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Roman Jakobson Revisited. The Multimodal Trailer Event

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Heike Krebs

Roman Jakobson Revisited. The Multimodal Trailer Event

Abstract

Taking Roman Jakobson's functions of language as a starting point, this paper develops a multimodal application of Jakobson's linguistic theory in order to describe the communicative functions of the trailer for the first James Bond film, *Dr. No* (1962). The trailer as the main advertising instrument within film marketing seems especially apt for this aim, given both its modal complexity and clear functional purpose of selling the film.

Yet, contrary to the assumption of the conative function being most central in a trailer, a closer analysis on the micro level of the different visual, auditory and filmic modes a trailer offers shows that the expressive and referential functions are more elaborate and, thus, predominant. Other functions, such as the phatic, poetic and metalingual/metamodal functions stay in the background, still being central in that they provide the viewer an aesthetic and exciting viewing event and therefore a possible reason for wanting to watch the advertised film itself.

1. Introduction

Since the advent of cinema, film trailers have developed as the most effective way of advertising new films (cf. HEDIGER 1999: 112). But only recently has a

multimodal focus come up in the research of film trailers, located within media and film studies, semiotics and linguistics.⁵

This paper, which is part of a dissertation project on the multimodal transcription process between films and their trailers, develops an application of Roman Jakobson's functions of language (cf. JAKOBSON 1990). Given that his elaboration of this model was firstly published in 1960, it is obvious that some views have been discarded in the meantime, not least the idea of a linear speech event or communication as a conduit metaphor (cf. REDDY 1993; see also ORTNER 1992). Still, bearing this in mind, it provides a useful semiotic model, which can serve as a methodological framework to describe the trailers' communicative functions on their micro levels, i.e., concerning certain modes like image, speech, writing, etc. as well as the interrelations of these modes. Starting with a few defining remarks on multimodality and a closer examination of Jakobson's theory, a sample analysis of a James Bond trailer provides central answers to the question ›How do different modes support trailer meaning making?‹

2. Multimodality and Trailer Meaning Making

According to Vinzenz Hediger, trailers can be seen as the ›key element of every film advertising campaign‹ (HEDIGER 2001: 13; cf. 2005; translation H.K.) and they have been central since the first days of cinema—the first ›trailer‹ being screened in 1912 as a kind of preview for the next episode of a serial called *What Happened to Mary* (cf. HEDIGER 1999). Since then, trailers have conveyed complex information in order to sell the film they refer to.

This combination of a filmic content with a strong functional impetus seems especially interesting. Given the complexity a trailer offers, it is considered helpful to scrutinize the multimodal construction for a precise insight into the functioning of a trailer. Using Kress's definition of mode appears appropriate for three reasons: not only is it a concisely put explanation and central for a number of other researchers,⁶ but it also entails his social semiotic approach, which is considered useful for an analysis of trailer meaning making, too:

Mode is a socially shaped and culturally given resource for making meaning. *Image, writing, layout, music, gesture, speech, moving image, soundtrack* are examples of modes used in representation and communication. (KRESS 2014: 60; original emphasis)

As a trailer can be seen as a form of advertising, Stöckl's ›modalities in print and audio texts‹ (STÖCKL 2006: 29) are consulted for a selection of relevant modes, considering that Kress's examples do not provide a closed set of

⁵ See, e.g., MAIER 2009; 2011.

⁶ This has been shown in several presentations of the Winter School ›Mediality and Multimodality across Media‹ at the Graduate Academy of the University of Tübingen from January 28 to January 30, 2015, in which this paper was presented as well.

modes. As we shall see, these modalities are rarely presented in isolation, but usually in a combined way: (moving) image, text⁷, spoken language, music and sound (cf. STÖCKL 2006: 29). Furthermore, talking about film trailers, a ›filmic mode‹ must be taken into consideration, too. In the context of this paper, editing shall be the most prominent example within the filmic possibilities.⁸

3. Roman Jakobson's Functions of Language

3.1 Roman Jakobson's Work and Influence

In order to shed more light on multimodal meaning-making of film trailers, the aforementioned modes will be subjected to a functional perspective and compared to Roman Jakobson's functions of language. To this aim, it is firstly necessary to present Jakobson's views on language and possible parallels to modal entities. Only then can the factors of a speech event and the functions of language he developed thereof be scrutinized.

Hugh McLean's description of Jakobson »as not just a great Slavic scholar or a great linguist or a great theoretician of literature, though he was all of these things, but as one of the major creative minds of our century« (MCLEAN 1983: 19, cited in WAUGH/MONVILLE-BURSTON 1990: 45) is a first hint at Jakobson's interdisciplinary potential, which reverberates throughout his oeuvre. Being a structuralist and an advocate for Saussure's sign model (cf. JAKOBSON 1990: 50; CATON 1987: 224), he took great care to point out the dependency of the binary parts in Saussure's semiotic dichotomies as »focusing research on just one part of dichotomies such as code versus message, diachrony versus synchrony, similarity versus contiguity, or substitution versus combination destroys the fundamental complementarity of both members« (WAUGH/MONVILLE-BURSTON 1990: 34). Furthermore, Jakobson insisted in seeing and treating language as a tool of communication (cf. JAKOBSON 1990: 49) and in analyzing language as a means-ends model (cf. JAKOBSON 1990: 58).⁹ As was typical of the Prague Circle, Jakobson thus combined structuralism with a functional approach (cf. JAKOBSON 1990: 6), which not only allowed for a broad range of applications of his ideas, e.g., in phonology or poetics, but also enabled large influences on other disciplines like semiotics, mythology or anthropology (cf. WAUGH/MONVILLE-BURSTON: 1990: 41).

⁷ Stöckl refers to print texts, for the purpose of film trailers the use of the superordinate category ›text‹ instead of ›typography‹ seems appropriate.

⁸ For a broad overview of modes relevant to filmic purposes, see WILDFEUER 2014: 32ff.

⁹ According to Ortner (1992: 279) this can be criticized as a »mechanistic« approach, which does not give due respect to the dynamic character of communication. However, it should be considered that this functional perspective was rather innovative for his time and provided useful for the further development of linguistics.

Although Jakobson emphasized the linguistic sign as »the basic unit of this structural-functional whole« (WAUGH/MONVILLE-BURSTON 1990: 6), he was also interested in the »relation of language to other signifying systems, such as music and painting« (POMORSKA/RUDY 1987: 409) and his fascination for film as a »new art« (JAKOBSON 1987: 458) seems obvious. Among other things, he theorized about the semiotic modes of film, which in comparison seem to be much less symbolic than those of poetry, for example. »On the other hand, signs are the material of every art. The semiotic essence of cinematic elements is clear to filmmakers,« writes Jakobson (1987: 459), and gives the synecdochic potential of different shot sizes as an example. Comparable to language, these signs can provide different foci of the same object, creating a different reading in consequence (cf. JAKOBSON 1987: 459–460). One has to bear in mind, though, that sound film was only about to gain a foothold and that the first films Jakobson wrote about did not include auditory speech but text in form of titles between shots. Even more so, the question of the role of speech, sound and music as semiotic constituents of film seemed interesting to him. In order to enable an examination of these elements with regard to their functional aspect, firstly a description of Jakobson's factors of the speech event and a translation to a filmic context is necessary.

3.2 Six Factors of the Speech/Trailer Event

Building on the work of Karl Bühler, who had used a model of the speech event which consisted of three parts, speaker, addressee, and something referred to, Jakobson developed three more factors for his model. Additionally to *addresser* (1), *addressee* (2) and *context* (3), he saw the *message* (4) itself as relevant and furthermore added the factors *contact* (5) and *code* (6) (cf. WAUGH/MONVILLE-BURSTON 1990: 15–16). Each of these factors has a corresponding function: the *emotive* or *expressive* function is »a direct expression of the speaker's attitude toward what he is speaking about« (JAKOBSON 1990: 73), the *conative* function is aimed at the addressee and »finds its purest grammatical expression in the vocative and imperative« (JAKOBSON 1990: 74) and the *referential* function classically meant a focus on the context. The focus on the message gives rise to the *poetic* function, which is predominant in poetry, but also omnipresent in everyday language, e.g., in preferences in word order or alliterations (cf. JAKOBSON 1990: 76). A dominance of the contact factor can result in a predominant *phatic* function, which is present in »messages primarily serving to establish, to prolong, or to discontinue communication, to check whether the channel works (Hello, do you hear me?), to attract the attention of the interlocutor or to confirm his continued attention« (JAKOBSON 1990: 75). The latter two aspects rather belong to the »psychological connection« (MATHIOT/GARVIN 1975: 150) between addresser and addressee, which is also included in this factor. Lastly, the *metalingual* function refers to the code of the speech event by taking up what was said, e.g., for comprehension purposes (cf. JAKOBSON 1990: 76).

Jakobson's interest in *parole*, as opposed to the abstract level of *langue*, may explain that he specified the ›functions of language‹ in six ›factors of the speech event‹ instead of describing general ›factors of language‹. Given this orientation, it is evident that he did not see the functions as absolute or exclusive but stressed that a verbal message usually fulfills several functions, which are hierarchically ordered and whose predominant function is responsible for its verbal structure (cf. JAKOBSON 1985; 1990: 73; cf. also WAUGH 1980: 58). This relative nature can also be applied to the factors themselves, so that, e.g., the addresser does not necessarily have to consist of one unit, but can be subdivided further, for example in author and narrator, and even further speakers (cf. WAUGH 1980: 57–58). Thinking of film, the potential of subdivision is an important prerequisite for the application of Jakobson's model. As, according to Linda Waugh, it is moreover possible to »state that poetry is made not with ideas but with *signs*, words being only one of the types of signs« (WAUGH 1980: 60; original emphasis), a perspective on films—and trailers—becomes even more interesting, as they in turn consist of different types of semiotic sub-modes. For this end, her rendering of Jakobson's definition of language seems helpful:

Language—both code and message—is a *system of systems of signs*, a sign being an intrinsic and indissoluble combination of a perceptible *signans* and an interpretable *signatum*. [...] The act of verbal communication is, in effect, *an exchange of signs* between speaker and addressee. (WAUGH 1980: 60; original emphases)

Even though film cannot be directly compared to language, and any such attempts should be of a strictly metaphorical nature, this definition is suitable, as film certainly can be seen as a—rather complex—›system of systems of signs‹. So, how can a ›trailer event‹ be explained in Jakobsonian terms?

In order to analyse the constituting factors of a ›trailer (viewing) event‹, the event as such shall be explained. The general purpose of a trailer can be seen in advertising the film it refers to (cf. HEDIGER 1999; 2001). It does so in various environments, from the classical cinema screen before the main film, to several opportunities online. The different contexts create two different viewing experiences: viewers can see the trailer rather consciously on the one hand, for example on the website of their local cinema, and rather accidentally on the other hand, e.g., during the advertisements before the main film. Important as these distinctions will be for the effect of the trailer, they are less significant for the functional perspective of the trailer. In the following, the factors and functions of a trailer event will be explained in general terms, before more attention is paid to the functions of the constituting modes of one specific trailer.

In this respect, the trailer as such is interpreted as the *message*, which is produced by the *addresser*. Usually, this is a rather complex process, since the production company of the film engages another specific trailer production company for this task. As it is the production company which is interested in the sale rates of their film, it can be considered the most important element within the *addresser*. Depending on the trailer, it is also possible to en-

counter a narrator, often as a voice-over, personifying the *addresser*. The opposite factor, the *addressee*, is the viewer of the trailer in their role as a potential future audience for the film, which, in turn, is the object, or *context*, referred to by the message. The *context* could, apart from the film itself, also be the experience of watching the film. At first sight, *contact* and *code* prove more difficult to transfer to a filmic understanding of Jakobson's model. *Contact* can, on the one hand, be secured by the trailer addressing its viewers directly, on the other hand, the differentiation of viewing environments becomes relevant. While watching trailers in the cinema only poses a problem of *contact* if the sound system or projector breaks down, watching a trailer online with a bad internet connection makes it clear that the technical side of the *contact* factor is relevant, too. Finally, an explicit stress of the trailer *code* seems to be found rather rarely. However, it might be the case for intermodal references, which will be explained in more detail in chapter 4.2.

Before continuing to the analysis section, it is useful to discuss the functions of the trailer event as belonging to its factors mentioned above. The advertising function of a trailer already implies the *conative* function as central, since the main aim of the trailer is to generate an audience for the upcoming film. It does so in various ways and on various modal levels, for example by addressing the viewers directly, but, especially, by making use of other, subordinated, Jakobsonian functions. Another possibility of acquiring future viewers lies in praising the film's quality, be it by indicating famous actors, using positive adjective phrases like »superbly resourceful« (trailer *Dr. No*, 02:42) or emphasising the resourcefulness visually. All these examples can be subsumed under the *emotive* function of the trailer. Thirdly, the *referential* function refers to the context, in this case the corresponding film or, as already mentioned, future screenings of it. To this aim, the trailer directly presents excerpts from the film, as well as gives information about its release date.

Apart from these three major functions, film trailers can also contain a *poetic* function, which can be seen in their aesthetic value, judged for instance in competitions like the »Golden Trailer Awards«. Due to the rather one-sided communication situation of a trailer, the *phatic* function, aimed at the continued activation of the contact channel, can be found only indirectly, e.g., catching viewers' attention by loud sound effects. Extending the film advertising experience to other media, especially the internet, a given website or QR-code can be considered a clue for a possible continuation of the contact. Finally, the *metalingual* function cannot make use of a back channel, either, but, renamed *metamodal* function, put emphasis on certain modal elements of the factor ›code‹, as will be explained later.

4. Sample Analysis

For a sample analysis of the trailer functions the first James Bond film, *Dr. No* (1962), is used. It is considered useful to stick to the previous course of action, i.e., keeping the trailer functions as the starting point and assigning instances from the different modes to their corresponding function. Although a proceeding in the opposite direction, starting with the different modes could also be conceivable, it would create a different focus and might be misleading in some ways because of an isolated presentation of the modal contents, whereas much of their effect is caused by their interdependent use. For a thorough analysis, however, the modes will be examined clustered according to their perception channel in visual (moving picture, text), auditory (spoken language, sound, music) and filmic (editing) modes, as far as possible.¹⁰

Starting from the sender or *addresser* perspective, the emotive function expresses »the speaker's attitudes toward what he is speaking about« (JAKOBSON 1990: 73). In our case, this function includes all the multimodal information the (trailer) production company uses in order to show its—positive—stance towards the film. Visually, the viewers are presented scenes of suspense like a car race in the mountains, several explosions or flashing danger signs, but also pictures of interesting settings, beautiful women and kissing scenes, which convey the impression of an exciting film, which has something to offer for all kinds of viewers. Written text underlines this positive evaluation, especially by the adjectives »exciting«, »brilliant«, »action filled« and »first«:

Announcing an exciting motion picture [...] from Ian Fleming, whose brilliant action filled books have entertained millions of readers [...] now for the first time on the screen.¹¹

The text also brings up the fact that the film is »a first«, which can be seen as another special quality of it, as well as the technical information that the film is shot in Technicolor (cf. 03:08). The auditory mode of language proves these first assumptions. For instance, the main character gives additional information, when he mentions Jamaica as a future setting (cf. 00:10) or underlines the conveyed feeling of suspense by describing a dangerous situation he is in (»Up to my neck in hot water«, 02:30). Furthermore, the use of a voice-over narrator verbalizes these impressions: The film is going to be »a strange adventure of intrigue, treachery, and love« (01:13) and an »explosive screen dramatization of the book that has entertained millions of readers« (02:51). Concluding, the viewers are presented a »superbly resourceful James Bond« (02:43): »The exotic and tantalizing Dr. No« (02:57). This myriad of positive expressions about the film is further emphasized by sound and

¹⁰ For the differentiation into visual vs. auditory modes see WILDFEUER 2014: 33.

¹¹ Trailer *Dr. No*, 00:32–00:43 (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=myoVLMnKw2M> [accessed June 30, 2015]). References to the *Dr. No* trailer are further on given by only stating the time, using min:sec

music. Music was seen by Jakobson as the sign system that is closest to language because of its hierarchical structure as well as mostly symbolic nature (cf. JAKOBSON 1987: 462, 470). The latter makes clear that it can only serve as a secondary function within the trailer, which could be called redundant. According to Waugh,

[r]edundant signs are those signs which inform about other signs in the text and thus cannot be said to provide independent information; they are used in a sense to ensure that the given information is provided. (WAUGH 1980: 73)

While an independent, in the sense of differing, use of music might be considered possible in other contexts, e.g., for the purpose of providing an ironic aside, Waugh's definition is definitely helpful for the example of trailers. In this respect, it is the function of music to set the mood for this action film, thus further underlining the expression of the addresser's attitude. Sound provides actual examples for dangerous situations, for instance the roaring water (cf. 02:30, see above) or the famous gunshot sequence (cf. 00:28). Lastly, the contribution of editing as an example for a mode typical of film seems to be rather hard to pin down because of its abstract nature. However, a high shot frequency during the action scenes shown in the trailer certainly support the impression of suspense and excitement (e.g., in the pipe scene starting at 02:28 there are four shots within 6 seconds, in the final action scene starting at 02:38, 13 shots within 21 seconds, compared to the 6 shots within the first 28 seconds of the trailer).

In order to fulfill its function of advertising, the trailer can also try to address the viewers rather directly, which can be subsumed under the *conative* function, classically executed by vocatives or imperatives (cf. JAKOBSON 1990: 74). In the visual mode, this can only be found very rarely, most prominently in the gunshot sequence, when a shot is fired in the direction of the viewer (cf. 00:31) or when James Bond is driving towards the viewer when he is being chased by another car (cf. 01:37). In the latter case, the effect is somehow reduced as the camera is moving with him, so that he does not get closer. In contrast, Ursula Andress as Honey coming out of the sea and walking towards the viewer can be mentioned, even though again, the effect might be more obvious if she were looking directly into the camera, i.e., towards the viewers.¹² Within auditory modes, only one direct address can be assumed when the narrator remarks »You live dangerously with this superbly resourceful James Bond« (02:41). The use of sound, e.g. in the gunshot sequence, can be added as an underlining factor, but again, it takes up only a supporting role; the same can be said about music and editing. Interestingly, thus, this function appears rather underrepresented modally, which will be discussed further in the conclusion.

Thirdly, it is important to draw a connection to the advertised film, which is done by the *referential* function. This function seems to contain ra-

¹² In film, direct gaze into the camera can be classified as ›marked‹ as it is not very usual but categorized as belonging to alternative cinema (cf. ABRAMS/BELL/UDRIS 2001: 171).

ther factual information about the film by showing its various settings, e.g., on the beach or in a laboratory and giving a pictorial impression of the film. Racing and fighting, but also romantic scenes, as well as several explosions and flashing red danger signs classify it as an action-filled, but also in part romantic film and serve thus as a kind of genre classification. Furthermore, information about the producers, the director and the release company is given textually. A visual presentation of the cast is supplemented by written information about three actors' names, Ursula Andress, Joseph Wiseman and, in case of Sean Connery, also by the name of the main fictional character: »SEAN CONNERY AS JAMES BOND« (00:50), the font size of Sean Connery being almost twice as large as the main character's name.¹³ While the identification of the cast is a very good example of a necessary combination of different visual modes, the presentation of the film title brings together text and spoken language in the end sequence of the trailer, when the narrator talks about »the exotic and tantalizing Dr. No« (03:06), »Dr. No« appearing simultaneously in visual and auditory form. Spoken language on the part of the character can give a good insight into Bond's sometimes ironic way, using the interaction of language and picture, for instance when he comments the chasing scene: »And she sent a few of her friends to make sure I didn't get lost« (01:36). The sound in the trailer mirrors the sound of fictional actions and can be assigned the subordinated function of creating a realistic impression of the film. Music, finally, can be interpreted similarly, the analysed trailer having the special role of advertising the first film of a whole series. This means that already in the trailer for the next Bond film, *From Russia with Love* (1963), the music, especially the now famous Bond theme, not only serves for building up suspense or providing a background for the trailer, but also has an identifying role, which can be situated within the referential function. Editing only plays a minor role here.

The forth, *poetic*, function of a trailer event focusses on the message, i.e., trailer, itself and can be described as its aesthetic value. For this purpose the different cuts can be mentioned, especially the one leading to the James Bond gunshot sequence (cf. 00:28). Also the animated title sequence (cf. 00:44, 02:59) can be interpreted within this function. They do not pursue a concrete aim but exist in their own right, for their own artistic value. Linguistically, also poetic devices like metaphors, symmetries or rhythm can count within the poetic function (cf. JAKOBSON 1990: 76ff.), e.g., when Bond is saying about Honey that »she clung to [him] like a wet bathing suit« (02:03), while the picture shows the same Honey wearing a wet top clinging to her body. In this case, there is a clear parallel on the different modes of picture and language. Also the way the narrator introduces the main character is applicable for the poetic function because of the used parallelisms: »James Bond. 007. Licence to kill whom he pleases, where he pleases, when he pleases« (00:49).

¹³ With regard to Peirce's diagrammatical iconicity, the size difference can be interpreted as an informational focus on the actor, not the role he plays.

Due to the unidirectional presentation of a trailer, the *phatic* function could be judged as secondary. Still, taking into account that the factor contact also includes gaining and maintaining the viewer's attention, different modes come to mind. First of all, editing, especially with a quick succession of cuts, makes it necessary for the viewers to focus their attention. Also an appealing selection of presented visual and auditory information in general is responsible for keeping the contact channel open, a factor that could be examined more thoroughly by taking a look at which exemplary scenes have been selected from the film. Additionally, in the case of this trailer, the animated title sequences (»Dr. No«, 00:44, 02:59), which have been mentioned before, can also pursue a phatic purpose.

Finally, the factor of the code itself, providing the *metalingual* function in Jakobson's terms, shall be scrutinized. In contrast to the related phatic function, which is about communication for the sake of communication, the metalingual function is used to take up something that was said in order to ensure communication. One example for this function might lie in the text after the gunshot sequence (»Announcing an exciting motion picture«, 00:32), which explains the communicative function of the trailer itself, which is »announcing« a film. In the rather complex case of a trailer, I further suggest widening this function and renaming it *metamodal* function in order to make clear that the communication process includes different interacting modal levels. Using Waugh's definition of redundant signs comes to mind here, as they are used as a source of information about other signs as well as because of their potential for securing communication (cf. WAUGH 1980: 73). An example for this is the triple coding of the flashing warning sign, which has already been mentioned several times: firstly, it is a purely visual sign, the red flashing signalling a situation of danger. Secondly, the text on it reads »ABANDON AREA« (02:38) and thirdly, next to it, we can see two sirens put up on the wall. This visual information is then further emphasized by the sound of a siren, making it very clear for the viewer that this is a dangerous situation for the protagonist. Similarly, Bond's explanation that »something [was] blowing up in [his] face« (02:33) is accompanied by a visual explosion (cf. 02:34) a few seconds before he actually utters »blowing up« (02:35). These relations between different modes could be further examined in terms of other functions like the creation of coherence, on the one hand among different modalities and on the other hand on the time axis of the trailer.¹⁴

¹⁴ This explanation contains Jakobson's differentiation of »*selection* and *combination*« (JAKOBSON 1990: 77; original emphases), which is based on Saussure's paradigmatic vs. syntagmatic perspective.

5. Conclusion

To conclude, the question shall be taken up again how different modes, within Jakobson's model, can support multimodal meaning making in a trailer. For this purpose the different factors and functions in a trailer (viewing) event have been presented using multimodal examples. It has become clear that a separate examination of the modal functions is certainly useful for analytical aims, although it is recommendable to keep in mind some superordinate structure, which was provided by Jakobson's model.

Given the preset advertising function of a trailer, evidently some functions of the Jakobsonian model had been expected as more important than others, but surprisingly it was not the conative function, which was elaborated most explicitly, in terms of an invitation to the cinema, but the expressive function presenting the positive attitude of the (trailer) production company towards the trailer. Compared to other types of advertisement, this seems only logical, but still, the multifunctional and multimodal argumentation proves interesting: only the close cooperation between the expressive function and the referential function, which is responsible for the connection of the trailer to its corresponding film, could create an informative and exciting viewing experience—both factors being relevant for the trailer viewers to actually decide for watching the film, too. Furthermore, it is central to have the different modes interacting for Jakobson's functions to work properly, represented in the metamodal function.

Interestingly, also a trend in the distribution of auditory and visual modes could be discovered: generally, given auditory information seems to be rather fictional, which results in the fact that listening to the trailer without using visual information gives the viewer the most important narrative information about the film. Only relying on the visual information, on the other hand, means that the viewer obtains rather factual information, i.e., gets to know more about actors, director and producers, or the settings of the film.

For the future, several aspects seem worthwhile for a closer examination: apart from a more detailed look into what was subsumed here under filmic modes, also an analysis of a larger number of trailers seems interesting. In any event, the sample analysis of this paper provides an empirical application of Jakobson's otherwise mainly theoretical model of communication (cf. ORTNER 1992: 277) and thus a good starting point for further multimodal elaborations.

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