

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

4.0 Introduction

What is said and what is unsaid but implied (albeit, unwittingly!), is equally important. Cartoons, as with other forms of discourse, have their explicit and implicit messages. Thus, a discourse analysis (DA) of cartoons is possible, with the explicit messages seen in the words used, either those uttered or thought of by the characters portrayed, the title, the narration or the caption; while the implicit messages may be determined when the picture is looked at in a holistic manner, with attention paid to both the linguistic and non-linguistic/visual features found in it, as well as the interplay between the two. For Lat's "Dr. Who?!", an intertextual analysis was done as the cartoons contained both words and pictures, with Fairclough's 3-Dimensional framework used for the former and Cook's framework for the latter.

Text analysts view discourse (or language use in text and talk) as a form of 'social practice', with discourse and society mutually influencing one another. Like other writers, the cartoonist Lat had used his chosen medium, the cartoon, to convey his take of Dr. Mahathir (Dr. M) and his times. Since Lat's cartoons of Dr. M are drawn with the multiracial, multicultural and multilingual Malaysia as its background; therefore the Malaysian historical, socio-cultural context and the political scenario of the time are also looked into so that his cartoons could be understood more fully. As

such, discussions of the chosen extracts and the subsequent analysis have also involved the cultural, social and political aspects, in addition to the linguistic.

This compilation came out in 2004, after Dr. M's retirement. It consists of 148 caricatures (including the cover) portraying Dr. M and his time in the Malaysian Cabinet. The caricatures were analysed from both the linguistic and visual aspects to determine how Dr. M was portrayed, with Lat interviewed to gain insights on his drawings. Table 4.1 below shows how Dr. M was portrayed and the location of the drawings, as well as the 23 caricatures selected for analysis. A list of questions was emailed on 9 November 2008 prior to meeting Lat. However, due to Lat's busy schedule, the interview was carried out in two parts, on 8 January and 30 March 2009. A **summary** of the interview proceedings is shown in the Appendix.

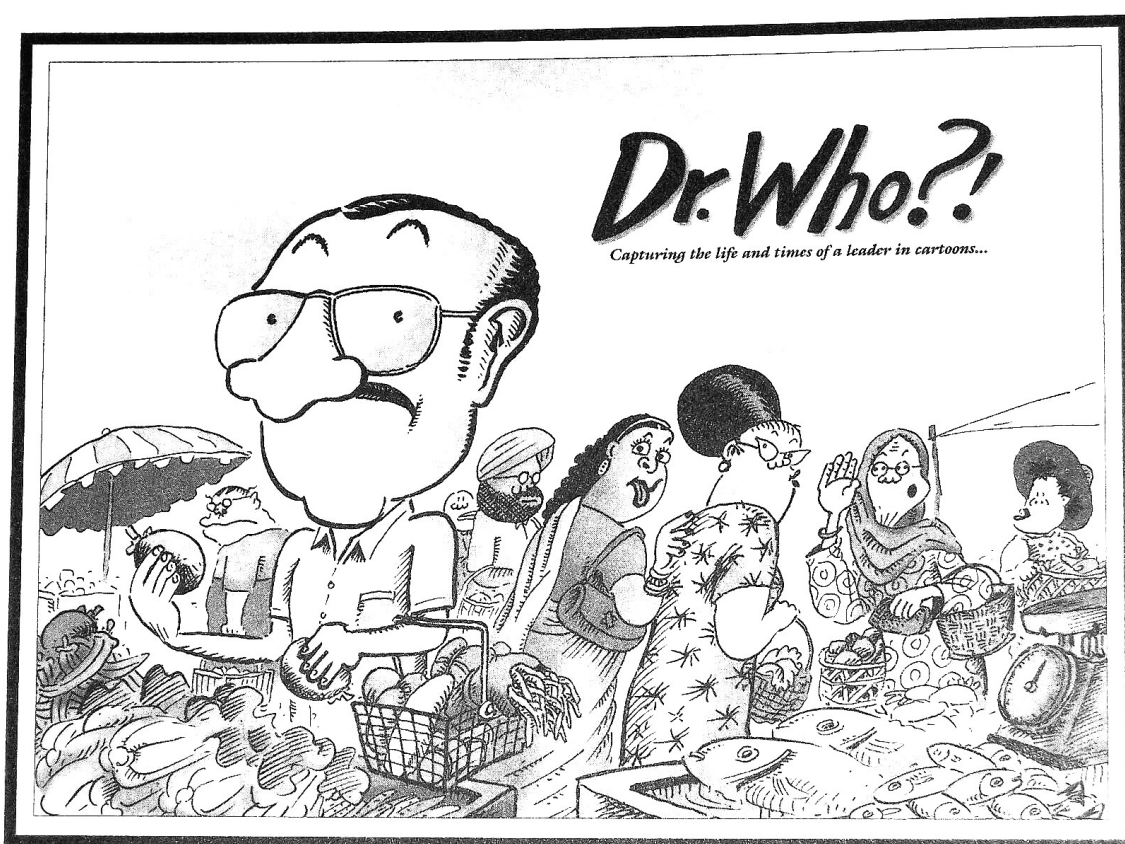
Table 4.1
How Dr. M was featured in “Dr. Who?!”

Dr. M shown as	Number in book	Found on pages	Number selected	Found on Pages
The private person	9	Cover, opposite page 1, 1, 2, 3, 37, 78, 99, 145	5	Cover, 2, 3, 78, 145
Private person & public figure	12	24, 35, 44, 45, 50, 73, 82, 83, 89, 99, 107, 144	4	45, 50, 82, 89
The public figure	127	Remainder of book	14	7, 9, 13, 14, 17, 18, 19, 47, 66, 85, 102, 111, 127, 133
Total	148		23	

4.1 Discussion of Selected Extracts

The selected caricatures are discussed in detail, with both the textual analysis and the visual analysis done together as the caricatures need to be seen holistically. To commence, the title page cum cover would be looked at first, followed by the others, according to their sequence of appearance in the compilation.

Extract 1 (cover):



'Dr. Who?!' - the old Malay granny, with her right hand cupping her ear, seems to say, questioning the two ladies facing her on what she had heard - hence the title of this compilation. Here there is a presupposition that someone, perhaps one of the ladies had mentioned that Dr. M was there in person, doing the family marketing at the *pasar tani* or farmers' market, evidence of the intertextuality notion put forth by Fairclough and

Cook's notion of co-text, where such prior utterance appears to have led to the old lady's question. The two ladies in front of the old Malay granny look backwards in surprise, with the vegetable seller in the background too looking startled, as if they could not believe their eyes that Dr. M was actually there doing the marketing. In the context of Malaysia, generally speaking, people are very status conscious and society would not expect a retired public personality, especially someone of Dr. M's stature (a former prime minister no less!) to go down and do his marketing personally, as normally it would be done by others.

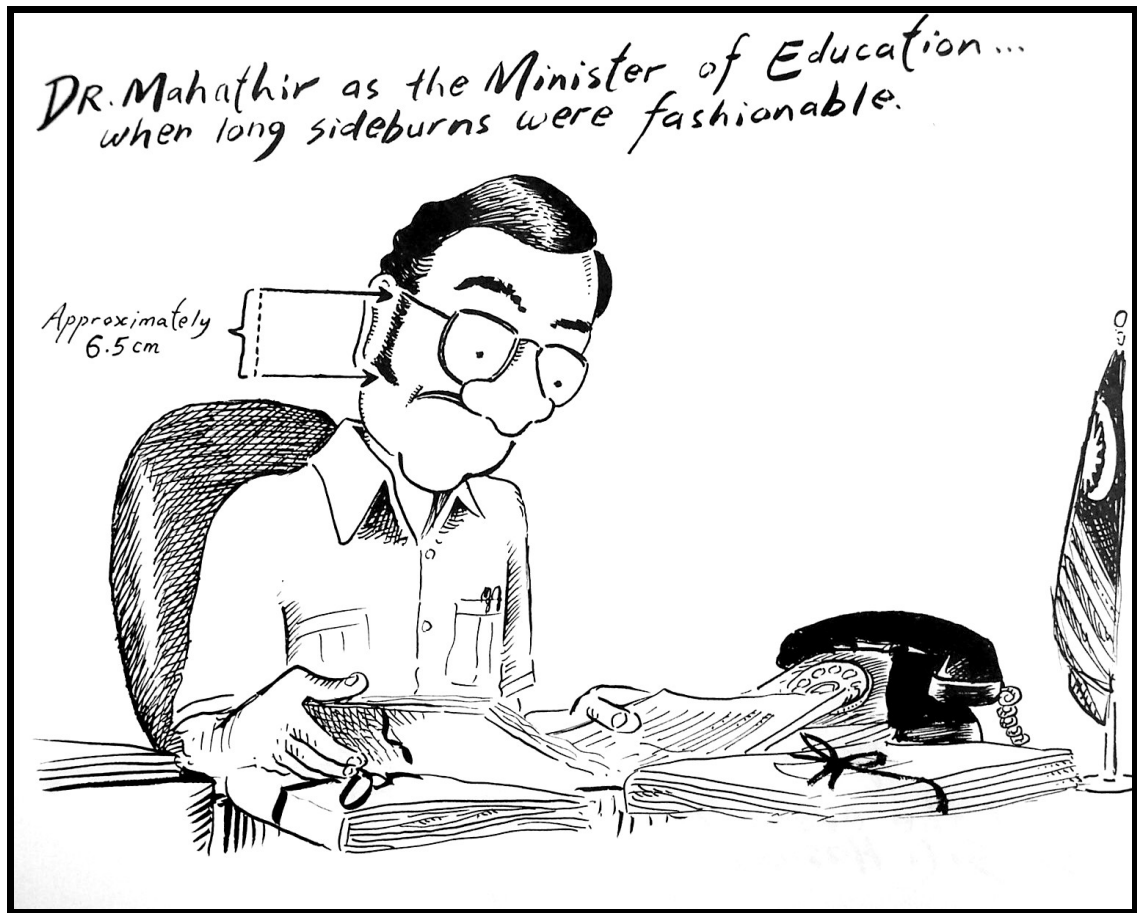
The title itself, seems to be a take on the title of a 1960s James Bond film, “Dr. No”, which showcased a fictitious spy's adventures, as Lat was aware of films shown in his teens (Lat, 1980). However, per Lat, the title - “Dr. Who?!” was chosen as he had noted politicians when they are out of office are often forgotten and hardly recognised by the public and he himself has drawn some politicians but forgot their names when they have retired from public life (Appendix), as its a normal human failing that a person in office is not known once he is out. Lat added that the “Dr. Who?!” was used as Dr. M always has something to say and hence, people would surely be unable to forget him (Appendix). The 'Who?' in the title denoting the question that a person would ask when seeing a familiar former public figure but whose name eludes him as that figure is no longer at the forefront of the public's consciousness as he is now no longer constantly in the news, while the 'Dr.' is a title that has been prefixed to Dr. M's name for so long, it has become synonymous with him. The exclamation mark (!) in the title serves to emphasis the old lady's surprise.

From the visual aspect, the full title appears on the top right hand corner consisting of twelve words, with “Dr. Who?!” printed in BIG and **bold** handwriting, while the remainder of the words (*Capturing the life and times of a leader in cartoon...*)

appear in *italics*, in a very much smaller font. This shows that the words “**Dr. Who?!**” was very prominently displayed, that the rest of the title may not sink into the public's consciousness – which only emphasis the point made earlier. The cupping of her ear together with the question “Dr. Who?!” in the title, which appeared above the granny gave credence that the question was asked by her. The cover was done in colour, in contrast to the rest of the compilation, which was in black and white, attesting to Lat's reduction in using colours in his drawings as noted in the Campbell (2007) interview mentioned in section 1.1.6. Dr. M's face which was drawn significantly larger than the other characters as the compilation is about him, not the others. His face denote a surprised look that he is not recognised, or a questioning look on why others are staring at him when he is minding his business and only going about buying fresh produce for his family's consumption. The type and size of the letters in the title together with their placement, the characters' expressions and the size of Dr. M's head are evidence of the paralanguage and situation, which forms part of Cook's (1992) context as discussed in section 2.3.

This picture shows Dr. M in his individual's capacity, and his adaptation to becoming a private citizen again, able to do ordinary every day stuff like going to the farmers' market; as opposed to the public personality he became and the protocol that had to be maintained while in office when he could not move about freely due to security reasons and the constraints of office. This tribute to Dr. M came about accidentally, as when the pictures were first drawn, most were done to be published in the NST, with no forethought of turning them into a book focussing on Dr. M (Appendix).

Extracts 2 and 3 (pages 2 and 3):



It was observed several new caricatures are always done so that a Lat's compilation would contain some fresh drawings. Lat agreed, as the compilation editor always requested for several new drawings (Appendix). These two drawings were among the four new ones (found on pages 1-4) added to the old, which gave coherence to the whole book. They are on separate and opposing pages, but they are the only ones in the compilation that showed a direct linkage (ie. sideburns) between two cartoons on different pages, that highlights Dr. M's fashion sense. In the first frame, arrows and the text denoting the length of his right sideburns when he was a minister, while the second frame shows the barber's pointer close to Dr. M's left sideburns, as if questioning the length required. Frame one's narration reminds the reader that Dr. M's first ministerial post was that of Education Minister, an appointment seen as a precursor to the

premiership, for both the second and third PMs had held the Education portfolio prior to their elevation. The apex was when he became PM, as noted in frame two. Thus, Fairclough's Intertextuality is evident here as there is interaction between the two frames, and the text to the picture in both frames.



Here, Dr. M is shown as being a fashion conscious individual for he wears a short sleeved bush jacket and had long sideburns when both were the 'in' things when he first served as a minister. The second PM, Tun Abdul Razak Hussein (Tun Razak) was often seen wearing the bush jacket during official functions in his time in office. Normally, what attire is favoured by a leader, is aped by others as it would be deemed appropriate and correct as the leader himself wears it. Dr. M merely followed the fashion precedent set previously by the second PM and adhered to by the third, Tun Hussein Onn (Tun Hussein). Dr. M did not go overboard by sporting the long hair

which was then trendy, as he appears to be aware that a nation's top leader should look more conservative (hence, the sideburns trimmed on becoming PM!) to be taken seriously when holding the highest post in the nation, for Malaysian society was more conservative then, hence, it would be in keeping with society's expectations.

'Image' or 'perception' are important tools for politicians and those in the limelight, as they may make or break a person. Thus, for a serious position in society, such as that of a leader, the person is expected to conform to and not to stray too far from societal dictates of what is acceptable in their dressing and behaviour. Dr. M was very aware of this, as he "...thinks that people, to a certain extent, have to conform to society while practising their individual fashion sense..." (New Straits Times, 14 October 2009). Otherwise, if a man were to continuously keep his hair long or wear a *sarong* for a public occasion, then he may lose his credibility and exalted position as a serious politician – however, such practices seem accepted in Malaysia as the purview of artists, with the composer/singer Ramli Sarip and National Laureate A. Samad Said known for keeping their hair long and the poet Salleh Ben Joned known to have recited his poetry in public whilst attired in a *sarong*.

The notable exceptions in recent Malaysian political history was that of the late Tun Sambanthan and the late Temenggong Jugah, both of whom served as ministers in the late Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj's (Tunku) cabinet. Tun Sambanthan was the MIC (Malayan Indian Congress) president and was among the people's representatives who travelled by ship to London in 1956 with Tunku to negotiate the *Merdeka* or Independence terms. Prior to the trip, Tun Sambanthan would always be seen in a white shirt and the *dhoti* or white Indian *sarong* as they are among the traditional attire for Indian males, but by the time they met the British, Tunku had managed to persuade him to change his attire to the suit - more acceptable by Western standards, so that all the

representatives would be similarly attired and give a visual show of their solidarity and unity of purpose. Temenggong Jugah was the paramount chief of the Dayaks (the indigenous people) of Sarawak at the time Malaysia was formed. He kept his hair long as that was part of the cultural expectations of his people, the Dayaks then, that their chief should closely follow their traditions, with keeping long hair as one of the practices of Dayak warriors of old.

The narrations are handwritten using the normal sentence form (i.e. combination of upper and lower case letters), while Dr. M's utterance is in upper case letters. Dr. M's words "*Tolong trim sikit...*" (or 'Please trim a little' in English) presupposes that a question had been asked (i.e. "This length?"), denoting Intertextuality again for this question was implied from the placement of the barber's pointer adjacent to Dr. M's sideburn. Dr. M's utterance has the illocutionary force of requesting for a trim and the perlocutionary effect is that he gets his sideburns trimmed. The use of "*Tolong*" (the Malay approximation for 'please') shows Dr. M's innate politeness, as well as his caution when seated in the barber's chair. The barber is authorised and thus, empowered by Dr. M, his customer to cut the latter's hair. This is in keeping with Fairclough's (2001) notion that power is created when the participants consent for power to be given to a person. If Dr. M is rude, the barber may become irritated and be inclined to give him an atrocious cut, which would embarrass the former as it would take a while (at least a month or more!) before the former's hair would grow long enough for remedial styling. The two frames' narrations are in English, yet Dr. M's utterance is in Malay, as Lat chose the languages for their appropriateness and the impact that they would have on the reader (see Appendix).

Extract 4 (page 7):

This caricature appeared early in Dr. M's tenure as PM, soon after the announcement of his 'Look East' policy. The caption and the signpost with the label "East" prominently printed in big, bold, capital letters in the fourth frame succinctly sums up the 'Look East' policy of Dr. M, which was introduced early in his administration. As earlier noted in section 1.1.1, the first three prime ministers (Tunku, Tun Razak and Tun Hussein) were trained as lawyers in United Kingdom, while Dr. M was trained as a medical doctor in Singapore and Malaya. Here presupposition comes into play, as their initial legal training with heavy emphasis on respect for things historical appears to have an influence on their leanings, with Dr. M choosing to look Eastwards (to Japan and Korea) as examples to emulate, while his predecessors had looked to United Kingdom, especially in terms of education and training (a continuation of policy, since many Malaysians had been sent there since pre-Independence days) – this was a radical change in policy, as it appears that the 'West is Best' perception of many in Malaysian society then was not favoured by Dr. M.



As discussed under extracts 2 and 3 and previously in Chapter Two, power according to Fairclough (2001), is created when the participants consent for the power to be given to a person. As Malaysia is a democracy (albeit with a constitutional monarchy) with Dr. M elected into office, it means the masses had tacitly consented to give him power over them. Thus, the masses had to abide to the policies he set.

Dr. M appears to take the stand that 'East is as good as West' (something which he had already put forth in his writings during his student days), as he wanted to change the mindset of Malaysians of feeling inferior and kowtowing to those from the West. Instead, he wants them to take pride in themselves and their Eastern values and norms, for the Eastern civilisations had long been copied but not always acknowledged by the West. So, although Malaysians were still sent to English speaking countries for tertiary education and training as in the past, but under Dr. M, large unprecedented numbers were sent to Japan and Korea for similar reasons, with them having to study the language of the host country before they could further their studies or training there. Indeed, these languages have even been offered at selected secondary schools for quite a while now. During Dr. M's tenure, Malaysians were also sent to other Eastern countries like Indonesia and Egypt for courses such as medicine in renown universities there. This policy of sending Malaysians to Eastern countries for study or training continues to this day, two PMs after Dr. M has retired.

The 'Look East' policy was initially not favourably received by the older generation of Malaysians, especially those who had lived through the harrowing time of the Japanese Occupation during World War II, as they remembered their suffering and the atrocities committed by the Japanese. Great Britain, our former colonial master, was also upset with this move as they stood to lose a lot of revenue (and future influence, as generally students would view favourably their place of study) from Malaysia since it

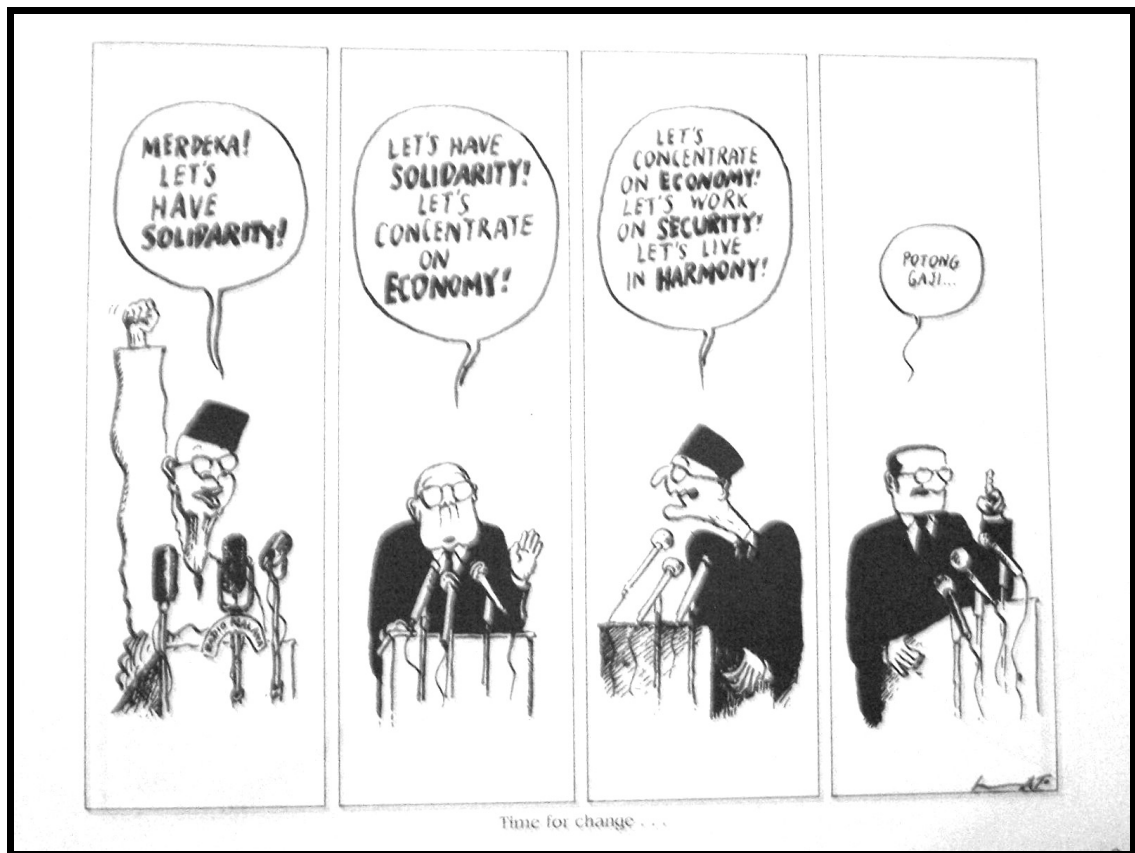
was the main destination for the majority of government sponsored students. Nonetheless, despite older Malaysians' misgivings and criticisms from others, Dr. M strongly proceeded with this policy. His move generated a lot of goodwill in Malaysia's favour from Japan and Korea, and gained an additional avenue for employment for Malaysians, for they had acquired not just the technical know how, but also the prerequisite languages needed to work in the Japanese and Korean companies.

There were four frames for this caricature, with the first three frames showing the first three prime ministers standing straight. The signpost "East" in big block letters in the fourth frame, as well as Dr. M holding binoculars (looking eastwards) with his body contorted only underlines the radical changes made by Dr. M through his 'Look East' policy. The way the men were drawn, together with the caption and the label 'East' in the fourth frame only serves to emphasise the difference between the the fourth PM and the first three Malaysian premiers – that Dr. M dared to differ from his predecessors in setting policies when he felt would benefit Malaysia in the long run.

Extract 5 (page 9):

Here, the locutionary act (what is actually said), illocutionary force (the specific function of the words uttered) and perlocutionary effect (what is done by the words uttered) is the same, *potong gaji* (Malay for 'a pay cut') for all. Dr. M's use of the imperative here, only underlines his position as the country's leader, as shown previously in Kamila Ghazali's (2004) study, discussed in section 2.4. The switch in language, from English in the previous three frames to Malay in the last frame seems to further highlight the policy changes (such as the 'Look East' policy discussed in extract 4) made by Dr. M. This drawing appeared when Malaysia underwent the first recession under Dr. M in the mid-1980s, with the pay cut, a first for the public sector (and a bitter

pill for them), being one of the cost cutting measures prescribed to reduce government expenditure in a bid for Malaysia to overcome the recession effects. The pay cut was a far kinder measure than the job losses endured by many sections of the private sector.



There were four frames in this early caricature, with the utterances written in capital letters, denoting it was said loudly. The words that were stressed by the first three Prime Ministers appeared in **bold**, denoting the policy thrust of each, with the second and third Prime Ministers repeating some of his predecessor's words before stating his own policy thrust, showing that they are continuing the major policies of their predecessor. Not so Dr. M – he did not repeat his predecessors words, instead his words *potong gaji*, was a command showing the authority he had, which can be seen from the words itself and his raised pointer when those words were uttered. The command however, appeared in a smaller font, perhaps because they are words that are

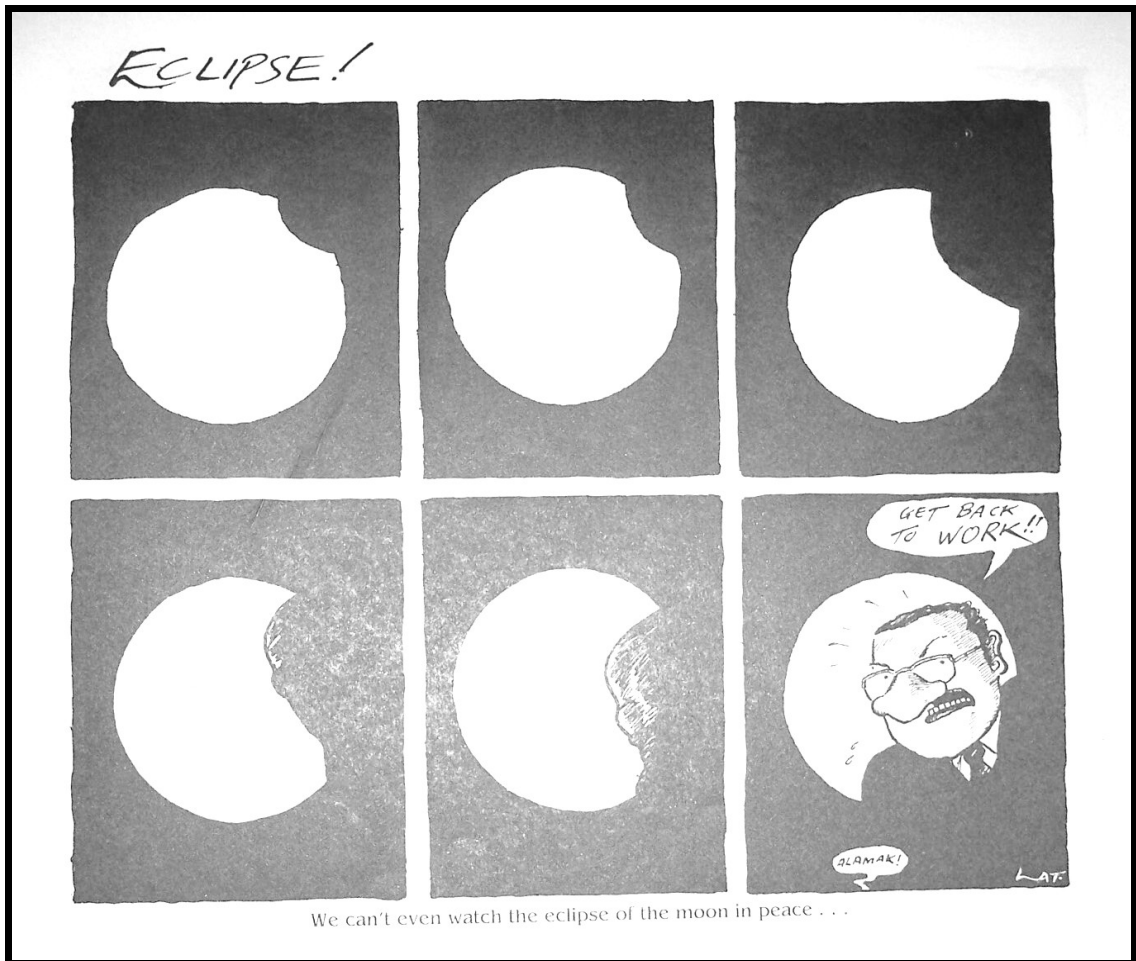
unpalatable to employees! As discussed earlier, Fairclough's (2001) notion of power is when a person is given power and authority by others in his group. Thus with Malaysia being a democracy where the people's representatives are elected into office by them, it means the masses had tacitly consented to obey Dr. M. Despite a pay cut being unwelcome, the masses had to abide by Dr. M's imperative as the latter was empowered by the former to take this unwanted but necessary measure.

Extracts 4 and 5 show that Dr. M wish to steer Malaysia on a somewhat different course from that of the previous three premiers. As there is a similar vein between the two extracts (i.e. highlighting different policy thrusts from those previously held), there is Intertextuality between the two in the presupposition of the readers' assumed knowledge of the respective PMs and the policies they undertook. They also show that he is a strong and fearless leader, who will carry on with what he deems is right for the nation, disregarding the naysayers. These extracts have typewritten captions, which were not there when the drawings first appeared, but per Lat, were added on later when the caricatures were compiled to assist the reader in understanding them as the compilation was done years after their initial appearance in the NST (Appendix).

Extract 6 (page 13):

This caricature is one of a few that have both a title and a caption. The response to Dr. M's command 'Get back to work!!' was an '*Alamak*' or 'Oh, no!' in English, denoting that the speaker did not expect to see Dr. M's face there. This portrays Dr. M as a hard working, no nonsense boss as he does not want his subordinates to slack off, even to see the eclipse of the moon. Indeed, per Lat, it shows his perceived character at the time for "...when you look at him, you only think of work..." (Appendix), the essence of which was captured in the caption. It also shows that as the nation's leader,

he has the power and authority to give such command, which must be obeyed by the others as they had implicitly assented to it. This follows Fairclough's (2001) notion of power discussed in earlier extracts.



It can be seen here that Lat switches language, from English to Malay in the utterances and back to English in the caption, as the target audience, Malaysians, are assumed to understand both and can easily switch from one to the other, a phenomena noted by Baskaran (2005b). Lat noted (Appendix) that people tend to talk about what had happened on the weekend when they return to work on Monday - the eclipse was seen over the weekend, with pictures of it having appeared in the Sunday papers. Thus, as was the norm, it would be discussed by workers on Monday, taking up some of the office time for non-official stuff. This was a gentle poke at such practices, as Lat said,

“...the last thing you need is the PM telling you to get to work!” (Appendix).

There were six frames in this early caricature, with the utterances written in capital letters, with Dr. M shown as larger than life. Per Lat (Appendix), such frames in sequence is in the comic book format. Dr. M's directive appear in bigger font, to show that he was talking loudly and could be heard by all, emphasizing that he wants people not to waste their time at work talking about non-work stuff. Indeed, the positioning of Dr. M's face may even be construed that his personality is so huge, that it even overshadows the eclipse of the moon! Lat noted (refer Appendix) that at that time he had yet to personally meet Dr. M and had not really looked at the latter's pictures. He drew Dr. M as quite plump (Appendix), that his friends pointed out to Lat that this was not accurate and such constructive criticism was used to improve his drawings. This extract was really liked by his late mentor, Rejabhad (Appendix), and is one of the most memorable of Lat's caricatures of Dr. M as people can still recall it years after it first appeared.

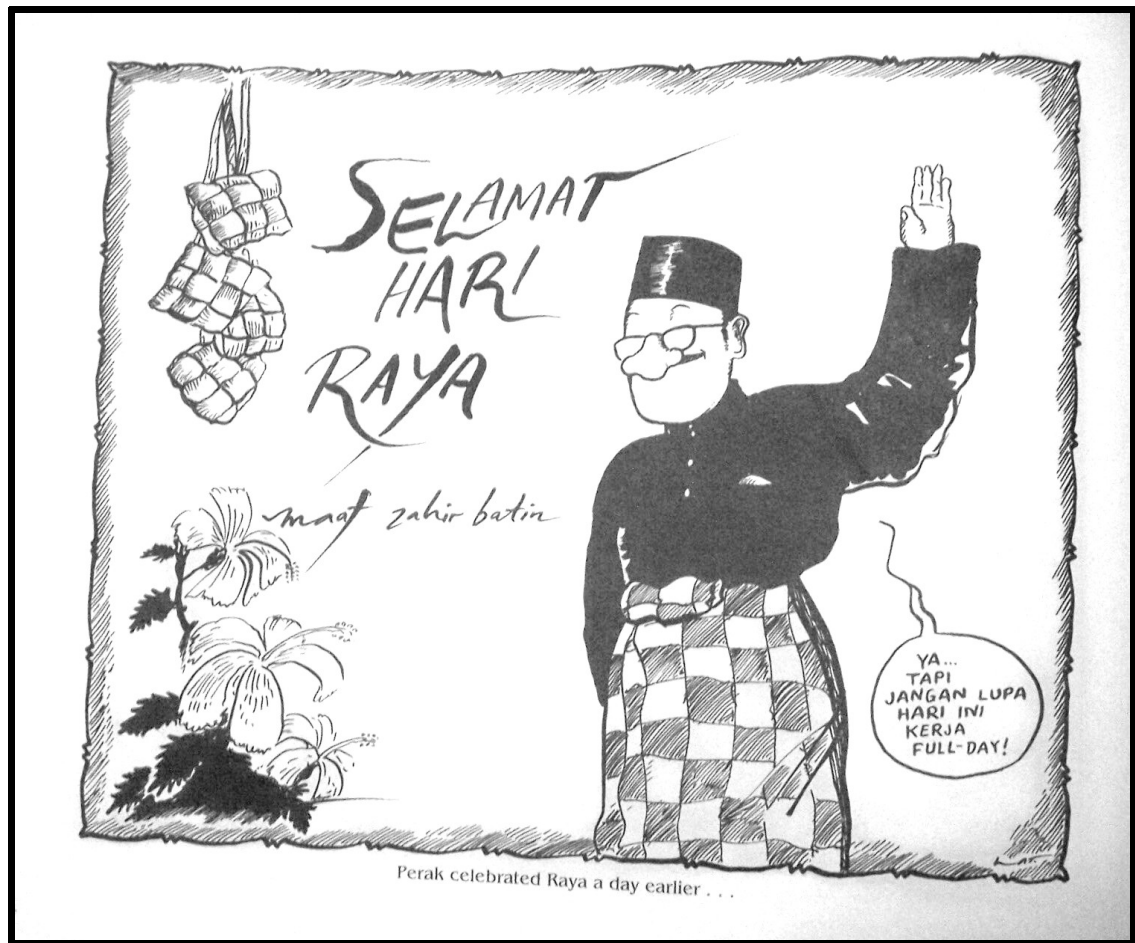
Extract 7 (page 14):

Malaysia is a constitutional monarchy (Muhammad Kamil Awang, 1998:116) with an elected parliament. Nine of states in the peninsular have a Malay royal ruler as the state head (as mentioned in section 1.1.5), who also functions as the head of Islamic matters in his respective state (Muhammad Kamil Awang, 1998:118) with the King overseeing Islamic matters in states without a royal ruler (Muhammad Kamil Awang, 1998:201). Thus, the constitution has clearly spelt out that the King is head of Islamic matters, while the secular administrative governance is headed by the PM. Islamic religious matters that would be implemented nationwide, such as the start and end of the fasting month (among others), would be announced by the Keeper of the Rulers' Seal, as

the nine royal rulers would have met previously and would have reached a consensus, giving their authority to the Keeper to make such an announcement.

This caricature appeared on the day the Perak state celebrated Eid-ul Fitri (or *Hari Raya Puasa* in Malay), the Muslim festival marking the end of the month long fast, as Perak was celebrating the festival a day ahead of the rest of Malaysia that year, as its then Sultan used his power as head of Islam in his state, to declare that day as the Eid-ul Fitri or the 1st day of the Muslim month of Shawal and a holiday in Perak, as he had disagreed with the date announced by the Keeper of the Rulers' Seal. The disagreement arose from the method used to determine the 1st of Shawal, as the date may be determined by either mathematical calculation or the sighting of the new moon; but at that time, the majority was of the view the sighting of the new moon is a must before the date can be declared, disregarding the other method of mathematical calculation permitted by Islam. The rest of Malaysia celebrated this festival on the next day, obeying the declaration by the Keeper of the Rulers' Seal, who made the announcement on behalf of the King. Thus, the rest of the Malaysian people was still at work on the day Perak was already enjoying the holiday – hence the 'Ya...Tapi jangan lupa hari in kerja full-day!' (English for 'Yes...But don't forget today is a full day working day!') utterance of Dr. M to Malaysians in general. Some of those staying in border towns adjacent to Perak, and who had familial ties with people on the Perak side, chose to hop on to the Perak side and celebrate Eid early with the Perakians. The Perak Sultan's action highlighted the existing anomaly, as in his state, his decree on Islamic matters overrides others', and even the PM himself cannot impinge on it, as this had been provided for in the constitution, which had been accepted by all. The Sultan's action is in keeping with Fairclough's (2001) notion of power, as he is given such powers by the constitution itself. The following year, both Perak and Johor celebrated

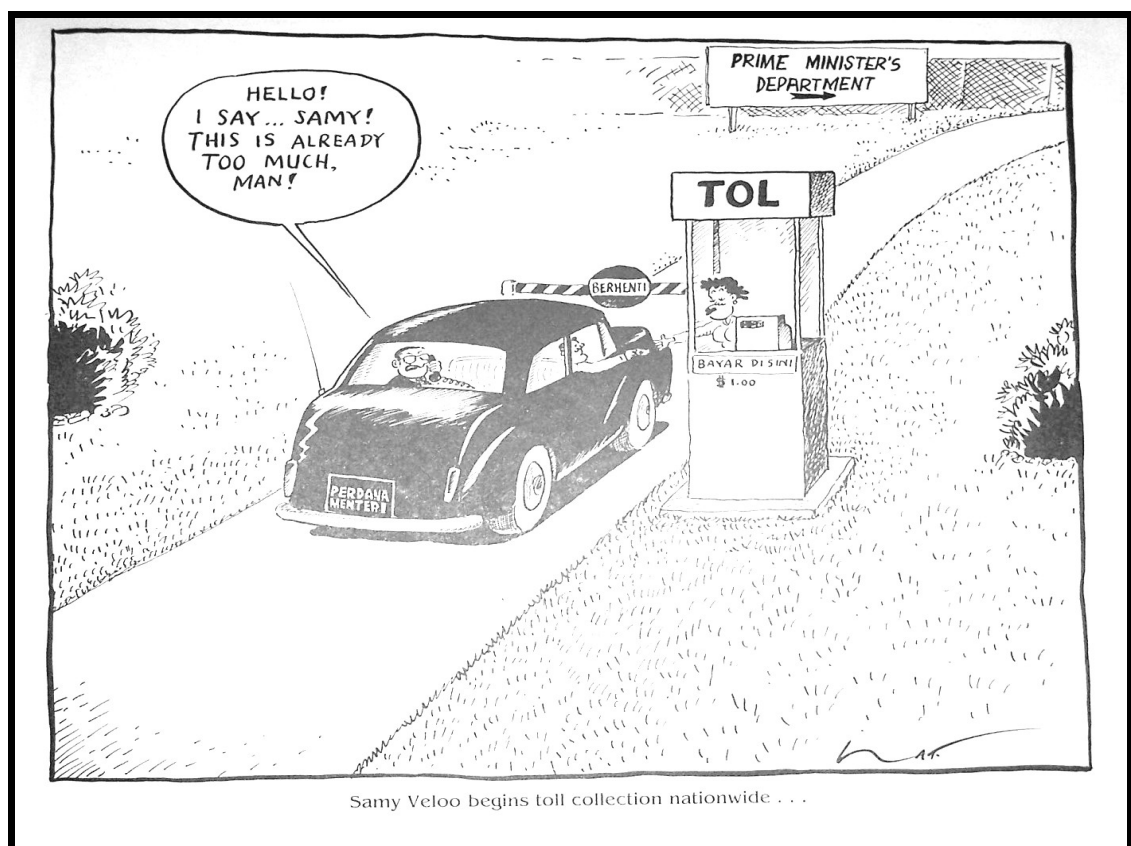
Eid-ul Fitr earlier than the rest of the country, perhaps because a daughter of the then Perak's Sultan had married the Johor Sultan's heir.



Here, all the text (with the exception of 'full day') in the 'greeting card' are in Malay, as Eid greeting cards sold in Malaysia are generally in Malay, as the majority of Muslims in Malaysia are Malays. The greetings '*SELAMAT HARI RAYA*' (or 'Happy Eid') and '*maaf zahir batin*' (asking for forgiveness) seen on the card are those that are offered for Eid-ul- Fitr; in Malaysia, they are also used by the non-Muslims for greeting the Muslims on their festival. The caption, added later, is in English. The main greeting is seen in bold capital letters to emphasis that it is Eid, while the rest of the greetings are in small letters.

This early Lat caricature used the imagery of the Eid-ul Fitri greeting card with its scalloped edges, complete with pictures of *ketupat* (rice cake in woven coconut leaves casing) – a type of food normally offered during Eid, the hibiscus (national flower of Malaysia) and Dr. M in *baju Melayu*, a garment now normally worn by Malay males for Eid, Friday prayers and specific formal occasions (such as weddings), where once it was the normal everyday attire. Mosques, *ketupat*, flowers and geometric patterns are items normally shown on Eid-ul Fitri greeting cards in Malaysia.

Extract 8 (page 17):

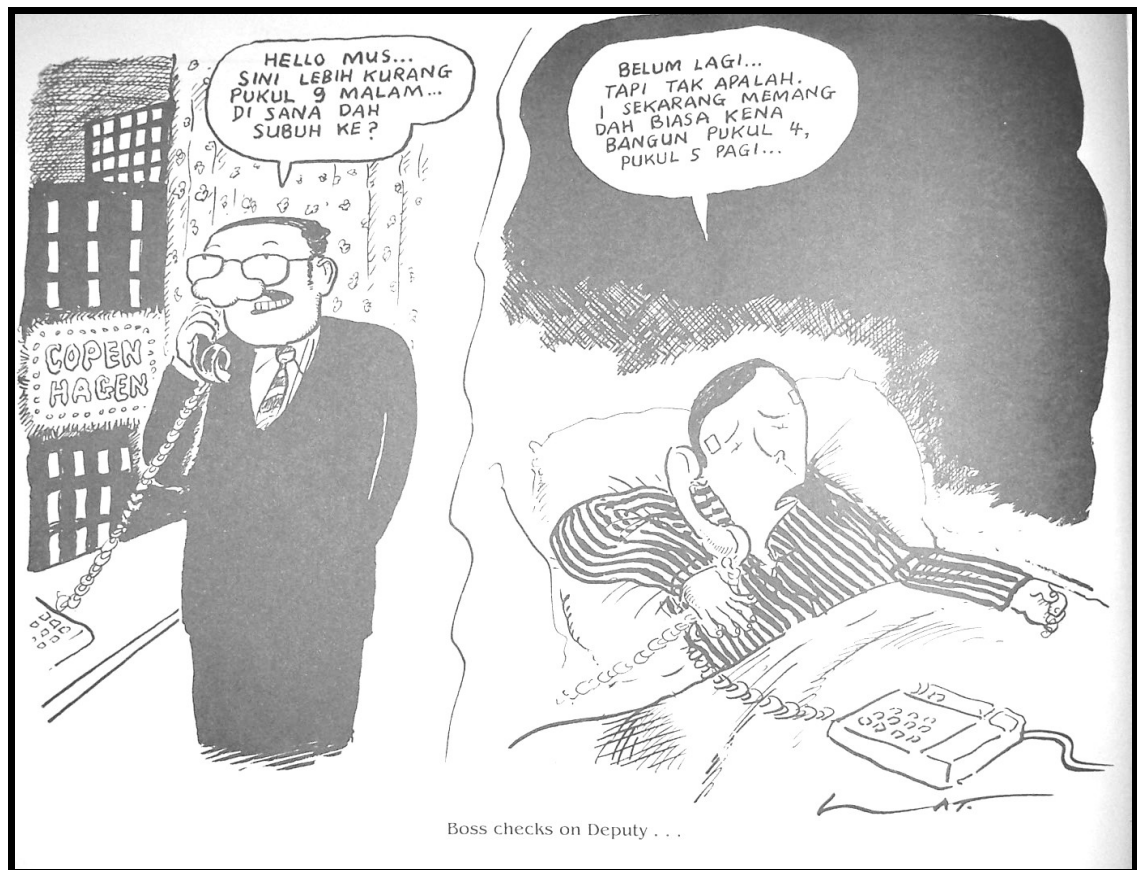


There is a mix of languages used in this caricature. All but one labels in the frame appear in Malay (i.e. car plate, stop sign, toll booth and notice at cash register) - the national language used for official purposes, with the sign denoting the PM's Department in English as the PM receives both local and foreign visitors. The utterance

and caption are in English. Dr. M uses the first name of his subordinate, denoting his power and status as the boss. This is parallel to what Brown and Gilman (1987) had noted and similar to Tannen's (1993) observation that the boss would call his staff by his first name. Although Dr. M is clearly shown, nonetheless, the labels '*Perdana Menteri*' (Malay for PM) on the car plate and the sign showing direction to the PM's department, further emphasised Dr. M's post; that it is the PM who is being made to pay toll! This was the sentiment Lat wished to convey, and some quarters felt he was brave for portraying Dr. M thus (Appendix).

Per Lat (Appendix), this caricature appeared when the tolled North-South Highway was first mooted. Although there had previously been short stretches of road e.g. Slim River in Perak that were tolled, the toll highway was not perceived by the populace in a good light. Matters were not helped that the then Works Minister was seen as enthusiastic for toll collection to start. Although the toll collection would only fatten the government coffers which could be channelled towards development, nonetheless, Dr. M's words here underlines the people's feelings, especially those who need to use such tolled roads frequently or on a daily basis. The drawing of Dr. M going to his office (which he does daily) and his utterance shown in upper case form, appears to stress this point. Thus, if a toll booth were set up at his office entrance, he would have to pay toll every time he enters his office premise, which may be several times in a day due to the various functions he may need to attend outside. This drawing shows the policy's impact not just on him, but by extension, on the highway's frequent users as it would place a heavy financial toll on them.

Extract 9 (page 18):



Here, the utterances by both Dr. M and his deputy (the first of four!) are in Malay. Dr. M's utterance (translated) is 'Hello Mus...Here, it's around 9 at night...there, is it daybreak yet?', to which his deputy replied (translated), 'Not yet...but never mind. Now I'm used to getting up at 4, at 5 in the morning...'. Dr. M code switch from the English 'Hello' to Malay in the rest of his utterance, appears to show his closeness to his deputy; such intimacy as a reason for code-switching had been highlighted by Azirah Hashim (2002). He also called his deputy 'Mus', a shortened version of the latter's name 'Musa' – such familiarity and use of the shortened form of the given name is normally done by someone who is either very friendly or in a higher position (but not by one in a lower position) than the addressee. Dr. M and Datuk Musa Hitam had been friends for a long time, and together, even were on the 'wrong side' of Tunku in their younger days in

the late 1960s. Here, by using the shortened form, Dr. M's position as boss is underlined. This is similar to Tannen (1993) and parallel to Brown and Gilman (1987), as discussed in the previous extract.

The use of the English pronoun 'I' by the Deputy Prime Minister (DPM) instead of the Malay equivalent of '*aku*' or '*saya*' is done as it is deemed neutral, for the familiar '*aku*' is considered as the unrefined Malay form of 'I' by some sections of Malay society; while the formal '*saya*', although deemed a politer pronoun for the first person singular, is derived from '*sahaya ini*' (or English for 'this slave'), which harkens to the feudal times when slaves were found in Malay society and hence, the way a slave or servant would address himself to his master would be reflective of their respective positions to one another. The pronoun 'I' shows respect due to his boss and old friend, yet not subject Datuk Musa Hitam to the feudal overtones when the formal '*saya*' was used. From the utterances of the two characters here, we see Dr. M checking on his deputy and keeping tabs on Malaysia, despite being abroad at the time and being aware of the time differences between them.

This is actually a two frame caricature, with a wavy line separating the pictures of Dr. M and the first of four deputies, Datuk Musa Hitam. The sign with the label 'Copenhagen' shows us that Dr. M was abroad in Denmark at that point in time. His deputy is pictured in his pyjamas and in bed – what most would expect a person to be doing at that time of the morning! There are two patches of '*koyok*', on Datuk Musa's face; these sticky patches of bandages are put on the head or other parts of the body to get rid of aches – denoting his headaches caused by less sleep as he has got to handle the country's problems while Dr. M is away. This is but one of several drawings within the compilation which shows Dr. M checking on his current deputy (as the caption succinctly notes) when he is abroad, with all showing that although the then DPM is in

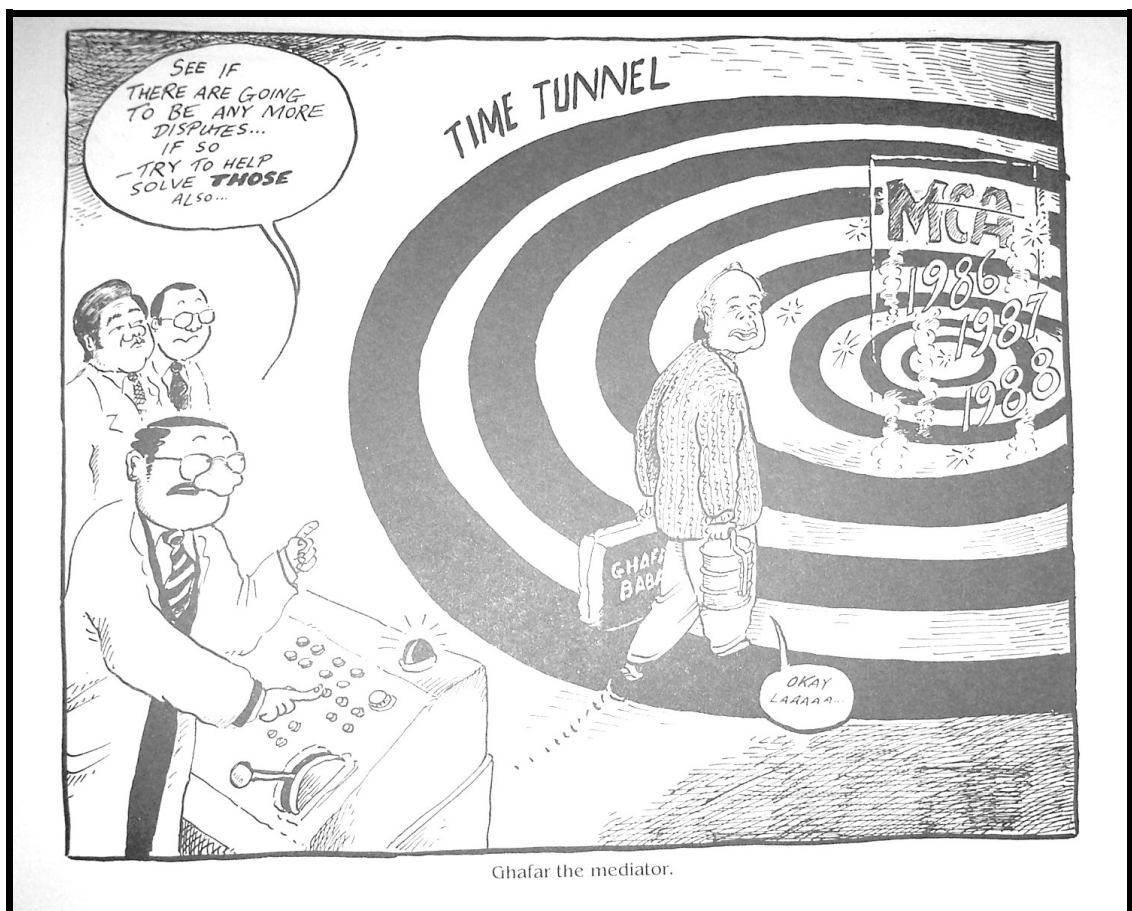
charge when the PM is away, nonetheless Dr. M, exercises his power as the boss and monitors what is going on at home, as bosses are wont to do in real life!

Extract 10 (page 19):

The caption and utterances (with the exception of Ghafar's 'la') are all in English, as well as the heading 'Time Tunnel' in capitals which was prominently placed above the black and white circles. Here, the presupposition is that the audience is familiar with 'Time Tunnel', the 1960s television series, where the main characters are transported to another time via a time machine by them going into the centre of the ever smaller circles. The alphanumerics of 'MCA', '1986', '1987' and '1988', as well as Dr. M's self explanatory utterance with the word '**those**' in bold, shows what he wants Ghafar Baba, his then deputy (the second of his deputies) to do i.e. to go into the future and see if the MCA (Malaysian Chinese Association) would be having any more internal problems that may affect the coalition government and to fix them. This is because at that point in time there were problems with the existence of two factions in that party. Dr. M's utterance is an imperative, as head of government he can instruct any minister to carry out his command, for the ministers had collectively assented to this by being in his cabinet, a further illustration of Fairclough's (2001) notion of power. The two MCA faction leaders, Neo Yee Pan and Tan Kwoon Swan are shown behind Dr. M in this caricature, as they, along with Dr. M, would want to know the outcome of Ghafar's visit to the future as it affects their party and they cannot gainsay Dr. M's imperative as Dr. M is not only the PM but also heads the the National Front (*Barisan Nasional* or BN), to which MCA belongs, as discussed in section 1.1.5.

Although UMNO (United Malay National Organisation), MCA and MIC have been are in the federal government since before independence, each have had their share

of internal conflicts. As they are seen as 'senior partners', any internal disharmony would affect the government too, especially when there's 'verbal' mud-slinging done frequently in the public, as it dents the government's credibility when factions within a component party are seen to be publicly at odds, as the facade of a united front would be badly impaired.



The label 'Ghafar Baba' on the bag showed that it was his, as he would need to bring stationery when taking down notes as mediator. Ghafar's use of the Malay particle 'la' only stresses his acceptance of the task set by his boss. According to Lat (Appendix), Ghafar was noted as a respected mediator for quarrelsome parties would not proceed with their quarrel when he is sent, thus, he was the leadership's mediator of choice to settle disputes. Hence, the caption. Dr. M is shown wearing a lab coat as he is the boss and is in charge; he is similarly dressed as the boss character in the series.

Ghafar is carrying a bag and tiffin carrier, denoting that mediation normally takes some time, so he brings along provisions for the time he'll be away. The lines above light on the time machine shows that it is on, while the short lines behind Ghafar's left foot denote him walking towards the centre, which has smoke and what appears to be firework explosions denoting disputes as the expression 'there's fireworks' is used in everyday talk to show disharmony and disputes.

Extract 11 (page 45):



This 1989 caricature is one that is without heading and caption. The label on the notice and Dr. M's utterance are in English. There is a presupposition that Dr. M's aide had whispered (seen through his right hand is near his mouth) of the mass arrival of the heads of governments that make up the Commonwealth, and Dr. M's consternation of

this fact when we look at Dr. M's utterance. The label on the welcome notice shows how the government wish to project Malaysia to the other Commonwealth countries i.e. as a beautiful country that welcomes visitors.

There is also another presupposition of the reader being aware of what is the Commonwealth and the regular CHOGM (Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting) that was to be held in Malaysia as the dailies had been full of it in the run up to the meeting. Malaysia had joined various groupings as mentioned in section 1.1.5, including the Commonwealth, which she joined during Tunku's premiership. The Commonwealth consist of Great Britain and her former colonies, with the British monarch recognised as the Commonwealth's head (<http://www.royal.gov.uk/MonarchAndCommonwealth/TheCommonwealth/TheCommonwealth.aspx>). There are extensive economic and social ties among member nations, as well as military cooperation between some of them - indeed, Malaysia benefitted from the military assistance rendered by Great Britain and other Commonwealth countries in facing the communist threat during the Emergency, that spanned from before Independence to several years after it. The heads of governments of nations within the Commonwealth have regular meetings, with different nations rotating to play host for a given year. Malaysia hosted the COHGM in 1989. Malaysia continued membership in this voluntary organisation during Dr. M's tenure only serves to show that he followed his predecessors' policies that benefitted Malaysia.

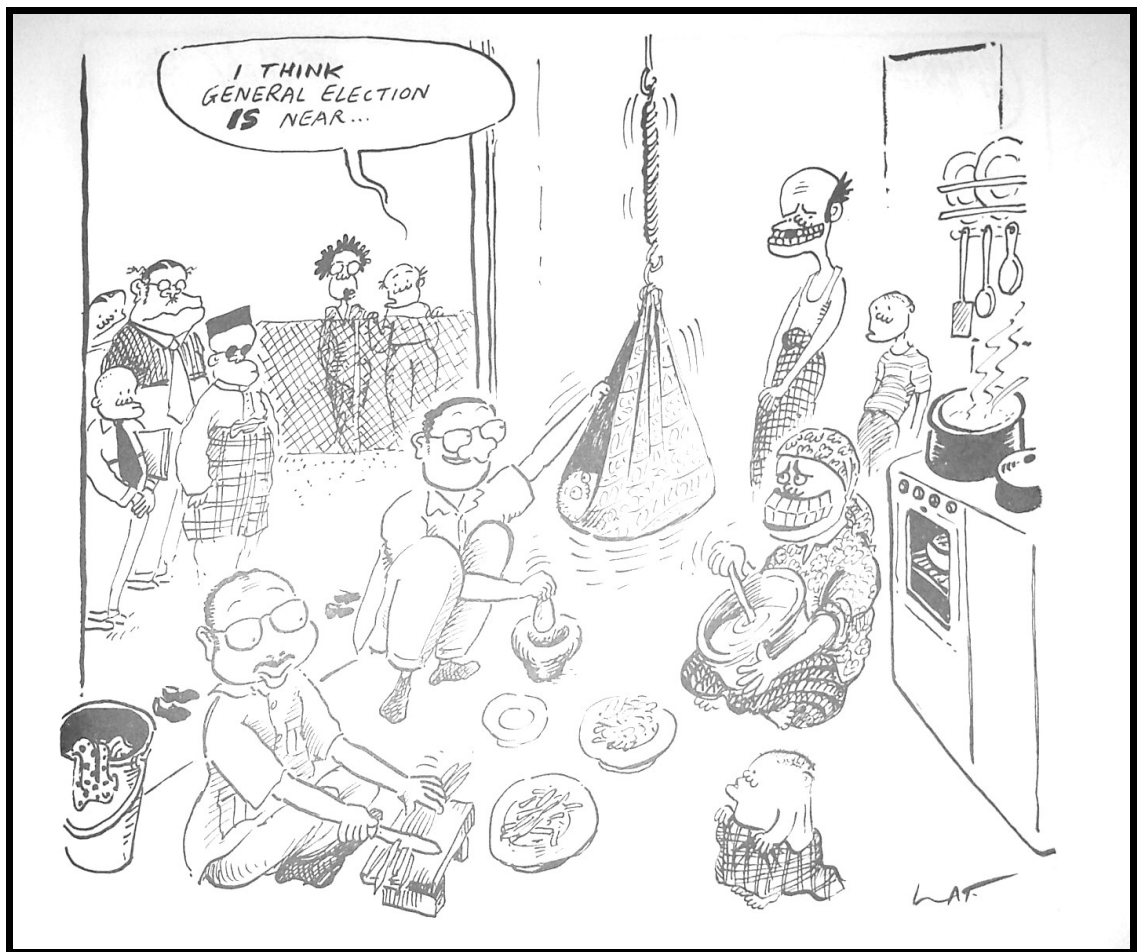
Here, Dr. M's private and public personas overlap: the private person is seen with him shown hammering away at the welcoming sign, for carpentry is a known hobby of his (http://www.arkib.gov.my/arkib_lama/english/sriperdana.htm); while the public facade is of a hard working PM does not hesitate to soil his hands to get things done and Dr. M meeting other Commonwealth nations' heads. Dr. M is known to keep

personal tabs on important issues and meetings, especially ones hosted by Malaysia. Intertextuality is at play here, as the reader is assumed to know of his hobby and to recognise the various heads of governments. The various countries of the Commonwealth are not named here, but instead are represented through the images of their heads of government, with the Rajiv Gandhi, Benazir Bhutto, Lee Kwan Yew, Margaret Thatcher and Bob Hawkins, the Prime Ministers of India, Pakistan, Singapore, Great Britain and Australia respectively, being the more prominent faces here. The label was in a combination of upper and lower cases, while Dr. M's utterance was in upper case. The words 'What' and '**already**' (shown in bold), together with the two exclamation marks (!) in his utterance, with Dr M seated facing his aide, denotes him being so absorbed with the task at hand (ie. fixing the 'welcome' sign) due to his hands-on attitude, that he appears to be unaware and surprised that his guests had arrived in Malaysia for this regular but important meeting. According to Lat (Appendix), the people's opinion that he gathered then was that Malaysia was not ready yet for such a meeting when the CHOGM was held here.

Extract 12 (page 47):

As mentioned in section 1.1.5, UMNO was founded in 1946 by Dato' Onn Jaafar to protect the Malays' interests and oppose the British imposed Malaysan Union (<http://sejarahmalaysia.pnm.my/>). Since the beginning, UMNO has been the BN government's backbone; thus anything affecting it would be extensively reported in the local media. UMNO ran into choppy waters in the late 1980s following a bitter and unsuccessful bid by Tengku Razaleigh Hamzah (more familiarly called 'Ku Li') to wrest the President's post from Dr. Mahathir in 1987 (Chamil Warya, 2007); this led to UMNO being briefly deregistered and the 1989 formation of a splinter group, *Semangat*

46 (or the Spirit of 46, named after the year of UMNO's formation) with Ku Li as its head (http://books.google.com.my/books?id=gP-8rXzQs8C&pg=PA2757&lpg=PA2757&dq=Semangat+46,+Malaysian+1988+Constitutional+Crisis&source=bl&ots=mREIEQquEd&sig=NaEXsBZ6Ol-FvJ9CorfAQPNUhwy&hl1kAXK6cTgDQ&sa=X&oi=book_result&resnum=6&ct=result). *Semangat 46* was so named because it claimed to return to the spirit in which UMNO was founded, ie. among others, championing Malays, safeguarding the Malay language and the Malay rights.



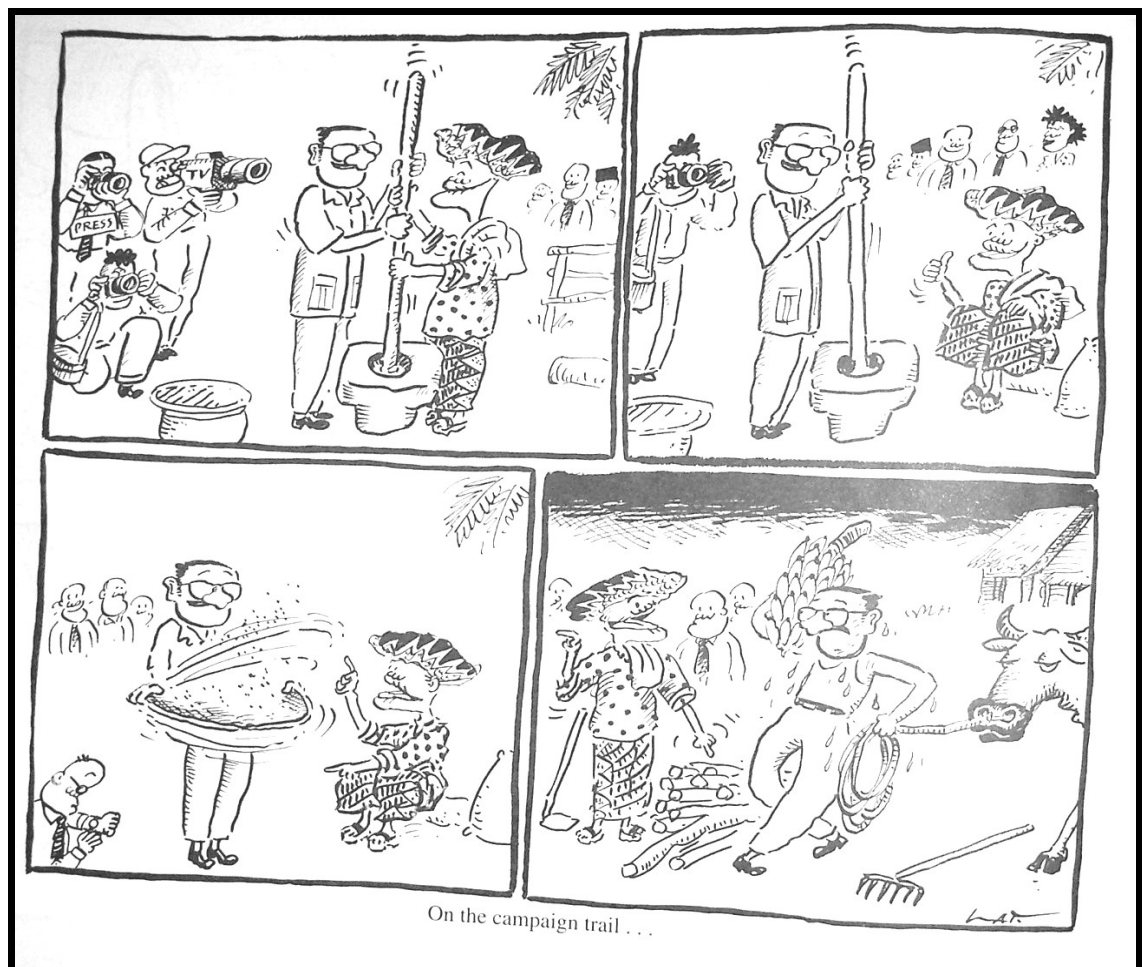
The utterance by the onlooker succinctly sums up the situation, when the question on the public's mind was the date of the forthcoming general election, for it had not been announced, yet from the activities and words of Dr. M and his opponent, Ku Li, it seemed imminent. This caricature appears to be drawn after the formation of

Semangat 46. The onlooker's utterance was in English and shown in upper case, with the word '**is**' in bold, denoting that the word was being emphasised, and taken with the word 'think', shows what the onlooker's perceived, that is the general election was just round the corner.

Making house visits is the norm of political campaigning in Malaysia; more so when it seems that both parties appear equal in strength or support, as neither is willing to allow the other any advantage. Such house visits, whereby the candidate would kiss babies, assist a bit in some task or talk to the members of the household, play on public sentiment and are attempts to secure the required votes, so that the party's candidate would win. The curvy lines besides Dr.M's arm and hand, as well curvy lines near Ku Li's and the housewife's hands denote movement, i.e. they are working and trying to get the family's support for their respective party. Although cooking is known to be a hobby of Dr. M's (http://www.arkib.gov.my/arkib_lama/english/sriperdana.htm), such activity is not the norm for male royalty (as Ku Li is), especially those within the inner circle and of a certain age - for they had been raised in a generation when it was not an accepted activity for them. This is an obvious play on the public sentiment wanting leaders to be humble and people friendly, and not aloof. The curvy lines besides the spring and below the sarong of the sarong cradle denotes that the cradle is being rocked. The baby's eyes, seen staring at Dr. M, seems to denote his surprise at the unfamiliar face that is rocking his cradle. This extract serves to emphasis Dr. M as a hard working person, a competitive politician who would not give the opposition an inch but would tirelessly campaign for his party's victory, with no task seen as beneath him so as to influence voters and swing sentiments towards his party.

Extract 13 (page 50):

This caricature only has a self explanatory caption, with no other text found in the four frames. Nonetheless, these four comic-like sequential frames show Dr. M in both his private and public capacity. The public persona is shown here as a politician on his campaign rounds, while the private person shines through as an individual, who is respectful to his elders and finds it difficult to deny an elder's request for help – although it is taking time away from his scheduled events.



All four frames shows movement, while the third frame shows how Dr. M is winnowing paddy through the round 'tampi' or container seen as static with large curvy lines above and below it denoting that it is being moved up and down (as discussed in section 2.1) in the winnowing process of paddy, as directed by the granny using her

pointers to show the directions of the required movement. The fourth frame shows a darkened sky and Dr. M leading the buffalo back for the day shows that it is already evening as in Malaysia, such four legged farm animals are released in the morning for grazing and fetched home in the evening (denoted by the darkening sky in the background) to be returned to their enclosures. Additionally, the aide looking at his watch in the third frame also shows that Dr. M has spent more time with this old granny than had been planned. Dr. M is shown to have put in a long day's manual work as in the fourth frame he is shown wearing his singlet and perspiring, while in the previous frames he was attired in his bush jacket - getting the buffalo home is not the 'cleanest' of chores!

These four sequential frames underlies Dr. M's traditional upbringing whereby respect and politeness towards elders include assisting them in heavy work without a murmur. This is in keeping with the notion of politeness toward elders observed by Suraiya Mohd Ali (2004) and Jamaliah Mohd Ali (2000), as discussed in section 2.2.5 previously. However, these frames also underscores the old lady taking advantage of Dr. M's innate politeness, especially the final frame showing her pointing to the chopped wood, presumably wanting Dr. M to move it to a covered place after he has seen to the buffalo and stored the bunch of bananas. She is able to do so, as Dr. M, having acceded to her first request had granted her temporary power over him; thus, had empowered her to make the additional requests which he fulfilled without a word – this conforms to Fairclough's (2001) notion of power. Per Lat (Appendix), his focus was not on Dr. M's politeness as he is a polite person, but rather on the campaign trail, as stated in the caption.

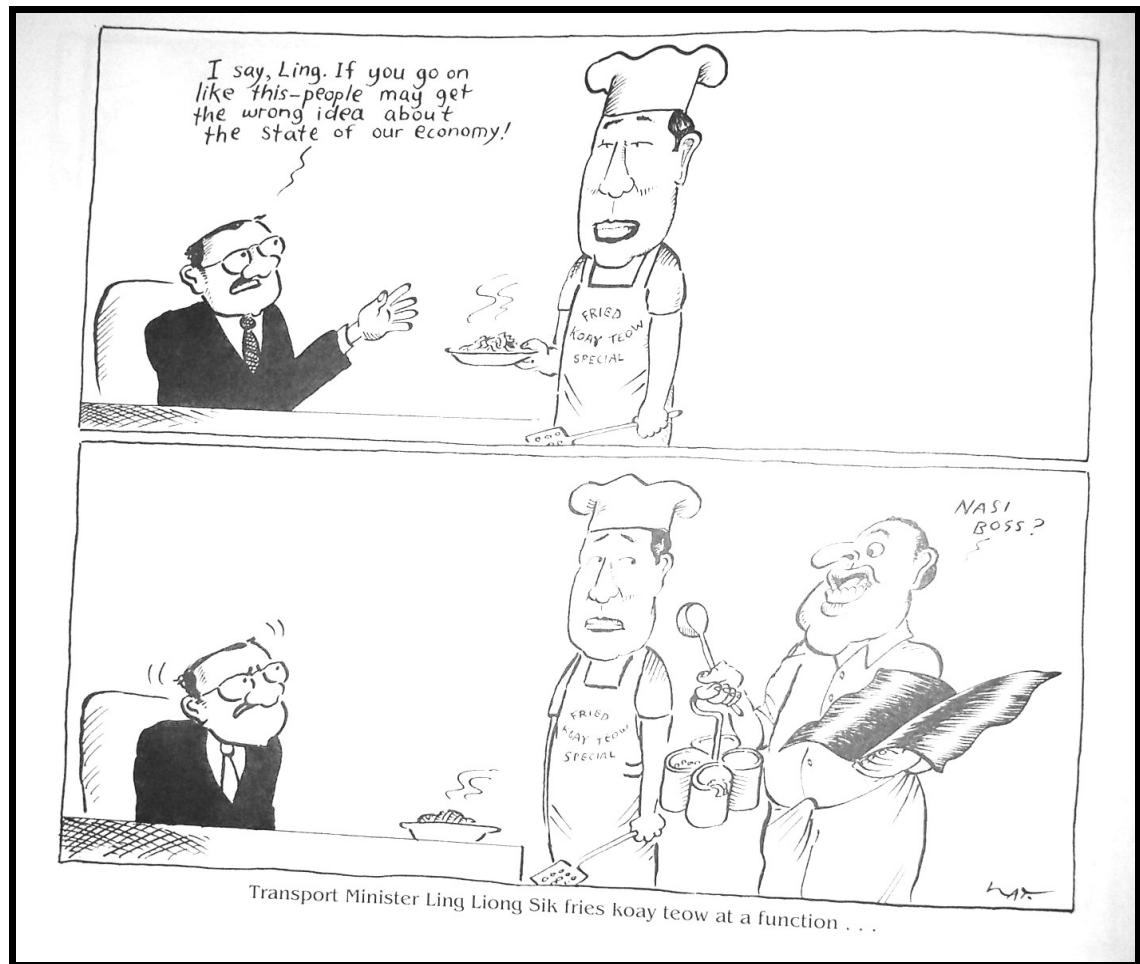
This and the preceding extract are related for they have societal expectations implied, as they highlight the practices of Malaysian politicians, including Dr. M, who

would go round on their campaign trail visiting voters at work and at home, and while they are there, they would assist some of the constituents with whatever task that the constituents are doing when they make their appearance at the latter's place. Such practices are known to our society, and may even be expected by the people. Intertextuality can be found in both these extracts, as the audience is assumed to be aware of such practices (visits by politicians and their helping some constituents in their tasks), as they are always reported in both the print and broadcast media whenever an election or by-election is round the corner. Although Dr. M is a hard working, competitive and tireless politician, he seems to get more than he bargained for here, as the granny insists on him helping her with all her daily tasks, when normally such visits would be of a short duration and not a long stop at any one house!

Extract 14 (page 66):

In this two frame caricature, power and hierarchy can be seen in how Dr. M addresses his Transport Minister by his family name 'Ling', and the Works Minister addresses Dr. M by saying 'boss', instead of his given name. Such hierarchical power had been observed by Brown and Gilman and Tannen previously discussed in earlier extracts, and is in keeping with Fairclough's notion of power, as the cabinet ministers have tacitly given Dr. M power over them. Dr. M's authority is also seen in his utterance, whereby he ticks off his minister for his action of frying *koay teow* (a type of Chinese flat noodles) publicly as it may give a negative impression to others about the economy – it may give the appearance even a minister needs to moonlight to survive in an economic downturn! The label on the Transport Minister's apron is in Malaysian English, as the word 'special' appears after the words 'fried koay teow', which shows the first language interference on English in Malaysia, as it is not grammatically correct –

ie. 'special' should appear before the other words.



The Works Minister code switched from *nasi* (Malay for rice), to 'boss' an English word. The practice of code switching is common among Malaysians who are proficient in both, especially when they are acrolectal speakers, a phenomena observed by Baskaran (2005a) and Gaudart (2000) previously. Koay teow and banana leaf rice, although it was previously culturally identified with the Chinese and Indians respectively, it is now accepted and eaten by all, as long as the religious dietary restrictions of the Muslim (ie. porkless and lardless) and Hindu (ie. beefless) customers have been observed by the sellers. It would also make economic sense for the sellers as they would attract more customers by being sensitive to the religious restrictions of the other communities in Malaysia.

The words uttered by the Works Minister is shown in upper case while Dr. M's are shown in normal sentence format (combination of upper and lower cases) - the former appears to be speaking in a louder voice than the latter; this contravenes our Eastern culture and the accepted norm of a subordinate to speak to his superior in a softer voice or lower tone. Wavy lines above the dish of fried noodles shows it is hot and implies it was freshly made. The Transport Minister's face appeared unhappy in the frame two to see the Works Minister, implying that the latter seems to butt in in a function where the former was the star attraction. This extract highlights the practice where organisers for charitable fund-raising events would invite a well known figure to do something (which he normally does not do publicly!) - for example sing a song, and to raise money by it. Here, the Transport Minister had probably agreed to fry the noodles, which would be auctioned off to the highest bidder in a bid to get funds for that specific charity, as such a dish by him would not be had at any other time.

Dr. M's face registered disbelief in frame two, to see not one, but two ministers involved in cooking at a function – he is seen shaking his head left and right, evidenced through the curvy lines on either side of his head. It is more galling for Dr. M as the ministers are the presidents of MCA and MIC respectively, ie heading the senior component parties within the federal government, as their action would really make people wonder about the state of Malaysia's economy!

Extract 15 (page 78):

Dr. M's utterance presupposes an earlier utterance by the wife asking him about his day. This is evident from the first part of his utterance, "How was my day today?" as it appears to be an echo of his wife's, Dr. Siti Hasmah's assumed earlier question – a reference to an earlier text, hence, intertextuality as pointed out by Fairclough. The

caption (which was added later) describes the situation then, when there were many factions within UMNO, and the PM's stand of seeming to be neutral; it assumes that the reader have the background knowledge of the existence of factions within the party.



This was initially surmised to be about the Team A and Team B, when UMNO politicians aligned themselves to either Dr. M and Tengku Razaleigh Hamzah in their bitter tussle for the President's post in 1987 (Chamil Warya, 2007), for it has become customary for the president and deputy president of UMNO to become the PM and DPM respectively in the BN coalition government. However, per Lat (Appendix), this was probably done about the time of Ghafar Baba was challenged by Anwar Ibrahim for the number two post in UMNO. As the prior practice was whosoever is the number two in UMNO would become the DPM, hence different politicians within the party either

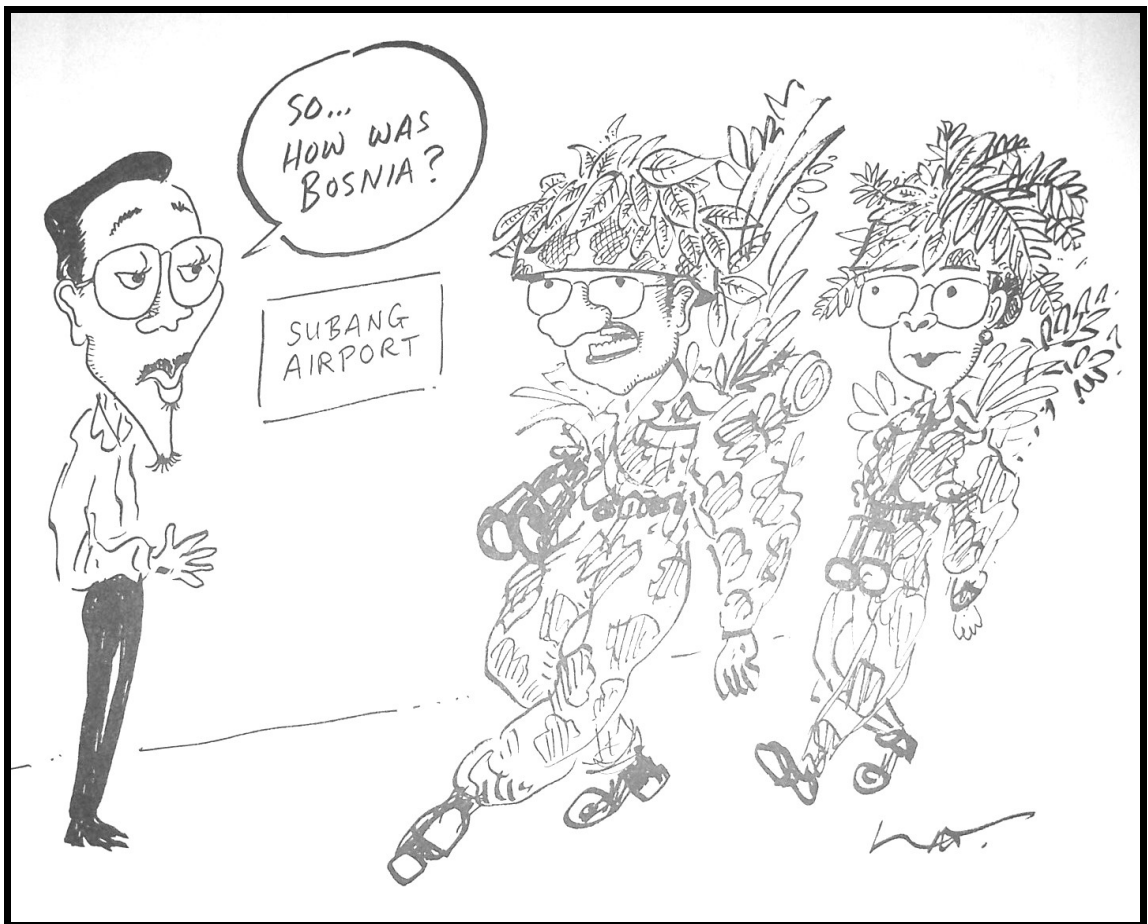
backed the gentlemanly Ghafar Baba, who was then both the deputy president of UMNO and the DPM (Dr. M's second!), or Anwar Ibrahim, a cabinet minister and Dr. M's (the president's) protege. Ghafar finally decided not to defend his number two post in UMNO and resigned as DPM when Dr. M publicly showed his preference for Anwar, thus, ensuring no split within the party as had happened in 1987, for Ghafar was a loyal party member who placed the party above himself. This made the way clear for Anwar to ascend to both positions uncontested.

Dr. M is shown met at the door by his wife, underlining their close relationship and his wife's supportive role, for in a traditional Malay patriarchal family set up, where the wife does not work outside the house, the wife would greet the husband on his return from work (as usually advised by the female elders) as a mark of respect for him as the family breadwinner. The close relationship which he shares with his wife as described by Azizah Mokhzani et al (2000: 91-107) is in keeping with the family values that he espouse and had stressed on in his presidential addresses in UMNO annual general meetings as noted by Kamila Ghazali (2004). Per Lat (Appendix), when he is short of ideas, he could always fall back on drawing the PM and his wife, as people would always read it. However, he would only show them in a humourous way, in a manner that would not hurt them.

Extract 16 (page 82):

The then DPM, Anwar's utterance shows that Dr. M had just returned from Bosnia. His surprise visit to the Malaysian peacekeepers serving under the United Nations (UN) flag was to boost their morale, so that they know their PM and the rest of Malaysians were concerned about their well being despite them serving thousands of miles away from home. It also shows Dr. M's penchant of personally keeping tabs of

what is happening to those under his watch. As discussed in 1.1.5, Malaysia is a member of the UN. There is a presupposition of the audience's knowledge about our troops serving in Bosnia, a continuation of our peacekeeping role under UN since the first stint in Congo in 1960 (<http://maf.mod.gov.my/plpm/index.html>). Due to her impartiality in carrying out duties, Malaysia has often been called to serve as UN peacekeepers in strife hit countries since her first stint which continues till today, with Malaysian peacekeepers being sent to Bosnia, Lebanon and Timor among others, in the past two decades. This extract serves to show Dr. M as a leader continuing with policies (being part of UN and sending peacekeepers under UN flag), set by prior PMs.



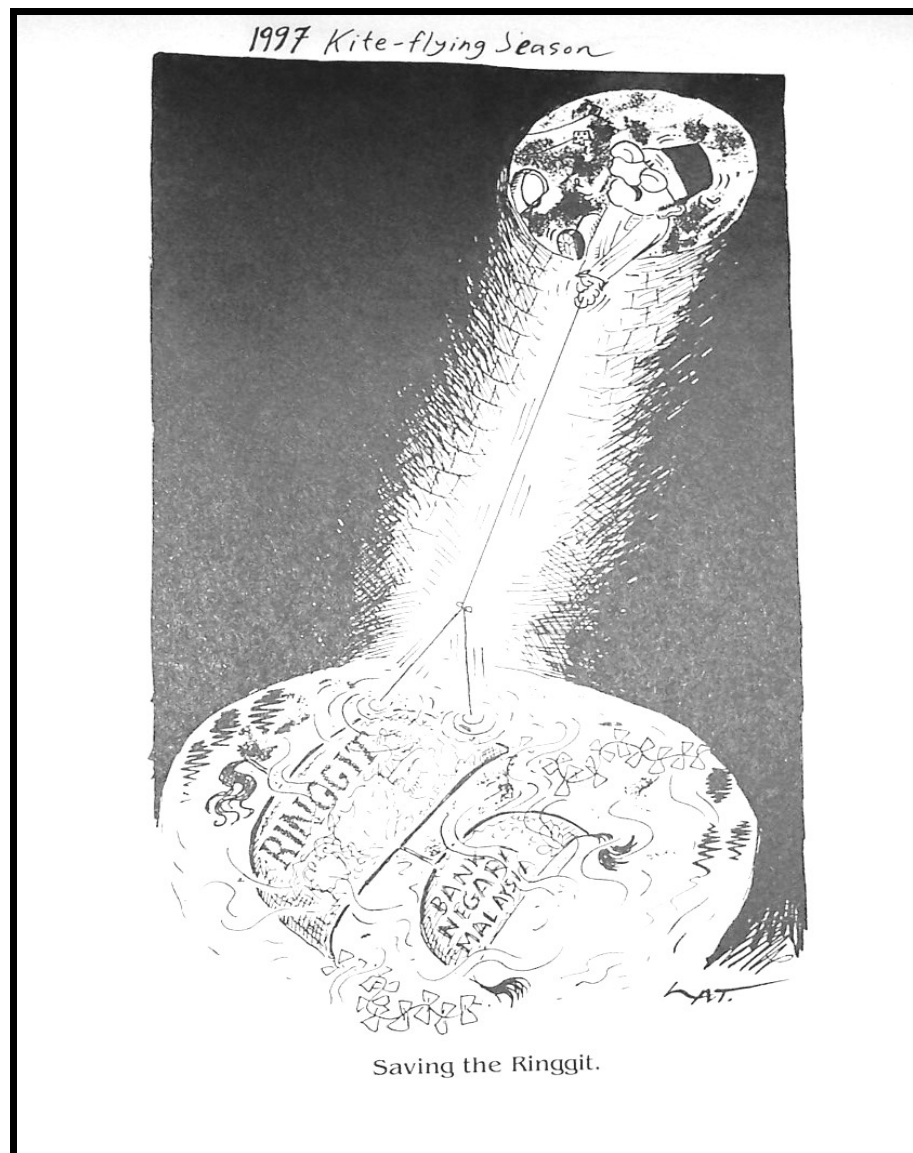
The label 'Subang Airport' on what appears to be the wall shows that Dr. M and his wife had arrived at Subang International Airport, which prior to the building of the KLIA (Kuala Lumpur International Airport) in Sepang, was the then main gateway to

Malaysia. Dr. M and his wife who frequently accompany him abroad - denoting their close relationship and her support (Azizah Mokhzani et al, 2000: 91-107), are shown returning home in camouflage, as camouflage is the attire for troops to go about virtually undetected in the jungle and the couple had gone in secrecy so that their security would not be compromised and to safeguard against something untoward from happening to them, hence avoiding an international incidence of huge proportions if their schedule had been known to all and sundry. Dr. Siti Hasmah, Dr. M's wife is shown walking a bit behind him, consistent with the role expected of her in our patriarchal society, which dictates that the man is to lead. It has become a practice for a DPM to send off and greet the arrival home of the PM from his trips abroad. This only serves to show off who is the boss, as his underling would kowtow to him, which is shown through this caricature.

Extract 17 (page 85):

This caricature, according to Lat (Appendix), was not drawn for NST, but for a Japanese Foundation exhibition. The original was very big; its size was that of a vertical banner. It does not contain any utterance by Dr. M. Instead it has both a heading and a caption, with labels on the kite that had fallen into the well. The labels 'Ringgit' and '*Bank Negara Malaysia*' (or '*BNM*', the Malaysian Central Bank) appear on the top and bottom half of the *wau* (or kite in English) respectively, as *Bank Negara Malaysia* is the agency that issues and regulates the Ringgit. When the Monsoon season is here, the winds then are suitable for kite flying, which is a popular traditional past-time, especially in the East coast of the peninsular, where it is often done on the beach. Some kites would float high in the air, while some would sink to the ground, or worse still, fall into the sea or a nearby well, which would effectively render it useless. Here,

the title shows that it is the 1997 kite-flying season. The Ringgit, the Malaysian currency is floated against a basket of currencies, the exact currencies and their weightage being a closely guarded BNM secret, but it is widely held among the financial and banking sector players that the biggest weightage is given to the US dollar or USD.



The *wau* has been used as symbol for the national carrier, but here it is used as the analogy of the currency. The Ringgit fell drastically in the 1997-1998 Asian economic crisis, when at its lowest point, it was valued at RM4.88=USD1.00. The 1997-1998 Asian economic crisis started with the Thai stock market crash due to the

collapse of the construction industry there and foreign investors' speculation. There was a domino effect on other ASEAN and Asian countries in the region, with neighbouring countries' stock markets and currencies also suffering from reduced market capitalisation due to the withdrawal of foreign investors and speculation of their currencies by foreigners respectively, which in Malaysia's case, the latter was blamed on George Soros. It led to a number of these countries having to get help from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), which saw their economies at the mercy these institutions and their economic policies dictated by them, and hence, their sovereignty compromised, as by accepting these institutions' financial assistance, they put themselves under the latter's power and control. Dr. M was strongly against taking similar actions, as he would have to kowtow to the World Bank and IMF. This would be similar to the Fairclough's notion of coerced control.

After about a year of dropping value, the Ringgit was pegged at RM3.80 = USD1.00 in early September 1998, with the physical outflow of the Ringgit curtailed through the currency restrictions imposed; the measures were taken to stabilise the value of the Ringgit and to enable trade dealings to continue on a stable basis, contrary to before when the value of the Ringgit was uncertain and plummeting. These measures were widely criticised when they were introduced, especially by the so called 'economic gurus' in the West. Nonetheless, Dr.M's actions proved to help Malaysia, and with hindsight, the 'economic gurus' later commended him for his actions that were timely in saving Malaysia from the quagmire that had swallowed others.

Here the Ringgit kite is in the deep well, sinking, although Dr. M is straining very hard to get it up into the air again, like the other kites (or currency) which are flying high and strong in the air, especially those from Europe and America. It shows Dr. M as a hard working leader, doing all within his powers to save the ringgit, and

hence, avoid getting help from the World Bank and the IMF, which would compromise Malaysia's sovereignty, as Malaysia would then be forced to accept their economic prescriptions. This would undermine Dr. M's power and control as PM, as he could not then set Malaysia's economic policies, but would have to refer to the foreign institutions for them. He did not want to place Malaysia in such a position.

Extract 18 (page 89):

The Multimedia Super Corridor (MSC) as discussed in section 1.1.4 previously, is centred in Cyberjaya, an intelligent city, that is adjacent to Putrajaya, the government's new administrative centre. The establishment of the MSC was a bold and innovative move by the far-sighted Dr. M, who flew around the globe (caricatured thus on page 88 of the compilation!), tirelessly courting the big information technology players for their technical assistance, and gave them various incentives so that part of their operations would be located here, making Malaysia a regional hub for their services (Economic Report 1996/1997). They were also required to assist in training of and technology transfer to Malaysians. The MSC additionally aimed to incubate young entrepreneurs (now often termed as technopreneurs) involved with creating new start-up high technology companies, as well as to nurture and support fledgling high technology companies (<http://sejarahmalaysia.pnm.my/>).

The charlady vacuuming in the corridor, in the middle of the frame, code switches between English and Malay several times in her utterance. The formal '**saya**' or 'I' shown in bold and bigger font, emphasised that she is the sole person in charge of the corridor, and implies that others, even the PM must listen to her when they are in her area of control. This first person pronoun also shows, that although the charlady is lower in rank and status and despite having control over the cleaning of the corridor, she

nonetheless show her respect to her superiors with the use of the formal '*saya*', instead of the familiar '*aku*' (refer discussion in extract 9). The choice of the English 'you' to refer to Dr. M is also interesting, as it is seen as neutral and can be used to refer to a second person, irrespective of that person's rank relative to the speaker. This is not possible in Malay. As someone lower in rank, the charlady could neither use the formal '*kamu*' nor the familiar '*awak*' (considered unrefined by certain sections of society) although both are Malay equivalents for 'you', when talking to Dr. M. The polite and acceptable form would be to address him by his conferred title 'Datuk Seri'.



The file Dr. M is holding with the label 'MSC' and the charlady's words 'Super corridor' denote that both refer to the same thing i.e. the MSC. Her word '*jaga*' (Malay

for 'take care') points to the MSC being under Dr. M's purview, which she does not interfere with implied from the rest of her utterance. This extract shows Dr. M acceptance of her statement, leaving the micro stuff to subordinates who are more familiar with it (in this instance, the cleaning of the corridor), while he would look at the macro or bigger issues (like the MSC) affecting the nation. Dr. M and some government officials are shown on tip toes leaning against the wall in the corridor, while the others seem afraid to enter the corridor, as if afraid of getting on the wrong side of the charlady and bearing the brunt of her anger should they leave a dirty mark on her cleaned floor. Dr. M is additionally shown perspiring, giving weight to this image. This fits with Fairclough's notion of power, as Dr. M and the others have accepted that the charlady 'controls' the office corridor. The vacuum cleaner is shown to be in motion at a fast speed through the 'frozen' vacuum cleaner and the faint duplication of it on the frame's left, together with the speed lines between the 'frozen' machine and its faint duplicate, as noted by Richardson (2008) and discussed in section 2.1 earlier. Lat had drawn other MSC related caricatures, with another (on page 88) appearing in this compilation. However, per Lat (Appendix), this simple drawing done in 1997 is his final comment on the MSC then.

Extract 19 (page 102):

The BN have formed the federal government since Independence (see section 1.1.5). The state government of several states such as Kelantan, Terengganu and Penang however, have at times been in opposition hands, depending on the elections results. An opposition party with substantial representation in Parliament today, PAS (*Parti Islam Se-Malaysia* or the Malaysian Islamic Party) is actually a spawn of UMNO. PAS was formed in the 1951 when Islamic scholars within UMNO became

unhappy and left it as they felt the party did not give the correct emphasis to Islam (http://www.pas.org.my/v2/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1370&Itemid=86); they wished to pursue an Islamic state complete with Islamic or *Hudud* laws, which they felt UMNO would not implement. This extract first appeared after PAS wrestled Terengganu away from the BN in the 1999 general elections – as explained by the caption (which was added on later). Per Lat (Appendix), this is actually a copy of a drawing done earlier, with Kelantan being the state needing passports, highlighted in the earlier caricature (see page 53 of compilation).



Dr. M code switches while his DPM replies his query in Malay. The labels here are an interesting mix, with both Malay and English seen, as well as the Roman

alphabet and Arabic script or *Jawi* used as well – the last (*Jawi*) is still widely used and held in regard in Terengganu and Kelantan, with Terengganu perceived to be the first state within the peninsular to accept Islam due to existing archaeological evidence pointing to this. '*Jawi*' is the Arabic script used for the written Malay language, since the advent of Islam into this region, but its use was abolished from the mainstream education system when Khir Johari was the Education Minister in Tunku's cabinet. Lat included '*Jawi*' here as that is used in the state (Appendix). The poster with the 'Visit Terengganu' label is similar to posters that can be found near the visa application counter at an embassy, trying to attract potential visitors attention to the country's places of interest. The ticket machine had a '*sila ambil nombor*' (Malay for 'please take a number') written in *Jawi*, showcased its continuing use in the public domain in that state. The label '**VISA**', in big, bold capital letters, taken together with Dr. M's utterance about the passport-size photo, only serves to underline that they are going to a 'different country'; for although Terengganu is in fact a state within Malaysia, but per Lat (Appendix), due to PAS in power there (as opposed to UMNO and BN, which helmed the other states' government), it is seen as a 'different country'. As they are going to Terengganu, the PM and DPM are putting themselves under the rules then placed there by Hadi Awang and PAS, which is line with Fairclough's notion of power discussed in earlier extracts. Dr. M's act of asking for his photo from his deputy is reminiscent of most bosses – they expect their underlings to see to the details for them.

PAS politicians champion Islamic laws and most PAS men prefer to be dressed in Arabic attire (a long, white ankle length robe worn over trousers) and some form of turban. According to Lat (Appendix), the turban with a red centre and white sides worn by the PM and DPM, is the headgear of graduates from Al-Azhar University in Egypt, a renown centre for Islamic studies. Both the DPM and Hadi Awang, the *Menteri Besar*

or Chief Minister of Trengganu, are Islamic scholars but are not from that institution, while Dr. M is a medical doctor, so the poke on turbans is towards all three! Dr. M and his 4th DPM are pictured here in similar attire as that of Hadi Awang, (who is seen behind the visa application counter), for 'when in Rome, do as the Romans do', that is to follow the manners and mores (or dress!) of the people there. This caricature visually highlights this saying.

Extract 20 (page 111):



This is, per Lat (Appendix), a 'pocket cartoon' which appeared on the front page of the NST and relates to a main story there. He started doing 'pocket cartoons' at the request of the NST's then editor-in-chief (Appendix). The caption noted the question mark that hangs over the UMNO-PAS talks, as the talk is expected but no one seems

able to determine when that would be, as both parties seem not to agree on anything. A discussion or talk with a moderator present is normally done when two parties with some common ground (here, it would be being Malay Muslims) and having thorny issues between them, want a settlement. The moderator's utterance, shows him trying to start the discussion on an agreeable note, emphasised by the phrase 'how about', hence his attempt to start with the creation of the universe – something that as fellow Muslims both the participants i.e. Dr. M and Ustaz Fadhil Noor (the PAS leader then) cannot disagree with. The topic itself - the creation of the universe – had been explained in great detail in the Al-Quran, that such discussion would be pointless as it would merely regurgitate what has been clarified by the Al-Quran. As Lat commented (Appendix), “...what is there to talk about!”. As the topic is a non issue, perhaps that accounts for the bored looks of the participants! A moderator can direct and thus, control the way the talks are headed. Thus, here, the moderator, has control over both Dr. M and Ustaz Fadhil Noor, who by their being there at the talk, have agreed to such control. Such a situation agrees with Fairclough's notion of power. The talk of such Malay/Muslim unity occurred at a time of highly personal virulent attacks by both parties on each other.

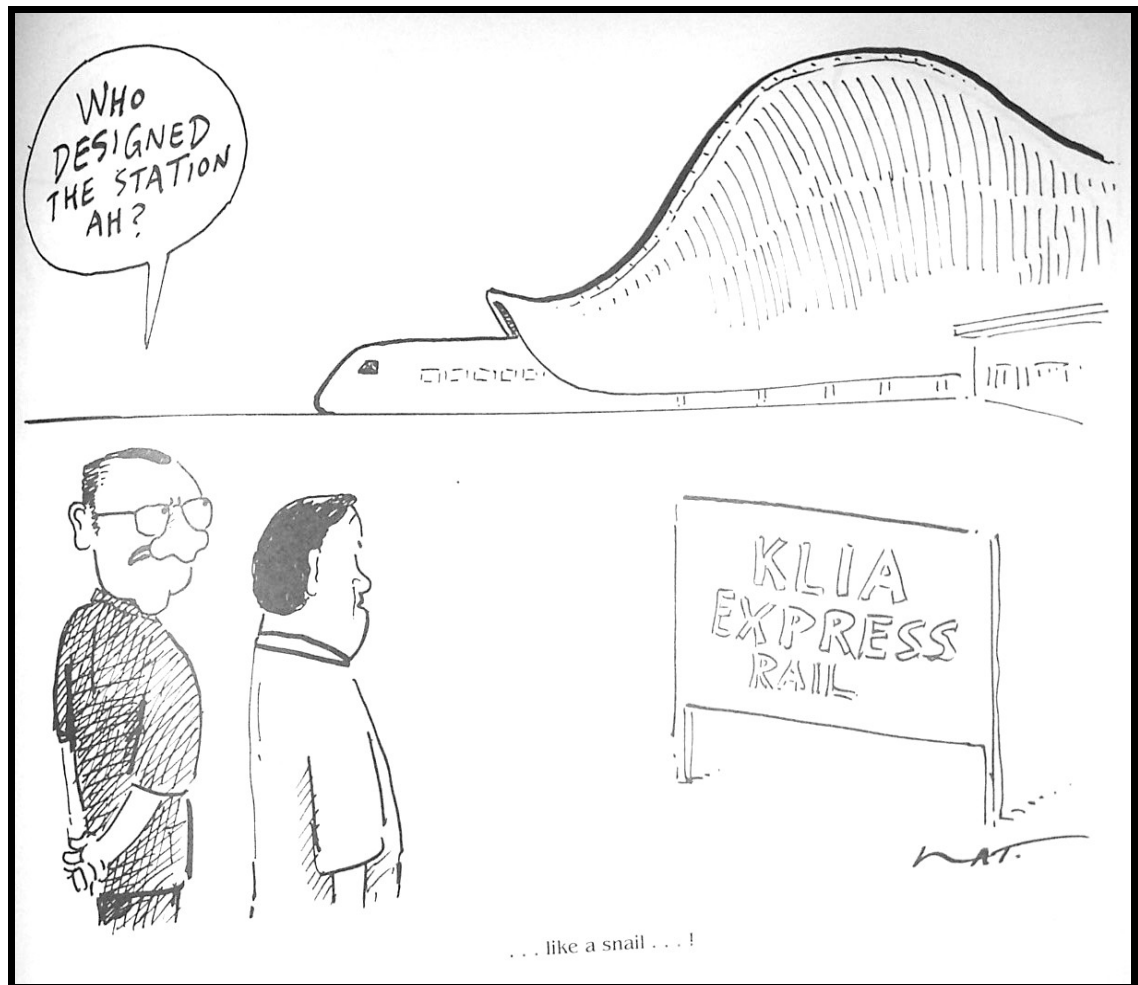
The attire of the two speakers spell out their difference visually, with Ustaz Fadhil Noor, as with most PAS members greatly favouring the Arabic robe, while Dr. M, an UMNO member, preferring the full *baju melayu*, complete with *songkok* or black velvet headgear. There appears to be a presupposition of the reader's knowledge of the Federal Constitution, as in the constitution a Malay is defined as one who is a Muslim, speaks Malay, observes Malay customs, dress and norms, as well as speak the Malay tongue. This is based on the public perception of who is a Malay - this being the concept of 'Malay', since Islam came to the peninsular. Although it is known Dr. M is of mixed

parentage (Indian father and Malay mother), nonetheless he is accepted as Malay due to his adherence to these practices.

Of all the past PMs, Dr. M is the one who had been most critical of the *ulamas* or Islamic scholars, a stance that put him on collision course with PAS, who held the *ulamas* in high esteem. This has not fostered warm relations between UMNO-PAS, which once were cordial enough to the extent that PAS was a component member of BN in the 1970s. The long running saga of the Malay/Muslim unity talks was shown in five caricatures within the compilation (pages 111 to 115), attesting to the people's preoccupation with and interest in this issue.

Extract 21 (page 127):

In this single frame caricature, the KLIA Express Rail train shown leaving the KL Sentral terminal, really looks like a snail, which brings to mind the simile 'as slow as a snail' – which the caption encapsulates! Such visual renderings of similes etc is similar to what Cook had put forth (refer section 2.3). Dr. M and the Transport Minister is pictured viewing the KLIA Express Rail at a distance, from outside the KL Sentral (the new transport hub, incorporating rail and bus, with connections to Malaysia's main international airport, Kuala Lumpur International Airport or KLIA for short), with a nearby signboard with the label 'KLIA Express Rail' on it. Lat noted (Appendix) that he saw a picture of the KL Sentral, with the train leaving it on a postage stamp - the visual was a cartoonist's dream come true for the similarity to the snail could not be missed. The KL Sentral was built so that there would be fast interconnectivity between the various forms of public transport – what the visuals evoke is clearly otherwise.



The visual likeness of the KL Sentral with the train leaving it, to a snail, is at odds with what the train is supposed to do i.e. give a fast rail service to the Malaysia's main airport and gateway. Such image would possibly subject Malaysia to tourists' mockery for the contrary message it gives of the transportation services found at KL Sentral. This did not escape Dr. M's attention; hence, the annoyance seen on his face and the 'Who designed the station ah?' utterance shown in upper case letters, as the designer or architect had overlooked this visual likeness. The particle 'ah' used here is questioning, as explained by Jamaliah Mohd Ali (2000), and serves only to emphasise the question that Dr. M puts forth to this subordinate, as public transportation, their terminals and other transport matters is under the latter's portfolio. As PM, Dr. M is

within his power to pose such question to his minister. Thus, the architect's drawings would have been seen by the ministry's officials prior to approval, who some how had not picked up on the snail similarity and the people's perception of the train's speed caused by the visual similarity. If it had been noticed at the architect's drawing stage, changes to the design could have been affected. However, once built, any such changes would be costly. Hence, Malaysians have to grin and bear with the 'snail' shaped KL Sentral.

Extract 22 (page 133):

Dr. M's question to his DPM, shows that he is ready to transfer the burden of office to his deputy. The imagery used of the heavy post of PM is found in both the Malay and English languages, which the reader is presupposes to know. The DPM's reply denotes he needs a bit more time to adjust and shoulder such a heavy responsibility – although he does not have this luxury. Both utterances were in English, which is contrary to the label on the botol '*Minyak Urut*' or massage oil in Malay – per Lat (Appendix), he would use the language which he feels would have a greater impact. Here, the label in Malay ('*Minyak Urut*') would give a greater impact than if it had been labelled 'Massage Oil'. The caption noted that it was time for a transfer – and implies it should be carried out, whether the DPM is ready or not!

This single frame caricature contains metaphors or imagery from both the Western and Eastern world, where it was put across visually, as noted by Cook (1992). Dr. M holding something huge and round on his shoulders, seems to allude to the Atlas of Greek mythology who was burdened to carry the world on his shoulders, however, this imagery was denied by Lat (Appendix); while the DPM's use of '*minyak urut*' or massage oil before taking the load from Dr. M, shows the Malay practice of rubbing

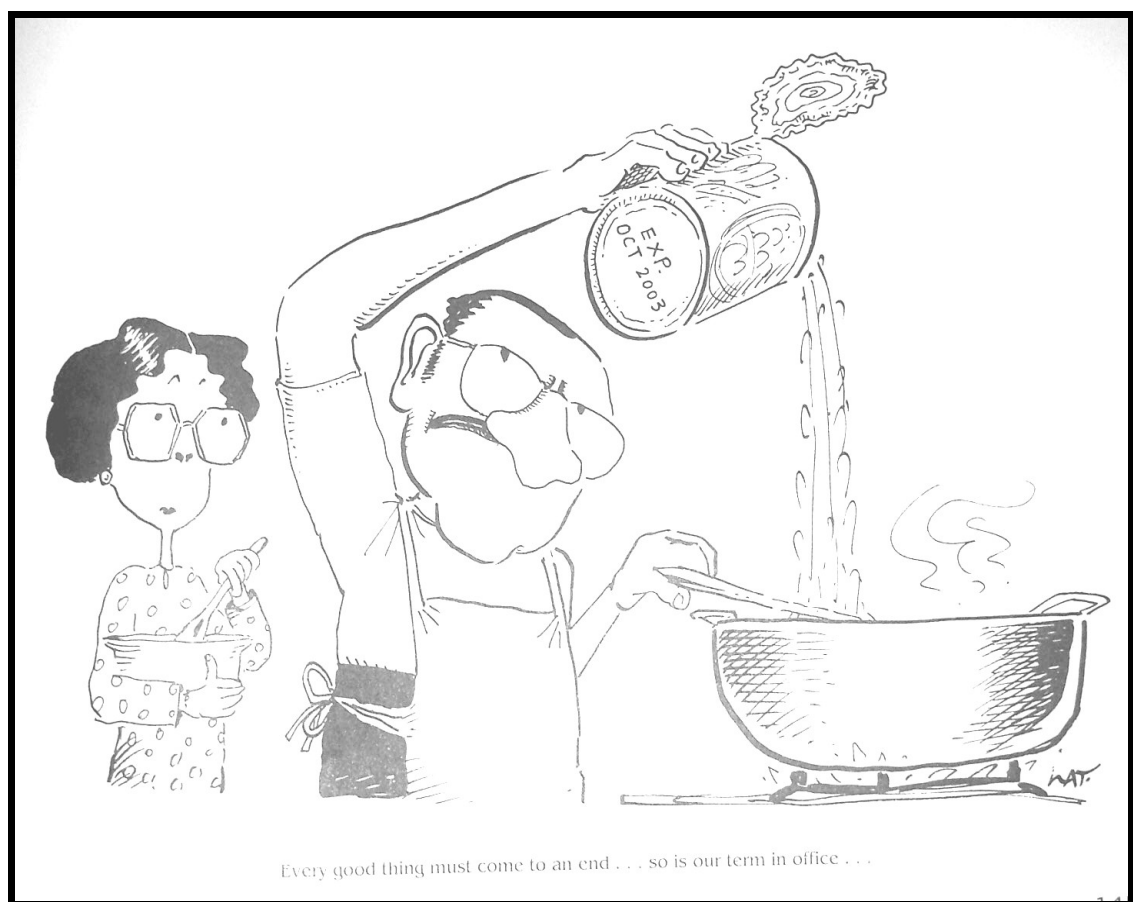
massage oil to reduce the possible strain from such a task (ie. alluding to the taking over of the premiership). The words uttered by Dr. M are shown in big bold capital letters, to denote that he is speaking in a loud voice to his deputy, while the latter is depicted answering in a softer tone, denoted by the smaller sized letters of his utterance – a softer and more polite tone, as he was answering to his boss. The use of the Malay 'Minyak Urut', instead of the English 'massage oil' only seems to emphasise the Malay use of such ointments to reduce the strain on the muscles.



Dr. M is portrayed here as muscular (compared to his DPM, who is shown as scrawny), with an air of toughness and confidence or a 'Sturdy Oak' type of male, one of the factors that defines a 'real man' in a patriarchal society, as pointed out by Jariah

Mohd. Jan and Anor. (2003); although the muscles would have developed after over 22 years of shouldering such burden! The slight framed DPM is flexing his bicep and slathering it with massage oil, with an opened bottle with the label '*Minyak Urut*' written in cursive, shown near him. Per Lat (Appendix), if he had drawn another, 'after' frame, as opposed to this 'before' the transfer frame, the DPM would be bowled over due to the weight of the burden. That was the idea he wanted to plant in the mind of the reader.

Extract 23 (page 145):



The caption sums it up beautifully! The label (shown in upper case) at the bottom of the can is an imagery borrowed from the food and pharmaceutical industry, as now all such goods must come with an expiry date, after which it (the food or pharmaceutical) would no longer be deemed consumable or effective – indeed, it could

prove hazardous to health if used beyond the expiry date! The expiry date there shows the end of Dr. M's term as PM of Malaysia, with the presupposition that this knowledge is widely known as the end of Dr. M's term had been announced over a year prior to his retirement. Dr. M's facial expression however, does not seem happy to read the expiry date – giving the impression he would like to stay longer!

Dr. M cooking with his wife's help shows him in the private domain, as cooking is a hobby of his (http://www.arkib.gov.my/arkib_lama/english/sriperdana.htm). Here, it also illustrates his close relationship with his wife (Azizah Mokhzani et al, 2000: 91-107). The expiry date of his term in office is an imagery borrowed from the food and pharmaceutical industry, and comes under the public domain, as it refers to his public office of PM.

4.2 Analysis of Data

The 23 caricatures from this compilation of 148, were selected and analysed to determine how Dr. M was portrayed and the tools or features used for the portrayal. Following the order of the research questions, the portrayal of Dr. M would be analysed first, followed by the tools or features used by Lat.

4.2.1 Portrayal of Dr. M

Dr. M's face grace all but two cartoons in this compilation, which are those on pages 28 and 94. Nonetheless, his presence and role as the PM is still felt in those caricatures. As stated in Table 4.1 earlier, nine of the 148 caricatures shows Dr. M in the personal domain, with twelve showing Dr. M in both the personal and public

domains and the remainder highlight Dr. M's public facade. Despite the small number showing Dr. M as a private person, nonetheless, an image of Dr. M as both a private individual and a public persona could be constructed as seen in the detailed discussion in 4.1 above.

4.2.1.1 Private Individual

Dr. M is seen as a polite, fashion conscious individual having a close relationship with his supportive wife, and appears to like cooking and carpentry. These impressions are derived among others, from the frames that showed Dr. M without a murmur doing all the tasks assigned by an old granny while he was on the campaign trail (extract 13), Dr. M with shortened sideburns when he became PM compared to when he was the Minister of Education (extracts 2 and 3), Dr. M being met at the door by his wife on his return from the office (extract 16), Dr. M being assisted by his wife when cooking (extract 23) and Dr. M hammering away at a welcome sign for the CHOGM delegates (extract 11).

4.2.1.2 Public Persona

The perceived public persona seen in these cartoons is of Dr. M as a frank, hard working, no nonsense hard-working man who keeps tabs on his subordinates and events (even when he is not in the country!) although one who would leave micro matters in more competent hands, a competitive and tireless politician, and a strong leader who is open to new ideas and innovations, yet consistent with some policies set by his predecessors (eg. policy of sending peacekeepers, policy towards Israel). These impressions are among others, from the frames that showed Dr. M's face appearing in what was supposed to have been an eclipse of the moon (extract 6), Dr. M checking in on his then deputy when he is abroad (extract 9), Dr. M and others standing aside while

the charlady vacuums the hallway (extract 18), Dr. M and Tengku Razaleigh assisting a housewife with kitchen chores (extract 12), Dr. M's 'Look East' policy (extract 4), and Dr. M and his wife in camouflage returning home from Bosnia after visiting Malaysian peacekeepers serving under the UN flag (extract 16).

4.2.2 Features Found

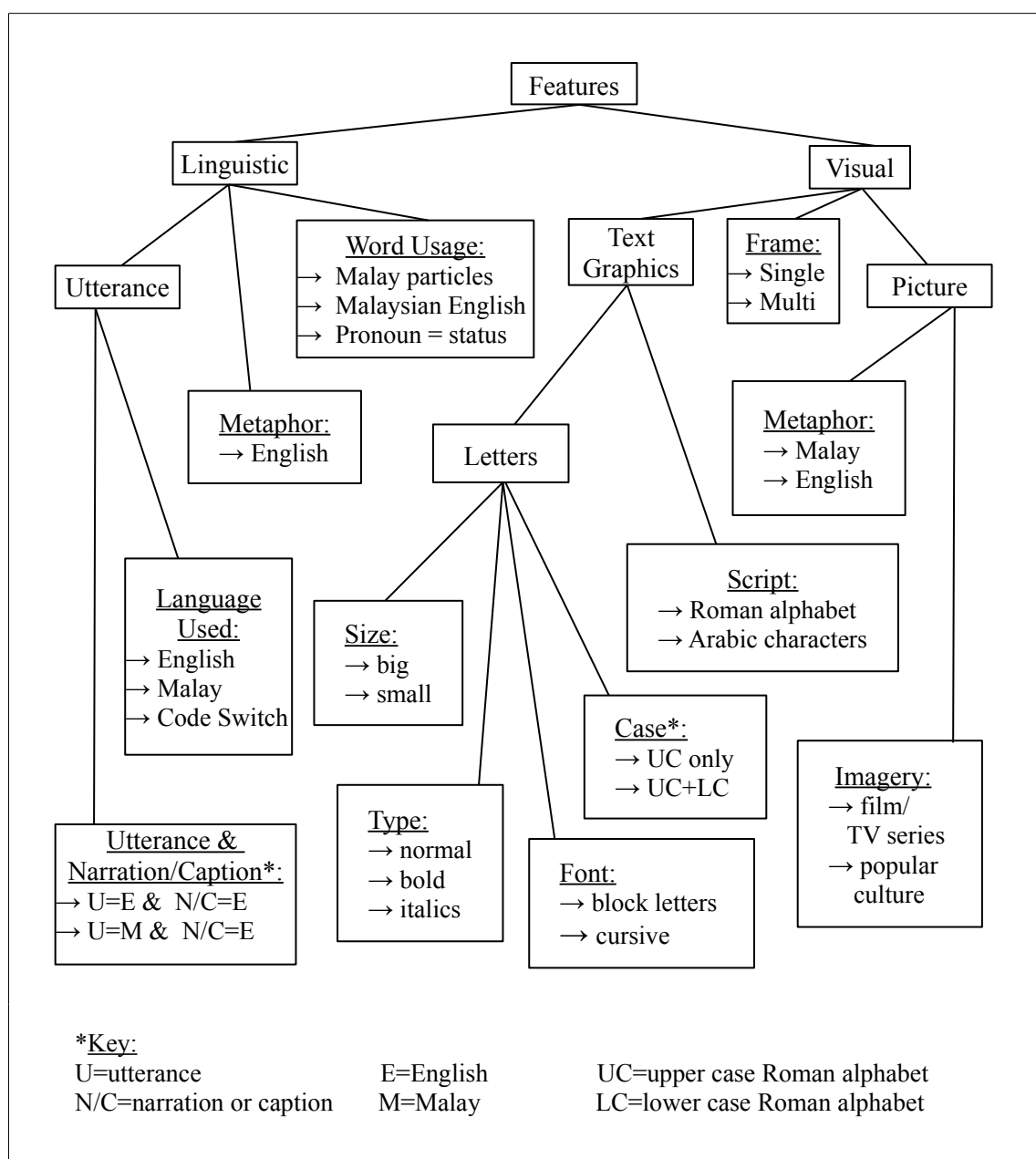


Figure 4.1
Some Features Identified in “Dr. Who?!”

It was observed that Lat had used certain linguistic and non-linguistic/visual features or tools, which are summed up in Figure 4.1, with a caricature may containing more than one feature (from either the linguistic or visual point) employed within it. Indeed, most of the caricatures utilised both linguistic and visual tools simultaneously.

4.2.2.1 Linguistic Features

It appears that Lat had incorporated a number of linguistic features in his cartoons, as seen in Table 4.2. Not all the caricatures have all forms of text possible in a caricature, i.e. heading, caption, narration, utterance, thought, and label – some caricatures may have only one (e.g. caption) while others may contain a combination of two or more of these features. The captions in contrast to the utterances, were almost always in English; only two captions were in Malay. Some of these captions (the typewritten ones) were added later when compiling was done, either for previous compilations or for “Dr. Who?!”, so as to remind readers about the situation then, as most of the caricatures had been drawn long before the compilation was done (Appendix). When using English, Lat had mostly employed the simple tenses (present and past), with some continuous tenses occasionally thrown in, in writing the caption, narration and dialogue of his cartoons. The present tense was used as it denotes the here and now, as the caricatures were of the then current issues at hand. The words he uses (whether English or Malay) are words that are normally used in conversations – he does not use words that would require an ordinary fluent reader to check the dictionary! Code switching, from English to Malay, or vice versa in a single utterance can often be seen, with other texts within the cartoon frame using either language are also prevalent. This is because the original target audience - Malaysians, like Lat himself - are deemed to understand both and are able to switch easily from one tongue to the other, evidence of the phenomena noted by Baskaran (2005b). Additionally, Lat used the colloquial as

that is the speech norm among ordinary folks (Appendix). Nonetheless, it was noted that words that may be deemed offensive were not found in this compilation, in keeping with Rejabhad's advice to Lat (Appendix), and that given by Richardson (2008) to budding cartoonists as noted in section 2.1. Dr. M and the others that appear in the caricatures, are shown using particles (eg.'la'/'lah', 'a'/'ah') and/or other words (eg. 'alamak') that are accepted in the mesolectal Malaysian English, as previously discussed by Baskaran (2005a) and Jamaliah Mohd Ali (2000). The use of honorifics or titles by Dr. M's subordinates when speaking to him and his use of imperatives showed that Dr. M was in a higher position of power compared to the others, verifying what had been stated previously by Jamaliah Mohd Ali (2000), Tannen (1993) and Brown and Gilman (1987).

Table 4.2
Some Linguistic Features in “Dr. Who?!”

Feature found	Found on page
Code switching within an utterance	14, 66, 89, 102
Use of Malay particles and words found in Malaysian English	13(Alamak), 19(laa), 127(ah)
Utterance/label in Malay, but caption in English	3, 9, 14, 18
Some utterances in English and some in Malay	9
Use of English idioms/ sayings/metaphors	127 (slow like a snail)
Use of specific pronouns/titles denoting hierarchy	17, 18, 66
Directives	9, 13, 14, 19

4.2.2.2 Non-Linguistic/Visual Features

Caricatures up to page 4, appeared to be added on for the purpose of this compilation. Lat confirmed this as the publisher normally asked for a few new

cartoons, whenever a new compilation of his cartoons is to be published (Appendix). It was observed from this compilation, that Lat's caricatures in the earlier years had quite a few multi-framed cartoons, with plenty of details, both in visuals and language (i.e. the utterances and narrations), but they changed with the passage of years, so that now single frames with less details are the norm. The simplified visuals in later years was admitted by the cartoonist himself, as mentioned earlier in Chapter One. Like other cartoonists, Lat had employed the technique of drawing several curvy lines or a limb in graduating positions on the side of a body, to denote that that part of the body is in motion (Appendix) – this is similar to advice given by Richardson (2008) to aspiring cartoonists (see section 2.1). Lat had utilised various visual features in his cartoons, as seen in Table 4.3. Among them are imagery from popular culture as he had publicly admitted previously (The Star, 12 August 2007), and metaphors that are put across visually, as discussed by Cook (1992). A distinct feature observed is that the bulk of the dialogue was 'handwritten' in capital letters, while caricatures with quite a bit of narration was 'handwritten' in normal sentence form i.e. capital letters or upper case are used at the beginning of the sentence and at the beginning of proper names or positions (eg. 'Queen Elizabeth II'), with the rest of the narration written in small letters or lower case. Lat would look at his drawing holistically before deciding on how the text (in the headings, utterances, narration or label) should be presented i.e. whether in upper or lower case when using the Roman alphabet, or whether Arabic characters or *Jawi* would be more appropriate due to the impact it would have (Appendix). In contrast to the utterances and narration, the captions are shown as typed letters, in normal sentence form (normal combination of upper and lower cases). As these caricatures appeared in print, there is no sound involved, hence, there is no intonation, stress or volume that could denote the emphasised word or phrase; instead, Lat, had written the words in **bold**

or underlined them to emphasise them, or used a BIG font or capital letters to denote the volume or loudness of the utterances – a normal practice by cartoonists. Some of the visual features or tools used can be seen in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3
Some Non-Linguistic/Visual Features in “Dr. Who?!”

Feature found	Found on page
Letters in bold font or bigger size denoting emphasised words or volume	Book cover, 7, 9, 19, 45, 47, 66, 89
Use of script, other than the Roman alphabet	102 (Arabic characters or <i>Jawi</i>)
Use of English idioms/ sayings/metaphors in visual form	19 (fireworks), 102 (when in Rome, do as the Romans do), 127 (as slow as a snail), 133 (Atlas holding the world)
Use of Malay idioms/ sayings/metaphors in visual form	133 (<i>beban</i> - burden)
Use of images/imagery from books, films or popular culture	Book cover (Dr. No – film), 19 (Time Tunnel – 1960s television series), 133 (<i>Minyak urut</i> – massage oil), 145 (expiry date for food and pharmaceuticals)
Multi-frames	7, 9, 13, 18, 50, 66

4.3 Conclusion

As seen from the analysis above, Lat had employed a range of linguistic and visual tools in portraying Dr. M as a private person and public figure. Some caricatures had a mix of tools (ie. several linguistic features, several visual features or a combination of them), which could be identified and interpreted by most of its readers. Dr. M's publicly perceived characteristics as a person and public personality are amply fleshed out through Lat's caricatures in “Dr. Who?!”