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Wejdan Alsadi, Martin Howard

THE MULTIMODAL RHETORICS OF HUMOUR IN SAUDI MEDIA CARTOONS

HUMOR RESEARCH

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Preface

Drawing on an analysis of cartoons from a number of contemporary cartoonists in Saudi Arabia, this book would not have been possible without the cartoonists' permission to use their cartoons for the purpose of the analyses presented. We are most grateful to Abdullah Sayel, Hana Hajjar, Manal Alrasini, Saud Almadi, Abdulaziz Rabea, Abdullah Almarzoq, Khaled Ahmad, Abdulrahman Hajid, Aiman AlGhamdi, Mfreh Alziadi, Mohammad Alrayis, Abdullah Jabir, Alshafea Sadik, and Migdad Aldikhiri for their generosity. We also thank Kirstin Börgen and Natalie Fecher at De Gruyter Mouton for their efforts in bringing this project to fruition.

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1 Introduction

Humour is both a social phenomenon, reflecting various social issues in society, and a psychological activity providing members of a society with an outlet to release personal and social stress and tension. We often hear "that's funny", a phrase very much connected with the concept of humour, but is "funny" the only criterion to define humour? Carrel (2008) notes that at the outset of the 20th century, humour and laughter were considered a form of release or relief, but researchers have admitted that it is difficult to give an accurate definition of humour. On the surface, it might be considered that producing and receiving humour should appeal to everyone. But understanding the underlying complex reality of humour is only realised when we look at the wide research into humour and its history. The nature of humour opens up different questions and lines of inquiry in different fields of study. For example, Raskin's (2008) discussion shows that humour research encompasses different disciplines from philosophy and religion, through psychology, sociology, anthropology, linguistics, literature, folklore, popular culture, translation, to health, education and computational humour.

While some theories of humour date back to the Ancients, including Plato and Aristotle, according to Graban's (2008) historical overview, humour was first considered within the area of rhetoric and oratory. Rhetorical studies of humour are attributed to an "Aristotelian notion of superiority" which views the use of humour as a "gentlemanly ornament" in the conclusion of a given speech (p. 399). Aristotle started the serious study of "wit" within stylistics and discourse which have contributed to the development of humour studies that emerged during the 20th century. At a more theoretical level, Carrel (2008) suggests that humour theories and research generally tend to be seen within three categories: incongruity related to perception and cognition, disparagement related to social and behavioural attitudes, and release or relief related to psycho-analysis.

In their historical account, Ermida and Chovanec (2012) note that the final quarter of the 20th century witnessed a more systematic linguistic analysis of humorous forms and important theoretical contributions which include Raskin's Semantic Script Theory of Humour, Attardo's General Theory of Verbal Humour, and Giora's model of marked informativeness in jokes which involve lexical puns. These theories have in common semantic opposition and contrastive meanings as a core characteristic of comic language. This highlights how semantics is critically involved in producing and understanding humour. The onset of this century has also witnessed important contributions around the role of pragmatics in understanding, producing and receiving humorous language. The shared knowledge and presupposition between the creator and the receiver of a particular humorous

text is an inevitable element for the success of humour. Attardo (2001) called for pragmatic as well as semantic analysis of comic texts which has pioneered research into humour from a linguistic perspective.

Literary works were initially subject to much of humour analysis, with the focus then shifting to include other verbal forms of humour such as canned jokes, conversational jokes, and puns. Later, researchers' interest in analysing different forms of humour in the media has grown to include a variety of texts in print, broadcast media and Internet-based media. Aiming to highlight the interface between humour studies and media discourse analysis, Ermida and Chovanec (2012) draw on linguistics-based analytical tools and models to examine humour forms in print and on the Internet such as in the case of advertisements, emails, gossip magazines, sitcoms, films, spoof news articles and others. Not only has verbal humour been the focus of attention, but so have other forms of humour where images and written and spoken language are involved. This shift of emphasis has raised the interest of some linguists to examine texts from another perspective that takes into account the multiple semiotic modes employed in particular humorous texts such as advertisements, comic strips, sitcoms and cartoons.

In this vein, within the field of discourse analysis and in line with the above interest, Kress and Van Leeuwen (2001) introduced the term multimodality which addresses the ways multiple semiotic modes, visual and verbal (written or spoken), interact to communicate a particular message, with each serving a role in communication. This theory of communication opens up new research avenues for discourse analysis, linguistics, sociology, and cultural and media studies to analyse humorous texts in the media which incorporate multiple semiotic modes to convey meaning. In multimodal theory, language is no longer the only means of making meaning, but one means among other semiotic resources involving image, sound, gestures, gaze, colours, etc. (see Kress 2010). Texts that combine different modes are therefore called 'multimodal' texts. The application of multimodal analysis to advertisements, forms of comics, films, and Internet-based texts with images, has led to the emergence of new terms such as multimodal metaphor and multimodal metonymy.

A key example of multimodal texts and a well-known form of pop culture is 'cartoons'. They are a form of visual humour, but often visual-verbal, where images and texts interact in the creation of the humour and satire intended by cartoonists. For Edwards (1997), cartoons "occupy a middle ground between the visual and the verbal, for they tend to incorporate both elements" (p. 12). Cartoons often use metaphor, allusion and metonymy to condense meaning and create new worlds of understanding (Edwards 1997: 8). Specifically, the employment of such devices, in addition to other symbols, makes cartoons a fertile area of study from a rhetorical perspective. Edwards further noted that

"such understanding often serves as a touchstone for subsequent thought and action, and it is this rhetorical function that is most in need for further exploration" (p. 11). Condensed and multiple meanings embedded within these speaking images assign them a significant social role (Göçek 1998). In essence, cartoons unveil cartoonists' interpretations of social practices through the medium of visual and verbal codes. This rich representation makes cartoons appealing to readers and thus fosters their immense social and political functions. They are evidence that humour, despite making fun of social practices, contributes to social awareness.

Against this background, this book is situated within the broad framework of multimodality and humour in the media. It aims at exploring the ways different rhetorical devices such as allusion, parody, metaphor and others are manifested in cartoons through different semiotic modes, mainly visual and verbal within a multimodal framework. The 202 samples analysed were published in well-known English Saudi newspapers and on the private accounts of a range of contemporary Saudi cartoonists. The cartoons are visual-verbal and thematically different, as a means of contributing to the growing literature on multimodality more widely, and humour and media studies in a Saudi context more specifically. Since cartoons belong to pop culture and humour is often culture-specific, analysing cartoons in a Saudi context serves as a window to another culture. Readers are introduced to different social issues in Saudi Arabia, culturally specific metaphors and idioms, and settings and atmosphere specific to this particular society. The book further highlights the developing role of cartooning in Saudi Arabia as a reflection on different issues in relation to the work of a number of cartoonists. Each chapter provides insights into contemporary multimodal research through discussing the rhetorical devices and techniques used in multimodal cartoons and the social issues they address.

Cartoons in the Arab world in general and in Saudi Arabia in particular have not previously received extensive scholarly interest, especially compared to the study of cartoons in Western society. This is perhaps attributed to the fact that the influential role of cartoons, as known today, started in Europe, particularly for political purposes, and then spread to the US and later to the Middle East (for further detail, see chapter three). The art of cartooning in Saudi Arabia has flourished during the past decade, with the number of Saudi cartoonists increasing substantially, boosted by social media and online newspapers. Developments in cartooning as an art, and the social changes taking place in Saudi society allow for interesting insights to emerge in a study of cartoons in such a context. Research on cartoons in an Arab and Saudi context complements the more substantial body of research in a Western context and contributes to both theoretical and applied perspectives on humour research in general. In particular, the systematic analysis presented

here of a diverse range of cartoons and the devices used to convey humour and satire sheds light on some conventional as well as creative aspects in the delivery of humour.

Beyond this introductory chapter, the book comprises seven other chapters to explore two overriding questions: how are the rhetorical devices manifested across the visual and verbal modes in the cartoons?; how do cartoons reveal social and cultural aspects about Saudi society? The next chapter is an introductory chapter discussing the concept of humour in general and some key theories of humour in philosophy and linguistics. Since humour is often culturally specific, and its understanding requires mutual background knowledge, humour is a pragmatic act for both the producer and the receiver. The chapter presents a brief review of the role of humour in the media either in print media, on TV and radio, or the Internet. It also surveys the contemporary interest in examining how meaning is conveyed through different semiotic modes and the influence of this approach on the way humour is examined. The chapter serves to introduce the multimodal approach which is adopted to analyse cartoons in this book.

Chapter three is concerned with cartoons as a humorous and multimodal genre in relation to their definition, history, types, functions, and some common rhetorical features such as humour, symbolism, metaphor, visual-verbal interaction, and intertextuality. As the data analysed in this book are taken from Saudi media, a brief review of research on cartoons in the Middle East and in the Saudi context is also provided. An overview of the cartoons used as data in this research is also presented.

Chapters four, five, six and seven are analytical, and serve to explore the two overriding questions noted earlier. These chapters provide examples of the qualitative multimodal manifestations of some common rhetorical devices used in the cartoons: allusion and parody as two forms of intertextuality (Chapter Four), multimodal metaphor (Chapter Five), the interaction between metaphor and metonymy (Chapter Six), exaggeration and juxtaposition (Chapter Seven). In exploring how these devices and techniques are employed multimodally to satirise different social issues in a humorous manner, characteristics of the Saudi cultural setting and atmosphere are revealed. The final chapter, chapter eight, serves as a final discussion synthesis of the principle findings in relation to the two research questions referred to.

2 Humour, media and multimodality

> Humor is culture-specific and nothing reveals the truth about a given culture more than
> its humor.
>   (Kammoun 2010: 248)

2.1 Introduction

Kuipers (2008) and Dynel (2013) describe humour as a social phenomenon as well as a communicative tool that is highly characteristic of everyday interaction and present in different types of media discourse. Humour, associated with laughter, is a significant part of our daily response to situations we are often exposed to (Salomon and Singer 2011). Tsakona and Popa (2011) note its major role in entertainment where it is "positively evaluated, and eventually desired in most contemporary societies" (p. 7). Nevertheless, humour is not only designed to amuse people and make them laugh, but also to criticise and satirize social practices and issues in a particular society.

While Shifman (2007: 189) described humour as "a universal phenomenon", touching on globally as well as locally oriented topics such as politics, ethnicity and gender, he admitted that humour can be "a unique key" to understand social and cultural aspects within a society (p. 187). Humour and culture seem to be intertwined such that they necessarily need to be discussed in relation to each other, as evident in much humour research. Andrew (2012) acknowledged the role of culture in understanding and appreciating humour. The appreciation of humour depends on the culture-specific discourses, stereotypes and symbols surrounding social issues in a given historical context.

Needless to say, the study of humour is now attracting many scholars and researchers all over the world. According to Kammoun (2010), it has become a focal point of discussion and a broad area of inquiry first in the US, then in Northern and Western Europe, lately in Southern Europe, and more recently in the Arab world. Historically, the language of humour has been scrutinised since before the 20th century. Literary studies have for a long time led the linguistic analysis of verbal humour (Ermida and Chovanec 2012), starting from the "classical theatre comedy [. . .] through the comedy of manners of Molière, the satirical plays of Ben Jonson and the landmark Shakespearean phenomenon, to Restoration authors, such as Behn, Vanbrugh and Dryden, and the 20th-century theatre of the absurd" (p. 2), led by Beckett, Pinter and Ionesco. However, it was only in the late 20th century that a more systematic linguistic scrutiny of humorous genres came into existence (p. 2). Dynel (2011) notes the growing literature of linguistic humour

research which captures numerous topics and approaches. For example, Raskin's Semantic Script Theory of Humour (SST) and Attardo's General Theory of Verbal Humour (GTVH) present two of the most influential contributions to linguistic research on humour (see Dynel 2011; Ermida and Chovanec 2012)

Humour may take the form of jokes, caricature, comics, or cartoons (Ruch, 2008). Since cartoons constitute the predominant focus of this book, this introductory chapter serves to present an overview of some key topics and theories of humour as a starting point to account for the way humour research relates to media, and then to multimodality. This chapter demonstrates how research on forms of humour in the media have shifted from a focus on purely verbal humour to include other humorous forms and discourses where different semiotic modes interact to produce humorous effects, particularly in terms of verbal-visual analysis. The analysis that accounts for other semiotic modes, in addition to language, is situated within the context of 'multimodality'.

2.2 The concept of humour

"What is humour?" constitutes a fundamental but challenging question to answer. For over 2,500 years, philosophers have attempted to define "humour", but have reached little agreement (Salomon and Singer 2011). While Attardo (1994) suggests that it is difficult, or indeed impossible to define the category of humour, linguists, psychologists, and anthropologists have described humour as "an all-encompassing category, covering any event or object that elicits laughter, amuses, or is felt to be funny" (p. 4). Therefore, he broadly viewed humour as "whatever a social group defines as such" (p. 9).

Ruch (2008) notes that laughter and humour are often treated as synonyms. The underlying assumption of this association is that "what makes people laugh is humorous, and hence the property is incorrectly seen as symmetrical [. . .] what is funny makes you laugh and what makes you laugh is funny" (p. 10). This leads to the identification of a mental phenomenon, humour, with a neurophysiological manifestation, laughter. However, Kuipers (2008) indicated that humour studies tend to exclude laughter from analysis, as there is no one-to-one relationship between humour and laughter (p. 385). Similarly, Ruch (2008: 23) confirmed that humour and laughter are carefully distinguished in psychology: there is laughter without humour as in social, embarrassed, or nervous laughter; and enjoyment of humour not associated with laughter. Yet, he notes that laughter, in addition to smiling, indicates "the intensity of the emotional response to humour, and mediates some of the effects of humour on health" (for further discussion, see Attardo 1994, 2003; Morreall 2008; Carrell 2008; Kuipers 2008).

The term "humour" is often associated with, and differentiated from, other terms such as comedy, irony, satire, ridicule, parody, mockery, and scorn. However, it is sometimes used as "an umbrella term" referring to such related phenomena since they share the element of incongruity, that is the sudden unexpected occurrence of an element or event in a particular situation (Tsakona and Popa 2011: 3). Humour has been a focus of theories in philosophy as we will outline in the following.

2.3 Humour in philosophy

Humour has often been examined in the light of three major theories in philosophy: Raskin (1985) classified the theories of humour into three families: Incongruity Theories, Hostility/Superiority Theories, and Release/Relief Theories (cited in Attardo 2008: 103; see also Attardo 1994; Phillips-Anderson 2007; Morreall 2008). According to Attardo (2008), incongruity theories, which date back to Aristotle, are essentially based on the assumption that humour is caused by an element of incongruity between what is expected and what is actually perceived. Morreall (2008) mentioned that Aristotle and Cicero considered this claim as a basic way to create humour and evoke laughter. McGhee (1979) defined the concept of 'incongruity' as follows: "the notion of congruity and incongruity refer to the relation-ships between components of an object, event, idea, social expectation, and so forth. When the arrangement of the constituent elements of an event is incompatible with the normal or expected pattern, the event is perceived as incongruous" (cited in Attardo 1994: 48).

Hostility Theory, on the other hand, dates back to Plato, and has been influential for analysts of humour. The theory is based on the claim that "one finds humorous a feeling of superiority over something, of overcoming something, or aggressing a target" (Attardo 2008: 103). Carrell (2008) briefly compared that while hostility theories are based on aggression, superiority, malice, and disparagement, release theories as the third main approach focus on the positive effects of humour on readers or audience. This is based on the claim, as indicated by Attardo (1994), that in release theories "humor releases tensions, psychic energy, or that humor releases one from inhibition, conventions and laws" (p. 50). Carrell (2008) further added that if the audience experiences any relief or release, then the joke is said to be successful and the reverse is true. What is important here is the effect of the text of a joke on the audience: the benefit of successful interpretation of a joke is the release or the relief (pp. 313–314). These theories later influenced linguistic theories of humour.

2.4 Linguistic theories of humour

According to Dynel (2011: 2), the growing interest in verbal humour is accredited to Raskin (1985). He proposed the first formal semantic theory, known as the Semantic Script Theory of Humour (SSTH) which has further been extended to the General Theory of Verbal Humour (GTVH). Semiotic, cognitive, and pragmatic approaches are integrated in both theories, resulting in "a multidisciplinary orientation of humour research" (see also Ruch 2008: 25).

The SSTH is based on scripts defined by Raskin (1985) as "a large chunk of semantic information surrounding the word or evoked by it" (cited in Brône 2012: 465). Attardo (2001) defined a script as "a complex of information associated with a lexical item" (p. 53). Scripts are also termed as "frames", "scenarios", and "schemata" (p. 2). However, Raskin's theory necessitates two conditions according to which a text can be described as a single-joke-carrying text: 1) the text is "compatible", either fully or in part, with two different scripts; and 2) the two scripts are opposed/opposite.

Attardo (2001) acknowledged that the GTVH, proposed later, is a revisited version of the SSTH: while the SSTH is a semantic theory, the GTVH is a linguistic theory that is not only based on semantics, but also includes other linguistic aspects such as textual, narrative, and pragmatic aspects. These diverse linguistic aspects are approached through six knowledge resources (KRs): the script opposition (SO), the logical mechanism (LM), the target (TA), the narrative strategy (NS), the language (LA), and the situation (SI). Nonetheless, Dynel (2012) commented that both theories have shown the interplay between humour and pragmatics.

2.5 Humour and pragmatics

According to Barcelona (2003), jokes and other forms of humour, particularly those requiring certain inferential efforts, are of much interest for pragmaticians. Dynel (2012: 1) considered pragmatics as "the backdrop" of humour research in so far as scholars assume various theoretical perspectives drawn from pragmatics when they examine different humorous forms of discourse such as advertisements, films, series, and other cultural artefacts.

More specifically, Attardo (2001) emphasised the role of presuppositions and encyclopedic knowledge as necessary pragmatic tools in interpreting humorous texts. While pragmatic presuppositions, known also as "mutual knowledge" or "common ground", refer to "the amount of information" shared between the speaker and the hearer (p. 52), the term encyclopedic knowledge, as defined by

Kecskes (2012), refers to "the knowledge of the world as distinguished from the knowledge of the language system" (p. 175).

Similarly, Ermida (2012) explained the relation between Raskin's script approach to humour and pragmatics. She argued that the notion of 'script' is primarily a pragmatic one as it hinges on the participant's worldview and knowledge. Unlike lexemes that have dictionary meanings, scripts cannot be "dictionarised" because the similarities that build the semantic network of scripts rely heavily on the speaker's frames of reference, lived experience, and general culture (p. 193). In her analysis of humour in spoof news articles, Ermida stressed the crucial role of the reader's encyclopedic knowledge in identifying textual allusions and presuppositions.

Investigating humour varies not only in the wide range of approaches and theories adopted for the analysis, but also in the various forms in which humour appears. Many examples of humour are extracts from different sources of the media which constitutes a fertile ground for humour as it includes different humorous discourses.

2.6 Humour research and the media

> Humour becomes a powerful tool in the hands of the media.   (Tsakona and Popa 2011: 7)

So far, the presentation has been concerned mainly with the basic theories and topics of humour as related to linguistics in general. Ermida and Chovanec (2012) noted that previous studies of humour have focused on the understanding of the mechanics and the function of humorous texts, such as canned jokes, conversational humour, and comic narratives rather than on the use of humour in particular domains. Likewise, Kuipers (2008) states that jokes have been the favourite genre of humour research, but also attributes this notable focus on the nature of jokes: they are "easily available", and "very clearly intended to be humorous", with humour usually located in the punch line (p. 387). Nevertheless, the growing interest within the media in creating and disseminating humour allows people to enjoy humour not only "in face-to-face interaction", but also through "a variety of media: print, television, the Internet" (p. 387).

Danesi (2013a) pointed out that media analysis has used a combination of ideas and techniques for various purposes; thus, studying media discourse as a whole has developed into an important interdisciplinary area investigated from different disciplines such as anthropology, semiotics, linguistics, psychology, sociology, literary theory, aesthetics, and so on. Gamson and Stuart (1992: 55) further argued that the mass media plays a major role in the construction of

political as well as social reality, and hence, it is a domain where different social groups, institutions, and ideologies struggle over the construction of social reality.

Taking into account the significant role of the media in our lives, Craik and Ware (1998) pointed out that the events we experience in our daily life are often "humorously transformed" either by our own efforts, or by the efforts of other members in our community (p. 63). Our interaction with humour extends beyond ourselves and our immediate social circle. We live in a humorous environment, formed and reshaped by humour professionals and disseminated in the media of advertisements, magazines, newspapers, the Internet, radio, and television. Various forms of humour, including jokes, are circulated on the Internet. Humour is hence "ubiquitous" and pervasive throughout the media (p. 63).

Likewise, Hallett and Kaplan-Weinger (2007) noted that the role of the media is not only to broadcast news, but also to present news in satirical and humorous versions. This is obvious in the appearance of fake news programmes such as the American programme *The Daily Show with Jon Stewart*. In the same way, Kuipers (2008) argued that such "mediatization" of humour has affected the interpretation of humour, and has led to new mediated humorous forms, such as the sitcom on TV. She added that further attention should be paid to humorous forms in the media such as comedy, cartoons, or humorous advertisements. Lockyer and Pickering (2005) argued that media humour has the potential to generate serious arguments over the meaning of a joke, because such humour is no longer located in one context. The diversity of contexts further makes jokes "more polysemic and ambiguous" as in the controversy generated around the Danish cartoons about Prophet Muhammad (see Kuipers, 2008: 388).

Drawing on other research findings, Tsakona and Popa (2011) acknowledged the pervasiveness of humour in the media. Humour produced by the media not only takes the form of "institutionalised humorous genres" such as cartoons, TV or radio satirical shows, and humorous websites, but also extends to include genres which are not inherently humorous such as reports and news items (p. 5). For instance, political speeches and interviews broadcasted by the media are characterised by a humorous tone or humorous remarks added by politicians to their discourse as an attempt to maintain their popularity and attract "prospective voters" (p. 7). It has also been argued that humour has the potential to make serious media discourse "memorable and attractive" for the media (p. 7). Therefore, journalists often choose humorous extracts to be reproduced in their news articles as a way to gain readers' appeal and approval.

In their collection of studies which brings together humour studies and media discourse analysis, Chovanec and Ermida (2012) note how humour and the media are "such intertwined phenomena that it may be hard to tackle one

without resorting to the other" (p. 1). The media is rich in linguistic manifestations of humour, "from cartoons and comic strips, through Internet gags and humorous adverts, to sitcoms and funny remarks in editorials and opinion articles" (p. 1). The authors call for more attention to be paid to humour in the media "as a discoursal device and a sociolinguistic phenomenon" (p. 1).

While some studies focus on humorous texts in the print media such as spoof news and advertisements, or in the Internet-based media such as online jokes and reviews, others focus on humour in interaction and conversations either in broadcast media such as TV sitcoms and films, or in online-based communication and commentary (see Chovanec and Ermida 2012).

The following sections will provide a brief survey of some studies examining the role of humour in a variety of such media sources: Internet/online, TV/Radio, and the print media. Although the focus is on humour in the media in general, it is impossible to isolate humour from social themes and issues, such as gender, ethnicity and religion, since humour is primarily a social phenomenon.

2.6.1 Internet/online humour

It is widely acknowledged that online social networks and websites provide a rich arena where individuals exchange conversations, and share opinions and popular jokes which, in turn, disseminate stereotypes, construct identities, as well as criticise others. These interactions and conversations often include humorous texts which have attracted research attention. For instance, Shifman and Lemish (2012) analysed the jokes circulated over the Internet about blond women. While there are some stereotypical features of the blond female such as "stupidity" and "promiscuity", the analysis focused on how these features are textually manifested in the jokes.

Chovanec (2012) analysed the live sports commentary published in the online version of *The Guardian*, considering it as an interactive humorous genre. The researcher argued that "live text commentary" is a new genre of online journalism that has recently attracted the attention of linguists. A relevant study in which humour is used as a creative linguistic resource is that by Vásquez (2014). She examined hotel reviews from the online travel website, *TripAdvisor*, focusing on the negative reviews rather than the positive ones. Focusing on the interpersonal dimension of language use, the analysis showed that humour is a characteristic feature contributing to the construction of reviewers' identities, and is often realised by means of wordplay as in the following example: "My wife and I discovered by being woken up in the middle of the night, that we were being eaten alive by BED BUGS, giving a whole new meaning to bed and breakfast!!" (p. 82).

As an example, the study indicates that humour functions as a discursive resource that helps provide information about people and identify them as reasonable individuals, with normal expectations when they travel.

2.6.2 Humour in TV and radio discourse

The mechanisms of humour in mass media, such as TV shows, series, sitcoms, and films have also been examined (Ermida and Chovanec 2012). For example, Ma and Jiang (2013) examined the role of humour in the famous sitcom *The Big Bang Theory*. Dynel (2012) examined discourse from the famous drama series *House*, focusing on the role of metaphor in producing humorous effects. The analysis showed how different types of metaphors are constructed in film discourse and how they contribute to the amusement of the recipients. In relation to radio discourse, Coulson (2005) analysed a conversation from a radio talk show, *Loveline*. The show hosts a physician and a comedian who answered callers' questions about sex, drugs, and relationships. The analysis focused on the humour in the hosts' conversation about one of the callers' problems.

2.6.3 Humour in the print media

Ermida (2012) examined the mechanisms of humour in spoof news articles published in 2011 in the Portuguese spoof newspaper, *The Public Enemy*. Spoof news is located within the wider context of fake journalism in which "everyday newsworthy events" are turned into "comical fake counterparts". Nevertheless, they are "made-up humorous" portraits of pervasive social aspects in real life situations such as, "male/female relationships", "generation gap", "bosses and employees", "consumerism", and so on. In this sense, they are called "parodic news satire" (p. 187). Parody and satire are two elements contributing to humorous effects. Spoof articles form a discursive media genre that criticises social aspects, events, people, and their flaws and limitations in a humorous manner. They serve to amuse readers and help them form evaluations around their contemporary society and issues.

Apart from focusing on purely verbal humour in the media, humour is also investigated in media genres incorporating verbal-visual elements such as advertisements, comics, billboards, and cartoons. Analysing humour in such media genres is the focus of the following section.

2.7 Towards a multimodal analysis of humour in the media

Forceville and Urios-Aparisi (2009) acknowledged that today's verbal messages and texts in mass communication are complemented by information in semiotic modes, be they visual or audio. For instance, printed material, such as advertisements, manuals, instruction books, maps, graphics, and cartoons usually depend on the interaction between verbal and pictorial modes to convey messages and information (p. 3). Similarly, Kress and Van Leeuwen (2001) admitted that the dominance of "monomodality" has declined (p. 1). Colour illustrations, sophisticated layout and typography, for example, have become typical features not only in mass media genres, magazine pages and comic strips, but also in documents produced by institutions, companies, universities, and government departments.

In the late 1980s and 1990s, a number of linguists highlighted how meaning is conveyed through other semiotic modes, in addition to language. A linguist might thoroughly analyse the language of advertisements, but critically their meaning is also communicated through visual features, such as an image or a photograph (Machin and Mayr 2012: 7).

However, the emphasis on the verbal-visual interplay is not necessarily new. According to El Refaie (2009b), Barthes (1977) was the first to introduce the term "anchorage" in order to describe the way that language is frequently required to fix the meaning of images, and the term "relay" to identify the complementary relationship between words and images in sequential forms of communication, such as comics and films. This attempt has paved the way to examine the different ways in which the verbal and the visual modes interact (p. 195). The verbal elements guide readers and audience to the more preferred interpretation of the visual image. Likewise, Kress and Van Leeuwen (1998) asserted that "visually and verbally expressed meaning may be each other's double and express the same meanings, or they may complement and extend each other, or even clash and contradict" (p. 187).

Kress and Van Leeuwen (2001) described the interaction of different semiotic modes to communicate a message as multimodality, and established a multimodal theory of communication. They defined the term 'multimodality' as "the use of several semiotic modes in the design of a semiotic product or event, together with the particular way in which these modes are combined" – they may for example "reinforce each other", "fulfil complementary roles", or "be hierarchically ordered, as in action films" (p. 20). While Kress and Van Leeuwen's definition focused on how different modes interact in particular ways, Jewitt's (2009) definition of the term emphasises the role of these modes in meaning-making and in achieving meaningful communication: "multimodality describes approaches

that understand communication and representation to be more than about language, and which attend to the full range of communicational forms people use – image, gesture, gaze, posture and so on – and the relationships between them" (p. 14).

Cohn (2012) points to the growing interest in the verbal and visual interface, more particularly in how text and image can combine to form singular units of expressions. Cohn noted that the study of multimodality must not only account for "how different modalities interact in expressions and their regularities, but also how cognitive structures contribute to such interactions" (p. 110). In the same vein, Tsakona (2009) suggested that theories of humour such as the GTVH should be expanded to account not only for the verbal mechanisms of humour but also for the visual ones. This is particularly required in domains in which meanings are produced and scripts are activated by verbal and visual modes, as is the case with cartoons, films, and sitcoms. He called for the unification of linguistic and semiotic approaches to humour.

The term "multimodality" is used in many fields within which linguists attempt to reflect modern technological changes (Scollon and Levine 2004). The use of different modes to communicate a message in a humorous manner is manifested in daily online-mediated interaction. For instance, Fujii (2008: 194) presented a humorous example from an email message where there is a blend of two languages and two different modalities: the spoken and written. A Lithuanian-American woman was planning a Secret Santa gift exchange with three friends, and her Lithuanian husband was asked to "pair up" the participants. He sent emails to announce the recipients of each participant's present (1), but his message to his wife (2) was a humorous blend:

1. Welcome to Secret Santa Gift Exchange 2001! It is a live performance. I'm pulling names out of Danguole's hat NOW. Attension! _ your match is . . .
2. Velkom tu Sykret Senta gift ekscendz' 2001! It iz e laiv performans. Ai em puling neimz aut of jor het NAU. Atension! _ jor mica iz . . .

In message (2), lexemes and syntax are derived from the English language, whereas phonology and orthography are derived from the Lithuanian language. This created the effect of a Lithuanian accent (the spoken mode) in the written mode. While this example is not an ideal one *per se*, it is enough to indicate the interaction of modes and its humorous effects in our everyday communication. It showed that accent, as a form of the spoken mode, is sometimes projected in the written form. However, humour research has paid notable attention to multimodal humour in both interactional and non-interactional media discourse as will be briefly surveyed in the following.

2.7.1 Humour in interactional media discourse

As an audio-visual medium of communication, TV allows the use of different modalities, spoken, visual, as well as written. Within the context of humorous discourse, Hallett and Kaplan-Weinger (2007) analysed the discourse of humour in *The Daily Show with Jon Stewart*, an American programme incorporating spoken, written, and visual modalities in reporting the news of the day. These modalities work interdependently and intertextually to produce messages which not only inform, but also comment satirically on political as well as social issues. The analysis also brought to focus the influence of humour on the construction of hegemony. However, humour resides not only in phrases and words, but also in images and motions associated with matters outside the programme itself. Therefore, understanding the humour in *The Daily Show* depends on prior or background knowledge of people and events that are not mentioned explicitly in the show. The study contributes to our understanding of the discourse of humour in general by expanding the dialogic/intertextual analysis to incorporate multimodal analysis and the "hegemonic functioning of spoken, written and visual texts" (p. 151).

Based on extracts collected from American comedies aired in 1999, Attardo et al. (2003) examined multimodal markers of irony and sarcasm that include intonational as well as visual clues, such as change of pitch and facial expressions such as a "blank face". The analysis showed that the 41 utterances collected from the American comedies have an ironic or sarcastic nature due to the use of different pitch and intonational patterns, and facial expressions. These multimodal markers in speech play a part in delivering irony, humour, and sarcasm in comedies; however, audiences also need to resort to their background knowledge in the process of interpretation.

Gerhardt (2009) focused on how a TV programme stimulates humorous reactions and responses which are often a combination of different modes delivered to viewers. The researcher analysed people's reactions to humorous stimuli in a football match, and the strategies used by the television viewers to produce their own humorous effect. Viewers can create humour either multimodally, through pointing to the picture on the screen while talking, or intertextually, through commenting on the talk of the TV sportscasters. The analysis indicated that these multimodal strategies of creating humour in the reception situation are used as a tool to help viewers identify themselves as fans, experts, or proponents of a particular team.

2.7.2 Humour in non-interactional media discourse

While some research has focused on how humour is constructed multimodally in interactional media discourse, another body of research has investigated humour in non-interactional media discourse which often hinges on the verbal-visual interplay. For example, humour in advertisements has been widely investigated (see Pinar Sanz, 2006; Gulas and Weinberger 2006; Weinberger et al. 2012).

However, Pinar Sanz (2012) admitted that little attention has been paid to the interaction between verbal and visual modes, and the role of this significant interplay in the production and construction of humour. Therefore, she discussed "the verbo-visual relation" in political advertising published during the 2005 election campaign in Britain. Humour is investigated from a multimodal perspective, focusing on multimodal metaphor (see chapter three). The target characters are the Jewish politicians, Michael Howard and Oliver Letwin. The analysis showed that visual elements, through which metaphors are usually constructed, interact with textual elements to draw stereotypical, yet humorous, characteristics about Jews. The advertisements criticise politicians by drawing on and alluding to stereotypical features about Jewish people in general. Humour of this kind is also situated within the specific context of humour and ethnicity or even religion.

Not only politicians but also celebrities are a repeated focus of jokes and humour in the media. Dakhlia's (2012) analysis focused on the humorous devices in French celebrity magazines to gain "the readers' complicity" (p. 231). While the study adopts a socio-discursive approach, it paid attention to linguistic as well as semiotic features where they serve as media strategies appealing to specific readers. The discourse of the French gossip magazines is described as a real "iconotext" where pictorial and verbal language are inseparable, and as "a fine example of the multimodality of contemporary communication" (p. 233). The study highlighted the role of photography in gossip magazines as representative of the traditional significance of image in the discourse of popular media. Through irony, sarcasm and mockery, the gossip magazines give readers a reason to laugh at the stars. However, Dakhlia concluded that "whatever the magazine, humour is a way of reassuring the audience inasmuch as it confirms the common humanity of the elite and the readers" (p. 246).

2.8 Summary

This chapter has provided an overview of the complex phenomenon that is "humour", including its definition, functions, and the basic humour theories

originating in philosophy: Incongruity Theory, Superiority Theory, and Hostility Theory. It has also referred to the most influential linguistic theories of humour, mainly Raskin's Semantic Script Theory of Humour and Attardo's General Theory of Verbal Humour. While humour is a universal phenomenon in so far as it exists in almost every society, it is culture-specific requiring certain background knowledge to be appreciated. Taking this feature into account, the chapter also highlighted the role of pragmatics in the interpretation of humour.

The role of humour in the media has also been a point of interest in this chapter. The scope of humour research has generally extended to different forms of media discourse manifested in Internet/online media contexts, on TV and radio, or in the print media. The chapter has further indicated how humour research has witnessed a shift of emphasis from focusing on purely verbal humour to embrace a multimodal-oriented analysis of humour in the media. Multimodal analysis of media humour ranges from interactional media discourse such as comedy, sitcom situations or humorous shows, to non-interactional media discourse such as humorous advertisements and humorous texts in magazines.

The survey is useful to build the background necessary for discussing multimodality. It serves as a building block for the coming chapters in which cartoons as a media and humour discourse are examined from a multimodal perspective. Reflecting the focus of our analysis of cartoons, the following chapter presents a review of some aspects of cartoons as a genre combining both the visual and the verbal.

3 Cartoons: A multimodal genre

3.1 Introduction

While the popularity of print newspapers has evolved, in previous times, readers used to read printed newspapers to inform themselves on local and global issues often of a serious nature such as the world economy, politics, public opinions, wars and other global crises. Across all of these, a single image alone, such as a cartoon image, can tell a reader a great deal about the truth of a current issue, comment on it, and manipulate readers' opinions, in a very unique, condensed manner. The image often satirises, or makes fun of a political, social, or economic issue. A condensed cartoon image then is the part where readers find amusement and entertainment, taking them away from the serious.

Today, electronic newspapers and magazines have overtaken the role of printed newspapers. However, a cartoon retains the same function with slight changes in the formal features due to the use of computer programmes in drawing and colouring. Readers still find amusement and humour in such cartoons, and understand the satirical comment and the humorous manner of cartoons in relation to serious issues. Researchers over the years have emphasized the humorous, artistic, rhetorical and provocative functions of social and political cartoons. They have also stressed the powerful and effective function of cartoons in conveying the intended message of cartoonists.

Edwards (1997) pointed out that cartoons are not only forms of humour, but also "artistic work", "artifacts of journalism history", as well as "rhetorical texts" (p. 20). Additionally, Conners (2014) suggests that the combination of visual, cultural, and literary allusions in a cartoon, along with a text that may take the form of a headline or words spoken by characters, results in "a compelling and provocative image of opinion" (p. 247). As the author notes, cartoons, thus, represent "a unique version of storytelling from other media narratives"; yet, they are different from other contents of newspapers (p. 247). Likewise, Tsakona (2009) commented that cartoons may be more appealing and even more effective in conveying the intended message due to the combination of both verbal and visual modes (p. 1171).

This chapter discusses the language of cartoons, their function and most important features, focusing on the multimodal aspects. Since our focus is cartoons in Saudi media, we will also consider the status of cartoons in that context.

3.2 Definition of cartoons

According to Hempelmann and Samson (2008) and Danesi (2013b), the word 'cartoon' comes from the Italian word *cartone*, referring to a strong, heavy paper or pasteboard used for drawing. A cartoon is generally defined as "a drawing in a newspaper or magazine intended as a humorous comment on something" (online Merriam-Webster dictionary). The Oxford dictionary also defines a cartoon as "a simple drawing showing the features of its subjects in a humorously exaggerated way, especially a satirical one in a newspaper or magazine". A cartoon is further used to refer to "a film using animation techniques to photograph a sequence of drawings rather than real people or objects". However, this last definition is beyond the scope of our work here. The first two definitions highlight a few basic features of a cartoon: a drawing, humour, exaggeration, and satire.

Beyond dictionary definitions, scholarly attempts to define cartoons have focused on the principal aspects of cartoons. Samson and Huber (2007) defined cartoons as "drawings in which an action, situation, or person is caricatured or symbolized, often in a satirical manner" (p. 1), while Hempelmann and Samson (2008) described cartoons as a "humor-carrying visual/visual-verbal picture, containing at least one incongruity that is playfully resolvable in order to understand their punch line" (p. 614). Lapierre (2013) defined cartoons as "texts based on drawing, usually depicting a humorous situation and often accompanied by a caption" (p. 97). These definitions account for some significant aspects of cartoons in addition to humour and satire, such as symbolism and the verbal-visual interaction. There has recently been an emphasis on the multimodal nature of cartoons. However, cartoons are of different types which will be discussed briefly in the following.

3.3 Types of cartoons

Danesi (2013b) identified three types of cartoons corresponding to their purposes in the media: editorial cartoons, gag cartoons, and illustrative cartoons. Editorial cartoons provide commentary, more often satirical, on current events in newspapers, magazines, and on websites; gag cartoons usually make fun of groups rather than individuals and they are typically found in magazines and on greeting cards as well. Illustrative cartoons are associated with advertising or learning materials to illustrate important points or highlight certain aspects of a product or educational topic.

Harvey (2001) notes that editorial cartoons have received the greatest attention as they usually appear on the cover, whereas gag cartoons are located through the

magazine pages. Danesi (2013b) pointed out that editorial cartoons are often associated with the English painter and engraver William Hogarth, who was the first to launch the idea of using caricature in a new satirical way. Schilperoord and Maes (2009) indicated that editorial cartoons have been studied widely in relation to political situations due to their "descriptive and an evaluative communicative function" (p. 215). That is why they are also termed as political cartoons. Political cartoons are usually published on editorial pages of daily newspapers (El Refaie 2009b; Danesi 2013b). The topics addressed in editorial/political cartoons, usually social or political, are "less censored" than those in gag cartoons (Bly 2009: 60).

While there are gag and illustrative cartoons, in addition to editorial/political cartoons, it is the history of political cartoons that is of much interest to many scholars. A brief historical background will be presented in the following.

3.4 Brief historical overview of cartoons

Researchers such as Edwards (1997), Hempelmann and Samson (2008), Lapierre (2013), and Danesi (2013b) acknowledged the role of caricatures in the development of cartoons. Caricatures or the drawings of humans and animals with distorted, exaggerated features existed in ancient cultures and pre-historic areas. However, Edwards (1997) pointed out that, despite being the forerunner of contemporary cartoons, caricatures remain a common inventive technique employed in the art of cartooning as a source of humour. According to Danesi (2013b), the origin of contemporary cartoons perhaps dates back to the 16th-century German broadsheets, single pictures printed on large pieces of paper used in politics to manipulate public opinion.

While cartoons are known as having developed gradually out of caricature, 'cartoon' is a 19th-century word (see the online Encyclopedia Britannica, n.d.). The term 'cartoon' was first introduced in its contemporary meaning in the middle of the 19th century (Göçek 1998; El Refaie 2009b; Lapierre 2013) when the British magazine, *Punch*, used it to describe the satirical and humorous drawings published in its pages (El Refaie 2009b; Danesi 2013b). Consequently, cartoons became a medium that had a crucial role in politics and civil wars (Göçek, 1998: 4–5). The power of cartoons was further recognised during World War I, particularly in Germany.

Gradually, political cartoons appeared in the press worldwide. The non-Western world including the Middle East started to employ this medium "to scorn their own Westernizing selves and to ridicule and delegitimate their Western rulers" (Göçek 1998: 6). As a result of the Western influence, cartoons appeared in the Middle East during the mid-19th century. The first Ottoman cartoon was published

in the journal, *Istanbul,* in 1867. In Egypt, Ya'qub Sannu drew the first cartoon in the Arab press (p. 6). The Egyptian press was the major source of print for cartoons in the Arab world until 1925. However, other pioneering cartoonists appeared in Iraq, Syria, and Tunisia. The Arab cartoonists were able to transfer this Western form into a more Eastern-oriented one, relying on their own images, balloons, and protagonists (see Göçek 1998: 7).

The history of cartoons overlaps with that of comics (see Danesi 2013b) and caricatures (as indicated earlier in this section). It is commonly assumed that cartoons, comics and caricatures refer to the same genre and can be used interchangeably. While this may happen in some contexts, there are some basic differences between the three terms which are discussed in the following.

3.5 Cartoons, comics, and caricatures

Hempelmann and Samson (2008) note that cartoons and comics overlap in meaning and sometimes it is difficult to categorize artists such as Claire Bretécher, Hogli, Robert Crumb, or Gilbert Shelton whose work may be seen to span the different genres. Table 1 presents a summary of the main differences between cartoons, comics, and caricatures based on McCloud (1993), Saraceni (2003), Samson

Table 1: A summary of the differences between cartoons, comics, and caricatures.

Cartoons	Comics	Caricatures
a joke expressed in an image, one or a few panels	story-oriented, include detailed artwork, no limited number of panels, often sequentially organised (a sequence of events)	an exaggerated representation of an object or a character, a single image
simple lines, exaggerated features, and sketchy drawings employ caricatures as a stylistic device,	drawings usually resemble reality	exaggerated features to add a metaphorical meaning or a characterization, a technique often employed in cartoons,
include punch lines or humorous elements	punch lines or humorous elements are not necessary	no punch lines – if accompanied by a punch line, it is then a cartoon rather than a caricature
often appear in newspapers and magazines	often appear in the form of books	

and Huber (2007), Hempelmann and Samson (2008), Tsakona (2009), and Danesi (2013b).

Such differences further delimit the scope of our discussion and the type of humour: cartoons as opposed to comics and caricatures. On the other hand, what makes a cartoon effective is perhaps its function which gives rise to much discussion in scholarly research.

3.6 Functions of cartoons

Cartoons do more than entertain.   (Hallett and Hallett 2012: 59)

While the style of drawings and their formal features have changed due to the use of new technology, cartoons have always reserved their power to manipulate events and opinions without losing their satirical or humorous tone. This particularly applies to editorial/political cartoons. In terms of function, it is useful to make a simple basic difference between the three types of cartoons first. According to Bergen (2004b), editorial/political cartoons "provide a means of expressing usually critical political and social commentary, through a visual format that may include images, words, or both. Like other editorial outlets, they both reflect and influence trends in public thought" (p. 24).

On the other hand, Bly (2009) described gag cartoons as "lighthearted" because they do not usually include stereotypes or offensive materials (p. 60). Todd (2012) added that they are designed basically for "entertainment", with the picture and caption to create humour (p. 37). James Thurber in *The New Yorker* magazine turned gag cartoons into "a powerful weapon of social commentary" while other cartoonists treated them as "an art form" (see Danesi 2013b: 103). Danesi pointed out that editorial cartoons and gag cartoons are different in function from illustrative cartoons where the latter are mainly used for illustrative purposes in books and collections of jokes and humorous texts for adults as well as children. They are also used in advertisements to reinforce the sale of products.

However, the social and political importance of cartoons has brought them to the fore in relation to their functions. El Refaie (2009b) commented that cartoons form a distinctive media genre due to their typical use of fantasy scenarios to comment on aspects of current social, political, or cultural realities. Medhurst and DeSousa (1981), Morris (1993), and Edwards (1997) referred to the persuasive function of cartoons. Cartoons are sometimes so powerful that they may affect the audience's opinion and create a public response to a particular event.

Like editorials, cartoons constitute a means not only of disseminating the news, but also of analysing and interpreting a situation. They are "graphic

editorials" passing judgement and inviting readers to think and how to feel about current issues and situations (Michelmore 2000: 37). Hence, they help reflect and form public opinions (Conners 2014). Slyomovics (2001) described a cartoon as succinct in that it can "recontextualize events and evoke references in ways that a photograph or a film cannot". Similar to jokes, graffiti, and other genres of popular culture, "cartoons challenge the ways we accept official images as real and true" (p. 72). It is not surprising then to describe cartoons as being "complicated puzzles mixing current events with analogies" (El Refaie 2009b: 182). Cartoons "form the narrative of history, constructing the story of an event and contributing to the collective memory of the body politic" (Edwards 1997: 139).

Marín-Arrese (2008) further argued that a cartoon attacks targets by highlighting certain actions or characteristics of the targets and presenting them as "politically incompetent and/or morally wrong" (p. 9). While most studies have emphasised the social and political functions of cartoons, Salomon and Singer (2011) acknowledged the role of cartoonists in providing humorous commentary on the economic as well as on technological developments and changes that we experience, such as the transportation system in their case. According to these authors, cartoonists can suggest solutions already existing in the public's imagination.

Tzankova and Schiphorst (2012) and Conners (2014) described cartoons as a genre where opposed views are expressed freely and accusations can be made without being legally pursued by the targets of humour and satire. Cartoonists can decrease the level of intensity and avoid direct conflict with political targets and authorities. The question remains, however, as to what makes cartoons so effective. What features contribute to the functions of cartoons?

3.7 Features of cartoons

When we speak about the features of cartoons, the drawing itself is perhaps the most obvious element with wide-ranging elements, such as images, labeling, words or phrases in (speech) balloons, squares and bubbles, tagging, colouring for presenting specific purposes and meanings, etc. They are found in most cartoons and their appearance depends on the cartoonist's drawing style. These are best described as formal features in the art of cartooning and which contribute to the functioning of cartoons.

Since some cartoons include some speech in addition to their main image, we can also consider some linguistic features. Because cartoons are often viewed as a visual art, it is perhaps not surprising that purely linguistic studies of cartoons are few and sometimes bound to the context of the culture in which they

appear. However, Edwards (1997) suggests that cartoons are not only a visual art. They most often include linguistic entities such as words, phrases, quotations titles, headlines, dialogues, and captions which are sometimes essential to the interpretation of cartoons. Without such techniques, Bush (2012) noted, a reader might not be able to fully grasp the intended meaning and might be unable to draw correlations between the visual elements in a single cartoon image.

Among the few studies from a linguistic perspective are Alimi (1991) and Steffen (1995). But the purely linguistic analysis, focusing solely on the linguistic features, according to Steffen (1995), is not as fruitful as might be expected. In such linguistic research, the implied and embedded meaning, in other words the function or the purpose of the cartoons, is lost due to the absence of consideration of the visual and its interaction with the verbal elements. A more indepth look at cartoons entails examining both the visual and the verbal elements (if the latter are available). The visual-verbal interplay can be considered in relation to the rhetorical features of cartoons, affecting the message of a cartoon, and how it is read and interpreted.

3.7.1 Rhetorical features

A number of researchers such as Medhurst and DeSousa (1981), Morris (1993), Edwards (1997), and Werner (2003) have focused on identifying the ways in which the content of cartoons is arranged and presented. They view cartoons as a visual discourse that employs different rhetorical techniques to persuade, inform, or entertain. Their studies considered cartoons as examples of visual rhetoric. Werner (2003) commented that the visual rhetorical characterises how discourses such as commercial advertisements, political posters, and editorial cartoons are designed to achieve their purpose and to motivate a viewer to believe or to do something. However, Morris (1993) notes that the rhetorical techniques do not necessarily exist in the same way in every cartoon.

Medhurst and DeSousa (1981) focused on the persuasive function of political cartoons and described them as "graphic persuasion" and "graphic rhetoric" similar to oral rhetoric. Accordingly, they argued that a graphic artist's persuasive efforts are structured in much the same way as the oral persuader. Medhurst and DeSousa proposed some rhetorical techniques which they believed to be specific to this graphic/non-oratorical discourse. They listed three basic rhetorical devices: contrasts, commentary, and contradiction, in addition to other devices such as the use of line and form, exaggeration of body features, placement within the frame, relative size of objects, and the relation of text to visual imagery. They further argued that such devices affect readers' interpretations.

Similarly, Morris (1993) referred to processes of condensation, combination, domestication and opposition, among others:

1. Condensation: compressing complex ideas into a single image or a condensed graphic representation of complex ideas;
2. Combination: blending or merging elements and ideas from different domains into a single fused form or amalgamation. A cartoonist has the opportunity to blend the real with the mythical, material with ethical elements, politics with war, sports, or housekeeping;
3. Domestication: the process of converting abstract ideas and unfamiliar persons or events into closer, more familiar, and concrete elements;
4. Opposition: the process of treating two entities such as events or political figures as opposites and drawing contrasts between them visually. Social and political factors related to these opposites are also activated.

These rhetorical techniques of presenting messages are useful to describe the means used by cartoonists to persuade their readers, but they are not necessarily universal, as Morris noted. He further acknowledged the work of metaphor as an effective device for both the form and content. Metaphor is probably the most widely used rhetorical device in cartoons (discussed later in this chapter). Very much similar to metaphor is visual analogy. Werner (2003) argued that caricatures and visual analogy are two other frequent rhetorical devices, in addition to juxtaposition, symbols, and others. In analogy, meaning results from the comparison between an event and something from the past or the present such that similarities are highlighted.

Edwards (1997) further described cartoons as narrative including the conventional narrative elements of verbal texts: characters, setting/scene, narrator, and plot. She argued that narrative is a rhetorical process based on the concept that "narratives are communication" involving narrators as well as a target audience (p. 59). Cartoons are designed for an audience and narratives are told to audiences.

Researchers vary in the way they discuss the rhetoric of cartoons and the approach they adopt to examine cartoons as a form of humour based on serious discourse. The discussion here focuses on the most frequent features of cartoons starting with humour, symbolism and visual-verbal interaction, to multimodal metaphor and intertextuality. These techniques affect the way meaning is conveyed to the audience and help with the process of condensation, referred to earlier, in cartoons. We will discuss each of them in the following.

3.7.2 Humour

Humour in many cartoons not only revolves around creating laughter and entertainment but rather is a technique with a hidden purpose. Berger (1995) stated that it is one of the major techniques to draw readers' attention to various social and political aspects. Because cartoons sometimes include visual and verbal elements, the humour can be visual, verbal, or visual-verbal. Berger (1995) indicated that caricatures and exaggeration are two common and effective techniques underlying visual humour. But Berger (1995) also acknowledged the role of verbal language in the creation of humour. Alimi (1991) gave an interesting example in which humour is created through "the distortion of speech", in this case, the misinterpretation of an abbreviated form to create a new meaning. The abbreviation ECOWAS which refers to "Economic Community of West African States" was reinterpreted as "Economic Cowards of West African Sufferheads" to imply that the organisation was incompetent and lacking seriousness in handling official issues of the states (p. 201).

In other cases, the humour in cartoons is the result of the interaction between the visual and verbal elements. Samson and Huber (2007), Tsakona (2009), and Todd (2012) highlight the interaction of the two modes in the creation of humour. An example of this visual-verbal humour is explained by Khir (2012) where the use of phrasal verbs resulted in a double meaning: a literal meaning and an idiomatic one. This double meaning is triggered through the existence of a linguistic context expressed verbally through the caption, and a visual one depicted in the image. In Khir's example, the play on phrasal verbs evokes a sense of humour due to the text-image interplay. The cartoon shows the two speakers with their speech bubbles and a giant policeman holding a car with his hand.

> Speaker A: When are the traffic police strong?
>
> Speaker B: When they hold up cars with one hand.

The reply given by speaker B is analysed as follows:

> The given reply [. . .] evokes two images: one based on our experience with traffic police, who with their authority can raise their hand as a signal for a driver to stop and the latter has to obey the traffic police (hence their authority). The second image is the 'distorted', funny image in the cartoon representing a policeman physically and literally holding a car in his hand (hence his physical strength). So, here, the cartoon enhances the literal meaning of the phrasal verb making the situation funny due to its unusualness.　(p. 104)

Accordingly, the role of the cartoon is twofold: to exploit the phrasal verbs with their idiomatic or metaphorical meanings, and to use them in a context in which a literal interpretation is also possible. Khir (2012) further argued that phrasal verbs are common and unmarked forms of language in everyday interaction; however, in cartoons they become more marked because they are utilized for an occasional and specific purpose which aims at conveying fun and humour. Not only are cartoons described as symbolic images representing groups, individuals or events, but they are also rich in symbols that refer to abstract ideas and contribute to the process of condensation in cartoons.

3.7.3 Symbolism

A picture is worth a thousand words.   (English cliché)

We discuss symbolism here in its narrow sense, that is, in relation to cartoon imagery. Where cartoons hinge on symbolism, Alousque (2010) suggests that the use of images in cartoons is an effective means of communication that often symbolise important meanings and concepts. Abraham (2009) asserted that "it is the nature of cartoons to be complex. They are intended to condense and reduce complex issues into a single, memorable image often pregnant with deeply embedded meanings" (p. 117).

According to Michelmore (2000), cartoonists find themselves obliged to make use of widely-known referents and allusions in order to ensure that the public understands the symbols they create. For example, Danesi (2013b) referred to the elephant, the symbol of the US Republican Party, and the donkey, the symbol of the Democrats. Both symbols were introduced by the American cartoonist, Thomas Nast. Han (2006) considered the use of conventional symbols as one technique required by cartoonists to make meanings accessible to a large number of readers. In so doing, cartoons become more appealing and effective in conveying meaning.

Conners (2014) notes that cartoons are rich in symbols so as to represent concepts and simplify complex ideas and events. Moreover, symbolic images have the potential to evoke diverse "emotions and criticism in a visually memorable manner" (p. 246). According to Conners, the importance of symbolic images has been the focus of scholars analysing presidential candidates in cartoon images since the 1970s onward, such as the images of Nixon by Goldman and Hagen (1978), the Ayatollah Khomeni of Iran by DeSousa (1984), and Saddam Hussein of Iraq by Conners (1998).

More recently, Conners (2014) explored the representation of Anthony Weiner's scandal in cartoons, and how the cartoon imagery framed the scandal in

a way that resulted in his resignation from the New York Congress in 2011. Weiner was depicted as a liar and as stupid in images based on the Pinocchio allusion in the cartoons, with Weiner's nose growing longer as his lies continued.

However, research has recently paid attention to the visual-verbal interaction in cartoons, or, as it has recently been termed, the multimodal aspect. Multimodality has marked the shift from a mere linguistic analysis of language to a semiotic analysis of the modes integrated in communication, considering language as one semiotic mode (see chapter two). Cartoons are a case in point of multimodal texts where two semiotic modes often interact.

3.7.4 A case of multimodality: Visual-verbal interaction

As indicated earlier in this chapter, cartoons, despite being described as a visual genre, frequently include verbal texts enclosed in bubbles, speech squares, speech balloons, and captions. The verbal elements are sometimes statements, clauses, phrases, words, or labels. It is this combination of image and texts that makes cartoons enter the recently growing realm of multimodality. However, researchers have long been interested in the effect of picture and caption, as well as the interaction between the two on humour ratings of cartoons. Hempelmann and Samson (2008) argued that cartoons accompanied by texts or captions are rated as funnier than those without captions.

Jones et al. (1979) assumed that there is a complementary relationship between the picture and the caption. In order to determine the effects of caption, picture, and the interaction of both on the humour rating of the whole cartoon, in their study eight females and 13 males at Harvard University were asked to rate the humour of 51 cartoons selected from popular American magazines. For each cartoon, there were three options: a picture, a caption, and both. The cartoon's humour with its picture and caption available was rated to be funnier than its pictorial or caption elements alone. The findings for highly humorous cartoons indicate the significant interaction between picture and caption in determining the humour of cartoons. The study concluded that there is a "dynamic interplay between picture and caption that describes the multiplicative relationship and the most humorous cartoons" (p. 198).

While some research has focused on how the presence/absence of captions may affect the humour ratings, other studies tend to explore how pictorial and verbal elements interact to communicate a message. Cartoons are viewed as a good example of multimodal texts (El Refaie and Hörschelmann 2010), in which a drawing is sometimes determined by the text (Steffen 1995). El Refaie (2009b) stressed the role of words and texts accompanying a cartoon in guiding and directing

viewers and readers to a specific interpretation of the scene. In some instances, the sense of incongruity, an important element of humour, cannot be conveyed by the image alone. Such visual-verbal relationship, also termed as the "graphic concretization" of verbal meaning, is quite common in cartoons (p. 196). Therefore, verbal expressions in cartoons are important for adding further humorous details. While it is possible to analyse both modes separately, they are usually "intertwined" in cartooning and are "virtually inseparable" (p. 195). In essence, their full integration contributes to a coherent meaning, and thus results in a unified whole.

Multimodality has touched on many aspects and has recently been associated with traditional techniques as a way to describe how a particular technique is manifested across the semiotic modes in multimodal texts such as cartoons and advertisements. Influenced by the multimodal theory of communication pioneered by Gunther Kress, Charles Forceville has introduced the term multimodal metaphor which has had a far-reaching influence on contemporary research in cartoons and other types of multimodal texts.

3.7.5 Multimodal metaphors in cartoons

Metaphor refers to experiencing or understanding one thing in terms of another. The target or abstract domain is often conceptualised as a concrete source domain (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). Metaphor is a common rhetorical technique in cartoons, and when it is visual, it especially contributes to the compactness of cartoons. Dynel (2009) stated that mapping similarities between two more strikingly distinct concepts or entities gives the receiver or interpreter the pleasure of recognition and resolution, resulting in humour appreciation. The source of a metaphor is the concrete or familiar entity used to access the abstract more complex issue or concept, constituting the target of a metaphor.

Bounegru and Forceville (2011) argued that the cartoon genre as a whole necessitates the use of metaphor, either multimodal or pictorial, to "represent the unknown, unresolved or problematic in terms of something more familiar and more easily imaginable" (p. 220). As the common saying notes, a single (metaphorical) image is worth a thousand words. Although Lakoff and Johnson's theory of metaphor has been associated with verbal metaphors, it has also been discussed in visual discourse such as cartoons and advertisements, with a number of studies examining the crucial role of metaphors in cartoons (see Bergen 2004; Marín-Arrese 2003, 2008).

Hallett and Hallett (2012) considered the use of metaphor as a means through which cartoonists successfully manifest shared cultural knowledge among readers. They further argued that an editorial cartoon might represent

a socially or politically complex issue by deploying visual or linguistic metaphor, presuming that it is cognitively available to the target readership. Tsakona (2009) also indicated how the use of metaphor contributes to production of humour in cartoons.

While remaining committed to Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) view that metaphor is a matter of thought rather than language, Bounegru and Forceville (2011) stated that metaphors in cartoons can be either "monomodal" or "multimodal". A metaphor is monomodal if both the target and source domains are mainly portrayed in only one mode, either the visual or the verbal mode, whereas a metaphor is described as "multimodal" if the target and the source domains are "exclusively and predominantly" represented in two different modes: the verbal and the visual (pp. 212–213; see also Forceville 2007, 2009b). Cartoons 1 and 2

Cartoon 1: By Hana from Twitter, tweeted 10 December 2013.

from the Saudi media are briefly analysed as examples to present the difference between monomodal and multimodal metaphor.

Cartoon 1 shows a couple who seem very happy, as indicated by their facial expression and the way they stand together. In the background, images of giant spying towers stand for the multiple social media used today. This is indicated by the icons on the towers in the background: WhatsApp, Instagram, Facebook, Twitter, and another unspecified one to stand for less common social networks. The spying towers are given feminine human features and lipstick to symbolise that the act of spying is considered a female trait. The big eyes, the most salient feature, symbolise the act of spying. They look at the couple spitefully, enviously, and sadly. However, the metaphor here is visual because the source "spying towers" is depicted visually, and the target "social media" is depicted visually by the icons on the towers. The visual metaphor can be verbalised as "social media are spying towers". The visual metaphor indicates how users of social media spy on people's personal lives through looking at their daily photos and memories. The envious, jealous, and spiteful feelings are conveyed by the different shapes of the eyes.

While this cartoon is an example of a monomodal (visual) metaphor, Cartoon 2 is an example of multimodal metaphor in which the source and the target are depicted by the two different modes: the visual and the verbal.
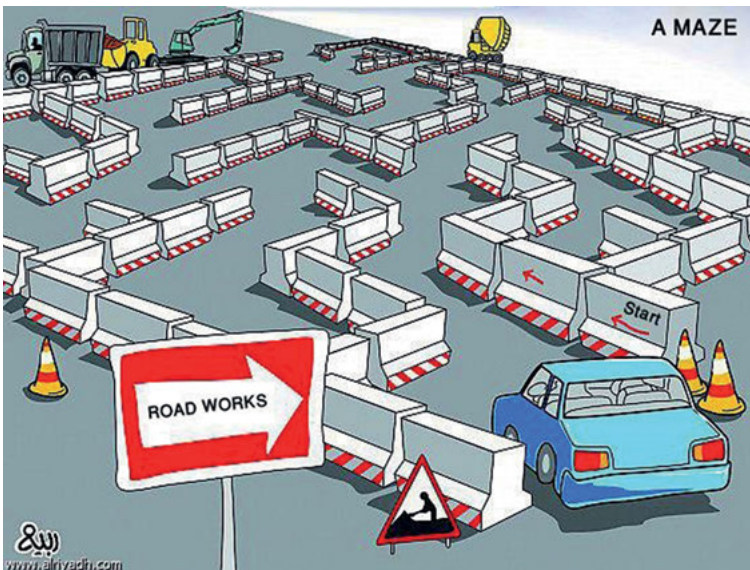
Cartoon 2: By Rabea from Al-Riyadh newspaper, 21 January 2013.

The cartoon shows a place identified as a maze in the top right corner, and road works on a red sign in the left corner. Viewers can see that lots of works and projects are still in progress on a road. For people living in Saudi Arabia, this scene reminds them of their endless everyday experiences. Road works are on-going almost the whole year. People are often lost because of the many extensions made, and they often complain about these unfinished projects. The cartoonist resorts to a multimodal metaphor to indicate one of the effects of these projects in the country. "Road works are a maze" is a multimodal metaphor in which the source and target domains are represented in the two modes. The source, the maze, is represented verbally whereas the target, the unfinished road works, is represented visually as well as verbally. The road is depicted by the common street signs we are confronted with daily and the car. However, the image of the maze is partially evoked by the way the roadworks are visualised.

Recently, there has been a growing tendency to analyse multimodal metaphors in cartoons and the strategies underpinning their presentation (see Teng 2009; El Refaie 2009a; Bounegru and Forceville 2011). El Refaie (2009a) emphasized the role of verbal cues and labels in understanding multimodal metaphors, specifically their role in identifying salient aspects in the visual. In her analysis, El Refaie indicated that verbal tags offer not only additional but also essential information that helps readers identify the exact source or target of a complex metaphor.

Bounegru and Forceville (2011) examined how the verbal and visual modes contribute to constructing metaphors in editorial cartoons related to the global financial crisis that hit the world in 2008. These authors present an example of a multimodal metaphor relating to the "Financial Tsunami" in which "a boy [is] building a sandcastle on the beach, looking up in horror as a big wave threatens to sweep him and his castle away" (p. 214). The waves are represented as an arrowed line on a graph, going downwards. The metaphorical structure is "downward financial chart lines are seismic waves in the sea" (p. 214). The financial crisis that forms the target in this metaphor is cued by two modes: the "chart line" is visually represented, and it is identified as a "financial chart line" as it goes down and is named through the caption "Financial tsunami" (p. 215). Bounegru and Forceville commented on the importance of captions in the following lines: "but note that, without the caption, one could understand the graph-waves more generically as a 'monster'. If we take the caption into account, the metaphor verges towards the verbo-pictorial variety. The source is pictorially represented as a huge threatening wave, and verbally specified as a 'tsunami'" (p. 215).

Forceville (2009b) therefore noted that metaphor research can "fruitfully feed into the budding field of multimodality in general" (p. 34). In addition to the pervasive use of metaphor, intertextual references are frequent in cartoons. Intertextuality also adds a rhetorical effect as readers interpret cartoons in terms of previous and shared knowledge.

3.7.6 Intertextuality in cartoons

Research on cartoons does not ignore the intertextual references made either explicitly or implicitly. Intertextuality is narrowed down to the use of quotations, allusions, previously existing texts or speech, parody, and critical commentary. This is very common since cartoons are part of the larger media discourse. They are not isolated from the serious media discourse where they appear. Intertextuality is a term coined by the theorist Julia Kristeva, which she used to argue that no text is purely original and that texts should be interpreted in the light of other existing texts. In other words, texts cannot be interpreted in isolation from their social and cultural context (see Allen 2000; Chandler 2007).

While remaining committed to the above theory of intertextuality, Werner (2004) pointed out that in cartoons intertextuality refers to the cartoonist's borrowing or quoting from other previous visual or written texts, and to the viewer's interpreting of the cartoon in the light of those texts (see also Pinar Sanz 2006). Although cartoons most often depict absurd situations, they mirror readers' real-life experiences and hinge on their wide knowledge and competence (El Refaie, 2009a: 176). This, however, implies that only when the viewer has the appropriate knowledge can (s)he successfully interpret a particular cartoon. It is here where pragmatics and culture overlap with the whole theory of intertextuality. In pragmatics, shared knowledge and cultural background are important for understanding what is meant, but not necessarily said explicitly. Similarly, when we speak of intertextuality, readers or audiences rely on their knowledge and background to interpret texts in terms of pre-existing texts which are not necessarily available in the immediate context.

In the context of politics, Bergen (2004), Mazid (2008) and Lakoff (2012) are useful examples of intertextuality in cartoons. Bergen (2004b) explored how significant political speeches are reflected in cartoons. In the week following September 11, 2001, political discourse and political cartoons revealed considerable similarities in that the metaphors and blends or conceptual integration (two entities from different inputs or domains are blended and integrated) employed in the cartoons are based on the political speech produced by politicians at that time.

While Bergen (2004) does not explicitly refer to cartoons as examples of intertextuality, his analysis conforms to this technique exploited in the cartoons. Intertextuality finds its way into cartoons through metaphors evoked and activated by politicians' speeches after the 11/9 tragedy. For example, Bergen indicated that terrorists were depicted as "vermin" after Bush's speech on Sept, 15: "We will find who did it, we'll smoke them out of their holes" (p. 27).

Likewise, Mazid (2008) and Lakoff (2012) emphasized the useful role of intertextuality in understanding cartoons and relating them to the wider political discourse. Lakoff further indicated that understanding the satirical tone in some cartoons depends on the participants' recognition of the intertextual reference made by the cartoonist. This is where the role of background knowledge and shared culture assumes critical importance.

Higdon (1994) found that Larson's cartoons, *The Far Side,* published between 1982 and 1992, contain intertextual references to particular films, and some of them further comment on the act of watching. Larson's interest in films and the experience of watching are reflected in the cartoons. The intertextualities range from Abbott and Castello to Zorro, from *The Birds and Dumbo* to *My Dinner with André* and *A Man Called Horse.* Relying on their background knowledge, viewers of Larson's cartoons have access to titles of films and enjoy sharing Larson's interest through cartoons.

Intertextuality creates a bond between the cartoonist and his/her audience in particular, and his/her society more generally. Hence, understanding the humour in cartoons can be seen as a pragmatic act. Forceville (2005), Smith (2010) Weaver (2010), and El Refaie (2011) referred to multimodal cartoons to highlight the role of background knowledge and shared culture in understanding intertextual references.

Having considered the principal techniques used in cartoons, the remainder of this chapter focuses on cartoons in the Arab world and Saudi Arabia, as the society in which our study is situated.

3.8 Cartoons in the Middle East

Generally speaking, as Elmaghraby (2015) notes, cartoons have not received much research attention in the Arab world. He highlights the need to examine cartoons in the Arab press due to their importance as a reflection of public opinion and contribution to forming opinions. Their influential role in the history of the Arab world cannot be denied. However, the radical and dramatic political change in many Arab countries has made cartoons not only an important means to capture the political, economic and social issues, but also as safe

representatives of the cartoonists' opposing views. Wozniak (2014) further stated that the series of uprisings, or the so-called "Arab Spring", has fueled cultural production from music to graffiti and political cartoons. Cartoons are both a significant societal force as well as key to the thoughts of the people in the Middle East. Accordingly, "[t]he politics of the Middle East is now more visible than ever" (Wozniak 2014: 10).

Alkazemi and Wanta (2015) acknowledged the restrictions imposed on the press system of many Arab countries where media content has been controlled. Nonetheless, some of them have seen less government control. Cartoons are, however, excellent visual media tools in censored press as they have the potential ability to communicate messages implicitly. Likewise, Totry and Medzini (2013) stated that in many Arab countries where censorship is still practiced, cartoons become more effective and successful in presenting messages than complex verbal explanations. The products of cartoonists' work "complement social protests arising from the street" (p. 22). Alghezzy (2017) examined Iraqi cartoons showing that cartoons, mainly political ones, contribute to making changes in the society in favour of the suppressed social group through criticising the current political situation and unfair practices.

Totry and Medzini (2013) examined the cartoons of Naji Al-Ali, a Palestinian cartoonist and one of the most well-known cartoonists in the Arab world. His cartoons were often published next to editorials with political messages. However, his cartoons were not for entertainment, but they were rather "sarcastic and daring reflections of the feelings of the Palestinian refugees" (p. 23). Al-Ali drew more than 40,000 cartoons in his 30-year career, and his commitment to the Palestinian revolution is represented in his first drawing, "a hand holding a torch ripping a refugee tent" (p. 24).

What is interesting about Al-Ali's cartoons is that he rarely attacked politicians directly or satirised actual people in his cartoons. He rather invented his own imaginary characters, of which Handala, the little Palestinian boy, was his 'trademark' and a famous symbol. In some of his cartoons, he used the Christian crucifixion to symbolise Palestinian suffering. Totry and Medzini focused on the cartoons that included Al-Ali's four main characters, as symbols or icons: Handala, Fatima, Al-Zalama, and the Evil Man.

Fatima, the devoted Palestinian mother and wife who never gives up struggling for freedom, symbolises Palestine, Lebanon, the refugee camps and the struggle for independence. Al-Zalama, on the other hand, is a thin, miserable man representing the Palestinian as a victim of Israeli oppression, the poor, the oppressed, the refugees, and the abused citizens of the Arab world. The Evil Man is overweight, well-dressed and a smoker who has a comfortable life, symbolising aggressive Arab regimes and the Palestinian leaders who have a

comfortable life. Handala, an ugly, spiky-haired and barefoot Palestinian boy, is a symbol of Palestinian identity and defiance. He is affectionate and honest, a mute witness observing the miserable status of the Palestinians. The word *Handala* refers to a medicinal bitter desert fruit that can grow in hard weather.

Al-Ali's cartoons extensively rely on symbolism and intertextuality since, as we stated earlier, they were often published next to editorials with political messages. The cartoons are connected to a wider media discourse. More than half of his cartoons were only visual, with some accompanied by short texts, while others were only verbal. His symbols continued to be used after his death, and Handala is used by human rights organisations and is a unifying national icon for all Palestinians.

In wars, cartoons are probably more reliable to mirror the situation than other types of media which may be seen to favour one political party over another. Unlike the media and political propaganda, cartoons touch on the real suffering of people living in the face of bloodshed as opposed to any political figures or party. They let us feel, at least partially, how the real situation looks through symbols and metaphors. They make us understand the truth without directly stating it so as to avoid any political consequences.

From Palestine to Iraq, the situation is not much better as the cartoons tell us. Alghezzy (2017) carried out a semiotic analysis of some Iraqi cartoons from 2005 to 2017 highlighting the most important themes at the time such as financial and administrative corruption, abuse of power, government promises and procrastination, electrical outage. One cartoon presents government promises as balloons blown away by a government official to show that these airy promises to the public are in vain.

Other cartoons reflect the contradiction between the official verbal and practical actions. "Politicians' words" versus "politicians' acts" are metaphorically represented in two panels, with one panel depicting a politician with a long tongue and a tall raised hand and the other panel depicting the same politician as armless to symbolise the lack of effective actions. Other cartoons show how the Iraqi citizens suffer from the hot summer without electricity and the failure of the government to generate and distribute electricity in the entire country. Relating this to Kress and Van Leeuwen's (2006) semiotic approach, the analysis also emphasises how the Iraqi cartoonists employ the visual and verbal modes to convey their satirical and humorous messages to their audience.

Among Arab countries, Egypt has always been considered the most humorous, a well-known stereotype that most Arabs admit. In theatre, for example, Egyptians have always been known for their comedy and comics, in addition to the comical comments and situations they are used to in their daily life and even during crises. Elmaghraby (2014) examined the different ways Egyptian

cartoonists covered one of the most significant crises the Egyptians witnessed in 2013: the ousting of Mohamed Morsi by the Minister of Defense, Abdel Fattah Al-Sisi. His study drew on 80 cartoons published in seven Egyptian daily newspapers and supporting different political parties: governmental, Islamist partisan, and private.

The analysis is based on different categories: visual depictions, actors presented, sarcasm, and wordplay. These categories are related to three themes about the crisis: Morsi's inability to rule, military intervention in the crisis, and the will of the Egyptians. Cartoonists employ metaphors, symbols, and sarcastic comments to make fun of Morsi. As regards visual depictions, Morsi is often depicted as a man dressed in a large suit only to symbolise his inability to rule Egypt effectively and that ruling Egypt is a much bigger task than Morsi is capable of (p. 9). Metaphorically, he is depicted as a bad tooth that should be removed from the mouth of Egypt, or as a can of rotten meat that a woman wants to return to the supermarket.

Not only do cartoonists use images to show Morsi's inability to rule, but also words and phrases to create sarcasm. For instance, Morsi says "the suit is too big on me" to show how hard it is to rule the country. In another situation, Morsi asks himself: "what did I say?" while watching his speech on TV to indicate that Morsi is not thoughtful when he spoke to the Egyptians because of his shallowness and stupidity. The military, on the other hand, is depicted as a fat woman, an eagle or bird, a soldier, a life jacket, a pincer, a strong man, a soldier's cap. The bird or the eagle is the most common symbol to represent the military. The will of the Egyptians is depicted as a huge wave that is about to swallow Morsi, and as a giant man or an athlete who holds up the words "Live Long Egypt" (p. 13).

In another study, Elmaghraby (2015) focused on the visual techniques applied by Asian cartoonists to depict the Egyptian conflict between 2011–2014, and on the symbols used in cartoons at the time. Humour is achieved by three techniques: visual distortion by which an actor is visually distorted to convey a particular political message, opposition which shows how divided the people were at that time, and analogy by which cartoonists employ different symbols and historical references to represent political change or direction. For instance, from daily life cartoonists apply the domino effect in terms of the fall of the domino; from popular culture a camel and an Egyptian male popular dress is used; and from history the pyramid, sphinx, and the pharaohs were more common.

Alkazemi and Wanta (2014) note that cartoons in the Arab world have also depicted representations of Islam: a liberal representation of Islam to show some degree of congruence between Islamic and Western values. Nevertheless, some cartoons tend to spread conservative values. Middle Eastern cartoons also have different representations of women and their status in society. Between conservatism

and liberalism, Alkazemi and Wanta examined cartoons published in four Kuwaiti newspapers during the Arab spring uprisings between February and March 2011. Two of these newspapers have conservative editorial positions whereas the other two have liberal positions. The analysis is based on the concept of agenda-setting: briefly described as how important the issue is as a result of media coverage and what attributes are given to some issues by this media coverage, positive, neutral, or negative. The study examined the issues addressed and the tone of the coverage.

The analysis focuses on basic categories. It was concluded that the first largest category is the Arab spring, the second largest is Kuwaiti politics, followed by Kuwaiti society, the economy, and other international issues. As regards the tone, most of the cartoons were negative across categories. The newer newspapers (launched after 2006) tend to address issues related to the Arab spring whereas older newspapers (established before 2006) are more likely to address other social and international issues. From another dimension, liberal newspapers tend to deal with issues related to the Arab spring while more conservative ones deal with economy, politics, and society. The conservative papers cover the society more positively than liberal newspapers.

More recently, the circumstances of Syrian refugees have posed serious political issues. Since the Syrian revolution, cartoonists only focus on the political consequences rather than on the social or economic situation in Syria. Ozdemir and Ozdemir (2017) examined twelve cartoons between 2011–2016, which address the Syrian refugee influx to bordering Arab and Western countries, and the responses of those countries to the crisis. The study provided analysis of visual and verbal metaphors to show how the Syrian refugee crisis is received by the US, EU, and the Gulf countries. However, verbally as well as visually, cartoons show the negative and unsupportive attitude of these countries to the Syrian refugee crisis. Cartoonists employ natural disasters, for example, floods or giant waves, as a metaphor to represent the effect of the crisis on international society, rather than focusing on the sufferings of the refugees. Barbed wire is used as a symbol by different cartoonists to represent the negative attitude of some countries towards the crisis. Specific metaphors and symbols related to the culture of those countries are also used to refer to the crisis.

The above discussion indicates that cartoons form a unique language and a renewable means of communication representing pressing current as well as historical social and political issues. While the Middle East countries may share similar features of cartoons, they do still have differences. Since the study presented here focuses on cartoons in the Saudi context, the following section looks at the status of cartoons in the Saudi media.

3.9 Cartoons in the Saudi media

While humour in general and cartoons in particular received little attention in the Saudi context, this is not to say that Saudi newspapers do not include cartoons. Cartoons have always been there and have undergone radical changes throughout history, from the simple exchange of speech between characters, censorship, and topics limited to social issues, to complex images with(out) texts, relatively free opinions, and a focus on social as well as political issues.

It is difficult to trace the history of cartoons or to specify the time of the first cartoons or the first pioneering cartoonist in the early beginnings of cartoons in the Saudi media. According to the columnist Al-Ateeq (2011), the first appearance of cartoons in the Saudi media perhaps dates back to the 1960s. Al-Sibae published the first cartoon in *Quraysh* magazine in 1959, and Al-Zamil published cartoons in *Al-Qasim* newspaper in 1960. However, other research notes that the first well-known Saudi cartoonist was Ali Al-Kharji who published the first cartoons on a regular basis in *Al-Riyadh* newspaper in 1964 (Al-Ateeq, 17 April 2011).

Despite the various cartoons published daily in the Saudi media, cartooning as an art is still developing in the Kingdom. The Association of Saudi Cartoonists was established in 2010 by Saudi editorial cartoonists. According to Abdullah Sayel, an editorial cartoonist and academic, the association has opened its doors to cartoonists of different nationalities. Likewise, the Saudi cartoonist, Hana Hajjar, acknowledged that cartoonists in Saudi Arabia have advanced since the early 2000s and are gaining increasing readership (Fakkar, 5 March 2010). According to Ali Al-Gamdi, another Saudi cartoonist working in this field for more than 20 years, there are nearly 20 professional Saudi cartoonists in the Kingdom in addition to dozens of citizens who are still new to this profession and whose cartoons are available online.

While gender is beyond the scope of our work here, it should be noted that most of the cartoons belong to male cartoonists whereas cartoons created by females are few in the Saudi media in general. Well-known Saudi female cartoonists include Hana Hajjar whose Arabic- as well as English-language cartoons are mostly circulated on Twitter, and Manal Muhammad whose Arabic-language cartoons are translated into English by the *Saudi Gazette* team, and displayed on the official page of the *Saudi Gazette* on Facebook.

According to *Asharq Al-Awsat* online newspaper (6 March 2007), men dominate the art of cartooning as a profession in the Arab press such that female points of view are missing in the Arab societies when talking about cartoons. The female cartoonist Hana Hajjar who worked for the Saudi English-language *Arab News* notes that the art of cartooning depends on sharp and bold satire; yet, this does not justify the absence of females in the field. However, she stopped working

for newspapers and has preferred to circulate her cartoons via Twitter and other social media networks in recent years (personal communication, 2016).

The Saudi columnist and cartoonist Abdullah Sayel acknowledged the recent growing interest of some researchers from different disciplines to examine cartoons in the Saudi media. Sayel's cartoons can be seen as distinct in that he occasionally accompanies his cartoons with a short article or real story directly related to his humorous and satirical cartoons. This sort of combination is a step forward, contributing to the development of the cartoon genre in the Saudi media in general.

Among the few studies on Saudi cartoons is Hassanain (2008) which examined 40 Arabic and English cartoons. She applied the General Theory of Verbal Humour proposed by Attardo and Raskin (see chapter two) to the 40 cartoons, more particularly the six language resources outlined in the theory. The study concluded that cartoons are joke-like texts, reflecting the definition made by Attardo and Chabanne (1992). Just as a joke, the word-driven cartoons, both in English and Arabic, are shown to have a punch line in the final position, where the humour resides. These cartoons meet the criteria of the GTVH and hence can be considered as humorous texts. Hassanain also noted that solidarity is maintained in the Arabic cartoons through the use of a dialogic type of communication. The use of mini-dialogue and mini-monologue contributes to creating a distinctive narrative strategy in both the American and the Arabic cartoons analysed in the study. Arabic cartoonists tend to use informal language in order to identify themselves with their readers, which is not often the case in American cartoons. Positive social stereotypes of cultural Saudi and American settings and life-styles of characters are depicted through the visual elements in the cartoons.

Women and gender are perhaps one of the most pressing issues in Saudi society due to the radical changes taking place in the last two decades. Giladi (2013) analysed the cartoons of one cartoonist, Abd Al-Rahman Al-zahrani, whose cartoons most often represent gender issues and typical Saudi family concerns such as price increases, stock market, floods, work, children, marital life and vacations. However, the cartoonist's views represent gender from a male-biased perspective rather than a female or neutral viewpoint. The study generally focused on dominance, polygamy, temporary marriages, dress code, female employment, and women driving. While a wife is represented as unable to control her husband outside the home, she is portrayed as a tyrant, aggressive, jealous and dominant inside the home. Men, on the other hand, are depicted as easily charmed by women and are not sufficiently aggressive. However, working women are displayed as stronger and physically larger than men. In some cartoons, the housewife is portrayed as feminine, emotional and stupid. Some cartoons show how polygamy and temporary marriages are key issues causing

wives' rage. Many cartoons depict women as having one heart with men having four hearts. Similarly, other cartoons show that there is only one man in a woman's heart and many women in a man's heart. As for driving which has been the most controversial issue, cartoons display women's inability to drive as professionally as men, to make repairs, or replace a tyre. In sum, the cartoons, although addressing some social issues, often convey the cartoonist's conservative perspective, particularly a male one.

In a society wavering between conservative and more liberal approaches, social identity is also a key area. How Saudi identity is reflected in cartoons has recently become an area of discussion. Almohissen (2015) focused on how the linguistic and visual contents of 15 cartoons by the cartoonist Abdullah Jabber are revealing of the identities and ideologies of Saudis. The cartoonist as well as the responses of 21 Saudis showed that the cartoons are reflections of Islamic identity.

In the context of limited research on cartoons in a Saudi context, in the following chapters we present the work conducted for the study undertaken here, drawing on a sample of cartoons from different Saudi newspapers and from the online accounts of some cartoonists in social media. We use that sample to discuss some common rhetorical techniques such as intertextuality, metaphor, metonymy, juxtaposition and exaggeration. The presentation is based on a qualitative analysis of 202 cartoons published between 2011–2014. The selected cartoons include some verbal elements such as speech, dialogues, phrases or words, in addition to the basic visual elements in order to apply a multimodal analysis. The multimodal theory of communication is used as the umbrella framework to discuss such rhetorical techniques and the way they are employed through the visual and verbal modes. Before that, however, a brief introduction to some of the newspapers from which the sample cartoons are collected is presented in the following.

3.9.1 Arab News

Arab News was the first English-language Saudi newspaper established in 1975. *Arab News* is popular among many sections of Saudi society, including nationals and foreign residents from various socio-economic levels. It provides a Saudi perspective in English on a wide range of national as well as global issues. The content of the newspaper is considered valuable as it keeps track of the policies, developments, and trends in Saudi society. Due to today's modern technology and the popularity of the Internet, the website of *Arab News* "gets hundreds of thousands of hits every day from Web surfers worldwide" (http://www.arabnews.com).

3.9.2 Saudi Gazette

Like *Arab News, Saudi Gazette* is also popular and one of the most read newspapers in Saudi Arabia. Established in 1978, *Saudi Gazette* has been operating and disseminating the news and information for more than 40 years. *Saudi Gazette* is part of the Okaz family company, a company rich in its diversity of people and communities (http://www.saudigazette.com.sa). The official page of *Saudi Gazette* on Facebook includes the English versions of the cartoons published in other Arabic-language Saudi newspapers, thus allowing access to a variety of local cartoons. *Arab News* and *Saudi Gazette* newspapers have gained popularity among Saudis and non-Saudis. They publish cartoons by Saudi cartoonists, but also by non-Saudi cartoonists living in the Kingdom. A look at the websites of both newspapers and their Facebook pages reveals readers from all over the world either commenting on what is published or sharing a viewpoint.

3.9.3 Al-Riyadh newspaper

Al-Riyadh newspaper is different from the above two English-language newspapers as it has an Arabic counterpart. This newspaper is the English version of the Arabic-language Saudi newspaper *Al-Riyadh*. Most of the articles, columns, and advertisements published daily in the Arabic-language newspaper are also published in English. The two versions are available online and in print. The online English version of the newspaper includes local as well as political cartoons which are published in a separate section entitled 'comics'. *Al-Riyadh* newspaper has received different awards: local, regional, Pan-Arab, and international. Examples include the Gulf Media Excellence Award in 2005, Europe Golden Arch Award for Quality and Technology in 2005, Middle East Information Technology and Communications Award in 2006, and International Star Quality Award in 2009 (see http://www.alriyadh.com/en/p/info5).

3.10 Summary

This chapter has presented an overview of cartoons as a genre with its own distinctive functions and features. The focus has been on rhetorical features that mostly affect the meaning of cartoons rather than formal features relating to the arrangement and placement of elements in a cartoon image. Cartoons are a visual art often associated with texts and hence they are good examples of multimodal texts. The recent growing interest in multimodality motivates research to

examine this old, traditional pop culture, presented in cartoons here, through a new lens. Multimodal-based research on cartoons attempts to focus on how the visual-verbal interplay creates meaning in a humorous and satirical manner, presenting the serious in a new humorous multimodal form.

In the context of Saudi media, there is a lack of research on humour in general and cartoons in particular. Cartoons, either social or political, are published on a daily basis addressing pressing issues and social practices, but little attention has been paid to the creative, rhetorical techniques employed by Saudi cartoonists. Adopting a multimodal approach to cartoons, the following chapters look at a sample of cartoons selected from the Saudi media, focusing on how rhetorical techniques such as intertextuality, multimodal metaphor, metonymy and others are deployed to deliver meaning in a humorous, satirical multimodal manner.

4 Intertextuality: Allusion and parody in cartoons

We create our texts out of the sea of former texts that surround us, the sea of language we live in.

(Bazerman 2004: 83)

4.1 Introduction

The previous chapter attempted to show that intertextuality has already proved critical in cartoon research and is considered a vital element for the production and interpretation of humour in political and social cartoons in a particular social context. Allen (2000) pointed out that, following Kristeva, intertextuality entails that a text is constructed out of previously existing texts. Texts cannot be interpreted in isolation, but in relation to the larger cultural and social textuality out of which they are born. Authors rely on preexisting texts to create their own. It has also been mentioned that intertextuality can take many forms or can be achieved through different techniques such as direct quotations, allusions, plagiarism, parody, pastiche, and so on (see chapter three). As regards cartoons and comics, Kaindl (2004) considered allusion and parody as forms of intertextuality that often contribute to their comic and humorous effects.

This chapter follows on the previous chapter by exporing how two forms of intertextuality, namely allusion and parody, are manifested as a resource not only for meaning-making, but also for humorous and satirical effects in multimodal texts, namely cartoons from the Saudi media in this case. The multimodal qualitative analysis of allusions and parody throws light on the role of the visual-verbal interplay in evoking a particular allusion or intertextual reference which, in turn, contributes to the satirical and humorous effect. The analysis echoes Bazerman's (2004) statement that intertextuality is not only a matter of which texts are being referred to, but also a matter of how those texts are used, what they are used for, and ultimately how authors are able to make their own statements.

4.2 Allusions

Hallet and Hallet (2012) defined allusions in cartoons as those references that have a base in the culture of the readership such that readers are expected to access those references. Bazerman (2004) identified different levels of making intertextual references, one of which is when an author makes an explicit reference to a popular phrase, or to a statement from other texts such as newspaper reports

and articles. A less explicit level of intertextual reference is when a text relies on beliefs, issues, ideas, and statements generally circulated in a society, and are more likely to be recognised by readers, such as controversial opinions in newspaper articles. Ermida (2008: 162) described allusion as "a lavish intertextual resource of humor". Humour might be produced through alluding to popular sayings, advertising or a political slogan, newspapers and so on.

Cartoonists vary in the way they make allusions such as popular idiomatic/metaphorical expressions, popular phrases, and animation films. Nonetheless, those allusions are quite distinct in the way they are manifested across the visual and verbal modes in multimodal cartoons. The cartoons from the Saudi media show that allusions are sometimes verbal/textual, visual, or the product of visual-verbal interaction. In some cases, allusions activate metaphors due to the verbal and visual interplay which will be discussed in relation to metaphor in the next chapter.

4.2.1 Allusion to idiomatic expressions: A resource for word-play

In cartoons, Edward (1997) argued that it is the image's intertextuality that situates it in the realm of verbally-based meaning. Throughout the process of interpretation, we bring our verbally-expressed understanding to our interaction with the visual. Visual images have some special power; however, the dominant way through which meaning occurs is believed to be related to language.

Reflecting on the above statement, the visual elements in cartoons allow cartoonists to exploit daily idiomatic expressions creatively to produce humour. In other words, cartoonists make use of the literal meaning in the visual image while referring to the idiomatic meaning, sometimes with or without a verbal clue that helps readers access the expression to which the cartoon alludes. As such, allusions are linked to a sort of word-play. Kaindl (2004) described this kind of word-play as "the non-verbal play on signs" in which the humorous effect stems from the portrayal of the literal sense of the expression in a pictorial code, with or without verbal reinforcement (p. 182).

Cartoons 3 and 4 come from two different cartoonists, but both are concerned with projecting the dilemma of women seeking legal divorce. The visual depiction in both cartoons is based on the same popular idiomatic expression; yet, each has a characteristic visual and verbal representation.

A. Left hanging

In both cartoons, the women are dressed in their black *abbaya* and veils as an indication of their national identity. However, the most salient visual element in both cartoons is the way the women are represented. For instance, Cartoon 3 shows a man who has left a woman hanging on a hook of a yellow truck in the background, and is simply walking away. The traditional white *thobe* and the red headwear *shemage* worn by the man are cultural symbols to identify the Saudi identity of the character.

Similarly, Cartoon 4 depicts five veiled women as being fastened to pins on the wall. The letters of "divorce request" and the question asked by one of the women "Do you happen to know a good lawyer?" indicate that they are seeking divorce. The sharp gaze of the woman in the right corner reflects her intolerance of the situation. The other woman in the left is producing sounds as signs of her tiresome condition.

Verbal elements in both cartoons are significant to access the correct interpretation. The first cartoon makes a direct textual allusion to the idiomatic expression "left hanging", while the second relies on verbal clues, such as "divorce request" and the question "Do you happen to know a good lawyer?", to help readers identify the allusion to the expression "left hanging". The visual depiction is the source of humour and the salient feature that links the allusion to a sort of word-play, through which the cartoonists visualise the literal meaning of the verb "hang" while referring to the idiomatic meaning of "left hanging". The latter means "to keep someone waiting for your decision or answer" whereas the former is "to fasten or support something at the top leaving the other parts free to move" (Cambridge Dictionaries Online). The use of the idiomatic expression "left hanging" in the context of divorce in Saudi society is closely related to the meaning stated by the dictionary. It is used to describe the undetermined status of a wife whose husband has abandoned her: she is neither married, nor legally divorced.

In Cartoon 3, the literal meaning is exploited visually through depicting the wife who is seeking divorce as being fastened to the hook of the truck. The man who has left the woman behind is the husband who has abandoned his wife without a decision made in her divorce case. Likewise, in Cartoon 4 the literal meaning of "hang" is visualised through depicting the veiled woman as being fastened to pins on the wall.

Cartoon 3: By Rabea, republished by *Saudi Gazette*, 6 December 2013.

Cartoon 4: By Al-Madi, republished by *Saudi Gazette*, 16 May 2014.

B. To blow into someone's head

In the context of employment issues, idiomatic expressions also constitute a good resource for cartoonists to satirically comment on the employer-employee relationship which is often based on false compliment. Consider Cartoon 5.

Cartoon 5: By Rabea, from *Al-Riyadh* newspaper, 7 April 2014.

The cartoon depicts the images of two men: one is identified as the boss and the other is identified as the employee. The employee inflates the boss's head with air using an air pump. The size of the boss's head is exaggerated and given a large size similar to a big ball or a balloon being pumped with air. The employee's gaze towards the boss reflects his anger and fury while the boss's frowning eyes and way of sitting reflect his arrogance. At the top left corner, the sentence "How to get a raise" is placed. The word "raise" in this context refers to an increase in the salary or in rank. However, the process of getting that "raise" is visually depicted: the employee has to blow into the boss's head.

The act of blowing in the context of the cartoon is the visual clue that helps familiar readers identify the allusion or intertextual reference to the culture-specific idiom "to blow into someone's head". This idiomatic expression is used in a situation when someone flatters a person of a high rank or position seeking his/her satisfaction, as an attempt to get benefit from the person being flattered. The employee has to "blow into the boss's head", that is, to praise him in order to

get a higher rank or credit in the workplace. The cartoonist visualises the literal meaning of "to blow into something", meaning to force air into something, while actually referring to the cultural meaning of the expression as used in the context in which a person seeks someone else's satisfaction for individual interest.

In this example, the allusion or reference to the idiomatic expression is made visually with a verbal clue, and the result is a kind of word-play on the senses of the expression. However, a cartoon may include a direct verbal allusion to a popular idiomatic phrase with a particular visual element that helps create a sort of word-play when it interacts with the verbal allusion, as in the following example.

C. To start one's life from zero

"To start one's life from zero" is a popular idiomatic expression used in daily life situations to describe someone who has achieved success in life by starting from the very beginning, for example, a basic job with limited income as the first step in building one's fortune. This is the context in which this expression usually appears. Perhaps, the nearest English equivalent for this expression is "to start one's life from scratch". Cartoon 6 makes a direct textual allusion to the idiomatic expression "to start one's life from zero". Relying on the literal meaning of the expression, the schoolboy attempts to justify his "failure" through using this expression.

Cartoon 6: By Al-Shafea, from *Saudi Gazette,* 15 January 2014.

The boy shows his father his school report which states that he has failed in the exam result. To lessen his father's shock, the boy comments on his failure quoting the popular expression "Don't worry dad. I'll 'start my life from zero' like you". Pragmatically speaking, the boy seems to be referring to an expression he has heard from his father who may have quoted it while acknowledging his struggle and effort in life. Clearly, the schoolboy is not referring to that positive idiomatic meaning, but to the literal meaning of getting nothing, a zero result, which is absolutely negative and unacceptable in his father's view.

The time when the cartoon was published is significant for the humour: it was published during the examination period at the end of the first semester. The cartoonist made fun of a possible result that schoolboys may possibly achieve, and imagined a humorous scene between a father and his child. In doing so, the cartoonist resorts to playing with the literal and idiomatic meaning, and allusion is then linked to a kind of word-play.

D. Looking for something underground

Not only can idioms be a resource to play with words and create humorous meanings, but expressions with verbal exaggerations can also serve as an inspiring source for cartoonists to playfully present social problems. As stated earlier in this section, when we are exposed to the visual image, our verbally expressed understanding of the world is activated, evoking a kind of interaction between the visual depiction and our linguistic repertoire. In many cases, this interaction allows readers to identify the culture-specific items or expressions on which the visual depiction of a cartoon is based. Cartoon 7 illustrates the point.

The cartoon consists of two frames: one depicts a scene above the ground and the other depicts a fictional underground scene. In the first scene, a woman is looking into a very small hole on the ground and inserting a thin rope into the hole. The second imaginary scene shows that the hole leads to an ant kingdom. One of the ants is standing on a small hill in the middle holding a paper and inviting the other ants to receive their salary which is some saved food in a treasure box. The phrase "receiving salary" is written on a small yellow sign and a group of ants are in a queue to receive their salaries. Surprisingly, the rope which is let down by the woman is attached to her curriculum vitae file while she is asking from above the ground "Do you have jobs!?".

Depicting the woman as looking underground and her question constitute salient visual and verbal elements that help familiar readers access the cultural exaggerated expression "looking for something underground", usually used in situations where one does not give up searching for something and tries one's best to find it. The woman does not give up on searching for a job and
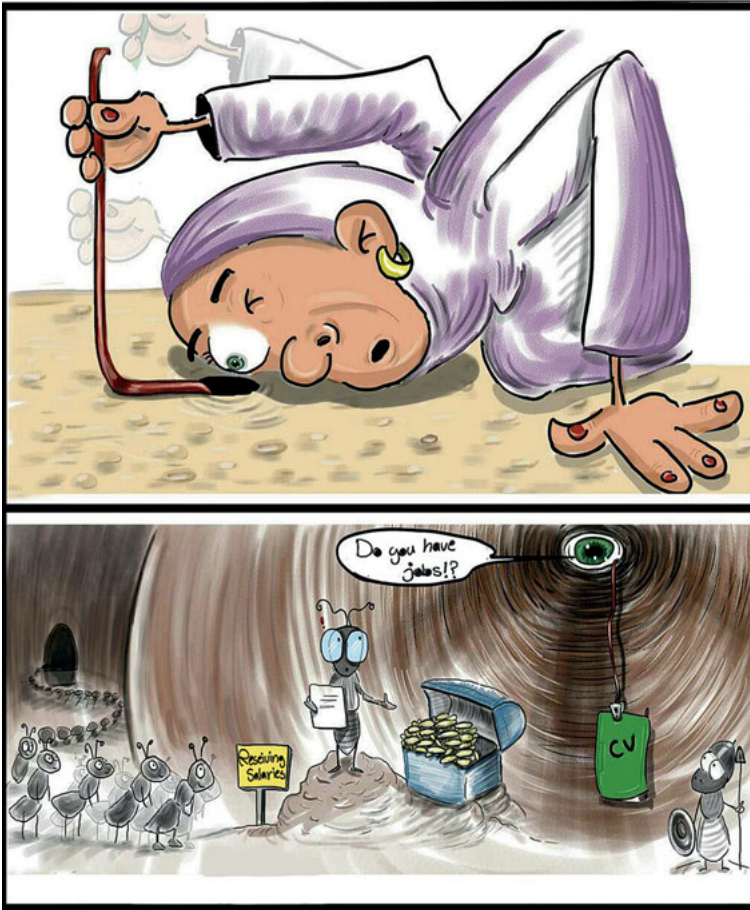
Cartoon 7: By Hana Hajjar, 10 December 2013.

starts looking for it underground. The verbal exaggeration has a persuasive effect as it serves to indicate how much effort has been made to achieve a particular aim or how much a person is in need of something, but it is taken literally and is visualised in the cartoon for a humorous purpose.

Although the conventional exaggerated expression is not usually humorous when produced in real life situations, it becomes such in the cartoon. The essence of humour lies in the creativity of the cartoonist to integrate his/her imagination with a conventional expression: imagining a whole life underground

and choosing the topic of unemployment to be the target of her humour. By doing so, the cartoon comments on the problem of unemployment in general, and on the situation of many unemployed Saudi women in particular.

To sum up, allusions either made verbally or evoked through visual portrayal with verbal clues, are linked to a sort of word-play. Cartoonists in some cases resort to visualising a whole scene inspired from the literal meaning of some words included in the idiomatic expressions to which they are alluding. Visualisation is not an easy task. It demands the cartoonists' creative ability to imagine. When exploiting those expressions, cartoonists not only look at them in the actual context in which they are used, but they try to imagine them in a world of fantasy. While doing so, a cartoonist includes verbal clues to make sure that his/her audience is able to access the allusion and receive the humorous or satirical message in the cartoon.

4.2.2 Verbal allusion to popular phrases

Certain phrases are overused in society to the extent that they have gained specific meanings in themselves. When they are produced, they evoke connotations relevant to particular situations in particular places. However, those phrases are associated with negative aspects in the society. The following are two of the most common ones.

A. Come tomorrow

The statement "come tomorrow" is the literal translation of the original Arabic version. It seems to be a normal phrase, but it has for a long time been associated with government departments and the process of following up documents. Officials are expected to say "come tomorrow" to citizens coming to complete their official documents. This imperative statement is nowadays connected with a negative meaning when it is used in relation to any government department or company. Consider Cartoon 8.

This cartoon depicts a man who seems to enter an area identified at the top centre of the cartoon as "Government department". The cartoon does not show any building or department, but simply a wall through which the man goes in and out. Repetition of the statement "come tomorrow" is the salient feature enclosed in speech bubbles to indicate that the citizen is receiving the same reply from officials working in the government department. Based on their background knowledge, readers can infer that "come tomorrow" is the only response the man gets from the officials who are supposed to help him achieve the purpose of his
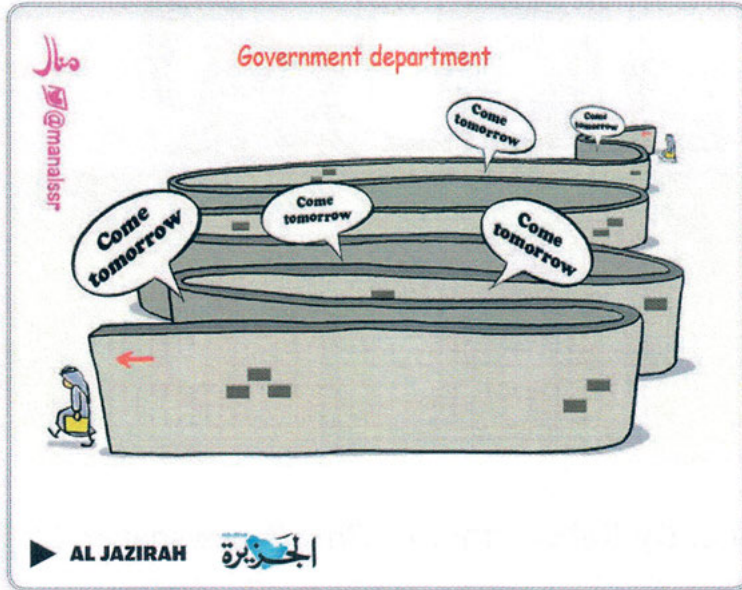
Cartoon 8: By Manal, republished by *Saudi Gazette, 9* January 2014.

visit. The repetition indicates that the man's visit is in vain. It is clear that allusion and repetition interact to make meaning. Through alluding to this expression, the cartoonist satirises the way some government departments handle citizens' governmental issues. The satirical effect is further achieved through the script oppositions activated by "government department" and "come tomorrow": the assumed positive attitude *versus* the actual negative attitude.

B. System down

The phrase 'system down' has become a very recognisable keyword or excuse in banks, government departments and companies which provide public services. It is not used very much in the Arabic version, but often in the English version, and more frequently a combination of both: the first word "system" is added to the Arabic word *atlaan*, meaning "down" or "out of order". The negative impact of this phrase on the public drives some members of the society to use "system down" in daily interaction to evoke fun and laughter. Pragmatically speaking, whenever members of the society make reference to this phrase in different real life situations, it is then a satirical commentary on the way it is used in government departments, banks, and companies of public services.

Cartoonists spare no effort to make fun of this phenomenon. They situate the expression "system down" in odd contexts to create far more satirical situations. Consider Cartoon 9.

Cartoon 9: By Al-Marzooq, republished by *Saudi Gazette,* 12 December 2014.

This cartoon alludes to the phrase "system down" to achieve a satirical purpose. However, it does so through situating the phrase in a totally different context. It shows a school classroom where some students are sitting at their desks, and listening to their teacher who is asking "Give me one correct English phrase". The stick and the question are two clues to indicate that he is an English teacher. The Saudi traditional dress is a cultural symbol of the national identity. In response to the question, all the students in the class, the salient students in the front and the less salient ones at the back, are depicted as saying the one correct English phrase they know; satirically, it happens to be "system down".

The allusion to this phrase has two interrelated interpretations: the first interpretation which is related to the immediate context leads to another interpretation related to a socially recognised issue. The interpretation related to the immediate context is that English in Saudi Arabia constitutes a difficult course

for school students. They hardly manage to give one correct English phrase; however, they managed to do so in the cartoon context when they utter the phrase "system down". Managing to say "system down" and not any other phrase is a satirical commentary on the poor quality of government institutions and public services to the extent that the young generation, represented by the students in the cartoon, are used to expressions of excuse such as "system down".

The phenomenon related to the two expressions considered above, "come tomorrow" and "system down" has also been satirically represented in a cartoon by a different cartoonist relying on juxtaposition. In Cartoon 10, the two expressions are juxtaposed in relation to two scenes and two different colours. Each expression is assigned a specific period, either "Past" or "Now".

Cartoon 10: By Rabea, from *Al-Riyadh* newspaper, 25 February 2014.

The same scene is depicted in both frames; however, one is identified as belonging to the past whereas the other to the present. Colour is also significant: "past" is given a grey-white-black colour, whereas "present" is marked with bright colours. In the past, "come (back) tomorrow" was a typical answer provided by a government official while "system (is) down" is nowadays the typical response as a result of computer technology. Satirically, although the answer has changed from past to present due to today's technology, the situation remains the same: clients' issues

are not resolved and are further delayed. Another type of allusion concerns intratextuality, which we consider in the following.

4.2.3 Allusions to the immediate context: Intratextuality

Intratextuality involves internal relations within the text, for example the relationship of one person to another within a single image or photograph, or the relation of a newspaper photograph to a caption in a particular news text (Chandler 2007). There are some cases in which a text alludes to a story, event or a scene in the same cartoon, and can only be humorous in terms of the event to which it refers in the immediate context. Consider Cartoon 11.
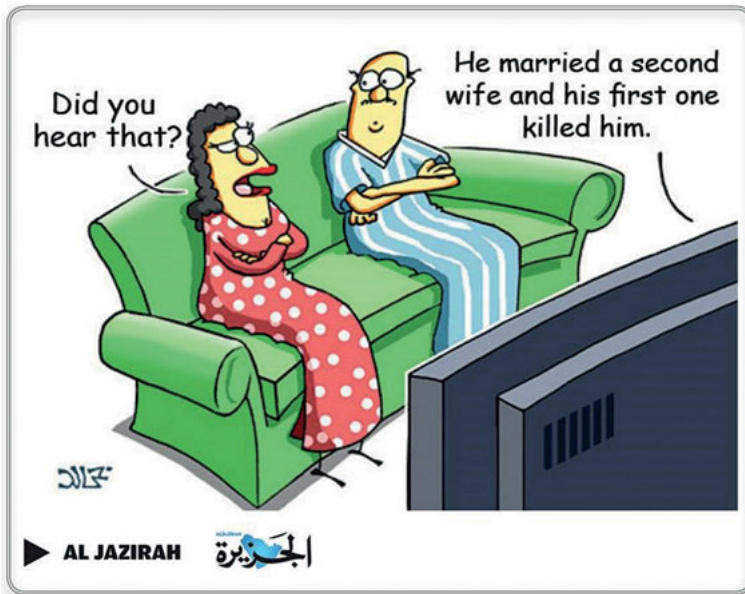
Cartoon 11: By Khaled, republished by *Saudi Gazette*, 18 July 2014.

Cartoon 11 shows a couple watching TV while sitting on a green sofa. Meanwhile, the news "of a husband murdered by his first wife because of his second marriage" is being reported on TV. The question asked by the wife "Did you hear that?" after the news of murder is not a question requiring a yes/no answer, but a threatening act. The wife's scary gaze at her husband plays a significant role in supporting the

threatening act achieved by her question whereas the husband's stare and facial expression reflect his worries and fears.

The humour is based on allusion to a story in the immediate context, or intratextuality. The threatening act of the wife's question can only be achieved through referring to the story being reported on TV. Readers can infer that the wife is threatening her husband that he is likely to suffer the same fate in case of marrying a second wife. The TV news, the primary verbal element, interacts with the wife's threatening question and other visual choices, such as gaze and facial expressions, to make humorous meaning. Through this kind of allusion, women are given dominance and power over men who are represented as vulnerable not only through the wife's threat, but also through the news of murder. This issue, although funny, touches on polygamy as a serious issue for women. In polygamy, while the wife is the affected person, the cartoonist seems willing to empower women in this cartoon and to represent the husband, the typically empowered member, as the affected partner.

Similarly, Cartoon 12 consists of allusion to the immediate context to foster the same gender stereotype in a humorous way.
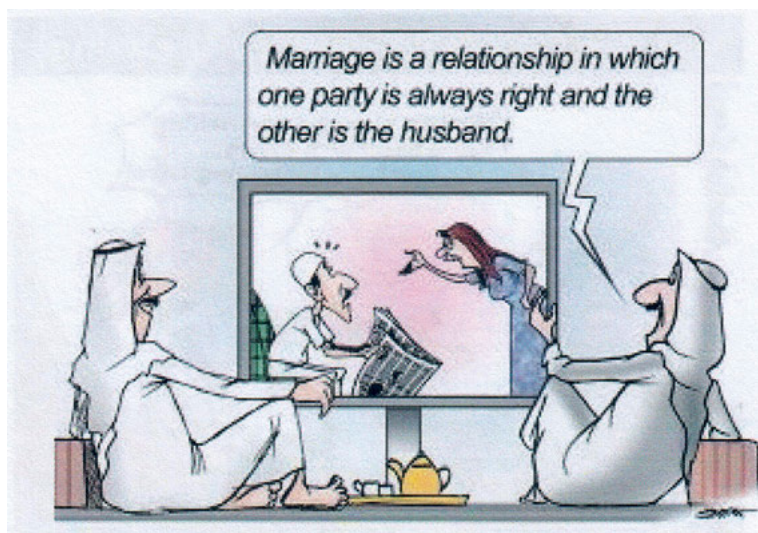
Cartoon 12: By Al-Shafea, from *Saudi Gazette,* 4 March 2014.

Cartoon 12 shows a scene in which two friends are chatting while watching a TV series. An intense scenario occurring between a couple is displayed on the TV screen. The cartoon includes different cultural symbols identifying the national

identity and the traditional Saudi setting. One frequent symbol is the traditional Saudi dress worn by the two men. Other symbols related to the traditional Saudi setting and furniture are: the teapot on the small tray, and the traditional striped cushion. The TV scenario, on the other hand, depicts a wife shouting at her husband who looks helpless in the situation (as indicated by her hand gesture and open mouth).

The essence of the humour lies in the man's commentary on the scenario of the couple on TV: "Marriage is a relationship in which one party is always right and the other is the husband". The man is alluding to the TV scene not only verbally, but also visually through pointing to the TV screen while speaking. The first part in the man's commentary, "Marriage is a relationship", is a general statement after which a reader expects a balanced speech of wisdom or a piece of unbiased advice. However, this is not the case here. The third statement in the speech "and the other is the husband" confirms that the second one describes a characteristic of the wife. This means that the statement "one party is always right" refers to the wife. It implies the stereotype that wives are leading and dominant since they think themselves as being right by default. Although the wife in the TV scene is not given a voice, she maintains power visually through her shouting at her husband, as well as verbally through the man's indirect description of wives' domination. Both cartoons rely on intratextuality or allusions to texts in the immediate context to perpetuate certain gender stereotypes. In both, humour results from violating the socially accepted norm that men are leading and dominant.

To sum up, the above examples are concerned with the ways through which allusion manifests itself in the cartoons. The multimodal nature of cartoons allows a cartoonist to exploit the literal and idiomatic meaning of a particular expression simultaneously, employing a kind of word-play. Readers depend on the verbal and visual clues to identify the reference or allusion. Popular phrases, which are culturally associated with negative aspects in the society, are also sources for cartoonists to satirise negative social practices of either authorities or individuals. Cartoonists in those allusions approach their audience through moving from the familiar and the real to the unfamiliar and the unreal, that is using expressions and phrases used in daily communication and situating them in an imaginary context. Not only can allusions be a rich source of humour, but imitating the form and style of a particular type of writing and situating it in a totally odd context can also be a resource for humour and satire. We consider imitation under the rubric of parody in the following.

4.3 Parody

In identifying instances of parody, we focus on the general style of presenting the issue, that is, how far the writing format is an imitation of a style specific to a particular type of writing. However, defining parody varies according to the research interest, ranging from specific literary research (see Twark 2007) to non-literary research (as in Kaindl 2004; Korkut 2009; Ermida 2012). To delimit the scope of parody in our discussion, we refer to the types of parody. According to Chambers (2010), parody can be specific (e.g. literary) or general, also called genre parody (see also Korkut 2009).

Chambers (2010) defined specific parody as the imitation of the work of particular individuals, such as authors, poets, or novelists, to ridicule or satirise the original (used in the negative sense) while general parody involves an imitation of a whole type of writing or art. Similarly, Ermida (2012) summed up that "parody copycats either an author or a genre" (p. 191). Chambers (2010) added that because a specific parody targets a specific author, it can sometimes be offensive, "but no one has ever been hauled into court for committing general parody, or for parodying an entire genre" (p. 48). He further indicated that "general parodies can be long, short, or of medium length. They tend to be comic, ironic, or satiric" (p. 50). He refers to "general parody spoofs" relating to typically short parodic works that owe nothing to any author or person, but that play with whole genres (p. 53).

Against this background, the scope of parody in our discussion is limited to general parody which involves the imitation of the structural and stylistic features of news headlines, or as Rose (1993: 15) referred to it, as "the imitation of form with a change to content". The following sections offer some examples of parodic news headlines and parody of Internet-automated messages.

4.3.1 Parodic news headlines in cartoons: Between text and image

It is important to note that the examples we discuss here show parody of news headlines, not the whole news genre. Parody of news headlines is common among the cartoons. Where it occurs, parody serves to add a funny effect as it makes readers feel they are reading actual daily news, or to trigger a satirical effect when it interacts with allusion to a real event. News headlines are as significant to the news genre as the news itself since they contain the core information of news reports, while the news genre in itself has particular linguistic and stylistic features.

Bednarek and Caple (2012) mentioned that verbs are frequently left out, or occur without tense auxiliaries, but if they occur, they are usually in the present tense. Headlines function to frame the event, summarise the story and attract readers (p. 96). Verdonk (2002) also listed some features: headlines are written in a large and bold typeface; ellipsis is a typical feature of the language of headlines; and the omission can be guessed or recovered from the context. In addition to capturing readers' attention, headlines contain the main point of the news. "The result is a succinct and pungent style which has a direct and powerful effect on the readers" (p. 4).

The cartoons discussed below include parodic (spoof) news headlines which contribute to the humorous effect. In these cartoons, parodic news headlines maintain the linguistic style of writing news headlines, but the content evokes reality, making fun of the social practices and situations of everyday life. Ermida (2012) notes that parody in this case "resides in keeping the outside but altering the inside" (p. 190). Readers are hence given the opportunity to "identify one text in reading another" (p. 190). This is the intertextual basis of Kristeva's theory of intertextuality: understanding one text in terms of pre-existing texts. We now look at some examples of parodic news headlines as used in the cartoons.

Cartoon 13: By Rabea, from *Al-Riyadh* newspaper, 10 June 2014.

Cartoon 13 consists of a spoof news headline which makes a humorous comment on women's love for shopping where the image is only a complementary element, supporting the meaning expressed in the headline. The cartoon depicts three women as happy (as indicated by their smiles) with two of them carrying purchase bags. They are in their black *abbaya* as a symbol of their national identity. However, the humour resides in the parodic news headline: "scientific study: shopping (has) a positive effect on women's mood".

The headline in the cartoon makes intertextual reference to the news genre through parodying the features of writing news headlines, in particular, being concise and informative. It is written in a bold typeface at the top centre of the image. The first phrase "scientific study" catches readers' attention as they expect to read far more serious information after the content. Similar to a typical news headline, the parodic headline in the cartoon summarises the result of a (fake) scientific study. The spoof news headline encompasses self-contained humour since it brings about two opposed scripts, authentic science with women's love for shopping. This corresponds to Rose's (1993: 33) comment that parodic humour lies in "contrasting the serious with the absurd as well as the high with the low, or the ancient with the modern, the pious with the impious, and so on". A social female interest is represented as an authentic result of a scientific study.

In some cartoons, the comic effect of parody can be the result of exaggeration (Ermida 2012) as in the headline at the top of Cartoon 14.

Cartoon 14: By Sayel, from *Arab News*, 28 July 2012.

The headline is written in a large bold typeface, with an auxiliary ("are") left out to cope with the restricted space available in the cartoon image. It is concise and informative. An exclamatory mark, usually used for surprise, is inserted at the end of the headline. There is a clear verbal exaggeration in the headline "Billionaires", focusing on the concept of wealth rather than achievements: "Saudi female billionaires are increasing". The exaggeration refers to Saudi females in particular, but situates them as rivals to Saudi males. Another element is that the headline focuses on the increasing number of those female billionaires rather than acknowledging their achievements. It parodies actual news headlines which acknowledge women's achievements at the time, but the cartoonist resorts to a more unrealistic (exaggerated) way of saying this, focusing on finance. This is done intentionally so that the parodic headline becomes more satirical when it interacts with the image. Typically, news headlines about this topic tend to include expressions that acknowledge women's achievements rather than their financial gains, such as in the following examples:

1. Saudi women and their *remarkable achievements* (21 September 2012)
2. Saudi women *carve out niche* for themselves in *medical profession* (5 May 2012)
3. A giant *leap* for Saudi women (12 January 2013)
4. Women graduates' *achievements* highlighted (17 March 2012)
5. Saudi women kick off 2013 with *global success* (5 March 2013)

<div align="right">(quoted from *Arab News*, our emphasis)</div>

In addition to exaggeration, the parodic news headline acquires a satirical tone when interacting with the scene in the image. The cartoon shows a man asking his mother to "stop looking for a teacher & start lookin' for a billionaire wife!". On his white *thobe*, the description "SINGLE+JOBLESS" is inscribed. His closed eyes and general facial expression indicate his comfort and confidence while speaking. On the other hand, the way he is sitting and holding the small empty glass of tea reflects his carelessness and indifference. As opposed to the son, the mother's baffled gaze which is directed towards readers reveals her being overwhelmed by her son's request. This is further indicated by the three red exclamatory marks above her head. Cultural symbols, such as the red cushion, the teapot and the tray, identify the traditional Saudi setting.

The man's speech reflects the way some jobless Saudi youths think about the privilege of being married to a working wife. The utterance, "stop looking for a teacher & start lookin' for a billionaire wife!", presupposes that he has planned to marry a teacher, but has changed his mind and wants to marry a billionaire bride. The word "billionaire" is an exaggeration referring to women's high economic position which entails being rich and wealthy. The scene echoes the parodic news headline through referring to the financial status of Saudi women rather

than achievements. To sum up, the parodic news headline and the scene interact to satirise a situation in which women's achievements are measured by their financial gains (as indicated by the headline), and those women simply become the goal of a jobless and careless bridegroom (as reflected by the scene).

Spoof news headlines are common and are subject to some cartoonists' particular styles. For instance, Abdullah Sayel's cartoons are more frequently marked by their parodic news headlines than other cartoonists, either to ridicule human follies or to satirise the policies of ministries and companies. However, these parodic news headlines are skillfully situated in the cartoons to interact with the visual and verbal elements, contributing to the overall humorous representation of a particular phenomenon.

4.3.2 Parodic Internet-text messages

Most of the cartoons related to technology resort to visual exaggeration, or sometimes metaphor, to satirise the invasion of technology in people's private lives (see chapter seven). However, the same meaning is satirically conveyed through verbal parody. Cartoon 15 is based on imitation of the Internet text messages that are automatically generated after creating an email account, and the result is a parodic Internet message.

Cartoon 15: By Al-Shafea, published by *Saudi Gazette*, 24 February 2014.

The cartoon depicts a child sitting in front of a computer set, and the message that appears on the computer screen is made visible in a speech rectangle at the top centre of the cartoon so that readers can know what the child is doing or has done: "Congratulations child, you've successfully created your email account and registered with social networking sites. You can now forget about your privacy!". The message makes an intertextual reference to the Internet messages automatically generated after creating an email account or any other account in social media applications (Apps). The resultant parody, as mentioned earlier, involves an imitation of form with a change to content. The parodic Internet message encompasses lexemes that activate script oppositions which may differ from one reader to another according to their worldview or pragmatic knowledge. In the first sentence, the phrases "child", "email account" and "social networking sites" trigger scripts that establish oppositions, such as childhood versus adulthood, or a child's innocence versus dangerous social media.

The second sentence "you can now forget about your privacy" is a satirical assertion ridiculing social media networks which usually assure new users that they can retain their privacy. The words "forget" and "privacy" activate the opposition between erosion of privacy and claiming privacy. The incongruity of the scripts produces satirical effect. To sum up, the parodic Internet message is a satirical commentary on the way children become vulnerable to dangerous social media, and on the loss of privacy in the Internet and technology era.

4.4 Towards multimodal allusion and parody

The examples of allusions discussed earlier in this chapter are either made verbally or visually through playing on the literal and idiomatic meanings of some expressions (visual allusions with verbal clues). However, the multimodal nature of cartoons provides a cartoonist with the opportunity to satirise a particular issue through alluding to a famous game or gestures which are inherently associated with a particular expression. The allusion in such a case can be described as multimodal in that it refers to those instances which depict popular actions or games in the visual mode while presenting the associated words or expressions in the verbal mode. This kind of allusion has not generally been discussed from a multimodal perspective. Cases are not frequent in the sample investigated here; yet, they may add a new perspective for allusions in multimodal research. The following example touches on a pressing issue which generates a global controversial debate. It has been a worrying aspect not only in Saudi society, but also in countries of the east and west.
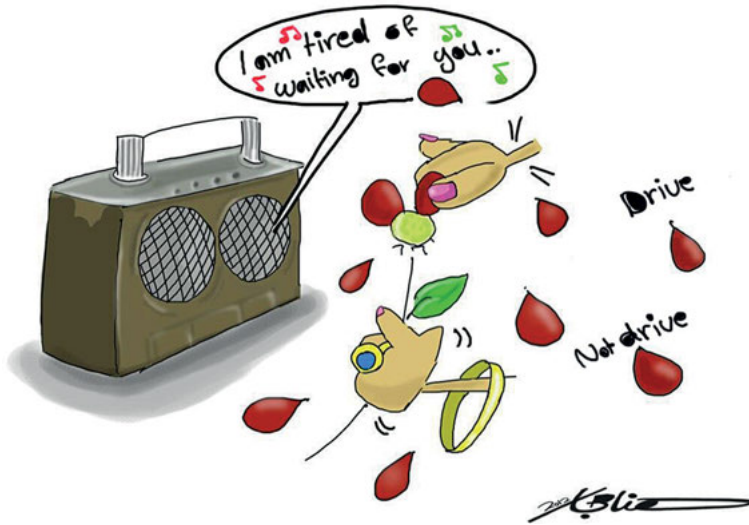
Cartoon 16: By Hana Hajjar from Twitter, 22 October 2013.

Cartoon 16 presents the woman's situation while she is awaiting approval to be able to drive. The feminine hands decorated with jewellery stand for the woman as a person based on part–whole metonymy (for discussion on metonymy, see chapter five). She is depicted as "taking petals off a rose" while saying "Drive, Not drive". In the background, the song "I am tired of waiting for you" is playing on the radio, the words of which are enclosed in a speech bubble and surrounded by some musical notes to help readers identify it as a song.

The act of taking petals off the rose while saying "Drive, Not drive" visually as well as verbally alludes to the popular game in romantic movies or love stories "Loves Me, Loves Me Not" which is usually associated with taking petals off roses. "Loves Me, Loves Me Not" has its history in Western culture. It is used to help a person determine, decide or even predict which of two options is more likely to happen or more likely to come true. The relation between the elements of the game, taking petals off the rose, and the expression is reciprocal. In other words, the presence of one element immediately evokes the other element. However, the game with its usual associated expression is presented through verbal as well as visual elements; this may be described as multimodal allusion.

The cartoonist makes use of this game with a slight adaptation in the wording to suit the issue being presented. Neither the words, nor the syntax of the expression, "Drive, Not drive" are identical to the structure of "Loves Me, Loves

Me Not". However, the general structural feature of using the infinitive verb in the affirmative and in the negative form is deployed in the adapted version of the expression. The verbal adaptation of the wording is necessary since the issue being addressed is about "driving". The woman's situation while waiting for the issue of driving to be approved is portrayed in a funny way through the allusion. The other less salient element of humour is the song in the background: "I am tired of waiting for you" creates a "love scene" between the woman and "driving", revealing her long wait for the issue to come true. Table 2 summarises the elements of the multimodal allusion in this cartoon:

Table 2: Elements of multimodal allusion.

Modes of making the allusion		Source text	Source text type	Rhetorical effect
Verbal	**Visual**			
Drive, Not drive	Taking petals off the rose	Loves Me, Loves Me Not	Popular game in romantic movies or love stories	Humorous and funny effect

Like allusion, parody can be exploited multimodally. We have described parodic news headlines in cartoons as self-contained comic texts since they depend on exaggeration or on activating opposed scripts. A parodic news headline also interacts with the image in the cartoon frame, resulting in a far more humorous or satirical effect. As regards the whole cartoon, it is sometimes possible to describe the cartoon as a parodic piece of work, including its verbal and visual elements. Apart from verbal parody, Chambers (2010) argued that media creations such as cartoons, animation, graphic novels, comic books, and the like can enter the realm of parody if "the elements form sets of multistable contrasts, of bound interplay" (p. 85). He referred to images of fiction which can be perceived by readers as "a set of *mistakes* or a collection of impossible possibilities" (p. 85, original emphasis). Kaindl (2004), on the other hand, spoke of pictorial parody of popular images and famous paintings in comic strips.

Such examples also extend to the non-fictional multimodal cartoons that mimic the normal conventional patterns of a particular type of writing to depict a real-life aspect which is unlikely to be presented in that way. The visual and verbal elements in a particular cartoon help readers identify the intertextual reference to a specific source text. In other words, the elements in the cartoon, images and words, parody a specific type of writing typically based on a combination of texts and images.

Examples of such types include instructions or steps of doing something, or operating a device or machine, which are usually accompanied by images. Parody of these multimodal texts can be a good means for cartoonists to comment humorously on certain phenomena in the society. The result is a comic conflation that reverses conventional patterns into elements of humour, a satisfactory result that is emphasised by Chambers (2010) when discussing general parody spoofs in works of fiction. Consider Cartoon 17 which comments humorously on the way women shop, thus perpetuating a gender stereotype.

Cartoon 17: By Rabea, from *Al-Riyadh* newspaper, 31 January 2014.

Cartoon 17 consists of three images of the same woman with purchase bags in three phases: 1) Buy, 2) Exchange, and 3) Return. The word "shopping" is written and underlined at the top centre of the cartoon; it provides the setting of the scene. Dressed in her black *abbaya* and veil, the woman is identified as Saudi. She is also depicted as slightly overweight, and hence she might face difficulty finding a suitable size.

The use of the infinitive verbs explains what the woman is doing in each phase or image. However, what makes the cartoon funny is the parody evoked through the way the three actions are verbally expressed, numbered and arranged. Visually as well as verbally, the cartoon consists of a parody of processes or steps of doing something, such as assembling an item, operating a

new machine, or making a model. Through parody, women's shopping is humorously depicted as a whole process starting with stage one and ending with stage three.

Based on their background knowledge of the original text, readers can interpret the way Saudi women go shopping in terms of a process or steps: a woman buys a dress first; then she finds it unfitting, so she exchanges the dress either with a different size or another alternative which turns out to be unfitting; and finally she decides to return the dress and gets her money back. The to-and-fro process is visualised through the change of the woman's direction in each step. Since verbal and visual elements are equally important to evoke the parody in this cartoon, it is possible to describe it as a multimodal parody.

Similarly, the humour of Cartoon 18 is based on visual and verbal mimicry of street signs used to show parking to satirise the current overuse of social media in the most hazardous situation, that is, while driving.
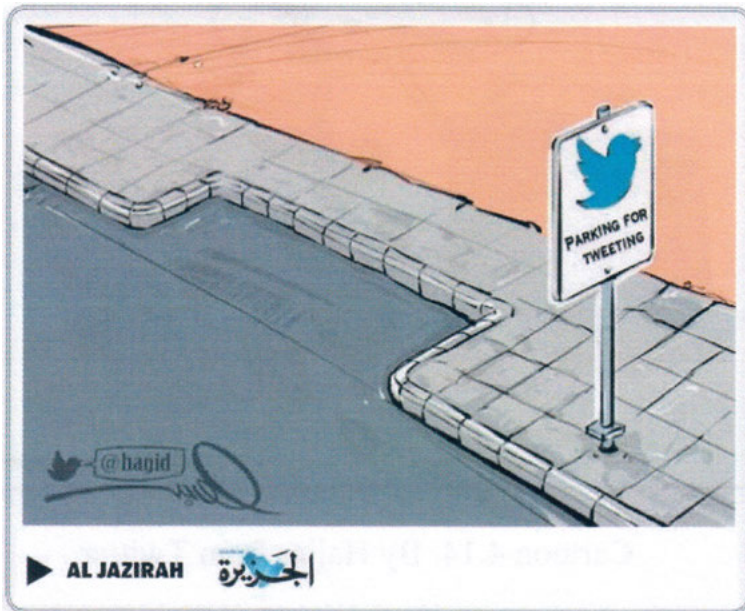
Cartoon 18: By Hagid, reproduced by *Saudi Gazette*, 26 September 2014.

Looking at this cartoon, readers will not be mistaken in accessing the source model on which the image and the associated text are based. It imitates street signs that guide drivers to an appropriate parking space in a specific area.

However, the content is far from the recognised instructions in real street signs, such as reserved parking, parking for customers, handicapped parking, parking for staff only and the like. The sign includes the instruction "parking for tweeting", with the Twitter icon, "the blue bird" placed above the instruction. Visually, a space for parking is vacant behind the sign. The cartoonist does not actually provide a solution for a municipality to construct a special parking area for tweeting, but satirises those individuals who use social media networks while driving. Table 3 summarises the multimodal parodies as used in these examples.

Table 3: Elements of multimodal parody.

Modes of making parody		Source text	Source text type	Rhetorical effect
Verbal	**Visual**			
1. Buy 2. Exchange 3. Return	Numbered images next to each process	Instructions/a process/steps of doing, operating or making something	Leaflets, booklets, flyers, catalogues, or even recipes	Humorous & funny
Parking for Tweeting	The image of a street sign at the parking space	Short phrases for instructions on street signs	on streets, districts, and highways	Satirical

4.5 Concluding summary

This chapter has provided a qualitative multimodal analysis of some cartoons highlighting the role of allusion and parody as resources for delivering humorous or satirical meanings. The cartoons, which touch on different social themes, involve allusions to various popular phrases and idiomatic expressions. However, those allusions vary in the way they are used across semiotic modes (the visual and the verbal) and in the purpose they serve to achieve. A cartoonist makes allusion to an idiomatic expression through portraying the literal sense of the expression in the visual mode which is often accompanied by verbal clues that relate to the idiomatic meaning of the expression. The result is a kind of wordplay, or a 'non-verbal play on signs' which contributes to the comic effect.

Allusion to popular phrases, which are neutral, but culturally associated with negative practices in government institutions, is a rich source for producing satirical effect. The multimodal nature of cartoons makes the use of those phrases

for satirising negative phenomena possible. While referring directly to such phrases, cartoonists rely on different visual and verbal devices such as repetition and juxtaposition, or may situate those phrases in totally odd contexts to present his/her satirical voice. Intratextuality, or allusion to events or speech in the immediate context, has been effective for producing humour.

As regards parody, parodic news headlines are frequent and can activate script oppositions, or exaggerations which often contribute to the satirical effect. Parodic news headlines interact with the images in the cartoon frames to produce far more satirical effects. The recent increasing interest in multimodal research helps introduce terms such as multimodal allusion or multimodal parody. The visual-verbal interaction in making multimodal allusion and parody proves very effective in presenting a certain issue in a particularly humorous manner. This creates a new platform for further research on multimodal allusion and parody in different media genres.

5 Multimodal metaphor

5.1 Introduction

Metaphor has always been viewed as a useful tool in the creation and interpretation of humour in cartoons. It is described, along with metonymy, as a necessary cognitive tool for making complex concepts more accessible to the general public (Catalano and Waugh 2013: 34). Metaphor, particularly multimodal metaphor has already been introduced in chapter three as one of the most pervasive features in cartoons. This chapter is concerned with the role of multimodal metaphor in making humorous meaning following El Refaie's (2015) concept of multimodal resonance which describes "the way creative multimodal metaphors are often grasped intuitively and imaginatively" (p. 18).

The chapter specifically aims at identifying aspects of creativity in multimodal metaphor as used in cartoons from the Saudi media, and the ways in which certain creative metaphors achieve a humorous and satirical effect. Throughout the discussion, the distribution of the target and source domains across the visual and verbal modes is also considered. It is important to note that the metaphors discussed here are not only marked by their multimodal nature, but also by the genre to which they belong (Forceville 2007): cartoons and the humorous and satirical messages intended by cartoonists. The examples therefore shed light on the function of multimodal metaphor to humorise or satirise some negative issues in the society ranging from social to financial issues.

5.2 Creative multimodal metaphors

A metaphor is described as multimodal if the target and source domains are "exclusively and predominantly" represented in different modes, namely the verbal and the visual modes (Bounegru and Forceville 2011, pp. 212–213; see also Forceville 2007, 2008b, 2009b). According to Forceville (2014), each metaphor, either verbal, visual, or multimodal, has an underlying "A is B" as presented by Conceptual Metaphor Theory (see Lakoff and Johnson 1980). This supports Maynard's (2007) statement that metaphor appears first on the level of cognition, and then manifests itself at a pictorial and verbal level.

In his analysis of pictorial and multimodal manifestations of creative metaphors rather than conventionalised metaphors, Forceville (2014) drew on Black's (1993) theory of creative metaphor which assumes that metaphors do

not necessarily capture a pre-existent similarity between the two parts of a metaphor, the target and the source, but may create that similarity (p. 56). Black (1993) also points out that creative metaphors sometimes function as instruments through which their producers can achieve novel views of a domain of reference. Such metaphors make connections which are not explicitly available. According to Black, creative metaphors enable us to see aspects of reality which the production of the metaphor helps to build.

Maynard (2007) explained that it is the producer's creative use of metaphorical images that realises the similarity necessary for the metaphorical reading. However, identifying and interpreting metaphors depend on the participants, either the producer of the metaphor or the recipient, since metaphors are sometimes intended for particular audiences. Likewise, Steen (2013) stated that although novelty in metaphors suggests the ability to choose "an alien source domain to talk about some current target domain", what is novel to one addressee might be conventional to another (p. 40). Clearly, such arguments account for what makes a metaphor creative rather than the ways creative metaphors are processed or interpreted.

El Refaie (2015) notes that research within Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) has focused on the creativity of metaphor in literature, poetry, and political discourse, at the level of expression and the ability to make logical conceptual mappings between the source and target domains. The mental activity in understanding metaphor according to CMT is described as a form of "mapping" which suggests "a mechanistic thought process", whereby each element of a set in a source domain is matched up with an element of a set in the target domain, following "certain logical rules of correspondences" (p. 18). El Refaie (2015) argued that analysts of non-verbal and multimodal genres, such as Forceville and Urios-Aparisi (2009), sometimes identify creative metaphors that are difficult to explain in terms of the conceptual mappings from the concrete source domain to the abstract target domain. In other words, creative metaphors in their analysis do not follow the logical mappings from source to target domains, but capture an innovative similarity facilitated at the representational level due to the available semiotic resources.

Shifting the emphasis on metaphor creativity from the level of expression or conceptual mappings to the level of representation, El Refaie (2015) has proposed the notion of "cross-modal resonance" which accounts for "the unique properties of the different modes and the ways in which they can be combined to form new meaning" (p. 14). El Refaie argued that multimodality provides excellent opportunities for metaphor creativity due to the unique affordances of

the different semiotic modes and the possibility of combining them in particularly innovative ways. She asserted that:

> Multimodality dramatically increases the opportunity for creativity at the level of representation, by exploiting the distinctive characteristics and meaning potentials of the various modes and their combinations. The resulting "cross-modal resonances", [. . .], may encourage new insight, but this insight is often of a preverbal, emotional, and intuitive nature, rather than involving logical processes of mapping knowledge from one conceptual domain to another.
>
> (p. 15)

It is then crucial to take representational aspects of creativity as seriously as creativity at the productive level of conceptual mappings. Such innovation at the level of representation can encourage novel thought patterns, even in cases where the underlying metaphorical mappings are rather conventional (El Refaie 2015).

Following on the above discussion, we will present the analysis of some sample cartoons from the Saudi media. We identify the ways in which particular metaphors are creatively constructed across the semiotic modes, the visual and the verbal. Cartoon 19 includes a multimodal metaphor which is constructed to represent a particular stereotypical image about Saudi people. What is interesting about the example is that the underlying message is not entirely invented but is based on a social belief related to Saudi nationals in general.

Cartoon 19: By Rabea, from *Al-Riyadh*, 19 July 2012.

The cartoon displays a man in a suit staring at a Saudi man before him (as indicated by his traditional dress), while a thought bubble depicts the front of the Saudi man as an ATM. "Foreign Tourism" in the left corner serves to identify the status and setting: the Saudi man is a tourist in a foreign country. Through the bubble thought, readers are made aware of how other nationals may think of Saudi tourists. It is a multimodal metaphor since the target of the metaphor (the Saudi man) is represented visually, whereas the source of the metaphor (the ATM) is represented visually as well as verbally through the acronym.

This multimodal metaphor is creatively constructed not only through establishing new similarity, but also through fusion, simultaneous cueing (El Refaie 2015: 17) which "refers to cases where the source and the target of a metaphor are fused together into one amalgamated whole". The target of the metaphor, the Saudi man, is hence depicted twice: once as a normal human being, and another as viewed in the mind of the non-Saudi man. As such, a metaphor enables readers to draw on their abstract experiences in order to imagine (El Refaie 2015) the common feature between a Saudi man and an ATM. Coming from one of the biggest countries that exports oil, Saudi individuals are looked upon as very rich people. While the cartoon is based on the already existing stereotype (at least from the cartoonist's and other Saudis' perspective), the cartoonist reinvigorated and transformed this common thought in a new and original form through creating similarity between Saudi tourists and the ATM (both reflecting sources of money).

While a metaphorical statement such as "Saudis are mobile ATMs" may help establish a similarity between a Saudi tourist and an ATM, the particular humorous effect of the fusion between the source and the target can be hard to express in words. The creativity at the representational level is still lost when the metaphor is simply rendered into words. A reader, particularly the Saudi reader, is more likely to feel the funny spirit of the cartoon through the visual multimodal representation. This builds on El Refaie's (2015) view that metaphors in cartoons are sometimes difficult to convey through words.

Metaphor in some cartoons also serves to satirise a particular phenomenon or practice rather than an individual, as we will discuss in the following section.

5.3 Creative multimodal metaphors: Triggering the satiric spirit

Metaphor, either verbal or visual, or multimodal, can be used as a tool to satirise a particular negative aspect. Simpson (2003) argued that metaphor sometimes

acts as a useful framing device to produce satire. In her analysis of print and animated cartoons, Popa (2013: 379) pointed out that multimodal metaphor is "the ultimate solid cohesive container" that may serve as a mechanism "for triggering the satiric spirit". According to her, metaphor provides a means by which satire is easily conveyed and extracted. Creative metaphors achieve satirical meaning through different innovative ways.

5.3.1 Constructing satirical multimodal metaphor through borrowing items from childhood to represent serious social phenomena

The following examples show the ways in which multimodal metaphors are creatively employed as a major device to express a condensed complex idea in a more satirical way. We will explore here some of the recurrent patterns of constructing creative satirical multimodal metaphors. One of the creative ways to produce a satirical effect through multimodal metaphors is the cartoonist's ability to establish a similarity between items used or seen in childhood with items, usually the satirised objects, from the adult world. Consider Cartoon 20.

Cartoon 20: By Aiman, reproduced by *Saudi Gazette*, 31 October 2014.

The cartoon touches on the current overuse of social media through a multi-modal metaphor which combines an item from infancy and another item from adulthood. It shows a nursing bottle, the frame of which is adapted to look like a mobile phone frame full of symbols of different types of social media such as Twitter, YouTube, WhatsApp, Instagram, etc.

The metaphor is constructed through fusion whereby the target domain "smartphones and the symbols of social media", and the source domain "the nursing bottle" are fused as a unified object. However, the target is simultaneously cued visually as well as verbally through the identification "social media", while the source is cued only visually resulting in the metaphor "smartphones with social media are nursing bottles". Readers have to draw on their experiences to imagine and come up with a second underlying multimodal metaphor that views social media as baby milk.

The satirical effect: The choice of the nursing bottle

Conceptualising a smartphone as a nursing bottle may seem exaggerated at first as the nursing bottle and its content "milk" are a significant part of an infant's world while smartphones and the associated social networks constitute a part of the adult world. By doing so, the cartoonist establishes a similarity to satirically criticise a current issue. It is as if children are fed social networks, not milk, since birth. The multimodal metaphor is a satirical commentary on the overuse of social media by the very young members of society: cellphones, the technology which facilitates access to social networks, are now easily owned by children. In such examples, the visual and verbal modes are tightly intertwined such that it becomes difficult, as El Refaie (2015) argued, to process a logical conceptual mapping between the source and the target, but an intuitive and imaginative understanding of the established similarity is involved.

Saudi cartoonists, such as Sayel, Rabea, and Aiman, exploit sport, hobbies and game scenes, such as volleyball, tennis, Ferris wheels, crash cars and puzzle cubes, to activate multimodal metaphors which help satirise a particular phenomenon. This is common in the cartoons about social phenomena such as unemployment, corruption and the problem of expatriates as illustrated in the following examples.

Cartoon 21 shows some men on a Ferris wheel. As they start, they get a deportation card from one side, and a visa from the other side which is identified as the labour office. Being depicted without the national dress is a visual symbol to identify the men as expatriates, in addition to the verbal clues. In the left
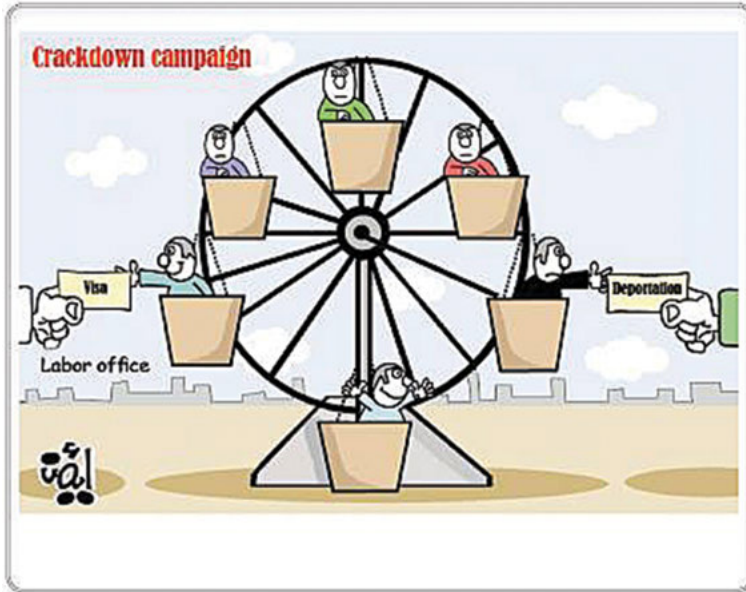
Cartoon 21: By Aiman, republished by *Saudi Gazette*, 6 December 2013.

corner, "Crackdown campaign" is written. A multimodal metaphor is created: "crackdown campaign is a ferris wheel". The source domain "Ferris wheel" is depicted visually while the target, crackdown campaign, is represented verbally. However, this is not enough to reveal much of the metaphorical meaning conveyed by the image and the other verbal elements in the cartoon.

Readers have to come up with a point of similarity between the government's crackdown campaign, deportation, the labour office, on the one hand, and the Ferris wheel and the men, on the other. Some multimodal metaphors, according to El Refaie (2015), are based on incongruity where an object or a human being appears out of its normal context or place, thereby challenging natural or real expectations. By using a Ferris wheel as a source domain, the cartoonist intends to deliver a particular message that cannot be mapped easily through language. Images, El Refaie (2015) also noted, represent a particular instance of something or someone. They are typically more specific than words in that they can capture nuances of meaning which would be hard to convey through language. Drawing on their background knowledge about the crackdown campaign and labour office, readers infer that those men in the Ferris wheel are expatriates. But why are those expatriates riding a Ferris wheel?

The satirical effect: The choice of the Ferris wheel

Any similarity between those domains has to rely on the concept of "game". The cartoonist satirises the crackdown campaign as a process, not as a government action. The crackdown campaign is supposed to deport expatriates from the country in case they fail to correct their status and transfer to other sponsors within the officially determined period. However, the Kingdom has deported illegal expatriates only to receive back a number of expatriates after a month or two with new visas provided from the labour office. Satirically, the crackdown campaign is a "wheel game" that goes around by itself with no effective result: deported expatriates are replaced with more prospective expatriates to fill the vacancies in the labour market that are not occupied by Saudis themselves. Other salient features are concerned with facial expressions: the expatriates are angry at deportation on the right side of the wheel whereas they seem happy at receiving work from the labour office on the left side.

5.3.2 The role of allusions in activating satirical multimodal metaphors

Visual allusions to children's animations and films constitute an important means of activating satirical creative multimodal metaphors. Consider Cartoon 22.

Cartoon 22: By Sayel, from *Arab News*, 28 January 2014.

The cartoon starts with a headline "releasing a new rental system (EIJAR)!" The headline directly alludes to the government system "EIJAR" to control tenant/landlord relations and protect their rights. However, this allusion turns

into a satirical commentary once one grasps the meaning conveyed through the activated metaphor. The image depicts a scenario in which a Saudi man is holding a wooden stick in one hand and a hen in the other hand while running after an ostrich that is running very fast. The whistle stands for his attempt to stop the running ostrich, corresponding to instrument for action metonymy (further discussion on metonymy is provided in chapter six).

The scenario depicted in the cartoon includes multimodal metaphors in which the target domains, prices, *Eijar*, and renter, are represented verbally while the source domains, the ostrich, the man, and the hen, are depicted visually. The ostrich is identified as "prices", the man as "eijar", and the hen as "renter". The metaphor "Eijar is a human" is activated by the metonymic pattern, person for institution (see chapter six). As El Refaie (2015) notes, the use of a specific scenario to present a source domain is characteristic of many of the most creative metaphors.

The satirical effect: Allusion to animation film

The ostrich is the metaphorical element which helps readers identify the reference to the animation film *The Coyote and the Roadrunner* shown in 1949, in which the Coyote attempted many times to catch the Roadrunner, but never succeeded. It activates visual intertextuality that enables readers to access the mapping of the satirical metaphor in terms of the animation film. However, the main chasing character in the image, Wild Coyote, is replaced with the Saudi man who is identified as "EIJAR" (meaning 'rent'). Thus, "eijar" is the satirised target element.

Satirically, while the rental system "eijar" is established to control the rise in rent prices and protect tenants' rights, it only succeeded in controlling the poor tenant (metaphorically represented by the weak suffocated hen in the man's hand), and failed to control the rapid increase in rent prices in the same way as Coyote was unable to catch the Roadrunner.

Conventional metaphors such as "prices have soared or flown" are grounded in the multimodal metaphor created in the cartoon "prices are the roadrunner". El Refaie (2015) argued that metaphor creativity can be achieved even in the most conventional metaphorical mapping when it is represented in a new form. The creativity lies in establishing a similarity between the rapid rise in prices and the Roadrunner. The man's gaze shows his extreme efforts to catch the ostrich; humorously, the ostrich makes a gesture, sticking its tongue out, to scorn the man's failure to catch it. Not only does allusion help construct a creative multimodal metaphor, but it also serves to achieve a satirical meaning.

Similarly, the visual depiction in Cartoon 23 makes an intertextual reference to cinematic scenes that are familiar to many readers today.
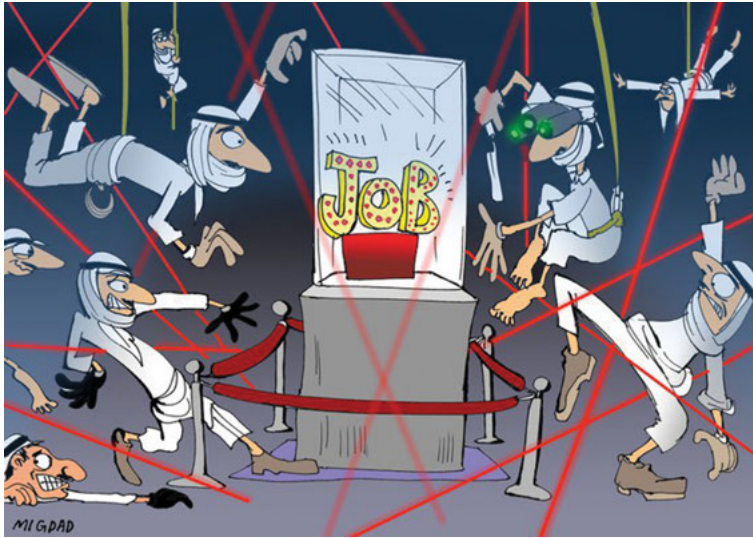
Cartoon 23: By Migdad, from *Arab News*, 3 August 2011.

The cartoon shows a number of young Saudi men in the traditional dress acting as thieves who are trying to escape the security laser beams and reach the glittering item "job" (which is kept on a jewelry holder in a very secure place, enclosed in a glass box just as a piece of gold or a diamond). The scene is alluding to action films about well-planned robberies of museums where a thief usually tries to evade laser beams set to secure a precious item, and steals that valuable piece. The typographic presentation of the word is significant to the interpretation and to the construction of the metaphor. "Job" is written in yellow and decorated with red spots similar to precious stones.

As typography is viewed as being visually and verbally significant, we will consider the target of the metaphor, job, as being represented in the verbal mode, while the source of the metaphor, a piece of gold, is visually depicted through the jewelry holder, the glass box, the laser-secured place, and the decorated "job". While it is possible to phrase the multimodal metaphor as "a job is a precious piece of jewelry", it cannot sufficiently convey the whole meaning, particularly the satirical funny message of the cartoonist, in the image. When semiotic modes are brought together, meanings are multiplied rather than added (El Refaie 2015).

The satirical effect: The allusion to cinematic scenes of a planned robbery

The allusion to the robbery scene does not imply the metaphor that people are thieves, but rather reflects the competitive nature of applying for a job in the society. The chance to find a suitable job is sometimes difficult or impossible just as trying to get through security laser rays. A single job is announced and thousands of applicants strongly desire to be approved for that job. Hence, a job is as precious as a piece of jewelry. The cartoon is a satirical commentary on the ongoing phenomenon of unemployment and the failure of the labour market to accommodate the large numbers of jobless youth.

The above examples show some of the possible ways of evoking metaphorical meanings through the combination of visual and verbal modes, thus providing "countless opportunities for metaphor creativity at the level of representation, which may also enable new connections to be made at the conceptual level" (El Refaie 2015: 18). Multimodal metaphors are created through exploiting sport scenes, allusions to films, and typographic representation to trigger a far more satirical effect. In some other examples, metaphor creativity does not necessarily establish a new similarity between the source and target domains of a metaphor, but is rather based on pre-existing conventional metaphors and are rooted in our daily communication as illustrated in the following section.

5.4 Multimodal metaphors: Between conventionality and creativity

Cartoonists, although aiming to be innovative in their profession, cannot be totally isolated from their social and cultural context, where they share ideas, traditions, ways of thinking, and linguistic background, with their readership. Membership of a particular society results in the appearance of multimodal metaphors which may be better described as semi-creative, semi-conventional. Those conventionally-based multimodal metaphors encompass an element of creativity, due to their visual and verbal interaction. El Refaie (2015) argued that while the underlying metaphorical mappings of such metaphors are relatively conventional, the particular ways in which they are presented are "unique and highly creative" (p. 15): "the various creative forms that metaphors can take at the expression level have to be regarded as more than just decorative flourishes. Even the most conventional conceptual mappings between one area of experience and another may be reinvigorated or completely transformed when they are presented in a new, original form" (p. 14).

Reflecting such a view, a number of cartoons, particularly those addressing financial problems, are based on structural or lexicalised metaphors used in everyday speech. In such a case, the visual and verbal elements in a cartoon are

creatively distributed such that a cartoonist's imagination is integrated with a certain conventional metaphor (at the representational level). Readers can then resort to the available verbal or visual clues to help them identify the intertextual reference to a particular conventional metaphor and interpret the cartoon in the light of that pre-existing metaphor. In addition to El Refaie's view, we consider the ways in which creative multimodal metaphors are based on conventional metaphors as forms of intertextuality (see chapter four). The following are examples of multimodal metaphors based on various conventional metaphors; nonetheless, they are creatively constructed in the cartoons.

A. Bills absorb one's blood

Cartoon 24 shows a man who is looking up worriedly at a mosquito standing on his bald head. Through the red colour inside the mosquito's body, one recognises that the mosquito is absorbing some of the man's blood, with the word "Bills" written on the visible wings. A multimodal metaphor is created since the source domain of the metaphor, the mosquito and the blood being absorbed, is represented visually while the target domain, "Bills", is represented verbally. The word "Bills" implies the money needed to pay bills. The shared victim in both cases is the man.
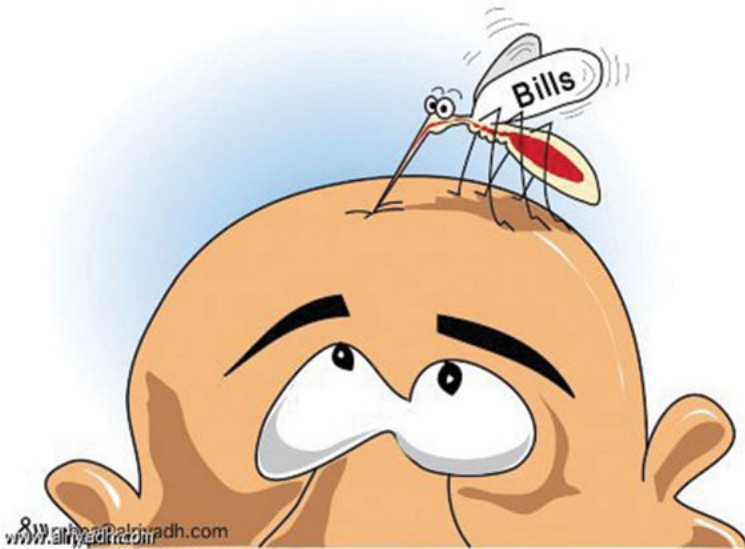
Cartoon 24: By Rabea, from *Al-Riyadh,* 25 August 2013.

Although the metaphor can be phrased as "bills consuming one's money are a mosquito absorbing one's blood", it possibly fails to transmit the same effect on readers as that constructed through the semiotic modes, the visual and the verbal, in the cartoon. As regards the intertextual reference, a reader who is familiar with everyday speech in Saudi society would have no difficulty accessing the daily metaphoric expression used to complain about the high bills paid for services: bills absorb one's blood. The cartoonist relied on the metaphoric expression and his imagination to design the image, inserting one essential verbal element "bills" and another essential visual element "blood" to help familiar readers recall the original expression.

B. Prices are like fire

Cartoon 25 shows a scene in which some green notes are depicted as a moving creature jumping into flames of fire, thus a visual metaphor is already active. As the flames of fire are identified as "Ramadan prices", the green notes stand for money. The cartoon includes a multimodal metaphor since the source domain "fire" is depicted visually whereas the target domain "Ramadan prices" is represented verbally. Familiar readers can easily recall the very common metaphorical

Cartoon 25: By Khaled, reproduced by *Saudi Gazette*, 27 June 2014.

expression "prices are fire", which is used in daily life to describe the rise in prices. Such metaphors, according to Conceptual Metaphor Theory, are deeply rooted in our everyday thought processes and generate a large number of metaphorical expressions, "which are typically processed without much conscious awareness on the part of their users" (El Refaie 2015: 14).

While the cartoon is based on a conventional verbal metaphor, we cannot overlook the role of combining visual and verbal modes to produce not only a humorous but also a lively multimodal metaphor by adding imaginary visual elements, such as depicting money as a flying creature jumping into the flames of fire, the colours of which contribute to intensifying the act of burning. The mapping between the source and the target domains is based on the concept of "burning": it suggests that the high prices during Ramadan consume money in the same way as fire burns objects. The month of Ramadan is a profitable season for merchants when prices reach their peak.

C. Big fish eats small fish

Cartoon 26 shows a hierarchical order of eight colourful fish: the big ones eat the little ones. It is a typical scene of marine life where the weak creatures fall
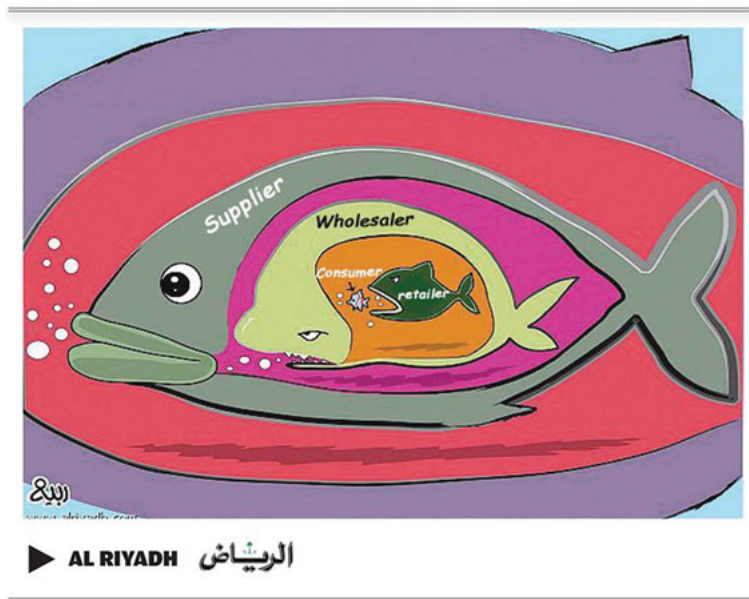
Cartoon 26: By Rabea, republished by *Saudi Gazette*, 10 January 2014.

victim to large creatures. The visual depiction evokes the conventional metaphor "big fish eats small fish" used in daily communication to describe the world of trading and stock markets. The words written on the four fish are familiar terms in the world of economics and trading. Those economic terms are represented in a hierarchical order corresponding to the size of the fish. A multimodal metaphor is projected since the source domains, big and small fish, are depicted visually while the target domains are represented verbally through the words "supplier", "wholesaler", "retailer" and "consumer".

The multimodal form, including the images, words, and the hierarchical order, is likely to have inspired the initial conceptualisation of a similarity between the fish and the terms, as well as shaping the way the metaphor is understood and interpreted (see El Refaie 2015). The metaphorical mapping can then be phrased as: the supplier, the wholesaler, the retailer and the consumer are fish in the sea where big fish eat little ones. There is no one-to-one relation between the source and target domains, but "an intuitive flash of understanding" involved in the interpretation of the metaphor (see El Refaie 2015: 18). The hierarchical order suggests that the supplier gains profit from the wholesaler who gains profit from the retailer who finally gains profit from the consumer. The consumer is the victim and the weakest of the four who gets no benefits, but pays sums of money instead.

D. Drowning in loans

Cartoon 27 depicts a man in the middle of the sea equipped with a snorkeling apparatus for breathing. He is not dressed in swimming clothes, but in his torn *thobe* as an indicator of his financial problems. The word "loans" is written above the seawater. A multimodal metaphor is created since the source "drowning in the sea" is represented visually while the target "loans" is represented verbally.

The imaginary scene of "the man under the water" accompanied by the word "loans" evokes the Arabic idiomatic expression "to be drowning in debts/loans" which is used to describe someone involved in debt with bank loans. In other words, the cartoonist exploited the literal meaning of the word "drowning" to create a metaphorical scene while referring to the idiomatic expression through giving the verbal clue "loans". The expression has an English equivalent "to drown in something" which means "to have more of something than you are able to deal with". A typical example is "I'm drowning in unpaid bills" (Cambridge Online Dictionary).

However, readers have to draw on their experiences and come up with the metaphorical mapping based on the image and the associated word: having loans
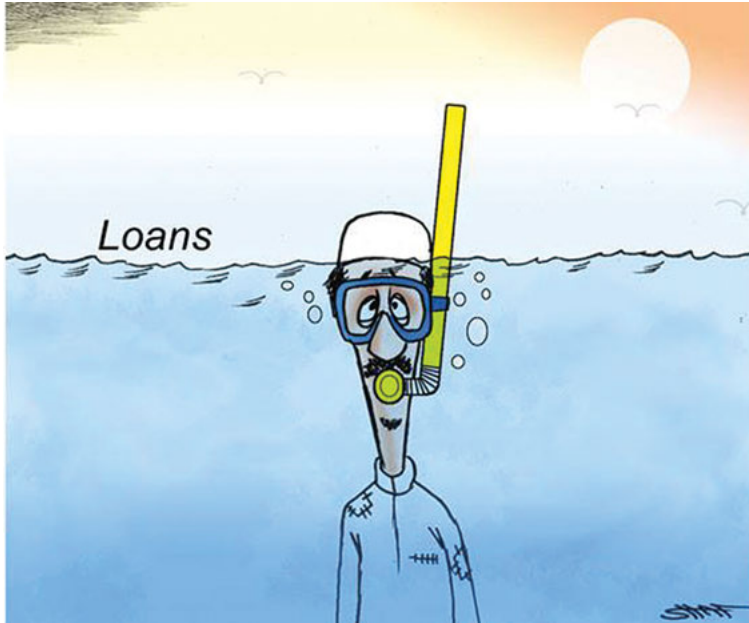
Cartoon 27: By Al-Shafea, from *Saudi Gazette*, 4 December 2014.

is like drowning in the sea. The man is the victim in both situations: in the case of the sea and in the case of the loans. The man's miserable look directed at the audience, along with his torn *thobe*, add negative connotations to the metaphor at the representational level: the negative effects of loans on people's finances. While the multimodal metaphor is based on a relatively conventional expression, its concrete visual literalisaton (at the level of representation) encourages a novel thought pattern, thus contributing to a particularly humorous effect.

Table 4 is a summary of the distribution of the source and target domains of the metaphors considered across the visual and verbal modes, but cannot be considered a representation of nuances of meaning captured in the visual images.

The discussion presented shows that cartoonists draw on their linguistic repertoire about metaphors and idioms as an inspiring source for metaphor creativity which is achieved through the balanced distribution of visual and verbal elements in a cartoon. In the examples presented, the discussion reflects El Refaie's (2015) multimodal resonance which attempts to capture the ways in which multimodal metaphors are sometimes able to evoke "such new, creative

Table 4: Multimodal metaphors based on conventional mappings.

Cartoon no.	Multimodal metaphors				Conventional metaphors or idioms
		Domains		Basic metaphorical mappings	
		Visual	Verbal	Bills consuming one's money are a mosquito absorbing one's blood	Bills absorb one's blood
24	Source	Mosquito absorbing blood			
	Target		Bills		
25	Source	Fire		Ramadan prices are fire	Prices are like fire
	Target		Ramadan prices		
26	Source	Big and small fish		Supplier, wholesaler, retailer, consumer are fish in the sea where big fish eats small fish	Big fish eats small fish
	Target		Supplier, wholesaler, retailer, consumer		
27	Source	Seawater		Loans are a deep sea – having loans is like drowning in the sea	To be drowning in debts/bank loans
	Target		Loans		

avenues of thought" by expressing a relatively conventional mapping in unexpected ways. Those metaphors, although conventional, are represented in a multimodal form that allows cartoonists to use their imagination, resulting in a humorous representation of the conventional meaning in a way that may not be experienced through language alone.

5.5 Reversing the meaning of conventional metaphors

The combination of visual and verbal elements can also provide cartoonists with the opportunities to reverse the positive meaning of conventional metaphors in a way that cannot be achieved through language alone. The following examples, in essence, allude to two common metaphors: "life is a journey" and

"education is a key to success". They are usually used in positive and optimistic contexts encouraging people to achieve their goals.
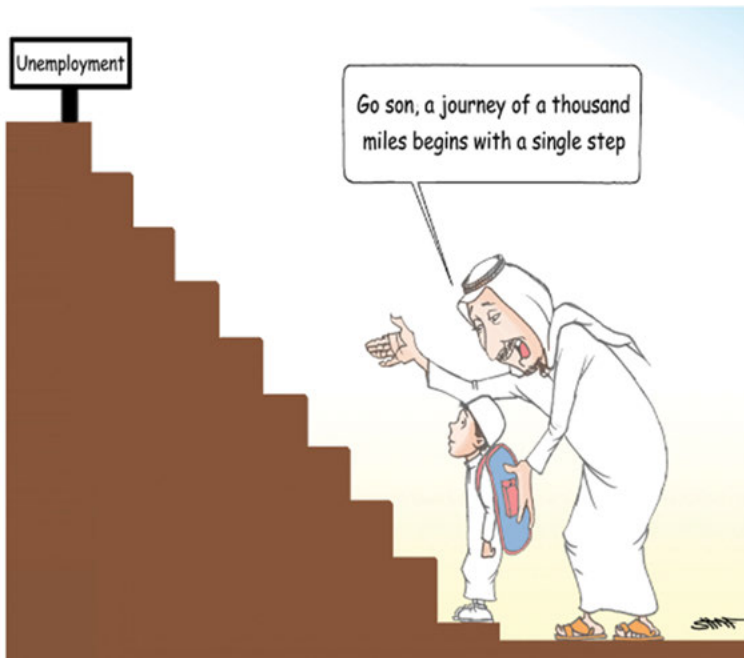
Cartoon 28: By Al-Shafea, from *Saudi Gazette,* 2 March 2013.

Cartoon 28 shows a man encouraging his son to ascend the stairs to reach the top on which a poster with the word "unemployment" is located. The school bag indicates that he is a schoolboy. The father, while pushing his son to climb up the stairs, says "Go son, a journey of a thousand miles begins with a single step". The conceptual well-known metaphor "life is a journey" is clearly grounded in this proverb. Readers then interpret the proverb in terms of their knowledge about the metaphor which entails the mapping of a journey: people are travellers, a journey requires planning a route by which a person can reach their destination (see Haser 2005). "It is not a physical journey taking place through space, but one that is a metaphor for subjective experience and abstract advancement in life" (Yu 2009: 127). However, the proverb encourages that a successful journey has to start somewhere at the beginning in order to achieve one's aim. A fully positive meaning is embedded in the proverb.

Nevertheless, the visual and verbal elements accompanying the saying interact to reverse the positive implications of the conventional metaphor expressed in the proverb. The mapping is somewhat complex in the image: the journey is represented as a set of stairs going up and the child is standing on the first step of that journey. Holding his schoolbag, possible multimodal metaphors such as "education is a journey" and "education is like climbing up stairs" are easily accessed. In those metaphors, the source domains "journey" or "steps/stairs" are verbally cued by the proverb, while the target "education" has to be inferred from the visual and verbal elements "schoolboy" and "unemployment".

While the journey in the proverb is assumed to be a path for achieving aims and success, it is not so in the accompanying multimodal representation. The schoolboy starts the journey of education only to reach the situation of being jobless and unemployed at the end of that journey. Readers are able to foresee the child's future through the verbal clue "unemployment" at the top of the stairs which is supposed to lead him to employment, a form of success. To correlate this with El Refaie's basic argument, it is the visual and verbal means at the representational level that reverse the way readers receive the positive metaphorical meaning of the proverb and the corresponding multimodal metaphors in the cartoon. In other words, the positive meaning of the conventional metaphor is no longer positive in the cartoon: it is the reverse. The reversed meaning is responsible for triggering a far more satirical meaning that education is no longer a means to achieve a future goal.

Similarly, Cartoon 29 is based on the conventional metaphor "education is a key to success". However, it has undergone a slight change in order to relate to the same issue as in the previous cartoon, namely unemployment.

Cartoon 29 makes a direct intertextual reference (discussed in chapter four) to the large number of Saudis studying abroad. It is an actual number based on statistics released by the Ministry of Higher Education (*Arab News*, Heba Albeity, July 2014). It shows a female graduate (as indicated by her graduate cap) holding a giant key identified as "education", and trying to open the door that is identified as "employment". Two related multimodal metaphors are constructed: "education is a key" and "employment is a door". In both, the source domains "key" and "door" are depicted visually whereas the target domains "education" and "employment" are represented verbally.

These multimodal metaphors evoke the conventional metaphor "education is a key to success" in which education is conceptualised as an instrument "key" that one should possess to achieve future aims and goals while employment is viewed as a sub-case of success. Consequently, readers can immediately access the metaphor "education is a key to employment". Nevertheless, the satirical
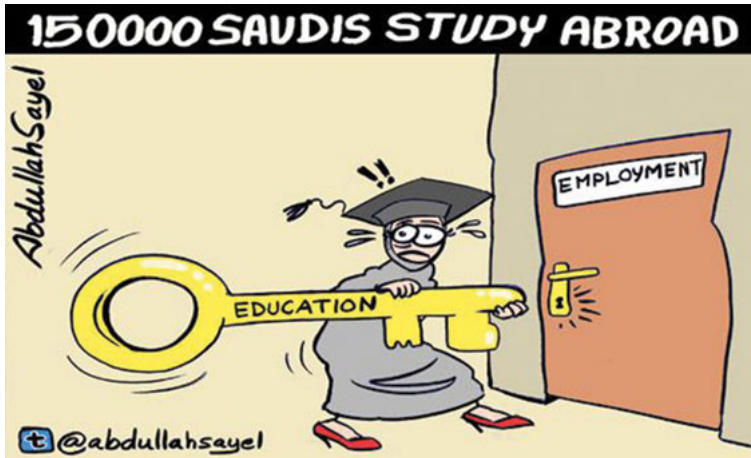
Cartoon 29: By Sayel, from *Arab News*, 9 June 2013.

meaning does not lie in this positive meaning, but rather in the cartoonist's ability to reverse the typical meaning into "education is no longer a key to employment".

The headline and the woman dressed as a graduate suggest that she has studied abroad and has gained high qualifications that should allow her to get a better job. This high level of education is metaphorically depicted as a "key", but this key is unfortunately too big to fit in the door which is identified as "employment". The woman seems baffled: she is looking directly at the reader in a state of shock. Apart from metaphorical language, the large number of female graduates (represented by the woman in the image) who have studied abroad and received a high level of education return to their homes only to remain unemployed. The conventional multimodal metaphor interacts with the exaggerated size of the key to reverse the positive meaning of the very typical metaphor (further discussion on exaggeration in chapter seven).

The above examples further elaborate on El Refaie's (2015) argument that the combination of semiotic modes in cartoons provides unique opportunities to reinvigorate and transform even the most conventional metaphors in a new original form. The results in the above example are based firstly on presenting a conventional metaphor in a multimodal form, and secondly reversing the positive meaning of that conventional multimodal metaphor by visual exaggeration of the source domain.

5.6 Concluding summary

This chapter has discussed some examples of cartoons in which creative multimodal metaphors are constructed to satirise particular social and financial phenomena. Following El Refaie's (2015) concept of multimodal resonance, the discussion shed light on some of the possible creative ways of establishing metaphorical meanings through visual-verbal interplay. Creative multimodal metaphors for triggering the satirical effects are achieved in three ways: activating similarities between two distinct entities that have not been thought of, reproducing a relatively conventional metaphor in a new multimodal form, and reversing the positive underlying mapping of a conventional metaphor into a negative one. This final one, however, challenges readers' beliefs in certain abstract concepts about life. The discussion contributes to the recently established link between multimodality and cognitive linguistics (see Pinar Sanz 2015).

The first aspect concerns items from childhood, games, hobbies, sport scenes, and allusions to animations and films which, taken together, constitute rich inspiring sources for fresh satirical metaphors since the aim of metaphors in cartoons is often for satire and humour. The analysis of creative metaphors supports El Refaie's (2015) argument that the interaction of different semiotic modes offers boundless opportunities for metaphor creativity at the representational level. In such cases, metaphor creativity is established at the representational level which, in turn, helps frame the conceptual processes of understanding the metaphorical mapping. In those examples, writing these metaphors in comparative statements is not sufficient to reflect their imaginary effect achieved when they are represented multimodally. The funny or satirical effect is more likely to be achieved imaginatively and intuitively without the logical transfer of certain properties and correspondences from the source domain to the target domain.

Depicting a smartphone as a nursing bottle full of social media is an example where a comparative statement would perhaps be inadequate to produce the same satirical effect achieved through the multimodal representation (see 5.2.1). The allusion to the animation *Coyote and the Roadrunner* through the artistically funny visual depictions and the verbal identification activates more intuitive and unconscious connections between the rise in prices and the Roadrunner, on the one hand, and between the inability to have control over prices and the Coyote, on the other hand. While such connections are perhaps based on the conventional metaphor "prices have soared/flown", the metaphorical mapping activated by the filmic allusion is fresh and original at the representational level. The analysis aligns with El Refaie's argument that the "multimodal form is likely to have inspired the initial conceptualization of a

similarity between two distinct entities, as well as shaping the way these metaphors are then understood and interpreted by others" (p. 24).

The second aspect is metaphor creativity which lends itself not only to producing new metaphors that have never been thought of, but also reproducing a conventional metaphor in a different form. Conventional metaphors such as "prices are like fire", and "prices are up/have soared or flown" are frequent metaphors that have been reproduced in different humorous multimodal forms. While the conceptual underlying mappings are relatively conventional, the particular ways in which they are represented in the cartoons are unique and creative since reproducing a conventional metaphor in a new multimodal form requires a certain degree of imagination.

Such creativity at the representational level helps encourage novel thought patterns, even in cases where the underlying metaphorical mapping is conventional. The metaphors, which we use when we speak and write and have never imagined what they might look like, become visible and satirical. While El Refaie (2015) built her argument on metaphors of incarceration, the examples discussed in this chapter relate her views to metaphors of various themes, particularly financial ones.

The last and most strikingly interesting aspect which perhaps elaborates on the above argument is that multimodality allows cartoonists to exploit the semiotic resources to reverse the positive underlying mappings of some conventional metaphors, such as "education is a key to success", and "a journey of a thousand miles begins with a single step". The creativity at the representational level facilitates rendering the reverse of what is socially believed to be the truth and based on wisdom. The multimodal metaphor represented in the cartoon implies that education is no longer a key to employment, which is an aspect of success. This challenges readers' beliefs and general culture since the underlying mapping has undergone a major change in meaning due to the visual and verbal representation. This reversal shows how humour can serve as a redefining of reality (Weaver 2011). Such innovation corresponds to El Refaie's (2015) call for further analysis to explore the creative ways of using multimodal metaphors that can address contemporary issues, "thereby allowing us to move beyond 'the concept prisons' of our old, established patterns of thinking" (p. 24). Metaphor has most often interacted with metonymy through different patterns in cartoons. Metaphor-metonymy interactional aspects will be discussed in the next chapter.

6 The interaction between multimodal metaphor and metonymy

6.1 Introduction

Metaphor and metonymy interact more easily in cartoons than they do in conventional language due to the potential for interaction between the visual and the linguistic (Bergen 2004). The interaction between metaphor and metonymy has received notable attention in the field of cognitive linguistics. For example, Goossens (2002) analysed the interaction between metaphor and metonymy in conventionalised expressions where there are cases of metaphor arising from metonymy, metonymy within metaphor, and metaphor within metonymy. Likewise, Barcelona (2011) discussed the interaction between metaphor and metonymy and how metaphor is sometimes motivated by metonymy and vice versa (see also Dirven 2002; Feyaerts 2003). Such studies were more cognitively oriented, focusing on conceptual mappings and mental processes in verbal language.

It has not been until more recently that the interaction between metaphor and metonymy in multimodal discourse has received attention. This further necessitates a link between multimodal analysis and cognitive linguistic views on metaphor and metonymy (for further discussion, see Pinar Sanz 2015). Urios-Aparisi (2009), Yu (2009), Qiu (2013), and Downing and Mujic (2013), among others, have examined the interaction between metaphor and metonymy in multimodal advertisements. According to Downing and Mujic (2013), it is such an interaction that creates rich and complex meaning in multimodal discourse. They argued that the view of metaphor and metonymy as both cognitive and discursive processes are essential for understanding the way in which creative meanings arise in multimodal discourse. In their analysis, they took into account both the cognitive and multimodal dimension of the possible interaction between metonymy and metaphor. Their analysis illuminates the discursive function of these tools in giving rise to certain humorous outcomes.

This chapter sheds light on the role of the interactional aspects between metaphors and metonymies in cartoons to comment on negative social practices in particularly funny and satirical ways. As multimodal metaphor has already been defined in chapter five, it is useful to define metonymy from a cognitive and multimodal perspective before discussing the interaction between the two cognitive devices in cartoons.

6.2 Metonymy from within cognitive and multimodal perspectives

Metonymy is a mapping in which the target (the abstract element) is understood from the perspective of the source (the concrete element) within a single conceptual domain. Metonymy is generally used for reference whereby there is a "stand for" relationship (Ruiz de Mendoza and Díez Velasco 2002; Ruiz de Mendoza 2003). While reference is considered as a primary purpose of metonymy, metonymy is not necessarily solely referential. A number of scholars acknowledge the frequency of inferential metonymy which is not explicitly expressed, but simply guides inferential processes of meaning construction (Barcelona 2011). However, in referential metonymy the source or "vehicle" provides full access to the target within a single cognitive domain, for example "pretty face" in "she has a pretty face" serves to access the person as the target; similarly, we do not refer to music in "I like Mozart", but to music composed by Mozart (Radden and Kövecses 1999: 19). Metonymy not only substitutes one entity for another, but "interrelates them to form a new, complex meaning" (Radden and Kövecses 1999: 19).

The relation between the source and target domains in metonymy has traditionally been described in terms of different categories. We mention some of these categories as listed by Radden and Kövecses (1999), where some of the categories are reversible.

1. WHOLE FOR PART, for example *America* for 'the United States'
2. PART FOR WHOLE, for example *England* for 'Great Britain'
3. FORM FOR CONCEPT, for example *dollar* for 'money'
4. AGENT FOR ACTION, to *author* a new book, to *butcher* the cow
5. ACTION FOR AGENT, writer, driver
6. INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION, to ski, to hammer
7. ACTION FOR INSTRUMENT, pencil sharpener, screwdriver
8. OBJECT FOR ACTION, to blanket the bed, to dust the room
9. TIME FOR ACTION, to summer in Paris
10. INSTITUTION/COMPANY FOR PEOPLE
11. PERSON FOR INSTITUTION/COMPANY

(based on Radden and Kövecses 1999)

While the above list might be helpful in determining the specific relation between the target and source of metonymy, Ruiz de Mendoza and Díez Velasco (2002) propose two types of metonymic mapping: target-in-source and source-in-target metonymies. The two types do not contradict the above list, but further identify whether there is a domain expansion or reduction. Target-in-source metonymy

involves domain reduction in which the target is a subdomain of the source, while source-in-target metonymy involves domain expansion in which the source is a subdomain of the target. For example, part-for-whole metonymy involves a domain expansion while whole-for-part metonymy involves a domain reduction.

Verbal and visual metonymy has for a long time received much attention. However, with the emergence of multimodal discourse analysis, multimodal metonymy has begun to gain attention and become the subject of further consideration. Its role in the creation of complex meaning has been a topic of interest for multimodal discourse such as advertisements or TV commercials, and articles accompanied by images (see Downing and Mujic 2013; Catalano and Waugh 2013). Forceville (2009a: 58) provides some characteristics of metonymy, framing them in a way that allows metonymy to be applied in multimodal discourse:

1. A metonym consists of a source concept/structure, which via a cue in a communicative mode (language, visuals, music, sound, gesture . . .) allows the metonym'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.

Drawing on Forceville's view, Downing and Mujic (2013) applied his definition of multimodal metaphor to the analysis of multimodal metonymy "which similarly involves the presence of source and target domains in metonymies in at least two different modes" (p. 161), the visual and verbal modes in their analysis of advertisements. Like advertisements, cartoons rely on multiple metonymies, multimodal and visual, to convey meaning as in Cartoon 30.

The cartoon depicts a young man holding a case with symbols that indicate his awards (the image of the medal), qualifications (IQ test), and his knowledge of technology (@/www.). The other old man is hugging a chair, turning his back to the young man as if keeping the chair away from him. The brown garment (worn by the old man) is a cultural symbol to show old age. It is most often worn by older people on different occasions as a sign of age and respect. Yet, he is sticking his tongue out at the young man who stands in a puzzled state as indicated by his facial expression. The headline "Raising retirement age" is directly alluding to a government decision that generated wide public debate in the print and audio-visual media. It is significant in providing access

Cartoon 30: By Sayel, republished by *Saudi Gazette*, 9 May 2014.

to the target of the metonymy and in directing readers' interpretation of the overall meaning in the cartoon.

The metonymy is a satirical reflection of the meaning conveyed by the headline. The source of the metonymy, holding the chair, is depicted visually while the target, securing or keeping a job, is accessed verbally through the headline. The headline enables readers to understand that raising the retirement age implies that a 60-year-old employee is given the chance to keep his job for extra years. Based on their background knowledge, readers can also infer that hugging the chair humorously stands for the result of raising the retirement age and that older employees are allowed to keep their jobs, corresponding to action for result, or source-in-target metonymy (see Table 5). This is based on a typical conventional metonymy where people use the word "chair" to refer to the concept of "job" or "securing a place somewhere". It is common to hear expressions such as "(s)he got a chair in the company" or "(s)he got a chair in the university". Another less salient visual metonymy is the small red hearts that stand for man's love and attachment, corresponding to part-for-whole metonymy.

Another salient element in the cartoon is the elegant young man who stands for educated but unemployed youth in general. Symbols such as the medal, IQ test, the image of a brain, @ and www. stand for his education, qualifications,

and knowledge of technology, corresponding to form for concept. The young man's facial expression indicates his being unhappy with the decision as it reduces the opportunities for him to get a job, metonymically a chair in the government labour market.

The multimodal metonymy and the visual metonymies, in addition to the facial expressions of both the older and the younger men are a satirical commentary on the government decision: the elderly's lucky chance to hold onto their jobs for extra years and the resulting reduced opportunities for the unemployed educated youth to get a job. Table 5 summarises the distribution of the source and target domains of the multiple metonymies in the cartoon and Figure 1 displays the multimodal metonymy involving domain expansion.

Table 5: Distribution of the source and target domains of the multiple metonymies in Cartoon 30.

	Elements of metonymy		Type of metonymy	Meaning
	Visual	**Verbal**		
Source	Holding a chair		Action for result Source in target	Holding the chair stands for occupying a job
Target		From the headline: Getting a job/securing a place somewhere		
Source	Red hearts		Part for whole Source in target	Hearts stand for love
Target	Inferred: Love			
Source	IQ, @, www., brain, medal		Form for concept Source in target	Symbols stand for high qualifications
Target	Qualification, education, knowledge of technology			
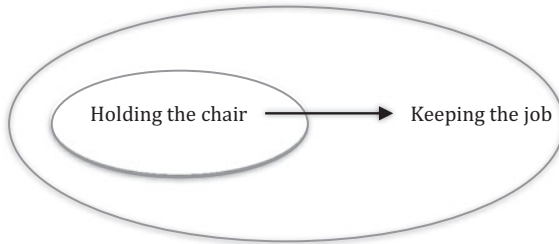
Figure 1: Multimodal metonymy with domain expansion in Cartoon 30.

Most of the cartoons employing multimodal metonymies are cases showing diverse aspects of interaction between metaphor and metonymy. Those cases of interaction can be divided into two types: the interaction between multimodal metaphors and metonymies, and the interaction between multimodal metonymies and metaphors.

6.3 The interaction between multimodal metaphors and metonymies

To speak about the interaction between metaphor and metonymy or vice versa, it is useful first to distinguish between the two devices in terms of their underlying cognitive processes. Both metaphor and metonymy involve conceptual mapping from a source domain to a target domain; both are based on a two-domain model. However, in metonymy the mapping between the source and the target exists within one conceptual domain: the source domain provides mental access to the target within the same domain. In contrast, metaphor involves a mapping across two different conceptual domains. More specifically, in metonymy there is a stand for relationship between the target and the source, B-for-A, while in metaphor the relationship between the target and the source involves "A is B" (Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Ruiz de Mendoza and Díez Velasco 2002; Forceville 2009a; Catalano and Waugh 2013; Downing and Mujic 2013).

As regards metaphor-metonymy interaction, Ruiz de Mendoza and Díez Velasco (2002) propose patterns for this interaction in which metonymy supports metaphor. Metonymy serves to highlight a specific aspect in the target or source domains of a metaphor necessary for grasping the metaphorical mapping, as indicated in the following.

1. Metonymic expansion of the metaphoric source,
2. Metonymic expansion of a metaphoric target,
3. Metonymic reduction of one of the correspondences of the metaphoric target,
4. Metonymic expansion of one of the correspondences of the metaphoric target,
5. Metonymic expansion of one of the correspondences of the metaphoric source,
6. Metonymic reduction of one of the correspondences of the metaphoric source
(Ruiz de Mendoza and Otal 2002; cited in Alousque 2013)

While the patterns suggested by Ruiz de Mendoza and Díez Velasco (2002) have been proposed in relation to and applied to verbal texts, they are also applicable to multimodal discourse such as cartoons. The figures presented in relation to the cartoons we discuss below to explain metaphor-metonymy relationships draw on Ruiz de Mendoza and Díez Velasco's work, as well as that of Downing and Mujic (2013) in their analysis of metonymic domains. Consider Cartoon 31.

Cartoon 31: By Alziadi, republished by *Saudi Gazette*, 6 December 2013.

The cartoon depicts the upper part of a man whose eyes are stitched and lips are zipped. Being dressed in the Saudi traditional dress, the man's national identity is identified. At the top left corner of the cartoon, the phrase "Price monitoring" is written to establish a multimodal metaphor in which the target domain "price monitoring" is identified verbally while the source "the Saudi

man with closed eyes and lips" is visually present. The metaphor can be phrased as "price monitoring is a person with stitched eyes and zipped lips".

The target of the metaphor "price monitoring" stands for the action itself, while the source is expanded to a situation when a person closes his eyes in order to ignore and closes his mouth to remain silent. This inferential mapping is based on a source-in-target metonymy, instrument for action. As the lips which stand for speaking are disabled, the action of speaking is disabled as well; similarly, as the eyes which stand for seeing are disabled, the act of seeing is disabled, too. Table 6 summarises the distribution of the source and target domains of the multimodal metaphor and metonymies across the visual and verbal modes in Cartoon 31.

Table 6: Distribution of the source and target domains of the multimodal metaphor and metonymies across the visual and verbal modes in Cartoon 31.

Elements of metonymy			Type of metonymy	Meaning	Elements of metaphor			The metaphor
	Visual	Verbal				Visual	Verbal	
Source	Stitched eyes		Instrument for action	Closed eyes stands for ignorance	Source	A person with stitched eyes and zipped lips		Price monitoring is a person with stitched eyes and zipped lips
Target	Inferred: inability to see		Source in target	Closed lips stands for silence	Target		Price monitoring	
Source	Zipped lips							
Target	Inability to speak							

Conceptualising "price monitoring" as someone who neither sees nor speaks helps reflect the cartoonist's critical and sharp voice in ways that seem funny and more accessible to general readers. The cartoonist criticises the ineffectiveness and futility of price monitoring in the Kingdom. This metaphor-metonymy interaction corresponds to one of the patterns proposed by Ruiz de Mendoza and Díez Velasco (2002), that is, metonymic expansion of the metaphoric source. Figure 2 illustrates the point.
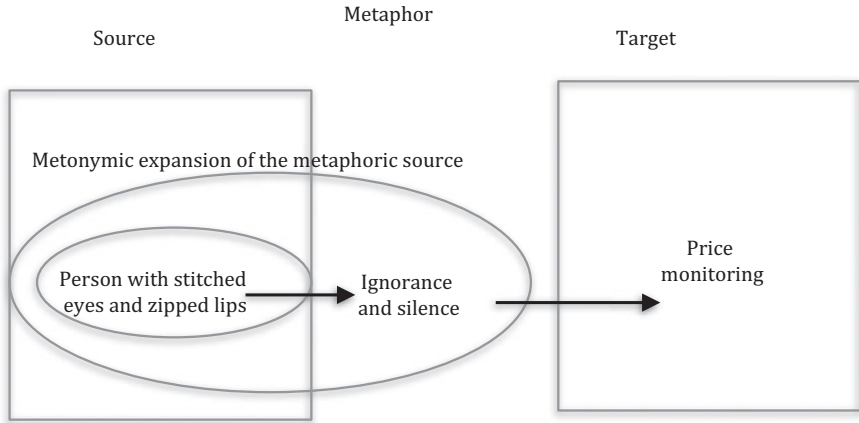
Figure 2: A multimodal metaphor with a metonymic domain expansion of the metaphoric source in Cartoon 31.

In Cartoon 32, the heavy rock falling on a man's head is the salient element that captures readers' attention due to its huge size. Based on their pragmatic background, readers infer that the verbal elements, school vacation, Ramadan,
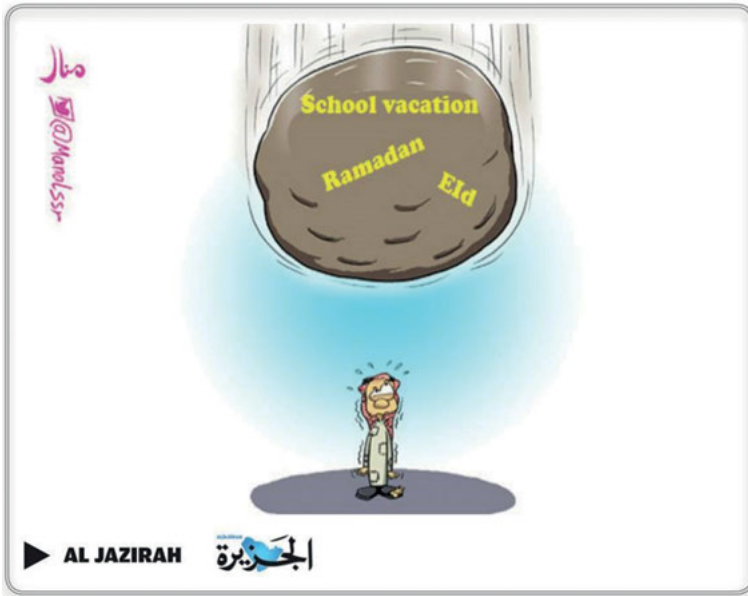
Cartoon 32: By Manal, republished by *Saudi Gazette*, 27 June 2014.

and Eid, which are written on the heavy large rock, do not stand for their values as special occasions, but for financial expenses and spending money during those times, corresponding to time-for-action metonymy. This involves a target-in-source metonymy which entails a domain reduction. The cartoon was published during the summer vacation when people travel inside or outside the Kingdom, directly followed by religious occasions (Ramadan and Eid) when people usually prepare for special celebrations and family feasts. Table 7 illustrates the source and target domains of metaphor and metonymy.

Table 7: The distribution of the target and source domains of the multimodal metaphor and metonymies across the visual and verbal modes in Cartoon 32.

Elements of metonymy		Type of metonymy	Meaning of metonymy	Elements of metaphor			The metaphor
	Visual	Verbal		School vacation, Ramadan, and Eid stand for their financial expenses		Visual	Verbal	School vacation, Ramadan and Eid expenses are a heavy rock on one's head
Source		School vacation, Ramadan and Eid	Time for action Target in source		Source	Heavy large rock		
Target	Inferential metonymy Financial expenses				Target		School vacation, Ramadan, and Eid	

However, attaching these verbal elements to the heavy rock results in the multi-modal metaphor "school vacation, Ramadan and Eid expenses are a large heavy rock falling on one's head". Reducing these occasions to their financial expenses in the metaphor corresponds to metonymic reduction of the metaphoric target pattern (see Table 7 and Figure 3). Exploiting the affordances of the visual and verbal modes to make a particular meaning creative at the level of representation (as discussed by El Refaie 2015), the cartoonist complements the humorous meta-phorical meaning about financial expenses with the visual literalisation of the popular idiomatic expression "in over my head". Literally, the expenses are a heavy large rock falling on his head while idiomatically a reader may also have access to a meaning such as "all the expenses are in over his head". 'In over one's head', the English equivalent of the Arabic expression, refers to situations where someone is "involved in something that is beyond one's capacity to deal with" (Online Oxford Dictionaries). The allusion to this expression is more likely to be activated simultaneously with the metaphorical meaning depicted in the image.

The interaction between multimodal metaphor and the metonymic reduc-
tion is schematised in Figure 3, based on Ruiz de Mendoza and Díez Velasco's
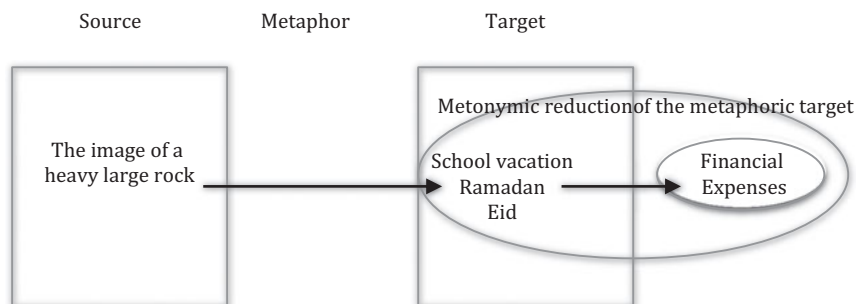(2002) approach.

Figure 3: A multimodal metaphor with a metonymic domain reduction of the metaphoric target
in Cartoon 32.

The interaction between metaphor and metonymy in terms of the patterns out-
lined reveals further underlying complexities and adds more emphasis to the
complex condensed nature of cartoons in general. Like verbal texts (see Ruiz de
Mendoza and Díez Velasco 2002), a single cartoon may accommodate up to three
or four patterns of interaction between metaphor and metonymy in ways that can
humorously comment on complex issues in society. Those patterns occur among
the correspondences, or similarities, between the source and the target domain of
a basic multimodal metaphor.

Cartoon 33 is a satirical commentary on a significant part of the educational
system, namely the university system, and on the way students' interests are
handled in some universities. It is complex, yet rich in meaning, that may be
better described as a mini-story. It consists of two frames which rely on a basic
multimodal metaphor: "university is a refrigerator". The refrigerator, the source
domain, is depicted visually, whereas the target domain, the university, is rep-
resented verbally. However, this metaphorical mapping includes multiple me-
tonymies, visual and multimodal, which are necessary to convey the meaning
in a satirical, yet funny way (see Figure 4).

Readers are invited to make metonymical references from the visual and
verbal elements available in both frames to understand the similarity between
the two different conceptual domains of the metaphor: the refrigerator and the
university. The first visual metonymy is the human properties given to the re-
frigerator which is verbally identified as a university: the eyes, glasses, hand,
and speech. The human properties serve to further specify the target of the
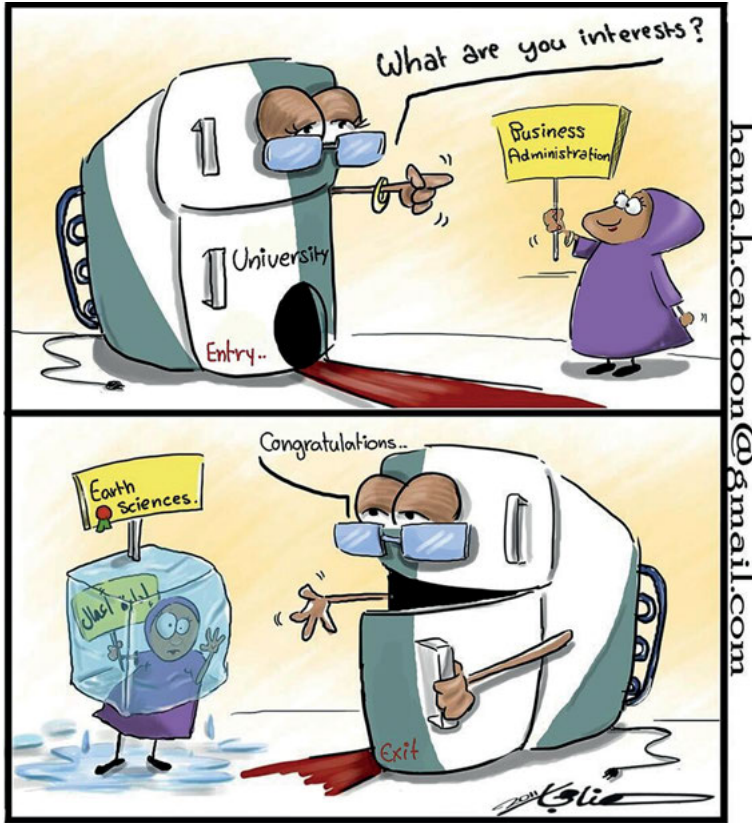
Cartoon 33: By Hana Hajjar, from Twitter, 8 September 2013.

metaphor: "university" stands for members working in the university, corresponding to the part-for-whole relationship. Figure 4 illustrates how metonymy is embedded and necessary for the metaphorical mapping.

In the first frame, the door of the refrigerator metaphorically represents the entry door of the university. The open entry door is expanded into a situation when a student is admitted to a university, corresponding to instrument-for-action metonymy. The "entry" door stands for "university admission", matching metonymic expansion of one of the correspondences of the metaphoric target (see Figure 4). The human-featured refrigerator-university addresses a question "what are your interests?" and the student replies "Business administration".

The end of this educational journey is presented in the second frame in which the "door" metaphorically represents the "Exit" door of the university, corresponding to instrument-for-action metonymy. The exit door of the university

is expanded into a situation when a student is a graduate, matching the pattern, metonymic expansion of one of the correspondences of the metaphoric target. This multimodal metonymy is further supported by the word 'congratulations' as a verbal clue for leaving the university. Table 8 displays the distribution of the source and target domains of the multimodal metaphor and multimodal metonymies.

However, when it comes to the image of the student with the poster "Business administration" inside the ice cube, the humour of the situation is enhanced. The ice cube stands for the concept of "freezing or being frozen", following form-for-concept metonymy, and it is a metonymy with a domain expansion. This metonymy is inferential based on readers' knowledge of ice. Depicting the student with her interest in "Business administration" inside the ice cube (at the exit door) metaphorically represents the student's unfulfilled interest.

Accordingly, readers infer that the university has ignored the student's original interest and has forced the student to study and to graduate in "Earth Sciences" instead. This can be inferred from the poster of "Earth sciences" in red script which is usually found on a graduation certificate, as a symbol for achievement. Figure 4 illustrates the interactional processes.
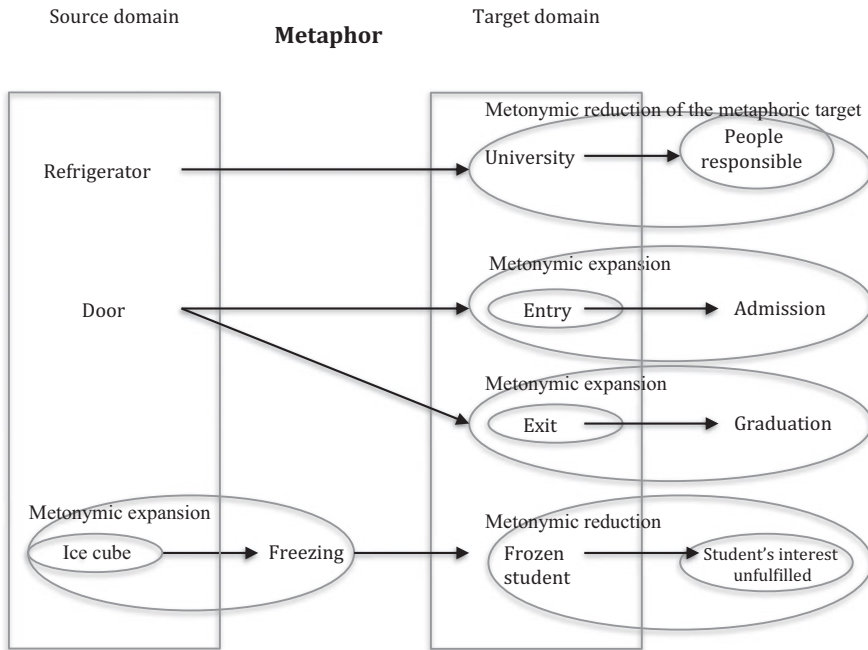
Figure 4: Different patterns of interaction between multimodal metaphors and metonymies in Cartoon 33.

Although the above analysis may seem complex, readers are unconsciously engaged in a cognitive activity, resulting in a quick understanding of the satirical metaphorical mapping: the university is a refrigerator freezing students' interest in studying their preferred field and forcing them to study another field instead. Table 8 summarises the distribution of the source and target domains of the multiple metonymies supporting the basic multimodal metaphor in Cartoon 33.

Analysis of the above examples highlights cases where metonymy is primary to highlighting a specific part in the target domain of the metaphor necessary for the conceptual mapping. This delimiting role (Urios-Aparisi 2009) serves to identify further correspondences between the source and target domains. Metonymies, either visual or multimodal, are activated among the correspondences mapped between the source and the target of the same multimodal metaphor. These cases of interaction have been presented in terms of Ruiz de Mendoza and Díez Velasco's (2002) patterns of interaction between metaphor and metonymy. Such interaction is found to present serious social, educational, or economic issues in funny and satirical ways. The combination of the visual and verbal modes in cartoons provides cartoonists with unique opportunities to rely on different interactional patterns between multimodal metaphors and multimodal or visual metonymies not only to present complex meanings, but also to add a humorous and satirical effect sought by most cartoonists.

6.4 Interaction between multimodal metonymies and metaphors

While the previous section shows cases of multimodal metaphor interacting with metonymy, there are also examples of the reverse case where metonymy plays an important role and is more basic for motivating related metaphors and for the interpretation of the overall meaning of a particular cartoon. Yu (2009: 120) pointed out that in cognitive linguistics "metonymy is a more fundamental cognitive phenomenon than metaphor, and metaphor is very often motivated by metonymy". According to Downing and Mujic (2013), the function of metonymy in multimodal discourse, such as advertisements in their case, is to motivate metaphor by highlighting aspects of the source or target domains, thus providing a perspective on how a particular message "is interpreted in terms of familiar experiential scenarios and accessed by the audience" (p. 164). The following are cases where the meanings of particular cartoons are established from multimodal metonymies which, in turn, activate the metaphorical target domains, thus contributing to meaning construction.

Table 8: Distribution of the source and the target domains of the multimodal metaphor and metonymies across the visual and verbal modes in Cartoon 33.

Metonymy within the metaphorical mapping			Type of Metonymy	Meaning of metonymy in relation to metaphor
Components	Visual	Verbal		
Source	Human features	University	Whole for part	Institution for people responsible
Target		University members	Target in source	
Source	The door	Entry: Admission	Instrument for action	Entry door stands for university admission
Target			Source in target	
Source	The door	Exit: Leaving	Instrument for action	Exit door stands for graduation
Target			Source in target	
Source	Ice cube		Object for action / Source in target	
Target	Inferential: Freezing		Ice for freezing	Ice for freezing represents the unfulfilled interest of the student

The basic multimodal metaphor		
Components	Visual	Verbal
Source	Refrigerator	
Target		University

University is a refrigerator

6.4.1 Interaction between multimodal metonymies and metaphors of direction

In some cultures, the "up/down" association underpinning direction is different to that in Western culture while others share the same association. In Western culture, "up/down" has strong metaphorical associations. For example, members of such cultures say "I am feeling down" or "things are looking up"; Machin and Mayr (2012) note that one refers to upper and lower classes and people with higher status are often seated higher than those with lower status. Similarly, Maynard (2007) admitted that "up" in visual communication represents positive effects and power while "down" represents negative effects and a lack of power.

In the same way, Ruiz de Mendoza and Díez Velasco (2002: 507–508) spoke of metaphors, like "more is up" or "down is low", which are based on the "orientational up-down schema", for example "prices have soared", "problems are piling up", "he drives at high speeds", etc. In metaphorical meanings containing such orientational schema, the source domain is "the specific instantiation of the path schema: an entity is moving forwards along the path towards a destination" (p. 508), whereas the target domain is derived from the specific situation to which a particular expression applies (for further discussion on orientational metaphors, see Lakoff and Johnson 1980). The more/up and down/low dichotomy also exists in Arab cultures. For example, it is common in Saudi cartoons here, especially those related to the rise in prices and the changing financial issues in the country.

The meaning of Cartoon 34 is based on the interaction between a multimodal metonymy and the up-and-down metaphor to comment on the increase in fish prices in a funny way. However, the metonymy is fundamental to the activation of the metaphor.

Cartoon 34 shows different kinds of fish jumping over seawater. In the background, a man in a boat is depicted as being shocked at seeing a shoal of colourful fish jumping over water. The phrase "Fish prices" in the right corner of the image helps readers know that the cartoon is about the prices of fish at the time, not about fish as creatures. Thus, the image and phrase activate the metonymy whole-for-part relationship: fish for its price. It is a target-in-source metonymy involving a domain reduction (see Figure 5). Multimodal metonymy
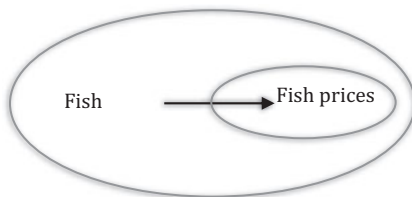

Figure 5: Multimodal metonymy with domain reduction.

arises since the source "fish" is depicted visually while the target "fish prices" is represented verbally.

Cartoon 34: By Al-Rayis, republished by *Saudi Gazette*, 14 February 2014.

Readers then have to correlate the jumping fish and the prices based on their knowledge of the up-and-down metaphors: up is high and down is low. It is important to bear in mind that part of the connection between metonymy and metaphor, or between the source and target for either metonymy or metaphor is not always explicit. This implies that the interaction between metonymies and metaphors is sometimes based on pragmatic inferencing from the visual and verbal clues (Downing and Mujic 2013; see also Forceville 2009a; Urios-Aparisi 2009).

In Cartoon 34, the source domain of the metaphor UP is represented through the action of jumping while fish prices are represented verbally. Thus, the metonymy and metaphor share the same target "fish prices"; nevertheless, the multimodal metonymy plays the role of highlighting the metaphoric target. The multimodal metaphor can be phrased "fish prices are going up". Another less salient element is the astonished man in the boat. He is symbolic, referring to

the public's shock at the rise in fish prices. Table 9 summarises the source and target domains of both metonymy and metaphor across the visual and verbal modes.

Table 9: Source and target domains of metonymy and metaphor across the visual and verbal modes in Cartoon 34.

Elements of metonymy		Type of metonymy	Meaning	Elements of metaphor			Metaphorical statement
Components							
Visual	Verbal				Visual	Verbal	
Source Fish		Whole for part Target in source	Fish for their prices	Source	Jumping up		Fish prices are going up
Target	Prices of fish			Target		Fish prices	
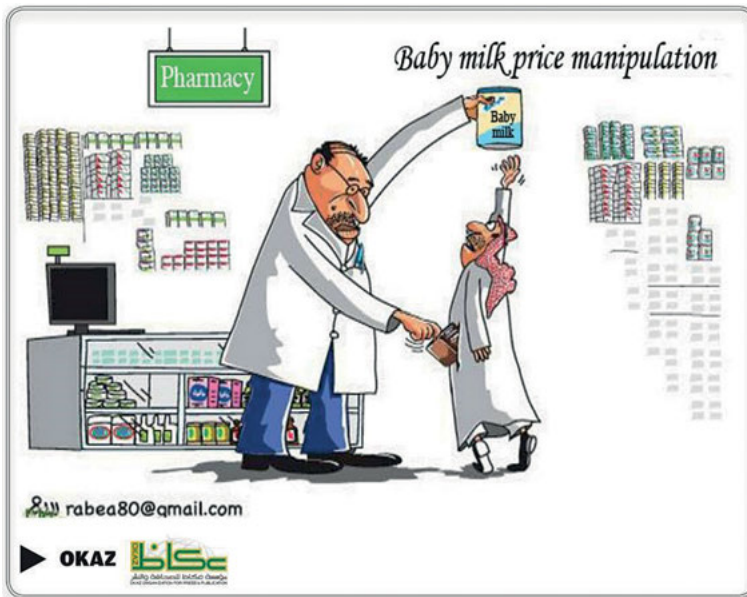
Cartoon 35: By Rabea, reproduced by *Saudi Gazette*, 28 November 2014.

Not only are fish prices going up, but prices of baby milk are similarly rising. Cartoon 35 relies on the same representation of meaning as the previous cartoon to comment on the increase in milk prices. The multimodal metonymy represents

the target of the metaphor which, in turn, motivates the cartoon message in a very accessible, yet funny, representation.

The cartoon shows a scene at a pharmacy (as indicated by the green poster in the top left corner, and the medicines on the shelves in the background). The pharmacist is depicted as lifting up a can of baby milk with one hand and searching the man's wallet with the other. The phrase "baby milk price manipulation" at the top right corner guides readers that the baby milk stands for its price, corresponding to the whole-for-part metonymy. It is a target-in-source metonymy with domain reduction (see Figure 6). A multimodal metonymy is employed since the source "baby milk" is represented visually while the target "the milk price" is presented verbally (see Table 10).
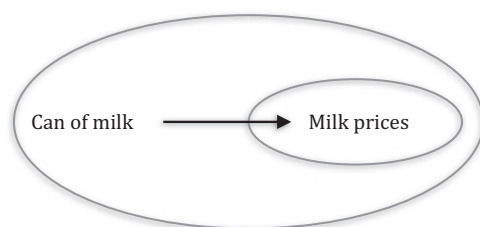
Figure 6: Multimodal metonymy with domain reduction.

The act of lifting up the can of baby milk interacts with the multimodal metonymy to result in the multimodal metaphor "milk prices are going up". The metaphor and the metonymy share the same target. The other less salient metonymy is the customer's inability to reach the can of milk which refers to his financial struggle to pay for the baby milk, corresponding to action-for-ability metonymy (see Figure 7). The unsuccessful effort of the customer to reach the can of milk, with the pharmacist's hand in the customer's wallet, is a visual clue supporting
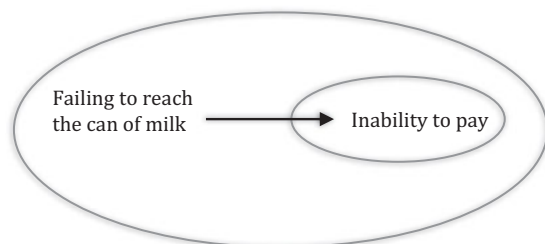

Figure 7: Visual metonymy with domain reduction.

Table 10: Distribution of the source and target domains of the metonymies and metaphor across the visual and verbal modes in Cartoon 35.

Metonymy Components	Metonymy Modes Visual	Metonymy Modes Verbal	Type of Metonymy	Meaning	Metaphor Components	Metaphor Modes Visual	Metaphor Modes Verbal	The metaphor
Source	Can of milk		Whole for part / Target in source	The can of milk stands for its price.	Source	The act of lifting up the can		Milk prices are going up
Target		Milk prices			Target		Milk prices	
Source	Unsuccessful effort to reach the can of milk		Action for ability / Target in source	The unsuccessful effort to reach the can of milk stands for the customer's inability to pay for the milk.				
Target	Inferred: Customer's inability to pay							

the correct interpretation of the multimodal metonymy and metaphor. The size of the pharmacist and the customer is meaningful: the pharmacist being depicted as much bigger and taller than the customer indicates power and control over the situation whereas the customer's small size reflects weakness and inability. Table 10 displays the distribution of the source and target domains of the metonymy and metaphor across the visual and verbal modes.

These examples rely on multimodal metonymies to represent the target of the metaphors which are associated with the up-and-down schema in which "up is more" and "down is less". In both examples, the activated multimodal metaphor shares the same target with the basic multimodal metonymy. This kind of representation is responsible for the funny and humorous effect. Beyond these examples, the interaction between multimodal metonymy and metaphor is sometimes based on metonymies related to particular instruments whereby different multimodal metaphors are activated as illustrated in the following section.

6.4.2 Interaction between multimodal metonymies and metaphors based on particular instruments

While the metaphor "up is more" seems to be recurrent in some cartoons, it may differ according to the context in which it is activated. Consider Cartoon 36.
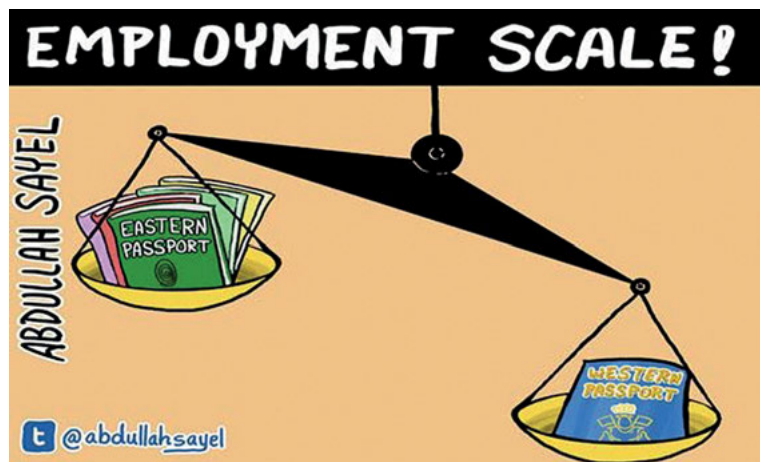
Cartoon 36: By Sayel, from *Arab News*, 13 April 2014.

The cartoon consists of two multimodal metonymies that activate a related orientational metaphor so as to convey the cartoonist's critical voice about the way employees are evaluated and paid. The most salient and foregrounded element is the image of a scale, the measuring instrument used to show weight or mass of an object. It is well-known that if one of the pans goes down, then the item in the pan is heavy and expensive, whereas if the scale pan goes up, then the item in it is light and is more likely to be cheaper. In the image, the left pan of the scale is very light (going up) although it contains many passports identified as Eastern passports, whereas the right pan of the scale is heavier than the first despite having only one passport identified as a Western passport. The interpretation depends on the association "up is more" while "down is more".

The phrase "Employment Scale" is a verbal clue to activate the metonymy that the "concrete" scale stands for the abstract meaning of "measuring" or "evaluating" employees, rather than measuring weight or mass. Generally, this corresponds to instrument for action, or source-in-target metonymy which involves domain expansion (see Figure 8). Based on their background knowledge and with the help of the verbal elements, readers can infer that the passports stand for their holders/employees, corresponding to part for whole or source-in-target metonymy which involves domain expansion (see Figures 9 and 10). The passports that are identified as Eastern passports stand for employees from Eastern countries (Arabs) while the passport that is identified as a Western passport refers to an employee from a Western country (Westerners). The verbal elements serve as clues to access the targets of these metonymies (see Table 11).

The unequal positions of the scale pans activate the up-and-down metaphorical association which implies the unequal value of passports. The multimodal metonymies "scale for evaluating employees" and "passports for holders/employees" highlight the targets of and serve to generate related metaphors, the sources of which are depicted visually through the up and down scales: Western employees are down (heavy weight/heavily evaluated/well paid) while Eastern employees are up (light weight/less evaluated/not paid enough). Other metaphorical statements based on the same dichotomy include comparison between the Western employee and the Eastern employee in terms of appreciation and earnings (see Figures 8, 9 and 10): a Western employee is paid as much as many Eastern employees/Eastern employees are paid much less than a single Western employee.

The metaphorical statements are also based on the pragmatic knowledge shared between the cartoonist and readers. A satirical voice is delivered in the cartoon. The cartoonist, in a very funny and accessible way, satirises a policy of employment in the Kingdom where Western employees are highly evaluated, appreciated and hence paid more than employees from other Eastern countries with similar qualifications. The scales further evoke opposing scripts: Western
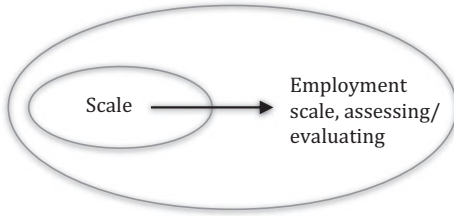
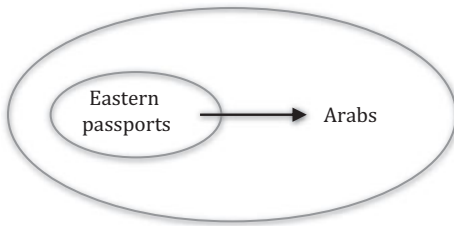**Figure 8:** Multimodal metonymy with domain expansion.

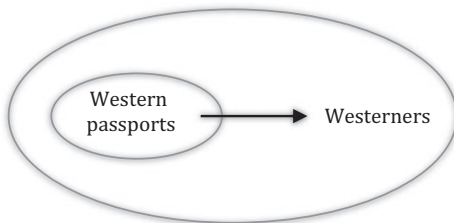**Figure 9:** Metonymy with domain expansion.

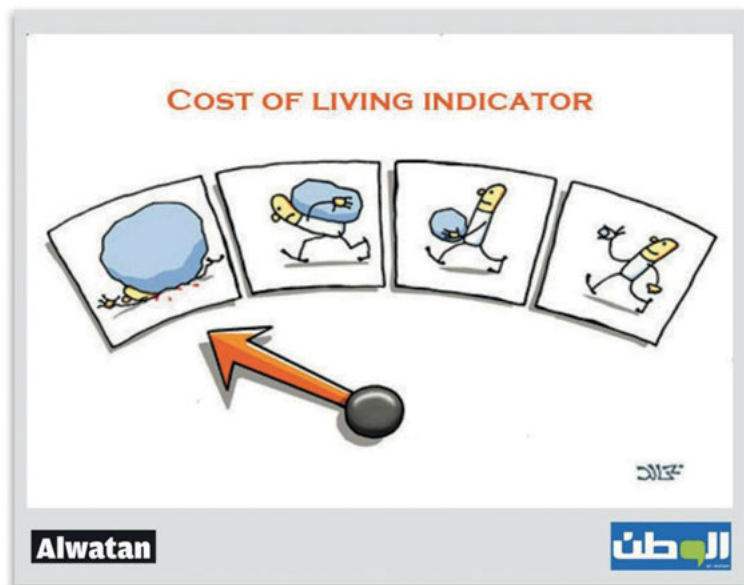**Figure 10:** Metonymy with domain expansion.

versus Eastern. Table 11 summarises the distribution of the source and target domains of the multimodal metonymies and the metaphor across the visual and verbal modes.

In the above example, the use of the instrument to represent a particular meaningful metonymy enables the cartoonist to include a metaphor within metonymy. The multimodal metonymy not only highlights the target of the metaphor, but also functions as a conduit for metaphor. This process is also employed in Cartoon 37.

The image of the arrow-indicator, which is identified verbally as a cost of living indicator, is similar to a turbo or weight indicator which usually starts with

Table 11: Distribution of the source and target domains of the metonymies and metaphors across the visual and verbal modes in Cartoon 36.

Elements of metonymy			Type of metonymy	Meaning	Elements of metaphor			The metaphor
Components	Modes				Elements	Modes		
	Visual	Verbal				Visual	Verbal	
Source	Measuring scale		Instrument for action Source in target	Scale for evaluating employees	Source	The up scale (light weight)		Eastern employees are up/light-weight – less evaluated/not paid enough
Target		Employment scale for evaluating employees			Target		Eastern employees	
Source	Green passports		Part for whole Source in target	Passports for holders/employees	Source	The down scale (heavy weight)		A Western employee is down/heavy-weight – heavily evaluated/well-paid
Target		Arabs			Target		Western employees	
Source	A blue passport	Western passport						
Target		Westerners						

Cartoon 37: By Khaled, reproduced by *Saudi Gazette*, 25 October 2013.

the minimum speed/weight and ends with the maximum increase of speed/weight. As the pointer turns to the left side, the metonymy instrument for action is activated: the indicator stands for increasing living costs. The metonymy is multimodal since the indicator for measuring costs, the source, is represented visually as well as verbally while the 'increase' in living costs, the target, is represented visually through the pointer on the indicator. The metonymy serves to activate the multimodal metaphor, living costs are measurable objects (see Table 12 and Figure 11).

The increase shown on the indicator is not measured by numbers as in reality, but through an image of a human being holding a stone which is getting bigger and heavier as the needle of the indicator moves to the maximum measuring point. A second metaphor is activated to support the meaning expressed by the basic metonymy. The metaphor shares with the metonymy the same target "living costs" which is represented verbally; however, its source "the stone" is depicted visually. This multimodal metaphor can be verbalised as the increase in living costs is a heavy big stone. The person holding the stone stands for citizens or consumers based on the metonymy person for people, and it is a visual metonymy.

The verbalisation of the metaphor represents the metaphorical meaning only partially as there is no one-to-one relation between the source "the heavy

Table 12: Distribution of the source and target domains of the metonymy and the activated metaphors in Cartoon 37.

Elements of metonymy			Type of metonymy	Meaning	Elements of metaphor			The activated metaphors
Components	Modes							
	Visual	Verbal				Visual	Verbal	
Source	Pointer on the indicator	Cost of living indicator	Instrument for action	The indicator stands for increasing living costs	Source	The indicator to measure living costs		Living costs are measurable objects
Target	Increasing living costs		Source in target		Target		Living costs	
					Source	A stone		The increase in living costs is a heavy big stone
					Target		Living costs	

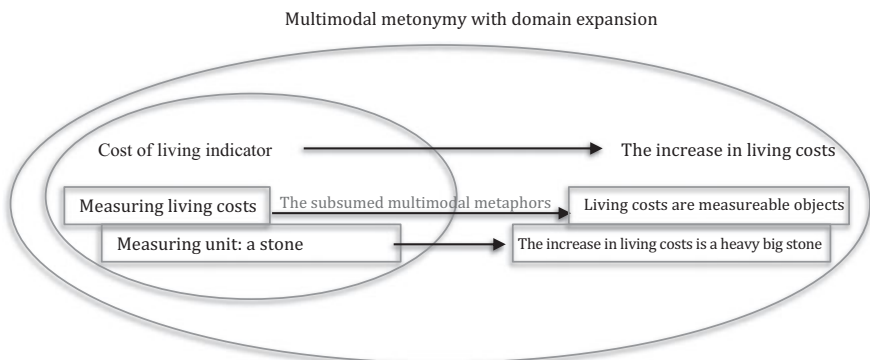Multimodal metonymy with domain expansion

Figure 11: Basic multimodal metonymy with domain expansion and subsumed metaphors in Cartoon 37.

stone" and the target "living costs", but rather the process of gradual increase in living costs that is represented as a gradually growing stone falling on one's head. This again supports El Refaie's (2015) argument about the creativity of multimodal metaphors at the representational level where a metaphorical meaning is sometimes difficult to convey through language or a comparative statement.

Table 12 displays the distribution of the source and target domains of the multimodal metonymy and metaphors in the cartoon.

Apart from the increase in prices and the employment scale as the negative side of today's technology, the misuse of social media is used to represent a means for claiming false identity. It has become difficult to recognise who the speaker is, such as female or male, national or overseas. The cartoonist in Cartoon 38 does not rely on exaggeration to express the overuse of technology, but on metonymy and metaphor. He is able to comment on this threatening aspect of technology in a more critical, yet funny, way.

Cartoon 38: By Aiman, reproduced by *Saudi Gazette*, 12 September 2014.

Cartoon 38 shows two kinds of birds: a blue bird and a crow. At the top right corner, the phrase "Pseudo names" is written. The frowning crow is on a tree branch while the blue bird is depicted as being wounded and covered with bandages. The blue bird is about to fall with one wing clinging to the edge of the branch. The surface meaning is that the crow has abused the innocent blue bird in the scene. However, readers need to resort to their background knowledge about social media icons and the way social networks are used today in order to understand the relation between the blue bird and the crow, or between the metonymy and metaphor.

The cartoon is slightly complex as it consists of a sequence of (double) metonymies, which refer to instances where two metonymies combine (see Ruiz de Mendoza and Díez Velasco 2002; Barcelona 2002; Downing and Mujic 2013). Readers infer that the abused blue bird stands for Twitter, for tweeters. The two metonymies are of two kinds: part for whole and instrument for agent metonymy, corresponding to source-in-target metonymy (see Figure 12). The first metonymy, the blue bird for Twitter, is inferential since the source is visually depicted while the target is pragmatically inferred. The source is depicted in a way that activates the metaphor, Twitter is an abused blue bird (see Table 13).
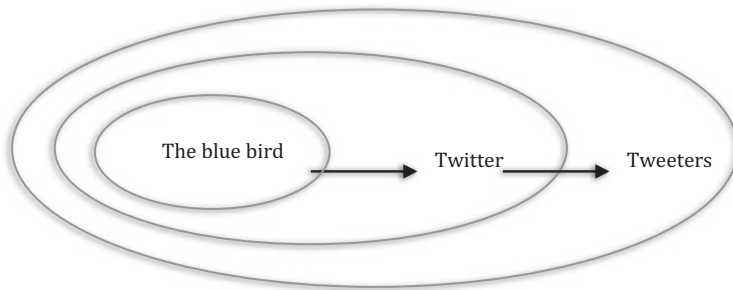

Figure 12: Chained metonymies with domain expansion.

Table 13: Distribution of the source and target domains of the metonymies and metaphors across the visual and verbal modes in Cartoon 38.

Chained metonymy	Elements of metonymy		Type of metonymy	Elements of metaphor			The metaphor
	Visual	**Verbal**			**Visual**	**Verbal**	
The blue bird For Twitter For Twitter users/ Tweeters	Source Blue bird		Part for whole Source in target	Source Blue bird			1. Twitter is an abused blue bird
	Target Inferred: Twitter			Target Inferred: Twitter			
	Source The blue bird for Twitter		Instrument for agent Source in target Part for whole Names for people Source in target	Source Crow			2. Twitter users with fake names are evil crows
	Target	Pseudo names for users		Target		Pseudo names for Twitter users	

The other related metonymy, Twitter is tweeters, is multimodal as the source is represented visually through the iconic image of Twitter "the blue bird" while the target is cued verbally through "Pseudo names". This metonymy is complex since its target involves domain expansion: names for people, based on part for whole or source-in-target metonymy (see Figure 12).

In the image, a metaphor is also created through locating the frowning crow between the phrase "Pseudo names" and the abused blue bird. Based on the above metonymies and readers' pragmatic knowledge, the metaphor becomes accessible and can be phrased as "Tweeter/Twitter users with fake names are crows". It is a multimodal metaphor since the source "crow" is depicted visually while the target "Tweeters" is cued verbally through "Pseudo names" standing for users/tweeters with fake names (see Table 13 and Figure 12).

The mapping for this metaphor can better be expressed as: "Tweeters with fake names misuse Twitter in the same way as crows harm other weak innocent birds". Claiming fake names results in unknown false identities for users who use Twitter to bully or threaten people, and spread rumors and fake stories that may cause harm or fears to other individuals in society. Table 13 summarises the distribution of the source and target domains of the sequence of metonymies and metaphors in Cartoon 38.

This example is perhaps the least funny cartoon if compared to the other examples discussed in the chapter. Nevertheless, exploiting the iconic image of Twitter to create the imaginary scene of the "blue bird" as being wounded and covered with bandages may remain a source for funny effect. The complex idea about fake identities in social media, particularly on Twitter, is made more accessible with the sequence of metonymies. The sequence plays a major role in both activating a related metaphor and highlighting the target of another metaphor which contributes significantly to the meaning of the cartoon. In most of the examples above, metonymy has a basic and crucial role not only in creating a meaning but also in highlighting the target of particular metaphors.

6.5 Concluding summary

This chapter has presented examples of the interaction between the two mechanisms of metaphor and metonymy. In some cases, metaphor is constructed through processing a number of metonymies existing in the source or target domains, whereas in other cases an independent metonymy gives rise to another separate metaphor. Reflecting that metaphor and metonymy are processed conceptually rather than linguistically, the analysis drew on Charles Forceville's multimodal metaphor and Downing and Mujic's (2013) definition of multimodal

metonymy. In these cases, the target and source domains, either in metaphor or metonymy, are represented in two different modes, which happen to be the visual and verbal modes in cartoons.

The chapter has revealed some complexities of the interaction between these cognitive mechanisms in multimodal discourse. First, the analysis of the interaction between multimodal metaphor and metonymy has followed the patterns proposed by Ruiz de Mendoza and Díez Velasco (2002) to identify the possible means of interaction between these two cognitive devices in language. The patterns have proved helpful to identify the nature of the interaction between multimodal metaphor and metonymy in multimodal cartoons. In this case of interaction, a basic multimodal metaphor may include a visual, or multimodal metonymy as a means of highlighting a specific part either in the source or target domain of the multimodal metaphor. Similar to Urios-Aparisi's (2009) observation, metonymy in such cases has a delimiting role as it identifies the specific target or the source domain of a metaphor.

A single basic multimodal metaphor can accommodate up to four metonymies, existing among the correspondences mapped across the source and target domains and displaying different patterns of interaction, such as a metonymic expansion or reduction of the metaphorical target or source, or a metonymic expansion/reduction of one of the correspondences of the metaphorical source or target. The meaning of metonymies in some cases of interaction contributes to the satirical meaning of the metaphorical mappings; for instance, an image of someone inside an ice cube in the source domain metonymically stands for freezing, which metaphorically corresponds to the unfulfilled interest in the target domain. A reader would usually rely on their world knowledge to access the correct metonymic inferences. This supports Urios-Aparisi's (2009) observation that metonymy is not only delimiting, but it "taps into the background knowledge" to suggest further correspondences and interpretations (p. 110). However, we can understand that although metonymy, be it either multimodal or visual, exists within metaphor, its processing precedes the basic metaphorical mapping which is often responsible for the overall humorous meaning.

The second case has looked at the interaction between multimodal metonymy and metaphor in which the role of multimodal metonymy can be more powerful; it can serve as a motivator for a multimodal metaphor. In such a case, metonymy does not exist within the target or source domains of a metaphor, but has its own independent meaning which also triggers the target domain of a multimodal metaphor. Processing multimodal metonymy precedes the multimodal metaphor, resulting in a shared target domain that is often represented or cued verbally. The multimodal metaphors activated by multimodal metonymies are exemplified in metaphors of direction/orientation "more is up/

down is low", and metaphors based on particular instruments such as a weight scale, a speed turbo, Twitter and so on.

Such a finding adds another pattern of interaction between multimodal metonymy and metaphor in multimodal discourse in addition to Downing and Mujic's (2013) observation. They noted that multimodal metonymy in advertisements serves to activate a corresponding metaphor, most often ontological, with a shared source domain that is represented visually. Little research has been done into metaphor-metonymy interaction in cartoons. While Alousque (2013) analysed the interaction between metaphor and metonymy in some French cartoons, the analysis was visually-oriented, pointing to the recurrent pattern in which metonymy is subsumed within metaphor, (metaphor-metonymy subsumption). According to Alousque, this case of interaction has also been identified by Ruiz de Mendoza and Mairal (2007). This is, however, different from Ruiz de Mendoza and Díez Velasco's (2002) five patterns which were followed here to identify the aspects of interaction in this chapter.

The analysis presented emphasises the complex ways of interaction, but also how this interaction can be an artistic resource for humour and satire in the cartoons. The richness of meaning and the cartoonist's satirical voice resulting from such complex interaction make it difficult to describe an example in words without referring to the image, where the role of the visual and verbal modes is visible. In sum, the interaction between multimodal metaphor and metonymy – where metonymy exists within the target or source domain of a metaphor – and the interaction between multimodal metonymy and metaphor – where metonymy is independent and motivates a particular metaphor with which it shares a target domain – contribute to the principle "metonymy first, metaphor second" (Mittelberg and Waugh, 2009: 347). Put another way, "metonymy is needed to access the metaphor" (p. 347).

7 Juxtaposition and exaggeration

7.1 Introduction

This chapter is concerned with the role of juxtaposition and exaggeration in the creation of humorous and satirical meaning. In particular, the chapter explores how juxtaposition serves to coordinate visual and verbal elements. Juxtaposition is viewed as an inter-semiotic mechanism that not only organises the relationship between the visual and verbal elements, but also affects the overall interpretation.

We also highlight the role of visual and verbal exaggeration, not as a subordinate device, but as a main device through which considerable meaning within a cartoon is communicated. The chapter considers how different ways of visual exaggeration achieve a humorous effect. Analysing exaggeration in multimodal cartoons requires identifying the relationship between the visual exaggeration and the associated linguistic elements, on the one hand, and between the verbal exaggeration and the pictorial image, on the other hand. Taken together, the discussion focuses on the way juxtaposition affects the interpretation of visual and verbal elements, the possible ways of employing exaggeration to make humour, and the role of language in cases of juxtaposition and exaggeration.

7.2 Juxtaposition: A coordinator of visual and verbal elements

Juxtaposition is "the act or an instance of placing two or more things side by side" (Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary). According to this definition, juxtaposition can be described as holding a visual characteristic since it is necessarily related to the way items or entities are spatially positioned. According to Montgomery et al. (2007: 147), the term "juxtaposition" refers to a rhetorical technique which goes beyond the simple placement of elements side by side, and which urges readers to make meaningful inferences. Juxtaposition of elements in communication is "a routine" as well as "essential practice" in the construction of messages (p. 141).

Eckkrammer (2004) considered juxtaposition as a dimension of 'inter-semiotic layering' in which visual and verbal elements co-exist in a way that affects not only meaning production, but also the interpretation of meaning. According to Montgomery et al.'s (2007) classification, it is possible to describe juxtaposition in cartoons as simultaneous juxtaposition in which the juxtaposed elements are simultaneously present for interpretation: they can be taken in at a glance and the order in which they are read does not affect the overall meaning. For Hess

and Northrop (2011), the use of juxtaposition of words in pictures is among the common traditional stylistic devices in cartooning despite the remarkable change in the style of cartoons in more modern times. Basu (2007) viewed juxtaposition as "the necessary essence of humor" (p. 98). It may exist between "one or more behaviors, elements, events, ideas, objects, and others or in relation to backgrounds, contexts, expectations, frames, wholes, and so on" (p. 98).

Basu (2007: 98) suggested that juxtaposition can give a rapid and "stable construal". Juxtaposition activates interesting opposed scripts for different social themes; for example, it may relate to gender stereotypes in terms of men *versus* women when it is used in cartoons about gender, whereas it evokes differences of communication between past and present in cartoons about technology. In discussing juxtaposition in cartoons, we assume that the two juxtaposed images may occur either in two separate frames in a single cartoon, or within a single-framed cartoon.

The role of language in cases of juxtaposition is described in terms of Barthes' (1977) distinction of the relationship between the visual and verbal elements. Barthes identified two functions of texts when they co-exist with images: the anchoring and the relay function. In the former, the image releases most of the meaning while the text serves to anchor or constrain the preferred reading of the image. In other words, linguistic elements direct readers' interpretation of the visual messages by providing additional information. On the other hand, the term "relay" describes the text-image complementary relationship in which the text is as essential to the meaning as the image (Barthes 1977; Gripsrud 2006; Chandler 2007; Maynard 2007). This will be further clarified throughout the analysis.

7.2.1 Juxtaposed metaphors

The use of juxtaposition in the cartoons about gender is often seen to evoke script oppositions revolving around men *versus* women. More specifically, it is a way to highlight certain gender stereotypes. Most of the examples in which juxtaposition is employed tend to depict women as a weak and emotional partner whereas men are selfish and self-centred, with a few cartoons showing the opposite. Cartoon 39 achieves a stereotypical representation through juxtaposing metaphors, and other salient verbal and visual elements.

In Cartoon 39, the image of a man is juxtaposed to that of a woman. Placing the images opposite each other not only juxtaposes the couple, but also the other visual and verbal elements associated with each image. Both are depicted as offering a gift to each other while saying the same expression "All this 4 u". The
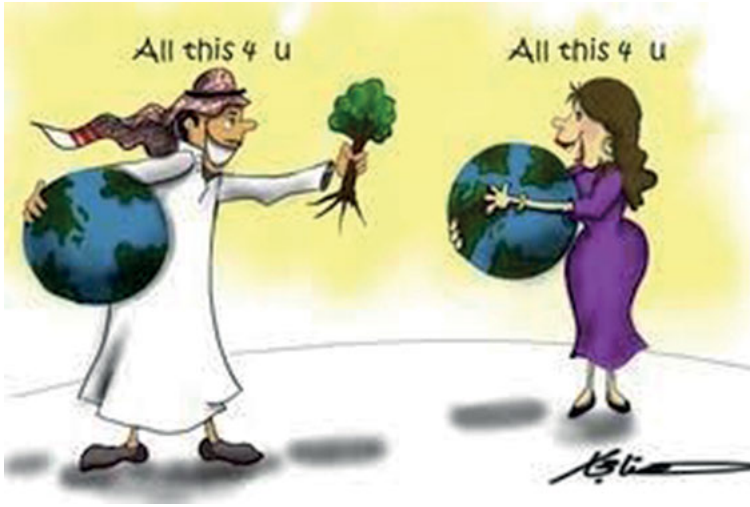
Cartoon 39: By Hana Hajjar, from Twitter, 16 December 2013.

choice of the tree to represent the man's offer metaphorically stands for the proportion of his sacrifice: man's offer is as small as a single tree on the whole earth. As opposed to the man's offer, the woman's offer is metaphorically represented as "the Earth": the woman's giving is as large as the whole earth. Both are visual metaphors in which the target domain "giving" is represented by the physical action itself whereas the source domains "the Earth" and "the tree" are represented by the sample images.

However, the repetition of the expression "All this 4 u" which is also juxtaposed with the images makes a significant contribution to the humorous effect when it interacts with the metaphors activated in each image. The material value of this same expression "All this 4 u" differs in terms of the visual metaphors activated by each image. It is important to consider the meaning of the predeterminer "All", "the whole of something" (http://www.Macmillandictionary.com), to grasp the intended meaning of the cartoon. The man's offer which is represented visually as "a small tree" does not match the presumed meaning of "All" in his utterance if it is compared to "the Earth" in his right hand. Moreover, the choice of the tree to represent the man's offering stands for the proportion of his sacrifice which is very little in comparison to the woman's sacrifice, "the Earth".

In other words, the juxtaposed metaphors inform readers indirectly that the wife has approached the real meaning of "All" by sacrificing the whole while the man failed to approach that meaning. It is through juxtaposing metaphors and identical expressions that readers are able to make inferential processes

and identify contrasts or script oppositions, such as man's sacrifice *versus* woman's sacrifice, or man's giving *versus* woman's giving. Other juxtaposed visual elements include the facial expressions: both seem very happy with what they offer each other. This further enhances the woman's sincere love and sacrifice as opposed to the man's self-centered nature. While the linguistic elements add a funnier effect, they do not affect the humorous meaning constructed by the juxtaposed metaphors. It is thus the juxtaposed images, or metaphors, which control the interpretation of the expression and give meaning to it.

In Cartoon 40, not only are metaphors juxtaposed but also other associated elements such as colour and size. It is a within-frame juxtaposition whereby two images are placed against each other in a single frame to evoke the particularities activated by colour and size. The differences activated between the two metaphors, specifically personification, and the other associated elements aim at identifying a specific relationship between the personified phenomena.

Cartoon 40: By Sayel, from *Arab News*, 21 January 2013.

The cartoon juxtaposes the images of two men, each of whom metaphorically represents an abstract concept. Each man is given certain features which are significant for making the comparisons that are initially activated by means of visual juxtaposition. The shape, colour and size are significant visual elements associated with the juxtaposed metaphors. The man on the left is made salient through colours while the man on the right is made salient through size. The juxtaposed metaphors are multimodal since the target domains "corruption" and

"joblessness" are represented verbally whereas the source domains, the "masked painter" and the "giant man", are depicted visually: corruption is a painter in a black mask *versus* joblessness is a giant colourless man.

Two different social phenomena are personified and placed opposite each other. The juxtaposition guides readers to interpret the meaning through activating contrasts. The simultaneous juxtaposition of different visual elements makes it somewhat complex to phrase the meaning. The associated visual features add particular properties to the overall metaphorical meanings (see Figure 13).
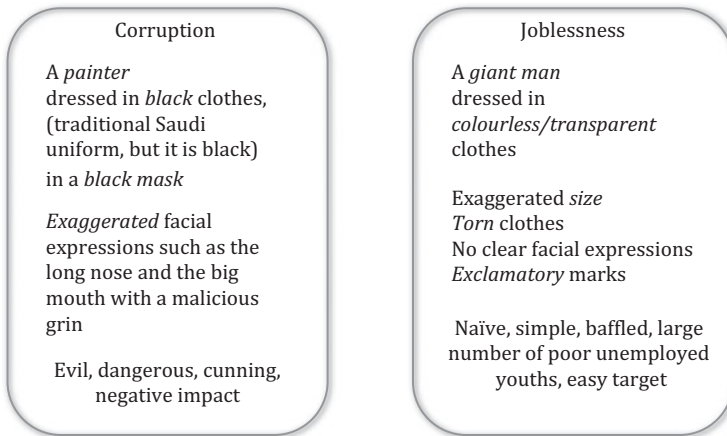
Corruption	Joblessness
A *painter* dressed in *black* clothes, (traditional Saudi uniform, but it is black) in a *black mask*	A *giant man* dressed in *colourless/transparent* clothes
Exaggerated facial expressions such as the long nose and the big mouth with a malicious grin	Exaggerated *size* *Torn* clothes No clear facial expressions *Exclamatory* marks
Evil, dangerous, cunning, negative impact	Naïve, simple, baffled, large number of poor unemployed youths, easy target

Figure 13: Activated visual properties associated with the juxtaposed multimodal metaphors.

It is through juxtaposition that the cartoonist shows the relation between the phenomena of corruption and unemployment: the large numbers of jobless youths are easy targets for different kinds of corruption. The juxtaposition highlights differences to specify the cause-result relationship. The verb "color" in "let's color you", according to the Oxford dictionary, means to "influence, especially in a negative way; distort". The cartoonist refers to this negative sense of "color" through visualising the more popular sense of "to paint". This play on the different senses activates metaphorical mapping related to the juxtaposed multimodal metaphors in the cartoon. Put another way, corruption influences unemployed youths in different ways in much the same way as a painter tries to apply different colours in a picture. Nevertheless, the former has a negative and damaging impact whereas the latter is seeking something more positive.

In sum, the way the visual and verbal elements are interpreted is different. In the two cartoons considered, the meaning is achieved through evoking contrasts between the juxtaposed metaphors. However, the juxtaposed visual metaphors in Cartoon 39 not only activate opposed scripts, but also make the repetition of a single expression meaningful to humorous effect. The repeated expression acquires meaning through the juxtaposed visual metaphors. In Cartoon 40, the visual elements associated with the juxtaposed metaphors, such as size and colour, are significant for drawing comparisons, whereby the relationship between the two depicted phenomena are further identified as cause-result. The linguistic elements are significant for identifying the target domains of the metaphors, and for the overall metaphorical mapping resulting from the juxtaposed images.

7.2.2 Juxtaposed cultural contexts

The multimodal nature of cartoons enables cartoonists to criticise issues and practices in society through juxtaposing the norm and the deviation, highlighting how a particular aspect is perceived in different cultural contexts. In Cartoon 41, readers have to rely on their background knowledge to identify the counterpart cultural context against which the target of criticism, the Saudi context, is juxtaposed.
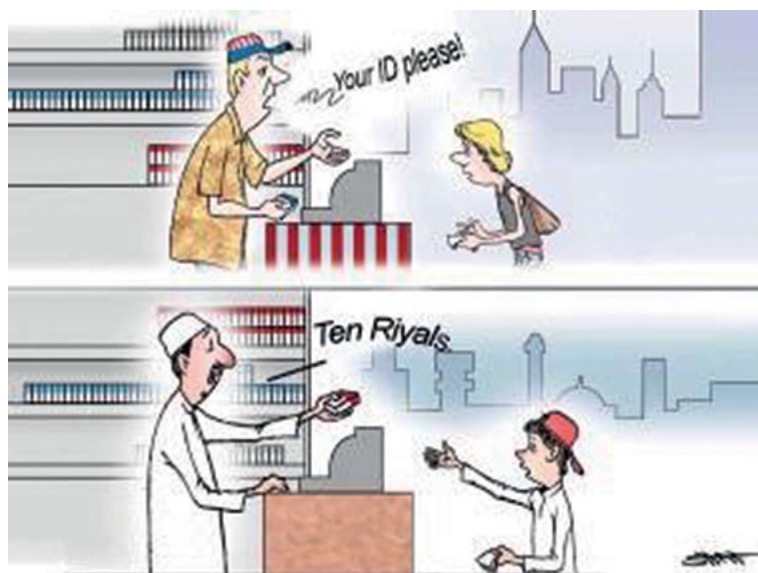
**Cartoon 41:** By Al-Shafea, from *Saudi Gazette*, 19 May 2014.

The cartoon juxtaposes two contexts in two separate frames placed vertically so that readers can glance at the two different scenes, identify them and then compare between them. The first scene shows a building similar to a church, a white salesman with fair hair and a cap, and a white child with fair hair and a backpack. Based on the metonymy style of physical setting for culture, this particular scene stands for a scene in a Western society. The boy wants to buy a cigarette pack, and the salesman requests to see his identity card "Your ID please!". It is a typical scene in the west that cigarettes and alcoholic drinks are not to be sold to children under 18 years. Salespersons must check the youth's age through IDs before selling to them.

As opposed to the above scene, the next scene shows a building similar to a mosque, a salesman with a white *thobe* and a traditional hat, and a child with a white *thobe* and a cap. Both the salesman and the child seem to have black hair and a skin colour darker than that of the salesman and the boy in the first scene. Based on the metonymy style of physical setting for culture, this particular scene stands for a scene in Saudi society. Strikingly, the salesman hands a cigarette pack to the boy, asking for "Ten Riyals" (SR), the Saudi currency.

Through juxtaposing the backgrounds, skin and hair colour, and the way of dressing, readers are invited to make comparisons not only between the physical settings, but also between the ways of handling the matter of selling cigarettes to youths in the two cultures. Whereas salespersons in a Western context seem to follow government restrictions on age when selling health-threatening products, salespersons in the Saudi context unfortunately seem to ignore the government regulations regarding age when selling cigarettes. The juxtaposition affects the way the visual and verbal elements are interpreted. The cartoonist's satirical and critical voice is more easily perceived through juxtaposition. On the other hand, the verbal elements are in a complementary relationship with the visual depiction since they provide information not found in the visual representations. They achieve the relay function in terms of Barthes' (1977) identification of the relationship between the visual and verbal elements.

7.2.3 Juxtaposed behaviours

Juxtaposition has been useful in highlighting the negative aspect of using technology nowadays. The overuse of technology, such as smartphones, iPads and other electronic devices, and the engagement in social networks that these devices allow, are criticised through juxtaposing the ways people act or behave in different settings. Consider Cartoon 42.
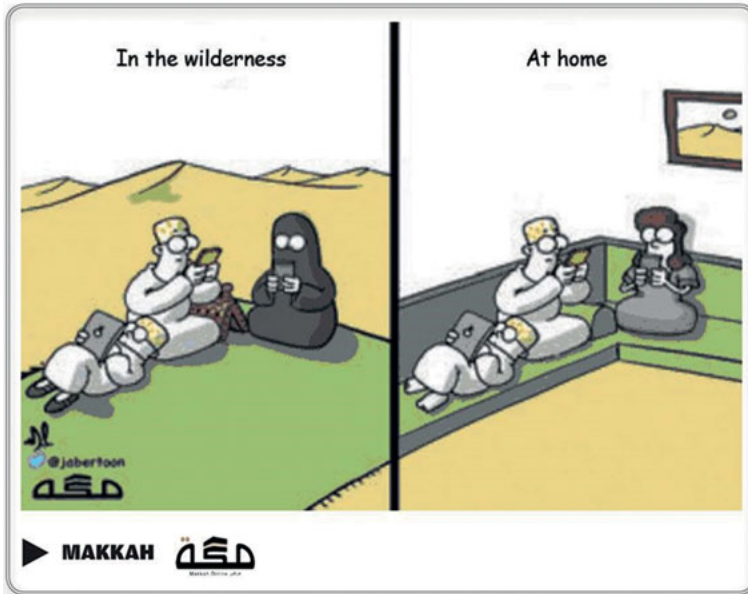
Cartoon 42: By Jaber, republished by *Saudi Gazette*, 7 March 2014.

The cartoon juxtaposes three family members, a father, a mother and a son, in two different settings: in the wilderness and at home. "In the wilderness" *versus* "at home" may be described as contextual antonyms since they are represented here as opposites similar to outside *versus* inside as lexical antonyms. All three family members are busy with their electronic devices. The juxtaposition of the visual scenes and the contextual antonyms indicate that whether inside or outside the home people are more likely to spend their time engaged on social networks. Juxtaposition here achieves criticism rather than a mere humorous presentation. It is criticising the overuse of technology even in situations where people are expected to spend time together.

Not only is the way people behave in different settings juxtaposed, but also their behaviours in different periods of time. Cartoon 43 juxtaposes two similar settings in which a group of friends are gathering. However, the physical setting in each frame is culturally specific showing a traditional way of sitting: a traditional teapot and a traditional Arabic coffee container. Juxtaposed here is the way those people are communicating with each other and the time specified in each frame.

In the scene specified as "The good old days", some friends are chatting, enjoying their company and having fun together. They are physically and spiritually

Cartoon 43: By Al-Shafea, from *Saudi Gazette*, 9 June 2013.

close to each other. As opposed to "The good old days", the engagement with social media nowadays is represented in the second frame which is identified as "Today". Friends are physically close to each other, but each is busy with his smartphone. It is useful to consider how intertextuality is manifested in the cartoon. Alluding to the English popular phrase 'the good old days' to represent the past is not without a purpose. The phrase is self-expressive and meaningful to the frame, ascribing memorable moments to the past. It is as if the cartoonist has already described the past (without technology) as far better than today (with all the technology).

In both cartoons, the linguistic elements are used for identification purposes: they identify the settings in Cartoon 42: outside the home *versus* inside the home, and specify the time in Cartoon 43: past versus present. In terms of Barthes' (1977) distinction, the linguistic elements achieve the *anchoring* function whereby language directs or guides readers' identification and interpretation of the visual message. Apart from these examples, cartoonists also comment on particular social, educational or economic problems through juxtaposing whole situations, as will be outlined in the following section.

7.2.4 Juxtaposed situations

Most of the cartoons that rely on juxtaposition tend to evoke contrasts between situations of people in certain places or under specific circumstances. Verbal elements are often used to set the scene. Those verbal elements are contextual antonyms since they are intended as opposites in the specific contexts in which they are juxtaposed.

In cartoons about education, the humour of cartoons is often based on activating the opposed scripts of private schools *versus* public schools. Cartoon 44, although based on a mini-dialogue, obviously evokes contrasts between the situations of the two female teachers through juxtaposing their images and other associated visual and verbal elements.
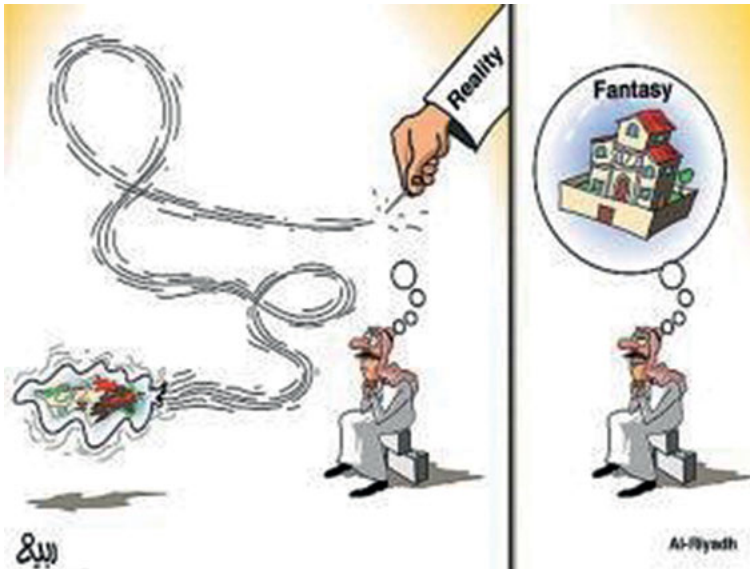

Cartoon 44: By Al-Madi, republished by *Saudi Gazette*, 22 November 2013.

The cartoon consists of a within-frame juxtaposition as it places the images of two women against each other in a way that makes it possible to see the contrasts activated by elements such as size, physical condition, clothes, labels and tags. The first woman on the left is depicted as weak, thin, poor, tired and old, with a stick to support her while walking. Verbally, she is identified through a tag as a private school teacher. Her salary is stated on her skirt "salary SR1,500".

As opposed to the private school teacher, the other woman is depicted as exaggeratedly overweight, younger, and dressed in fine clothes, with a stylish hairstyle and some accessories. She is identified through a tag as a public school teacher. Her salary is written on her skirt "SR12,000". The exaggerated overweight body of the public school teacher matches the big salary she earns, if compared to the thin private school teacher with a limited income. Both women are identified in similar ways. The dialogue between the two reveals that the private school teacher is not even paid the minimum wage, SR3,000, as regulated by the ministry of education and which is also known by members of the society. However, the juxtaposition helps capture comparisons which criticise private schools' policies: private school teachers are not paid as much as public school teachers. Being a public school teacher is far better than being a private school teacher. The verbal elements are essential to complement the pictorial message and they constitute a major part of the whole.

From educational issues to financial ones in which individuals aspire to owning their own private house, Cartoon 45 satirically juxtaposes the feasibility of this particular hope, based on the typical opposed scripts of reality *versus* fantasy or dreams.

Cartoon 45: By Rabea, republished by *Saudi Gazette* in 18 September 2012.

The cartoon juxtaposes two images: one shows a man dreaming of a private house while the other depicts the same man where the dream explodes in the air. The juxtaposition of the images and the associated verbal elements activate typical opposed script of fantasy *versus* reality. The situation in which one can have a private house exists in the world of fantasy or dreams. As opposed to this fantasy world, reality shows the impossibility of having a private house. Metaphorically, reality is a big powerful hand that pops dreams. The cartoon is a satirical commentary on the problem of housing in society. The verbal elements serve to anchor the preferred readings of the images, achieving the anchoring function.

To sum up, the above samples show that where juxtaposition occurs, it not only juxtaposes visual elements but also verbal ones. It is a juxtaposition of visual and verbal elements that can better be described as multimodal. The examples foreground the role of juxtaposition in coordinating the way those semiotic elements interact with each other and the way they are interpreted. It is through juxtaposition that readers or viewers are invited to draw comparisons between two metaphorical meanings, behaviours, cultural contexts, or situations most often for satirical and humorous effect. This supports Montgomery et al.'s (2007) assertion that juxtaposition can be thought of as a rhetorical strategy which in many cases succeeds in producing humorous effect. Nevertheless, juxtaposition of metaphors sometimes goes beyond the mere activation of differences; it may sometimes identify relationships between different social phenomena whereby one can lead to the other as in Cartoon 40: unemployment leads to corruption.

The role of language in the examples varies in terms of the anchoring and relay function proposed by Barthes (1977). In some cases, the visual and verbal elements are in complementary relationship through which the linguistic elements add information unavailable in the visual message. They achieve the relay function since the visual and linguistic elements form two essential parts of the whole. On the other hand, there are some cases in which the verbal elements serve to anchor the meaning and guide the identification and interpretation of the visual images such as specifying settings and time, or providing information to support the pictorial message.

However, the above trends are not always the case: the juxtaposed visual elements sometimes constrain or anchor the way verbal elements are interpreted. In Cartoon 39, the juxtaposed visual metaphors affect the interpretation of the phrase above each image, resulting in different evaluations of the same phrase. In this case, it is the visual images that anchor the associated text and not vice versa. While Barthes (1977) did not consider the role of images in anchoring verbal elements, it has been emphasised by other media researchers. Gripsrud (2006: 32) pointed out that "the image can also anchor the verbal text,

that is to say influence or shape it to some degree". In the same way, Chandler (2007: 204) stated that while Barthes did not coin a term for the cases where images constrain texts, images in contemporary society have acquired far more importance and there are many cases where images provide *anchorage* for texts. Having discussed the role of juxtaposition as a main coordinating strategy and the role of linguistic elements in cases of juxtaposition, we now turn to the role of exaggeration in cartoons.

7.3 The role of exaggeration

Exaggeration is one of the very frequent and typical techniques in humorous texts (Forabosco 2011: 356). It refers to statements that make claims beyond the limits of truth or represent something as greater than it actually is. It is typically verbal, but it can be purely visual (Kreuz and Riordan 2014) as in the case of cartoons. Popa (2013) indicated that the distortion and exaggeration of reality in cartoons unveil "the defects in people, situations or objects being depicted" (p. 379). The distorted reality becomes "an object of distaste and laughter in the minds of the viewer" (p. 379).

Some of the exaggerations employed in cartoons are used as a subordinate technique to other main devices such as metaphors. In such cases, the exaggerated size of the 'concrete' source domains of metaphors contributes to the metaphorical mapping of the cartoons (see section 7.2.1). On the other hand, verbal exaggeration, such as exaggerated words or phrases, has also been an integral part of popular expressions to which some cartoons allude, or a part of a parodic news headline (see chapter four). The role of visual exaggeration in metaphor and verbal exaggeration in parody supports Kreuz and Riordan's (2014) assertion that exaggeration can be found in metaphor and parody to achieve certain communicative effects, such as a humorous and satirical effect in some cartoons. However, the role of exaggeration in those cases, either verbal or visual, is subordinate to other main devices as indicated in some cartoons (see chapter four and five).

Accordingly, this section is limited to discussing the cases in which exaggeration is employed, not as a supporting technique, but as a major device through which most of the humour is produced. The discussion is divided into two sections: visual exaggeration and verbal anchoring, and verbal exaggeration with visual support. In the former, the linguistic elements guide the interpretation of the meaning which is activated by the visual exaggeration. In the latter, the meaning is embedded in the verbal exaggeration while the image

serves to build the interactional scene, without which the humorous meaning is likely to be affected.

7.3.1 Visual exaggeration and verbal anchoring

Visual exaggeration in cartoons varies from exaggeration of human features to exaggeration of objects and situations. The term "caricature" describes the exaggeration related to the human body such as a big nose, a big stomach, and so on (Propp 2009). Caricatures, or the distorted features of human characters, are frequent in the cartoons from the Saudi media due to the comic nature of cartoons in general. Nonetheless, the focus here will be on the examples of exaggeration where most of the meaning is constructed and supported with verbal elements for further humorous effect.

7.3.2 Exaggeration of human body parts to highlight a particular manner or issue

What is more interesting about exaggerating human anatomy is not the exaggeration *per se,* but the metonymical meanings activated by those exaggerations (for definition of metonymy, see chapter six). Consider the following examples.

The big long ear: Overhearing
Cartoon 46 depicts an old baldheaded man in his traditional home garment, holding a stick, and wearing glasses. These features are indicators of aging. He is verbally described as "retired". However, the most salient feature in the portrayal of the man is the big long ear that extends behind the wall of a room where two women are chatting together. The verbal repetition of the word "talk" indicates the continuity of the speech between the two women. The setting is marked with traditional Saudi hospitality, represented by the yellow coffee pot and the well-dressed women. Readers infer that one of them is the host, the old man's wife, while the other is the guest.

The big long ear beyond the wall metonymically stands for the manner of "overhearing", based on the typical metonymy instrument for action: ear for hearing. The curious old man eavesdrops on the ongoing speech between his wife and the guest. The word "retired" directs the interpretation to a particular stereotypical image about retired men in general. Readers resort to relevant knowledge about the nature of retired elderly employees. The visual exaggeration

**Cartoon 46:** By Hana Hajjar, from Twitter, 3 September 2013.

is supported with the linguistic description to activate a common male stereotype that retired elderly employees, having nothing to do after retirement, are more likely to engage in behaviours such as eavesdropping, nagging, intolerance, complaining, or demanding.

Multiple hands: Multi-tasks

Cartoon 47 also relies on visual exaggeration to touch on the critical situation of some expatriates working for Saudi families.

Although Cartoon 47 combines devices such as image alignment (placing the images in a linear order), blackness *versus* colourfulness, and linguistic elements (question and answer), the meaning of the cartoon primarily depends on the exaggerated depiction of the man in the second frame. The cartoon is a complex range of multiple visual elements, but depicting the man as having multiple hands (six hands *versus* two hands in reality) is the core of where the satirical meaning resides.

The first image shows a figure in black to make it anonymous. It is associated with a question at the top of the frame "Q: WHO IS HE?", written in block letters on a red background to make it salient. The figure appears messy with many unidentified items around it. In the next frame, the figure is identified visually through colours and verbally through a distorted answer "HE IS..[arrow descending] THE HOUSE DRIVER!". The man's clothes are popular
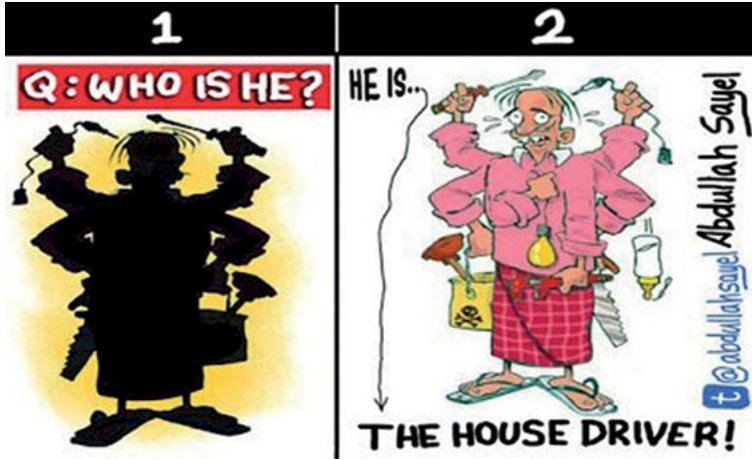
Cartoon 47: By Sayel, from *Arab News*, 30 April 2013.

among foreign expatriates from Asian countries. However, the exaggerated depiction of multiple hands activates the instrument for action metonymy: the multiple hands stand for the multi-tasks which the assumed driver is in charge of.

The many tools in the multiple hands are made obvious so that readers are able to infer that the man is not only a driver, but also a handyman whose jobs may even extend to include a "babysitter". The cartoonist relied on visual exaggeration which is further supported with the verbal element to satirise the negative practice of some Saudi families when hiring a foreign driver who turns out to be a multifunction driver. The main role of the visual exaggeration and the supporting verbal elements in the creation of humorous meaning remains the same even in the absence of the first frame.

The above examples show how visual exaggeration of some parts of the human body can perform a major thematic goal. These exaggerations activate certain metonymies relevant to the exaggerated body parts, which are further supported with linguistic elements that anchor the reading of the image. The result is humorous commentaries on particular negative practices prevailing in the society. The creativity of the cartoonists in such examples arises from their ability to satirise a whole social practice in a funny way with the minimum number of images and words. In sum, they entertain their audiences without missing the goal of highlighting socially negative behaviours. Having discussed the role of exaggeration related to human anatomy, we now turn to discuss the exaggeration of whole situations or scenes which is a recurrent pattern in the cartoons addressing technology.

7.3.3 Exaggeration of situations to criticise the technological overrun

Different cartoonists rely on visual exaggeration to satirically comment on the invasion of technology today, and in particular the overuse of social media. In such cases, a whole situation or scene is exaggerated, sometimes activating opposed scripts such as normal *versus* abnormal, expected *versus* unexpected, possible *versus* impossible as indicated in some examples. When the whole of the ridiculed object is exaggerated, it is termed hyperbole (Propp, 2009). Nonetheless, the linguistic elements guide the identification and interpretation of the hyperbolic or exaggerated meaning in the pictorial message, achieving the anchoring function in terms of Barthes' (1977) description.


Cartoon 48: By Aiman, republished by *Saudi Gazette*, 15 November 2013.

Cartoon 48 shows a scene in a living room where a girl is sitting on a sofa and is busy with a device while flames of fire are engulfing the room. The saturated colours of the flames across the room make the fire scene the most salient element. On the other hand, the image of the girl is made salient through foregrounding. The girl appears very excited and too busy with her device to feel the threatening danger around her.

On the right corner of the cartoon, the name of the application WhatsApp and its icon are placed to help readers identify that the device is one of today's smartphones, and that the girl is busy with WhatsApp messages. Although the fire scene is hyperbolic, it aims at satirising the negative aspect of today's obsession with social networks to the extent that individuals lose their awareness of the immediate situation around their physical being. While exaggeration is the main technique through which most of the meaning is conveyed, the verbal clue directs readers' interpretation to that particular meaning.

The exaggeration does not necessarily include imaginary scenes, but it may include a hyperbolic situation for a real-life event where certain behaviour is implausible in that specific event or moment. Exaggeration as such is also recurrent in the cartoons about technology, with verbal elements identifying settings or adding extra humorous effect as in the following examples.

Cartoon 49 displays a scene in which a woman on a hospital bed is on her way to the delivery room. This is verbally identified through "Delivery Room" above the door which looks similar to that of a hospital operating theatre. Next to the bed, a nurse with glasses is holding a syringe while looking at the expecting mother in a shocking way. The mother is depicted in a caricatural manner, starting from the hairstyle, the funny nose and mouth, to the toes. Based on their
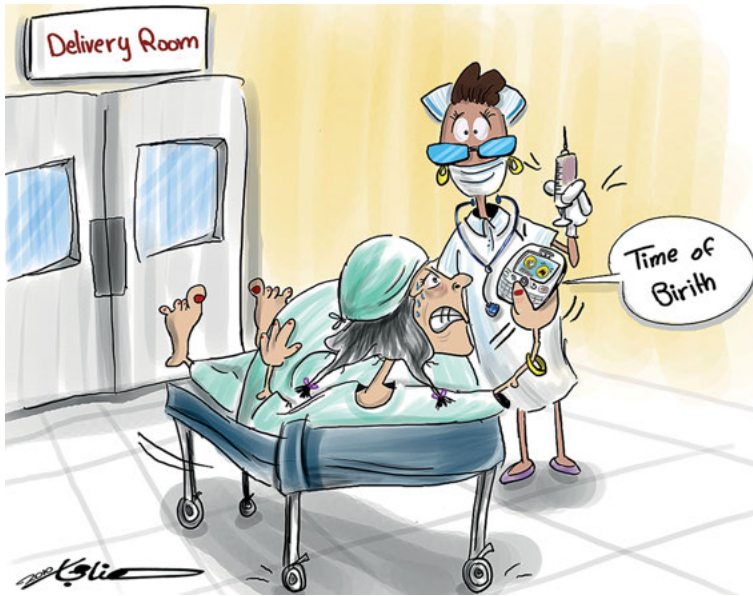
Cartoon 49: By Hana Hajjar, from Twitter, 20 January 2014.

pragmatic knowledge, readers know the labour pain a woman goes through at the time of delivery.

In spite of the labour pain she feels at the time, the expecting mother is circulating "Time of Birth" through social media. Through this verbal clue, readers are allowed to see the exact information the woman is posting. Sharing status via social media at the time of delivery is a hyperbolic situation, activating the opposed scripts of possible *versus* impossible and hence stimulating laughter at people's follies and at the way they are overrun by technology. The exaggerated situation, along with the supporting textual elements, refer to a socially threatening phenomenon among today's generation: every single detail in life is being circulated through social media, even during the most painful conditions.

To satirise today's obsession with social media and people's increasing interest in publicising their status, Cartoon 50 displays another exaggerated situation where a man who is bleeding is taking a "selfie" after having a car accident.

Cartoon 50: By Manal, republished by *Saudi Gazette,* 19 September 2014.

Cartoon 50 foregrounds three salient elements: the image of a red car being crashed against a street lamp, the image of a bleeding man standing next to the crash, and the word "Selfie" written in bold black at the top of the two salient

images. The cartoon is alluding to the prevailing phenomenon of taking a "selfie" that features in youths' behaviour today.

Selfie, also selfy, is an informal word meaning "a photograph that one has taken of oneself, typically one taken with a smartphone or webcam and shared via social media". It appeared in the early 21st century (see the Online Oxford Dictionaries, language matters). It is well known that selfies are taken in happy moments to share with friends; however, the overuse of this phenomenon is depicted in the cartoon through a satirical exaggeration.

Taking a selfie after a car accident and while bleeding violates the normally expected behaviour after a car accident in which one is in shock or injured. The cartoonist resorts to the visual exaggeration and makes direct reference to the word selfie to satirise the phenomenon of taking selfies and sharing every single moment in life, good or bad, happy or sad. Although the absence of the word selfie may not affect the meaning, its use enhances the satirical effect conveyed by the hyperbolic situation, and relates readers or viewers directly to the current phenomenon of selfies.

While the humour produced in the above examples resulted from the use of exaggeration that is based on defying normal expectations in particular situations, it refers to the modern-day stereotype where members of the society are obsessed with social media. The examples satirically criticise the intolerant overuse of technology today through the opposed scripts activated when the cartoons are interpreted in the light of real life. Exaggeration further provides a resource to violate the culturally normal stereotypes, particularly those related to gender, resulting in humorous effect as in the following examples.

7.3.4 Visual exaggeration and cultural incongruity

According to Sedlar (2008), the use of visual exaggeration is sometimes used to violate a "physical cliché". The result is a depiction of a character that defies "cultural expectations of how a particular type of person should look" (p. 107). Consider Cartoon 51.

Cartoon 51 shows the image of a helpless husband whose wife and three children are standing firmly against him with their hands open to indicate that they are asking for something. The open hand is a gesture often associated with a request as shown in the cartoon. The title "SUMMER NEEDS!" enables readers to know that the family members are requesting some items for summer holidays. The request of each one is projected through an image. Readers have to replace images with words: the mother requests to travel, the daughter requests a doll, the elder son requests a new cellphone, and the youngest son requests a laptop.

Cartoon 51: By Sayel, from *Arab News*, 17 June 2013.

The linguistic element "SUMMER NEEDS!" is complemented by the images in the cartoon. The visual representation constrains the interpretation of the headline.

The role of exaggeration lies in the way the husband is depicted as opposed to his wife. The man's facial features are depicted in a way that reflects his weakness and fears. His appearance stimulates readers' sympathy starting from his torn *thobe*, to his helpless and sad gaze directed towards readers. Although the cartoon comments on domestic financial issues, it depicts the man as smaller and weaker than his wife. This, in fact, contradicts the physical stereotype that men are bigger and stronger than women. On the other hand, the woman is portrayed as unattractive, big, manly, with threatening facial features and an angry expression. Her exaggerated portrayal defies the female stereotype that women are smaller, soft, delicate, and feminine. The visual exaggeration results in violating the social norm which is responsible for the funny effect.

In the same way, exaggeration can also be employed to depict behaviour which violates "cultural expectations of how a particular class or type of person should act in a given situation" (Sedlar 2008: 108) as in Cartoon 52.

In Cartoon 52, a woman is dragging her husband on the ground. The woman wears the traditional black garment (the *Abbaya* and the veil), and the husband wears his traditional white *thobe* and headwear. These are indicators of their national identity. The linguistic elements play a role in identifying the setting. The elliptical phrase "Places hated by men" is completed by the poster "MALL" in the left corner which specifies the setting to which the couple is heading. Through verbal elements, readers can infer that "malls" are the "places hated by men".

Cartoon 52: By Manal, republished by *Saudi Gazette* in 14 February 2014.

The essence of the humour lies in the woman's behaviour. The act of dragging the husband is an exaggerated violent behaviour violating the cultural norm of how a man acts or behaves in the society. The behaviour contradicts the stereotype that a man is expected to be strong, decisive, respected by his wife, and not physically abused by a woman. Depicting the woman as aggressive contradicts the cultural stereotype that women are expected to be kind, mild-mannered, and harmless. However, the exaggeration aims at a major gender stereotype: women's enjoyment of malls and shopping as opposed to men's dislike of malls and shopping.

In addition to visual exaggeration, there are some cartoons which are based on verbal exaggeration with the pictorial elements playing a supplementary role. Some examples of verbal exaggeration are discussed in the following section.

7.3.5 Verbal exaggeration and complementary visual support

Verbal exaggeration is not as frequent as visual exaggeration. This can be attributed to the nature of cartoons, of which the visual mode is a basic element

supported with the (optional) verbal mode. Nonetheless, there are some cartoons which rely on verbal exaggeration as a core device supported with images. The images in those cases serve to enhance the laughable and humorous effect. Examples of verbal exaggerations are more frequent in dialogue-based cartoons than in text-based cartoons. In such cases, a cartoonist refers to a real negative phenomenon through "an extreme representation of truth" (Kreuz and Riordan 2014: 223).

Cartoon 53: By Hana Hajjar, 2011 from Twitter, 3 January 2014.

In Cartoon 53, a pregnant wife and her husband are having a conversation. The man is sitting on a desk under a bulb, and is busy drawing lines on a large piece of paper with a pencil and a ruler. In the background, two papers are fixed on the wall showing road-like lines, circles and red and black arrows as if to make directions. The woman's facial features are depicted in a funny caricatural manner, such as the big nose, eyes, mouth, and hairstyle. The man's head is portrayed as being a bit long, violating the natural shape of human heads. At first glance, a reader may think the man is an architect, but this becomes clear soon after reading the speech exchange between the couple. The meaningful exaggeration resides in the speech exchange rather than their distorted features:

> Wife: What are you doing?
>
> Husband: Studying street diversions in case of "Delivery"

To understand the satirical comment embedded in the husband's answer, readers have to resort to their background knowledge. Based on shared knowledge, readers can infer that the cartoonist is referring to the delayed road works and the unfinished street projects which cause serious traffic congestion in major cities in the Kingdom. The unfinished road projects and street diversions are a natural scene of everyday life. This problem becomes more serious in cases of emergency such as accidents, sudden illness or injury, delivery and so on, in which the affected person needs a shortcut to reach a hospital quickly.

While this may to some extent seem true, the cartoon satirically communicates this meaning through the husband's funny and hyperbolic response. In our daily life, residents of the same city do not actually make plans or maps on papers to reach a central destination such as a hospital. Interestingly, his hyperbolic response is supported visually by his engagement in drawing arrows and planning how to reach the hospital in case of his wife's delivery. Although most of the meaning is communicated by verbal exaggeration, the visual depiction adds further humorous effect to the verbal exaggeration which is likely to lose some of its funny effect without the pictorial image.

To sum up, the above examples of visual and verbal exaggeration highlight the role of exaggeration as a core device. Exaggeration in those examples has been employed to achieve specific goals, such as "to be humorous", and to clarify the producer's communicative goal (Kreuz and Riordan 2014: 223). The analysis reveals the importance of readers' cultural background and relevant pragmatic knowledge to grasp the meaning of a particular exaggeration. According to Claridge (2011) and Kreuz and Riordan (2014), to identify a particular exaggeration or hyperbole, a listener or a viewer must have the necessary relevant or contextual knowledge about a certain situation.

The linguistic elements in the examples of visual exaggeration achieve the anchoring function whereby the text, as Barthes (1977) noted, "*directs* the reader through the signifieds of the image, causing him to avoid some and receive others" (p. 40, original emphasis). In those cases, language has a function of "elucidation" (p. 40), and the linguistic elements guide the identification and interpretation of the visual message (see also Nöth 1990; Maynard 2007). In the cartoons relying on verbal exaggeration, the text and the image are in complementary relationship, achieving the relay function. The text communicates the meanings that are not conveyed by the visual depiction; yet, the visual depiction serves to build the interactional scene which is also significant for the overall interpretation. Although language and image contribute to the humour in those cartoons, language dominates as it encompasses most of the meaning (Maynard 2007).

7.4 Concluding summary

This chapter has presented a multimodal analysis of some cartoons relying on juxtaposition and exaggeration as main devices through which most of the meaning and humour is created. Since it has been mostly used to evoke opposed scripts between the juxtaposed images, juxtaposition serves to coordinate the way visual and verbal elements are interpreted. Juxtaposition helps engage readers in a process of making comparisons between metaphors, cultural contexts, behaviours, and situations which, in turn, comment humorously as well as satirically on negative social issues and practices. The visual-verbal interaction has been described in terms of Barthes' (1977) characterisation of the relationship between text and image: the anchoring and the relay function. Antonyms occur frequently with the juxtaposed images, and are sometimes responsible for identifying the opposed scripts activated by the images.

Exaggeration of some parts of the human body activates particular metonymies in order to highlight a certain manner or issue associated with the exaggerated body part. Exaggeration can be a good resource of humour when it is used to violate or defy the culturally expected norms. In addition, hyperbolic situations are recurrent most often to comment satirically on today's overuse of technology. In such cases, different opposed scripts such as expected *versus* unexpected, and possible *versus* impossible are activated.

The linguistic elements constrain readers' interpretation of the pictorial message in visual exaggeration. In cases of verbal exaggerations, the visual representations and the texts are in complementary relationship. While texts reveal most of the meaning, images remain basic to setting the humorous scene. An appropriate interpretation of a cartoon is probably unreachable without the proper relevant knowledge whereby the relevant knowledge about a particular situation contributes to interpreting a statement as exaggeration.

8 Conclusion. Speaking images in a Saudi context: What cartoons reveal

8.1 Introduction

Every day we encounter cartoons of various types, either through online/print newspapers, or through different types of social media, where we can usually grasp their meaning in a short glimpse. With regard to social and political cartoons as analysed here, we understand the cartoonists' critical voice while also enjoying the humour embedded in the cartoon frame. Cartoonists have the ability to reproduce with a single image the serious social or political content of a written or spoken text, such as a newspaper article, but disguised in a form of humour. But the process of creating the end-product requires considerable time and effort on the part of the cartoonist, leading to a final cartoon that will appeal to the readers' taste and culture. As readers of those images, we do not often ask ourselves why a particular cartoon appeals to us. Or why we sometimes hear an inner voice saying "How true!!" while smiling. In many cases we feel that a particular image is very close to us, or even speaking about part of our life.

Such questions have spurred researchers from different disciplinary perspectives to consider the particular ways in which meaning is produced in cartoons. In adopting a multimodal social semiotic approach, the analysis we have presented in the foregoing chapters has considered the relation between semiotic resources and meaning-making, through which humour is achieved in the cartoons examined. In line with the traditional view that "a cartoon, while consisting primarily of a visual image, is also a text, which is meant to be read and not just looked at" (Moyle 1997: 423), our analysis has explored the interaction between visual and verbal modes, highlighting the multimodal manifestations of the rhetorical devices frequently employed to create meaning and humour in cartoons, in this case from Saudi Arabia. Following such an approach, a cartoonist is viewed as both a designer and orator, who relies on rhetorical as well as stylistic devices and visual choices to criticise, ridicule, or satirise social, educational, economic and political issues and practices prevailing in a society. These devices are manifested across the visual and verbal modes in cartoons in a way that creates an interface between the serious and the humorous.

Following on our analysis of the individual devices at play in the cartoons analysed, this chapter collates the main findings in relation to the two overriding questions presented in the introduction to the study undertaken. The first question concerned how the rhetorical devices are manifested across the visual

and verbal modes in the cartoons. The multimodal analysis primarily examined the six rhetorical devices concerning allusion, parody, metaphor, metonymy, juxtaposition, and exaggeration.

A second overriding question concerned how the cartoons are revealing of social and cultural insights into Saudi society, reflecting the need for cartoon studies to shine their lamp beyond Western societies to a Middle Eastern context, and Saudi Arabia in particular. Indeed, the art of cartooning is still growing and gaining popularity in Saudi Arabia, and hence is deserving of attention. The present contribution has aimed to push forward that research agenda in the Saudi context in general.

We will consider the two questions referred to in the following.

8.2 How are the rhetorical devices manifested across the visual and verbal modes in the cartoon sample?

The analysis we have presented in the preceding chapters offers a number of key findings that contribute to multimodal social semiotic theory, humour research, and the newly established link between multimodality and cognitive linguistics. Taken together, they highlight the interaction between the visual and the verbal, and the integral role of a range of devices that cartoonists actively draw on in their work.

Mechanisms such as allusions, parody, metaphor, metonymy, juxtaposition, and exaggeration, although traditionally described in theories of language, take a form that is woven between the visual and verbal modes in cartoons. Accordingly, the visual and verbal modes are excellent resources for cartoonists to exploit such devices not only monomodally, but also multimodally.

Beginning with multimodal allusion, as previously outlined, we have described cases where both the visual and the verbal modes refer to the same source text which originally consists of one semiotic resource and another co-item that is visually represented or cued such as activities, games, or gestures. On the other hand, multimodal parody refers to the exploitation of conventional stylistic elements of multimodal texts we encounter in our daily life such as recipes, operational instructions and procedures, or street signs, to represent a totally different social issue. The humour results from incongruity: a social, educational, or technological issue is represented in an incongruous context. These issues are hence recontextualised and conventional stylistic elements that are not inherently humorous are turned into elements of humour. Such recontextualistion is not possible without the visual-verbal interaction (see chapter four).

Furthermore, the visual and verbal modes enable cartoonists to play on the literal and figurative senses of idiomatic expressions related to negative social practices. The reader can enjoy both recognising the expression which is often verbally cued, and realising the cartoonist's critical and satirical voice which often exists between the visualisation of the literal meaning and the actual meaning intended by the cartoonist. Allusion in such cases is a creative resource for word-play or the non-verbal play on signs. The visual play on the senses of some idiomatic expressions and popular sayings that are not inherently humorous is transformed into humorous and satirical comments on social practices. This implies that unmarked neutral expressions become marked humorous ones when they are used in cartoons. While such a play on the senses is not new, it serves as a window into the role of common linguistic expressions, some of which have equivalents in English while others are culture-specific. Taken together, multimodal allusion and parody are productively used as resources to comment satirically and humorously on various social issues. While multimodal metaphor and metonymy were previously introduced by Forceville (2008, 2009b) and Downing and Mujic (2013), multimodal allusion and parody can be added to that list, as described in chapter four.

Beyond multimodal allusion and parody, the analysis of multimodal metaphor has also been observed to be a key resource underlying the humour and satire created. Such a resource draws on and contributes to the recently established relationship between multimodality and cognitive linguistics (see Pinar Sanz 2015). The visual and verbal elements provide cartoonists with excellent opportunities to construct creative multimodal metaphors intended to satirise particular social, educational, technological, economic and financial issues. Sport scenes, games, items from childhood, typography, and allusions to animations have been seen to be key sources from where satirical creative multimodal metaphors are constructed. We have discussed such metaphors in the light of El Refaie's (2015) approach to cross-modal resonance, providing results about multimodal metaphor creativity that reflect the approach taken by El Refaie, but different in so far as we have addressed the humorous effect rather than sympathetic feelings that they give rise to.

Utilising different semiotic modes enables cartoonists to reverse the underlying positive implications of popular conventional metaphors to convey more negative meaning as a means of commenting on social phenomena in particularly humorous ways. Such a change in the underlying conceptual mapping not only contributes to the argument that multimodality provides a unique opportunity for metaphor creativity at the representational level, but also that multimodality can inspire cartoonists with novel ways to reverse what is held as reflecting truth or wisdom, giving rise to further humorous and satirical effect.

As we have seen, for example, the visualisation in the examples discussed in chapter five effectively stimulate the reverse reading of "a journey of a thousand miles begins with a single step" (cartoon 28) and "education is a key to success" (cartoon 29).

A further finding contributing to the link between multimodality and cognitive linguistics relates to the bi-directional interaction between multimodal metaphor and metonymy. Chapter six provided a multimodal and cognitive analysis of the interaction between the two mechanisms, focusing on both the representational and conceptual level of humour production. The analysis of such interaction further highlights the complexity of humour at those levels.

As regards the interaction between multimodal metaphor and metonymy, the analysis presented shows how multiple metonymies, visual and multimodal, underlie the correspondence between the metaphoric target and source, while being characterized by different patterns, such as metonymy involving domain expansion or reduction. Such metonymies, while components of the main metaphorical mapping, capture the nuances of meaning that are necessary for the overall comic effect. The analysis drew on the five patterns of interaction proposed by Ruiz de Mendoza and Díez Velasco (2002) in their identification of the interaction at work in verbal texts.

Multimodal metonymies do not solely emerge in the correspondence between the metaphoric target and source domains, but they also stand independently when they co-exist with metaphors of direction and metaphors based on instruments. This case is concerned with the way multimodal metonymy interacts with and activates metaphor, causing a new interactional pattern to emerge. Each mechanism communicates a different meaning, sharing, however, the same target that is mainly activated by the multimodal metonymy. In both cases, processing the connection between metaphor and metonymy and *vice versa* is established at the representational level, allowing for the underlying conceptual connections to be made. The result is the visible as well as conceptual perception of the satirical and humorous effect. This creativity at the representational level stemming from the visual-verbal interaction, as argued by El Refaie (2015), can therefore be extended to analysis beyond multimodal metaphors.

Juxtaposition serves as a coordinator affecting the interpretation of visual and verbal elements. Visual as well as verbal elements are juxtaposed to create multimodal juxtaposition of two metaphors, cultural contexts, behaviours, and situations. Juxtaposition is used to engage readers in making comparisons and to activate opposed scripts essential to the satirical effect. The choice of juxtaposition is very much determined by the message a cartoonist intends to communicate. Opposed scripts activated by juxtaposition to create stereotypes is a

case in point. Humour and satire lie not in the juxtaposed elements or frames *per se,* but in the meaning conveyed by the activated differences. Juxtaposition in such cases is used for satirising, rather than for the pleasure of recognising the differences. The linguistic elements guide the reader to the correct interpretation. Nevertheless, readers' and viewers' relevant knowledge about particular situations is fundamental.

The sixth common rhetorical strategy that displays interesting aspects of visual and verbal modes is exaggeration. Visual exaggeration of real-world features and norms in cartoons reveals defects in people, objects, and situations due to the gap created between the image and reality. This is, according to Popa (2013), a way to make the exaggerated object a target for satire. Exaggerating some body parts activates metonymies related to certain manners to perpetuate stereotypes or criticise negative practices.

In addition, hyperbolic situations are a stylistic manifestation of exaggeration activating a type of opposed scripts such as the possible/impossible, or the real/unreal (Ermida 2008). Hyperbolic situations have been effective in depicting today's engagement in technology and social media. Whether a cartoon includes a hyperbolic situation or not depends on readers' relevant knowledge to understand and interpret the exaggerated situation in the light of real life. Readers can then have access to opposed scripts such as expected *versus* unexpected, normal *versus* abnormal, and possible *versus* impossible. More interesting is the visual exaggeration which results in cultural incongruity: violating what is socially and culturally believed to be the norm. Linguistic elements in the cases of visual exaggeration and hyperbole serve as descriptors and identifiers of some elements in the image. In cases of verbal exaggeration which is less common in cartoons, visual scenes help identify settings and characters' feelings. Images do not just support, but are a necessary element for both meaning and comic effect. Text and image are therefore in a complementary relationship.

In sum, the various devices offer cartoonists a rich array of resources which they draw on. In the following, we will consider the methodological contribution of the study as a whole.

8.2.1 A methodological contribution

The analysis presented hopes to contribute, on the one hand, to the growing interest in multimodality, which counts language as one semiotic resource that interacts with other resources such as images to make meaning, and, on the other hand, to the shift of emphasis from the linguistic understanding of language

to a multimodal theory of communication. As it focuses on the ways different rhetorical devices are manifested semiotically to produce humour in cartoons, the analysis also adds to the literature on humour research in the media. Visual and verbal modes offer cartoonists excellent opportunities to exploit devices, which are traditionally employed in language, in creative ways. The result is complex multimodal texts that artistically camouflage the serious within the humorous.

Jewitt (2009) notes that while it is unfair to claim that multimodal research is the forerunner to look beyond language, such a multimodal approach contributes significantly to the study of linguistics. Multimodality has its roots in linguistic theories: Halliday's theories of social semiotics and systemic functional grammar form the basis of the social semiotic and multimodal discourse approach developed by Kress and Van Leeuwen (2001). They argue that visual semiotic choices, combined with verbal language, communicate "ideologies and discourses" (p. 28). Stöckl (2004) has called for greater attention to the interaction and organization of various modes. Likewise, Fei (2004) stressed the need to understand "the dynamics of meaning-making, or semiosis, in multimodal discourse" (p. 52). Jones (2012) notes the importance of multimodal representation in everyday life.

In adopting a multimodal approach, our analysis reflects the shift of emphasis that acknowledges the role of other semiotic modes, in addition to the verbal mode, in meaning-making, and in so doing, provides insights into the complexity of different semiotic modes in discourse. The visual and verbal modes provide cartoonists with boundless opportunities to employ different rhetorical devices, visual, verbal and multimodal. A multimodal approach allows us to better understand the mechanisms underlying the production and understanding of multimodal metaphors and metonymies, as well as devices such as allusion, parody and juxtaposition used in a multimodal manner. Multimodality has inspired a reexamination of traditional genres such as cartoons and advertisements from a multimodal perspective, and as such, has led to an understanding of the creative ways in which meaning is constructed and humorous representations are produced through semiotic interaction.

8.2.2 Humour between image and text

Humour is a hybrid entity, the understanding of which involves the processing of not only the structure and surface meaning, but also the unsaid. Much of humour lies in 'the unsaid' and breaking down the constituent elements to reach 'the unsaid' in a joke of any kind is necessary to unravel its humour. To follow

the humour, readers are expected to cognitively and pragmatically process and interpret any comic form as quickly as is required. Uncovering these compatible or opposed scripts, the obvious and the implied, the literal and the figurative, the real and the unreal, the expected and the unexpected, or the serious and the absurd, involves cognitive processes that are essential for the enjoyment we gain in reading humorous texts. Much of that interpretation depends on the way readers relate meaning threads and scripts and unravel the semantic web. The notion of scripts is a basic element in theories of verbal humour as underpinned in the SSTH and GTVH (see chapter two). In monomodal humour where meaning is delivered through language, that is verbally, understanding the two scripts does not impose a challenge in interpreting a joke, except in cases of a culturally-loaded joke or a text requiring particular background knowledge. For instance, the interpretation of the following text is unaffected if read without its visual representation since the two competing meanings are carried out verbally.

> Mmm, I think they call language 'mother tongue' because the father seldom gets to speak.
> (a caption of a cartoon by Al-Shafea, in Saudi Gazette, 2014)

In multimodal cartoons, and any other multimodal texts such as advertisements or comic strips, where humour is created and delivered through two semiotic modes, the opposed or compatible scripts require finding certain ties between the image and text to reach 'the unsaid' and to experience the satisfaction of understanding the humour underlying a particular cartoon. The two scripts are often built across the two different modes, the visual and the verbal. A multimodal framework, as discussed in chapter two, does not necessarily lead to a contradiction between the two scripts involved in humour theories. Rather, a multimodal framework suggests that meaning (including humour, persuasion, narration, etc.) is created across different semiotic modes, that is two or more different modes interact with each other to create meaning. For example, an image may reinforce a text, complement a meaning expressed in a text, or contradict the meaning of a text. Likewise, a text may add additional information in an image, contradict an image or be totally compatible with the meaning in the image.

Considering image-text relations and addressing how two opposed/compatible scripts are distributed across the two modes in cartoons can take different means.

Visualising the unverbalised
Verbal elements in some cases create what is socially and literally expected, and the visual presentation takes the role of depicting reality. But this reality is

presented visually in a humorous way through some rhetorical devices. This is particularly common in cartoons employing metaphor, metonymy, and juxtaposition. These devices available through images serve as ties between the visual and the verbal modes. A phrase such as 'price monitoring' refers to controlling prices and its reference is context-dependent, but when it appears with an image presenting a person whose eyes are stitched and whose mouth is zipped up, it metaphorically helps to create the satirical script referring to the 'futility of price monitoring' (cartoon 31). The image of the person without the phrase is nothing more than a person. While the image visualises what is not verbally expressed and helps create the unexpected, the phrase gives that image a meaning. Image and text interact interdependently, equally contributing to creating meaning.

Visualising the verbalised

In alluding to some popular idiomatic expressions where meaning is not normally taken literally, cartoonists resort to visualising or literally presenting the expression relying on their imaginary world. This literal depiction adds humour while referring to the social problem expressed in the idiomatic meaning of the expression. The expression "left hanging" in cartoon 3 is context-dependent, and its meaning differs accordingly. Presenting a woman as hanging in the presence of a man establishes the literal as well as the idiomatic meaning in a very satirical way and refers to the particular social problem where 'women are left hanging': neither married, nor legally divorced. Members of a society easily have access to the idiomatic meaning through the visual depiction but which is not present when the expression is only expressed verbally in real life.

The same can also be said in the case of 'start my life from zero' in cartoon 6 which is rarely taken literally in daily conversation. When this non-humorous expression is visually contextualised in a frame showing a schoolboy holding an exam report with a big 'zero' as a grade, the literal meaning is activated, along with the idiomatic meaning, contributing to the humour. In such cases, the image, the visual mode, plays a role in guiding readers to the target interpretation intended by the cartoonist. The visual and verbal modes provide an opportunity for the two meanings or scripts to be in play: one is for reality and the other for the absurd. There are other cases in which one mode opposes the other as explained in the following.

Opposing the verbalised

Visual elements are sometimes constructed to oppose what is verbally expressed. An affirmative statement or a parodic news headline without an image are

perhaps more likely to be taken seriously and literally as an informative statement. Visual elements create the opposed script and more critically establish the point of creating the satiric context, thus guiding readers to adopt another humorous and satiric interpretation of the image. This is particularly interesting in cases where norms and expectations are challenged. The proverb in cartoon 28 'a journey of a thousand miles begins with a single step' without the visual and verbal representation would never be as satiric. Likewise, the headline '150000 Saudis Study Abroad' in cartoon 29 would be taken as informative as any daily news headline but the visually metaphoric representation in the cartoon frame creates the satirical script.

A complementary relationship between the two modes also often exists in cartoons, and it is sometimes difficult to evaluate the role of one mode against the other. Yet, in some cases the intertwined interaction is more conspicuous and it is possible to notice how important one mode is in relation to the other.

Complementary roles of image and text

In some cartoons, the verbal mode contributes equally essentially to the humorous meaning as the visual one. In cartoons employing metaphor and metonymy, verbal clues play a vital role in identifying target domains to construct metaphors, mainly multimodal metaphors. The role of the verbal mode in adding important information for the overall interpretation of the image is also obvious in cartoons relying on juxtaposition and exaggeration. Two colourless/colourful juxtaposed images without verbal clues in cartoon 10 – Past: come back tomorrow, Present: the system is down – may mean anything to anyone or simply mean nothing. The two modes add to the overall satiric meaning. Colour and setting in the image are as important as the verbal clues as well.

Cartoons and forms of comics that incorporate different modes, the visual either as moving or stable images, and the verbal either written or spoken, display important means of interaction between modes to convey meaning and humour. The role of and challenge for each mode to contribute is clearly different, but as we have seen in the chapters previously presented, the cartoonists adeptly draw on the interaction to allow for the humour to be delivered across the two semiotic modes.

Beyond the methodological insights, the analysis of cartoons from the Saudi media cannot be isolated from their socio-cultural context. In the following, we will consider the second question relating to the social and cultural insights they offer into Saudi society.

8.3 How the cartoons reveal social and cultural insights into Saudi society

A further intended contribution relates to the social and cultural insights surrounding Saudi society embedded in the cartoons. The cartoons discussed are not political cartoons which focus on global political issues known by most people world wide, but rather local cartoons reflecting a way of thinking and social practices and issues in a particular society. These cultural implications are made visible and readable in many cartoons through recontextualising popular and idiomatic expressions, conventional metaphors, and presenting social issues on which some of the cartoons are based.

Kress (2010) pointed out that the differences between societies and cultures necessitates differences in representation and meaning. "The more pronounced the cultural differences, the greater are the differences in the resources of representation and in the practices of their use" (p. 8). This of course assumes even greater importance when social and cultural practices are the prime sources of humour and satire, as is the case here. Ivarsson et al. (2009) argued that "images, pictures and other visual tools form part of the human repertoire for sense-making, and they are embedded in discursive practices both when produced and when read" (p. 210). In other words, the analysis of various modes, such as words, images and so on, extends to include "how they are used in social practices within activities and how they interact" (p. 205). Meaning-making in multimodal texts or settings "is always relative to social practices" (p. 210). A meaningful reception of an image is incomplete without considering the cultural context of which it is part. In this sense, the analysis of semiotic modes in cartoons has the potential to uncover various social and cultural aspects and practices in a particular society. The rhetorical devices used for representation, although known and used in other discourse types, therefore become tools loaded with cultural insights in the case of such socio-cultural cartoons.

8.3.1 Cultural symbols and the reflection of national identity

Looking at the literature on cartoons which treats cartoons as a form of popular culture (see chapter three), it is possible to argue that no study of cartoons can deny the cultural symbols embedded in this art, and our study is no exception. While allusions and metaphors can help us know more about daily expressions and issues prevalent in the society, other visual symbols contribute to shaping the social identity of the individuals present in the cartoons, and how they are different from others. Schneider (2010) described cartoons as "prime media of

symbolic representation" where the use of cultural symbols contributes to the construction of national identity (p. 117). Identity here is conceptualised in a narrow sense to the way the characters in the cartoons are connected to their societies, whereby we can ask how they are represented and where they belong (see Woodward 2014). Throughout our analyses of the cartoons, different cultural symbols related to traditional settings, the traditional dress of both male and female characters, and traditional hospitality serve to construct a particular social and cultural image of how most Saudis, males and females, look and behave. This image is sometimes referred to as national identity.

Most of the cartoons would not be mistaken for being from the Arab Gulf media, if not directly identified as cartoons from the Saudi media. The most notable symbols are male and female ways of dressing, starting from the Saudi man who often appears in traditional dress (the white *thobe*, and headwear), to the Saudi woman who is covered with her black *abbaya*, with her headscarf on, and sometimes with a veil. In many examples, we can barely see parts of a woman's body that are considered 'taboo' if uncovered. Adherence to religion and conservatism seems to be the norm.

Dress has an important role in distinguishing foreign expatriates from Saudi nationals. In addition, the gown that is usually worn on the traditional white *thobe* indicates high class or position. The gown is thus a symbol of wealth, respect and social prestige in the Kingdom. A few symbols reflect traditional Arab hospitality and setting such as the teapot and the coffeepot (*dalla*), sitting on the floor, and the red cushion. Again, traditionalism prevails. The crescent is a recurrent symbol to identify a significant time in the Islamic calendar, with its appearance announcing the first night of Ramadan (the month of fasting). This last symbol is common in the cartoons, particularly those relating to financial issues. Cartoonists often criticize the significant rise in prices during this holy month and visually specify the time through the crescent. Familiar readers have no difficulty relating this symbol to Ramadan.

Not only do male and female dress and the crescent reflect the Islamic and conservative identity of the society, but also the cartoonists' conformity with their religion and culture. In a recent study within the Saudi context, Almohissen (2015) has also examined how the linguistic and visual contents of cartoons, in this case by the cartoonist Abdullah Jabber, reveal the identities and ideologies of Saudi people. Analysis of the cartoons and their reception by a cohort of Saudi participants in a survey study points to how the cartoons reflect Islamic identity. In particular, their visual representation rather than the linguistic elements predominantly points to Saudi religious identity.

Creating humour and satire out of social issues does not necessarily mean breaking essential cultural codes of social identity. The way the Saudi man and

woman are depicted, the traditional settings, and the meaning of some symbols are all cultural identifiers that make the cartoons distinguishable from other contexts. The traditional and conservative atmosphere that has always been a characteristic of Saudi society is present, not as a target for humour, but as a social characteristic. However, other stereotypes of national identity are seen to be subject to such humour and satire.

8.3.2 Stereotypes of national identity: Males *versus* females

Common stereotypes in a masculine dominant society such as Saudi Arabia have always been that women are helpless, weak, subject to male authority and not trusted to do high quality jobs as opposed to their male counterparts. Some of these images are displayed in some examples (see chapter four). Notwithstanding this popular stereotype, another group of cartoons depicts women as educated, strong, dominant, and even aggressive when it comes to their own interests. Gender dominance as not always masculine in source is revealed. Other cartoons available on social media highlight such social change. Women's desire to drive and the government's decision to allow them that right, attracting global attention, have also been presented in a funny way.

8.3.3 Financially moderate Saudis: A Saudi national is *not* a tank of oil

Coming from one of the biggest countries that exports oil, a common stereotypical image which most Saudi nationals suffer from when they travel abroad is that they are viewed as wealthy, enjoying a luxurious and prosperous life. The funny satirical metaphor "a Saudi man is a mobile ATM" in cartoon 19 is just one example of a metaphor depicting Saudis as a source of money, and it is perhaps not surprising to come across a cartoon with a metaphor "a Saudi national is a tank of oil".

In contrast, however, other cartoons depict Saudi citizens as helpless, suffering from financial issues. The society, similar to other societies in the West and East, has problems such as the inability of the government to control rising prices, people trapped in debt, the introduction of taxes, difficulties with home ownership, unemployment among well-qualified young citizens. Expatriates who used to dream of working in Saudi Arabia and earning a lot of money now find it difficult to enjoy a better life there.

8.3.4 The presence of technology: Saudi Arabia is no different from other modern societies

The effect of technology on Saudi Arabia is clearly present in so far as the cartoons examined here show its negative impact. The pervasive presence of technology and use of electronic devices are satirically depicted most often through metaphor and exaggeration (see chapters five and seven). The phenomena of taking selfies and posting online about one's life have become a prime activity of many Saudis. Clearly, Saudis are technologically developed, but the cartoons often serve to satirize that development as a more negative phenomenon among members of the society.

Beyond national stereotypes, another key feature of the cartoons relates to the role of gaze and facial expressions, which are used to comment on other stereotypes and social phenomena.

8.3.5 Gaze and facial expressions

Gaze and facial expressions are especially important in the cartoons addressing gender and family issues as they perform different communicative acts among the characters in the cartoons, particularly dialogic cartoons. Their frequency may be explained in so far as part of the meaning and humour in the cartoons about marital and family life relies on showing feelings and reactions of family members towards each other or towards the issues represented. In cartoon 11, for example, a woman's threatening and frightening gaze at her husband while asking "Did you hear that?" (referring to the death of a husband who married a second wife) is meaningful and funny. It is this gaze and the firm facial expressions that turn her very neutral question into a threatening act directed towards her husband (see chapter four).

The role of gaze and facial expressions in shaping the stance of the characters is significant. They often serve to reveal anger, happiness, wonder, astonishment, fears, worries, etc. Gaze and facial expressions are semiotic resources that not only contribute to the overall meaning, but also to stimulating readers' sympathy and engagement in the situation. This underlines how cartoons can be "emotionally attached or appealing material" (Schneider 2010: 117). Assigning particular emotions to characters in many cartoons helps, as Schneider noted, to "shape them in the eye of the beholder" (p. 117). Cartoonists, as indicated throughout the analysis, rely on gaze and facial expressions to depict, for instance, a helpless husband, a miserable father, a baffled driver/housemaid, a devoted wife, a worried client trapped in debt, among others.

Revealing the feelings of a character to readers, while not directly funny, enhances the humorous meaning produced by other means such as metaphors, allusions, exaggeration, or juxtaposition. This is one of the benefits of the multimodal analysis presented which has focused on how the different semiotic resources contribute to meaning production in a complementary fashion. Focusing on facial expressions alone and isolating them from the general meaning communicated by the complementary visual and verbal elements would therefore underestimate their contributing role. Gaze and facial expressions are thus pivotal to the overall meaning. Similarly, Al-Mahadin (2003) in his analysis of some Jordanian cartoons showed how a male character's gaze at a female stranger is revealing of the way he looks at females as opposed to his own wife. Through such gaze, along with other verbal and visual elements, stereotypes are established and humour is produced. In contrast, however, Woschek (1991), as cited in Hempelmann and Samson (2008), found that cartoons with facial expressions are less funny than cartoons without facial expressions. While our analysis has highlighted their important role, the relation between gaze/facial expressions and humour is ripe for further investigation.

8.3.6 A socio-cultural contribution

In the context of the examples outlined, this work unveils various social and cultural practices which are depicted humorously in cartoons. The humour is not the result of a particular punch line or verbal puns as in traditional verbal jokes, but the result of a twist among the modes where readers have to rely on their background knowledge of certain expressions and issues such as the social, educational, or economic. This is particularly interesting since the selected cartoons are published in the Saudi media where "self-censorship" was the norm (Oxford Business Group 2008: 172).

Such censorship was the case in most of the Middle East countries. Slyomovics (2001) admitted that cartoonists in the Arab world "operate within regimes of censorship and control. The appearance or disappearance of cartoons accurately marks the shifting fortunes of the press" (p. 73). In Morocco, for instance, it is highly offensive to caricature the king or his ministers. The government in Algeria follows certain means to block free expression by newspaper cartoonists. However, during the Gulf war there was "a remarkable flourishing of cartoons and graphic satire" (p. 74). In some Arab countries, cartoonists have "pushed the limits of censorship and produced a fascinating range and proliferation of cartoons" (p. 74).

In the past, Saudi newspapers were seen to be reluctant to approach sensitive topics, even during significant world events such as the 1991 invasion of Iraq which witnessed "a two-day freeze on information flow in the kingdom" in the local media (Oxford Business Group 2008: 172). The media had to comply with the restrictions set by the government authorities. Journalists and their employers were fearful to cross the lines. However, those days are seen to be over. It is now common to see "[p]undits openly discuss the drastic ongoing changes in Saudi society within the pages of the dailies" (Oxford Business Group 2008: 172). Editorialists and columnists are free to criticize government policies, provided that it is done in a proper and respectful tone. Readers admit that much of what was forbidden and banned in the past is now permitted by the authorities (p. 173). The Saudi media sector has experienced "rapid growth", due to "a loosening of social and political restrictions on publications, overall robust economic growth, a rise in the level of education of the general population [. . .]" (p. 172). We have seen throughout the analysis presented here how some cartoons satirically comment on some government policies, corruption, educational policies and other issues.

Cartoons are considered by some researchers as a form of documentary revealing facts disguised in humour about a society during a specific era. What is revealed by the cartoons which have formed the basis of our analysis and published in the period 2011–2014 might be very different from cartoons published in subsequent years. Not only may variance in style be evident, but the content and dramatic social change in Saudi Arabia cannot be denied as many decisions have been taken to advance further change in the society. They relate for example to women's social status and participation in business, issues related to female drivers, taxes which were not previously in existence in the country, a decline in men's dominance in the society, a westernised view of public entertainment, among others. Such changes open up new avenues for cartoonists to present their work.

8.4 Directions for future research

In conclusion to this chapter, we offer here some directions for future research. A first avenue of inquiry relates to insights to be gained from an exploration of the role of 'theme' and 'gender' as variables affecting the cartoonists' use of different devices in the message they convey through their cartoons. Some work such as that of Samson and Huber (2007) has already explored the interaction between gender and formal features of cartoons (e.g. number of words, colours,

panels), but there is much scope to develop that work in relation to use of the type of devices we have considered here.

A further avenue for future work in this area concerns the role of typography. While the study presented here has observed the low frequency of typography in the English-language cartoons examined, it does not mean that typography is not in use. As we saw in chapter five, typography can activate creative and humorous metaphors. There is scope, however, to offer a more fine-grained analysis of the creative aspects underlying typography usage in Arabic-language cartoons, especially in relation to its relationship with achieving comic and satirical effects. The Arabic writing system and alphabet have features and symbols that are distinct from other languages, such that it remains to be seen how such unique typographical representation is exploited by cartoonists.

Related to the language is the issue of code-mixing as a resource for humour in cartoons. This is particularly interesting since it concerns the interface between use of two or more languages in the creation of humour in cartoons. Recent times have seen the increased popularity of social media among younger people where they post short items online such as on Snapchat. Their language use in the Saudi context is often a mix between Arabic as their mother tongue and English as a foreign language which they learn in school and through the use of technology. Cartoonists have been seen to satirise such social media use through representing this generation in a parody of their online posts. It will be interesting for this field of research to explore such cartoons that parody reality both visually and verbally by capturing the code-mixing represented in some cartoons for comic and satirical effect. This topic has not been addressed in this study since such cartoons are a very recent phenomenon in the Saudi context.

According to Ermida (2008: 40), "the authorial intentions that underlie the production of the humorous message, as well as the interpretive choices that the recipient makes, are central questions to the understanding of humour". While this study has focused on the devices underlying how humorous and satirical meaning is achieved, humour reception was beyond the scope of inquiry. On this count, Almohissen (2015) has investigated how the reactions of Saudi participants are characterized by their Islamic identity. Future work will consolidate such a perspective by exploring readers' awareness of and reactions to the resources used by cartoonists to produce humour: how do readers recognise the allusions and conventional metaphors represented semiotically in the cartoons? Do they easily relate what is presented to their cultural and linguistic repertoire? Given that the Saudi context reflects a unique society, readers' reception of the cartoons they encounter daily through social media may vary greatly from others and the specificity of their perception of the images may add new insights to the field of multimodality, with particular reference to

multimodal literacy. Different social variables such as age, gender and education may also be at play.

   Taken together, such lines of inquiry reflect the rich insights that future research will bring in relation to both the production and reception of humour in cartoons from the Middle East in general and from the Saudi context in particular.

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