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The Use of Layout in Malay Language Newspapers' Front Pages

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Abstract

This paper deals with the use of layout in Malay Language Newspapers' (MLN) front pages. It examines front pages as they are the face of MLN and are commonly seen by readers. Layout concerns the placement of elements in space that consists of framing, salience and information value. This paper posits two questions: How is layout used in MLN front pages? How do image and language interact via layout? These questions are answered using front pages from MLN in Malaysia and Indonesia.

MLN front pages might seem aesthetic or haphazard to some but layout tries to make sense of them systematically. Layout recognizes that image and language elements placed in different parts of front pages gives them different values and hence different meanings. This also influences the roles of image and language in front pages and their inter-relations. These elements are not simply placed in front pages as designers have to exploit the space they have to create front pages that are cohesive and coherent. It is ultimately seen that layout helps make sense of MLN front pages. Its dynamic nature is seen that is also responsive to MLN genre and social practice.

Introduction

Layout is used in print media to decide where to place image and language elements. Layout might seem direct and simple to readers but it includes decisions regarding not only where but also how and why elements are placed on the page. Newspapers are not exempt from such decisions. Their designers are faced with the questions of where, how and why to place these image and language elements daily as many newspapers are daily editions. These elements make newspapers multimodal as more than one mode is used to communicate. Multimodality complicates layout because designers have to consider the relations in and among the image and language elements used. Layout places these elements in different parts of the page to give them different views, values and ultimately meanings.

This paper intends to study layout in Malay language newspapers' front pages from Indonesia and Malaysia. Front pages are chosen as they are the face of newspapers commonly seen by readers that lead them to the interior of newspapers. This paper tries to unravel the presence and function of framing, salience and information value in the front pages of two newspapers from Indonesia and one newspaper from Malaysia. It uses an occidental method to analyze layout developed by Kress & van Leeuwen (1998) that permits the discovery of its relevance and reliability for an oriental corpus from South East Asia.

Many newspapers are sized as broad sheets or tabloids but tabloids are half the size of broad sheets. Ryan & Conover (2004, p. 529) mention that newspapers perform four tasks, namely informing, interpreting, entertaining and persuading. Newspapers need to perform these tasks properly as they are consumer products (Ames, 1989, p. 21). They must know their market to ensure profitability. Market knowledge is a broad term that includes readers, their culture, their likes and dislikes and their needs and wants (Garcia, 1993) to provide readers news that they would read. This in turn means wider circulation that translates to more profit.

Newspaper layout evolved in time with changes in society and technology. Early newspaper layout was like the layout in books. This is so because most printers were book printers or general commercial printers first and newspaper printers second (Ryan & Conover, 2004, p. 524) that influenced their approach to newspaper layout. Newspapers were read from left to right and top to bottom, with little or no column division. Their layout constrained the reading path as readers had to follow the layout's predictable sequence. Yet, newspaper layout changed with the times. Societal change influenced this as competition among newspapers increased. Each aimed to be the first with the news, to obtain the most advertisements and the best circulation that meant more profit (Ryan & Conover, 2004, p. 526). Newspaper layout responded by not being bound by the book layout and adopted innovations that later became part of newspaper design (Ryan & Conover, 2004, p. 527).

Technological change also influenced newspaper layout as improved or new creations permitted it to be manipulated in many ways (Ryan & Conover, 2004). Layout is very much a part of contemporary newspapers, even if readers do not relate it to newspapers. Their traditional focus on writing and editing is now joined by design that is termed by Garcia (1993, p. 13) as WED where writing, editing and design are not seen as separate components in newspapers but are integrated together to create potent communication packages (Ryan & Conover, 2004, p. 523).

Front Pages

The front pages of newspapers are their first pages and are often seen first by most readers. As they always face readers, newspapers are easily identified and quickly recognized. Readers can judge the design and stories in newspapers by their front pages (Ames, 1989, p. 39). Front pages provide an instant identity to newspapers and they are a potent symbol of the newspapers' style, status and philosophy. These qualities put a lot of weight on front pages as they represent newspapers and become iconic of newspapers. In this case, the book *is* judged by the cover.

Front pages also inform, interpret, entertain and persuade (Ryan & Conover, 2004, p. 529) but they also have their own objectives. Ryan & Conover (2004, p. 562) identify six roles for them:

Role	Explanation
Identity	Identify the newspaper
Elicit Interest	Interest readers in the story with image or/and language elements
Organize News	Present important stories and order them by importance

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Set Visual Hook	Use a strong image related to the story
Serve as Poster	Create a coherent text through image and language elements
Summarize News	Contain summaries of important (often current) stories

Table 1 Roles of front pages

Front pages consist of many parts but it is the flag or the newspaper's name that mainly differentiates them from the inside pages (Ames, 1989). Ryan & Conover (2004, p. 561) write that newspapers are conservative about their front page layout due to the important roles it plays. Designers adopt a basic look for the front page so readers recognize the newspaper from day to day. Yet, designers also have to make it different enough so readers know the newspaper is not from another day but today (Arnold, 1981, p. 179). It is up to designers to creatively balance this need for continuity, flexibility and identity (Arnold, 1981) in design and layout is not exempt from this balancing act.

these placements. Layout also permits the study of multimodality, as it brings together the image and language modes to result in what Eckrammer (2004, p. 213) names a holistic semantic texture because layout provides space for image and language to interact harmoniously.

It is now useful to look at the method to analyze layout by Kress & van Leeuwen (1998). The signifying systems of layout are framing, salience and information value (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1998, p. 188). Framing is the use of certain devices to unite or disunite layout that in turn influences the front pages' reading path. Salience is the use of certain devices to catch readers' eyes. Information value is the placing of items at the top or bottom, left or right, center or margin of front pages that gives them different values.

Each signifying system contributes implicit meaning to the front pages' stories that could influence readers' perceptions of these stories. However, it must be remembered that these signifying systems are not absolute or static. They originate in society and can be changed by society in different times and places, depending on available technology. These signifying systems are reconsidered below in detail. Kress & van Leeuwen's (1998) method is chosen for this paper as it is one of the most detailed for studying layout. Although its origins are occidental, it would be interesting to find if the same meanings are seen in an oriental corpus. Despite cultural differences, Kress & van Leeuwen (1998, p. 218) believe that layout as a mode of visual communication and representation contains regularities that are discoverable. Besides that, the front pages studied in this paper use the same placements like occidental newspapers.

The Method in Detail

Information Value

Information value gives different values to elements, depending on their placement on the top or bottom, left or right, center or margin of front pages. Image or language elements on the left are presented as Given while those on the right are presented as New (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1998). Given is what is known to readers and New is what is unknown to readers and they should be more interested in the New than the Given. Given is taken for granted as it is already common sense and readers would agree with it but New takes the opposite values. Table 2 provides some of the different values of Given-New (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1998, 1996).

In general, Given elements are those that need not be explained as they are understood by readers, unlike New elements. Yet, these values are not absolute as the placing of elements is arbitrary and even if they are not, it is believed that most people would interpret such placements in the same manner. Such values are imposed on elements that are in fact value free by placing them on the left or right of front pages or in any other part of front pages (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1998).

Given	New
Agreement	Disagreement
Explained	Unexplained
Known	Unknown

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Normal	Abnormal
Old	New

Table 2 The values of Given and New

The same can be said for top and bottom or Ideal and Real. Ideal elements are seen as general information while Real elements are seen as specific information. Kress & van Leeuwen (1998, p. 193) mention that Ideal-Real often structure the relations between image and language, as one often comes on top of the other. Like Given-New, Ideal-Real also have several values attached to them, as said by Kress & van Leeuwen (1996) and they are provided in Table 3.

Ideal	Real
Abstract	Concrete
General	Specific
Heavenly	Earthly
Imagined	Unimagined

Table 3 The values of Ideal and Real

Like the values for Given-New, those for Ideal-Real are also not inherent in the elements but are suggested by their placements. By being so placed, the front pages socialize readers into adopting the values given to stories. This implying function of Given-New and Ideal-Real is important as they bring meaning implicitly to front pages. These placements work on binary opposition and framing and salience contribute to increase or decrease the opposition between left and right and top and bottom.

Another placement to consider is Centre and Margin. An element in the Centre is the nucleus of information that is supported by elements in the Margin (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1998, p. 196). In other words, Centre is the focal point for information while Margin provides auxiliary information. Kress & van Leeuwen (1998, p. 196) write that Margin tends to contain elements that are similar but van Leeuwen (2005, p. 208) contends that there are degrees of marginality, depending on the salience of Centre and Margin. Like Given-New and Ideal-Real, Centre-Margin can exist with other information values in front pages that permit these information values to interact without constraints.

Salience

Salience creates a hierarchy of (immediately) important elements, independent of Given-New, Ideal-New and Centre-Margin (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1998, p. 200). Salience is judged by visual cues and is an inexact operation, as there are many psychological and physiological and cultural and social factors that determine which image or language element is or is not salient (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1998, p. 201). There are a few ways for either the image or language mode to be salient to catch readers' eyes. Kress & van Leeuwen (1998, p. 200, 1996, p. 212) name a few devices used to do so, such as size, amount of detail and texture shown, color or tonal contrasts of the image and language elements besides perspective, placement in the visual

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field and culture. Placement in the visual field refers to the fact that elements become 'heavier' as they move towards the top or left of the page and culture refers to the higher salience of a human figure or a potent cultural symbol compared to other devices (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1998, p. 200). Salience exists in degrees as the salience devices can be strengthened or weakened and there are no exact borders between strong, medium or weak salience.

Framing

Framing enables the image or language element to be joined or disjoined, connected or disconnected by different framing devices (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1998, 1996). Connection is realized by the repetition of the formal features of the connected elements like color, shape or vector while disconnection is realized by framelines, discontinuities of color or shape and even empty space (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1998, p. 203, 1996, p. 215-216). These framing devices are not discrete but are a matter of degree as each device works on a scale from strong to weak. Framelines can change from very thick to very thin, depending on how close or related the stories on front pages are or want to be (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1998).

The use of such framing devices in turn influences the reading path of front pages. Readers would be more prone to read stories that are connected than those that are not, breaking the linear reading path of reading front pages from top to bottom and left to right. The presence of the image and language modes enables readers to scan front pages, making connections between the different modes in terms of their relative importance and information value (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1998, p. 205).

Layout in Malay Language Newspapers' Front Pages

The front page layout is now explored in two Malay language newspapers from Indonesia and one Malay language newspaper from Malaysia. They are chosen randomly online but they had to provide their front pages from 24/03/08 to 30/03/08. The newspapers from Indonesia are Banjarmasin Post and Kompas and the newspaper from Malaysia is Utusan Malaysia. They are daily newspapers but Kompas and Utusan Malaysia are national newspapers while Banjarmasin post is a regional newspaper. These front pages are discussed using the method to analyze layout by Kress & van Leeuwen (1998) and can be found online [See URL in References].

The layout in general for Banjarmasin Post, Kompas and Utusan Malaysia is relatively stable in the week. Banjarmasin Post and Kompas have a more vertical layout compared to Utusan Malaysia's more horizontal layout. They prioritize one main story by using a headline with a large and thick font with or without a photo related to the story. No clear preference could be seen for Given-New, Ideal-Real or Centre-Margin. These placements seem to have been mixed that makes the layout more fluid and emphasizes more stories instead of just one story. This opens up the reading path for readers, as they can choose which story they wish to read, influenced by the framing and salience devices employed.

Banjarmasin Post does not have a particular dominant information value. It mixes Given-New and Ideal-Real, depending on the story reported. As such, there is no preferred placement for the front pages in the week. This is not the case for Kompas and Utusan Malaysia.

In Kompas, Given occupies 1/3 of the front page and has the stock exchange's performance, rupiah exchange rate, weather, opinion column and short news. New contains four stories of national or international interest. New uses more space than Given and this preference suggests readers should be interested in the latest events inside and outside Indonesia, as they have just happened and readers need to know about these events.

New is the unknown while Given is the known because the stock exchange's performance, rupiah exchange rate, weather and opinion column are things of which readers know about that are printed daily and do not normally change drastically while the stories reported change daily. As readers do not know of the latest events, they should focus on the stories in New.

In Utusan Malaysia, Centre-Margin is used and the Centre is dominated by a large photo that has or does not have a story with it. The stories around this photo or its Margin do not depend on this photo, that proves these stories are relatively independent of the Centre. This confirms van Leeuwen's (2005, p. 208) statement about the degree of marginality. The Centre is the focus for readers but it does not dictate how the stories around it are read.

Given-New is also used at the micro level, within the stories between the image and language elements. Banjarmasin Post uses this placement often. When talking about a beauty pageant winner or a football star, the person is presented on the left as Given as these people exist and might be known to readers but the story related to them is presented on the right as New as an event happened to people that readers know of that (might) change what readers think of these people.

Ideal-Real is common in these front pages. Its most apparent use is to oppose the flag with the body. The flag consists of the newspapers' name and subsidiary information like its price, day and date. Ideal is what the newspapers' stand for or want to stand for. This is manifested by Banjarmasin Post and Kompas with their slogans- 'Demi Keadilan, Kebenaran dan Demokrasi' [For Justice, Truth and Democracy] and 'Amanat Hati Nurani Rakyat' [The People's Heartfelt Mandate]. These slogans belong to Ideal as they are the aspirations the newspapers' aim for that is realized through Real in the body that contains the stories. The stories are in Real as they concretize the newspapers' promise to be what they say they are. They are the evidence the newspapers are discharging their promise. This Ideal-Real is divided by framing.

In Banjarmasin Post, Ideal is separated from Real with a grey line. In Kompas, Ideal is separated from Real with two grey lines. The abstract is divided from the concrete because the former is what the newspapers want to do but the latter is what the newspapers can do and one might not satisfy the other always.

The Real below the flag is motley of stories but even these stories have an Ideal-Real division, at the micro level. These stories differ mostly in length, the presence or absence of a photo and

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differences in font type and size. Ideal is the main story of the day that often has a photo with it. It implies to readers that this is what they should focus on. Below this main story are minor stories.

This placement in itself orders stories as important or unimportant, as readers would be prone to treat a story that is more visible as important while the concerns of less noticeable ones are minimized. Each story also contains its own Ideal-Real because the story's headline gives an idea about the story that readers can pursue in the story's body. The headline is abstract but is concretized by reading the body as this is where the details are found that provide readers with ample information about the story. This can be seen in one story in Utusan Malaysia. It has the headline 'Ahmad mula tugas' [Ahmad starts duties] and readers would wonder who Ahmad is and what duties he has to start. These questions are answered by reading the story's body that explains that Ahmad is the new Chief Minister of Terengganu who has been ordered to start working by the king.

Advertisements are always found on the bottom of front pages. Like the flag, they are separated from the stories by framing. In this case, the advertisements in Banjarmasin Post, Kompas and Utusan Malaysia are found in their own boxes. Kress & van Leeuwen (1998, p. 211) mention that advertisements are found here as this is what people must do to obtain a product or service. It also addresses readers as consumers and reveals the economic reality of newspapers (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1998, p. 211) that depends on newspapers being consumer products (Ames, 1989, p. 21). As such, they not only 'sell' the news but also 'sell' products and services. This works two ways as newspapers earn revenue through such advertisements and advertisers get to reach their targeted audience or at least a larger audience through newspaper advertisements. The placing of such advertisements on front pages is also bound to increase their visibility to readers.

As seen above, Given-New and Ideal-Real work on the macro and micro levels of the front pages. They not only structure the relations between the contents of front pages but also the relations within these contents.

Salience is now considered. It refers to the use of salience devices to catch readers' eyes. Garcia (1983, p. 32) says that readers prefer a large and dominant photo in newspapers. All the front pages in the week use one salient photo. Its salience is due to this photo being bigger than the other photos and having more detail than them. Kompas and Utusan Malaysia use one main photo with a few diminutive ones and even though Banjarmasin Post does this, it also has photos of nearly similar size and detail to its main photo. Bain & Weaver (Cited in Ames, 1989, p. 46) write that larger photos interest more readers in the story and keep them longer in it.

The salience of the main photo is increased in Kompas as it is at the top of the front pages while in Utusan Malaysia, the photo is in the middle of the front pages. These photos serve as the main point of entry to the front pages (Garcia, 1983). Photos are common in modern newspapers due to their ability to interest people in the news. Such use of multimodality benefits newspapers as besides language, image can also be used to attract readers. In Banjarmasin Post, Ideal is the more salient placement because the main photo and the main story are located here. Bolder and bigger font are used to interest readers in the story, coupled with a large photo.

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As seen earlier, Given occupies 1/3 of the front pages of Kompas. Its space is limited but readers are drawn to it by the use of color and graphics. Given items are given a beige background compared to New items that have a white background. There are also graphics in Given to inform readers of the stock exchange's performance, rupiah exchange rate and weather, compared to mostly language in New. These salience devices ensure readers do not ignore the information in Given as it has information they need and invites them to read such information in Given. Similarly, color is used to increase the salience of the mobile phone advertisement in Banjarmasin Post. This advertisement is placed among the stories and might be lost among them if not for its black background that announces its presence to readers, as this contrasts the advertisement with the white background of the stories around it. Most photos have human figures in them, either in part or in total that increases their salience, no matter where these photos are placed. Readers relate easier to human characters (Burton, 1999, p. 54), as they show people in different situations that increases reader's identification with them. This can be used to draw readers to read the story related to the photo. However, the news is by and about people and it is perhaps inevitable to use photos with people in them.

Framing is seen but used differently in the front pages. Banjarmasin Post and Utusan Malaysia are prone to use little or weak framing among the stories but not Kompas. The stories in Banjarmasin Post and Utusan Malaysia are prone to be connected as they share a white background. This is due to the nature of these stories that are national ones. They are not divided from each other, as they are related in some way and are of importance to Indonesians or Malaysians reading the front pages. The opposite is seen in Kompas. Its stories are divided by grey lines. Stories in Ideal are separated from stories in Real by a thick grey line and stories in Real are separated by thin grey lines. This framing device implies to readers the stories are of different natures because some are national and some are international. The weak framing in Banjarmasin Post and Utusan Malaysia are repeated in the week, as is the stronger framing in Kompas.

However, these front pages contain more than stories. They also consist of permanent fixtures that appear in the same or different parts of the front pages. These fixtures change their content daily but always appear on the front pages. Such permanent fixtures are like the columns for 'Pendirian Di Getak' and 'Si Palui' in Banjarmasin Post, the stock market's performance, rupiah exchange rate and weather in Kompas and Muslim prayer times and 'Senyum Kambing' in Utusan Malaysia. Strong framing is always used to distinguish these fixtures from the stories and they are always given strong frame lines or/and a different background color than the stories. For example, the 'Senyum Kambing' fixture in Utusan Malaysia is found in the same place in the week and is put in a box with black frame lines. Such framing creates a discontinuity between the stories and these fixtures. It signals to readers that they are not reading the news but different and more light-hearted sections. Strong framing suggests the non-journalistic value of these fixtures and signals their status as the 'other' in the front pages. Strong framing is also used for advertisements and is used to divorce the news from the non-news features on front pages.

Framing is also used to divide Ideal-Real. This was seen earlier. Similarly, the flag for Utusan Malaysia is encased in a blue box that separates it, Ideal, from the body below, Real. Stronger

framing is used to emphasize certain information in the front pages. This is seen when the scores for a football match are put in a blue box above the related story in Banjarmasin Post and the picture of a lost child is put in a box with black frame lines in Utusan Malaysia. Framing, like salience, draws readers to certain information and by framing this information, its salience increases as it differentiates this piece of information from the stories around it. This connection between framing and salience is inevitable as the use (or non-use) of one has an impact on the other.

Color is extensively used in the front pages from 24/03/08 to 30/03/08. It helps different parts of the front pages to stand out and interest readers in what they have to say. Research by Click & Stempel III (Cited in Garcia, 1983, p. 117) says that readers prefer pages with color, that is concurred by Garcia (1983, p. 124). The use of color increases the salience of an image or language element. From here, readers could move to the next salient element and so on, as said by Kress & van Leeuwen (1998). This possible reading path is an estimate at best as different readers could find different image or language elements salient, depending on their particular psychological and physiological and cultural and social influences (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1998, p. 201). These front pages could have any number of reading paths as different image and language elements are likewise salient. Readers would probably move from the most salient element to the next most salient element and so on (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1998, p. 205). This results in many possible reading paths that cannot be predicted (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1998, p. 206). Reading paths become idiosyncratic as they are unique to the individual reading the front page in a certain time and place.

What interactions exist between the image and language modes in these front pages? All the front pages in the week are multimodal as they extensively employ image and language. The presence of image peppered around the front pages testifies to the modern look of front pages that are now depending on image to interest readers in their stories. Front pages use image to complement language. This in turn shapes the front page as a genre that depends on multimodality to interest readers. This reflects changes in society in general that depends more on image to communicate (Messaris & Moriarty, 2005, van Leeuwen, 2005, Fairclough, 1989). As such, the social practice of designing front pages has to be reflexive to such changes to remain a relevant genre in society.

Image like photos or graphics are salient as readers know what is going on in them with just one look, compared to language that must be read to find out what is happening. Image salience is manipulated by giving different photos or graphics different size, detail and placement. This creates a hierarchy among the photos and graphics used, as the more salient ones are prone to be noticed first. Image also leads readers to the story reported, even if it does not have a dominant headline. Similarly, language can also be made salient by making the font bold or italic or using different font colors, sizes and types. They contribute to create a hierarchy among the language elements as a bigger, bolder and colorful font connotes an important story. Stories with less salient font would be considered as less important. However, the front pages only imply importance that forces readers to focus on this 'important' story.

Saliency orders the news for readers as different image and language elements can be emphasized or deemphasized. This decision depends on the designers, the editors, other related personnel and the demands set on the newspapers. Layout cannot be separated from the production of newspapers because it is reflexive of the decisions taken during this process. As a result, readers are faced with front pages with more or less salient image and language elements that suggest the relative importance of certain stories over others.

This creates links between the image and language elements used. Hoek (Cited in Eckrammer, 2004, p. 217) identifies four types of relations between the image and language modes, depending on how much they blend. In newspaper front pages, multimedial discourse is utilized because the image and language modes used coexist on the front pages without blending (Hoek cited in Eckrammer, 2004, p. 217). They are separable and bring meaning individually to the stories. Either mode can function without the other although it is harder for the image mode to stand alone, as its meaning is only fixed in conjunction with other modes and if not in narrow communicative situations when it is used alone (Stöckl, 2004: 17-18). In other words, the language mode in the front pages is more independent than the image mode and can exist even without photos or graphics. Photos and graphics serve to improve the message of the language used but do not replace language in front pages. Juxtaposing both modes helps the stories become more tangible for readers as they can now see what happened. Besides that, the front pages become livelier with photos and graphics and this disrupts their linear reading path. Multimedial discourse enables the front pages to be more interactive, as both image and language modes through layout now wrestle for prominence and readers' attention that is unavailable in monomodal, language-only front pages.

Conclusion

This paper has discussed layout in Malay language newspapers' front pages. The relatively limited set of front pages and time frame restrain generalizing the results of this discussion. Yet, this paper is only concerned with the use of layout and the interactions of image and language in front pages, irrespective of time. The newspapers studied tend to use the same basic layout for a long time that permits generalizing this paper's results to more front pages in a larger time frame. Layout is dynamic and the placements of image and language in any part of the front pages are bound to change. A detailed analysis could be done using more front pages from the same or different newspapers. A quantitative analysis such as content analysis can be used to quantify the recurrent use of framing, saliency and information value in front pages. Besides that, a quantitative analysis with the qualitative analysis used in this paper could improve the reliability and validity of the results obtained. Such future research would contribute to extending the multicultural analysis of front page layout as started by Kress & van Leeuwen (1998, 1996) that also tests the limits of their occidental method.

Layout is varied and it changes daily. Hence, the placements of image and language do not seem to follow any order. Yet, layout is not free of values that structure the relations between the elements on front pages and those between these elements and readers to create front pages that are cohesive and coherent. This is due to the values attached to placements at the left or right, top or bottom, center or margin with the use of framing and saliency. Layout to some extent

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implicitly interprets stories for readers and different newspapers do this differently (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1998, p. 216). Ultimately, readers decide the meaning of stories and layout can but contribute to influence them. The way the stories are written and the ways the photos and graphics are presented also influence the interpretation of the news. Together with layout, they form a package that brings meaning to the stories. Layout's status as a semiotic resource is confirmed as it is able to communicate meaning through framing, salience and information value. This confirms the relevance and reliability of Kress & van Leeuwen's (1998) occidental method for a corpus from South East Asia. However, these three signifying systems do not and cannot exist in separation but together enable communication.

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