

Humour as Ideological Struggle: The View from Cognitive Linguistics

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Abstract

The creation and interpretation of humour crucially depends on both emotional and cognitive factors, involving arousal-relief mechanisms, hostility, and incongruity-resolution processes (Freud 1905; Gruner 1978; Suls 1972). Linguistic theories have centered on the bisociation produced by two frames of reference, or the abrupt shift in scripts, triggered by ambiguity or contradiction (Raskin 1985; Attardo 1994).

The present paper examines humour from the perspective of 'blending' (Turner & Fauconnier 1995; Fauconnier & Turner 2002). The creation and interpretation of humour involves the construction of a blend which results in an incongruity or cognitive clash (Fauconnier 1997). We explore humour in political cartooning in Spain during the 1970s. The use of humour may be seen as a form of challenge of existing ideological and political structures (Mumby & Clair 1998).

1. Introduction

The present paper examines humour in political cartoons from the perspective of conceptual integration or 'blending' (Turner & Fauconnier 1995; Fauconnier & Turner 2002). The creation and interpretation of the joke involves the construction of a blend where the integration of structure and elements from the two input spaces yield an incongruity or a cognitive clash. The problem solving or resolution of the incongruity is realised by projecting backward to these input spaces (Fauconnier 1997; Coulson 2002; Marín-Arrese 2003).

In this paper we have focused on political cartooning in Spain during the 1970's. More specifically we aim to explore: (a) the characterising features of political cartoons in two well-delimitated subperiods in the 1970's, and the extent to which cartoons by different humorists are amenable to this analysis; and (b) the role that input frames, blending processes and humorous blends may play in reinforcing or in challenging cultural models (Coulson 2002), and thus in the process of ideological struggle where the various groups compete in the

construction of social reality (Mumby & Clair 1998). It will be argued that political cartooning in Spain was in effect a means of challenging the prevailing models and ideologies and thus an instrument of subversion during the pre-transition and the transition to democracy.

2. Theories of Humour

Humour is a complex multi-faceted phenomenon. As Koestler (1989:31) notes, "*Humour is the only domain of creative activity where a stimulus on a high level of complexity produces a massive and sharply defined response on the level of physiological reflexes*".

The creation and perception of verbal humour crucially depends on both emotional and cognitive factors. According to Raskin (1998), there is a variety of theories which try to explain the mental processes that give rise to humour: Release theories, involving arousal-relief mechanisms (Freud 1905; Mindness 1971); Hostility theories which focus on other-disparagement strategies (Rapp 1951; Gruner 1978, 1997); and Incongruity-Resolution processes (Suls 1972; Shultz 1976; McGhee 1979).

According to the '*release*' or '*arousal-relief*' theories, "humor and laughter are relief mechanisms that occur to dispel the tension that is associated with hostility, anxiety, conflict, or sexuality" (Graesser et al. 1989: 149). As regard the gratification resulting from self-assertion and other-disparagement, Koestler (1989:52) has stressed that a necessary catalyst for humour is the presence of "an aggressive-defensive or self-asserting tendency", however sublimated it may be. "It is the aggressive element, the detached malice of the parodist, which turns pathos into bathos, tragedy into comedy".

Linguistic theories of humour have centered on the incongruity produced by the bisociation of two frames of reference, and the abrupt shift in scripts or twists in interpretation, which are triggered by ambiguity or contradiction (Raskin 1985; Attardo 1994). According to the Semantic Script Theory of Humour (Raskin 1985), a joke activates two different scripts. During the first stage the

comprehender construes the text from the viewpoint of a particular script, with the attendant expectations of typical participants, settings and events. The punchline presents incompatible information, and this triggers a shift to a second script that will reconcile the incongruity. Raskin (1985) holds that there must be some form of opposition between these scripts in order for the joke to be successful; that is, there are constraints on the type of scripts that can be paired off. In a critical revision and extension of the SSTH, Attardo & Raskin (1991) propose the General Theory of Verbal Humor (GTVH) which incorporates a study of logical mechanisms, such as figure-ground reversal, chiasmus, etc., to explain the invariants underlying many similar jokes. In her discussion of joke well-formedness, Giora (1991) attempts to identify the necessary concomitant components in jokes: the surprise effect, mainly as a result of semantic ambiguity; the semantic relation of similarity between category members; and the violation of expectations.

Koestler (1989: 35) holds that the comic effect involves:

... the perceiving of a situation or idea, L, in two self-consistent but habitually incompatible frames of reference, M₁ and M₂. The event L, in which the two intersect, is made to vibrate simultaneously on two different wavelengths, as it were. While this situation lasts, L is not mere linked to one associative context, but bisociated with two.

Koestler (1989: 40) uses the terms 'universes of discourse', 'associative contexts' or 'frames of reference' in the sense of "specific patterns of activity which, though flexible, are governed by sets of fixed rules", and notes how jokes can be described as "universes of discourse colliding, frames getting entangled, or contexts getting confused". The interpreter has to fill in the missing links in the situation by "*interpolation*", or else to "*extrapolate*" by recourse to background knowledge, or to reinterpret the situation by means of "*transformation*" (i.e. "transformation of metaphorical into literal statements, ...") (Koestler 1989: 84-5). As we can see these notions set him out as a clear precursor of mental space theory.

Similarly, Minsky (1980: 10) observes that humour involves "unexpected frame-substitution, in which a scene is first described from one viewpoint and then suddenly - typically by a single word - one is made to view all the scene-elements in another, quite different way". Bernárdez (1984) talks of the

macrostructure of "world smashing" involved in the joke, arguing that the effect of the joke is attained by disrupting a 'normal world' created by the comprehender when a second world is presented.

Graesser et al. (1989:148) have identified various components of humorous texts: joke teller, audience, characters of the joke, targets, and joke frame among others. Humour involves the creation of a 'joke frame', which prepares the comprehender to accept any situation as a possible 'world': "Humour takes place ... within a frame. Humour is accompanied by discriminative cues, which indicate that what is happening, or is going to happen, should be taken as a joke" (Berlyne 1972: 56). This intentionally created frame indicates to the comprehender that 'this is not serious', and invites her/him to 'suspend disbelief'.

Cartoons literally take place within a frame, which we approach with certain expectations, and certain knowledge and values shared by creators and readers. In political cartooning, the combination of the emotional power of the drawing and the critical analysis of social and political issues creates a highly complex message (Ginman & von Ungern-Sterberg 2003). The interpretation of the cartoon is not subject to linear processing in the way that a text is, so that we simultaneously access an unmarked 'world representation' in juxtaposition with an alternative marked 'world view', which creates a discrepancy in expectations, with the attendant social norms, rational behaviour, declared intentions, etc.. Humour results from the cognitive shift from one mental representation to another representation, and the resulting clash or discordant note between these two conceived contexts, and comprises the mental satisfaction of having solved a puzzle.

The role of humour in society has important implications for awareness raising. Humour contributes to reveal all sorts of abuses and incongruities in society and leads us to reflect on the inconsistencies of social conventions and prejudices (Koestler 1989). Humour may be used as a weapon, as a form of subversive activity against the dominant ideology. In the words of Muller (1978)(In: Nilsen & Nilsen, eds. 1983: 191):

Humor is one of the highest expressions of liberty. There is apparently a close correlation between humor and the knowledge of oneself. Humor is the constant challenge and

irritant to the cloak of seriousness with which every power group in the world disguises its attempts at supremacy, monopoly and domination.

3. Humour in Language: The View from Cognitive Linguistics

The notions of frames of reference, different scripts or world representations can be reinterpreted from the perspective of mental spaces¹ and conceptual integration or 'blending'. As Turner & Fauconnier (1995:3) note,

Blending is a general cognitive operation, operating over categorization, the making of hypotheses, inference, and the origin and combining of grammatical constructions. Blending can be detected in everyday language, idioms, creative thought in mathematics, evolution of socio-cultural models, jokes, advertising, and other aspects of linguistic and non-linguistic behaviour.

In conceptual integration, structure and elements from different input mental spaces are projected onto a new blended space. "Building an integration network involves setting up mental spaces, matching across spaces, projecting selectively to a blend, locating shared structures, projecting backward to inputs, recruiting new structure to the inputs or the blend, and running various operations in the blend itself" (Fauconnier & Turner 2002: 44). Emergent structure in the blend is generated through *composition* (the creation of new relations drawing on elements from the input spaces), *completion* (frames and meanings are completed by recourse to background knowledge) and *elaboration* (setting up imaginative simulations) (Fauconnier & Turner 2002: 48).

If we apply these notions to the analysis of humour, we find that understanding the joke most often involves the construction of a blend, the mental space where the 'bisociation' and the resulting cognitive clash takes place.

In verbal humour, the cognitive shift and the clash between world views may occur at the various levels, from the 'micro' level, which involves a shift in

1. In the words of Fauconnier & Turner (2002: 40), "Mental spaces are small conceptual packets constructed as we think and talk, for purposes of local understanding and action."

phonological, morphosyntactic, semantic or pragmatic terms, and the systematic exploitation of violations of communication principles (Marín-Arrese 1998), to the 'macro' level, "where the cognitive clash is between two world views, and where the emphasis is on broad conceptual incongruity rather than linguistic form" (Marín & Whitehead 1985: 4).

Metathesis relies on prior knowledge of the original set phrase and may produce amusing and perceptive texts. In the following example, the familiar political slogan '*It's your vote that counts*' and our knowledge of the voting frame provide the content for one of the input spaces, while the other space involves our background knowledge of Feudalism relating to notions such as '*relations of vassalage, serfdom, ...*'. Partial projection from these two input spaces produces the blend where the incongruity takes place .

- (1) FEUDALISM: It's your count that votes

Hancher (1980:21) also notes that illocutionary ambiguity may arise from "otherwise unambiguous locutions, thanks to the deviousness of 'indirect speech acts' (Searle 1975)". In 'Yes, Minister', the minister in question - as a vote-catching ploy - has decided that more 'token' women are needed in the higher echelons of the Civil Service. The Secretary's answer shows a wilful 'misunderstanding' of speaker intention (Marín-Arrese & Whitehead 1985). Again humour is derived from the cognitive clash attained in the blend of two different scenarios, '*vote-catching*', '*sexism*'.

- (2) MINISTER: You know, we must do something about the number of women at the top of the profession ...
SECRETARY: I agree, Minister, they're an absolute nuisance.

The violation of expectations and the clash of worlds is cleverly displayed in the following cartoon, with obvious political implications. In this case, there is contrast between the contextual implications derived from the different ideologies of the two speakers.



Fig. 1. Día del Libro (Forges 1972)

- (3) A: It's National Book Day today.
B: Yes, I've already burnt it.

The utterances by the two speakers clearly evoke two different mental spaces. In the case of speaker A, there is the familiar mental space of the '*Día del Libro*', with all the attendant elements and expected behaviour '*visiting the book fair, buying a book, ...*'. On National Book Day, it is the custom to buy at least a book and also to give a book as a present. Editorials offer special discount prices on that day. Speaker B's utterance evokes a more complex mental space or spaces corresponding to events such as '*the burning of books in Nazi Germany*', and '*book censorship as a result of fascist ideology in Spain*'.

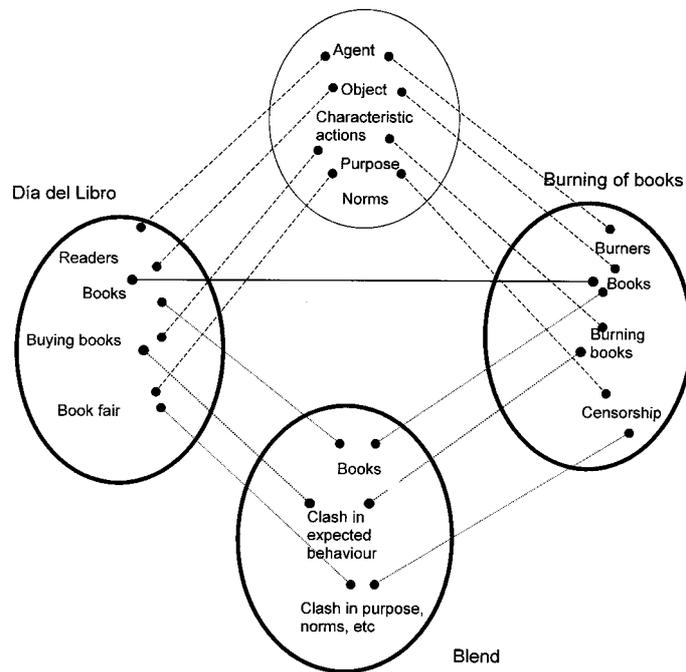


Fig. 2. Blend in the 'Día del Libro' Cartoon

The 'bisociation' between these events and the subsequent cognitive clash between the two world representations takes place in the blend, where the interpreter undergoes this cognitive shift by mapping back to the input spaces (Fauconnier 1997). This creative process yields unexpected inferential and emotional effects which contribute to the humour appreciation (Coulson 2002). In political cartooning, as in the case of the Impotent Smoking Cowboy billboard discussed by Fauconnier & Turner (2002: 333), we might also say that "at first we recognize a space with incongruities and that those incongruities prompt us to take the space as a blend and look for its inputs".

4. Political Cartooning in Spain in the 1970s

Political humour may be directed at the powerholders, at particular social groups or institutions, or more abstractly, it may be aimed at specific policies, social norms or values, thus undermining the 'legitimacy' of a particular

government or regime (see Speier 1998, for an excellent survey of humour and politics).

Most writers agree (Vicent 1982; Tubau 1987; Moreira & Prieto 2001; Conde Martín 2002) that the 'golden age' of political cartooning in Spain corresponds to the period comprising the end² of the Franco regime and the transition³ to democracy (1973-1982⁴). In the late 1950's and the 1960's, there are innumerable humorous magazines, which, however, fail to captivate the readers and invariably close down after a few issues. Constrained by political censors, they combine humour with mild social criticism. The new press law in 1966, *Ley de Prensa e Imprenta*, establishes the disappearance of prior censorship in the press, thus providing a narrow opening for a certain degree of freedom of expression⁵.

In the 1970's we find a boom in humorous publications: magazines such as *La Codorniz* (1941-1978); *Hermano Lobo* (1972-1978), *Barrabás* (1972-1976); *El Papis* (1973-1978); *Por Favor/Muchas Gracias* (1974-1978); *El Jueves* (1977-2003); and books by cartoonists such as *El Libro de Forges* (1972), *Autopista* (1970) and *Los Tres Pies del Gato* (1973) by Perich. The readership in this period is also very high⁶. During this period we also witness the emergence of a new generation of political cartoonists (or the overt shift in political stance of some belonging to the older generation), chief amongst them are: Chumy Chúmez,

2. It has been argued that the assassination of Carrero Blanco, the President of Government, in December 1973, paves the way for the 'opening' process, and marks the beginning of the end of the regime.

3. The turning point is the death of Franco, on 20th November 1975.

4. The end of the transition period is marked by the general elections in 1982, when the socialist party, PSOE, came into power.

5. Freedom of expression was, in fact, effectively crippled by economic sanctions and closures. In the year 1974, which marks the peak in humorous publications, there were as many as 108 sanctions (Moreira & Prieto 2001).

6. The following figures are maximum copies issued weekly: *La Codorniz* (100,000); *Hermano Lobo* (150,000), *Barrabás* (180,000); *El Papis* (230,000); *Por Favor/Muchas Gracias* (100,000); *El Jueves* (100,000) (Tubau 1987).

Forges, Perich, Summers and Ops (Vicent 1982; Tubau 1987; Moreiro & Prieto 2001; Conde Martín 2002).

The decline and disappearance of all these magazines in the post-Franco era, around 1978, coincides with the proclamation of the new Constitution, on 6th December 1978, with the exception of *El Jueves* which is the sole survivor from that period. In the words of Manuel Vicent (1982:18), in *Triunfo*:

El humor nace de la sugerencia, del peligro, de la segunda intención, de pisar el parque sagrado. Ciertamente, cuando la democracia permite que se la ataque de un modo directo está sentenciando a muerte al humorismo⁷. (my underlining)

Throughout the course of the transition, the readership abandons these more imaginative forms of communication for the more explicit forms of information in the media.

In political cartooning, the tragic element may be exploited and emotions may be toyed with by blending two or three worlds, as in the following example by Gila, whose work might be classified as black or macabre humour.



Fig. 3. Gila (Conde Martín 2002).

7. "Humour is derived from allusions, from danger, from double meanings, from stepping on sacred ground. Truly, when democracy allows a direct attack on herself, she is sentencing humour to death".

In this cartoon on the topic of emigration in Spain, which partly coincided with the tourist boom in the 1960's, both input spaces draw on the travelling-frame. Input space 1 represents, '*the fun-loving world of tourism, hitchhiking, etc.*'. In input space 2, we have a visual representation of '*the world of emigration, the poverty-stricken masses fleeing from an underdeveloped economy*'. But the two participants are cripples, and one of them is not driving a car but moving by means of a wooden platform on wheels. As background to this blended scenario, in a third input space establishing a cause-effect link, is the evocation of '*the tragedy of the Civil War, with all its casualties, and the physical disabilities of many of the survivors*'. This cartoon calls for different levels of interpretation. Although it purportedly aims to elicit malicious laughter by recourse to bodily defects, successfully by-passing the political censor in this way, at a deeper level of interpretation it lays bare the desolation of post-war Spain: poverty, crippled workers (both physically and metaphorically: 'powerless workers'), and emigration. This cartoon constructs an 'emotional blend' of the comic and the tragic, though in the final analysis, it elicits horror rather than humour.

In our analysis of political cartooning in Spain, we present a representative sample of cartoons corresponding to the two subperiods identified above: 1966-1975, and 1975-1982. The essence of all these cartoons is not humour but political criticism. We will compare the examples in terms of the following features:

- (i) Degree of opacity or complexity of the blend: The degree to which the reader has to "juggle representations that, in the real world, are incompatible with each other" in the unpacking of the blend (Fauconnier & Turner 2002: 30).
- (ii) Degree of implicitness: The inferential work required to interpret the meaning communicated.
- (iii) Degree of participant distinctness (Langacker 1991) and identifiability of the target of the cartoon: the individual, group, institution, or ideal that is being 'put down'.
- (iv) Degree of specificity of the topic or political issue which is the butt of the cartoon.

During the first period, we tend to find a greater degree of opacity and implicitness in the cartoons, very often with no accompanying text. There is a high degree of complicity between the humorist and the reader; the cartoon very much resembles a coded message, whose meaning the reader has to unravel. The target of the joke is never an identifiable powerholder, but rather some non-identifiable exemplar of a category (i.e. a prototypical fascist, or a prototypical civil servant). Political criticism is restricted to veiled allusions to social conditions (i.e. relations between employers and employees) or to more abstract themes related to policies or recognized values, such as 'book censorship', 'bureaucracy', etc..

Books are suspect. Reading is a subversive activity. In this period many books which have been blacklisted by the censors are smuggled into the country and sold in a few well-known bookshops. The following example presents an incongruous situation in the blend, where a member of the police forces 'arrests a book' ("Pages up!"). Input space 1 draws on *the arrest-frame* (with which Spaniards were relatively familiar at the time), and input space 2 is constituted by the visual representation of an object, *a book metonymically standing for a generic writer and for knowledge and information in general*. The blend clearly alludes to the combination of force and control of information carried out by the regime.



Fig. 4. Chumy Chúmez (Roca & Ferrer 1977)

In the following cartoon by Ops, we have cross-space metaphoric mapping between an input space representing 'the world of bullfighting, where the matador, sword in hand and carrying the 'muleta' (red cape attached to a stick), is ready for the final stage of the 'faena': 'la suerte de matar' (the kill), and the bull with its horns is ready to defend himself', and another input space that is constituted by 'the world of work, with wealthy employers concerned only about their benefits and the economic development of markets (the cape in the employer's hand evokes a chart) and the poor, unskilled workers'. The blend inherits the organizing frame from the bull-fighting space, which is highly entrenched in Spanish society (and more so at the time). In the type of adversary-with-instruments frame, the roles, intentionality, superiority of instruments and predictable results are common knowledge.



Fig. 5. Ops (Roca & Ferrer 1977)

The blend presents the deadly confrontation between workers and employers. There is a subtle allusion to the Communist Party in the shadow projected by the

worker, which clearly evokes the symbol of 'the hammer and scythe'. On the other hand, the sword in the employer's hand may stand as a symbol of the common use of the national police (Policia Armada) and a special body of the armed forces (Guardia Civil) as an instrument of repression in strikes and demonstrations.

In contrast with these highly elaborated cartoons, during that very same period, 'whispered jokes' explicitly attacking the regime and ridiculing Franco and his followers abound, and circulate freely in the workplace, at university, and even in ministries. Speier (1998: 1395) argues that "whispered jokes are not necessarily an indication of resistance. [...] throughout history, whispered jokes have been safety valves, enabling men to reduce the frustrations inflicted through taboos, laws, and conventions". A similar view is held by Brandes (1977: 344), who characterizes joke-telling in Spain in the 1970's as a "peaceful means of protest against an oppressive regime".

Pi-Sunyer (1977: 182), however, notes that joke-telling in Spain in this period constitutes a form of non-violent resistance: "The resistance that Spaniards engaged in took many forms, including armed struggle, but the most common expression was an extensive body of anti-government humor". He stresses the fact that in the terminal phase, the level of anxiety is very high due to the vacuum in information, the distrust of official statements and the unpredictability of the near future, as well as the danger that the system might perpetuate itself. Franco aims to leave everything "atado y bien atado" ('tied up and well tied up') so that the regime might continue after his demise. Though the system was clearly decaying, it still retained the power and the means to repress and terrorize.

Douglas (1968: 369) very perceptively views joke-telling as a form of 'anti-rite':

A joke has it in common with a rite that both connect widely differing concepts. But the kind of connexion of pattern A with pattern B in a joke is such that B disparages or supplants A, while the connexion made in a rite is such that A and B support each other in a unified system. The rite imposes order and harmony, while the joke disorganizes. [...] great rituals create unity in experience. They assert hierarchy and order. [...] But jokes have the opposite effect. They connect widely differing fields, but the connexion destroys hierarchy

and order. They do not affirm the dominant values, but denigrate and devalue. Essentially a joke is an anti-rite.

As Pi-Sunyer (1977:187) has also pointed out, "if [...] jokes tend to undermine the established order in a ritual sense, they can also, [...], be the oral equivalent of guerrilla warfare". There was a ritualized quality to the political and social context during the dictatorship. Franco frequently appeared in parades, inaugurating dams for artificial reservoirs, attending Mass on special feast days, and other such ceremonies, underscoring the values of 'peace', 'order', and 'political stability'. Against this highly-ritualized image of the state, cartoons in this period contributed to create a political climate of growing dissent and confrontation, effectively eroding the logic of the established order.

One could perhaps argue that whereas the role of whispered jokes during the terminal phase of the dictatorship is dubious, the true form of resistance and subversive humour is that found in the public communications systems (cartoons were regularly included in daily newspapers). In a situation where critical political opinions cannot be expressed overtly, cartoonists connect with their readership and became more and more daring, exploring the limits of censorship and giving vent to all the unrest and expectancy of change.

In the years immediately preceding the death of Franco, social confrontation reaches its peak: demonstrations and strikes take place on a regular basis, most often involving violent clashes with the police, and resulting in participants being wounded or killed by shots 'fired up into the air'. Political cartooning during these years becomes increasingly more explicit. The following cartoon by Perich clearly alludes to this state of affairs in 1975. The news commentator says: "Recent events: Shoots up into the air to dissolve a demonstration and hits a dwarf". In this incongruous punchline, the blend brings together the world of 'official' news reports on TV, and the actual experience of participants in demonstrations, and another input space involving relative height and directionality. A dwarf is lower in height than an average member of the police forces. A bullet, if fired up into the air by a policeman, describes a trajectory which would never cross the physical space where a dwarf might be

located, unless s/he was flying⁸. The blend reveals the falsehood in the official report, and in Fauconnier & Turner's (2002: 348) has "the effect of heightening the intentionality" of the agent involved in the shooting.



Fig. 6. Perich (Conde Martín 2002)

The second period, 1975-1978, is characterized by a high degree of transparency and explicitness in the cartoons, in most cases with accompanying text, and overt political criticism. The target of the joke is now an identifiable individual, typically a well-known right-wing politician or Franco himself. Criticism is levelled at all aspects of the political arena.

In the following cartoon by Martín Morales, we find a clear thematic parallelism with the cartoon by Ops, Fig. 5, but in this case two of the participants are uniquely identified: Franco and his political heir Fraga (the leader of the conservative party, Alianza Popular, ex-minister of Information and Tourism, responsible for the 1966 press law, during the Franco regime, and minister of the Interior, 'Home Office', during the transition).

8. In those days, one of the standard jokes was about students' ability to fly.

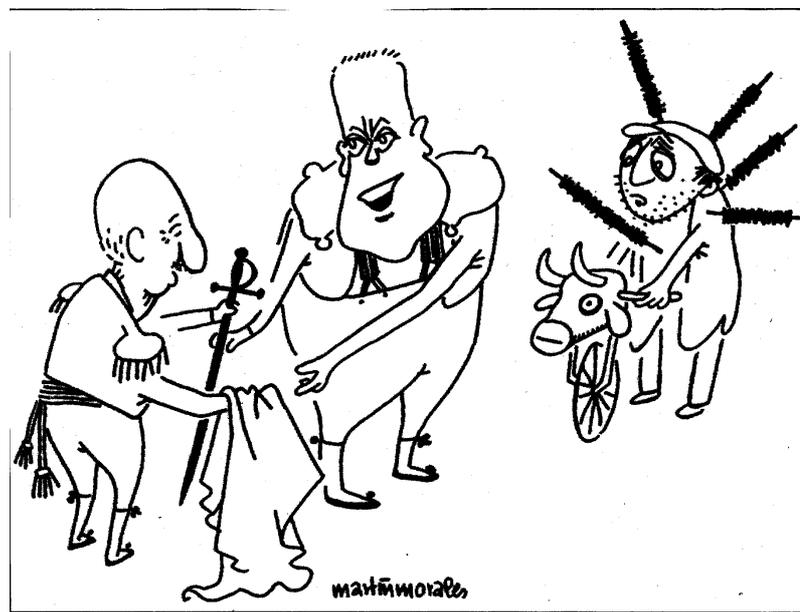


Fig. 7. Martín Morales (Conde Martín 2002)

In the world of bull-fighting space, an older, more experienced bull-fighter 'da la alternativa' (gives the alternative) that is, acts as 'godfather' to the newly-appointed bullfighter by handing him 'the sword and the red cape' (the death instruments). The bull at this point has already been subjected to various forms of torture, as the 'banderillas' (arrow-shaped metal rods which are plunged into the bull's body) clearly show. The other space is constituted by the metaphoric mapping where Franco bequeaths his political legacy to Fraga, who will make it his business to apply all means at his disposal to subject the third participant, the generic worker.

Attacks against centre and right-wing political parties, and the politics of 'continuism' that they represent, are frequent in this period. The cartoon in Fig.7 depicts Fraga again, with a group of clearly identifiable colleagues all belonging to Alianza Popular, saying: "What us? We've been democrats all our lives". The shadow they project takes the form of the nazi swastika. The political message the blend provides is obvious to the reader. As Fauconnier & Turner (2002:82) note, "the blend is where the truth resides". The conflict between the statement by Fraga

and the space of the visual representation alluding to the fascist ideology is resolved by discounting the allegation as false and adopting the view that the blend portrays.



Fig. 8. Los Partidos Políticos (Moreiro & Prieto 2001)

The cartoon in Fig. 9 depicts Adolfo Suárez, leader of the centre-right party, Unión de Centro Democrático (UCD). Mr. Torcuato Fernández Miranda, at the time President of 'Las Cortes' (the interim form of Parliament prior to the first democratic elections in 1977), depicted as Frankenstein (the name itself is a 'blend' of Franco+Frankenstein), has at last been successful in creating a credible monster, Adolfo Suárez, whose first words are "Democracy". When Arias Navarro (the last President of Government appointed by Franco) resigns, Fernández Miranda is instrumental in the appointment of Suárez as President of an interim government until the elections take place.



Fig. 9. El Monstruo de Francostein (Moreiro & Prieto 2001)

In the cellar, we find all the previously created monsters who had to be discarded, Fraga and Arias Navarro among them.

The transition period represents the celebration of freedom of expression, not simply of political opposition to the regime. Political cartooning is directed against all politicians, both in power and in the opposition, against the Legislative and the Judiciary, and against the Church. Topics include the whole range of

subjects of social and parliamentary debate: abolishment of the death penalty, abortion, co-education, etc.

5. Conclusion

In this paper we have provided a characterization of political cartooning in Spain in two historically delimited subperiods during the 1970's: the early years in the 'opening' process to democracy, and the transition years. From the perspective of conceptual integration, we have explored certain distinctive features of cartoons in the two contexts. The expression of political humour in that decade represents a cline from the more indirect, opaque and subtle forms of criticism, where is greater invisibility in ideology, to those where the message is more explicit and the ideological struggle is more transparent.

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