptions.

7.2.1 Sequentiality: The metonymies of the Complex event ICM

Examining which SUBEVENTS replace the entire COMPLEX EVENT of violent acts in the featured images, the result points to the dominance of INITIAL SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT and FINAL SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT metonymies. As can be seen in Figure 7.3, the initial (42%, n=120) and final (41%, n=119) phases occurred in the same proportion in the sample, while the central phase was depicted in the images only in 7% (n=20) of the cases. In addition to the three sub-metonymies, a fourth option also emerged: OTHER, which affected 10% (n=30) of the

images. This occurrence is discussed separately in Section 7.2.4; therefore, it is included in the figure as the fourth option, separated by a different colour.
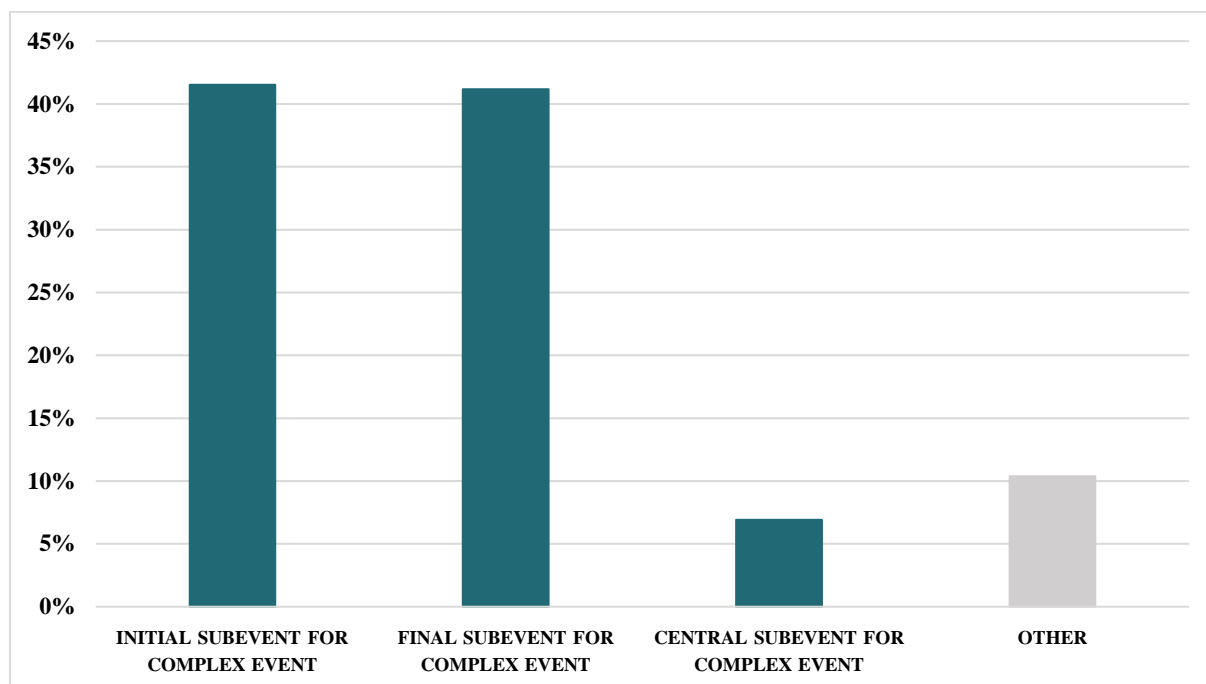
Figure 7.3 Distribution of the SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT metonymies in the sample

In the following subsections, the specifics of the three sub-metonymies and the categories that can be linked to them are discussed separately. Each subsection ends with a brief summary, while a more extensive summary is offered at the end of the chapter.

7.2.1.1 INITIAL SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT metonymy

The INITIAL SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT metonymies accounted for 42% (n=120) of all metonymic relations detected in view of sequentiality (i.e., the Complex event ICM). As described in the scenarios, the initial phase is usually the time of determination and preparation, when the agent formulates the intent to harm patient. In line with this, a great number of images (60%, n=72) coded under this phase depict agents, mainly perpetrators, such as armed soldiers. Practically speaking, such depictions include very static images in which, for instance, soldiers are standing or sitting – presumably awaiting deployment orders – and visually there is no direct sign of action. Figure 7.4 exemplifies this very characteristic occurrence in the sample. It depicts armed soldiers standing in a line. They can be identified as soldiers without any textual cue due to their attire and the weaponry they are equipped with. In fact, the uniform metonymically evokes the profession of the depicted individuals. As for the analysis, the INITIAL SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT metonymy was coded, since the entities are captured in the

moment of preparation. Regarding the perspective of relationality, the image was classified into the AGENT FOR ACTION and INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION metonymic relationships. More specifically, the SOLDIERS stand for VIOLENCE, while the GUNS stands for SHOOTING.

Figure 7.4 Ethiopia "launches military attack inside Eritrea" (BBC, March 15, 2012)

At the same time, in the initial phase, the patients can also be visible. In these cases (33%, n=40), the featured images depict the victims of violent acts in the state before the act committed against them. As explained in the methodological limitations, when the role of the given person was not clear solely based on visual cues, the textual cues provided by the caption were considered. For instance, when analysing Figure 7.5, such textual cues had to be examined. Just by observing the image, one cannot tell if it depicts a victim before the infliction of harm, or if it depicts an agent before or even after the infliction of harm. The headline revealed that the featured image is of an Ethiopian singer who was murdered. Consequently, it was deduced that the picture was taken before the fatal act and was chosen to illustrate the article probably as a representative image from the singer's life. Hence, the unit was also listed under the INITIAL SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT metonymy.

Regarding the Action ICM, the image is classified as a PATIENT FOR ACTION metonymy. More specifically, the picture can be decoded as relying on the VICTIM OF MURDER FOR MURDER depiction.[24]

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[24] When naming the category, the word *homicide* was chosen due to its use in official texts. In some dictionaries, *murder* is used as a synonym, but in the definition adapted in the dissertation, premeditated homicide is considered murder (see Section 7.2.1.1). On the one hand, the research does not aim to delve deeper into homicide subtypes,

Figure 7.5 Hachalu Hundessa – Ethiopia's murdered musician who sang for freedom (BBC, July 2, 2020)

The depiction of agents (and the instruments connected to their actions), and patients was predominant in the INITIAL SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT metonymy, so much so that there were barely any images that did not feature human entities (3%, n=6). In these few cases, instruments are shown in their condition before use. For example, Figure 7.6 depicts a homemade tool used for female genital mutilation (FGM).

Figure 7.6 Opinion: Four girls under 10 have died recently from FGM, it's time to act (CNN, October 11, 2018)

and on the other hand, the articles cited as examples refer to the act as "murder", hence this form was used in the text when describing the metonymic relationships.

According to the World Health Organisation (n.d.), FGM "involves partial or total removal of the external female genitalia, or other injury to the female genital organs for non-medical reasons". It is recognized internationally as a violation of the human rights and as a form of child abuse. Hence, the image was listed in the category of CHILD ABUSE and classified under the INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION, more specifically CUTTER FOR FGM metonymic relationship. What's more, 80% (n=4) of the news items in the CHILD ABUSE category were about female genital mutilation. Significant scholarly attention has been paid to the discourses and practices of FGM, and some studies even examine its visual representation. Observing a sample of Swiss news, Bader (2019) came to the conclusion that the phenomenon is depicted as the product of a "primitive" society. Based on these, an interesting future research direction could be to examine Action ICM and the Complex event ICM specifically in the light of news about FGM.

Regarding the occurrence of the INITIAL SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT metonymy across the categories, Figure 7.7 reveals the distribution of the initial phase in view of all SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT metonymies detected across categories of violence. For instance, the 45% (n=20) rate for ARMED CONFLICT indicates that 45% of the images belonging to the category were classified as ones belonging to the INITIAL SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT metonymy.
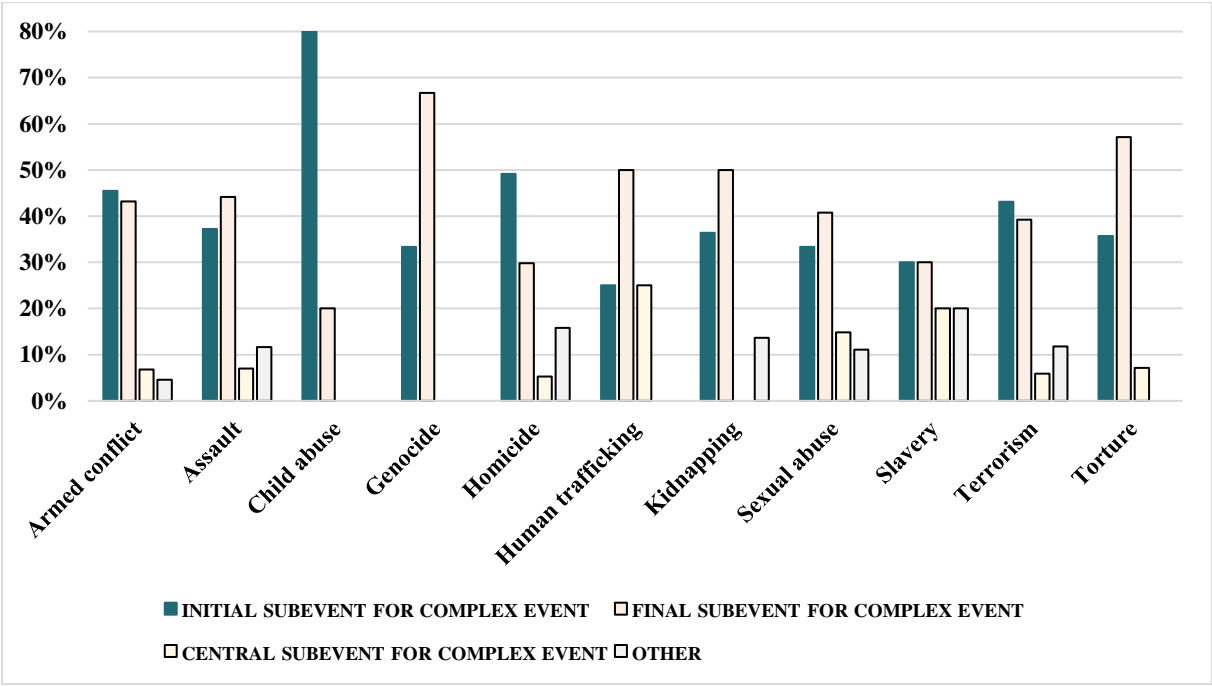
Figure 7.7 Distribution of the INITIAL EVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT metonymy across categories of violence

The discussed sub-metonymy is shown in a bright colour on the bar graph, while the other sub-metonymies are also shown in the figure due to proportionality, but they are marked in a lighter colour. The findings regarding the occurrence of OTHER were treated separately in this case as

well and can be read in Section 7.2.4. The same method of visualisation was applied when illustrating the distributions of the FINAL EVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT and CENTRAL EVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT metonymies across categories in the subsequent sections.

As it was discussed above, the INITIAL EVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT metonymy is commonly used to illustrate the news item with the (potential) perpetrators. This occurrence is 100% (n=4) typical of the GENOCIDE category.[25] Although the distribution rate of the category is on the lower side – so it would be a mistake to draw far-reaching conclusions – it can be said that the persons responsible for destroying part or all of the given group and/or perpetrators exclusively appear in the featured images. For instance, Figure 7.8 features the commander of the Rwandan army at the time of the 1994 genocide who was convicted over charges of genocide and crimes against humanity. For that matter, 92% of news items categorised as GENOCIDE cover the aftermath of the Rwandan genocide, revealing its enduring significance to this day.

Figure 7.8 Rwanda genocide: Did Bizimungu trial take too long? (BBC, May 17, 2011)

Based on the definitions, it is not surprising that the rate is also high in the TERRORISM (81%, n=18), ARMED CONFLICT (80%, n=16) and ASSAULT (69%, n=11) categories, which all assume armed involvement. These are typically the pictures that show armed soldiers, terrorists, shooters, in short, agents in a state of preparedness as demonstrated by Figure 7.9 (as well as the previously presented Figure 7.4). The picture below shows patrolling soldiers, with special

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[25] In view of Figure 7.7, this statement is correctly understood as 100% of 33%, i.e., 100% of cases when the INITIAL EVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT metonymy is used to illustrate the GENOCIDE category. So, the distribution of the initial phase in view of all SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT metonymies detected in the category of GENOCIDE stands at 33%.

emphasis on the soldier positioned in the middle of the picture, whose hand is seemingly on the trigger, so he could swing into action at virtually any time. Although these images are static, they suggest that the characters can be deployed at any moment, so they are ready to act.

Figure 7.9 6 killed in attack on Guinea-Bissau military barracks (CNN, October 22, 2012)

Another interesting observation is that 56% (n=5) of the images in the initial phase of the SEXUAL ABUSE category have a similar representation, so the perpetrator is visually placed at the centre of the story. This may be due to the intention of drawing attention, or there may be practical reasons, such as access restrictions. In any case, it is interesting that, contrary to this, the CHILD ABUSE category significantly builds on the portrayal of the victims.

The depiction of later victims in the initial phase was also discussed separately. In terms of the proportions, this type of display was the most typical in the category of SLAVERY, as all images (100%, n=3) classified under the INITIAL SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT metonymy described the later victims in this way. At the same time, it is important to note that SLAVERY is the type of violence with the third least number of units, therefore, the resulting trends' applicability is highly limited. That is why the HOMICIDE category is perhaps more interesting, where 64% (n=18) of the images coded in the initial phase depict the patient before the murder. Figure 7.10 (and Figure 7.5 above) illustrates that in many cases, these are ID photos or images borrowed from the person's social media platforms, which assign a face to the terrible act, so the goals of the article may include increasing reader involvement and empathy (which may even increase the volume of the article's distribution, thus indirectly the news portal's income). In the case of

Figure 7.10, the caption reveals that an image was borrowed from the Instagram account of the murdered model.

Figure 7.10 Rwandan model may have been killed by domestic worker, police say (CNN, January 10, 2019)

The same trend was observed in the KIDNAPPING (64%, n=5) and CHILD ABUSE (50%, n=2) categories, where images that activate the INITIAL SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT metonymy depict the later kidnapped people and abused children. This occurrence was associated with the PATIENT FOR ACTION metonymic relationship. The possible motivations behind this mode of representation are further discussed in Section 7.2.2.2.

7.2.1.2 FINAL SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT metonymy

The FINAL SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT metonymies accounted for 41% (n=119) of all metonymic relations detected in view of sequentiality (i.e., the Complex event ICM). Images belonging to the FINAL SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT metonymy portray patients and/or their surroundings after being harmed. More precisely, two cases emerged in the sample: firstly, a group of images (52%, n=62) that show the consequences of violence with a focus on the immediate surroundings of those targeted. There may be people in these pictures as well, but they are not in the focus of the picture (small in size, placed toward the edges). Ruins and damage are at the centre of these images instead.

Figure 7.11 illustrates this phenomenon by showcasing the devastating destruction that an explosion caused. Since the resulting harm is the focus of the image, it was listed under the FINAL SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT metonymy with regard to sequentiality, while from the

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perspective of relationality, the RESULT FOR ACTION metonymic relationship was coded. The relationship is activated by the scene of destruction, where the RUINS stand for the EXPLOSION.

Figure 7.11 Somalia explosion: At least 75 people killed in Mogadishu (CNN, October 15, 2017)

Even though the textual cues clarify that the damage caused by the act of violence is much greater than what is shown in the picture ("at least 75 people were killed"), it is evident that the depiction of dead victims is ethically worrisome and significantly restricted in newsrooms. Alternatively, the article operates with another news value, the typical manifestation of which is the aftermath image, which shows the serious negative consequences of an event, such as destruction in this case. The depiction of such content in images constructs the news value that Bednarek and Caple (2017) labelled "impact".

The second prevalent group of images that emerged in the FINAL SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT metonymy portray the victims of violence (35%, n=42). There may have been wounded persons, but due to the reasons and principles already discussed, there was no case of depicting a dead person in this phase. Instead, the depicted victims and targets can be interpreted more as survivors of violent acts, especially considering that several of the listed types of violence end in death (in their "idealized" outcome) according to their scenario. Figure 7.12 exemplifies such victim, who is showcased as the survivor of violence. Other than the FINAL SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT metonymy, the PATIENT FOR ACTION metonymic relationship was also coded. More specifically the man is the VICTIM OF KIDNAPPING who stands for the action of KIDNAPPING.

Figure 7.12 Freed German hostage calls Boko Haram captivity "total darkness" (CNN, January 21, 2015)

Continuing with the distribution of the FINAL SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT metonymy across the different types of violence, Figure 7.13 reveals that in six categories (ASSAULT, GENOCIDE, HUMAN TRAFFICKING, KIDNAPPING, SEXUAL ABUSE and TORTURE), this metonymy proved to be the most decisive. One of the described occurrences is the group of so-called aftermath images. In this regard, the ASSAULT (89%, n=17), TERRORISM (75%, n=15) and ARMED CONFLICT (58%, n=11) categories should be highlighted. This result also reflects the specifics of the types of violence (as seen in their definitions), since the three categories include one-off and sudden or prolonged hostile practices that have the most extensive negative effects.
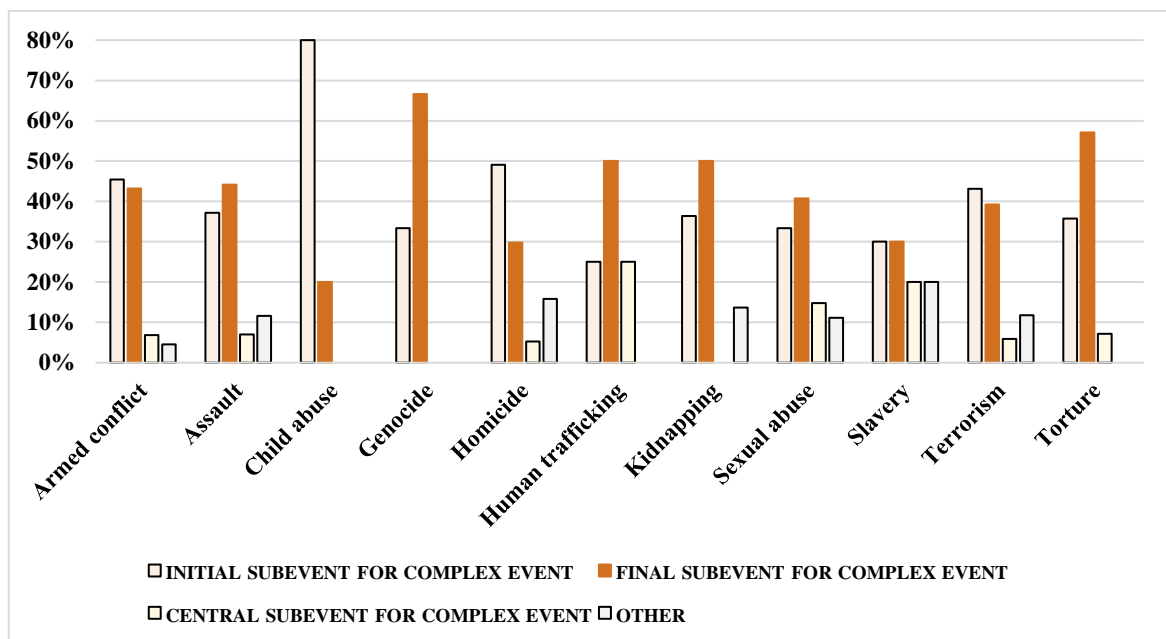
Figure 7.13 Distribution of the FINAL EVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT metonymy across categories of violence

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Among these negative effects, a significant part of the articles illustrates the stories with scenes of ruins, destruction, and damage, as seen in Figure 7.14 (and 7.11). So instead of a victim-focused depiction, these images draw the readers' attention to the change in the immediate human environment, which can evoke a similarly tragic and empathetic feeling than the image of a wounded survivor. Moreover, from the point of view of the possibilities of visual representation in online news, objects do not imply the same ethical considerations as, for example, injured persons, so a burned-out car or a broken-down house can be used for the purpose of illustration without any problems, without having to renounce the news values of impact or negativity.

Figure 7.14 Boko Haram blamed for deadly attack on Nigeria village (BBC, January 31, 2016)

As can be inferred from the editorial guidelines of the websites, depictions of the fatally harmed and wounded occurred only in the rarest of cases, even then without the possibility of identification (images without showing a face or taken from the back) or in the form of artistic illustrations, as seen in Figure 7.15 below. The featured image, which depicts the victims of the terrorist attack against the colleagues of the Charlie Hebdo magazine, is an example of such alternative representation of the patients. Furthermore, in the case of the image, the use of colour also carries meaning. The colour red represents blood, which stands for the killing of the artists. The display of blood using the colour red symbolically indicates that in many cultures, blood is associated with the cycle of life and death. A more detailed semiotic analysis of the images represents an interesting direction for further research.

Figure 7.15 Cartoonists, killed for their art, and humanity (CNN, January 8, 2015)

In the metonymy of the FINAL SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT, the visual positioning of the victims as survivors is more typical than depicting them in the state of injury. This phase is evoked by Figure 7.16 (as well as by Figure 7.12), portraying the survivor of TORTURE. The photo's caption, "back home in Nigeria" confirms that the photo was taken after the act of violence.

Figure 7.16 "I thought I was going to die": Jailed and ransomed in Libya (BBC, June 21, 2017)

This mode of visual representation fully characterizes the relevant images of the CHILD ABUSE (100%, n=1), HUMAN TRAFFICKING (100%, n=2) and SLAVERY (100%, n=3) categories, but it can also be said of the more prevalent GENOCIDE (88%, n=7), TORTURE (75%, n=6) and SEXUAL

ABUSE (55%, n=6) categories that the patients appear as survivors of violent acts who tell the given stories from their own point of view, through which the article offers an insider perspective and thus potentially increases reader engagement.

7.2.1.3   CENTRAL SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT metonymy

The CENTRAL SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT metonymy occurred in only 7% (n=20) of the sample, the potential reasons for which are discussed in Section 7.2.1.4. In cases where the central sequence did occur, the perpetrators are usually seen with some kind of instrument in their hands (e.g., a weapon or an incendiary device). These images are dynamic, the actors can be seen in motion (thus in action) as opposed to the static images of the initial and final phases. Figure 7.17 presents one of the occurrences of the CENTRAL SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT metonymy. The picture shows two men who set a tire on fire, which is indicated by the ash and soot visible at the end of the tool used for this purpose. Regarding relationality, the AGENT FOR ACTION and INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION metonymic relationships were detected. To be more exact, the ARSONISTS stand for the action of ARSON, while the STICKS used for this also stand for the ARSON.
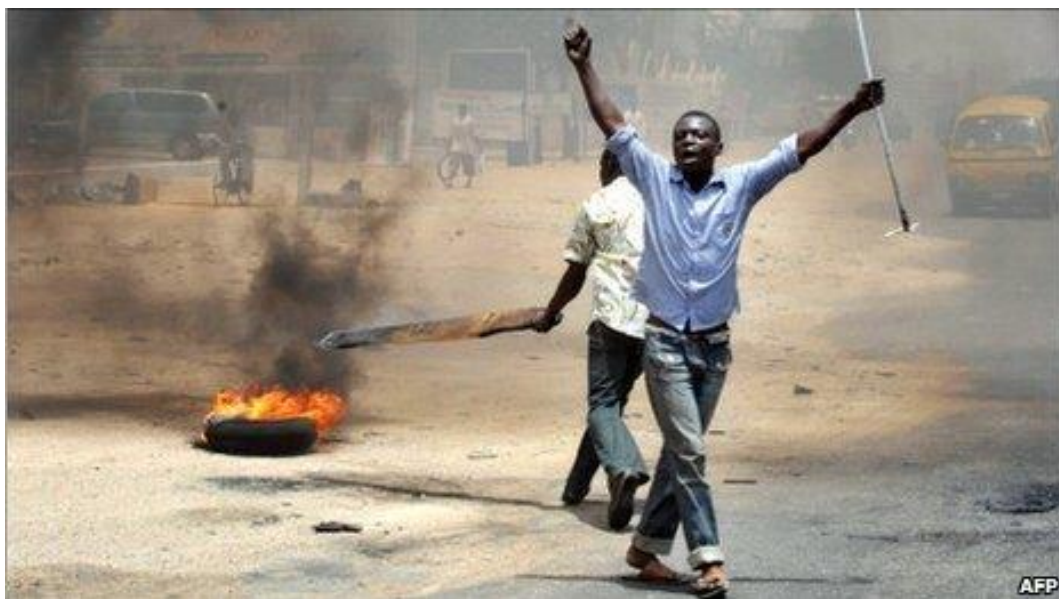
Figure 7.17 Africa viewpoint: Nigerians at war with each other (BBC, June 6, 2011)

As it was expected, the CENTRAL SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT metonymy is the least preferred in the visual representation of violence. Figure 7.18 illustrates that the central phase did not even occur in the categories of CHILD ABUSE, GENOCIDE and KIDNAPPING (although it is important to add that these are not the categories with the largest number of elements). The CENTRAL SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT metonymy rate does not exceed the INITIAL SUBEVENT

FOR COMPLEX EVENT and FINAL SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT metonymies in any of the categories. Only in the case of HUMAN TRAFFICKING does it reach the same rate as the initial phase (25%, n=1), but this cannot be considered a significant result due to the overall low number of elements in the category (n=4).
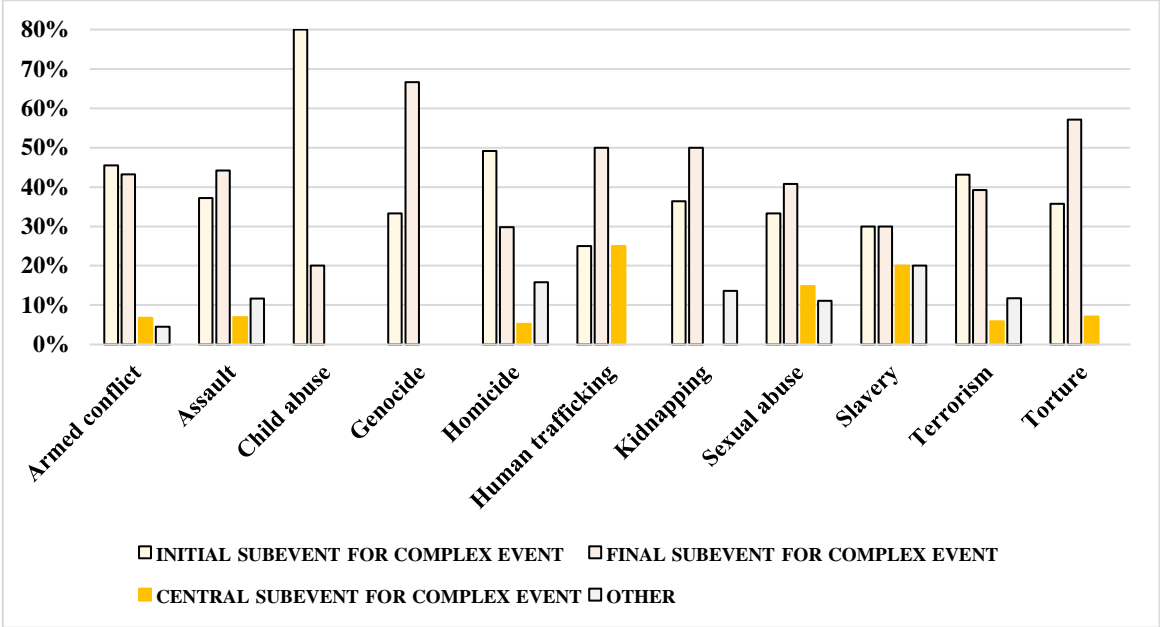
Figure 7.18 Distribution of the CENTRAL EVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT metonymy across categories of violence

Yet it is necessary to reflect on a group of images belonging to the central phase, which were identified in the SEXUAL ABUSE and SLAVERY categories. As Figure 7.19 demonstrates, these pictures depict people protesting.

Figure 7.19 Letter from Africa: Soul-searching over rape crimes (BBC, October 30, 2013)

People are set in a crowd and are in motion, so the images are dynamic, but this alone was not enough to decide which phase they belong to. In the case of these photos, it was necessary to examine the news item as a whole, because the text revealed why the people were protesting. In one of the cases, the reason for the demonstration was that the violent act had already taken place in its entirety and the perpetrator got away with it, which caused the people to be outraged, so they took to the streets as a result (FINAL SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT). In the other case, however, both the news item and the demonstrators focus on the violence itself, it is not revealed what happened to the perpetrator, thus the process of the act has not yet been completed. Images (such as Figure 7.19) belonging to the latter category were classified under the central phase.

7.2.1.4 Summary

All in all, the results presented in Section 7.2.1 provide an answer to the first research question that intended to reveal which SUBEVENTS are used to visually represent the COMPLEX EVENT of a violent act in the sample. The results support the hypothesis, according to which the occurrence of the CENTRAL SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT metonymy is the lowest in the sample. The above shows not only the general determining role of the INITIAL SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT and FINAL SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT metonymies, but also the significance of the result across different categories of violence.

The result can be interpreted from both a technical and an ethical point of view. From a technical perspective, despite the fact that the analysed news portals work with field reporters and that they increasingly rely on user-generated content, it rarely happens that an action is captured at its peak. From an ethical point of view, it is necessary to refer back to the guidelines of the news portals, which state that special consideration should be given for any depiction of violence, and violent content should normally be clearly signposted. These editorial guidelines mostly affect the explicit central part of the events and thus limit its visual display.

Lastly, the findings support the idea that the initial and final phase is generally seen as more salient than the central phase (Radden & Kövecses, 1999). Littlemore (2015) classifies this principle determining vehicle selection among cultural preferences, indicating that we are more likely to notice these tendencies that are emphasized by the culture we grow up in. This principle is most visible in complex events, but it is also activated when we want to express extremity (reference to the whole by highlighting the ends of the scale instead of the middle of the scale). Based on the sample, it can be concluded that the visual representation of violence is greatly influenced by this principle.

7.2.2 Relationality: the metonymic relationships of the Action ICM

Investigating online news about violence through the Action ICM further revealed which metonymic relationships are used to visually represent events that are difficult or limited to portray. As discussed in Section 6.2.1.2, in this stage more than one metonymic relationship could have been detected in the same image. A total of 356 metonymic relationships were identified in the 289 images. Three of them, listed as OTHER, represent an exceptional case, which is described in Section 7.2.4. Therefore, this occurrence is included in the figure as the sixth option, separated by a different colour.

From the data in Figure 7.20, it is apparent that the AGENT FOR ACTION (26%, n=94) and PATIENT FOR ACTION (25%, n=90) relationships are responsible for more than half of the cases. The ratio of RESULT FOR ACTION is also significant (22%, n=78), followed by INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION (17%, n=61), but PLACE FOR ACTION (8%, n=30) lags behind the others. Although the Action ICM produces more metonymic relationships on the linguistic level (see Section 2.1.3.1), these five metonymic relationships (and the OTHER category) were identified in the sample on the visual level.
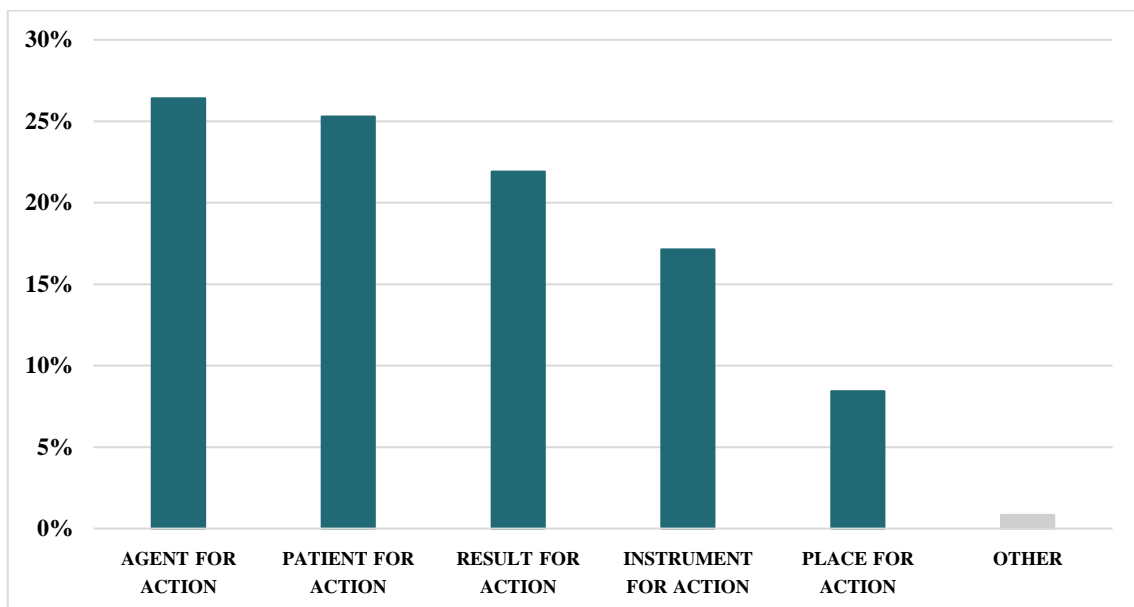
Figure 7.20 Distribution of the metonymic relationships of the Action ICM in the sample

7.2.2.1 The AGENT FOR ACTION metonymic relationship

The AGENT FOR ACTION metonymic relationship proved to be the most prevalent in the sample with its 26% (n=94) distribution rate. It was coded in the case of images showcasing people who are perpetrators of violent acts. One group of such examples captures the agents before inflicting harm, e.g., being on the alert, or demonstrating strength, also in a state of readiness

as seen in Figure 7.21. The picture, depicting a group of armed men belonging to a terrorist organisation, exemplifies the TERRORIST FOR TERRORISM metonymic relationship.

Figure 7.21 Nigeria unrest: Suicide bomb targets church in Jos (BBC, February 26, 2012)

The other group of images classified as AGENT FOR ACTION portray perpetrators after inflicting the harm. Such a case is visible in Figure 7.22, where the agent is seen in court. Based on the visual representation, it can already be inferred that he is on trial for the crime he committed, but this is further confirmed by the textual cues. The image thus evokes the MURDERER FOR MURDER metonymic relationship. For that matter, other occurrences of AGENT FOR ACTION included metonymic relationships, such as TORTURER FOR TORTURE, SHOOTER FOR SHOOTING, TERRORIST FOR TERRORISM, RAPIST FOR RAPE, etc.

Figure 7.22 Oscar Pistorius trial: Why culpable homicide, not murder (BBC, September 12, 2014)

What also makes the picture interesting is that it activates the news value of eliteness. In Bednarek and Caple's (2017) typology, pictures depicting famous, high-ranking people can be classified in this news value group. In the case of Figure 7.22, a Paralympic champion (known for being the first to finish an Olympic competition with artificial legs) is shown in the picture, who was considered successful and well-known in his profession. At the same time, it is important to note that the news value of eliteness is scalar, so not all people can be classified here because some characters construct eliteness for a wider range of audiences than others.

Regarding the occurrence of the AGENT FOR ACTION metonymic relationship across the categories, Figure 7.23 reveals the distribution of AGENT FOR ACTION in view of all metonymic relationships detected across categories of violence. For instance, the 38% (n=22) rate for ARMED CONFLICT indicates that 38% of the metonymic relationships belonging to the category relied on AGENT FOR ACTION. The discussed metonymic relationship is shown in a bright colour on the bar graph, while the other relationships are also shown in the figure due to proportionality, but they are marked in a lighter colour. The findings regarding the occurrence of OTHER were treated separately in this case as well and can be read in Section 7.2.4. The same method of visualisation was applied when illustrating the distributions of the PATIENT FOR ACTION, RESULT FOR ACTION, INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION and PLACE FOR ACTION metonymic relationships across categories in the subsequent sections.

Figure 7.23 Distribution of the AGENT FOR ACTION metonymic relationship across categories of violence

Observing Figure 7.23, it was found that the AGENT FOR ACTION relationship is the most prominent in the visual representation of TERRORISM and ARMED CONFLICT. The most common combination of metonymic relationships, AGENT FOR ACTION accompanied by INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION, is also the most prevalent in these categories. This is embodied in the featured images depicting armed soldiers and terrorists as seen in Figure 7.24 (and Figure 7.4 and 7.21 above).

Figure 7.24 Niger declares three days of mourning after 89 soldiers killed in attack on military base (CNN, January 13, 2020)

The photo shows two soldiers standing guard at a refugee camp. They are armed and although the image is static, it can be assumed that they could swing into action at any time if necessary. Both soldiers are positioned in the left panel of the golden ratio, an aspect of proportion often considered in photography. The golden ratio represents beauty and perfection in not only photography, but also mathematics, art and nature, because this way of placing objects and people in the picture is pleasing to the eye (Prokopakis et al., 2013). Thereby, these featured images can have a more pleasant effect on the audience. In a later extension of this research, similar technical aspects could also become the subject of analysis.

7.2.2.2 The PATIENT FOR ACTION metonymic relationship

The distribution of the PATIENT FOR ACTION metonymic relationship closely follows the one of AGENT FOR ACTION with its 25% (n=90) ratio in view of all coded relationships. These cases present the other side of the violent acts: the targets and victims of the committed actions. The pictures show the endurers of the harm either before the act (in many cases, for lack of a better option as seen in Figure 7.5 above), or afterwards – in the latter case, as survivors of the violence (as seen in Figure 7.9 above). These two occurrences are montaged on Figure 7.25, where in

picture (a) a murder victim can be seen in a portrait depicting her, the black and white colours of which refer to her later death. Picture (b) shows an ex-child-soldier who was kidnapped and brainwashed by a splinter battalion, but survived and joined the UN as a goodwill ambassador.

Figure 7.25 Montage of (a) Reeva Steenkamp, my friend, shot by Oscar Pistorius (BBC, September 10, 2014) and (b) Ex-child-soldier: "Shooting became just like drinking a glass of water" (CNN, October 9, 2012)

Examining the occurrence of the PATIENT FOR ACTION metonymic relationships in the categories, it can be stated that many categories, such as CHILD ABUSE, GENOCIDE, HOMICIDE, HUMAN TRAFFICKING, KIDNAPPING, SLAVERY and TORTURE, are victim-centred. In fact, the PATIENT FOR ACTION relationship was the only one that occurred in all types of violence.
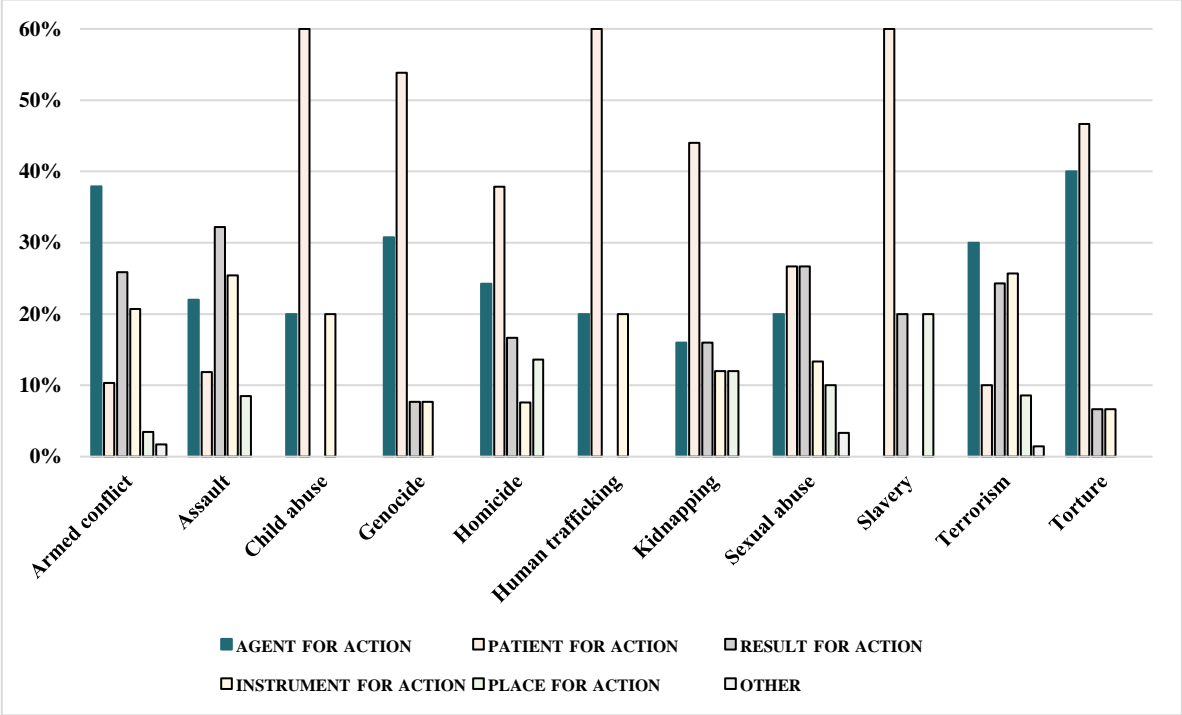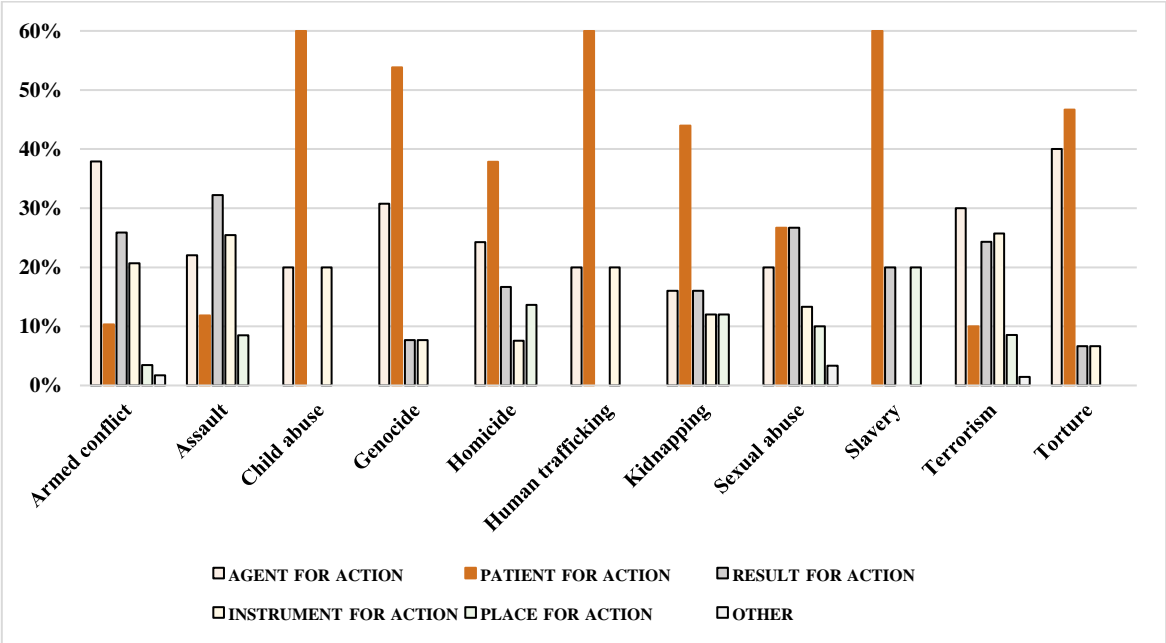

Figure 7.26 Distribution of the PATIENT FOR ACTION metonymic relationship across categories of violence

Figure 7.26 reveals that although PATIENT FOR ACTION is the second most significant in the light of all metonymic relationships, it appeared as the most dominant relationships in seven categories compared to the other relationships of the Action ICM. It is necessary to discuss the reasons behind this phenomenon because the results shed light on a defining trend in news reporting.

Walklate et al. (2019) draws attention to the fact that as historical events progressed, the inclusion of the voice of the victims in storytelling became more and more important. Since the 1980s, they have even become influential in policy debates. This trend and increase in importance can also be observed in the world of news. News reports with negative news value featuring victims are sufficient for monitoring the threats that surround us. So, images of victimization "function as an attentional trap that is driven by protective vigilance" (Zillmann, Knobloch & Yu, 2001, p. 306), even though this function has now lost its adaptive value. Thus, it can be assumed that news boards take this aspect into account when deciding on the visual display of violence.

Furthermore, the images of the victims introduce the characters of the given news item to the readers to an extent and at a pace that words cannot do. In this way, images personify loss and humanize otherwise abstract events, thereby allowing readers to become emotionally invested in the subject (Greer, 2007). What's more, it is believed that certain crime victims are more preferred than others. Christie (1986, p. 18) describes them as "ideal victims" who are "given the complete and legitimate status of being a victim" because of their vulnerability and innocence. Such victims include children and the elderly and are "worthy of" readers' compassion. It is believed that media coverage favours violence cases effecting these victims as they are more likely to reach a global scale (Greer, 2007). This idea can be connected to the IDEAL OVER NON-IDEAL principle determining vehicle choice introduced by Radden and Kövecses (1999), which starts from the fact that some members (ideal victims, such as children) of a category (victims) are more representative than others. After reviewing the images, it turned out that only 2.4% (n=7) of the images can be classified as "ideal victims". Although the research did not analyse the category of victims from a demographic point of view, it could be an interesting extension of the research to reflect on the victim-centred representation in this way and see if other cultural principles characterise the sample.

Thus, on the one hand, these articles activate the news value of personalisation, which simply gives the story a human face, thus bringing it closer to the readers and facilitating identification (Bednarek & Caple, 2017). On the other hand, they are also connected to the news value of

impact (showing the serious negative effects of an event), which often takes the form of images depicting victims.

7.2.2.3   The RESULT FOR ACTION metonymic relationship

The RESULT FOR ACTION metonymic relationship accounted for 22% (n=78) of all relationships. This instance uncovers an interesting scenario, the one of the aftermath images. This turned out to be the most common occurrence of the metonymic relationship, as 51% (n=40) of the relevant images can be considered aftermath images. Most of these featured images depict RUINS that stand for DESTRUCTION as seen in Figure 7.27 (and Figure 7.11 and Figure 7.14 above), thereby revealing the consequences of the given action and activating the news value of impact. In the case of Figure 7.27, the damage is to such an extent that the plane, the wreckage of which can be seen in the picture, is distorted beyond recognition (and only the caption reveals that it was once a plane).

Figure 7.27 Pilot "deliberately crashed" Mozambique plane (BBC, December 22, 2013)

Images of protests (PROTEST FOR VIOLENCE) and murder trials (TRIAL FOR VIOLENCE) were also coded as RESULT FOR ACTION. These images showed an overall picture of the result of the action. However, there were also more specific images (12%, n=9), in the sense that a specific consequence of the given violence was placed in the centre of the visual presentation, such as a burnt car or a bullet mark in the wall. This can be seen in Figure 7.28, which depicts a car burnt and wrecked as a result of an attack, thus activating the metonymic connection BURNT CAR FOR ASSAULT.

Figure 7.28 8 people, including French aid workers, killed in an armed attack in Niger (CNN, August 10, 2020)

Reflecting on the distribution of the result for action metonymic relationship across the types of violence (see Figure 7.29), proportionally, it occurred the most in the ASSAULT category, in the form of images showing damage and destruction (as explained in the above sections). The same can be said about the RESULT FOR ACTION relationships classified in the ARMED CONFLICT and TERRORISM categories. Images depicting protesting people appeared in the SEXUAL ABUSE and SLAVERY categories, while trial cases were captured in the HOMICIDE category.

Figure 7.29 Distribution of the RESULT FOR ACTION metonymic relationship across categories of violence

7.2.2.4 The INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION metonymic relationship

The INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION metonymic relationship was coded in 17% (n=61) of all metonymic relationships. As discussed above, INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION frequently accompanied the AGENT FOR ACTION connection, especially when agents are soldiers who are depicted with guns and in some cases with tanks that metonymically stand for the act of shooting or attacking. The instruments were weapons in 97% of cases (n=59): all guns and tanks except for a warplane and a shield. In addition, one image – see Figure 7.30 – depicted a syringe (that was used as an instrument in an assault against an air marshal), while another picture showed an FGM cutter, which was already discussed above (see Figure 7.6).

Figure 7.30 FBI: U.S. air marshal assaulted at airport in Nigeria (CNN, September 8, 2014)

As for the distribution of the INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION metonymic relationship across categories of violence, the three categories in which this metonymic relationship represents the largest proportion, ARMED CONFLICT, ASSAULT and TERRORISM, all denote an armed form of violence, so the result follows from their definitions. Although Figure 7.31 highlights that the INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION relationship occurred in a lower proportion in the other categories, it took the same form in terms of visual content.

Figure 7.31 Distribution of the INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION metonymic relationship across categories of violence

7.2.2.5 The PLACE FOR ACTION metonymic relationship

Last but not least, 8% (n=30) of the images were classified as ones belonging to the PLACE FOR ACTION metonymic relationship. Images listed under this occurrence depict the scene of the given violent act. As specified in Section 6.2.1.2, the relationship entails pictures without human entities, i.e., images specifically focusing on the scene of the act of violence. 50% (n=15) are map illustrations showing the region affected by the given violence. This instance in exemplified in Figure 7.32, where the MAP stands for the scene of VIOLENCE.

Figure 7.32 Nigeria raid: Suspected Boko Haram gunmen kill 12 (BBC, November 23, 2013)

Further but more sporadic visual manifestations of the PLACE FOR ACTION connection included: PALACE for scene of VIOLENCE, SCHOOL for scene of VIOLENCE and SUGARCANE FIELD for scene of VIOLENCE.

Commenting on the distribution of the PLACE FOR ACTION metonymic relationship across types of violence, it was observed that it did not even appear in four of the eleven categories. Meanwhile it always appeared in the form of map illustrations in the ARMED CONFLICT, ASSAULT and TERRORISM categories. A more specific depiction of the scene occurred, for example, in the HOMICIDE category (SUGARCANE FIELD FOR SCENE OF MURDER). In addition, it can be seen from Figure 7.33 that the highest proportion (20%, n=2) was achieved within the SLAVERY category (SLAVE QUARTER FOR SLAVERY), but this cannot be considered a significant result due to the small number of items.
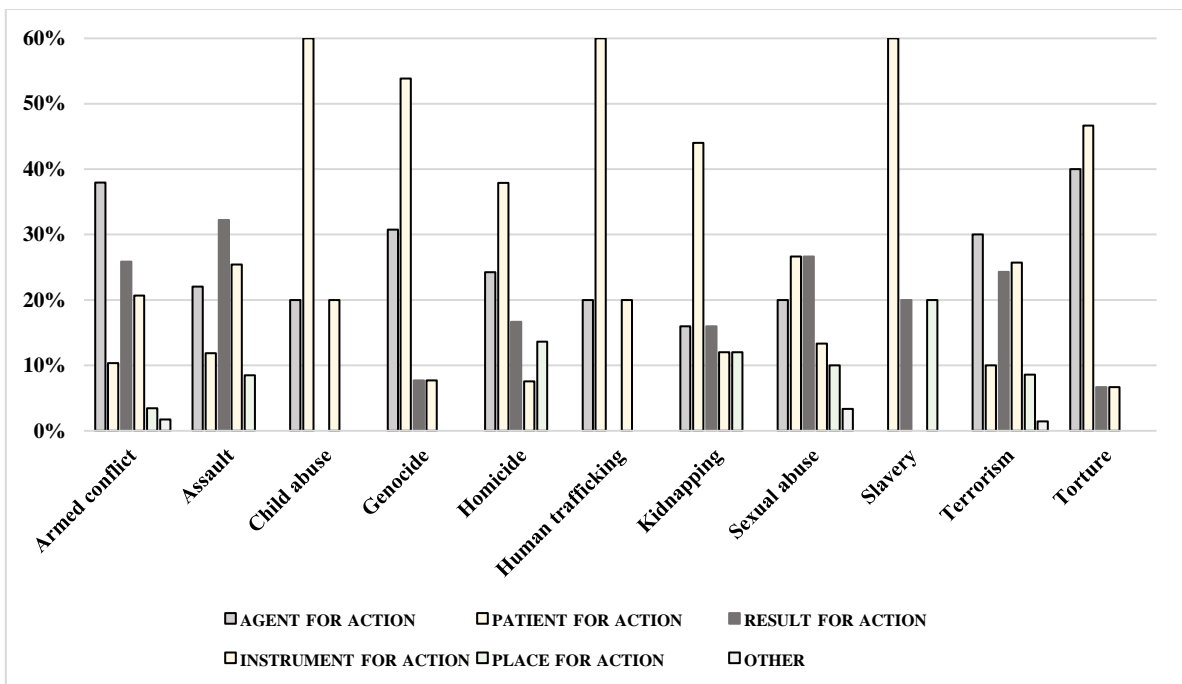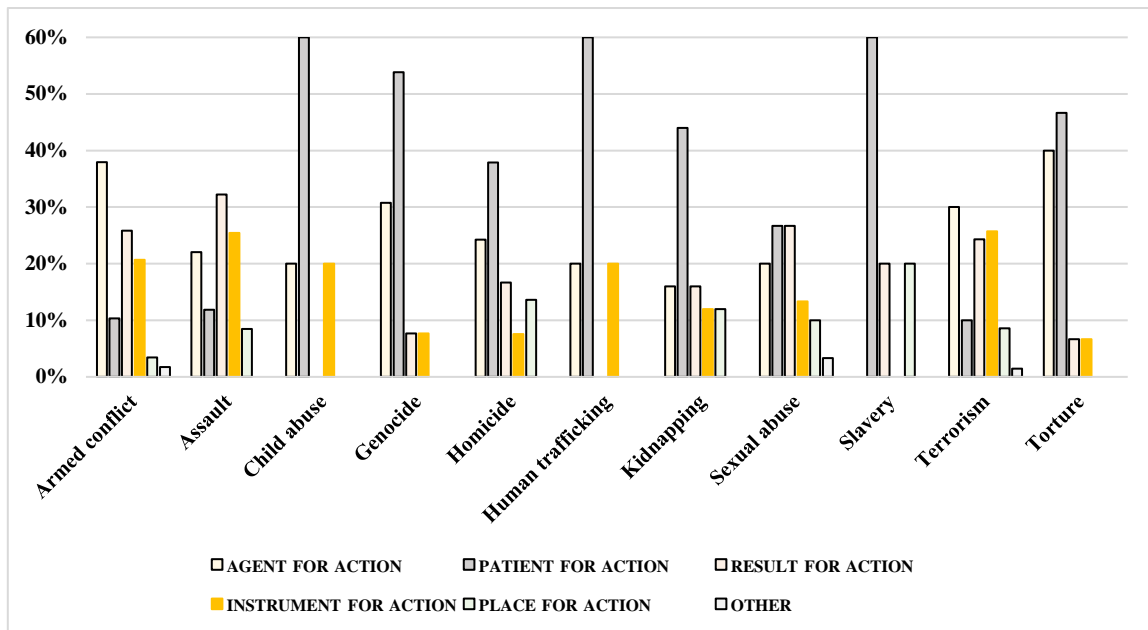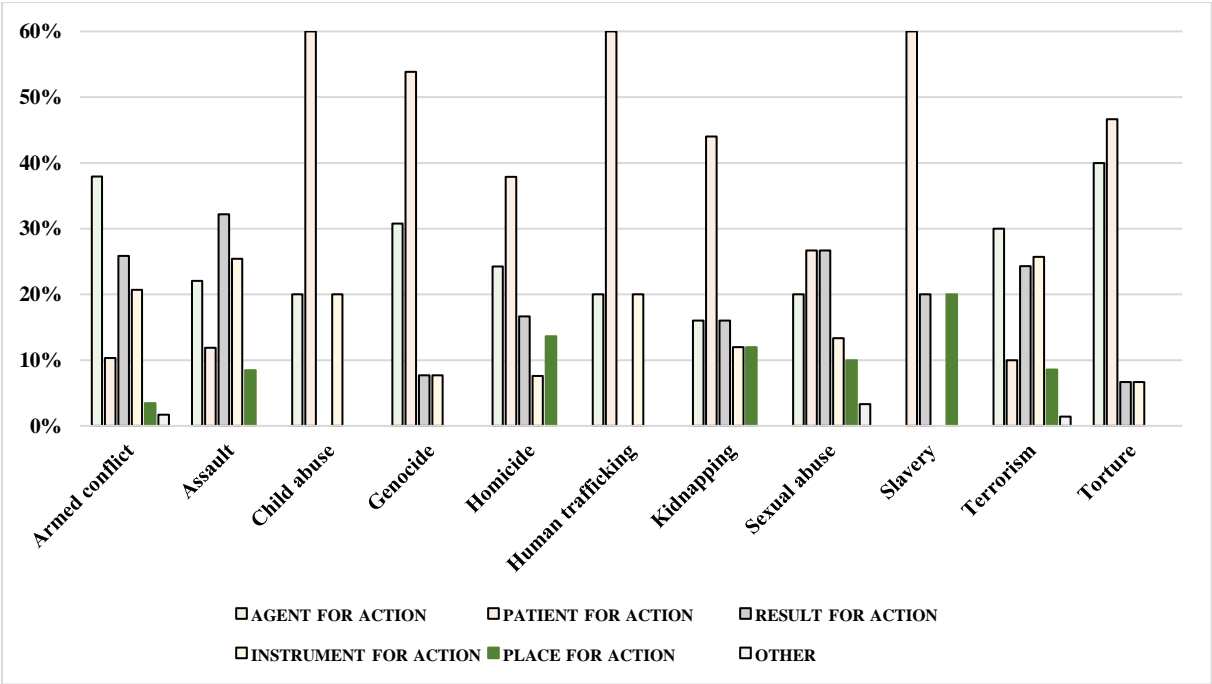

Figure 7.33 Distribution of the PLACE FOR ACTION metonymic relationship across categories of violence

The PLACE FOR ACTION metonymic relationship is linked to one of the deviations from the outlined trends, the case of which is presented Section 7.2.4.

7.2.2.6 Summary

The results discussed in this section offer an answer to the second research question which intended to uncover which metonymic relationships of the Action ICM are used to visually represent the different types of violence. It was hypothesized that regardless of the type of violence, the AGENT FOR ACTION and PATIENT FOR ACTION metonymic relationships occur most frequently in the sample. The general distribution of metonymic relationships offers insight into the validity of this expectation. Although a closer examination of the individual categories shows deviations from this pattern, in the case of 10 of the 11 categories, the AGENT FOR ACTION and PATIENT FOR ACTION relationships dominate, and in the remaining category (ASSAULT) they closely follow the metonymic relationship with the highest ratio (RESULT FOR ACTION). Therefore, the second hypothesis is also considered to be supported.

Based on the sample, it seems that the characteristics of our human-centric world are not only reflected in our language and thinking, but also in our visual representations. The prevalence of AGENT FOR ACTION and PATIENT FOR ACTION metonymic relationships may lie in the exploitation of news values, which makes the given news piece worthy of reading, and thus the news website functional and profitable. As it was discussed, featured images are powerful tools in constructing news values. The prominent metonymic relationships of the Action ICM directly play on the news values of personalization, impact and – to a lesser extent – eliteness, while indirectly capitalizing on one of the oldest and most deeply rooted news values: negativity, evoked by acts of violence.

7.2.3 The intersections of the Complex event ICM and Action ICM

This section synthesizes the results obtained from the above analysis by discussing the notable intersections of the metonymies of the Complex event ICM and Action ICM. Figure 7.34 illustrates the relationship between the metonymies of the Complex event ICM and the metonymic relations of the Action ICM. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the RESULT FOR ACTION connection almost always (in 89% of the cases, n=68) represents the final phase of an action, while THE INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION (e.g., gun for shooting) is not depicted during use, but rather in a neutral manner, before the action in 78% (n=47) of the cases.
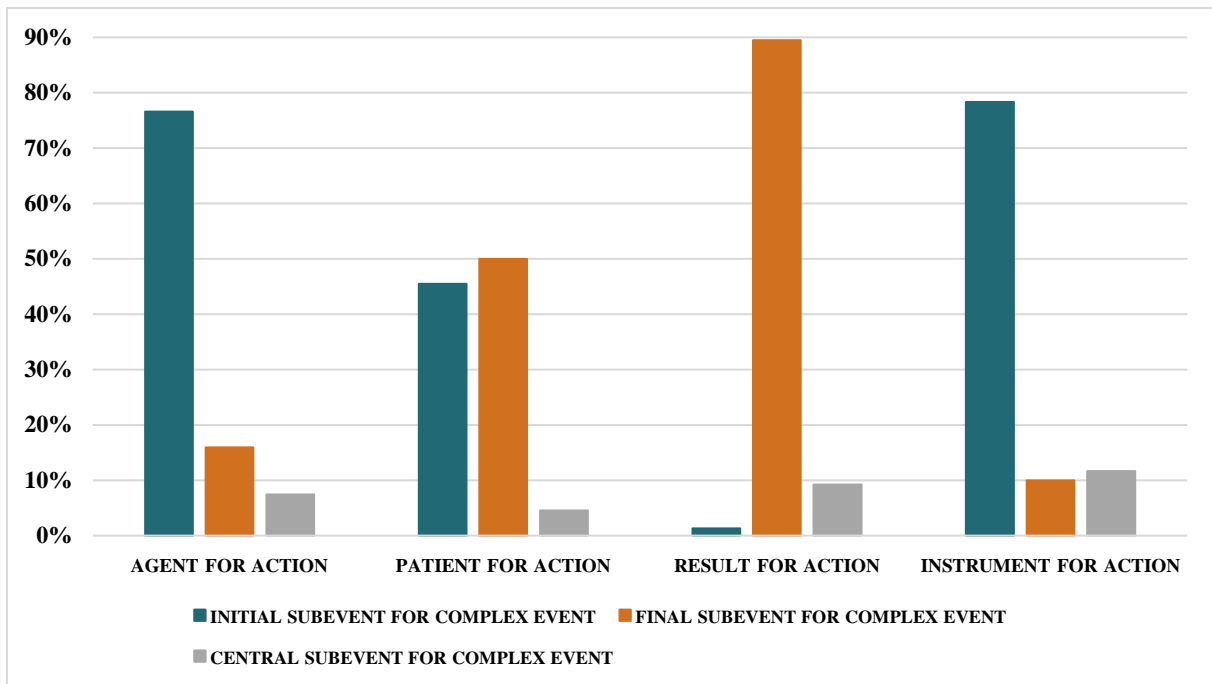
Figure 7.34 Distribution of the SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT metonymies across the metonymic relationships of the Action ICM

More interestingly, perpetrators (AGENT FOR ACTION metonymic relationship) are depicted in the initial phase of the given violent event in 77% (n=72) of the cases. Practically speaking, such depictions include very static images in which, for instance, soldiers are standing or sitting and visually there is no direct sign of violence. In 16% (n=15) of the cases when the agents are depicted in the final phase, they are rather positioned as already convicted or identified offenders who, where appropriate, have already been brought to court.

The distribution is more varied for the PATIENT FOR ACTION relationship. The images classified in the initial phase (45%, n=40) depict the victims in the state before the infliction of harm. These are usually images from their everyday lives, which are used to illustrate the event. Generally speaking, pictures portraying patients in the central or final phase of the violent acts are either unavailable or can only be used in an ethical way (e.g., if the victim is covered with a veil). However, in 50% (n=44) of the cases the patients are in fact portrayed in the final phase. A characteristic mode of visual representation that emerged in this intersection is the one of the survivors, i.e., patients who survived the given act of violence.

As discussed in Section 7.2.1.3, the central phase barely occurred in the sample. This finding is unsurprising given that in the scenario of a complex violent events, the main part of the action, i.e., the explicit part (the depiction of which – as detailed above – is treated with caution by the sampled news organisations), is in the centre. In cases where the central sequence did occur, it

can be attributed to dynamic images where perpetrators are usually seen with some kind of instrument in their hands.

7.2.4 Exceptions to the trends

During the examination and interpretation of the results, different trends emerged, such as – generally speaking – the prevalence of the INITIAL SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT and FINAL SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT metonymies, or the human-centred reporting produced by the AGENT FOR ACTION and PATIENT FOR ACTION metonymic relations. More specific trends, such as the combination of the RESULT FOR ACTION scenario with the FINAL SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT phase, were also observed and discussed. However, two results that do not fit into any of the trends are worth mentioning.

In connection with the metonymies of the Complex event ICM, one significant observation is worth noting. In addition to the initial, central and final phases, a fourth category arose during coding: all three, which was applicable in 10% (n=30) of the full sample. This was a very specific case that occurred only in the PLACE FOR ACTION metonymic relationship. These images depict the scene of the given violent act without the agent(s) or the patient(s). Often a section of the map represents the scene of violence, or the building where the violence took place is visible in the pictures. For instance, Figure 7.35 highlights those areas that were affected by the explosions, which provide the main topic of the given news item.

Figure 7.35 Nigeria's Boko Haram crisis: Eid prayer blasts hit Damaturu (BBC, July 15, 2015)

In these cases, the images cannot be classified exclusively as INITIAL SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT, CENTRAL SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT OR FINAL SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT

metonymies, since the depicted location can be linked to all three phases. In the absence of any other visual clue, it can be assumed that the given event began, took place and ended there. That is why these occurrences were coded as OTHER, but as it was indicated earlier, these cases were also considered in the previous rationing.

It also has to be noted that these images depicting maps are also an exception from another point of view: these images are not accompanied by captions (nor source identification), so as clarified in Section 6.2.1.1, they belong to the 11% ratio in terms of the (lack of) presence of captions accompanying the images. This leaves room for further suggestions. In the absence of a caption, to interpret Figure 7.35, the reader may rely on the headline. The headline ("Eid prayer blasts hit Damaturu") enables an interpretation based on a metonymic chain: OBJECT (MAP) FOR PLACE OF ACTION (DAMATURU) FOR RESULT OF ACTION (ZONES AFFECTED BY THE VIOLENCE). Metonymic chains are "direct or indirect series of conceptual metonymies guiding a series of pragmatic inferences" (Barcelona, 2005, p. 328). From the point of view of the present analysis, however, it is more important that they can also be seen in action on a visual level. The headline in past tense suggests that the blasting has already taken place and the map marks the damaged zones caused by the blasting. Thereby the map stands for the city which stands for all affected zones, damaged areas. This exception draws attention to the fact that the interaction between image and text can be further dissected by examining headlines, which, albeit an interesting aspect, was not the aim of this research in a broader sense. As discussed in the following paragraphs, the other exceptional case also draws attention to the visual presence of metonymic chains.

The other exception, seen in Figure 7.36, occurred in the case of three images, all of them depicting the same object: the jihadist flag used by various Islamic terrorist organisations. The images were used to illustrate different types of violence, ARMED CONFLICT, SEXUAL ABUSE and TERRORISM. In one of the cases, a mismatch occurred between the violent act depicted in the featured image and the violent act described in the news item, while the other two cases uncover the use of a metonymic chain. First the mismatch is discussed, then the metonymic chain is explained.

Figure 7.36 Boko Haram survivors sexually abused by government officials at "safe" camps (CNN, November 2, 2016)

One of the news items illustrated with the above featured image is about patients who previously survived Boko Haram violence, but this is only mentioned in the article as a previous act of violence (more specifically as KIDNAPPING given that the patients were "abducted by Boko Haram fighters"), because the news item is about the harassment they suffered when fleeing to "safe camps" from Boko Haram. Therefore, the news item was classified in the category SEXUAL ABUSE. This results in a mismatch, since the flag shown in the picture evokes the prior violence (caused by the Boko Haram terrorist group), not the violence discussed in the news item.

In the other two cases, the flag refers to a specific terrorist organization. In the news item titled "Mastermind of Kenya university attack killed in Somalia", the targets of the violence were two senior Al-Shabaab operatives. Al-Shabaab is a Somalia-based Islamist insurgent group, allied with al-Qaeda. So, the flag evokes the image of the terrorist organization through the OBJECT (FLAG) FOR AGENT (TERRORIST GROUP) FOR ACTION (VIOLENCE) metonymic chain. The same metonymic chain is activated in the news item titled "Boko Haram attacks kill at least 30, locals say", except that in this case the flag stands for the Boko Haram terror group.

As mentioned, a metonymic chain is "a conceptual complex that involves a metonymic projection in several steps", which is a significant conceptual operation in advertisements (Pérez-Sobrino, 2016., p.78). Using the example of a political campaign, Benczes (2019) illustrated that complex messages and relationships can be compressed through metonymic chains in the visual domain. In this given case, the depicted jihadist flag stands for Islamic

terrorist organisations, which stand for the violence. Thus, violence is represented indirectly, i.e., through metonymic chains in these featured images.

The question arises as to why the jihadist flag that gives rise to the notion of terrorism illustrates the three articles mentioned. As discussed in the next section, Western media is believed to be fixated on Islamist events, due to which jihadi groups have received increased attention in the general news flow (Abubakar, 2017). The goal of sensationalism can also be assumed, which is also a frequently mentioned concept in terms of the practice of news production and the achievement of news value. According to Teneboim and Cohen (2015), sensational headlines that evoke emotions and arouse interest in the blink of an eye bring the most readers to a news site. The authors list topics like crime, violence and disasters as examples, which are all able to increase the arousal level of the readers, thereby getting them to devote time to the given article. These three articles are an example of the relevance of this practice in the visual mode.

Two cases differing from the observed trends were briefly presented above. They raise interesting questions about the interpretation of metonymic relations on a visual level. Considering that the research as a whole faced many methodological challenges, when presenting the results, the emphasis was placed on those elements of the Complex event ICM and Action ICM, whose identification proved to be more certain. Nevertheless, in future research, it would be worthwhile to examine the raised questions separately and in more depth.

7.2.5   Insight into metaphor-metonymy interaction in online news images

As presented in Section 2.1.2, metonymy can often be analysed in conjunction with metaphor or by activating a metaphorical connection on a practical level. Several studies have examined this interaction, which is often referred to as "metaphtonomy", the most significant of which are Pérez-Sobrino (2016) and Kashanizadeh and Forceville (2020), who extended the typology of Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez (2000) to visual and multimodal advertisements. Due to the frequent coexistence of the two phenomena, it is important to reflect on the question of whether this interaction can be seen in action in another visual genre: online news images.

In order to uncover the identifiability of the metaphor-metonymy interaction in the sample, I examined the images separately along the detected metonymic relationships (Action ICM) and metonymies (Complex event ICM). From this point of view, one of the metonymic relationships, namely the images coded under the PATIENT FOR ACTION metonymic relationship stood out from the sample, because a metaphor-based subcategory can be observed in the images depicting victims.

63% (n=57) of the featured images coded in this category are close-up images, which activate the EMOTIONAL CLOSENESS IS PHYSICAL CLOSENESS conceptual metaphor. On a linguistic level, this metaphor is reflected, for example, in the sentence "I feel close to him", where the more abstract target domain, EMOTIONAL CLOSENESS, is interpreted through the more concrete source domain, PHYSICAL CLOSENESS (Lakoff, 1994).

In the visual domain provided by the sample, physical closeness is evoked metonymically by the close-up shot. In this sense, the interaction can be described as EMOTIONAL CLOSENESS IS (CLOSE-UP SHOT FOR) PHYSICAL CLOSENESS. Following the examples of Kashanizadeh and Forceville (2020), this visually projected metaphor-metonymy interaction can be categorized as metonymic expansion of a metaphoric source.
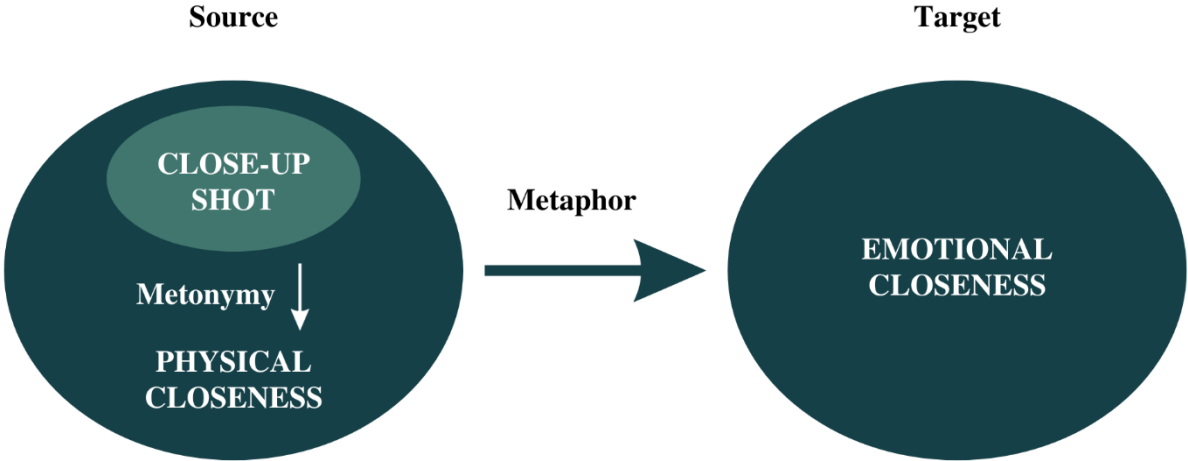
7.37 Metonymic expansion of a metaphoric source in EMOTIONAL CLOSENESS IS PHYSICAL CLOSENESS

Figure 7.37 presents the interaction in a schematic way. In the following, I detail the interaction in a similar way as it can be read in the study of Kashanizadeh and Forceville (2020). The CLOSE-UP SHOT, as the source domain of the metaphor, is a metonymy for the visually cued category of "physical closeness". Other technical solutions, such as the purposeful use of colour could also function as a metonymy for physical closeness, with the same message. As shown in Figure 7.37, the meaning from the source of the metonymy (CLOSE-UP SHOT) has to be expanded to its target (PHYSICAL CLOSENESS), so the metonymy manifests the source-in-target (PART FOR WHOLE) subtype, in which the source (PART), CLOSE-UP SHOT, needs to be expanded to PHYSICAL CLOSENESS (WHOLE).

7.38 Boko Haram abductions: Freed "bride" tells of stigma ordeal (BBC, April 14, 2016)

An example of the interaction is provided by Figure 7.38. The picture shows a close-up of a Boko Haram abduction survivor. The intimate closeness and focus are further enhanced by the blurred background: there is no question as to what we should pay attention to in the picture. Seeing the picture, it can be assumed that we will get to know the story from the perspective of the survivor, through her experiences. Thus, the EMOTIONAL CLOSENESS IS PHYSICAL CLOSENESS metaphor can be identified, in which the PHYSICAL CLOSENESS is metonymically activated by the CLOSE-UP SHOT.

To understand the importance of this interaction, it is necessary to define *closeness* and *close-up shot*. Rodriguez and Dimitrova (2011) discuss the two terms on the level of visuals as stylistic-semiotic systems, examining how pictorial conventions and technicalities gain social meaning. Generally speaking, a close-up shot represents intimacy and communicates the individuality of the subject (Fahmy, 2004). In her study about the depiction of Afghan women during the Taliban Regime and after the Fall of the Taliban Regime, Fahmy (2004) found that close-ups of Afghan women were used to create a personal relationship with the viewer. In another study it was found that if the depicted person's face is visible and is in the centre of the image, the person will be perceived as more intelligent (Archer et al., 1983). Moreover, close-up shots tend to be used with the intention to focus the audience's attention on the depicted person's emotional state, which enhances the news value of personalisation (Bednarek & Caple, 2017).

At the same time, it is important to note that the authors mentioned in the previous paragraph do not define what exactly they mean by "close-up shot". Technically speaking, in the literature on cinematography, the upper image boundary of the close-up shot is slightly above the head, and the lower image boundary is below the neck (Szabó, 2002; Davies 2012). A close-up photo can also be taken with a long focal length, at a particularly large physical distance from the main subject. Regardless, the receiver will perceive physical closeness, but it will be a kind of perceived closeness from the camera's point of view. That is why, for the purpose of understanding the presented metaphor-metonymy interaction, it is better to interpret closeness in a social sense rather than a technical one.

In his seminal work on proxemics, Edward T. Hall examines how humans control distance as well as the causes and implications of how we use space in our communication. In connection with social distance, we can talk about six categories, the first of which is intimate distance, covering the face and head. This is followed by close personal distance, which shows the head and shoulders (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996/2020). Another four categories apply to social distance (far personal, close social, far social, public), but these are not significant from the point of view of this discussion.

Relying on the social distance typology based on Hall's proxemics, I examined the "physical closeness" of the images in the PATIENT FOR ACTION metonymic relationship. Each image could take up either of three values: intimate distance, close personal distance and other (including the other four categories). I was curious about the ratio of intimate distance and close personal distance within the category, because these are the images that activate the above-mentioned metaphor-metonymy interaction.

It was found that 34% (n=31) of featured images coded for the PATIENT FOR ACTION metonymic relationship show the victim in intimate distance, while 29% (n=26) images depict the target of the violent act in close personal distance. Combining the two categories, 63% (n=57) of the featured images coded under the PATIENT FOR ACTION metonymic relationship are close-up images (in the abovementioned social sense of the word), which activate the EMOTIONAL CLOSENESS IS PHYSICAL CLOSENESS conceptual metaphor via the CLOSE-UP SHOT FOR PHYSICAL CLOSENESS metonymic relationship. Based on the result, this metonymic expansion of a metaphoric source can be considered a detectable pattern in the sample.

But why is this an important characteristic of the PATIENT FOR ACTION metonymic relationship? As discussed, close-up shots suggest a higher level of intimacy between the reader and the

subject of the image than long shots, which on the other hand are capable of distancing the reader. As can be seen in the Figure 7.38 (and in the case of Figure 7.16 and Figure 7.25 as well), the metaphor evoked metonymically by the close-up image directs attention to facial expressions and emotions, thus evoking empathy in the readers. These images potentially activate not only physical but also emotional closeness (to the depicted persons and their stories) in the readers (along with feelings of reducing social distance), thus involving them in the story.

Based on the above and the discussion presented in Section 7.2.2.2, namely that images of victims personify loss and humanize otherwise abstract events, it can be assumed that news boards consciously choose such images in order for readers to become emotionally invested in the subject. If emotional involvement leads to more reading, sharing and time spent on the given news website, it is likely that the detected metaphor-metonymy interaction is a more general feature (exceeding violence) in the news genre. This segment of the investigation of the visual metonymic framing of violent news thus offers a new perspective in the wider examination of the news genre as well. This metaphor-metonymy interaction gives stories a human face, and as Radden and Kövecses (1999) highlighted on the one hand, we certainly have a preference for HUMAN OVER NON-HUMAN. On the other hand, these articles activate the news value of personalisation, thus bringing the news story closer to the readers (Bednarek & Caple, 2017). Finally, following Pérez-Sobrino, Littlemore and Houghton (2019), who concluded that metaphor-metonymy combinations used in advertisements are processed faster than simple operations, a similar effect can be assumed in the case of news images.

Of course, in order to support these assumptions (e.g., greater degree of involvement, perceived intimacy and closeness caused by close-up shots), it would be necessary to conduct an audience analysis. The goal of this subchapter was to shed light on how the role of metaphor can be interpreted in the detected metonymic relationships. It seems that metaphor-metonymy interaction is not only a feature of advertisements but can also be identified in news images. However, this would form the focus of another research, which would enable immersion specifically in these interactions. Since this is not the purpose of the present dissertation, although the importance of the so-called "metaphtonomies" is underlined, in the next subsection the discussion is followed by providing an insight into an additional, comparative approach to the research.

7.2.6 Insight into the potential comparison of BBC Africa and CNN Africa

The purpose of this research is not a comparative evaluation of the results from the point of view of the two chosen news portals. The BBC Africa and CNN Africa columns were chosen to provide a greater scope along with the reasons detailed in Section 6.1. Nevertheless, looking at the previously described Figure 7.2, it is worth to highlight an interesting difference between the violence categories of the two news websites.

As is can be observed on Figure 7.2, the ratio of the HOMICIDE and TERRORISM categories by website mirror each other: proportionally, BBC Africa placed the same emphasis on HOMICIDE (25%, n=37) as CNN Africa on TERRORISM (23%, n=33) and vice versa. In the case of both categories, the news items were dealing with serious human losses, which were classified as the most frequently occurring cases overall.

In Abubakar's (2017) formulation, the Western media is fixated on Islamist events, due to which jihadi groups have received increased attention, which they use to achieve their own goals, thus creating a kind of convergence. In the American society, for example, the issue of terrorism was a central notion even before the events of 9/11; however, the terrorist attack on the World Trade Center (and the subsequent "War on Terror" campaign) heightened public fascination with terrorism. This was reflected in the thematization and framing of the news reports, and led to the rise of powerful images of on-screen terrorism, which in many cases overdramatized real events (Boggs & Pollard, 2006). The film industry also saw the marketability inherent in the use of terrorism patterns, so much so that motifs of terrorism have become a staple in the American media culture.

If we accept this theorizing, then it is not surprising that TERRORISM was given a prominent role in the Africa column of the leading news portal of the United States of America. However, this is more of an assumption than a supported claim. Even if the line of thought is correct, it does not account for the leading position of the HOMICIDE category in the BBC Africa column. That is why it is important to emphasize that the present research is not comparative in this respect. The purpose of the above thought process is rather to shed light on the possibilities inherent in comparative analysis, which, however, can only be exploited within the framework of a later research.

7.2.7 Narratives of Africa and visual metonymic frames

Examining the news columns about Africa more closely, the question arises as to which of the widespread narratives related to Africa (as seen in Section 4.2.1) are reflected in the identified

patterns of visual metonymic framing. In the following, this matter is briefly discussed in order to connect the novel results with the – predominantly – textual frames previously identified in the literature.

The narrative of ethnic struggle (see e.g., Ebron, 2002; Mahadeo & McKinney, 2007) is activated by the images that are categorized under GENOCIDE. The same narrative appears as tribal conflict in Palmberg's work (2001). This narrative was framed by BBC Africa and CNN Africa in the sample through the metonymic relationships of PATIENT FOR ACTION (victim of genocide in the focus) and AGENT FOR ACTION (political and military leaders held responsible for genocide in the focus, e.g., Figure 7.8). The same authors argue that the continent is in many cases framed by global news as a scene of unstable political systems. This narrative is echoed in the images depicting protesting people, belonging to the central phase, which were identified in the SEXUAL ABUSE and SLAVERY categories (e.g., Figure 7.19). As stated in Section 7.2.1.3, in this case either the CENTRAL SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT or the FINAL SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT metonymy frames the politicized cases.

According to Palmberg (2001), a recurring narrative in global news is the presentation of non-African actors as victims. Although in the case of the PATIENT FOR ACTION metonymic relationship, I did not investigate and could not have reliably investigated where the depicted person comes from, within the KIDNAPPING and HUMAN TRAFFICKING categories there are several examples that echo this narrative (e.g., Figure 7.6, Figure 7.12). At the same time, identifiable African persons also appeared in this category as victims (e.g., Figure 7.16), so the finding is more nuanced than the original narrative suggests.

In her study, Bader (2019) concludes that female genital mutilation (FGM) feeds the underdevelopment (Jarosz, 1992; Mengara, 2001) narrative to this day as it is considered to be a product of a "primitive" society. This narrative is implied by images depicting homemade tools used for FGM that activate the INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION metonymic relationship in the CHILD ABUSE category (e.g., Figure 7.6).

One of the most dominant narratives in the literature on Africa's role in the news is the crisis narrative (Hawk, 1992; Palmberg, 2001; Mellese & Müller, 2012; Bunce, 2015), which is reflected in the visual metonymic framing identified in the categories of HOMICIDE, TERRORISM, ARMED CONFLICT and ASSAULT. The HOMICIDE category is most often evoked by the PATIENT FOR ACTION metonymic relationship (e.g., Figure 7.25), while TERRORISM is framed equally through the AGENT FOR ACTION, INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION (e.g., Figure 7.21) and RESULT FOR

ACTION relationships (e.g., Figure 7.14). In ARMED CONFLICT, the AGENT FOR ACTION relationship comes to the fore (e.g., Figure 7.24), while ASSAULT directs attention to the aftermath of violent events through the RESULT FOR ACTION metonymic relationship (e.g., Figure 7.28). Due to the choice of topic of the dissertation, it is not surprising that the crisis narrative is implied in the visual metonymic frames in quite diverse ways. Table 7.1 summarizes the relationship between the detected visual metonymic frames and narratives.

Narrative	Type of violence	Visual metonymic frame
Ethnic struggle	GENOCIDE	PATIENT FOR ACTION AGENT FOR ACTION
Tribal conflict	GENOCIDE	PATIENT FOR ACTION AGENT FOR ACTION
Unstable political system	SEXUAL ABUSE SLAVERY	CENTRAL SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT FINAL SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT
Non-African actors are victims	KIDNAPPING HUMAN TRAFFICKING	PATIENT FOR ACTION
Underdevelopment	CHILD ABUSE	INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION
Crisis	HOMICIDE TERRORISM ARMED CONFLICT ASSAULT	PATIENT FOR ACTION AGENT FOR ACTION INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION RESULT FOR ACTION

Table 7.1 The narratives of Africa as seen in the detected visual metonymic frames

With the aim of comparing some prominent narratives about Africa and the metonymic frames identified in the research, it was possible to detect the non-exhaustive list of correspondences described above. As a result, no shift can be observed with regards to the thematization of violence. It is not worth talking about the positive-negative tone of the narratives, because the topic of the dissertation predetermined the appearance of negative narratives in the visual frames. Instead, it is worth noting that the table also somewhat reflects the dominance of the PATIENT FOR ACTION and AGENT FOR ACTION metonymic connections, regardless of category. But the significance of this and the main results of the research are discussed in the next chapter.

7.2.8 Concluding remarks on the research findings

Section 7 presented the results of the research outlined in the dissertation. In the beginning of the chapter, the division of the categories of violence were presented, which was followed by the discussion of the results of the metonymy-based analysis. In the first step, the distribution and characteristics of the sub-metonymies of the Complex event ICM were examined, along with their connection to the different types of violence. In the second step, the distribution and characteristics of the metonymic relationships of the Action ICM were reviewed, along with their connection to different types of violence. After that, the intersections of the Complex event ICM and the Action ICM were revealed, followed by cases differing from the identified trends. A further avenue of identifying metaphor-metonymy interaction in news images and the possibilities of a future comparative analysis are also discussed. Finally, the chapter closes with a brief summary that points out the extent to which the identified visual metonymic frames imply narratives portraying Africa.

The first research question aimed to reflect on the sequentiality of the events, by asking:

>   RQ1: Which SUBEVENTS are used to visually represent the COMPLEX EVENT of violence?

The results revealed that the INITIAL SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT and FINAL SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT metonymies greatly outweigh the CENTRAL SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT metonymy. This finding is typical to such an extent that the central phase did not appear at all in three categories, and in those categories where it did appear, it was nowhere more preferred than the initial and final phases. Consequently, the results support the first hypothesis, according to which he INITIAL SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT and FINAL SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT metonymies are more preferred than the CENTRAL SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT metonymy in the visual depiction of violence.

This finding can be traced back to the premise of metonymic models, according to which certain elements of the categories are more salient than others: in this case, the INITIAL SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT and FINAL SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT sub-metonymies are more salient than the CENTRAL SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT sub-metonymy. Furthermore, regarding the news genre that is the focus of the analysis, it can be said that the explicit depiction of violence is the rarest case for ethical and technical reasons. And this editorial guideline collides with the use of the CENTRAL SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT metonymy, which, based on the scenarios, would capture the climax of the violent act.

The second research question investigated the relationality of metonymies used in the visual representation of events, by asking:

RQ2: Which metonymic relationships of the Action ICM are used to visually represent different types of violence?

The obtained results highlight that the AGENT FOR ACTION and PATIENT FOR ACTION metonymic relationships are responsible for more than half of all the metonymic relations detected in the images. Although the proportion of RESULT FOR ACTION and INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION relationships in themselves is not negligible, overall, an anthropocentric result (driven by AGENT FOR ACTION and PATIENT FOR ACTION) emerged. This is further confirmed by the finding that 10 of the 11 violence categories are dominated by the two human-centric metonymic relationships, and even in the remaining category they closely follow the metonymic relationship with the highest ratio. Therefore, the second hypothesis, which stated that regardless of the type of violence, the AGENT FOR ACTION and PATIENT FOR ACTION metonymic relationships are more preferred than the INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION, RESULT FOR ACTION and PLACE FOR ACTION metonymic relationships in the visual depiction of violence, was also supported.

It seems that we are biased towards human-centred storytelling, because we interpret the things and phenomena around us in terms of what they mean to us, focusing on how we can interact with them. From this point of view, it can also be said that we as humans view the world in a "self-centred" way (Littlemore, 2015). When we encounter an object, our first thought is what it means to us and what we can do with it. So, when we see a chair, we automatically perceive it as something we can sit on. Translated into the language of this research: violent acts are also interpreted and visually represented in terms of what they mean to the people involved in them or affected by them.

This bias is present to such an extent that in the literature of news values (see Bednarek & Caple, 2017) it is considered crucial to lend a "human face" to the news stories, thus increasing the degree of reader involvement. What better way to do this than to harness the power of images? Thus, reflecting on the statement of Radden and Kövecses (1999), it can be concluded that the characteristics of our human-centric world are not only reflected in our language and thinking, but also in its visual projections.

8   Conclusion

"A verbal representation cannot represent – that is, make present – its object in the same way a visual representation can" (Mitchell, 1994, p. 152). As the father of the "pictorial turn" highlights, visual presence cannot be substituted by words, though textual elements can complement visual elements and vice versa. The present thesis aimed to argue in favour of such an approach in analysing the visual representation of violence in the featured images of online news about Africa.

In this very age, "visuals are framing devices on steroids, so much so that many times, the visual is the message" (D'Angelo et al., 2019, p. 22). This was one of the statements which fuelled the considerations of the thesis, as a result of which the visual representation of violence was observed specifically through visual metonymic framing. However, for this, it was necessary to set up a new methodology, through which the Violence ICM (motivated by the Action ICM and Complex event ICM) became analysable. The developed analytical framework allowed me to examine the substitutions through which BBC Africa and CNN Africa visually represent violence along the lines of two research questions and two hypotheses.

The findings related to the sequentiality (Complex event ICM) of the events uncovered that the INITIAL SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT and FINAL SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT sub-metonymies are more preferred framing tools than the CENTRAL SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT sub-metonymy. And the results examining relationality (Action ICM) revealed that the AGENT FOR ACTION and PATIENT FOR ACTION metonymic relationships are more preferred than the INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION, RESULT FOR ACTION and PLACE FOR ACTION metonymic relationships in the visual depiction of violence, regardless of the category. Therefore, the results shed light on a human-centred framing which exploits the characteristics of several news values, such as negativity and impact, thereby potentially increasing reader engagement.

Based on the findings, it can be said that the visual representation of violence in online news is a very fertile ground for the analysis of metonymic framing, since the display of violence is limited in several aspects, so news portals are forced to depict the events through substitutions. The analysed sample suggests that the majority of the substitutions strive to humanize the events, giving way to the emotional involvement of the readers (via the HUMAN OVER NON-HUMAN principle and the news value of personification and impact). This is highlighted by the metaphor-metonymy interaction detected in the sample, which involves the readers in the story through the close-up shot used in most images coded under the PATIENT FOR ACTION metonymic

connection. Furthermore, the preference for the initial and final phases highlights that we can relate to the extremes of the scale of events better than to the middle phase (via the INITIAL OR FINAL OVER MIDDLE principle and the news value of impact), because the ends are more tangible. What's more, these trends span categories of violence.

It can be assumed that when news editors choose an image to illustrate a given article, they do not run through the metonymies described in the dissertation, just as the reader does not analyse the images in such depth. These metonymies automatically recall the entirety of the events. As the first part of the thesis pointed out, there are many examples of the linguistic manifestations of these cognitive, cultural and communicative principles in the literature. Considering the continuous growth of visual elements in our daily information consumption, the present dissertation is here to demonstrate the visual manifestations of these principles, highlighting its inherent research potential.

8.1 Novelties of the research

Overall, the dissertation set three general goals. First, to highlight the compatibility and productive applicability of cognitive linguistic tools and concepts in media science research. Within this general goal, four sub-goals were set:

- to define metonymic framing,
- to define visual metonymic framing,
- to reveal whether the principles determining vehicle choice and thus influencing our thinking and language use are visually projected, and
- to advise an analytical framework that facilitates the application of the Violence ICM (motivated by the Action ICM and Complex event ICM).

Reflecting on the sub-goals, it can be stated that the thesis introduced a multidisciplinary definition for the interpretation of both metonymic framing and visual metonymic framing, which combine the metonymy concept of cognitive linguistics with the framing theory of media science, embedded in the visual modality. The findings revealed that two principles determining vehicle choice, namely HUMAN OVER NON-HUMAN and INITIAL AND FINAL OVER MIDDLE are not only reflected in our language and thinking, but also in its visual projections. This discovery suggests that there is a basis for examining the visual projections of the other principles in view of other topics and on other samples. Finally, based on the theoretical overview, the desired analytical framework was set up successfully.

To meet the above sub-goals, the present research interpreted violence in the visual modality through the metonymic relationships of the Action and Complex event ICMs. To the best of my knowledge, no previous study has investigated the visual manifestations of the two ICMs or violent news through these metonymic relationships, although the definition and characteristics of violence suggest that the approach is applicable. Among other things, the purpose of the dissertation was thus to examine which metonymic relationships of Action ICM and Complex event ICM can be identified at the pictorial level. Five of the metonymic relationships of the Action ICM appeared in the sample in a visual sense, while all three metonymic manifestations of the Complex event ICM's SUCCESSIVE SUBEVENTS FOR COMPLEX EVENT type could be identified in the news images.

The second main aim of the dissertation, which follows from the first, entailed enriching the literature of visual metonymy on both theoretical and practical levels. Among other things, this was necessary and can be considered novel because – to the best of my knowledge – no one had previously defined visual metonymic framing and even if visual metonymies were identified in news images, the steps of analysis and identification were not described anywhere (except for Hidalgo-Downing and O'Dowd's 2023 research, although it takes a multimodal approach, so it cannot replace the framework offered in the dissertation). Therefore, I trust that the definition of visual metonymic framing proposed in the dissertation can establish the direction of subsequent research on a theoretical level, while the methodological model can complement this and serve as a basis for further practical discussions.

Consequently, the third main goal was to test, critically evaluate and present the potential of this model. If we accept that the Violence ICM is motivated by the Action and Complex event ICMs, then the test can be considered successful regarding the validity of the model. At the same time, as mentioned in Section 6.5, metonymies are much more prolific: metonymies produced by other ICMs appeared in certain images (e.g., the mentioned Possession ICM). This raises the question of how worthwhile it is to narrow the focus of the methodological approach to such an extent as proposed in the dissertation. Nevertheless, the analytical framework established through the perspectives of relationality and sequentiality revealed how the news portals depict the "undepictable" and what considerations might be behind the detected patterns. Referring back to the terminology of news framing, the Action and Complex event ICMs enabled the identification of generic frames, i.e., frames specifically relevant to and adapted to the analysed events (violent events in this case) in a deductive approach, considering that the analytical framework predetermined the set of metonymic frames to be identified in the sample.

Summarizing the theoretical and practical relevance of the dissertation, firstly, the new definitions (metonymic framing and visual metonymic framing) and the related thought processes should be highlighted. On the one hand, they point to the close connection between cognitive linguistics and media science, and on the other hand, they streamline the interpretation of visual metonymies in media discourse. Secondly, the practical relevance of the thesis is embodied by the developed analytical framework. The goal was to provide a methodology that can be used to adequately interpret the obtained data, but at the same time it can be adapted to the analysis of other cases (so it is not too case-specific). A model that exploits visual metonymic framing to such an extent has not been created before. In light of the above, the novelties of the thesis can be listed as follows:

- **Introduction of a novel definition of visual metonymic framing:** despite the fact that scholars agree that (visual) frames are often mediated by figurative language types, such as metaphors and metonymies in texts that offer a particular interpretation of events (among others, Charteris-Black, 2004; Catalano & Waugh, 2013; Burgers, Konijn & Steen, 2016; Catalano & Musolff, 2019), no definition has yet been offered as to what we mean by *metonymic framing*. This niche is even more evident in the literature on visual metonymies. The dissertation reflects on this deficiency by defining both metonymic framing and visual metonymic framing.

- **Development of a novel model for the visual metonymic framing of violence:** although the discourse on visual metonymies is increasingly active, the puzzle is posed by the lack of clearly defined steps along which visual metonymies can be identified in news images. Focusing on violence as a timeless news value, the dissertation advances an analytical framework that lays the foundations for application of the Violence ICM (motivated by the Action ICM and Complex event ICM).

- **Identification of a novel metaphor-metonymy interaction in news images:** the metaphor-metonymy interaction has so far been primarily investigated in advertisements, at least as far as the visual or multimodal scene is concerned (Pérez-Sobrino, 2016; Kashanizadeh & Forceville, 2020). Although not the focus of the thesis, the identification and discussion of metaphor-metonymy interaction in the light of news images is a novel result.

I trust that the objectives of the thesis have been achieved and that the analytical framework can be applied to the research of the visual representation of any violent event. The application possibilities are discussed in more detail in the next subsection. All in all, what has been

formulated in the dissertation makes it possible to dispel several theoretical and practical ambiguities in the literature on visual metonymies.

8.2 Applicability

As discussed above, the relevance of the research is twofold: on the one hand, it advances the little-researched field of visual metonymies, and on the other hand, it provides a multidisciplinary analytical framework for understanding violent news that can be easily put into practice. Theoretically speaking, the research contributes to the literature of visual metonymies through the analysis of a specific segment of the news genre. The introduced definitions, such as the ones of metonymic framing and visual metonymic framing, can be used in any research that wants to interpret the presentation of a violent event in the media discourse through (visual) metonymies. This enables a general applicability, since the definitions are neither linked to violence, nor to Africa, chosen as a case in the dissertation.

With regard to the practical applicability, the thesis pointed out that within the modest literature on visual metonymies, the number of works that offer methodological guidance for the analysis of metonymies is even more modest. From this deficiency comes the greatest value of the dissertation, namely that it offers an analytical framework suitable for examining the visual representation of any violent act. At the same time, this is also the biggest source of limitation, since in this way the methodology is in its infancy, and it is necessary to apply it to other samples for it to be considered universal. The findings of the research revealed how the abstract concept of violence can be interpreted in online news through metonymic substitutions across types of violence.

So far, I have had the opportunity to test the applicability of the model in one specific case: when examining the visual representation of the Russo-Ukrainian War in the Hungarian online media (Béni & Szabó, 2022; Nagy-Béni & Szabó, 2023). We found that that news portals most often replaced violent events with the AGENT FOR ACTION metonymic relationship (49%). It was interesting to notice an increase in the proportion of images depicting politicians as time progressed, which showed that the label became more and more politicized, and the visual representation focused less and less directly on wartime events. It was even more interesting to observe that despite the fact that the restrictions introduced by the Ukrainian authorities (which essentially limit media workers' access to events) would presumably eventuate a decrease in the central phase, our results showed an even trend line, that is, no change was observed in the occurrence of the CENTRAL SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT metonymy during the different

periods of the war. The research examined the complex media representation of the war through the lens of visual metonymic framing, confirming the applicability of the method in other, violent contexts. Therefore, it can be stated that the method is specific enough to identify the Violence ICM, but at the same time flexible enough to be extended to the interpretation of visual representations of any violent act. And this could perhaps not be more necessary than it is now (at the time of finalising the present dissertation), when our societies are plagued by several wars. It is particularly important to examine through which interpretive frameworks the media portrays these violent events. Thus, the presented model, allowing for the investigation of the narratives (and their implications) that are prioritized by visual substitutions in online news, is highly relevant and novel.

A further purpose of the dissertation was to shed light on the applicability of cognitive linguistics tools in media science research, that is, on the research value arising from the combination of the two disciplines. As stated in the Introduction, this dissertation was written from a communication and media science background. That is why the important aspects in terms of news genre and news consumption were highlighted when presenting the results. I am hopeful that I have managed to point out that although the fields of visual communication, media framing and Conceptual Metaphor and Metonymy Theory (CMMT) are extremely productive on their own, they also account for fruitful discussions in combination.

Finally, it is important to reflect on the applicability of the research in the light of the visual culture that defines our present day. The issue of visual literacy, that is, the ability to interpret, negotiate, and make meaning from information presented in the form of an image (Felten, 2008), is more important than ever. That is why, in the future, a course teaching the analysis and interpretation of images could be developed from the present research, both at the level of public education and higher education. When examined more generally, the presented model could be further considered as an image analysis method that can be applied to other topics as well.

8.3 Recommendations for further research

In this last subsection, the possibilities for expanding the research are summarized. An important possibility for extension, and perhaps the most logical next step, is the use of a comparative approach. Section 7.2.6 offers insight into this, as the sample would provide sufficient data for a comparative analysis of the BBC and CNN. A comparison of a similar news site and a tabloid source would provide an additional interesting basis for research.

In addition to the comparison of different sources, the question of cross-cultural analyses also arises. The present research worked with two Anglo-Saxon news portals, but in the future, it could be interesting to compare them with the news coverage of other countries. Within this, the "West-East dichotomy" could be examined, African sources could be involved, or even different European countries could be compared. The possibilities of cross-cultural analyses are almost endless, but this approach is fully beyond the scope of the present dissertation.

Furthermore, when examining metonymies, it is essential to acknowledge that they have a close, almost inseparable relationship with metaphors. Although the developed analytical framework explicitly focuses on visual metonymic relationships, it can be relatively easily supplemented with a few steps, which enable the analysis of metaphor-metonymy interactions as well (as seen in Section 7.2.5). An important result is that these interactions are detectable in news images, so this addition represents an important future research direction.

The research in its current form is fully descriptive, hence the need to supplement it with the examination of the recipients' side. The analysis observed the issuer's side, and the findings were made by an external observer in this sense. In order to further clarify the results, it would be worthwhile to explore the side of the media organizations with the help of interviews, which could reveal why it is that certain entities are selected to indicate the target entity, but not others. Based on the results of the descriptive analysis, hypotheses that could be verified during the examination of the recipients' side can be set up. For example, it could be investigated which metonymies bring the violent act or its result closer to the readers, potentially causing greater mental and emotional involvement. Based on the obtained results, it could be hypothesized that the FINAL SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT metonymy and the AGENT FOR ACTION and PATIENT FOR ACTION metonymic relationships have such an effect on the readers. In a broader sense, the expansion of the research in this direction would help to better understand why the visual representation of the initial and final stages and agents and patients is so prominent.

One of the main results of the latest Reuters Digital News Report refers to the changing nature of social media, revealing the declining engagement with traditional networks such as Facebook and the rise of TikTok and other video-led networks (Reuters Institute, 2023). In light of this and in connection with the issue of access (as written in Section 6.5), it would be intriguing to examine the role of visual metonymies in the representation of violence in social media. This could be particularly exciting for a better understanding of the central phase. At the same time, it should be added that this direction would lead to the analysis of the moving image, which requires different considerations than those discussed in this dissertation.

In connection with Africa, which was chosen as the case study of the research, it may be interesting to examine how the visual metonymic frames changed over time in a more extensive sample. The period examined in this research falls between 2011-2020, which can be linked to The Economist's "Africa rising" cover. The previous ten years were characterised by a professedly different narrative, which can be linked to The Economist's 2000 "The hopeless continent" cover. The changes in the thematization of violence certainly contribute to any changes in the Western image of Africa. Thus, in another research, it would be worthwhile to investigate the changes in visual metonymic relationships compared to the previous period (2000-2010).

In connection with the more general topic of the research, other types of violence could also be investigated in future research. At the same time, the focus could be narrower, following, for example, the list of the Child Rights International Network, or highlighting one specific type of violence, e.g., terrorism. Perhaps most importantly, the violence categorization must always be adapted to the event(s) giving the focus of the research. It is my definite aim to further refine the typology presented here in the future.

The investigation of an explicit act of violence with the established methodology can also be formulated as a research proposal. Our research on the Russo-Ukrainian War reflects this (Béni & Szabó, 2022; Nagy-Béni & Szabó, 2023), and this will be my goal in my upcoming research, which analyses the similarities and differences of metonymic substitutions related to the War by examining the leading news portals of NATO countries. I trust that the method can be suitable for examining the visual representation of any violent act. I believe that the research outlined in the dissertation has both theoretical and practical relevance and novelty. After all, violence, conflict and negative events have always been considered newsworthy, they have always represented news values, and this will certainly remain so in the future as well.

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Appendix

The appendix is provided as a One Drive link (accessible to anyone with the link) and contains the adaptation of the Excel table used during the analysis. The first tab contains the basic data of the news items, such as the number of the news item, year of publication, accessibility (URL) and headline. The second tab shows the result of the coding, uncovering which metonymies were detected for which item. Here, I only refer to news items by number. In addition, the folder also contains a subfolder in which the featured images are found (numbered in a way that is adjusted to the number of the corresponding news item). The creation of this subfolder was partly necessary because some URLs pointing to older articles do not always load correctly (and sometimes the opening image is missing). I was able to create the folder because in the second step of setting up the sample (i.e., the representative sample), I saved all images, so they would be available in these cases as well.

The folder is accessible via the following link: Appendix_NagyBéniA_dissertation