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Complementarity of Image and Text in Political Cartoons: Three Case Studies

Abstract

The article analyzes the complementarity of image and text in political cartoons taking into account the following parameters: Prior Text(s), Producer, Cartoon, and Viewer/ Reader. In the meaning-making process, the viewer/reader constantly alternates between image and text. The two modes of communication can convey the same message(s), each of the modes can strengthen the meaning of the other; the two might have nothing in common, yet, when combined, will produce a meaningful message. Visual metaphors and metonymies play an important role in the construction of meaning in political cartoons. They are analyzed from the point of view of conceptual metaphor and metonymy theory and its application in multimodal communication. Humour in political cartoons is also briefly discussed.

1. Introduction

The article focuses on the meaning-making process between image and text in political/editorial cartoons[1]. In the analysis, whenever needed, a comparison is made between image-text relations in political cartoons and image-text relations in advertisements, since the latter are the most researched area in multimodal communication. In the article, humour in political cartoons is compared to humour in jokes, since according to Christian Hempelmann and Andrea Samson, "cartoons are to visual humour what jokes are to verbal humour" (2008, 609) (the authors focus on cartoons and not political cartoons; the two differ in their targets and communicative goals). The present analysis focuses on the image-text relations in three political cartoons of the Bulgarian cartoonist Christo Komarnitski, whose cartoons appear in the daily newspaper *Сега* (Now). He is also a regular contributor to Cagle Cartoons, Inc., a US internet site for political cartoons. The cartoons were chosen for their relative complexity and metaphors and metonymies from a corpus of about 200 cartoons excerpted from the internet.

The article addresses the following questions:

How do visual, multimodal and contextual metaphors figure in the image-text relations in political cartoons?

How does intertextuality figure in the meaning-making process in political cartoons?

The theoretical assumptions and the method of analysis are stated below.

In the literature, there are four theoretical approaches to the study of multi-modal communication: the visual-semiotic model (Kress and van Leeuwen 2001; [1996] 2006), the conceptual metaphor and metonymy theory (Lakoff and Johnson 1980), the relevance-theoretic approach (Sperber and Wilson 1986), and the conceptual blending theory (Fauconnier and Turner 2002). Since the last three approaches are well-known for their application in verbal communication, some comments are necessary about the visual-semiotic approach designed to handle visual and multimodal communication. The approach models image-text relations on grammar. Images are characterized by information value, framing, salience and modality. The functional organization of information in sentences in terms of theme and rheme is extended to the left-right placement of images: right is reserved for given and left for new information. Elements in an image are either presented as connected or disconnected for which the term *framing* is used. Salience of images is expressed through size or colour contrast. Modality is the assessment of the congruence between an image and what it stands for in the world: the greater the congruence, the greater the reality value of the image.

From the visual-semiotic approach the following theoretical assumptions are adopted in the present analysis: images, like languages, follow similar organiza-tional principles because of similar or conjoined communicative functions of the meaning-making process: 1) representational meaning in images – represents real life experiences; 2) interactive meaning – the process involves two types of participants, producers and viewers of images; and 3) compositional meaning that relates the representational and interactive meaning in images to each other. In other words, images, like verbal texts, inform, narrate, persuade and evaluate (Kress and van Leeuwen 2001; [1996] 2006). Out of the three other approaches that deal with the explication of figurative meaning, conceptual metaphor and metonymy theory (Lakoff and Johnson 1980) and its application in multimodal communication (Forceville 1996; Forceville and Urios-Aparisi 2009) is used in the analysis of the chosen political cartoons. The theory assumes a two-component structure for both metaphor and metonymy, namely, target and source. Their formal representation is A IS B for metaphor and A FOR B for metonymy. Prior texts about events or statements, and comments made by politicians are taken into account, since political cartoonists read the news before creating a cartoon.

The study of the relations between image and text began in the sixties of the last century by Roland Barthes (1977). Barthes identified two relations between image and text in advertisements – *anchorage* and *relay*. In an anchorage relation, the text supports the image and makes its intended interpretation clear. In a relay relation, text and image are separate but interdependent in their interpretation and the construction of a single meaningful whole. Subsequent research showed

convincingly that the relations between image and text are more complex than Barthes originally thought. Bernd Spillner (1982, in Bateman 2014, 38) found advertisements in which it is the image that anchors the interpretation of the text. He also found advertisements in which the image and the text have nothing to do with each other yet, inferentially, the viewer arrives at an interpretation that is based on both. Additionally, Spillner argues that each of the two modes of communication can take on a function of the other: for example, writing the last letters of the word *exhaustion* in a slanting and collapsing manner to convey aspects of the meaning of the text and vice versa – rendering the meaning of an idiom or a proverb in the visual mode as an image. By the late 1990s research on multimodality had grown considerably focusing on different areas such as photography, films (Whittock 1990), comics and graphic novels (Stein and Thon 2013; 2015), children's books, performing arts (de Toro 1995; Kornhaber 2015; Sindoni et al. 2016), television (Iedema 2001) as well as other areas within semiotics, communication and cultural studies, rhetoric, linguistics and psychology. Research on the interdependence between verbal and visual communication has led to the development of visual rhetoric, visual narratology, social semiotics and visual cultural studies as sub-fields of the respective traditional disciplines.

Similarities between verbal and visual communication do not exclude differences, among them differences in processing: a text unfolds as a sequence, while an image is perceived simultaneously as a single whole and the extraction of visual information takes place "in an order dependent on visual salience and attention goals" (Bateman 2014, 62). Also, visual communication, compared to verbal, has little potential for expressing movement and temporal sequencing. The most obvious connection between image and text is when they both refer to the same entity or convey the same information. Verbal and visual metaphors are a very common device for conveying meaning in commercial advertisements and (political) cartoons, and this makes them one of the most researched topics in the two areas predominantly within the cognitivist paradigm and relevance theory. The most influential work on visual and multimodal metaphors in advertising is Charles Forceville's *Pictorial Metaphor in Advertising* (1996) along with other explorations (Messaris 1997; Phillips 2003) and there is also research on visual and multimodal metaphors in political cartoons (El Refaie 2003; 2009; Schilperoord and Maes 2009). The analysis of visual metaphors and metonymies in political cartoons is unavoidable, since they are the only tool available to the cartoonist to represent abstract concepts.

According to Joost Schilperoord and Alfons Maes (2009), political cartoons differ significantly from commercial advertisements in their communicative goals. The goal of political cartoons is to affect the viewer's/reader's beliefs and point of view on social and political events, while advertisements influence behavior. Political cartoons express a critical stand towards a topic and advertisements aim at evoking positive attitudes and feelings towards a product. Schilperoord and

Maes also admit that the context against which political cartoons are interpreted is more complex, compared to the one needed for advertisements: political cartoons require background knowledge in different areas: political, historical and cultural. Also, one could add, the comprehension of a political cartoon is dependent upon how much the fictional world the cartoonist creates deviates from the real world event he/she represents. The interpretation is also dependent on how much the interpreter knows or is accustomed to the cartoon genre (El Refaie 2009). Spatial and temporal positioning of cartoons is another factor in the meaning-making process between image and text (Forceville 2005).

Although humour in political cartoons is not the cartoonist's main objective (Cagle and Fairrington 2007, vi), political cartoons can nevertheless be funny. Yet, there are few publications on humour in cartoons (Paolillo 1998; Samson and Huber 2007; Hempelmann and Samson 2008) and humour in political cartoons (Tsakona 2009), compared to numerous publications on humour in jokes. In her analysis of Greek political cartoons, Villy Tsakona applies the General Theory of Verbal Humour (GTVH) (Attardo and Raskin 1991) and the two visual metaphors she encounters are subsumed under the Language knowledge resource of the theory together with parallel verbal metaphors in the same cartoons. For Genova (2018), in verbal and visual metaphors of the type A IS B (*Peter is a pig*) the bringing together of the target and source is also incongruous (Eva Kittay (1990, 81) and Charles Forceville (2002, 4) are of the same opinion); in other words, the incongruity[2] in verbal and visual metaphors is analogous to the incongruity introduced in the punchline of jokes. In line with this assumption, Genova analyzes the incongruity in visual and verbal metaphors in political cartoons under the Script-Opposition-and-Overlap knowledge resource of the GTVH and not under the Language knowledge resource, as is the case in Tsakona's account. A clarification needs to be made here: proponents of the GTVH (Attardo 1997; Attardo et al. 2002; Hempelmann and Attardo 2011, 130) hold the view that Script Opposition and Overlap corresponds to the notion of *incongruity* in the Incongruity Theory of Humour (Suls 1972; Shultz 1976) and the Logical Mechanism knowledge resource from the GTVH corresponds to incongruity resolution in the Incongruity Theory of Humour. According to Genova, there is a marked difference between humour in jokes and humour in political cartoons as far as incongruities are concerned. In jokes there is only one foregrounded incongruity introduced in the punchline, whereas in political cartoons there could be more than one. A focal incongruity in verbal and visual metaphors (or a non-metaphorical focal incongruity) then triggers a Logical Mechanism to (partially) resolve the incongruity. Visual metonymies and visual parodies in political cartoons may also function as secondary enablers of a Logical Mechanism. The Logical Mechanisms in the political cartoons Genova analyzes are exaggeration, role reversal, analogy and juxtaposition.

As with jokes, if the incongruity is (partially) resolved, the political cartoon is perceived as funny; if no resolution is found, then the political cartoon is

viewed as a puzzle and not found funny (Suls 1972). Then, ideally, the listener/ viewer laughs at making sense of the nonsense and also at the fact that he/she has been misled or tricked. In this respect comprehension of political cartoons (identifying incongruity and its (partial) resolution) can be more puzzling, since in political cartoons there is no temporal sequencing of the expected followed by the unexpected, as is the case with the setup of jokes and their punchlines; in political cartoons both are simultaneously introduced. A political cartoon may be unfunny for another reason, too: when the incongruity and its (partial) resolution are too obvious.

2. Text-image relations in political cartoons

The following parameters are included in the analysis of image-text relations in political cartoons: Prior Text(s), Producer, Cartoon, and Viewer/Reader. For us not only title, captions and speech balloons are text, but date indication as well (multimodal cartoons seem to be more frequent than monomodal ones). Cartoon 1 by Christo Komarnitski in Figure 1 was published on 9 November 2017 in the newspaper *Сега* (Now). The cartoon is signed by the cartoonist, but there is no date. Other political cartoonists provide dates, for example, Peter Brookes, always

Fig. 1. Political cartoon by Christo Komarnitski, reproduced by permission of the cartoonist

writes the full temporal positioning of his cartoons, which makes it easier for the viewer/reader to place in time the event depicted in them. In his political cartoons in *Сега* (Now), Komarnitski never targets politicians and events that are in the news of the day, the news is at least a day old to give viewers/readers enough time to 'masticate' the news. The cartoon is based on three successive texts on a topical event discussed below. First, we begin with what is seen in the cartoon.

Visual context in the cartoon: in the foreground two heads are seen in a brassiere (no mouth and chin shown), from left to right, the face of Ivo Hristov, an MP of the Bulgarian Socialist Party in the present National Assembly (22 November 2017) and the face of historian Bozhidar Dimitrov. The two halves of the brassiere, in which the two heads are nesting, again from left to right, are painted in the colours of the national flag of the Russian Federation (white, blue and red) and of Bulgaria (white, green and red). The two halves of the brassiere are tied behind the men's heads. The heads and the brassiere fill up most of the cartoon and are set against a white background.

Salient visual context in the cartoon expressed verbally: Ivo Hristov's head and Bozhidar Dimitrov's head are laid in a brassiere whose two halves are in the colours of the national flags of the Russian Federation and Bulgaria.

Verbal context in the cartoon: there is a single message below the brassiere that reads *Имаме ЦИниЦИ*; the message explicitly conveys the meanings of *We have cynics* and *We have tits* because of the different letter size in the last word *ЦИниЦИ*. The block and small letters read *cynics* (циници) and the block letters only read *tits* (цици). In Bulgarian the two words overlap in spelling and pronunciation, which makes the blending of the two possible.

Situational context and intertextuality in the cartoon: the parameter Prior Texts is discussed in detail in relation to Cartoon 1 for two reasons: 1) a greater degree of intertextuality is involved in the first cartoon than in the second and the third, and 2) because of space constraints. The cartoon and the caption are motivated by three prior texts. On 2 November 2017, Maria Zakharova, the official representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, at a press briefing denounced the dishonoring of the monument of the Soviet Army in Sofia on 31 October with the following anti-Semitic allegation: *One hundred years of Zionist occupation of Bulgaria*. This is what she said (all translations from Bulgarian are mine):

> The vandals, I can't call them anything else, in fact attacked the monument a week ago, but this time they beat all expectations, writing messages of direct anti-Semitic content. This is especially *cynical* (italics are mine) in light of the fact that in World War II thanks to our soldiers we managed to prevent the deportation of Jews in Bulgaria and to save 50 000 people from imminent death[3].

Before the supporters of the Bulgarian Socialist Party outside Sofia at the end of the week Ivo Hristov summarized neatly the two main points in Zakharova's

press briefing – the Soviet army saving the Bulgarian Jews and the anti-Semitic allegation on the Soviet Army monument. He said that 80 percent of the Bulgarians were unable to understand Zakharova's words and the vandal acts on the monument, since they were intellectually challenged (he did not use a politically correct word, he called them *debile* (in English *debile* means 'feeble', 'weak' (physically), but in Bulgarian it is used derogatively and means 'brainless', 'unintelligent'). He also supported Zakharova's claim that it was the Soviet army that rescued Bulgarian Jews from the gas chambers. This is what Hristov said:

> The scandal with Maria Zakharova, spokesperson for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation … classic in the genre! Having in mind that 80 percent of the population are *debile* and can't sign their name…this works without fail. What led to the scandal? Stigmatizing the monument of the Soviet Army. It isn't the first time and it isn't the second. There was an anti-Semitic message….So, what did she say? She said three things. First, that in Bulgaria monuments of the Soviet Army are systematically defiled…Second, she made it clear that there was an anti-Semitic allegation. And third, one shouldn't forget that if it hadn't been for the Soviet Army, 50 000 Bulgarian Jews would have been deported to the gas chambers[4].

A TV interview with historian Bozhidar Dimitrov followed (7 November), in which he said it is a historic fact that in 1943 the deportation of Jews was checked as a result of the reaction of the Bulgarian Church, MPs and public figures and not by the Soviet Army. He added: "Neither Moscow nor Russia has said that; a bedwetter (used figuratively) has said it, a bedwetter with no tits"[5]. He made no comment on the anti-Semitic message (Both Bozhidar Dimitrov and Ivo Hristov are known for their provocative comments – Hristov's apocalyptic views on geopolitics and Dimitrov's aggressive and critical judgments on public figures). Other texts followed in regard to who saved Bulgarian Jews that the cartoon does not subsume.

Complementarity of prior text(*s*)*, image and text in the cartoon*: as mentioned above, the cartoon and the caption are motivated by and subsume three prior texts with the same fact as the topic of discourse – saving the Bulgarian Jews from deportation in 1943 – a fact not represented in the cartoon. Instead, what features in the cartoon are Hristov's and Dimitrov's insulting comments that bear no relation to the main topic of the three texts. In other words, two subsidiary topics from the last two texts become primary in the cartoon. How do the prior texts and the pictorial representation in the cartoon and its caption interact? The most salient pictorial representation is Hristov's and Dimitrov's heads as breasts in a brassiere. It is to be metaphorically interpreted, since an incongruous function is assigned to the heads. The representation triggers the contextual metaphor HEAD IS BREAST, where HEAD is target and BREAST source, following Lakoff and Johnson's two-structure model of conceptual metaphor (Lakoff and Johnson 1980), and where HEAD is conceptualized through BREAST. In a conceptual

metaphor, features from the source domain are projected onto the target domain; here the feature "round" is projected from BREAST to HEAD. In a contextual metaphor the visual context of the target placement gives the viewer a clue to arrive at the source, which is not visually represented (Forceville 1996). To compare: in a verbal metaphor, for example, *Man is a wolf*, both target and source are explicitly mentioned. Identifying the target and source in a contextual metaphor in a political cartoon is less obvious than their identification in an advertisement. In the latter, the product advertised is always represented in the advertisement regardless of the contextual metaphor (and visual and multimodal) and is the target, for example, in the SHOE IS TIE metaphor in an advertisement for shoes (Forceville 1996, 110), in which a man is wearing a shoe instead of a tie. SHOE is the target, since the advertisement advertises shoes and not ties and the shoes are visually represented in the right half of the advertisement. In the contextual metaphor HEAD IS BREAST above, one might be misled to assume BREAST is the target, since there is no additional information directing the viewer/reader to the target. Nevertheless, there are some guidelines in identifying the target in conceptual metaphors in political cartoons: the viewer/reader is to look for what is misplaced. The HEAD IS BREAST metaphor is motivated by what Antonio Barcelona calls *chained metonymies* (2003): the HEAD FOR BODY metonymy, in which HEAD is the source and BODY the target, the prototypical PART FOR WHOLE metonymy, followed by the BODY FOR PERSON metonymy. (According to Barcelona (2003, 272), the metonymic motivation of metaphor seems to be the rule rather than an exception). There is no difference between verbal and visual metonymies in the sense that in both the target is always implicit: for *Proust is hard to read* the respective conceptual metonymy is PROUST FOR HIS WORKS, in which PROUST is the source and HIS WORKS is the target. The HEAD IS BREAST metaphor is strengthened by the image schema CONTAINMENT (Johnson 1987, 126) expressed by the brassiere and what it holds. In the metaphor both target and source are concrete concepts, a contradiction to conceptual metaphor theory, according to which the target can be an abstract concept, e.g. LIFE IS JOURNEY. As with the present cartoon, Forceville (1996) has found that in visual and multimodal metaphors in advertisements the target is never an abstract concept.

Although humour is not the main objective of the article, a few comments will be made about the humorous elements in each of the cartoons. At first blush, the visual incongruity in the target of the HEAD IS BREAST metaphor is inherently funny, since the prototypical feature "feeding a baby" of the source domain is incongruously mapped onto the target domain requiring a readjustment of the concept HEAD[6]. The visual incongruity is partly resolved through the common feature "round' for both HEAD and BREAST (a high degree of dissimilarit(y) ies between two domains and the simultaneous presence of a low degree of similarit(y)ies are at the root of incongruity). The contextual specification of the concept HEAD in the heads of two public figures is the key to the funniness of

the visual incongruity. The contextual metaphor HEAD IS BREAST triggers the Logical Mechanism analogy from the GTVH to partially resolve the incongruity. Additionally, the funniness is strengthened through intertextuality: the cartoonist has taken something less important from a prior text, *tits*, and has made it important in the cartoon, a humour technique known as figure-ground reversal in the GTVH.

The contextual metaphor fixes the metaphorical interpretation of the verbal message *We have tits*: for comparison, in the prior text the word *tits* is used referentially. The HEAD IS BREAST metaphor supports the verbal message *We have tits*, but not *We have cynics*. *Cynical* is the only word from the first text used in the cartoon. In the prior text it is used evaluatively and in the cartoon referentially and evaluatively. *Cynics* (ЦИниЦИ) in the caption of the cartoon establishes a similarity between the MP and the historian from the prior texts: Hristov is cynical about the intellectual abilities of the Bulgarian voters and Dimitrov is cynical about the size of Zakharova's breasts. In his use of the inclusive *we*, the cartoonist establishes a personal connection with the viewer/reader. The colours of the Russian Federation visually represent Hristov's pro-Russia statements in the prior text and the colours of the Bulgarian national flag visually represent Dimitrov's pro-Bulgaria statements in the respective prior text. The two national flags are visual metonymies standing for the respective countries.

The cartoonist's implicit message: *Satirical disapproval of Hristov's and Dimitrov's shocking statements*.

Cartoon 2 in Figure 2 was uploaded on the site of Cagle Cartoons, Inc. on 14 March 2008 with the title *A 110 Dollar Bill*.

Fig. 2. Political cartoon by Christo Komarnitski, reproduced by permission of the cartoonist

Visual context in the cartoon: most of the space is filled up with a 110 dollar bill. In the centre is Benjamin Franklin's head with arched eyebrows and bulging eyes most probably expressing astonishment and disbelief. On Franklin's left, almost in the middle, is the round seal of the Federal Reserve. In the lower right corner, as in a fuel dispenser screen showing the price of gasoline bought, are three digits: 1 followed by 1 and the space for the third digit is divided in two: the upper half shows the lower part of 0 and the lower half the upper part of 1. Outside the 110 dollar bill, before Franklin, is a small-size crude oil barrel with a small opening on the top, from which Franklin is drinking oil with a plastic drinking straw in red-and-white slanting stripes.

Salient visual context in the cartoon expressed verbally: *Benjamin Franklin is drinking oil from an oil barrel with a red-and-white plastic drinking straw, and there is the figure 110*.

Verbal context in the cartoon: On Franklin's left, in the upper corner, one reads *Federal Reserve Note*. On his right, in the upper right corner, in bigger letters it says *The United States of America*.

Situational context and intertextuality in the cartoon: a brief overview of prior news shows that the main topic of the texts is also the main topic of the cartoon, namely, the rise in the price of crude oil per barrel before 14 March 2008 caused by the weakening of the US currency. A text from 13 March 2008 has been referred to, which is about the record price of over 110 dollars per barrel[7].

Complementarity of prior text(s), image and text in the cartoon: it is a reinterpretation of the real 100 dollar bill from which some elements are left out – the signature of the Treasurer of the United States, the signature of the Secretary of the Treasury, and in the cartoon the figure is 110 instead of 100. The cartoon abounds in chained metonymies: the 110 DOLLAR BILL FOR TREASURY, the STAMP FOR TREASURY, the latter leading to the TREASURY FOR INSTITUTION metonymy, which in turn leads to the INSTITUTION FOR DECISION MAKING metonymy, implying decisions in relation to the weakening of the US currency. The image of Benjamin Franklin triggers the metonymies HEAD FOR BODY and FRANKLIN FOR COUNTRY, which in turn triggers the conceptual metaphor MAN IS COUNTRY. The most salient image is the one of Franklin drinking from a miniature oil barrel. The image triggers the contextual metaphor OIL IS DRINK, in which only the target is visually represented and the source DRINK is recoverable from the visual context: in the metaphor the feature "drinkable liquid" of the source domain, DRINK, is mapped onto the feature "undrinkable liquid" of the target domain OIL. Simultaneously, the target and source are congruent through the feature "liquid". In the image, a glass full of beverage is replaced by a miniature oil barrel, which qualifies the metaphor as an example of replacement (Schilperoord and Maes 2009, 220). As with the contextual metaphor HEAD IS BREAST in Cartoon 1, both the target and the source in OIL IS DRINK are concrete concepts. The combination of the visual incongruity of Benjamin

Franklin drinking oil from a miniature oil barrel and the contextual metaphor OIL IS DRINK enables the introduction of the Logical Mechanism analogy from the GTVH that partially resolves the incongruity through the feature "liquid" and makes the pictorial representation funny.

The cartoonist's implicit messages: *The country needs oil the way a human being needs a drink* and *Crude oil is expensive*.

Cartoon 3 in Figure 3 was uploaded on the site of Cagle Cartoons, Inc. on 18 April 2017, entitled *Sultan Erdogan*.

Visual context in the cartoon: the Turkish president Recep Erdogan, represented down to his chest, has a huge red turban on his head made from the Turkish national flag that is ripped almost in half. The most salient image in the cartoon is the turban filling up to ¾ of the space. Erdogan looks determined to stop the two halves from tearing apart.

Salient visual context in the cartoon expressed verbally: *The Turkish President Recep Erdogan is holding a huge red turban with the star and crescent of the Turkish national flag on his head and the turban is almost ripped in two*.

Verbal context in the cartoon: the title of the cartoon *Sultan Erdogan* on the internet is the only verbal context. The title conveys the cartoonist's critical judgment on Erdogan's politics.
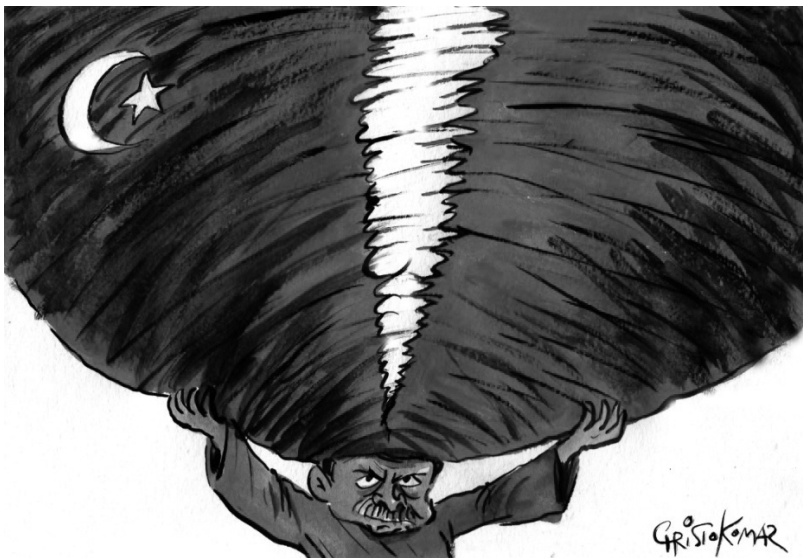

Fig. 3. Political cartoon by Christo Komarnitski, reproduced by permission of the cartoonist

Situational context and intertextuality in the cartoon: it is about the referendum held on 16 April 2017 in Turkey for constitutional amendments for presidential republic. 51.41 percent of the population voted for and 48.59 against. Questions

were raised about the validity of the vote, since the high electoral board considered unstamped ballots as valid. The cartoon was uploaded on the internet two days after the referendum and it targets the referendum and its results; the referendum has been the topic of prior news.

Complementarity of prior text(s), image and text in the cartoon: the Turkish flag almost ripped in half visually renders the situational context and the news, that is, the insignificant difference between yes- and no-voters in the referendum. Each half of the flag is in a metonymic relation to the yes- and no-voters. Again, as in Cartoon 2 in Figure 2, there are chained metonymies: the Turkish flag stands for the country, the flag stands for the voters and the voters stand for the country: the FLAG FOR COUNTRY, FLAG FOR VOTER and VOTER FOR COUNTRY metonymies. There is another chained metonymic relation between Recep Erdogan's head and his body and Erdogan and the country: the HEAD FOR BODY and the ERDOGAN FOR COUNTRY metonymies. In the pictorial representation, the flag is assigned an incongruous function, the one of a turban, evoking the contextual metaphor FLAG IS TURBAN, in which only the target is visually represented and the source TURBAN is inferred from the visual context. Simultaneously, the target and the source are congruent through the feature "made from cloth". The conceptual metonymy FLAG FOR COUNTRY is at the basis of the conceptual metaphor FLAG IS COUNTRY, the country Erdogan is holding on his head. The title of the cartoon evokes the conceptual metaphor ERDOGAN IS SULTAN, in which the feature "ultimate power" of the source domain SULTAN is mapped onto the feature "presidential power" of the target domain ERDOGAN, the two sharing at the same time the feature "power". As with the contextual metaphor in Cartoon 1 and the contextual metaphor in Cartoon 2, both the target and the source in the ERDOGAN IS SULTAN metaphor are concrete concepts. The image of the turban strengthens the verbal metaphor. The ERDOGAN IS SULTAN metaphor is preceded by the metonymic relation between Erdogan and the country. The visual incongruity of having Turkey on the head of Recep Erdogan enables the introduction of the Logical Mechanism analogy (evoked by the metonymy FLAG FOR COUNTRY) from the GTVH that partially resolves the incongruity and makes the cartoon funny.

The cartoonist's implicit message: *Erdogan's political and religious ideology has divided the nation*.

3. Conclusion

In the comprehension of political cartoons the viewer/reader constantly alternates between image and text. The two modes of communication can convey the same message(s); each of the modes can strengthen the meaning of the other, the two might have nothing in common, yet, when combined, will produce a meaningful

message. In the first cartoon, in which the caption is ambiguous, the image supports one of the readings and in the second and third, the pictorial representations convey new messages in addition to the message in the caption or title. Prior texts play a substantial role in both the creation and comprehension of political cartoons. In addition to intertextuality, in political cartoons there is often visual intertextuality – the reinterpretation of a famous painting – a technique used by cartoonists to convey a message.

Visual, multimodal and contextual metaphors and metonymies are an indispensable tool in the construction of meaning in visual communication. Identifying the target and source in a contextual metaphor in a political cartoon is less obvious than their identification in an advertisement. In the latter, the product advertised is always represented in the advertisement regardless of the contextual metaphor (and visual and multimodal) and is the target; in a political cartoon this additional information is missing and the right strategy in fixing the target is to look for (an) object(s) misplaced in the pictorial representation. The importance of the knowledge of prior texts and the political, historical and cultural context places greater cognitive demands on the viewer/reader in the interpretation of political cartoons than in the interpretation of advertisements, whose interpretation is more channelled by the image of the product advertised.

A serious theoretical issue is the explication of humour in (political) cartoons and advertisements. Most of the research on multimodal communication in advertisements focuses on metaphor and metonymy within the conceptual metaphor and metonymy theory without at the same time addressing humour; in turn, the proponents of the cognitive linguistic approach to the study of humour view metaphor and metonymy as more general cognitive mechanisms than incongruity, the concept through which verbal humour is analyzed in the incongruity theory of humour and in the GTVH, and rejected by cognitive linguists. Another issue is incongruity in metaphor, acknowledged by some scholars within the conceptual metaphor theory, and incongruity in humour. Although the conceptual metaphor theory about verbal metaphor is successfully applied to visual, multimodal and contextual metaphors in multimodal communication, the concept of incongruity in humour cannot be automatically extended to incongruity in metaphor. There is also another issue: what has been unexplored yet is whether the visual mode of communication has greater humour potential than the verbal mode. Intuitively, at least to a child, seeing a man with a wolf's head would be funnier than hearing *Man is a wolf*.

Notes

1   In the article *cartoon* is short for *political cartoon* and the latter is interchangeable with *editorial cartoon* (a political cartoon in a newspaper) unless stated otherwise.

2   *Incongruity* is the bringing together of two incompatible objects, concepts, ideas or situations.

3   https://offnews.bg/sviat/moskva-si-prisvoi-spasiavaneto-na-balgarskite-evrei-668638.html (27/11/ 2017)

4   https://offnews.bg/obshtestvo/prof-ivo-hristov-bez-zadrazhki-80-protcenta-ot-balgarite-sa-debili-668897.html (27/11/ 2017)

5   http://dnes.dir.bg/news/politika-opozitzia-bozhidar-dimitrov-26556189 (27/11/ 2017)

6   Many authors acknowledge the incongruity between target and source, yet there are few proposals for what makes a metaphor funny (obviously, not all are). According to the "distance theory", the greater the distance between target and source, the funnier the metaphor. The major drawback of the theory is how to assess distance. Proposals within humour theory for humour in metaphors are not very optimistic. For example, Oring (2003) claims that incongruity in metaphor is "genuine" (not funny), while in jokes it is "spurious", that is, funny. Oring might be right about verbal metaphors, in which we have mapping of behavioural features onto personality traits as in, for example, *Man is a wolf*, ergo, conceptual congruence, while in the corresponding visual metaphor of a man with a wolf's head there is hardly any visual congruence.

7   https://dariknews.bg/novini/biznes/petrolyt-zakova-11020-dolara-v-nyu-jork-poevtinq-v-aziatskata-tyrgoviq-233072 (25/01/2018)

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