1. Introduction

This study is concerned with the relationship between verbal and non-verbal inputs into communication, with a particular focus on onomatopoeia used as textual inserts (or telop) on Japanese TV. With the advancement of technology, communication has become increasingly multimodal (c.f. Jewitt 2014). However, it is not yet clear how different modes in multimodal media are bound together as a communicative act.

Figure 1 provides an example of how onomatopoeia as part of textual inserts is increasingly used across Japanese media.

(1)

Figure 1: an example of onomatopoeia telop

Source: https://ameblo.jp/himawari-atomu/entry-12245982082.html

In (1), the main textual insert says ‘shiQkari\(^1\) tsukamu’ (hold properly). The overall image, including texts, show how tightly you must hold an egg to break it like a professional chef.

\(^1\) /Q/ represents geminate consonants
The onomatopoeia "kyuQ" in the speech bubble contributes this by bridging the gap between verbal and non-verbal, guiding viewers to the intended interpretation (i.e. how tight one should hold the egg) and reduces the chances of a misinterpretation.

This study will show how onomatopoeia’s *showing* (or non-coded) aspect, emphasised in the visual presentation as textual inserts, contribute to interpretation by binding elements of multimodal discourse beyond verbal meaning. That is, the textual inserts and onomatopoeia function as a bridge between verbal and nonverbal elements, helping viewers to recover the intended interpretation. In other words, in (1) you are to hold an egg tightly, not loosely.

In Section 2, I will present an overview of the highly multimodal nature of Japanese TV. Then, in Section 3, I will focus on the role of textual inserts in communication. In Section 4, I will turn to the discussion of onomatopoeia. Finally, in Section 5, I will examine a range of onomatopoeia inserted as part of telop on Japanese TV and discuss its role as a bridge between verbal meaning and meaning beyond verbal as part of a multimodal communicative act.

2. Multimodality and meaning beyond verbal input

As Dwyer (2015) argues, we are witnessing a resurgence in the use of texts across contemporary digital media including an increasing amount of texts on the screen such as SDH, scrolling texts for breaking news, as well as the live feed of social media. In some cases, more creative ‘authorial titles’ (Pérez-González 2012), or visual presentations of text or images, are added to film and dramas as part of the narrative. Such trends reflect the increasingly multimodal nature of contemporary media. This study is particularly concerned with the uses of intra-lingual textual inserts on TV that are different from what is conventionally used as an aide for the hard-of-hearing population. Unlike traditional SDH, the purpose of such textual inserts is to provide extra information or to add entertainment value to the programme. Japanese TV is a prime example of multimodal media representation (O’Hagan 2010, Sasamoto 2014, Sasamoto and Doherty 2014, Sasamoto et al 2017) which

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2 The most notable example of such texts includes the BBC’s popular drama series *Sherlock*. 
involves a “rapid verbal exchange with no sonic gap left unfilled and the screen filled with text” (Kato 2012, pg. [ch. 2, sec1, para 1, own translation]). As Kato (ibid) describes, on such a screen, both verbal and non-verbal inputs from different modes are orchestrated to provide a highly multimodal screen experience and become “talkative” in that each mode is rich in the information it brings onto the screen. What is particularly noticeable on Japanese TV, and one of the foci of this study, is textual inserts, or what is locally known as telop3 in Japan. Telop has become a standard editorial prop in Japanese media in entertainment shows4 but is increasingly used across different genres including news and drama (Sasamoto and Doherty 2016). According to Shitara (2011), the use of telop started in the 1960s where textual inserts were added for information purposes on music shows, for example. The use of telop then became particularly prevalent in the 1990s (Shitara 2011). It is now used extensively in other Asian TV programmes (Park 2009, O’Hagan 2010, Wongseree 2018), and its use is slowly sneaking into the Western production.

Telop is often multi (and brightly) coloured and occupies a sizable part of the TV screen. Traditionally, telop often displayed the verbatim of spoken dialogue or narrative flows. This suggests, albeit in a limited sense, telop provides multimodal translation within a TV programme it is used in, as telop displays a written equivalent of what is spoken or narrated. Still, telop was mainly added for enhanced entertainment value, rather than as an aid for those in need of accessibility support (personal communication, Yamamoto 2016). In recent years, however, there seems a new trend to insert telop, not of the verbatim representation of spoken dialogue or narrative flows, but telop of onomatopoeia5. As it will be discussed in Section 4, Sasamoto and Jackson (2016) argue that onomatopoeia has both verbal and non-verbal aspects and as such, as a single (semi) lexical item, it is located on the showing and saying continuum. The nature of telop means that it is also visually displayed in a stylised presentation as well as representing verbal input. This suggests that telop of onomatopoeia has verbal aspects as well as meaning beyond verbal. The question here is, what is the

3 The term ‘telop’ originated from the equipment used to transmit images without the use of a camera (Television Opaque Projector).
4 In Japan, entertainment shows are generally called ‘variety shows’, a genre where programmes ‘incorporate more than one type of content’ (Koga 2013:68)
5 It is well known that onomatopoeia is a defining characteristic of manga (Japanese comics), which influenced other types of media to insert onomatopoeia. Such practice would include the 1960’s TV series Batman. It would not be surprising that the use of onomatopoeia as telop on TV is also influenced by manga.
relationship between visual and verbal inputs on the TV screen? How does the telop of onomatopoeia affect viewers’ interpretation process? The current study, therefore, aims to account for the role of onomatopoeia telop to examine the contribution of non-verbal input in the interpretation of the multimodal communicative stimulus.

3. Role of Telop in multimodal contents

Despite telop being a somewhat under-researched topic, there is a consensus by scholars in Pragmatics and Audiovisual Translation (AVT) that the use of telop necessarily involves a mediator’s intervention and manipulation (Shiota 2003, O’Hagan 2010, Sasamoto 2014), in that telop is inserted by the mediator (TV producer) rather than the speaker themselves, making it a case of secondary communication situation (Shiota 2003). However, unlike conventional secondary communication situations, which mostly refers to translation and interpreting, the role of telop is not for accessibility of media content. Instead, O’Hagan (2010) argues from the AVT perspective that telop plays a role of Framing humour and is often used to dramatise the trivial. Indeed, the verbal meaning of telop is often redundant.

As mentioned in Section 1, telop often presents a verbatim of spoken utterances and as such, what is communicated via the verbal aspect of telop is not essential, especially as telop is used for decorative purposes, not as SDH.

To account for the role of telop in utterance interpretation from the perspective of Relevance Theory, I argued elsewhere that the mediator uses these captions as a highlighting device to draw viewers’ attention to chosen elements, to manipulate viewers interpretation process to let viewers search for relevance in the way that suits the mediator (Sasamoto 2014, Sasamoto & Doherty 2013, 2016). Unlike other highlighting devices discussed in Relevance-Theoretic literature such as prosody (Wharton 2009), contrastive stress (Wilson and Wharton 2006, Scott 2017), or typography (Scott and Jackson 2019), telop is inserted by the mediator, which suggests that telop necessarily involves interpretive use of language. As Sperber and Wilson (1995) explain, ostension involves two layers: information that is being pointed to, and the information that the first information is being pointed out intentionally. By inserting telop, TV producers can put a spotlight on the part of
publicly represented thoughts of who appears on the screen, which then guides viewers to seek relevance in the way that is suitable for the TV producer’s intention (such as inducing laughter or giving rise to stylistic effects such as emphasis). The insertion of telop makes it even more manifest which part of the utterance, or TV programme even, viewers should pay attention to. That is, telop is a cue to ostension, pointing to direct and (often redundant) indirect evidence to communication, provided by a mediator (TV producer). By representing part of spoken utterances or narrative flow to viewers, telop takes advantage of interpretive use as a highlighting device and imposes it upon viewers. Furthermore, like typographical features (Scott and Jackson 2019), the extremely decorative presentation of telop plays an additional role in communication in that the stylistic choices of telop are driven by the TV producer’s communicative intentions and guide the viewer to reach the intended interpretation. For example, the use of a font that is particular to the horror manga genre would lead viewers to recover feelings of unavoidable danger.

As discussed so far, the use of telop contributes to relevance by providing both direct and indirect evidence for communication, which leads viewers to the intended interpretation as desired by a TV producer. However, the indirect evidence which telop provides is redundant and therefore, its direct (or showing) aspect and the fact that it is shown in a particular stylised manner plays the central role in guiding viewers. This analysis shows the role of telop in communication and how it works on both verbal and non-verbal aspects of multimodal communication. In the next section, I will discuss the role of onomatopoeia.

4. Onomatopoeia

Onomatopoeia is generally defined as words that imitate sounds and is often considered to lie at the edge of language. As one of the main characteristics of onomatopoeia is the link between sound and meaning, onomatopoeia research has been dominated by sound-symbolism approaches. Sound symbolism based studies aim to explain the feeling of

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6 There are a number of terminologies such as onomatopoeia, ideophones, mimetics, phonomimes, phenomenomes, and psychomimes for expressions that denote imagery from different sensory domains such as sounds, motion, texture and states. In this study, the term onomatopoeia is used for convenience to include them all, regardless of the sensory domain each expression is linked to. However this does not commit this study to any of the debate regarding the terminology.
‘fitness’ between the sound of a word and an image conveyed by the particular expression. In contrast, following on Wharton’s (2009) account on interjections, Sasamoto and Jackson (2016) take a relevance-theoretic approach and argue that onomatopoeia involves both showing and saying aspects of communication, allowing for communication of impressions (c.f. Sperber and Wilson 2015). According to Sperber and Wilson (2015:138), an impression is “a change in the manifestness of an array of propositions which all bear on our understanding the same phenomenon, answering the same question, or deciding on the same issue.” As we argued, onomatopoeia carries both verbal and non-verbal meaning. As well as providing indirect (coded) evidence for communication, onomatopoeia also provides direct evidence for communication, where the speaker uses its resemblance to a phenomenon she wishes to communicate. This way, the use of onomatopoeia provides a cue to ostension: both direct and indirect evidence to the speaker’s thought, by pointing to an array of (often extremely weak) propositions, and contributes to relevance by giving rise to nebulous effects or impressions. The role of direct evidence (or the showing aspect of the onomatopoeia) via the sharing of perceptual resemblance is important for the communication of impressions such that if the perceptual resemblance is taken away, the communication of such impressions is no longer possible. Take a case of bang as an example. Oxford English Dictionary defines bang as ‘a sudden loud, sharp noise.’ However, as we can see in examples (1a) and (1b), replacing bang with this dictionary definition loses the impressions of the situation the use of the onomatopoeia gives rise to, although the propositional contents are more or less the same:

(1) a. They closed the door with a bang.

b. They closed the door with a sudden, loud, sharp noise.

While both utterances in (1a) and (1b) convey the same verbal meaning that the door was closed in a certain manner, (1a) also brings about impressions of a particular kind of noise (and vibration in the air even) in our mind. Such impressions are not communicated by the conceptual counterpart (1b). This is because in (1a), the onomatopoeia bang not only provides indirect (or coded) evidence for communication, which would be equivalent to its
conceptual counterpart (1b), it also provides direct evidence (or shows) for communication, giving rise to certain impressions.

This shows how onomatopoeia adds a layer of meaning to standard verbal input, in that the use of onomatopoeia creates the fuller experience of being in a multimodal environment, beyond what can be communicated via the verbal meaning only. This would suggest that we can view onomatopoeia as a bridge between verbal and non-verbal elements in the multimodal discourse, and this approach opens up new avenues for analysis.

In the next section, I will turn to onomatopoeia telop that is employed increasingly on Japanese TV.

5. Telop and Onomatopoeia on TV

So far, I have explained the role of telop on TV and the role of onomatopoeia in communication. Both telop and onomatopoeia have a hybrid nature of verbal and non-verbal, providing both direct and indirect cues to ostention. In this section, I will focus on the role of onomatopoeia telop and its contribution to viewers' interpretation process with a particular focus on the multimodality of TV programmes. The aim of this section therefore is to answer the question: how do inputs from verbal and non-verbal channels interact with each other and contribute to relevance?

In Relevance Theory, it is acknowledged that meaning can range from determinate to indeterminate. As Sperber and Wilson (2015: 121) explain, ‘there is a continuum of cases from those where the communicator’s meaning is a proposition, or can be paraphrased as such, to those where it is not paraphrasable at all.’ Further to this continuum, it is also acknowledged that communication can be on the continuum of showing and meaning (or saying), (c.f. Wharton 2009, Sperber and Wilson 2015). That is, the distinction between verbal and non-verbal communication is, in fact, a continuum of showing and meaning. As Sperber and Wilson (2015:119) explain, meaning is typically achieved by the use of language
(coded evidence) while showing is typically achieved by displaying non-coded/verbal evidence.

Recognising these two continuums, Sperber and Wilson (2015: 123-125) illustrate how the intended import, or ‘the overtly intended cognitive effect of a communicative act’ (Sperber and Wilson 2015: 122) can occur within the two-dimensional space which is created by the interaction of these two continuums:

Sperber and Wilson (2015:123) illustrates how such intended import could occur using a range of examples. For example, the determinate meaning would involve cases such as a station attendant saying ‘12.48’ as a response to a passenger asking what time the next train is. A slightly less determinate case of meaning would be something like saying ‘I could kill for a glass of water.’ As Sperber and Wilson (2015:123) explain, the intended import of this utterance is vaguer than a full proposition but it would still be easy to see roughly what type of conclusion the hearer is expected to recover. This utterance, therefore, can be seen as semi-determinate meaning. In contrast, meaning can also be indeterminate. A typical example would be a metaphorical utterance ‘Juliet is the sun.’ Sperber and Wilson (ibid) explain that this utterance is a case of a poetic metaphor, and the intended import of this
utterance is extremely vague and cannot be put down to a propositional term. This is therefore a case of indeterminate meaning. Sometimes, the intended import can be determinate but falls in-between meaning and showing. For example, one could point at a post office on a map and say *that is the post office you are looking for*. The intended import can also be in-between showing and meaning as well as semi-determinate. Such cases would involve saying *I’m angry* with an angry facial expression, which would convey the propositional meaning as well as the impression of being angry (*semi-determinate showing/meaning*). Sperber and Wilson (2015: 124) further illustrate how the intended import can be in-between meaning/showing and indeterminate by using an example of saying *wow*, to a nice view. In this case, the intended import would amount only to a rough indication of a range of extremely weak propositions despite the use of a linguistic form *wow*. Finally, even if the communicative act is a clear case of showing, the intended import could range from determinate (e.g. pointing at a post office on a map when asked where it is) to semi-determinate (pointing to ominous looking black clouds when asked ‘shall we do the laundry?’). In this case, while it would be easy to see roughly what the speaker intends to convey (e.g. it will rain soon), the intended import is still less than fully determinate. Finally, according to Sperber and Wilson (2015: 125), an example of indeterminate showing would be something like showing a picture of one’s child, as there is no proposition to recover as the intended import.

While little attention has been paid explicitly to the analysis of multimodal discourse beyond facial expressions and bodily behaviours within the debate in terms of the showing-meaning and determinate-indeterminate continuums, this dynamic view of meaning provides a cognitively grounded framework to dissect the intricate relationships between different modes in a highly multimodal discourse such as TV programmes. TV programmes we are interested in here normally consist of spoken utterances, the people who appear on the screen, sound effects, background noises, moving images, telop as textual inserts, and a voiceover. Viewers interpret the most salient aspect of TV programmes, often spoken dialogue, in the context of the multimodal discourse including such inputs as listed above. So, how does this framework explain the orchestration of modes?
Let’s take the example of an entertainment show. Figure 3 is a screenshot taken from an entertainment programme that aims to provide life hacks in a light-hearted manner. The focus of this particular section is how to make crispy deep-fried oysters.

[Image: Figure 3: Onomatopoeia telop for cooking action]

[Narrative voiceover: We can't show you inside her fridge but keep (the oysters) in the fridge for 10 minutes and deep fry at 180 degrees then...]

*Soredame! Pokapoka Onkatsu Special 10th January 2018*

In this section, the TV crew is following the family of a local fisherman in a region famous for oysters. In this particular scene, the wife of the fisherman is showing how to make perfect deep-fried oysters, a popular winter dish in Japan. At the very moment the wife cuts the deep-fried oyster in two, one could hear the noise of the blade cutting into the meat. That is when the onomatopoeia saQ appears. There is no spoken utterance by the wife that is produced simultaneously to the telop, but there is a voiceover by the narrator.

If viewers were paying full attention to the programme, they might have noticed the noise of the oyster being cut. If they do, then they can recover an assumption about the quality of the fried oyster (how crispy it is) without insertion of onomatopoeia as telop. However, what the TV producer’s ostension does by adding this onomatopoeia is to make impressions of the crispy oyster more manifest than it would have been otherwise, so that viewers cannot help but recover such an assumption. That is, the meaning beyond verbal input that is conveyed via the use of onomatopoeia bridges different modes in this programme and
ensures that viewers recover the intended interpretation: the crispiness of the deep-fried oysters.

So, let’s see what this means in terms of the two continuums of meaning and communication. The moving image on the screen, on its own, does not provide strong evidence that can be rendered as a proposition (indeterminate showing). However, other stimuli provided through different channels contribute to the interpretation. At the very moment when the telop is displayed, there is a voiceover by a narrator, which provides indirect evidence for communication (determinate meaning), as the voiceover is given in a pretty impersonal tone of voice and is easy to see roughly what type of conclusion the hearer is expected to recover from the input. The sound of cutting into the oyster, if taken as being ostensively provided, is a case of showing but it would be difficult to pin down exactly what conclusion to draw in a propositional sense and hence less than fully determinate (indeterminate showing). Telop of onomatopoeia saQ, in contrast, carries the TV producer’s ostension as a highlighting device; in that the use of telop shows the aspect of the scene which the TV producer wants viewers to focus on (i.e. to draw attention to the crispness of the oyster, which was not part of the spoken element of the scene). The use of onomatopoeia-telop provides direct evidence (or shows) and activates certain impressions not necessarily salient without the telop. As this onomatopoeia is highly established and lexicalised, it would be reasonable to assume that this use of telop falls towards the determinate end of the continuum, although the nature of onomatopoeia means what is communicated via the use of onomatopoeia would not be fully propositional (semi-determinate showing). This analysis shows that a TV programme such as this would cover the full range of, or a large extent of, the two continuums of meaning and communication, allowing for a fuller viewing experience exploiting a range of meanings from verbal to beyond verbal meaning.

Next, Figure 4 is a screenshot from an entertainment show which features the characteristics of different regions in Japan. In this section, the focus is on the popularity of this particular noodle dish.

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7. This is not to be taken as viewers interpret each mode individually. Instead, this is an attempt to explain how verbal and non-verbal input interact with each other as a multimodal communicative act.
In this scene, the camera is following a man who is eating this popular dish. The onomatopoeia telop appears as he slurps the noodle and soup. As was the case for the previous example, viewers would be able to recover assumptions about his eating the noodles and enjoying the soup. However, the insertion of the telop makes the impression of him enjoying the dish much more salient.

As was the case for Figure 3, the moving image on the screen itself does not provide strong evidence that can be rendered as a proposition (*indeterminate showing*), and other stimuli help viewers to narrow down the intended interpretation. The voiceover of the narration provides indirect (or verbal) evidence for communication, providing strong evidence, therefore guiding conveying determinate meaning, for his enjoying the dish (*determinate meaning*). However, the insertion of the onomatopoeia telop adds further evidence, this time indirect, to communication. The insertion of the onomatopoeia telop allows for the sharing of impressions, giving rise to a range of non-propositional effects (*semi/indeterminate showing/meaning*). This account shows how different types of meaning are bound together on screen by the onomatopoeia telop – the role of onomatopoeia telop is to bind the image on the screen that carries indeterminate meaning and the narrative that communicates a strongly evidenced assumption. Again, this illustrates how the
communicator takes an advantage of a full range of continuums (determinate-
indeterminate, and showing-meaning) to create a wholesome unit of ostensive stimulus in a
multimodal communicative act such as TV shows.

The uses of onomatopoeia telop in Figure 3 and 4 was a simple case of sound-based
onomatopoeia and it does not require too much inference to make a connection between
the use of onomatopoeia telop and the sound of cutting or the action of slurping. However,
there are cases that require a massive amount of inference as it involves assigning specific
interpretation of animal psychology based on their behaviour. See figure 5:

![Figure 5: onomatopoeia telop for animal action](image)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Onomatopoeia telop: kun</th>
<th>Onomatopoeia telop: jii</th>
<th>Onomatopoeia telop: pui</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(onomatopoeia for sniffing)</td>
<td>(onomatopoeia for staring)</td>
<td>(onomatopoeia for looking away)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[Background utterances by studio panellists]
‘she’s confused’
‘she’s looking’
‘eh?’
‘she’s sniffing’

Shimura Dobutsu En 8th November 2018

This screenshot in Figure 3 is taken from an animal-themed entertainment show called
Shimura Zoo, named after Shimura Ken, a famous comedian who takes the role of Zoo
Director in this programme. The programme follows the life of certain animals and this
episode is about a chimpanzee who has built a special friendship with the zoo director
Shimura. In this scene, to find out whether the chimpanzee identifies the zoo director based
on his appearance, smell or other factors, the comedian goes into her enclosure with two
other male staff members, all wearing matching clothes and facial masks. The camera follows her trying to figure out who came into her enclosure, while the conversation between studio panellists watching this video can be heard in the background. Each screenshot contains one onomatopoeia telop. In (a), the onomatopoeia-telop, kun, appears when an utterance ‘she’s sniffing’ is produced in the background. The onomatopoeia kun describes a manner in which someone sniffs an object. In (a), it is evident from the image on the screen that the chimpanzee is sniffing at the three men standing in front of her. Like the case of saQ in Figure 1, the use of onomatopoeia-telop links what is happening on screen with other stimuli provided via different modes.

In contrast, the link between onomatopoeia and what is being displayed is not so obvious in (b) and (c). In (b), an onomatopoeic expression jii, which is often used to describe the manner of staring is inserted as telop. In (c), an onomatopoeia pui, is used as telop. Pui is an expression for describing the way someone looks away in a dismissive manner. Both jii and pui appear as studio panellists produce corresponding spoken utterance, conveying the interpretation by the studio panellists’ interpretation of the animal behaviour. This illustrates how telop is a case of interpretive use, representing someone else’s thoughts. The use of telop is carefully designed to guide viewers to search for relevance in a way that suits the intention of TV producers. Everything, including spoken utterances, facial expressions, behaviours of humans and animals that appear on TV to background images, noise and sound effects, are all ingredients that TV producers ‘cook’ to their liking to create a TV programme to their satisfaction.

In terms of the two continuums, the images displayed on the screen is a case of showing but without any further cue, the ostension is not strongly evidenced and no proposition will be rendered (indeterminate showing). However, the utterances produced by the studio panellists provides indirect evidence (meaning) for communication, as these utterances that can be heard in this scene provide the viewer with evidence for the type of conclusion the hearer is expected to recover (determinate meaning). The insertion of onomatopoeia telop adds further direct and indirect evidence by drawing viewers’ attention to what would otherwise have been less salient. The nature of onomatopoeia means that the input will not be fully determinate but direct evidence provided by the use of onomatopoeia would contribute to relevance by filling the gap with further less-than-determinate meaning in the
multimodal stimulus as a whole (semi/indeterminate showing/meaning). Again, the use of onomatopoeia telop contributes to relevance by binding verbal meaning and meaning beyond verbal together.

6. Conclusion

The aim of this study was to explain the role of onomatopoeia telop and the contribution of meaning beyond verbal in the interpretation of multimodal communicative acts. To shed light on the relationship between visual and verbal inputs into communication, I focused on the role of textual inserts (or telop) on media and onomatopoeia. This analysis shows how the assumptions which might have not been previously entertained could now be made more salient by the use of onomatopoeia-telop, leading to a more strongly evidenced conclusion. That is, onomatopoeia in telop functions as a ‘bridge’ between the verbal and the non-verbal, and allows for the different modes to be orchestrated together as one multimodal discourse. In other words, the insertion of onomatopoeia provides a cue to the evidence of one’s thought, or being a pointer to the evidence of mediator’s thought, which then guides viewers to process the TV programme as a multimodal unit as a whole. This is why the onomatopoeia telop in Figure 1 will help viewers understand how tightly they should hold an egg.

This analysis explains how onomatopoeia telop is used as a bridge between verbal and non-verbal input in multimodal communicative acts. In particular, this was an attempt to show the interaction between different modes in terms of the distribution of intended imports in the two-dimensional view of meaning. This shows how onomatopoeia telop contributes to relevance, connecting the verbal and non-verbal interpretive cues. Furthermore, this analysis, albeit in a limited manner, shows how Relevance theory’s dynamic view of meaning can be successfully applied to an examination of a highly multimodal communicative act, which has been somewhat under-researched in Relevance Theory.

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