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Pictorial and Multimodal Metaphors in Algerian and non-Algerian Political Cartoons
Representing Illegal Immigration: A Cognitive Linguistic Study

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Dedication

*I dedicate this work to my dear parents,
to my brother and my sister,
and to all my family members and friends.*

Acknowledgments

I would like to express my deepest thanks and gratitude to my supervisor Dr. Belkhir Sadia for her guidance, her help, and her precious advice, without which this work would not have been completed.

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Abstract

The present study investigates pictorial and multimodal metaphors which manifest in Algerian and non-Algerian political cartoons about the phenomenon of illegal immigration, for the sake of investigating how cartoonists from different countries and background conceptualize a common issue, pictorially and multimodally. The objectives behind this investigation are: to identify all the metaphors involved in each cartoon and highlight the source and target domain concepts used by Algerian and non-Algerian cartoonists, to interpret the metaphors revealing the mapped connotations from source onto target and check if they are manifestations of underlying conceptual metaphors, and to compare between Algerian and non-Algerian cartoons in terms of metaphorical representation and check whether other linguistic and cognitive tools are used together with the metaphors to construct meaning. To this end, forty cartoons (twenty Algerian and twenty non-Algerian) are analysed relying on Bounegru and Forceville's (2011) framework for analysing pictorial and multimodal metaphors in political cartoons, using a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods. The results show that to a great extent, Algerian and non-Algerian cartoonists metaphorize illegal immigration in a similar way. They both represent the phenomenon with exaggerated negativity, the identified pictorial and multimodal metaphors are manifestations of underlying conceptual ones, and other meaning making mechanisms take part in the cartoons, especially metonymy and personification.

Key terms: Conceptual Metaphor Theory, Cross Domain Mapping, Illegal Immigration, Multimodal Metaphor, Pictorial Metaphor, Political Cartoons, Source and Target Domain.

List of Abbreviations

A: Algerian

CMT: Conceptual Metaphor Theory

EU: European Union

H: Hypothesis

Q: Question

NA: Non-Algerian

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

The field of communication, which went through different stages in the course of time, knew a significant development after the birth of the printing press. This enabled people to receive and share information through print mass media. They started to write and share their needs, thoughts and opinions about the surrounding events and circumstances, and thus, newspapers became vehicles of political discourse. Stories related to national and international concerns are being reported, discussed and commented on in different sections and through different genres such as reports, feature articles, sports articles, announcements, advertisements, and editorials. The editorial section is the space where columnists and cartoonists express their opinions about different issues, using a set of argumentative and rhetorical tools in a very creative way, for the sake of influencing their audience to consider, change or react on certain matters.

Political or editorial cartoons are considered as an attractive genre for research in which cartoonists use both verbal and visual resources to make commentaries on serious topics. The power of these pictures accompanied by language, which are opinion-oriented, is in their ability to communicate an opinion quickly, in an artistic way, and by using humoristic, satiric and metaphorical scenes. Different ideologies, hidden messages, offensive arguments, and political criticism can be conveyed even without using any word and without being censored. Today, such cartoons are available not only in newspapers, but also online on specific websites or even on social media like Facebook and Twitter.

Researchers in the field of linguistics rely on different approaches, mainly critical discourse analysis, social semiotics and multimodality, to analyse political discourse in general and editorial cartoons in particular. However, it is until recently that some scholars started to rely on metaphor as a useful and appropriate tool for the analysis of political cartoons. Although Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) in its traditional version, introduced by Lakoff and Johnson in *Metaphors We Live By* (1980), cannot deal with this genre, Forceville (1996) suggests another variety of CMT, relying

on Black's (1979) interaction theory of metaphor, and which is relevant to study multimodal genres. In his works (see Forceville, 1996; Forceville & Urios-Aparisi, 2009; Bounegru & Forceville, 2011), Forceville insisted on the fact that metaphors can occur in other modes (visuals, sound, music, gesture, and touch.) and also multimodally rather than just in language, since "*metaphors are expressed by language, as opposed to the idea that they are necessarily linguistic in nature*" (Forceville, 2009a:21). Recently, a new generation of researchers started to work on conceptual metaphors which occur in various modes in different genres such as advertisement, songs and music, comics, manga and animation, and also political cartoons (see El Refaie, 2009; Teng, 2009; Yus, 2009; Abdel-Raheem, 2019)

With that being said, the concern of this research is to compare between cartoons produced within different countries and different cultures, and how Algerian and non-Algerian cartoonists depict this phenomenon through the use of pictorial (non-verbal) and multimodal metaphors as a rhetorical tool to convey their intentions, assumptions and implicit messages.

In this context, El Refaie (2003) accounts for illegal immigration in Austrian newspaper cartoons. Her study which is entitled *Understanding Visual Metaphor: The Example of Newspaper Cartoons*, was concerned with comparing between verbal and visual modes of metaphor. She points out to the hardship to distinguish between the literal and metaphorical meaning because their boundaries are fuzzy and highly dependent on the context of the cartoons, and she argues that the relationship between a visual metaphor and its verbal context is complex.

In Madrid, Alrubaian (2014) conducts a cross-cultural examination of multimodal metaphors in English and Arabic caricatures about the 'Arab Spring' in Egypt. The main findings of her research state that in addition to the use of several metaphorical expressions by both English and Arabic cartoonists, they both rely on the pictorial mode to depict the source domain and almost all the cartoons are found to belong to the category of universal metaphor presented by Lakoff and Johnson (1980).

In the Algerian context, Pictorial and Multimodal Metaphor Theory is not applied to the analysis of political cartoons. The latter is dealt by using a social semiotic approach and multimodal discourse analysis (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006). For instance, Achour and Adel (2021) investigate Covid-19 caricatures (or political cartoons) published in the Algerian newspaper ‘Liberté’, the British newspaper ‘The Guardian’, and the American newspaper ‘The Seattle Times’, using a semiotic and multimodal approach. However, this study does not take into consideration the metaphorical representation of the pandemic within the cartoons.

Eventually, there seems to be no research providing a cross-cultural analysis of Algerian and non-Algerian use of pictorial and multimodal metaphors in editorial cartoons representing illegal immigration. Therefore, the present study is set to fill in this gap in the literature.

Aims and Significance of the Study

The main objective of this investigation is to examine the metaphors appearing in non-verbal and multimodal forms, and how, through these, Algerian and non-Algerian cartoonists metaphorically represent illegal immigration from different perspectives and with different assumptions. Relying on Forceville’s (2009a) Non-Verbal and Multimodal Metaphor Theory, forty cartoons (twenty Algerian and twenty non-Algerian) representing the phenomenon are analysed to serve three sub-objectives. First, is to identify all the metaphors involved in each cartoon and highlight the source and target domain concepts used by cartoonists with different backgrounds (Algerian and non-Algerian cartoonists) to metaphorize illegal immigration. Second, is to interpret these metaphors explicitly, according to the connotations that have been mapped from source onto target in order to check whether they are visual and multimodal manifestations of underlying conceptual metaphors. Third, is to investigate the similarities and differences between Algerian and non-Algerian cartoonists’ use of metaphors, and check whether other meaning making mechanisms take part in the cartoons.

Conducting this research is expected to reveal new insights and contribute to different fields of study such as CMT, multimodality and cross-cultural studies. This also can benefit many people including textbooks designers and curriculum developers who may wish to integrate editorial cartoons to enhance learners' multimodal literacy, novice cartoonists who may want to get familiar with political cartoons' underlying mechanisms and rhetorical tools, researchers in cognitive linguistics, political discourse analysis, visual and multimodal communication, language and cultural studies.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

Since the main concern of the present study is to investigate the use of pictorial and multimodal metaphors to depict certain views, ideas and arguments of Algerian and non-Algerian cartoonists about illegal immigration, we have posed a set of relevant questions to reach the intended objectives.

Q1: Do Algerian and non-Algerian cartoonists use similar or different source domain concepts to depict illegal immigration?

Q2: How do Algerian and non-Algerian cartoons represent illegal immigration?

Q3: Are these pictorial and multimodal metaphors manifestations of underlying conceptual metaphors?

Q4: Are there any other meaning making tools that are used in collaboration with metaphors in the cartoons?

The following are some hypotheses formulated as possible answers anticipating the results of this study:

H1: Algerian and non-Algerian cartoonists, frequently, use similar source domain concepts to metaphorize illegal immigration.

H2: Both Algerian and non-Algerian cartoons represent illegal immigration negatively since it causes negative consequences.

H3: The pictorial and multimodal metaphors are manifestations of underlying conceptual ones, just like linguistic metaphors.

H4: Other parameters and meaning making mechanisms take part in the construction of the meaning of the cartoons, and complement the metaphors to depict the whole message.

Research Techniques and Methodology

To conduct this research, a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods is required in order to deal with the issue in an appropriate way. Quantitative analysis is needed to show the frequency of metaphor types and the frequency and modality of source domains. Then, in the rest of the research, qualitative/discourse analysis is used for the sake of interpreting and understanding the metaphors and the content of each cartoon to answer the above raised questions and to test the validity of the hypotheses. As it was mentioned above, the selected corpus is a set of forty Algerian and non-Algerian cartoons related to illegal immigration, whose literal message is impossible to exist. These cartoons are taken from specific websites such as gagdz.com, cartoonstock.com, cartoonmovement.com, and also from Facebook and Twitter, and the analysis is conducted following the framework by Bounegru and Forceville (2011) to approach the genre of political cartoons.

Structure of the Dissertation

The present dissertation follows the traditional-simple model which consists of four chapters in addition to a General Introduction, involving an overview of the work, its significance, and how it is conducted, and a General Conclusion which summarises the main concepts and findings. Chapter one, entitled Review of the Literature, presents the underpinning theories and previous studies about the key concepts being investigated. Chapter two explains the Research Design and

Methodology, and describes the corpus in a detailed way. The third chapter is dedicated to the Presentation of the Findings, and in the fourth chapter a Discussion of the Results is provided.



**REVIEW OF THE
LITERATURE**

Introduction

The present chapter is intended to provide an overview of the key elements and concepts and to review the main studies that are relevant to the research. It presents, in three sections, background information of the study, and explains the underlying theoretical framework taking into account similar previous research concerning non-verbal and multimodal metaphors in editorial cartoons. The first section aims to define the key terms of the present study including metaphor and its historical background, multimodality, and the genre of political cartoons. The second section is dedicated to the presentation of the theoretical framework, mainly CMT and Pictorial and Multimodal Metaphor Theory. In the last section, the focus is on pertinent studies concerning metaphors in political cartoons in general, and in those which represent and comment on the phenomenon of illegal immigration in particular.

1. Definitions

1.1. Metaphor

1.1.1. What is a Metaphor?

Metaphor can be considered as the expression of a concept or an idea about something, implicitly, by another concept or thing in comparison. It is a kind of analogy, a figure of speech, a trope, and a rhetorical device that is predominantly employed with the purpose of discourse embellishment or to beautify speech. It is generally used in poetry, proverbs, and in speeches, addresses or orations. This term has a very ancient history and it is defined by various scholars, philosophers and researchers. The above provided definition may not be adequate enough to answer the question “what is a metaphor?” because as Ritchie (2013:03) states: *“It is impossible to understand the results of metaphor research, compare different studies, or even think systematically about metaphors without having a clear understanding of what a metaphor is, and knowing how each researcher defines and identifies metaphors.”* Most of the attempts to provide an accurate explanation of what a metaphor is, agree on one common point which is expressing something by

another thing, or a word by another word that has a different meaning, which connotes an implicit analogy.

The history of metaphor goes back to the era of the dominance of Greek philosophy which gave birth to a theory of argumentation and eloquent speech called ‘Rhetoric’; the art of persuasive writing and public speaking that flourished at that time. Aristotle (cited in Bywater, 1984:2332) claims that: “*Metaphor consists in giving the thing a name that belongs to something else; the transference being either from genus to species, or from species to genus, or from species to species, or on grounds of analogy.*” Metaphor, then, was treated together with simile and metonymy within ‘Poetics’ and the rhetorical model of ‘Tropology’.

Searle (1979), who has brought up the ‘Literal Meaning First’ hypothesis, believes that there exist some utterances which are literally nonsensical; that is what such expressions denote is impossible to exist or happen. According to him, when we hear such utterances, we first get the literal meaning and then we understand that it is metaphorical, and it is, semantically, impossible to exist. To explain this, Searle (1979:77) uses an example by Chomsky:

Even when we discuss how a nonsense sentence, such as Chomsky’s example, “Colorless green ideas sleep furiously”, could be given a metaphorical interpretation, what we are talking about is how a speaker could utter the sentence and mean something by it metaphorically, even though it is literally nonsensical.

In 1980, Lakoff and Johnson came up with another definition in their revolutionary work in the field of cognitive linguistics *Metaphors We Live By*. According to them, “*The essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another.*” (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980:05). What they call ‘Conceptual Metaphor Theory’ sheds light on metaphor through a cognitivist perspective which takes into account how we produce and perceive metaphors, with the focus on three main elements: source domain, target domain and mapping.

Other similar definitions are suggested by other scholars such as Kövecses (2010:ix), who considers metaphor as “*a figure of speech in which one thing is compared with another by saying*

that one is the other, as in He is a lion.”, and Semino (2008:01) who defines it as *“the phenomenon whereby we talk and, potentially, think about something in terms of something else.”*

1.1.2. Metaphor and Political Discourse

Rhetoric has a lot to do with politics since any politician, president or journalist must acquire certain skills which allow them to be persuasive and attractive speakers or writers. This means that in order to achieve certain political or economic goals, politicians use rhetorical devices in order to convince their audience to take an action, change a situation or accept certain decisions. Thus, when metaphor is used in the right context, by the right person, it can be a strong argument by which people may get influenced. In this context, Lakoff and Johnson (1980:159) assert that metaphors *“are among our principal vehicles for understanding. And they play a central role in the construction of social and political reality.”* Furthermore, when metaphors are employed in politics, they can be tricky, confusing and, for some, even dangerous, as claimed by Hobbes (cited in Tuck, 1996:36):

[...] The Light of humane minds is Perspicuous Words, but by exact definitions first snuffed, and purged from ambiguity; [...] And on the contrary, Metaphors, and senseless and ambiguous words, are like *ignes fatui*; and reasoning upon them, is wandering amongst innumerable absurdities; and their end, contention, and sedition, or contempt.

As mentioned by Carver and Pikalo (2008), what they call political metaphors are unconsciously rooted in our cognition and affect our perception, whether we want it or not. They argue that *“‘Body politic’, ‘branches of government’, ‘head of state’, ‘ship of state’, etc. are all metaphors commonly in use for describing political situations and processes. There are of course more colourful ones used by politicians and political advisors.”* (Carver and Pikalo, 2008:01)

1.2. Illegal Immigration

The phenomenon of illegal immigration is one of the most sensitive and controversial topics that is commented on and discussed in different types of media, and has received considerable attention from the part of writers, politicians, journalists, and researchers. Defined as the fact of

moving from one country to another, refugees or asylum seekers, attracted to destinations of a better economic status and better life conditions, cross the sea in small boats in violation of immigration laws. Escaping different circumstances such as war, unemployment and socio-economic problems, these migrants become victims of drowning at sea.

Illegal immigration is one of the most recurring topics in the Algerian and international media landscape. In 2015, the International Organization for Migration (IOM) has claimed that around 1865 immigrants died in the Mediterranean. In 2021, the same organization has declared that within twenty-two thousand migrants, at least six hundred of them died attempting to reach Europe via the Mediterranean. In Algeria, the commonly shared appellation for this phenomenon is ‘Harraga’, and the people involved in it are often called ‘Harragas’. In the analysed corpus, illegal immigrants are also referred to by the terms migrants and refugees.

1.3. Multimodality

In order to assimilate what multimodality is, we must first refer to communication and semiotics. When we hear the word multimodality as students or researchers, we think that it always refers to the theory that emerged from social semiotics mainly developed by scholars like Kress and Van Leeuwen (1990,2006). However, multimodality pervades in the real world and is part of our life before anyone establishes a theory. We know that in order for communication to take place, a set of elements must exist; there are vehicles of the message or channels through which communicators transmit information in the form of signs to which meaning is attributed. Among these vehicles, we are more familiar with language as the most common system of communication, but we can receive meaningful messages through audible signs or sounds, visual signs, images, colours, and gestures. Thus, we can communicate relying only on one of these vehicles, as we can rely on two or more. To be clearer, people may communicate only by language or only by gestures, as they may use language and gestures (or other vehicles) at the same time. In fact, communication becomes multimodal when more than one channel or vehicle is employed,

simultaneously, to exchange meaning. Oxford Dictionary of Media and Communication defines multimodality as *“The use of more than one semiotic mode in meaning-making, communication, and representation generally, or in a specific situation. Such modes include all forms of verbal, nonverbal, and contextual communication.”* (Chandler and Munday, 2011:141). To better understand multimodality, we need to know what is a semiotic mode and how it is defined by scholars in the field of semiotics and communication.

1.3.1. Defining Mode

According to Kress (2010:79), a mode is *“a socially shaped and culturally given semiotic resource for making meaning. Image, writing, layout, music, gesture, speech, moving image, soundtrack and 3D objects are examples of modes used in representation and communication.”* This entails that a mode can be any system of signs to which meaning is attributed conventionally or naturally, interpretable by specific social and cultural groups, and through which people interact with one another to serve certain communicative purposes.

Although it is very hard to define a semiotic mode or a mode of communication, in simple words, it can be considered as a contact or a channel through which meaningful signs are transmitted and perceived by humans via senses. If we settle on this simple explanation, we accept that modes are linked to the five senses, and thus, as it is argued by Forceville (2009a), we would get a list of five modes: the pictorial or visual mode, the aural or sonic mode, the olfactory mode, the gustatory mode, and the tactile mode. According to him, this is problematic in the sense that a set of parameters must be taken into consideration since these modes can manifest in many forms and can be produced in various ways. For instance, images, gestures, symbols, and colours belong to the visual mode, but they are all systems of meaning-making and vehicles of information, and they differ from one another. Forceville (2009a:23) concludes that:

In short, it is at this stage impossible to give either a satisfactory definition of “mode,” or compile an exhaustive list of modes. However, this is no obstacle for postulating that there are different modes and that these include, at least, the following: (1) pictorial signs; (2) written signs; (3) spoken signs; (4) gestures; (5) sounds; (6) music (7) smells; (8) tastes; (9) touch.

The present study is mainly concerned with two modes which are the most frequent in humans' everyday communication: the verbal or linguistic mode, and the visual or pictorial mode.

1.3.2. The Verbal/Linguistic Mode

The verbal mode involves anything that is made up of language or words, either written or spoken. In simple terms, the verbal mode is language, and it is believed that it is the most important of all the other modes. Jewitt et al (2016:16) assert that *“this conception of language as being somehow more important to other modes is often used to justify the privileging of language as the single most important object of study, as well as the practice of studying language with little or no reference to other modes.”* Language is central to human life since real and complete communication cannot take place without it.

1.3.3. The Visual/Pictorial Mode

The visual or pictorial mode is the one by which meaning is transmitted via visual or pictorial representations. It includes icons, drawings, images, gestures, and pictures simulating and imitating real objects, and which are perceived through sight. However, El Refaie (2019:38) believes that *“visual meaning-making is by no means limited to the use of iconic pictures,”* but also involves *“nonrepresentational aspects of visual design, such as style, layout, color, and typography.”* This makes it more complicated to distinguish certain semiotic resources and relate them to a given mode, because as Forceville (2020:64) asserts, even *“written language has visual dimensions as well as verbal ones: typed language is printed in a specific font, with a specific size.”* Thus, in order not to make it difficult to identify what belong to the visual/pictorial mode, we settle for the fact that it consists of visual or pictorial representations.

1.3.4. Multimodal Text/Discourse

We can say that a given text or discourse is multimodal only if it consists of an interaction between two or more modes. In other words, a multimodal text is a combination of a variety of

semiotic resources, manifesting in different forms. Thus, verbal discourse and pictorial discourse, separately, are not said to be multimodal but monomodal; a mixture of visual and verbal signs gives a multimodal text or discourse. In our daily life, we encounter many multimodal texts via a variety of mediums such as newspapers, radio, and television. These texts are classified into genres; a multimodal genre, for instance, can be an article accompanied by pictures, TV commercials, advertisements, films, animations, comics, and editorial or political cartoons.

In this sense, Forceville (2020:68) states that *“In practice, however, many discourses are multimodal. The film medium, for instance, usually combines visuals, spoken language, written language, music, sound, and bodily behavior, and is thus highly multimodal.”*

The present study investigates metaphors manifestation within one of these multimodal genres which, usually, combines between the verbal and the pictorial mode in an artistic and satiric way. It is the genre of political cartoons.

1.4. The Genre of Political Cartoons

In order to understand exactly what is a political cartoon, we need to define first a cartoon or a caricature which are two terms used interchangeably. It is an imaginative drawing or painting, satiric and often humoristic, which portrays people, objects and real-life situations conveying an idea or an opinion about someone or something. Political cartoons, then, are cartoons or caricatures constituting of satiric and ridiculous drawings which comment on political figures, events and situations, published in newspapers and magazines. In this context, El Refaie (2009:175-176) defines a political cartoon as:

an illustration, usually in a single panel, published on the editorial or comments pages of a newspaper. Generally, the purpose of a political cartoon is to represent an aspect of social, cultural, or political life in a way that condenses reality and transforms it in a striking, original, and/or humorous way.

It is believed that the first political cartoon in America was published in 1754 entitled ‘Join, or Die’ (this cartoon is drawn from <https://www.history.com>) by Benjamin Franklin. As it is shown

in Figure 1, the cartoon represents the eight American colonies as a snake cut into eight pieces with the intention of calling for unity, to “*combat the French and their Native American allies, and to convince the British government to support a unified colonial government in America.*” (Kiger, 2018).

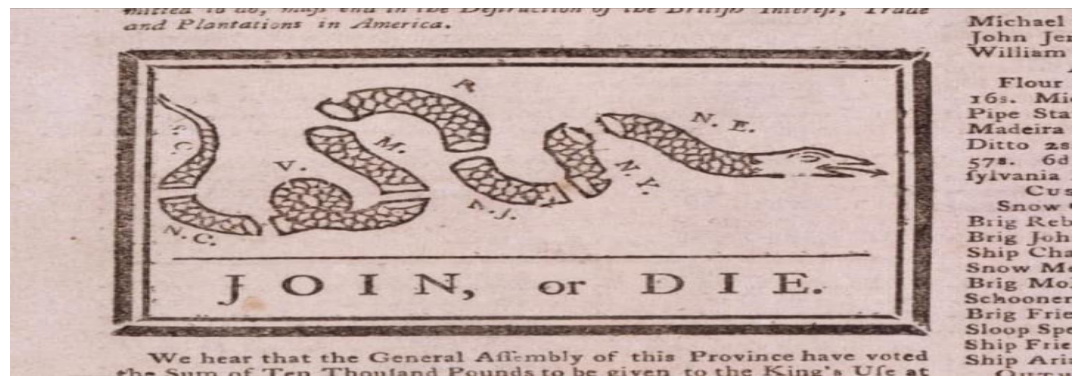


Figure 01: ‘Join, or Die’ Cartoon by Benjamin Franklin (1754)

The power of a political cartoon resides in its ability to communicate an opinion about a serious topic, quickly and implicitly, with offensive messages and argument avoiding direct accusation and distortion of certain people or politicians, and without being censored by the government or targeted parties. Walker (2003:16) claims that “*Sooner or later politicians find themselves the subject of a political cartoon. In the hands of a talented artist the editorial cartoon can be a powerful weapon because the point it is making can be quickly absorbed and transmitted.*”

It is argued by many scholars that among other tools used by cartoonists to convey a commentary in a powerful and artistic way when producing a cartoon, metaphor is essential and indispensable. Kövecses (2010:64) argues that plenty of non-verbal conceptual metaphorical scenes could be found and depicted in a “*literal way*” in cartoons. To illustrate, he gives an example relying on the ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER metaphor. This metaphor can manifest in a cartoon, for example, as “*an angry person may literally explode or burst open.*” (ibid.). El Refaie (2009:173-174) shares the same point of view and adds that “*Political cartoons offer a good opportunity to explore multimodal metaphor, because metaphor is a very common device used by cartoonists*

(Edwards 1997; Philippe 1982; Morrison 1992; Templin 1999) and most cartoons combine visual and verbal codes.”

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1. Conceptual Metaphor Theory

CMT is a cognitivist approach towards metaphor, introduced in 1980 by Lakoff and Johnson in their seminal work *Metaphors We Live By*. It has marked an epistemic break and shifted from old paradigms which dealt with metaphor as a figure of speech in terms of analogy, tropology and poetics. Its major tenet is that metaphor is not exclusively a property of language, but it is embodied in human cognition and it takes part in our thoughts and actions. Lakoff and Johnson (1980:03) insist on the fact that “*metaphor is pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but in thought and action. Our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature.*” According to them, metaphor consists of understanding and experiencing a given concept (abstract) in terms of another (concrete). Thus, in a conceptual metaphor, there must be two concepts, or what they call ‘conceptual domains.’

In order to explain what they mean by “*a concept to be metaphorical and for such a concept to structure an everyday activity,*” (Ibid:04) they illustrate with ARGUMENT IS WAR metaphor. The latter exists in our daily life language use, reflected by various expressions such as “*Your claims are indefensible. He attacked every weak point in my argument. His criticisms were right on target.*” (Ibid.)

Furthermore, the existence of a conceptual metaphor depends on a systematic or a cross-domain mapping between a source domain concept and a target domain concept. Lakoff (1993:210) demonstrates that metaphor is “*defined by a systematic mapping from a source to a target domain.*” Therefore, before getting to systematic mapping, we need to know what is meant by source and target domain.

2.1.1. Source and Target Domain

Source domain is a concrete, perceptible concept which is “*strongly rooted in the functioning of the human body.*” (Forceville, 2009a:20). It is the concept used to refer to the other, which is called target domain, within a metaphor. The latter, in contrast, is abstract; it is not tangible and it is not easy to understand, thus, a more concrete concept is used to help assimilating and experiencing it. However, in contrast, it is impossible to understand or experience a more concrete concept in terms of a more abstract one. Examples of abstract concepts could be evil, death, life, anger, happiness, peace, etc. and we cannot, for instance, explain the concept of fire by the concept of anger; the contrary is feasible. Kövecses (2010:07) explains this as follows:

Argument, love, idea, and social organization are all more abstract concepts than war, journey, food, and plant. This generalization makes intuitive sense. If we want to fully understand an abstract concept, we are better off using another concept that is more concrete, physical, or tangible than the abstract target concept for this purpose. Our experiences with the physical world serve as a natural and logical foundation for the comprehension of more abstract domains. This explains why in most cases of everyday metaphors the source and target domains are not reversible.

2.1.2. Mapping

Mapping, as it has been explained by Lakoff (1993), is the correspondence of traits or entities of the source domain to traits or entities of the target domain. In other words, mapping is the systematic process consisting of how an element or a feature of the target domain is linked or referred to by another element or feature of the source domain. To make mapping clearer and easier to grasp, Lakoff (1993:207) suggests the use of mnemonics in the form of ‘this is that’ or ‘this as that’. He provides an example of the LOVE IS A JOURNEY metaphor to explain mapping with mnemonics, as the following (Figure 02) illustrates:

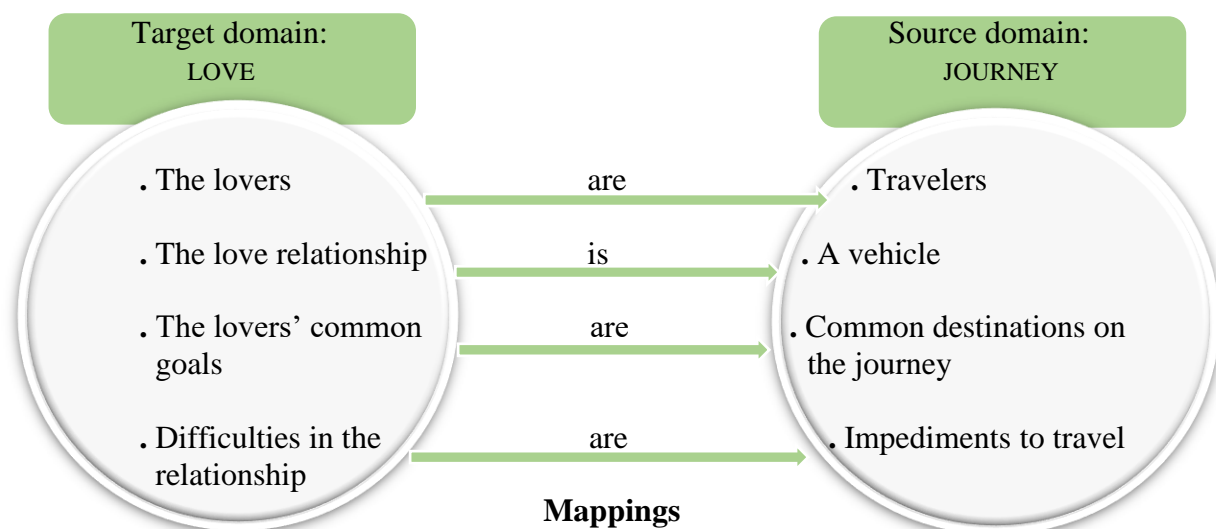


Figure 02: LOVE IS A JOURNEY Mappings (Lakoff, 1993:207)

2.1.3. Conceptual Domain Scenario

Kövecses (2002:107) demonstrates that a target domain can be characterized by various source domains, and a single source domain can conceptualize many concepts (target domains). Musolff (2004:13) introduces the property ‘scenario’ as “*an intermediate analytical category between the level of the conceptual domain as a whole and its individual elements.*”, and he illustrates with ‘the LOVE-MARRIAGE-FAMILY domain’ combining three concepts. These concepts share similar features and correspondences, and thus, the intermediate category between each concept and its individual elements is the same in each of them; they share a common conceptual domain scenario.

2.1.4. Linguistic vs. Conceptual Metaphor

As it is said before, a conceptual metaphor is rooted in our cognition, characterized by a cross-domain mapping from a source domain concept (e.g., journey) to a target domain concept (e.g., love). This exists in our mind and shapes our thoughts and actions, before we articulate certain metaphorical expressions through language. Kövecses (2010:04) identifies a conceptual metaphor

as “*CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN A IS CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN B*,” knowing that “*a conceptual domain is any coherent organization of experience.*”

A linguistic metaphor, then (or what Kövecses, calls metaphorical linguistic expressions) consists of all the linguistic expressions that are related to the source domain concept and by which we articulate and word the metaphor. Lakoff (1993) believes that these metaphorical linguistic expressions are not simply metaphors. If so, relating to the example of LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor, the utterances “*we’ve hit a dead-end street, [...] we can’t turn back now, [...] their marriage is on the rocks*” involve different metaphors. However, he concludes that “*we don’t seem to have dozens of different metaphors here. We have one metaphor, in which love is conceptualized as a journey.*” (Ibid:209).

2.2. Non-Verbal and Multimodal Metaphor Theory

The multimodal approach to metaphor studies is a recent one developed by Forceville (1996-2016) on the basis of one major and crucial tenet of CMT which is the fact that metaphor is not a matter of language but of cognition, although expressed by language. Thus, this entails that metaphors can also “*occur non-verbally and multimodally as well as purely verbally.*” (Forceville, 2009a:21). Metaphor can manifest through other modes such as in images and pictures. Forceville (1996) relies on Black’s (1979) ‘interaction theory’ in his analysis of pictorial manifestation of metaphors. The interaction view of metaphor suggests that a pre-existing similarity between the source and target domain is not necessary, and the interaction between them (source and target) can create that similarity. In other words, the target and the source interact (influence each other) and create a new vehicle of meaning. Forceville’s Non-Verbal and Multimodal Metaphor Theory is used in many studies analysing metaphors in different multimodal genres like advertisements, comics and animation, music and sound, films, and political cartoons.

Sobrino (2017:50) states that in an advertisement, for instance, multimodal metaphor analysts consider “*the additional information provided by the pictorial context in order to identify the*

metaphorical domains, their characterisation as metaphorical source and target, and the existent mappable features.” In order to get familiar with this approach, we must know what to call a multimodal metaphor, what to call a non-verbal metaphor, and to make a distinction between a multimodal metaphor and a monomodal metaphor.

2.2.1. Multimodal vs. Monomodal Metaphor

First of all, it is important to demonstrate that a non-verbal metaphor is any metaphor (either monomodal or multimodal) which manifests through any other mode except language. That is, all of its components must not involve any words or linguistic expressions. A monomodal metaphor, then, is defined by Forceville (2009a:23) as a metaphor “*whose target and source are exclusively or predominantly rendered in one mode.*” An example of this could be the common linguistic metaphors that we are familiar with and in which the source and target domains are both communicated by linguistic expressions. Another example of a monomodal metaphor is the pictorial variety which occurs, generally, in advertisements, animation and cartoons and which its source and target domains are both communicated by visual elements in an image or in a (moving) picture. Furthermore, Forceville (2008:182-183) distinguishes four types of pictorial metaphor in his examination of pictorial and multimodal metaphors in commercials. These are: ‘Hybrid Metaphor (MP2)’, ‘Contextual Metaphor (MP1)’, ‘Pictorial Simile’, and ‘Integrated Metaphor’. A *hybrid metaphor* consists of two visually represented different kinds of things which are fused together constructing a single thing which does not exist literally. This is illustrated with an example of “*a governmental sponsored ad featuring the earth whose upper half is a burning candle.*” (Forceville, 2008:182). A contextual metaphor occurs when a visual representation of something is put in the visual context of another different thing which is pictorially absent. An example of this is when, for instance, a bottle of juice (instead of a fruit) is depicted hanging on a tree to connote that it is natural and fresh. A pictorial simile is a pictorial metaphor which results from juxtaposing a visual representation of something besides another to suggest that ‘one is like the other’. In an

advertisement, for instance, an air conditioner could be portrayed besides a representation of a tornado to connote strength and coldness. Finally, an integrated metaphor is a pictorial metaphor whose target domain not directly conveyed by a visual representation of the source or any of its elements, but through its posture or position which is attributed to the target. For instance, in a given context, a human could be portrayed in the form of a ring on a someone's finger to connote manipulation and control.

Since a monomodal metaphor is the one whose source and target domains are expressed through only one mode, we can guess that a multimodal metaphor is a metaphor "*whose target and source are each represented exclusively or predominantly in different modes.*" (Ibid:24). For instance, the source domain is a visual, and the target domain is a linguistic expression.

Moreover, Forceville (2009a:25) believes that most of the time, sources and targets of non-verbal metaphors are communicated, simultaneously, in more than one mode. To explain this, he illustrates with an example suggesting that, in an animation film, someone produces the CAT IS ELEPHANT metaphor pictorially (monomodal/only through the pictorial mode). He/she might portray a cat with parts or organs of an elephant, such as huge ears, trunk and tusks or ivory, or by any other depiction like letting the cat perform like an elephant. Then, if the same producer wants to make the previous metaphor multimodal, he/she will provide a representation of a cat producing a trumpeting sound or letting another character in the film tell this cat "You are an elephant!" Here, according to Forceville (2009a), the target domain CAT is communicated only through the pictorial mode, and the source domain ELEPHANT is communicated through other different mode(s) (sonic: trumpeting sound of an elephant; or verbal: the statement "You are an elephant!"); this consists of a truly multimodal metaphor.

Let's suppose now that this person depicts the cat behaving like an elephant, and having parts and organs of an elephant, but with the addition of a trumpeting sound and the statement "You are

an elephant!” In this case, still the target CAT is depicted only in the pictorial mode, but the source ELEPHANT is cued in two other different modes in addition to pictorial (verbal and sonic).

We already have a pictorial metaphor because both the target CAT and the source ELEPHANT are cued in the same mode, pictorially (non-verbal). However, Forceville still considers it to be a multimodal metaphor regarding the other two modes (verbal and sonic) used to depict the source ELEPHANT.

2.2.2. Structural vs. Creative Metaphor

As defined by Kövecses (2010:37), structural metaphors are those which we are so far familiar with, whose *“source domain provides a relatively rich knowledge structure for the target concept.”* It is when we understand an abstract concept by the structure of a more concrete concept. These are considered being conventional which, according to Forceville (2009a:27), differ from idiosyncratic metaphors; these are *“far less governed by entrenched, pre-existing correspondences between the schematic structures in target and source.”* (Forceville, 2009a:27). Furthermore, he argues that *“a metaphor can also conceptualize the concrete in terms of the concrete.”* (Ibid.); this exists when we get out of the circle of purely verbal metaphors. In advertisement, for example, when both source and target are depicted, pictorially, concrete (concrete A is concrete B) like the depiction of *“an elegant watch as a butterfly.”* (Ibid.). This metaphor belongs to the creative variety, and its mapping is not structural; the cross-domain mapping is culturally shaped, not embodied.

2.2.3. Verbalization of non-Verbal Metaphor

When analysing non-verbal and multimodal metaphors within this approach, one must name source and target domain and formulate them in the verbal form CONCEPT A IS CONCEPT B. However, this could be problematic and challenging to be interpreted objectively. In this context, Forceville (2009a:30) asserts the following:

One of these consequences is that it is the analyst’s responsibility to find an adequate or acceptable verbal rendering of the metaphor’s underlying image-schematic level, but such a verbalization, even though used as a convenient shorthand, is never neutral. The design of the Senseo coffee machine suggests the posture of somebody bending over and modestly offering something (i.e., a cup) on a plate. But should this awareness result in

the verbalization COFFEE MACHINE IS SERVANT, or is COFFEE MACHINE IS BUTLER more appropriate?

According to him, a relatively concrete verbalization could be probably realized following three possibilities which are: 1) "*Perceptual resemblance*" (a feature in a given mode can only, perceptually, resemble a feature in the same mode); 2) "*Filling a schematic slot unexpectedly*" (when something is put in a specific context it may call for a different thing especially if that context is the latter's natural place); 3) "*Simultaneous cuing*" (when two different things, unexpectedly, manifest simultaneously in two different modes, we identify the metaphor by representing source and target simultaneously) (Ibid:31).

3. Complementary Meaning-making Tools

In addition to pictorial and multimodal metaphor, other linguistic and cognitive meaning-making mechanisms may take part in the construction of the whole meaning of a cartoon, and, sometimes, they are necessary for a concrete interpretation of the metaphors.

3.1. Metonymy

Forceville and Urios-Aparisi (2009:12) argue that "*It is impossible to study metaphor without addressing metonymy.*" Lakoff and Johnson (1980:36) distinguish a metonymy from a metaphor by arguing that while a metaphor consists of understanding a concept in terms of another, metonymy is the process by which a concept is referred to by another. It is defined by Radden and Kövecses (1999:21) as "*a cognitive process in which one conceptual entity, the vehicle, provides mental access to another conceptual entity, the target, within the same idealized cognitive model.*" According to Forceville (2009b:56), the structure of a metonymy is B FOR A, in contrast to metaphor structure A IS B. Moreover, Zhang and Forceville (2020:6) claim that "*metaphor and metonymy interact, irrespective of the medium in which they occur.*"

3.2. Personification

According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980:34) identified personification as “*a general category that covers a very wide range of metaphors, each picking out different aspects of a person or ways of looking at a person.*” They consider personification as extensions of ontological metaphors, which “*allow us to make sense of phenomena in the world in human terms—terms that we can understand on the basis of our own motivations, goals, actions, and characteristics.*” (ibid.). In simple words, it is a metaphor which conceptualizes abstract and lifeless concepts as humans by attributing human qualities to inanimate objects. Furthermore, Forceville and Urios-Aparisi (2009:13) assert that “*Personification is a crucial variety of multimodal metaphor no less than of verbal metaphor.*”

3.3. Idioms

According to Taylor (2012:69), an idiom can be defined as “*any expression whose properties, whether semantic, syntactic, or lexical, cannot be accounted for in terms of syntactic rules operating over the lexicon.*” Idioms are culturally specific expressions whose literal meaning is not its intention. When someone uses an idiom, he/she intends a different thing rather than the semantic meaning of what is uttered. Idioms can be employed in political cartoons, either verbally or visually.

3.4. Intertextuality

According to Wales (2001:220), intertextuality is defined as “*utterances/texts in relation to other utterances/texts.*” In brief, intertextuality occurs when one text makes reference to another either directly or indirectly. Zhang and Forceville (2020:28) argue that “*recognition of these ‘intertexts’ will at the very least contribute extra meaning, and may in some cases even be indispensable for interpretation.*” A political cartoon may echo other texts that have already appeared in other genres like novels or movies.

3.5. Pictorial Runs

Pictorial runs are defined as “*non-mimetic graphic elements that contribute narratively salient information.*” (Forceville, 2011:875). In other words, they are visual signs in the form of various

linear shapes, which surround characters or objects in caricatures, comics and other genres. According to Zhang and Forceville (2020:32), pictorial runs may indicate “*aspects of movement, such as speed and direction*”, “*people’s emotions*”, or “*they draw attention to an element that otherwise might go unnoticed.*”

4. Metaphor in Political Cartoons

The work of Forceville (1996-2016) has attracted the attention of scholars to investigate non-verbal and multimodal manifestation of metaphors, and has given birth to a new generation of metaphor researchers. Relying on this theory and other theories, many researchers and scholars investigated metaphors occurring in various non-verbal and multimodal genres. The present study is concerned with the investigation of metaphors in the genre of political cartoons which portray the phenomenon of illegal immigration, in particular, and other issues.

4.1. Studies about Pictorial and/or Multimodal Metaphors in Cartoons about Illegal Immigration

El Refaie (2003) conducted research on the use of the visual mode to produce metaphors in Austrian daily newspapers cartoons about immigration, which aims to examine how visual metaphors differ from verbal ones, and how their mappings are influenced by the socio-political context of the cartoons. The main conclusions which are derived from this study demonstrate that in order to identify a visual metaphor, it is more appropriate to refer to its underlying concepts and thoughts. The analysis of the cartoons reveals the hardship to distinguish between the literal and metaphorical meaning because their boundaries are fuzzy and highly dependent on the context of the cartoons. El Refaie (2003:90) illustrates that “*the concept of immigration as an aggressive ‘assault’ on the majority population, which is expressed through many of the cartoons under consideration, may well appear to the average reader of the ‘Neue Kronen Zeitung’ as relatively ‘natural’ and unremarkable.*”, and thus, as researchers in this field, we must take into consideration the socio-political context. She also sheds light on the differences between verbal and visual

metaphors; there are “*other visual means, such as size and composition*” (Ibid:91) which take part in the visual mode, and the latter “*is restricted when it is used to portray ‘plurals’, so that groups of people are often reduced to one stereotypical image which purportedly represents the essence of this group.*” (Ibid.). In addition, she concludes that the relationship between a visual metaphor and its verbal context is complex (Ibid.)

Wawra (2018) investigates multimodal literacy in political cartoons on the refugee crisis with the aim of exploring the meaning-making process, identifying popular stylistic means and how they function in different modes especially non-verbal ones, in order to use these cartoons for secondary and higher educational purposes. At the end, she concludes that political cartoons as critical reading tools are useful to develop students’ multimodal literacy because they are rich in multimodal resources.

Baek (2016) investigates visual metaphorical conceptualization of the Syrian refugees’ crisis in political cartoons. His corpus consists of randomly selected cartoons about the Syrian refugee’ crisis, which are published in specific websites between January 2015 and February 2016 (when the refugees’ crisis reached its peak). His study has revealed that the crisis is conceptualized as a struggle for Europe. Furthermore, he claims that the selected cartoons imply negative attitudes towards the Syrian refugees’ crisis. However, these conclusions cannot apply to a specific party; the selected cartoons are collected randomly, and their producers are any cartoonists from different parts of the world who publish about the Syrian refugees’ crisis in specific websites. Moreover, this study does not shed light on the representation of illegal immigration, in general, including North African and Middle Eastern immigration, nor compare the perspectives of specific parties.

4.2. Studies about Pictorial and/or Multimodal Metaphors in Cartoons about Other Issues

Concerning other issues, many studies are conducted on pictorial and multimodal metaphors in cartoons such as terrorism (Bergen, 2003), Brexit (Silaški & Đurović 2019; Marín-Arrese, 2019),

violence and corruption in Jordan (Al-Masri, 2016), ISIS (Abdel-Raheem, 2019), the Sino-US trade conflict (Zhang & Forceville, 2020), among others.

One of these studies, which is very crucial to the present research, is Bounegru and Forceville's (2011) examination of thirty editorial cartoons representing the 2008 global financial crisis with the aim of understanding the use of pictorial and visual resources to produce metaphors, and how these could be traced to underlying conceptual ones. They recognize that most of the metaphors in these cartoons share the same source domain, and they identify three main source domain scenarios portraying THE FINANCIAL CRISIS AS A CATASTROPHE/(NATURAL) DISASTER, FINANCIAL CRISIS AS AN ILLNESS/DISEASE, and FINANCIAL CRISIS AS BEGGING.

The main findings of this study show that pictorial and multimodal metaphors are widely used to portray the global financial crisis in the selected cartoon. However, Bounegru and Forceville (2011:222) believe that *"It is the genre as a whole that invites metaphors, not just the topic of the financial crisis."* Cartoonists rely, considerably, on metaphors to produce their cartoons in an artistic and persuasive way.

They state that their findings support the idea of the 'embodied mind', because the features of the abstract target domain (financial crisis) are mapped onto features of more concrete source domains. They also confirm that the identified source domains are conceptual domains which can occur in many various ways, visually or verbo-visually.

At the end, they conclude that there are different possible verbalizations of a single domain, either source or target, depending on our interpretations, and this affects the way conceptual metaphors are categorized and the way we perceive the conceptual status of a given domain. This suggests the possibility of different underlying conceptual metaphors to be evoked by a single cartoon, which may lead to a partial overlap, and thus, we must be careful when we verbalize non-verbal metaphors manifesting in political cartoons.

Relying on this framework, Alrubaian (2014) investigates the use of multimodal metaphor in English and Arabic cartoons about the Arab Spring in Egypt. The main findings of her research were that in addition to the use of several metaphorical expressions by both English and Arabic cartoonists, they both rely on the pictorial mode to depict the source domain and almost all the cartoons were found to belong to the category of universal metaphor presented by Lakoff (1980).

At the end of this chapter, we can claim that none of the reviewed studies have accounted to the use of pictorial and multimodal metaphors to conceptualize the phenomenon of illegal immigration via the Mediterranean, and none of them have compared between Algerian and non-Algerian cartoons in a specific context, and about a similar topic.

Conclusion:

With that being said, this chapter is a brief overview of the essential concepts that need to be taken into consideration while conducting the present research. In the first place, it presents and defined the key terms which the topic of investigation is based on, mainly metaphor and its background, multimodality and the genre of political cartoons. Moreover, it provides a deep explanation of the theories underlying the study, including Lakoff and Johnson's Conceptual Metaphor Theory and Forceville's Non-Verbal and Multimodal Metaphor Theory. At the end, it takes into account similar pertinent studies investigating pictorial and multimodal metaphor in political cartoons about illegal immigration and other issues, and it clearly demonstrated that the present research is not conducted before.



RESEARCH DESIGN

Introduction

The present chapter is devoted to the research design that is adopted and explains the methods and how the research is conducted. In order to deal with such an investigation, a mixed-methods approach that combines quantitative and qualitative analysis is required. This is elaborated in the first section. The second section describes the corpus consisting of a set of political cartoons, their sources, their producers, and how they are collected. This chapter ends up with an explanation of the way pictorial and multimodal metaphors in the cartoons are identified and analysed relying on the framework by Bounegru and Forceville (2011) to analyse the cartoons in which the target is illegal immigration or any of its subthemes. The last section explains the procedure including metaphors identification and their source and target domains, distinction between monomodal (pictorial) and multimodal metaphors, verbalization and interpretation, and detailed analysis with comparison between Algerian and non-Algerian cartoonists' use of metaphors in political cartoons.

1. The Research Method

Investigating the use of metaphors to portray and comment on the phenomenon of illegal immigration in political cartoons requires a mixed-methods research design. The latter is an alternation between quantitative methods and qualitative methods because both quantitative (statistics) and qualitative (interpretations) data are deduced from the corpus. According to Creswell et al. (2003:212), mixed methods research consists of *“the collection or analysis of both quantitative and/or qualitative data in a single study in which the data are collected concurrently or sequentially, are given a priority, and involve the integration of the data at one or more stages in the process of research.”* This entails that certain research cannot be approached only through one method because of the nature of its data which varies at different stages of the study between quantitative and qualitative.

Hence, in the present study, quantitative analysis is opted for to record the number of metaphors that occur in the cartoons and to count the frequency of pictorial and multimodal manifestations and their source domains in each corpus (Algerian and non-Algerian). Then, qualitative analysis is used to analyse and interpret the content of each cartoon, identify and verbalize non-verbal elements, and study the deduced metaphors relying on Non-Verbal and Multimodal Metaphor Theory and CMT. Qualitative analysis allows to discuss the connotations of the metaphors in order to unveil the intended messages of the producers of the cartoons after identifying the conceptual source domains and their mappings onto illegal immigration and its correspondences.

2. Data Collection and Corpus Description

The current study consists of an examination of forty political cartoons taken from different websites specialized in publishing cartoons, and also from Facebook and Twitter. They might be published before in particular newspapers as they may exist exclusively online. They are collected by searching the queries ‘illegal immigration,’ ‘immigrants,’ ‘refugees’, and ‘harraga’ on the net and in cartoons websites such as cartoonmovement.com, cartoonstock.com, gagdz.com and others. After getting the results, the selection of the cartoons is not random. The sample involved those which appear to be more creative containing scenes whose literal meaning is impossible to happen. Approximately, all of them have a linguistic part in addition to the pictures; at least they have a subtitle given by the publisher which is out of the frame of the cartoon.

The Algerian corpus is gathered from online websites which republish the cartoons after being published in Algerian newspapers. They are taken from gagdz.com except four from Facebook, one from Twitter, and two from cartoonmovement.com. They are published in different periods of time ranging from 2013 to 2021 as it is displayed in Table 01 hereafter.

Cartoon's Code	Cartoonist	Year of Publication	Website of Publication	Source
A1	Ali Dilem	2021	www.facebook.com	Liberté Algérie
A2	Belkacem Younci	2021	www.facebook.com	Le Courrier d'Algérie
A3	Ghir Hak	2015	www.gagdz.com	Les Débats
A4	Ghilas Ainouche	2021	www.twitter.com	L'Avant Garde Algérie
A5	Le Hic (Hichem Baba Ahmed)	2018	www.gagdz.com	El Watan
A6	Islem	2014	www.gagdz.com	Le Temps d'Algérie
A7	Ali Dilem	2021	www.facebook.com	Liberté Algérie
A8	Siham Zebiri	2015	www.cartoonmovement.com	Online
A9	Le Hic (Hichem Baba Ahmed)	2019	www.gagdz.com	El Watan
A10	Islem	2014	www.gagdz.com	Le Temps d'Algérie
A11	Ali Dilem	2017	www.gagdz.com	Liberté Algérie
A12	Hawari	2013	www.gagdz.com	La Tribune des Lecteurs
A13	Ali Dilem	2015	www.gagdz.com	Liberté Algérie
A14	Ghir Hak	2014	www.gagdz.com	Les Débats
A15	Samir Sadki	2018	www.facebook.com	Le Provincial
A16	Zoubir Ghougali	2016	www.cartoonmovement.com	Online
A17	Ghir Hak	2014	www.gagdz.com	Les Débats
A18	Djamel Lounis	2013	www.gagdz.com	Le Jour d'Algérie
A19	Le Hic (Hichem Baba Ahmed)	2014	www.gagdz.com	El Watan
A20	Ghir Hak	2014	www.gagdz.com	Les Débats

Table 01: The Selected Algerian Cartoons

As it is shown in the above table, these cartoons have been produced by various cartoonists who publish and work for famous Algerian newspapers, and then they are shared on social media and on specific websites. Most of the cartoonists are known by declaring their full names like, for instance, Ali Dilem who works for ‘Liberté Algérie’ and Belkacem Younci who works for ‘Le Courrier d’Algérie’. However, others like Ghir Hak prefer not to use their real names, or they declare only their first name such as Islem and Hawari.

The non-Algerian cartoons are produced by cartoonists from different countries. They are collected online from websites specialized in publishing cartoons and also from Twitter. Ten of them are taken from cartoonmovement.com, three from cartoonstock.com, one from Twitter, one from humeurs.be, two from chappatte.com, one from cagle.com, one from dessinsmisslilou.over-blog.com, and one from vegabajaacoge.org. They have been published in different periods of time ranging from 2011 to 2021. However, although they are shared officially by their producers (cartoonists) in online databases, the original sources are not mentioned in the websites and hence, it is unknown whether they are published before in specific newspapers. The non-Algerian corpus is displayed in the following table.

Cartoon's Number	Cartoonist	Country	Year of Publication	Website of Publication
NA1	Guido Kuhn	Germany	2017	www.cartoonmovement.com
NA2	Maarten Wolterink	Netherlands	2015	www.cartoonmovement.com
NA3	Giacomo Cardelli	Italy	2011	www.cartoonmovement.com
NA4	Musa Keklik	Turkey	2020	www.cartoonmovement.com
NA5	Igor Kolgarev	Russia	2016	www.cartoonmovement.com
NA6	Olivier Pirnay	Belgium	2015	www.humeurs.be
NA7	Dusan Petricic	Serbia	2015	www.twitter.com
NA8	Ron McGearry	England	2015	www.cartoonstock.com

NA9	Alexei Talimonov	England (Ukrainian born)	2016	www.cartoonstock.com
NA10	Patrick Chappatte	Switzerland	2015	www.chappatte.com
NA11	Christo Komarnitski	Bulgaria	2015	www.cagle.com
NA12	Javier Ellapizloco	Spain	2018	www.vegabajaacoge.org
NA13	Emrah Arıkan	Turkey	2015	www.cartoonmovement.com
NA14	Tasos Anastasiou	Greece	2018	www.cartoonmovement.com
NA15	Peter Walleman	Netherlands	2013	www.cartoonstock.com
NA16	Patrick Chappatte	Switzerland	2015	www.chappatte.com
NA17	Miss Lilou	France	2016	www.dessinsmisslilou.over-blog.com
NA18	Anthanasios Iatridis	Greece	2015	www.cartoonmovement.com
NA19	Giacomo Cardelli	Italy	2011	www.cartoonmovement.com
NA20	Giafranco Uber	Italy	2011	www.cartoonmovement.com

Table 02: The Selected non-Algerian Cartoons

3. Data Analysis

Relying on CMT by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), Non-Verbal and Multimodal Metaphor Theory by Forceville (2009a) and the framework by Bounegru and Forceville (2011) for investigating metaphors in editorial cartoons, each corpus is first analysed separately before the obtained results are compared. The analytical part of the present research consists of three main steps. The first step deals with the identification of all the metaphors involved in the cartoons including their elements (source and target domains), following Bounegru and Forceville's (2011) criteria for metaphor identification. In the second step, a distinction is made between pictorial (monomodal) metaphors and multimodal metaphors, using the strategy suggested by Bounegru and Forceville (2011). The third step is concerned with verbalizing non-verbal elements in order to articulate the metaphors through language, and then the verbalized metaphors deduced from the cartoons are analysed in detail, highlighting features mapped from source to target in order to

interpret and understand the cartoons in general and the metaphors in particular by revealing their connotations.

3.1. Criteria for Metaphor Identification

According to Bounegru and Forceville (2011:213), in order to determine whether something is a metaphor, we shall consider three criteria. First, a relationship must be established between a phenomenon and another belonging to a different category in a certain context. Second, one of these phenomena must be taken as a source and the other as a target, and in the context, one cannot be substituted by the other (source and target are not reversible). Finally, a minimum of one feature or connotation concerning the source domain must be mapped to the target domain.

Relying on this procedure, all the metaphors which exist in the cartoons are identified by mentioning what concepts are considered as source or target domains. The common target domain concept of the metaphors involved in the selected data is illegal migration or one of its subthemes since the phenomenon is the aboutness of the cartoons.

3.2. Strategy for Distinguishing between Pictorial and Multimodal Metaphors

The difference between pictorial/monomodal metaphors and multimodal metaphors is that while the former's source and target domain are both expressed through the same mode, multimodal metaphor's source and target are portrayed through two different modes. Moreover, in the present study, in addition to this distinction by Forceville (2009a), a very useful strategy suggested by Bounegru and Forceville (2011:213) is followed to identify the mode in which source and target domain concepts are cued and hence to categorize the metaphors.

The procedure is to omit all the linguistic expressions in the cartoon, and then, if it is possible to recognize both source and target, the metaphor is categorized as pictorial. But if one of them (either source or target) could not be recognized, the metaphor is classified as multimodal/verbo-pictorial.

3.3. Verbalization and Interpretation

This step consists in translating the non-linguistic elements of the cartoons, more precisely pictorial metaphors and the visual source or target domains of the multimodal metaphors, from the visual mode to the linguistic mode. This is done with the aim of discussing the content of the cartoons to interpret the metaphors and understand their intended meaning. According to Bounegru and Forceville (2011:214), revealing the connotation which had been mapped from source domain to target domain is “*the interpretive part of metaphor analysis*” and they state that:

This interpretation is governed by the assumption that the cartoonist tries to be optimally relevant to the audience, and is crucially constrained by the genre convention (shared by cartoonist and audience) that a political cartoon provides an often humorously designed criticism of a public figure or state of affairs in the world. (Ibid.)

Thus, it is assumed that the cartoonists are cooperative with their audience and they take into account the maxim of relation or relevance (Grice, 1975; Sperber & Wilson, 2004) because what they communicate is pertinent to a certain context which a reader of a newspaper is familiar with such as political events and the economic situation, and the assumption that political cartoons often involve humoristic and satiric commentaries about politicians, well-known figures and actual events or states of affairs.

However, the corpus in hand is gathered online, not directly taken from its original source. There is a shift in the medium of dissemination from newspapers to the Internet, and thus, the ‘discursive context’ is absent. The ‘discursive context’ represents the extra-textual elements in a newspaper page which juxtapose the cartoon and are not included inside its frame. Bounegru and Forceville (Ibid:03) believe that its absence “*affects interpretation of the language-image relation.*” Therefore, the tags (keywords and comments) added by their publishers or the webmasters are taken into consideration and are intended to provide an alternative context, or to replace at least to some extent the lacking ‘discursive context’.

Conclusion

To recapitulate, through the present chapter, we take a look at the methods, procedures and strategies employed to examine pictorial and multimodal metaphors in political cartoons. In the first place, it presents the research method consisting of the mixed-methods research, and demonstrates how it is relevant and how it is used to conduct the research. Secondly, it provides a description of the corpus including the producers of the cartoons, the year of publication, the place (or country) of publication and the source from which they are taken, and it also accounts for the selection procedure that is opted to choose the sample. Finally, it explains how the strategies and procedures belonging to the theoretical framework, mainly CMT, Non-Verbal and Multimodal Metaphor Theory and the framework by Bounegru and Forceville (2011) to deal with metaphors in political cartoons, are harnessed to analyse the gathered data.



**PRESENTATION OF THE
FINDINGS**

Introduction

In the present chapter, the results reached after conducting the analysis on the corpus in hand consisting of forty cartoons, are presented in detail. All the pictorial and multimodal metaphors involved in the selected sample of Algerian and non-Algerian political cartoons are identified, categorised and analysed by relying on Bounegru and Forceville's (2011) framework. The results of the analysis are presented in three sections. The first presents the number of metaphors identified and the frequency of each type (pictorial or multimodal) in Algerian and in non-Algerian cartoons, and in the corpus as a whole. The second section demonstrates the conceptualized target domain concepts and their frequency in each group (Algerian and non-Algerian). The third section involves a detailed analysis of the cartoons and the identified pictorial and multimodal metaphors after being verbalised. This is presented in six groups (DEATH, ANNOYANCE, DISASTER, SPORTS/GAME, WAR, and other metaphors) in which the metaphors are categorised according to the dominant source domain scenario in each cartoon, along with a cross domain mapping list for each of the five identified scenarios.

1. The Frequency of Pictorial and Multimodal Metaphors in the Cartoons

The analysis of the cartoons has revealed a significant use of both pictorial and multimodal metaphors. Since "*different metaphors can structure different aspects of a single concept,*" (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980:108) we have identified fifty-nine (59) manifestations of metaphors (any two different concepts establishing a relationship within the cartoons in the form A IS B, is taken as a metaphor) within the forty (40) cartoons in which the source domain is always (except in one case) cued in the pictorial mode, and the target domain is cued either pictorially or verbally (see Appendices C and D). However, the use of multimodal metaphors (metaphors whose source and target are rendered in two different modes) is more frequent than pictorial ones (metaphors whose source and target are both rendered in the visual/pictorial mode), especially in the non-Algerian corpus, as it is demonstrated in Diagram 01.

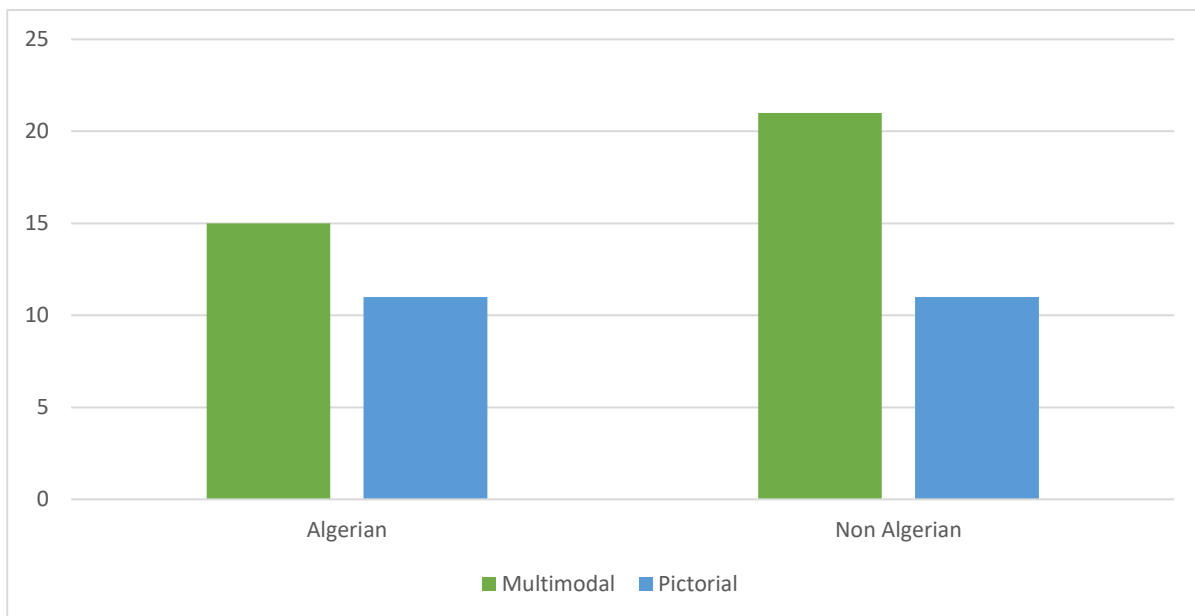


Diagram 01: The Frequency of Pictorial and Multimodal Metaphors in Algerian and non-Algerian Cartoons

It is remarkable that the non-Algerian cartoons are richer in multimodal metaphors which is the dominant type in the whole corpus. Diagram 02 demonstrates the frequency of pictorial and multimodal metaphors in the whole corpus.

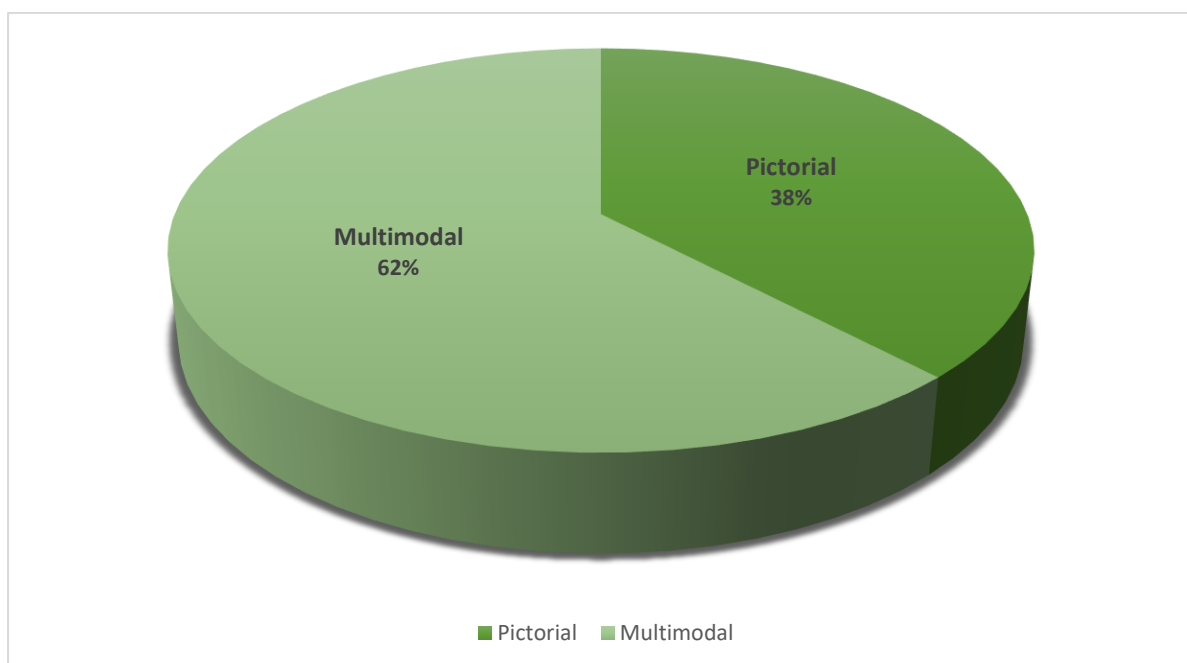


Diagram 02: The Frequency of Pictorial and Multimodal Metaphors in the Whole Corpus

This shows that the cartoonists tend to cue their metaphors multimodally more than they do pictorially, although pictorial metaphors are frequent in the whole corpus. The fact that political cartoons is a multimodal genre, which always contains a linguistic part (either a title or a caption inside the image) beside the picture, justifies the above stated results.

Concerning the pictorial metaphors identified in both Algerian and non-Algerian cartoons, all of the four types distinguished by Forceville (2008) have been manifested. However, the most frequent types are ‘Hybrid Metaphor’ (MP2), which occurs six times in the Algerian corpus and four times in the non-Algerian corpus, and ‘Contextual Metaphor’ (MP1), which occurs twice in the Algerian corpus and five times in the non-Algerian corpus. The two other types, ‘Pictorial Simile’ and ‘Integrated Metaphor’, occurs only once in each corpus (see Appendix C).

2. Frequent Target Domain Concepts

The metaphors taken from political cartoons about illegal immigration generally conceptualize this phenomenon, or one of its subthemes, as various features corresponding to the identified source domain scenarios. These could be IMMIGRANTS, EUROPE (the destination), BOATS, THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA, NORTH AFRICA (departure point), among others. Table 3 demonstrates the target domain concepts and their frequency in Algerian and in non-Algerian cartoons.

Target Domain Concepts	Frequency In Algerian Cartoons	Frequency In non-Algerian Cartoons
IMMIGRANTS	7	13
BOAT	5	3
ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION	6	2
THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA	3	3
THE EU (EUROPE)	2	8
RESCUING IMMIGRANTS	2	0

NORTH AFRICA	0	1
Other	1	2

Table 03: Frequent Target Domains in The Cartoons

As it is shown in Table 3, the most frequent target domain of the cartoons is IMMIGRANTS, followed by other subthemes of illegal immigration. The two other domains identified in the non-Algerian corpus are ‘Frontex’ (also called the European Border and Coast Guard Agency) and ‘Greece, Macedonia and Serbia’, and the other identified target domain in the Algerian corpus is ‘Social Networks/Facebook’

3. Verbalization of the Metaphors According to the Source Domain Scenarios of the Cartoons

The identified pictorial and multimodal metaphors are analysed in six categories depending on the dominant source domain scenario in the cartoon in which they are involved. A source domain scenario is a commonly shared domain which intermediates between conceptual source domains, within slightly different metaphorical scenes, and their individual elements (features). For instance, the category DISASTER is a scenario shared between the domains FLOOD, TSUNAMI and SHIPWRECK. Within the fifty-nine identified metaphors, a similar metaphor may manifest many times differently; its concepts (source and target) are depicted indirectly through one of their features, correspondences or metonyms, either pictorially or verbally. To make it clearer, we can illustrate, for example, with the conceptual metaphor ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION IS (PHYSICAL) DEATH. This metaphor can manifest through pictorial or multimodal mappings of one of their features, such as IMMIGRATION BOAT (corresponding to ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION) IS A GRAVE (corresponding to DEATH) and also as THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA IS A CEMETERY; both CEMETERY and GRAVE are single concepts, but they belong to the source domain scenario DEATH. Therefore, in this research, as linguistic metaphorical expressions are manifestations of underlying conceptual metaphors, the latter examples are taken as metaphorical manifestations of a similar underlying conceptual

metaphor through pictorial or multimodal mappings of their correspondences or connotations. The latter stands for the conventional common thing shared between two concepts like, for example, the connotation mapped between BOAT and COFFIN is transportation (BOAT is used to transport immigrants, and COFFIN is used to transport dead people to the cemetery). This element is further elaborated within different metaphors in the discussion chapter.

As it is presented in this section, we have identified five source domain scenarios through which the phenomenon of illegal immigration is depicted either pictorially or multimodally. These are DEATH, ANNOYANCE, DISASTER, SPORTS/GAME, and WAR. However, there remain few cartoons that involve more creative metaphors and use various source domains, and thus, they are grouped in a separate category.

The difference in the frequency of the usage of the identified source domain scenarios between the selected Algerian and the non-Algerian cartoons is depicted in Diagram 03.

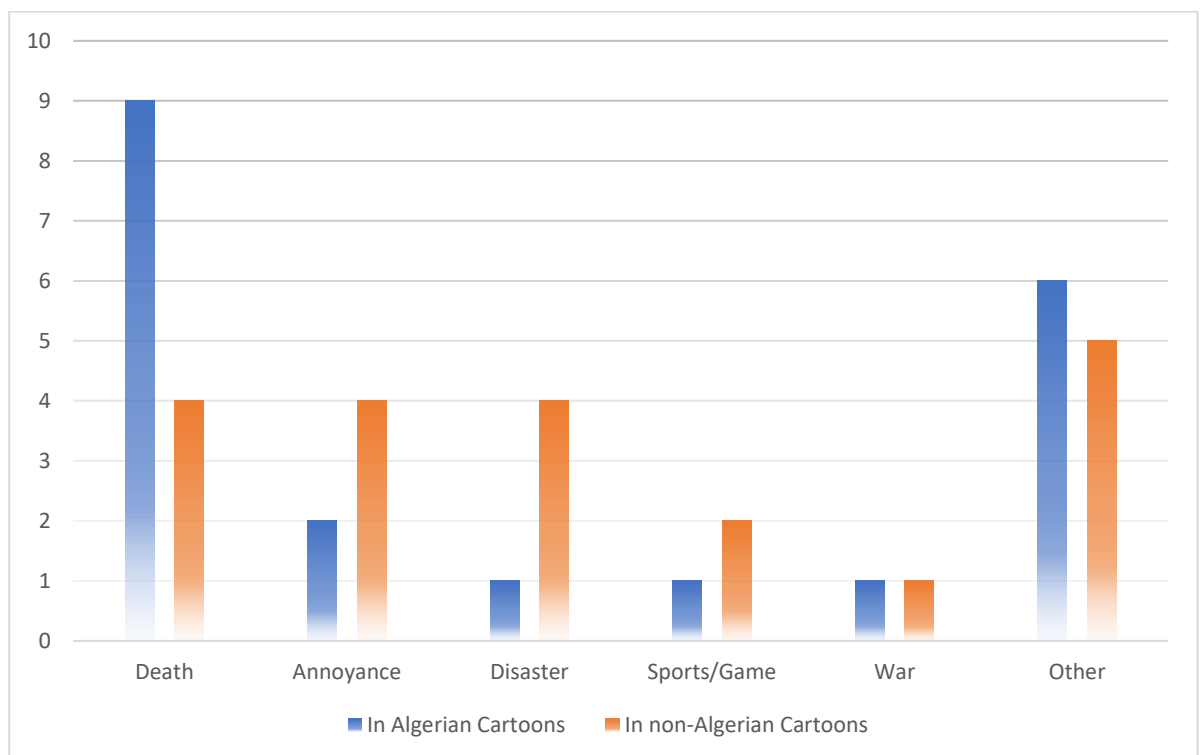


Diagram 03: The Frequent Source Domain Scenarios of the Cartoons

3.1. DEATH Metaphors

Metaphorical scenes related to the domain of death are very frequent, especially in the Algerian cartoons. In nine Algerian cartoons out of twenty, and in four non-Algerian cartoons out of twenty, ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION is conceptualized as PHYSICAL DEATH or as A JOURNEY TO DEATH. The features mapped from this domain are grave/gravestone, coffin, cemetery, and soul taker.

- **In Algerian Cartoons**

In cartoon A4 (by Ainouche, L'Avant Garde Algérie 2021) entitled '*Spain: More Than 50 Algerian Immigrants Died in Only One Week*', a motorboat is portrayed as a grave that is sailing from Algeria to Spain. The metaphor involved in this cartoon is IMMIGRATION BOAT IS A SAILING GRAVE (pictorial-pictorial metaphor) which contextually implies that ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION IS A DEADLY JOURNEY and also IMMIGRANTS ARE DEAD (PEOPLE). The target ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION is represented pictorially as a boat sailing from Algeria to Spain, and the source DEATH is pictorially cued through the metonymy GRAVE FOR DEATH.

Cartoon A20 (by Ghir Hak, Les Débats 2014) entitled '*The Phenomenon of Harraga (Illegal Immigration) Resurfaced*', contains a similar metaphor. It depicts illegal immigration as a sailing grave in the sea and it simply cues the metaphor ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION IS A SAILING GRAVE (verbal-pictorial metaphor). Here, the target is verbally rendered through the caption "Harraga", and the source is also pictorially depicted through the metonymy GRAVE FOR DEATH.

Another cartoon that depicts ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION as DEATH with the metonymy GRAVE FOR DEATH is cartoon A12 (by Hawari, La Tribune des Lecteurs Algeria 2013) entitled '*Harragas (Illegal Immigrants)*'. It shows a sailing ship in the middle of the sea and someone (supposedly a member of the ship's crew) says 'Chief, I see strange boats' in front of a number of floating graves. The multimodal metaphor involved here is IMMIGRATION BOATS ARE GRAVES (verbal-pictorial metaphor) and it contextually triggers the pictorial metaphor THE SEA IS A CEMETERY.

A similar metaphorical scene is involved in cartoon A16 (by Ghougali, online 2016) entitled '*Death Boats*', simply by depicting a coffin on which an engine used with motorboats is installed. It pictorially conveys the metaphor IMMIGRATION BOAT IS A COFFIN (pictorial-pictorial metaphor). The target IMMIGRATION BOAT is a feature within ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION which is pictorially cued by only one of its components which is its engine. The latter is installed to a COFFIN which is a metonym of DEATH (COFFIN FOR DEATH).

Cartoon A6 (by Islem, Le Temps d'Algérie 2014) entitled '*Harraga (Illegal Immigration)*', portrays a gravestone in a cemetery which bears a representation of a person rowing with two oars riding a crescent moon symbol which is familiar in Muslims' cemeteries. Here we take the caption involved in the cartoon (Harraga) ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION as a target domain of the multimodal metaphor ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION IS RIDING A CRESCENT MOON ON A GRAVESTONE (verbal-pictorial metaphor). The source DEATH here is rendered through GRAVESTONE (GRAVESTONE FOR DEATH). However, the metaphor can be identified without the verbal part of the cartoon; the target is conveyed by the man with oars, and the source is depicted by the crescent moon (which is conceptualized as a boat) on a gravestone.

Cartoon A19 (by Le Hic, El Watan 2014) entitled '*The Tragedy of Illegal Immigration*', also relies on the metonym GRAVE to convey the source domain DEATH. The visuals depict a basin of water in the form of a grave in which a person (an immigrant) is drowning. A possible verbalization of this metaphor is ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION IS DROWNING IN A GRAVE (verbal-pictorial metaphor). The target is verbally stated in the title, and the source is rendered also with the metonymy GRAVE FOR DEATH.

Cartoon A17 (by Ghir Hak, Les Débats 2014) entitled '*Harragas (Illegal Immigrants)*', involves another metonymy beside a grave. Here, a soul taker is inviting immigrants to ride a grave like boat, similarly implying that IMMIGRATION BOAT IS A GRAVE (pictorial-pictorial metaphor). DEATH metaphor manifests also as ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION IS A JOURNEY WITH SOUL TAKER (verbal-

pictorial metaphor). The target ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION is deduced from the title “Harragas”, and the source is represented with the metonymy SOUL TAKER FOR DEATH.

The remaining Algerian cartoons that are categorised in DEATH rely on the metonym SOUL TAKER to depict the source domain. In cartoon A3 (by Ghir Hak, Les Débats 2015) entitled ‘*Tragedy in the Mediterranean*’, a soul taker holding his scythe stands in the middle of the sea surrounded by the hands of drowning people and their stuff. The soul taker’s face is the EU flag, and this conveys the metaphor THE EU IS A SOUL TAKER (pictorial-pictorial metaphor).

Cartoon A8 (by Zebiri, online 2015) entitled ‘*Spectrum of Illegal Immigration*’, depicts a soul taker’s head as a huge sea wave bearing the EU flag in front of a group of immigrants on a boat. The metaphor involved here is THE EU IS A SOUL TAKER (pictorial-pictorial metaphor).

- **In Non-Algerian Cartoons**

Cartoon NA2 (by Wolterink, Netherlands 2015) entitled ‘*Body Bag Boat*’, portrays a number of people rowing in the raging sea, and their boat is a death scythe controlled by the hands of a soul taker which appears among the dark clouds. The metaphor involved here is IMMIGRATION BOAT IS A SOUL TAKER’S SCYTHE (pictorial-pictorial metaphor) which connotes ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION IS DEATH. The reason for death scythe is associated with boat is its shape.

In cartoon NA14 (by Anastasiou, Greece 2018) entitled ‘*Mediterranean Sea*’, a gravestone that bears the caption ‘Mediterranean’ is placed in the middle of the sea. This implies the metaphor THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA IS A CEMETERY (verbal-pictorial metaphor).

Cartoon NA15 (by Walleman, Netherlands 2013) entitled ‘*Coffin Refugees to Lampedusa*’, shows a group of immigrants sailing to Lampedusa (an Italian island) inside a coffin instead of a boat. The metaphor is verbalized as IMMIGRANTS’ BOAT IS A COFFIN (pictorial-pictorial metaphor).

The last cartoon with DEATH as a source domain is cartoon NA16 (by Chappatte, Switzerland 2015) entitled ‘*Death in the Mediterranean*’, which conveys the metaphor ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION IS

DEATH by portraying the beach as a graveyard which is full of gravestones. A verbalization of this multimodal metaphor is THE MEDITERRANEAN IS A CEMETERY (verbal-pictorial metaphor).

- **Cross Domain Mappings**

The mappings of the main features from the source domain DEATH to target domain ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION are displayed in the following:

Target Domain: ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION	IS	SOURCE DOMAIN: DEATH
- BOAT	—————→	GRAVE/COFFIN/DEATH SCYTHE
- THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA	—————→	CEMETERY
- THE EU (EUROPE)	—————→	SOUL TAKER
- IMMIGRANTS	—————→	DEAD

3.2. ANNOYANCE Metaphors

This category comprises the cartoons containing metaphors that conceptualize ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION as ANNOYANCE. The source domain ANNOYANCE in this case is an umbrella term for anything that is undesirable or unwanted to bear by someone or a source of bother. It is a source domain scenario which encompasses other source domain concepts such as GARBAGE/LITTER, DUST/DIRT, and also INSECTS. While it is manifested in four non-Algerian cartoons as a source domain, the Algerian corpus involves only two cartoons containing metaphors of this category.

- **In Algerian Cartoons**

In cartoon A1 (by Dilem, Liberté Algerie 2021) entitled '*Algerian Youth Today*', the SEA is lifted as a RUG (a visual metaphor) by a man who we consider as the president of the Algerian republic in order to hide a pile of dust which he sweeps with a broom. From the title of the cartoon, we deduce the metaphor IMMIGRANTS (implied by Algerian youth) ARE A PILE OF DUST (verbal-pictorial metaphor). A verbalization of the whole metaphorical scene of this cartoon could be ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION IS SWEEPING THE FLOOR OUT OF DUST.

Cartoon A13 (by Dilem, Liberté Algérie 2015) entitled '*5000 Migrants Saved in 24 Hours*', uses a different feature to cue the source domain ANNOYANCE. It shows a leg with a high heel shoe representing a part of the shape of Italy. The runs imply that the leg is moving or shaking in order to get rid of a group of ants like people which cover its lower half and try to reach its top. A verbalization of the metaphor in this cartoon is MIGRANTS ARE ANTS ON A LEG (verbal-pictorial metaphor).

- **In Non-Algerian Cartoons**

In cartoon NA1 (by Kühn, Germany 2017) entitled '*Frontex*', a maid wearing a Frontex (also called the European Border and Coast Guard Agency) apron lifting the SEA as a RUG (portrayed as a European Union flag rug) under which she sweeps a number of immigration boats. Thus, FRONTEX is personified as a MAID which is cleaning the floor out of immigrants or immigration boats under the sea depicted as a rug. The metaphor here is IMMIGRANTS ON BOATS ARE LITTER (pictorial-pictorial metaphor).

A similar metaphor is identified in cartoon NA7 (by Petricic, Serbia 2015) entitled '*EU's Solution to Migrants' Crisis*', showing an angry man wearing an EU flag long hat (the man represents the EU) and he sweeps a group of people (immigrants) with a broom to hide them under a rug which bears the map of Greece, Macedonia and Serbia. The metaphor involved in this cartoon is also MIGRANTS ARE LITTER (verbal-pictorial metaphor).

ANNOYANCE as a source domain is also used to conceptualize illegal immigration in cartoon NA8 (by McGeary, England 2015) entitled '*North African Migration*', portraying IMMIGRANTS as LITTER or GARBAGE (pictorial-pictorial metaphor). A masked man with a rifle on his back (ISIS is personified as an ARMED MAN) holding a box entitled 'North Africa' which he empties into a wastebasket entitled 'EU' (another metaphor: THE EU IS A WASTEBASKET). What comes out of that box down to the wastebasket is people (immigrants).

In cartoon NA17 (by Miss Lilou, France 2016) entitled ‘*The New European Response to Migrants*’, the EU is represented as AN INSECTICIDE BOTTLE (pictorial-pictorial metaphor) which sprinkles on a group of people (immigrants). This entails that these people are considered as insects, and thus we deduce the metaphor MIGRANTS ARE INSECTS OR MOSQUITOES (verbal-pictorial metaphor).

- **Cross Domain Mappings**

The main features mapped from the source domain ANNOYANCE onto the target domain ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION are displayed in the following:

Target Domain: ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION	IS	Source Domain: ANNOYANCE
- IMMIGRANTS	—————→	LITTER/DUST/INSECTS
- THE EU (EUROPE)	—————→	CLEANER/WASTEBASKET
- THE SEA (MEDITERRANEAN)	—————→	RUG/LANDFILL
- NORTH AFRICA	—————→	SOURCE OF GARBAGE
- THE ALGERIAN PRESIDENT	—————→	CLEANER
- POLICIES	—————→	CLEANING TOOLS

3.3. DISASTER Metaphors

This group gathers the cartoons which contain scenes indicating the danger caused by the phenomenon of illegal immigration. While DISASTER metaphor is frequent in non-Algerian cartoons with four out of twenty, Algerian cartoons involve only one example. This category includes any source domain that is related to natural phenomenon/flood, fire, and all what threatens humans’ life or causes significant damage.

- **In Algerian Cartoons**

Cartoon A15 (by Sadki, Algeria 2018) entitled ‘*Algeria is Being Torn Apart*’, shows the map of North Africa and a part of the south of Europe. ALGERIA is depicted in white as A BLOCK OF ICE

or as A PAPER which is crumbling into small pieces like the cracking ice in Antarctica. These pieces float and disperse in the Mediterranean. A verbalisation of the whole metaphorical scene in the cartoon could be ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION IS THE CRUMBLING OF ALGERIA (verbal-pictorial metaphor).

- **In Non-Algerian Cartoons**

In cartoon NA3 (by Cardelli, Italy 2011) entitled '*Undesirables*', a plumber wearing a cap with an EU flag (the EU is personified as a plumber) is trying to fix a malfunctioning faucet entitled North Africa which leaks a big number of people (contextually immigrants, and this pictorially implies the metaphor IMMIGRANTS ARE LEAKING WATER) creating a flood. A verbalisation of the metaphor cued in this cartoon could be NORTH AFRICAN IMMIGRATION IS A FLOOD or AN UNCONTROLLED FLOW OF WATER (verbal-pictorial metaphor)

Cartoon NA10 (by Chappatte, Switzerland 2015) entitled '*Europe and Immigrants*', represents a big number of people in the form of a tsunami wave trying to get past a fence to reach the EU. What makes it appear as a water wave is that these people are coloured in blue and they are merged as a single block in the shape of a wave. A verbalization of the metaphor involved in this cartoon could be IMMIGRANTS ARE A TSUNAMI WAVE (pictorial-pictorial metaphor).

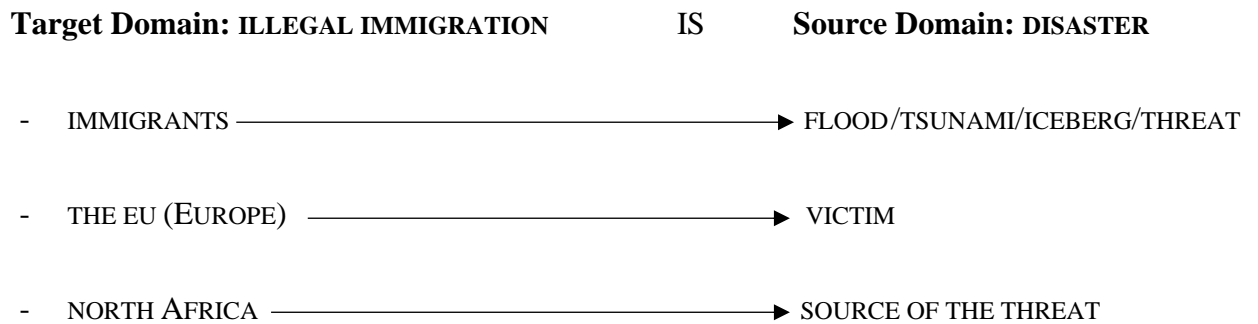
Cartoon NA6 (by Pirnay, Belgium 2015) entitled '*Europe Overwhelmed*', shows a frustrated man holding a perforated umbrella whose panel (the upper part) is the EU flag and at its handle is attached a ticket on which it is written 'idea 377' (here, we notice the presence of the conceptual metaphor IDEAS ARE OBJECTS). What damaged the panel of the umbrella and pierced it is people (immigrants) falling from the top like rain. A possible verbalization of this metaphor could be REFUGEES ARE PIERCING RAIN (verbal-pictorial metaphor).

Cartoon NA9 (by Talimonov, England 2016) entitled '*Europe and Refugees*', uses the famous Titanic sinking accident scene to cue the source domain DISASTER. Europe is portrayed as a sailing ship in the sea facing an iceberg on which it is written 'Refugees'. Thus, the DISASTER metaphor in

this cartoon could be verbalized as EUROPE FACING REFUGEES IS A SHIP FACING AN ICEBERG (verbal-pictorial metaphor).

- **Cross Domain Mappings**

The main features mapped from the source domain DISASTER to target domain ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION are displayed in the following:



3.4. SPORTS/GAME Metaphors

This category involves the cartoons which conceptualize illegal immigration as a GAME or as any type of SPORTS. This source domain scenario is identified in only one Algerian cartoon, and in two non-Algerian cartoons.

- **In Algerian Cartoons**

Cartoon A5 (by Le Hic, El Watan 2018), entitled *'The Victory of Migrants'*, portrays the world cup of football with two hands drowning in the middle of the sea. A possible verbalization of the metaphor in this cartoon is MIGRANTS ARE A DROWNING WORLD CUP (verbal-pictorial metaphor). The intention of the cartoonist behind this metaphor is that while the French football team (which most of its players' origins are African) won the world cup, illegal immigrants from Africa are drowning in the Mediterranean.

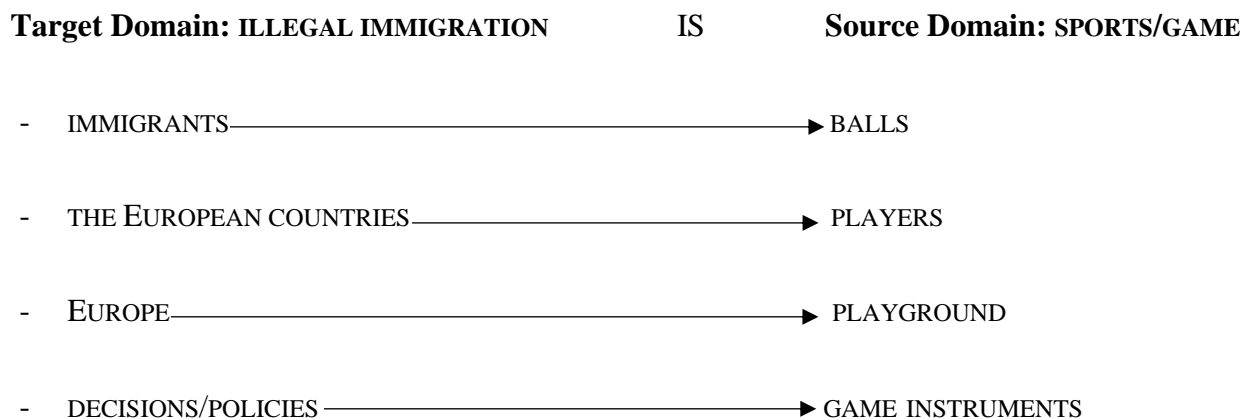
- **In Non-Algerian Cartoons**

In cartoon NA18 (by Iatridis, Greece 2015), entitled *'Immigrants'*, a man is playing billiard, hitting balls with sad faces and enters them into holes full of water. The white ball he uses to hit the other balls bears the inscription 'war' (WAR is the WHITE BALL). Thus, from the title of the cartoon, we deduce the multimodal metaphor IMMIGRANTS ARE BALLS IN A BILLIARD GAME (verbal-pictorial metaphor) which triggers ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION IS A BILLIARD GAME.

A similar metaphor is identified in cartoon NA19 (by Cardelli, Italy 2011), entitled *'Ping Pong'*, showing two men, one wears an Italian flag shirt and the other wears a French flag shirt. As the caption in the background denotes, they are in a ping pong match between Italy and France and on the net of the table is written 'border' (THE NET OF THE TENNIS TABLE IS THE BORDER BETWEEN ITALY AND FRANCE). However, instead of using a ball in the game, they hit a mini person with paddles bearing the Nazi symbol, and this person is taken from a basket bearing the inscription 'immigrants' which is full of mini people. The metaphor in this cartoon could be verbalized as IMMIGRANTS ARE BALLS IN A PING PONG MATCH (verbal-pictorial metaphor).

- **Cross Domain Mappings**

The main features mapped from the source domain SPORTS/GAME to target domain ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION are displayed in the following:



3.5. WAR Metaphors

This cluster encompasses two cartoons, one Algerian and one non-Algerian, conceptualizing illegal immigration as a WAR which is generally conveyed through ARMS or AMMUNITIONS.

- **In Algerian cartoons**

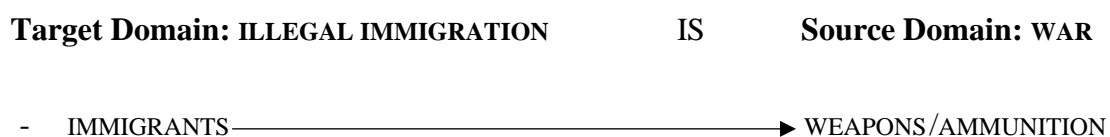
Cartoon A7 (by Dilem, Algeria 2021), entitled '*More Than 8000 Migrants Land at Ceuta. Spain Accuses Morocco of Aggression*', portrays the Moroccan president as an obese man wearing luxury traditional clothes, jewels and a shirt with cannabis leaves, behind him flutters the Moroccan flag. The man holds a cigarette and with it he lights a cannon loaded with people (immigrants) aimed at a land on which the Spanish flag flutters and an amazed bull stands. Relying on the caption, this metaphor could be verbalized as MIGRANTS ARE AMMUNITION IN A CANNON (verbal-pictorial metaphor).

- **In Non-Algerian Cartoons**

Cartoon NA20 (by Uber, Italy 2011), entitled '*Retaliation. Gaddafi and the "mass illegal immigration" weapon*', contains a similar scene where a man with a military uniform (Gaddafi, the ex-president of Libya) aims a machine gun towards an unidentified target (supposedly Europe). The ammunition of the machine gun is a chain of mini people which we consider as immigrants relying on the title. The metaphor then is verbalized as ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION IS A MACHINE GUN (verbal-pictorial metaphor) and IMMIGRANTS ARE AMMUNITION.

- **Cross Domain Mappings**

The main features mapped from the source domain WAR to target domain ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION are displayed in the following:



- THE EU (EUROPE) —————> TARGET/DEFENDER
- THE SEA/NORTH AFRICA/EUROPE —————> BATTLEGROUND
- NORTH AFRICAN GOVERNORS —————> SOLDIERS
- POLICIES —————> ARMS

3.6. Other Creative Metaphors

This category encompasses the cartoons involving other creative metaphors, whose source domains are not related to the above identified source domain scenarios.

- **In Algerian Cartoons**

The metaphor IMMIGRANTS ARE FISH is frequent in the Algerian corpus, precisely in cartoons A10, A11 and A18. Cartoon A10 (by Islem, Le Temps d’Algerie 2014), entitled *‘Illegal Immigration (Harraga)’*, shows an amazed man with a shopping basket in front of four fish crates for sale. One of the crates does not contain fish but three people instead. Relying on the caption ‘Harraga’, we deduce that these people are migrants drowned at the sea, and are taken as a kind of fish for sale. Thus, this metaphor is verbalized as IMMIGRANTS ARE FISH FOR SALE (verbal-pictorial metaphor).

Cartoon A18 (by Lounis, Le Jour d’Algerie 2013), entitled *‘Significant Migratory Flows on the Coasts of Europe’*, represents a group of people as a flock of fish swimming at the bottom of the sea heading towards ‘Europe’ as the direction banner on the left indicates. Relying on the title, we deduce the metaphor IMMIGRANTS ARE A FLOCK OF FISH (verbal-pictorial metaphor).

In cartoon A11 (by Dilem, Libetré Algerie 2017), entitled *‘Thousands of Migrants Rescued in the Mediterranean’*, the metaphor IMMIGRANTS ARE FISH is present but in a different way. It shows an elegantly dressed man on a ladder holding a box of fish food. He sprinkles fish food inside an aquarium which contains people (immigrants) holding oars on a boat. Taking the title into

consideration, we deduce that MIGRANTS ARE FISH IN AN AQUARIUM (verbal-pictorial metaphor), THE MEDITERRANEAN IS AN AQUARIUM (verbal-pictorial metaphor), and thus RESCUING MIGRANTS IN THE MEDITERRANEAN IS FEEDING FISH IN AN AQUARIUM (verbal-pictorial metaphor).

In cartoon A14 (by Ghir Hak, Les Débats 2014), entitled '*Several Harragas (illegal immigrants) Rescued*', the target is RESCUING IMMIGRANTS. It shows two lifebuoys (used by civil protection to save drowning people) attached with a chain. While one of them represents a real lifebuoy, the other looks like a handcuff. Therefore, we verbalize the pictorial metaphor as LIFEBOUYS ARE HANDCUFFS and from the title, we deduce that RESCUING ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS IS DETENTION (verbal-pictorial metaphor).

Cartoon A2 (by Belkacem, Le Courrier d'Algérie 2021), entitled '*The Harragas (illegal migrants) Are Getting Younger and Younger!*', depicts a baby stroller sailing in the sea as a motorboat with an engine on its back. The cartoonist put some runs to indicate that it is moving and he used an onomatopoeia "TAF TAF TAF" to mimic the sound of the engine which is surrounded by water spray. Baby stroller here is a metonym of youth used to construe the pictorial metaphor BABY STROLLER IS A MOTORBOAT. However, we can also verbalize the metaphor in a different way relying on the title to get the multimodal metaphor YOUNG IMMIGRANTS ARE SAILING BABY STROLLERS WITH AN ENGINE (verbal-pictorial metaphor)

Cartoon A9 (by Le Hic, El Watan 2019), entitled '*Social Networks Are the Cause of the Tragedy of Immigrants According to the Ministry of Interior Affairs*', is very creative. It shows a person driving a motorboat destined to France (there appears the Eiffel Tower). The boat he drives is the letter 'F' in a fully blue coloured background (including the sea) which is the symbol or the icon of the famous social network 'Facebook'. Here, the target of the metaphor FACEBOOK IS A MOTORBOAT is SOCIAL NETWORKS (verbal-pictorial metaphor), which is represented through the metonymy FACEBOOK FOR SOCIAL NETWORKS.

- **In Non-Algerian Cartoons**

The metaphor IMMIGRANTS ARE FISH is also present in the non-Algerian corpus. In cartoon NA13 (by Arikan, Turkey 2015), entitled *'Immigrants'*, two people with their luggage, wearing ruined clothes, swim in the sea imitating a dolphin in front of them after their boat wrecked. Although the title is considered as a target domain, the metaphor IMMIGRANTS ARE DOLPHINS is pictorial; it can be identified without language in the title (pictorial-pictorial metaphor).

Cartoon NA4 (by Keklik, Turkey 2020), entitled *'Immigrants' Life'*, contains another creative metaphorical scene. It portrays a family sailing in the sea, but on a clapboard (used to initiate scenes in cinema and movies) instead of a boat. The father is rowing with a tablespoon instead of oars. The hinged clapper stick (the upper part of the clapboard) is a barber's razor. The slate of the clapboard (the lower part of the clapboard), bears the inscription 'Production Immigrants' (with a sad emoticon) and it is pierced by three bullets. The family seats between the barber's razor (the upper part of the clapboard) and the lower part of the clapboard. Here, we deduce two metaphors; the pictorial metaphor IMMIGRANTS' BOAT IS A DEADLY CLAPBOARD (pictorial-pictorial metaphor) and the multimodal metaphor IMMIGRANTS' LIFE (from the title) IS A GLOOMY MOVIE (verbal-pictorial metaphor).

Cartoon NA5 (by Kolgarev, Russia 2016), entitled *'Immigration Swing'*, personifies Europe as a blond woman standing on the left side of a swing. This woman is sought by a group of people (immigrants) who come from the right side of the unstable swing with the danger of falling down from it including the woman. Down under the swing is a kind of fire flames or maybe jagged rocks. Here, we can deduce the multimodal metaphor IMMIGRATION IS A DEADLY SWING (verbal-pictorial metaphor) which could be also verbalized as IMMIGRATION TO EUROPE IS SEEKING FOR A BLOND WOMAN.

A similar metaphor is identified in cartoon NA12 (by Ellapizloco, Spain 2018), entitled '*Do Not Forget*', which personifies Europe as a mermaid who covers her eyes with a tie. The mermaid is sought by people on boats and others drowning in the rough sea which contains sharks. Covering her eyes with a tie signifies her ignorance of what is happening around her. The pictorial metaphor of this cartoon is verbalized as ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION (boats and drowning people) IS SEEKING FOR A MERMAID (pictorial-pictorial metaphor)

Cartoon NA11 (by Komarnitsky, Bulgaria 2015) entitled '*Fresh Meat*', portrays a box that bears the inscription 'Fresh Meat Schengen' with the EU flag. The box contains people (contextually immigrants), and thus the multimodal metaphor is verbalized as IMMIGRANTS ARE FRESH MEAT (unlike all the other multimodal metaphors, this is a pictorial-verbal metaphor rather than a verbal-pictorial metaphor)

Conclusion

In short, the present chapter presents the main findings of the analysis conducted on forty political cartoons about illegal immigration, to investigate the pictorial and multimodal manifestations of metaphors in this genre. It has revealed a significant use of both pictorial and multimodal metaphors to depict this phenomenon, and it sheds light on the elements construing these metaphors (source and target domain concepts), their frequency and how they differ in each group. Furthermore, it involves a detailed analysis of the metaphors after being verbalized in their context together with the cartoon in six sections. In these sections, the cartoons are grouped and discussed depending on the dominant source domain scenario of each of them (DEATH, ANNOYANCE, DISASTER, SPORTS/GAME, WAR, and other creative metaphors), and a cross domain mapping of the features of the metaphors is provided for each of the identified five source domain scenarios.



**DISCUSSION OF THE
FINDINGS**

Introduction

The present chapter provides a discussion of the results obtained from the analysis of forty Algerian and non-Algerian political cartoons containing pictorial and multimodal metaphors. The verbalization and analysis of the metaphors within the cartoons have revealed interesting points in the light of CMT, Non-Verbal and Multimodal Metaphor Theory and the study of political cartoons in general. Hence, the findings of the present study are discussed in three sections where the research questions are answered, and the advanced hypotheses are checked. The first section consists of a comparison between Algerian and non-Algerian cartoons, more specifically in the use of pictorial and multimodal metaphors, type and mode of source and target domains, and the influence of the context on the meaning of the metaphors and the cartoons in general. The second section involves a discussion of the identified source domain scenarios (DEATH, ANNOYANCE, DISASTER, SPORTS/GAME, WAR) and the other creative metaphors' domains, unveiling the connotations drawn from the mappings of different concepts or features from these source domains to ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION or its subthemes (IMMIGRANTS, BOATS, THE SEA). The third section deals with other parameters, linguistic and cognitive tools together with cultural elements which can be salient to the pictorial and multimodal metaphors and to the construction of the whole meaning of the cartoon. These elements are metonymies, personifications, idioms, intertextuality, and pictorial runs.

1. Comparison between Algerian and Non-Algerian Cartoons

This section accounts to the similarities and differences between Algerian and non-Algerian cartoonists' conceptualization of the phenomenon of illegal immigration. The comparison takes into account the frequency and the manner of use of pictorial and multimodal metaphors, the type and mode of target and source domains, and the influence of context on the metaphors.

Within the forty collected and analysed cartoons, we identified fifty-nine metaphors in the form A IS B in which one thing is represented in terms of another different thing. Not only do all of the selected cartoons contain at least one metaphor (either pictorial or multimodal), but some of

them contain more than one. We assume that the topic of ‘illegal immigration’ is controversial and is widely represented in different types of media around the world, and thus, one may think that since there is too much talk about it, metaphors emerge. However, the above stated findings and the number of metaphors identified in our corpus reinforce Bounegru and Forceville’s (2011: 14) argument that *“it is the genre as a whole that invites metaphors, not just the topic...”*, and El Refaie’s (2009: 173-174) statement that *“metaphor is a very common device used by cartoonists (Edwards 1997; Philippe 1982; Morrison 1992; Templin 1999) and most cartoons combine visual and verbal codes.”*

Another reason that justifies the richness of the selected cartoons in pictorial and multimodal metaphors is that, according to El Refaie (2003), whereas language is more useful to communicate or express some concepts or meanings precisely, it is not efficient in expressing other specific concepts or meanings, and images or visual representations are a better alternative. Visuals are sometimes more expressive and more powerful than words not only in terms of expression, but also in terms of argumentation and rhetoric. This point is clearly apparent in the cartoons. If we take, for example, the metaphor IMMIGRATION BOAT IS A COFFIN, which appeared in cartoon A16, its verbal meaning without the visuals is neither very clear, nor a very strong argument. However, when we see the cartoon showing a coffin on which is installed an engine used with immigration boats, we get a powerful argument and we grasp the whole meaning.

Furthermore, we notice that the number of multimodal metaphors is higher than that of pictorial ones, in the corpus as a whole and in each group, Algerian and non-Algerian separately. This is because a political cartoon usually contains a linguistic part besides the drawing; at least a title outside its frame. The linguistic elements of a cartoon may also appear inside its frame either in dialogue balloons or captions upon visual elements (e.g., The caption ‘North Africa’ on a visual representation of a faucet in cartoon NA3), or even as titles or sentences (relatively long) in the upper part of the cartoon. This is widely noticed in Algerian cartoons which, except two of them,

involve a headline or at least a one-word title in the upper part of the cartoons, in contrast to the non-Algerian ones, in which cartoonists rely more on captions upon visual characters or objects to add a linguistic part to their cartoons (regardless of the extra title).

1.1. Pictorial Metaphors

Pictorial metaphors in the cartoons are cued through visual representations of features or elements belonging to specific source and target domains, relying on metonymies and personifications (this is further discussed in section 3). An example of this is cartoon NA16, which depicts a sea full of gravestones. Here, the concept CEMETERY is portrayed with one of its features. Visual representations of gravestones are placed in a drawing of a sea, which is an element of illegal immigration, constructing the pictorial metaphor THE SEA IS A CEMETERY. Moreover, the identified pictorial metaphors are not totally similar in the way they manifest in the cartoons. Although their source and target domains are both cued in the visual mode, there are certain features, which distinguish them in terms of the manner of their occurrence. In this context, Forceville (2008) distinguishes four categories, types or, as he calls them, prototypes: ‘Hybrid Metaphor’, ‘Contextual Metaphor’, ‘Pictorial Simile’, and ‘Integrated Metaphor’. All these are identified in the whole corpus; however, both Algerian and non-Algerian cartoonists frequently use the hybrid (MP2) and the contextual (MP1) types of pictorial metaphor.

A hybrid metaphor consists of two visually represented different kinds of things, which are fused together to construct a single thing, that does not exist literally. This is apparent, for example, in cartoon A2 which portrays a baby stroller with an engine sailing in the sea like a motorboat. The features ‘engine’, ‘sailing in the sea’ and the onomatopoeia ‘TAF TAF TAF’ belonging to the target IMMIGRATION BOAT are attributed to an iconic representation of a baby stroller constructing a hybrid concept ‘Sailing Baby Stroller’, which does not exist literally. Nevertheless, when we understand the metaphor on the basis of certain background knowledge or a particular context, we deduce that its message is illegal immigration of youth and children. A similar example is found in a non-

Algerian cartoon NA6 conveying the metaphor EUROPE (THE EU) IS A PERFORATED UMBRELLA. The panel of the umbrella is the flag of the European Union.

A contextual metaphor occurs when a visual representation of something is put in the visual context of another different thing which is pictorially absent. In cartoon A11, a group of immigrants on a boat is put inside an aquarium and someone feeds them with fish food. The pictorial metaphor IMMIGRANTS ARE FISH is communicated by putting the target IMMIGRANTS in the context (aquarium and fish food) of the source FISH. In cartoon NA3, the target IMMIGRANTS is portrayed visually as people leaking from a faucet. Contextually, what comes from a faucet is water, not people, and thus IMMIGRANTS are put in the context of LEAKING WATER.

A pictorial simile is a pictorial metaphor, which results from juxtaposing a visual representation of something besides another to suggest that ‘one is like the other’. For instance, in cartoon A14, a representation of a handcuff in the form of a lifebuoy is put beside a real lifebuoy, suggesting that a LIFEBOUY is like a HANDCUFF. In another cartoon, NA13, the target IMMIGRANTS (swimming people with their luggage) is juxtaposed with the source DOLPHINS.

An integrated metaphor depicts the target domain not directly by a visual representation of the source or any of its elements, but through its posture or position which is attributed to the target. In cartoons A1 and NA1, the target SEA is lifted by a cleaner (the Algerian president or the Frontex maid) to hide the immigrants they sweep with a broom. In reality, the sea cannot be lifted, and what people lift to hide something under is a rug or a carpet. Thus, the source RUG is conveyed by its position or posture (being lifted) which is attributed to the target SEA.

An important issue concerning pictorial metaphors is as claimed by El Refaie (2003:85-86), Forceville (1994, 1996) has appointed to the absence of subjects or topics of pictorial metaphors in advertisements. Thus, such cases, a pictorial metaphor cannot be understood without a presupposed context. If we take, for instance, the metaphor PEOPLE (IMMIGRANTS) ARE LEAKING WATER in cartoon

NA3, we notice that the target IMMIGRANTS is contextually dependent. What comes from the faucet is people and, visually, nothing indicates that they are immigrants except if we refer to the linguistic context or to other contextual elements of the cartoon, otherwise no one can understand the cartoonist's intention.

1.2. Multimodal Metaphors

Concerning multimodal metaphors, they are not subdivided into many specific types, but to some extent, they can be different from one another. This difference lies in the modality of source and target domain. The target domain of a multimodal metaphor can be rendered verbally and its source domain visually (verbal-pictorial metaphor), but it is also possible to encounter metaphors whose target is rendered pictorially, and its source verbally (pictorial-verbal metaphor). It is important to point out that approximately all (except one case) the multimodal metaphors identified in the corpus in hand, either in Algerian or in non-Algerian cartoons, are verbal-pictorial metaphors; their source domain is cued in the linguistic mode, and their target domain is cued in the visual mode. This point is also demonstrated by Alrubaian (2014) in her examination of multimodal metaphors in English and Arabic editorial cartoons about the Arab Spring. If we attempt to figure out why Algerian and non-Algerian cartoonists in the present study, similarly to Arabic and English cartoonists in Alrubaian's study, tend to rely on the linguistic mode to depict the target domain of a multimodal metaphor, and cue the source pictorially, we must refer to the genre itself and to metaphor theory. A political cartoon contains a headline or a title summarising its whole message as any other genre, and most of the time, this title conveys the topic of the cartoon, which can be the target of a multimodal metaphor if there is any. Furthermore, in CMT, more abstract or complex phenomena (the target) are experienced through more concrete or simpler phenomena (the source). Therefore, a multimodal metaphor in a cartoon would use language to convey the target which is a complex phenomenon, and provide its source pictorially since it is a simpler and more concrete phenomenon. For example, in cartoon NA9, the metaphor EUROPE IS A SHIP is a multimodal

metaphor where the source domain is depicted pictorially by a visual representation of a ship sailing in the sea with the caption ‘Europe’ on it, which is the target domain. Here, it is easier to depict a ship visually than to depict Europe. Yet, this is not the case for every verbal-pictorial metaphor; there might be other reasons to justify the cartoonists’ tendency to cue the target verbally, and the source pictorially, which need to be further investigated in other corpora.

The only case where we identified a multimodal metaphor in the pictorial-verbal form is cartoon NA11. It portrays six people packaged in a transparent box like a product for sale, and it bears the inscription ‘Fresh Meat’. The metaphor we have deduced previously is IMMIGRANTS ARE FRESH MEAT. Here the target is rendered in the pictorial mode, and the source is rendered verbally (pictorial-verbal). However, this metaphor is not complete without the context. We cannot understand that these people are immigrants except if we know that the cartoon is about illegal immigration, which is found in the tags added by the cartoonist.

1.3. The Source and Target Domains in the Algerian and non-Algerian Cartoons

The common subject of the forty selected cartoons is the phenomenon of illegal immigration, which is the general target domain, but it is also referred to indirectly by one of its subthemes. It can be concluded from the results section that the most frequent target domains identified in both Algerian and non-Algerian cartoons, besides ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION, are: IMMIGRANTS (the most frequent in both corpora), BOAT, THE SEA/MEDITERRANEAN, and THE EU/EUROPE.

These target domains are conceptualized by the cartoonists as various concepts, to convey their commentaries and to address the phenomenon in a creative way. The source domain concepts of the identified pictorial and multimodal metaphors in Algerian and non-Algerian political cartoons are categorized into six groups. The first five groups comprise the cartoons which share a common source domain scenario: DEATH, ANNOYANCE, DISASTER, SPORTS/GAME, and WAR. It is clear from these source domains that the analysis conducted on metaphors in the forty political cartoons, have revealed the phenomenon of illegal immigration as being represented very negatively, and even

more than it is in other genres like articles or TV news. This point is also concluded in Baek's (2016) examination of the visual metaphoric representation of the Syrian refugees' crisis. This strongly reinforces Bounegru and Forceville's (2011:06) claim that a cartoon "*amplifies and exaggerates the negative effects*" of a specific event or phenomenon "*with humoristic and satirical effects.*"

At the end of this section, we can say that, to a great extent, Algerian and non-Algerian cartoonists use metaphors in political cartoons about illegal immigration in a similar way. They frequently use the same types of pictorial metaphor, the same variety of multimodal metaphor, and similar target and source domain concepts. There are only slight differences concerning the context and the form of the cartoons (especially the verbal part). However, this claim is confined only to this research and applies only to the analysed corpus. There are many other cartoons about illegal immigration, and this is just a sample. Moreover, further studies must be conducted on political cartoons about other issues before making any generalizations.

2. Discussion of the Source Domain Scenarios of the Cartoons

In this section, the identified source domains after the verbalization of the metaphors are discussed, in an attempt to unveil the connotations drawn from their mappings, and the intentions of the cartoonists behind them. This section also demonstrates that these source domains and the identified pictorial and multimodal metaphors are manifestations of underlying conceptual ones.

2.1. The Source Domain DEATH

The most frequent source domain is DEATH, which is cued through visual representations of death related concepts and metonymies such as GRAVE, COFFIN, CEMETERY, AND SOUL TAKER. The metaphor ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION IS DEATH occurred, pictorially and multimodally, in nine Algerian cartoons, while it has only occurred in four non-Algerian cartoons. It is apparent that approximately half of the Algerian corpus represents illegal immigration in terms of physical death, and this is a very important finding in the present research.

The cartoonists' use of DEATH metaphors is not only a matter of art and creativity, but it is a reaction to what happens around them. At the time these cartoons are produced, thousands of immigrants die in the Mediterranean, especially Algerians. In fact, the messages of the cartoons are shaped by the socio-political situation and the dominant discursive context of the newspaper in which they are published, and news about the death of a group of Algerian immigrants in the Mediterranean is very frequent. Therefore, DEATH metaphor is a strong argument to address the phenomenon, to blame and push governments to react and convince people not to get involved in illegal immigration.

The metaphor ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION IS DEATH is manifested through the mapped correspondences and metonymies from the source PHYSICAL DEATH onto the target ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION, drawing specific connotations. In five Algerian cartoons, the concept GRAVE is mapped onto the concept BOAT, and in a specific context, they (the concepts GRAVE and BOAT) establish a kind of relationship. The common connotation between them is what they contain. Graves contain dead people and boats contain immigrants, who die drowning in the sea, and thus, immigrants are assumed to be dead. The same thing applies for A BOAT IS A COFFIN, which appeared in one Algerian and one non-Algerian cartoon. However, the connotation of this mapping is rather transportation. Coffins are used to transport dead people to the cemetery or to the grave, and boats are used to cross the sea to reach the European coasts. The message here is that the destination of immigrants is inevitably death because they ride in a coffin.

The concept of CEMETERY is mapped onto the concept of SEA, in one Algerian and one non-Algerian cartoon. What distinguishes a cemetery from any other piece of land is that it contains graves of dead people, and since many immigrants die in the sea, the cartoonists amplify and exaggerate the events suggesting that the sea has become a cemetery. Then, the metonymy SOUL TAKER FOR DEATH has occurred in three Algerian and in one non-Algerian cartoon, and it is mapped either onto THE EU or directly onto ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION. THE EU IS A SOUL TAKER connotes that

European countries are the cause of the death of immigrants in the Mediterranean, and the soul taker's job is to cause people to die. Contextually, European governments do not directly kill immigrants, but they make unhelpful laws and follow specific policies against the Middle East and North African immigrants, preventing them from accessing their territories and letting them die in the sea.

Moreover, an important point must be mentioned concerning DEATH metaphor cartoons where the concept of JOURNEY is integrated. This is obvious since saying that illegal immigration is a journey is not metaphorical, but it is concrete and literal. Following the source-path-goal schema, a journey begins from a starting point A, engages in a path seeking to reach a specific destination point B. In illegal immigration, the source or the starting point is North Africa, the path is the Mediterranean Sea, and the goal or destination is Europe. We notice in these cartoons that death is conceptualized either as an obstacle in the path, which is depicted as a soul taker, a grave or a cemetery in the middle of the sea, or it replaces the destination or goal where it is represented as a boat in the form of a grave or a coffin, arguing that death is the fate of immigrants.

2.2. The Source Domain ANNOYANCE

ANNOYANCE is another frequent source domain scenario depicted in both corpora. It encompasses metaphorical scenes representing illegal immigration as a source of bother, and immigrants as undesirable annoying things such as GARBAGE/LITTER, DUST, and INSECTS. The metaphor ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION IS ANNOYANCE has occurred in six non-Algerian cartoons, whereas, in Algerian cartoons, it has only occurred twice. In three non-Algerian cartoons and in one Algerian cartoon, we have identified the metaphorical scene ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION IS CLEANING, where IMMIGRANTS are conceptualized as LITTER/GARBAGE or DUST, GOVERNMENTS/OFFICIALS ARE CLEANERS, DECISIONS/POLICIES ARE CLEANING TOOLS, and EUROPE or THE MEDITERRANEAN IS A LANDFILL. This connotes that immigrants are not desired by their countries and are not welcomed by the destined European countries; they are a source of bother and annoyance. In cartoon A1, the

connotation of the metaphor ALGERIAN YOUTH (IMMIGRANTS) IS DUST, which is swept and hidden under the sea by the Algerian president, is non appreciation. The political and economic policies in Algeria are not suitable and thus, people leave their country and cross the sea. In the non-Algerian cartoons NA1 and NA7, the metaphorical scene is SWEEPING IMMIGRANTS as LITTER with a broom. This entails that when these immigrants access the European countries, they become refugees or asylum seekers, and thus, it is the duty of the governments to spend money for them. The connotation here is avoidance; the European governments avoid immigrants by banning the access of refugees to their territories, or by orienting them to other countries.

A similar scene is identified in one Algerian and one non-Algerian cartoon, suggesting that IMMIGRANTS ARE INSECTS. In cartoon A13, IMMIGRANTS are conceptualized as ANTS and EUROPE AS THE LEG OF A PERSON. In cartoon NA17, THE EU is conceptualized as AN INSECTICIDE BOTTLE, and IMMIGRANTS as MOSQUITOES or INSECTS. In both cases, we notice an exaggeration of the attitudes of Europe towards immigration; the connotation here is that the way European countries treat immigrants is like the way people treat insects.

2.3. The Source Domain DISASTER

The metaphor ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION IS A DISASTER is identified in one Algerian cartoon, and in four non-Algerian cartoons. The source domain scenario DISASTER comprises any metaphorical scene in which the phenomenon is conceptualized as a natural catastrophe, an uncontrolled dangerous situation, and anything, which threatens the life of humans, like TSUNAMI, FLOOD, and SHIPWRECK. In the Algerian cartoon A15, the concept DISASTER manifests as the map of Algeria which crumbles into the Mediterranean like the cracking ice in Antarctica. The intention of the cartoonist is that illegal immigrants are part of Algeria, and the country needs its people to prosper. Thus, he regrets that Algerians leave their country on boats and die in the sea, comparing this to the crumbling of a piece of land.

However, the intentions of non-Algerian cartoonists in their implementation of DISASTER metaphor are not similar. Cartoon NA3, suggests that NORTH AFRICAN IMMIGRATION IS A FLOOD or IS AN UNCONTROLLED FLOW OF WATER, cartoon NA10 conceptualizes IMMIGRANTS as A TSUNAMI WAVE, cartoon NA6 cues the metaphor REFUGEES ARE PIERCING RAIN, and cartoon NA9 suggests that EUROPE FACING IMMIGRANTS IS A SHIP FACING AN ICEBERG. All these cartoons connote that the disaster does not affect immigrants or their countries, but the disaster is immigrants themselves, and Europe is the victim. This is another exaggeration of the impacts of illegal immigration and the refugees' crisis on Europe, which always complains about the phenomenon and the socio-economic problems it brings. In this context, the common connotation between the domain ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION and DISASTER is the harmful effects they cause, and the intensity of immigrants' penetration in European territories.

2.4. The Source Domain SPORTS/GAME

In other metaphors, ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION is associated with SPORTS/GAME related domains such as FOOTBALL, PING PONG and BILLIARD. The metaphor ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION IS PLAYING A GAME OR A MATCH has occurred in one Algerian cartoon, and in three non-Algerian cartoons. In the Algerian cartoon A5, the identified metaphor IMMIGRANTS ARE A DROWNING WORLD CUP is context dependent. At the time the cartoon was published, the French football team has won the 2018 world cup trophy, and approximately all the players originate from Africa. In another context, immigrants who cross the Mediterranean to reach the European coast, including France, are Africans. The message addressed by the cartoonist (blaming France for being ungrateful) is that while France has won the world cup thanks to Africans, other African immigrants are ignored drowning in the Mediterranean. The connotation between IMMIGRANTS and WORLD CUP is preciousness because it is the African immigrants, good football players, who have led to the winning of the world cup. However, the metaphor is ironic; a precious thing is not abandoned or left to drown in the sea. The

irony lies in African players' victory from one side, and the drowning of African immigrants from another side.

In non-Algerian cartoons, ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION is conceptualized as other types of SPORTS/GAME. In cartoon NA18, IMMIGRANTS are represented as BALLS IN A BILLIARD GAME, similarly to cartoon NA19, which suggests that IMMIGRANTS ARE BALLS IN A PING PONG MATCH between Italy and France. The connotation here is manipulation; European countries play with immigrants by the decision they make upon them and the policies they follow, like balls in specific games or sports such as Billiard and Ping Pong.

2.5. The Source Domain WAR

In one Algerian and in one non-Algerian cartoon, we have identified metaphors conceptualizing ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION as a WEAPON, and IMMIGRANTS as AMMUNITION. These are categorized as WAR metaphors. Cartoon A7 portrays a cannon full of immigrants instead of ammunition. The cannon is lit by the king of Morocco and targets Spain. What can be understood here is that after Spain accused Morocco of aggression, the cartoonist compares the Moroccan government's allowance to migrate from Morocco to Spain, to lighting a cannon. Similarly, in cartoon NA20, immigrants are conceptualized as the ammunition of a machine gun, which is considered by the cartoonist as a mass illegal immigration weapon used by Gaddafi (the ex-president of Libya), targeting Europe. The connotation in both cases is the harmful consequences caused by both war and illegal immigration.

2.6. Discussion of Other Source Domains

Other cartoons contain more creative metaphors with a variety of source domains. For instance, the source domain FISH is identified in three Algerian cartoons (A10, A11 and A18), and in one non-Algerian cartoon (NA13). However, the concept FISH relates only to IMMIGRANTS; we cannot say that ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION IS FISH because it does not make sense, we cannot also say ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION IS FISHING because this is not what is communicated in the cartoons. Thus,

the absence of an intermediate category to expand the domain fish and conceptualize illegal immigration, in general, does not allow to establish a specific source domain scenario for the metaphor IMMIGRANTS ARE FISH.

In cartoon A10, the metaphor IMMIGRANTS ARE FISH FOR SALE connotes that dead people (immigrants) are caught by fishing nets in the sea like fish. Cartoon A18 cues the metaphor IMMIGRANTS ARE A FLOCK OF FISH, and its connotation is swimming in the bottom of the sea. Groups of immigrants drowning in the sea are compared to migrating flocks of fish. Cartoon A11 involves a slightly different scene. It depicts a group of migrants on a boat inside an aquarium, and they are fed by someone with fish food. The cartoon is about rescuing migrants, and in this context, the connotation of the metaphor MIGRANTS ARE FISH IN AN AQUARIUM is detention; fish are imprisoned in aquariums and immigrants are arrested once they are saved. Lastly, cartoon NA13 conveys the metaphor IMMIGRANTS ARE DOLPHINS by showing two immigrants with their luggage swim like dolphins in the sea after their boat sank. The connotation here is also swimming in the sea. When their boats sink, immigrants try to swim until they die drowning, and here, they are compared to dolphins who migrate in oceans.

In two non-Algerian cartoons (NA5 and NA12), illegal immigration is represented as seeking for a blond woman or a mermaid. EUROPE is conceptualized as A WOMAN or MERMAID, which is sought by immigrants. The connotation of this metaphor is beauty or elegance. A blond woman or a mermaid is beautiful and elegant, and European countries are prosperous and life there is believed to be beautiful and peaceful.

The remaining cartoons use other different source domains to conceptualize illegal immigration, and a few of them are not clear. Cartoon A14 maps the feature HANDCUFFS used to arrest people, with LIFEBOUY used to rescue drowning people. This connotes that RESCUING IMMIGRANTS IS DETENTION. The cartoonist shows that immigrants are imprisoned after being rescued. Cartoon A2 is about the immigration of younger people represented by a sailing baby

stroller. The metaphor in this cartoon is compound and more creative. The cartoonist represents A BABY STROLLER (target) as A SAILING BOAT (source), creating another source domain SAILING BABY STROLLER to conceptualize YOUNGER IMMIGRANTS. Further investigation or conclusions concerning such complex examples could not be provided in this research since they are not frequent in the corpus, and this requires the integration of other theories. Cartoon A9 is published after the declaration of the Algerian Interior Ministry that social networks are the cause of illegal immigration. Building on this claim, the cartoonist depicts social networks with the letter 'F' symbolizing FACEBOOK, which he contextually conceptualizes as a boat. This is a sarcastic and satiric metaphor representing social networks or Facebook, which are means of communication, as a boat, that is a means of transportation, in order to make fun of the minister's claim. Cartoon NA4 communicates the metaphor IMMIGRANTS' LIFE IS A GLOOMY MOVIE by mapping the feature of a deadly clapboard to a boat to connote that they live in miserable conditions. Finally, cartoon NA11 uses the source domain FRESH MEAT to conceptualize IMMIGRANTS. The interpretation of this metaphor is based on the meaning of the expression 'Fresh Meat' which is an idiomatic expression for the fact of being a target of deception, humiliation and ridicule, and thus, the metaphor immigrants are fresh meat signifies that immigrants are being deceived and humiliated by the EU or European countries.

In a nutshell, we can say that Algerian and non-Algerian cartoonists, influenced by a specific socio-political context, usually use negative conceptual domains in their metaphorical representation of immigration and immigrants. The intentions and the connotations of the pictorial and multimodal metaphors are very negative, but they do not reflect the intention of their producers. Cartoonists address the phenomenon of illegal immigration by depicting what happens around them in an artistic, satiric and creative manner, so that to blame certain parties and to influence people's thoughts about this topic and minimize its disastrous consequences. It is also apparent that these source domains are rooted in deep cognition before they are realized through pictorial and

multimodal mappings; they are conceptual domains because they are manifested in many ways through their features or correspondences. All these conclusions make it clear that the present study contributes to the previous studies concerning pictorial and multimodal manifestation of metaphors in political cartoons about illegal immigration and it approves and strengthens previous researchers' claims.

3. Discussion of Complementary Meaning-making Mechanisms in the Cartoons

The content of political cartoons is not only communicated through pictorial and multimodal metaphors. Other linguistic and cognitive tools or mechanisms and cultural elements contribute to the construction of a complete and relevant meaning. In the following, five elements besides pictorial and multimodal metaphors within the cartoons are discussed, with reference to examples from the analysed corpus.

3.1. Metonymy

In the analysed corpus, metonymies are widely used by the cartoonists to communicate specific concepts. While some of them only supplement the meaning of the whole cartoons, others are salient in the understanding of the metaphors, and they are used to depict specific conceptual domains. The target domain is cued through its correspondences like boat, immigrants, and sea, which could be considered as metonyms since in a specific context, they stand for illegal immigration, especially within pictorial metaphors. Moreover, the use of metonymies to render source domains is higher and more frequent, and this is also revealed by Alrubaian (2014:63) who argues that since *“the source domain is usually a more concrete concept, and in order to present it pictorially in a restricted space, the cartoonists have to rely heavily on metonymies.”*

Cartoons involving DEATH metaphors contain a significant number of pictorial metonymies; DEATH is referred to by GRAVE or GRAVESTONE, COFFIN, CEMETERY, and SOUL TAKER. The metonymy GRAVE or GRAVESTONE FOR DEATH is very frequent especially in the Algerian corpus (since most of Algerian cartoons contain DEATH metaphors) with six occurrences, whereas in non-

Algerian cartoons, it has only occurred once as a sub-metonymy; in cartoon NA16, GRAVE does not refer directly to DEATH, but it stands for CEMETERY. In cartoons A16 and NA15, DEATH is referred to by A COFFIN, which is used to conceptualize the immigration boat. Additionally, the metonymy CEMETERY FOR DEATH is depicted in one Algerian and in two non-Algerian cartoons, however, CEMETERY is depicted with another metonymy; a cemetery is a place which is full of graves, and thus, it can only be depicted pictorially with the metonymy GRAVES or GRAVESTONES FOR CEMETERY. The last metonymy used by both Algerian and non-Algerian cartoonists within DEATH metaphors is SOUL TAKER FOR DEATH, which occurs in three Algerian cartoons and in one non-Algerian cartoon. The difference between it and the previous ones is that the nature of the relation between B and A (SOUL TAKER and DEATH) is a cultural reference instead of a whole-part reference; cemetery, grave, and coffin are elements within physical death, but soul taker is a conventional culturally specific concept used by western cultures to symbolize death. Yet, it is also frequent in Algerian cartoons, although it is neither an element specific to Islam religion, nor to any Algerian culture. Thus, we claim that this metonymy has become an intercultural element which is borrowed by Algerian cartoonists from western cultures at least in this case of political cartoons about illegal immigration.

The other identified source domain scenarios contain far less metonymies than the source DEATH, probably because it is the most abstract concept within the identified source domains, and it can be only communicated verbally or through visual representations of its physical features. Cartoons containing ANNOYANCE metaphors involve few primary metonymies such as BROOM FOR LITTER/DUST in cartoons A1, NA1 and NA7, WASTEBASKET FOR GARBAGE in cartoon NA8, and INSECTICIDE FOR INSECTS in cartoon NA17. There are also non-primary metonymies like PRESIDENT TEBBOUN FOR ALGERIA in cartoon A1, HIGH HEEL LEG FOR ITALY (and Europe contextually) in cartoon A13. Only one metonymy is identified within SPORTS/GAME metaphors, which is WORLD CUP FOR FOOTBALL in cartoon A5.

Other metonymies are identified in other cartoons containing metaphors involving various source domains such as AQUARIUM FOR FISH in cartoon A11, LIFEBOUY FOR RESCUING and HANDCUFF FOR DETENTION in cartoon A14, BABY STROLLER FOR YOUTH in cartoon A2, and CLAPBOARD FOR MOVIE in cartoon NA4. This is in addition to few supplementary metonymies which are frequent in different cartoons like FLAG FOR ALGERIA, FLAG FOR SPAIN, FLAG FOR THE EU, PRESIDENT TEBBOUN FOR ALGERIA, PRESIDENT GADDAFI FOR LIBYA, MOROCCAN KING FOR MOROCCO, HIGH HEEL LEG FOR ITALY, and EIFFEL TOWER FOR FRANCE. The main conclusion, thus, is that metonymy is more frequent and more salient in cuing the source domain DEATH than the other source domains. Here, we would argue that the significant use of metonymies to depict the concept DEATH is due to its abstractness. Since there was too much news about the death of immigrants in the Mediterranean, cartoonists created the metaphor ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION IS DEATH. DEATH is an abstract concept and the source domain in the identified pictorial and multimodal metaphors is often always rendered pictorially. Therefore, it can only be conveyed through visual representation of its physical features such as grave and cemetery, or by cultural myths or symbols such as soul taker or God of death. To sum up, the use of metonymies in the whole cartoons (not only concerning DEATH metaphors) is explained by Bounegru and Forceville (2011:220) claiming that in order to recognize an abstract domain *“on the basis of visual information alone (i.e., without help from verbal anchoring), a metonym, or chain of metonyms, from that domain needs to be chosen that in the given context is (a) strongly or even uniquely indicative of the domain; and (b) eminently visualizable.”*

3.2. Personification

According to cognitive linguists, personification is a variety of metaphor, which consists of attributing human qualities to inanimate objects. In other words, it is a metaphor, which conceptualizes abstract and lifeless concepts as humans. This type of metaphor is more frequent in non-Algerian cartoons; it occurs in eight non-Algerian cartoons and in only two Algerian cartoons.

Personifications in the analysed cartoons could be either pictorial or multimodal, just like the other metaphors.

In cartoon A13, EUROPE is personified as a HUMAN with the metonymy HIGH HEEL LEG FOR ITALY, and this person is shaking his/her leg to get rid of a number of ants like people (immigrants) which cover it. In cartoon A5, hands of drowning immigrants are attributed to a FOOTBALL GOLDEN WORLD CUP and, thus, it is personified as a drowning immigrant. The source and target domains are both cued pictorially; they are both pictorial personifications.

In cartoon NA1, the EUROPEAN BORDER AND COAST GUARD AGENCY, FRONTEX, is personified as a MAID who sweeps immigration boats under the sea. It is a multimodal personification because the target FRONTEX is cued verbally and the source MAID is cued visually. A similar metaphorical scene is identified in cartoon NA7 in which THE EU is conceptualized as A PERSON or A CLEANER who wears a long hat with the EU flag and sweeps immigrants under a rug. This constitutes a pictorial personification since both target and source are rendered pictorially. In cartoon NA8, it is ISIS (an Islamic terrorism organization) which is conceptualized as A MASKED ARMED MAN who bears the inscription 'ISIS', constituting a multimodal personification. In cartoon NA3, THE EU is personified as A PLUMBER who wears a cap with the EU flag, and tries to fix a malfunctioning faucet leaking immigrants. It is a pictorial personification since both target and source are cued in the visual mode. In cartoon NA6, EUROPE is conceptualized as a FRUSTRATED MAN who holds an umbrella to prevent himself from falling immigrants. This personification is multimodal because the target is communicated through language in the title of the cartoon, while the source is rendered pictorially. FRANCE and ITALY are personified, visually, by their flags as PLAYERS in a ping pong match, conveying a pictorial personification. In cartoon NA5, EUROPE is personified A BLOND WOMAN who wears a blue dress with a circle of yellow stars representing the EU flag. The woman is sought by a group of immigrants, and this personification is also pictorial. Finally, a similar personification is

identified in cartoon NA12, in which EUROPE is conceptualized as A MERMAID who wears the EU flag and she is sought by immigrants in the middle of the sea, conveying a pictorial personification.

The main point deduced from what is said in this subsection is that personifications are decisive and very crucial in the construction of the whole metaphorical scenes of the cartoons, and in the cartoons in general, especially non-Algerian ones.

3.3. Idioms

Idiomatic expressions are also integrated in both Algerian and non-Algerian cartoons, and contribute to the meaning. In two non-Algerian cartoons NA1 and NA7, and in one Algerian cartoon A1, the idiom ‘sweeping something under a rug’ is used to depict the domain ANNOYANCE. This expression dates back to the early 1900s *“based on the idea of a lazy maid or homemaker sweeping dirt under a rug or carpet, rather than going to the trouble of getting a dust pan and dealing with the dirt to remove it from the home.”* (Grammarist.com). It appears that this idiom is specific to western cultures; it is used in western animated cartoons like Tom and Jerry. Therefore, we assume that it is the Algerian cartoonist who adopted this idiom after its use by non-Algerian cartoonists in a similar metaphorical scene. In this case, the metaphor could be understood easily without being familiar with the idiom; the latter is not salient in grasping the meaning of the metaphor. However, in other cases, knowledge of an idiom is required for understanding a specific cartoon. For instance, cartoon NA11, the conveyed message is IMMIGRANTS ARE FRESH MEAT. The meaning of this metaphor is not clear when we do not know why immigrants are associated with fresh meat, however, familiarity with the idiomatic expression ‘Fresh Meat’ allows to understand the implicit meaning. ‘Fresh Meat’ stands for *“a person or group of people who arouse one's interest, either as a new target for deception, humiliation or ridicule, or as a potential love interest or one night stand.”* (Yourdictionary.com), and thus the message conveyed by the metaphor IMMIGRANTS ARE FRESH MEAT is that immigrants are being exploited, deceived and mocked by European countries.

3.4. Intertextuality

Sometimes, political or editorial cartoons refer to other texts that have already appeared in other genres like novels or movies. In the analysed corpus, we have encountered only one case which involves an intertext. The metaphorical scene EUROPE FACING REFUGEES IS A SHIP FACING AN ICEBERG in cartoon NA9, echoes a scene from the famous movie 'Titanic'. It is about a British passenger ship, which sunk in the Atlantic Ocean after hitting an iceberg, in 1912. Familiarity with this movie allows getting the message directly; the source domain scenario DISASTER is accessed only with the assumption that the ship sunk after hitting the iceberg; otherwise, the latter could be seen as a small hurdle on the way of the ship. Therefore, in specific cases (like this example), intertextuality is indispensable for interpreting metaphors in political cartoons.

3.5. Pictorial Runs

Pictorial runs are used by both Algerian and non-Algerian cartoonists in the analysed corpus to provide additional information. Yet, in some cases, they are indispensable for a full and correct understanding of specific cartoons. In cartoon NA5, for example, runs are used to indicate the instability of the swing, but the absence of these runs does not influence the meaning of the cartoon. However, in cartoon A13, the runs surrounding the leg covered by ants indicate motion, or more precisely, shaking. The latter allows accessing the source domain (ANNOYANCE) intended by the cartoonist.

At the end of this section, we claim that the genre of political cartoons involves other meaning making mechanisms besides pictorial and multimodal metaphors, contributing salient information. Similar studies have shown that sometimes, these tools play a decisive role in the interpretation of pictorial and multimodal metaphors in a specific cartoon, and through the present research, we further confirm and validate this claim.

Conclusion

In the present chapter, the obtained findings after an analysis of pictorial and multimodal metaphors in forty Algerian and non-Algerian political representing the phenomenon of illegal immigration, are discussed in the light of the theoretical framework (CMT and Non-Verbal and Multimodal Metaphor theory) and pertinent previous studies, in an attempt to answer the research questions and to test the validity of the hypotheses. The first section took into account the similarities and differences between Algerian and non-Algerian cartoonists' use of pictorial and multimodal metaphors to portray and address illegal immigration. It revealed that they both frequently use similar source and target domain concepts in their depiction of the phenomenon, and it is also apparent that they frequently use the same subtypes of pictorial metaphor (hybrid 'MP2' and contextual 'MP1'), and the same variety of multimodal metaphor (verbal-pictorial). Therefore, we can say that the first hypothesis is confirmed since it is clear that, to a great extent, Algerian and non-Algerian cartoonists use pictorial and multimodal metaphors in a similar way. In the second section, the source domain scenarios and the mappings of the identified metaphors are discussed in the sake of unveiling the connotations between source and target, in an attempt to grasp the implicit message of the cartoons. Although they imply different intentions, both the Algerian and the non-Algerian cartoonists, not only represent immigrants and the phenomenon of illegal immigration negatively, but they both amplify and exaggerate its negative effects and this is clearly apparent from the identified source domain scenarios (DEATH, ANNOYANCE, DISASTER, SPORTS/GAME, and WAR). Thus, we can say that we have confirmed the second hypothesis because it is deduced that both the Algerian and non-Algerian cartoonists provided a negative metaphorical representation of illegal immigration. Furthermore, we can claim that these source domains are underlying conceptual domains that manifest, visually, in different ways through their features or correspondences. In other words, the identified pictorial and multimodal metaphors are manifestations of underlying conceptual ones because a similar metaphor has manifested in many ways, just like linguistic

metaphorical expressions. This claim confirms the third hypothesis and reinforces the assumption that metaphor is a matter of thought and cognition, not language (language or pictures are modes through which conceptual metaphors are realized). The third and last section also confirms the fourth hypothesis showing that there are other parameters and other linguistic and cognitive phenomena that take part in meaning making, especially metonymies and personification. We have demonstrated that metonymy, personification, idioms, intertextuality, and pictorial runs provide additional information for the cartoons, and sometimes they are salient to the metaphors and are indispensable for the interpretation of political cartoons.



GENERAL CONCLUSION

The present study has investigated the use of pictorial and multimodal metaphors in political cartoons representing the phenomenon of illegal immigration, and compares between Algerian and non-Algerian cartoonists' metaphorical conceptualization. The analysis is conducted on forty cartoons (twenty Algerian and twenty non-Algerian) that are collected online, relying on Bounegru and Forceville's (2011) framework for the study of metaphors in political cartoons in order to achieve three main objectives. The first objective is to identify the pictorial and multimodal metaphors and their elements (source and target) used by Algerian and non-Algerian cartoonists to conceptualize illegal immigration in the selected cartoons. The second is to interpret the metaphors revealing the mapped connotations from source onto target, and to check if they are visual and multimodal manifestations of underlying conceptual metaphors. The third objective is to compare between Algerian and non-Algerian cartoons in terms of metaphorical representation of a similar issue (illegal immigration), and check whether other linguistic and cognitive tools are used in collaboration with the metaphors to construct meaning.

In the light of these objectives, we have raised four important questions to which we have suggested four main hypotheses. First, we have hypothesised that both Algerian and non-Algerian cartoonists use, frequently, similar source domain concepts to conceptualize illegal immigration or its subthemes. Second, we have advanced that the phenomenon is represented negatively in both Algerian and non-Algerian cartoons because it causes negative effects. We have also claimed that pictorial and multimodal metaphors in political cartoons are manifestations of underlying conceptual ones, and as a last hypothesis, we have posited that other parameters and meaning making mechanisms take part in the construction of the meaning of the cartoons, and complement the metaphors in depicting the whole message.

The current research required a mixed methods research design, and although we have relied more on qualitative analysis in the description, interpretation, and discussion of the metaphors and the whole content of the cartoons, quantitative analysis is used to count the number of pictorial

metaphors in both corpora and in the whole corpus, and to record the frequent source and target domain concepts. The analysis of the data has followed the procedure used by Bounegru and Forceville (2011:213-214). In the first place, each cartoon has been analysed separately, and the metaphors and their elements (either pictorially or verbally depicted source and target domains) have been identified relying on the suggested criteria for metaphor identification. In the second place, the identified metaphors have been distinguished as pictorial or multimodal, relying on the proposed strategy for the distinction between pictorial and multimodal metaphors. Finally, the pictorial and multimodal metaphors and the other non-verbal (visual) components of the cartoons are verbalized and interpreted for the sake of revealing the mapped connotations of source domain onto target domain, and discussing the cartoon as a whole according to its dominant source domain scenario.

Eventually, the present study has reached important findings. First of all, both Algerian and non-Algerian cartoonists have employed a significant number of pictorial and multimodal metaphors in their depiction of illegal immigration. The number of multimodal metaphors is higher than that of pictorial ones, and this is due to the genre itself since it is multimodal (it involves both language and pictures). We have also demonstrated that they (Algerian and non-Algerian cartoonists) frequently use similar source and target domain concepts to metaphorize the phenomenon, and they frequently use the same subtypes of pictorial metaphor (hybrid ‘MP2’ and contextual ‘MP1’), and the same variety of multimodal metaphor (verbal-pictorial); i.e., both Algerian and non-Algerian cartoonists tend to depict the target verbally and the source pictorially in the case of multimodal metaphor. The analysis has revealed five most common source domain scenarios in both corpora, which are: DEATH, ANNOYANCE, DISASTER, SPORTS/GAME, and WAR. It has also been deduced that the most frequent source domain scenario in the Algerian corpus is DEATH, which occurred in nine within twenty cartoons. This is justified by the amount of news about the drowning of hundreds of Algerian immigrants in the Mediterranean each year, which the cartoonists

are exposed to in the newspapers where they publish. Furthermore, the identified source domain scenarios show the extent to which the cartoonists amplify and exaggerate the negative consequences of illegal immigration. The genre of political cartoons is a rhetorical device which is used by cartoonists to convey specific arguments and to address certain issues, for the sake of influencing people or specific parties to make them reflect and react. In the case of illegal immigration, the exaggerated negativity is justified by the cartoonists' attempt to convince people not to get involved in illegal immigration, and to blame governors and responsible parties and invite them to take actions. Concerning the metaphors themselves, we can claim that they are visual and multimodal manifestations of underlying conceptual metaphors that are rooted or embodied in the cartoonists' cognition, before being articulated through pictorial and multimodal mappings of source and target domains correspondences. This claim is justified by the manifestation of a single metaphor (e.g., ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION IS DEATH) in many forms (e.g., IMMIGRATION BOAT IS A COFFIN, THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA IS A CEMETERY, THE EU IS A SOUL TAKER), in the same way linguistic metaphors are. As a last finding, we have deduced that the cartoonists employ other tools and meaning making mechanisms, especially metonymy and personification, which collaborate with the pictorial and multimodal metaphors to convey the whole message of a cartoon.

It is apparent that this work contributes to the field of visual and multimodal communication and cognitive linguistics, especially Conceptual Metaphor Theory. It reinforces the idea that metaphor is universal since we have concluded that Algerian and non-Algerian cartoonists, to a great extent, use similar metaphors to conceptualize a common concept (illegal immigration), and it strengthens the belief that metaphor is conceptual and is a matter of thought and cognition, more than it is of language.

However, the current research has encountered some limitations concerning representativity, generalizability, and interpretation. First, the corpus consisted only of twenty Algerian cartoons and twenty non-Algerian cartoons. In the latter, we did not specify any given country to compare to

Algeria, but cartoons produced by any other countries are included. Here, we are limited to what is published on the net, and we could not gather a significant sample for a given country; i.e., cartoons belong to newspapers and magazines, and they might or might not be published online. Moreover, the results obtained from our analysis cannot be generalized to the genre of political cartoons because there are many other socio-political issues that are being addressed, and which must be investigated. Another limitation concerns the interpretation of the cartoons and the metaphors; individuals and audiences may interpret them in a different way.

With that being said, these limitations can be taken as starting points to conduct further research on pictorial and multimodal metaphors in political cartoons. They can be investigated within other socio-political issues such as ‘the presidential elections’, ‘the Russian-Ukrainian crisis’, ‘global warming’, ‘corruption’, and many other topics. Further investigation can also be provided concerning how individuals with different social classes interpret and understand specific cartoons about specific issues in a given context.

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Appendix A: The Selected Algerian Cartoons

➤ Cartoon A1



By Ali Dilem, 2021. From: <https://www.facebook.com/caricatures.algerie/photos/3043885705938712>

➤ Cartoon A2



By Belkacem Younsi, 2021. From: <https://www.facebook.com/caricatures.algerie/photos/3043166356010647>

➤ Cartoon A3



By Ghir Hak, 2015. From: <https://gagdz.com/drame-en-mediterranee/>

➤ Cartoon A4



By Ghilas Ainouche, 2021. From: <https://twitter.com/GhilasAinouche/status/1442865478200877057>

➤ Cartoon A5



By Le Hic, 2018. From: <https://gagdz.com/la-victoire-des-migrants-a-la-coupe-du-monde-2018/>

➤ Cartoon A6



By Islem, 2014. From: <https://gagdz.com/harraga-2/>

➤ Cartoon A7

PLUS DE 8000 MIGRANTS DÉBARQUENT À CEUTA
**L'ESPAGNE ACCUSE
LE MAROC D'AGRESSION**



By Ali Dilem, 2021. From: <https://www.facebook.com/caricatures.algerie/photos/2945120665815217>

➤ Cartoon A8



By Siham Zebiri, 2015. From: <https://cartoonmovement.com/cartoon/specter-de-limmigration-clandestine>

➤ Cartoon A9



By Le Hic, 2019. From: <https://gagdz.com/les-reseaux-sociaux-seraient-la-cause-du-drame-des-harraga-selon-le-ministre-de-linterieur/>

➤ Cartoon A10



By Islem, 2014. From: <https://gagdz.com/harraga-3/>

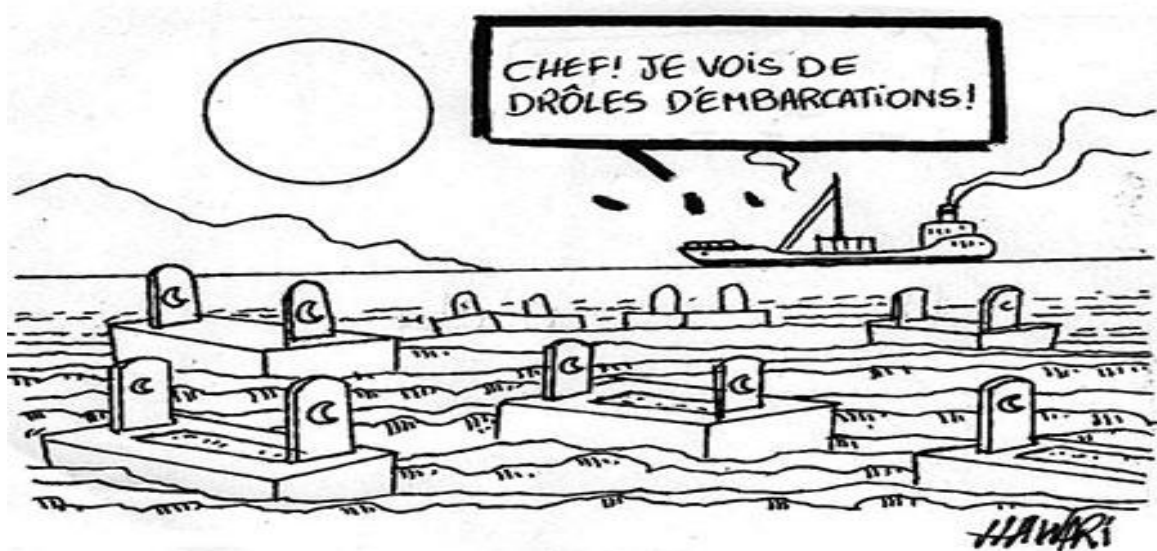
➤ Cartoon A11

DES MILLIERS DE MIGRANTS SECOURUS EN MÉDITERRANÉE



By Ali Dilem, 2017. From: <https://gagdz.com/des-miliers-de-migrants-secourus-en-mediterranee/>

➤ Cartoon A12



By Hawari, 2013. From: <https://gagdz.com/harragas/>

➤ Cartoon A13



By Ali Dilem, 2015. From: <https://gagdz.com/5000-migrants-sauves-en-24-heures/>

➤ Cartoon A14



By Ghir Hak, 2014. From: <https://gagdz.com/plusieurs-harragas-secourus/>

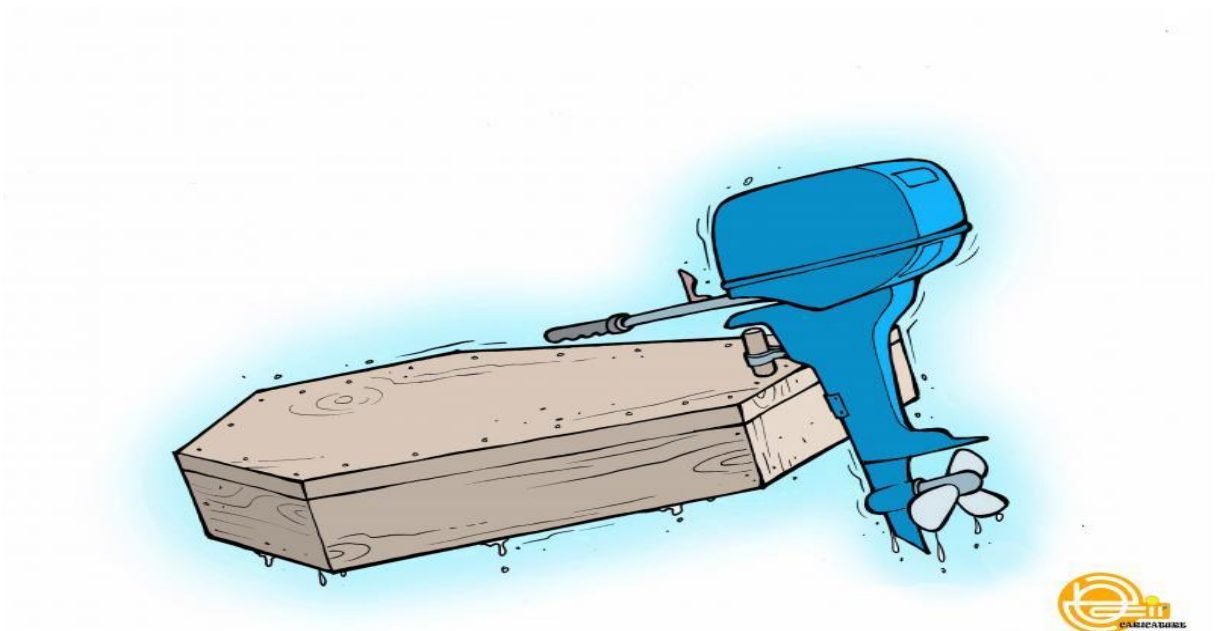
➤ Cartoon A15



By Samir Sadki, 2018. From:

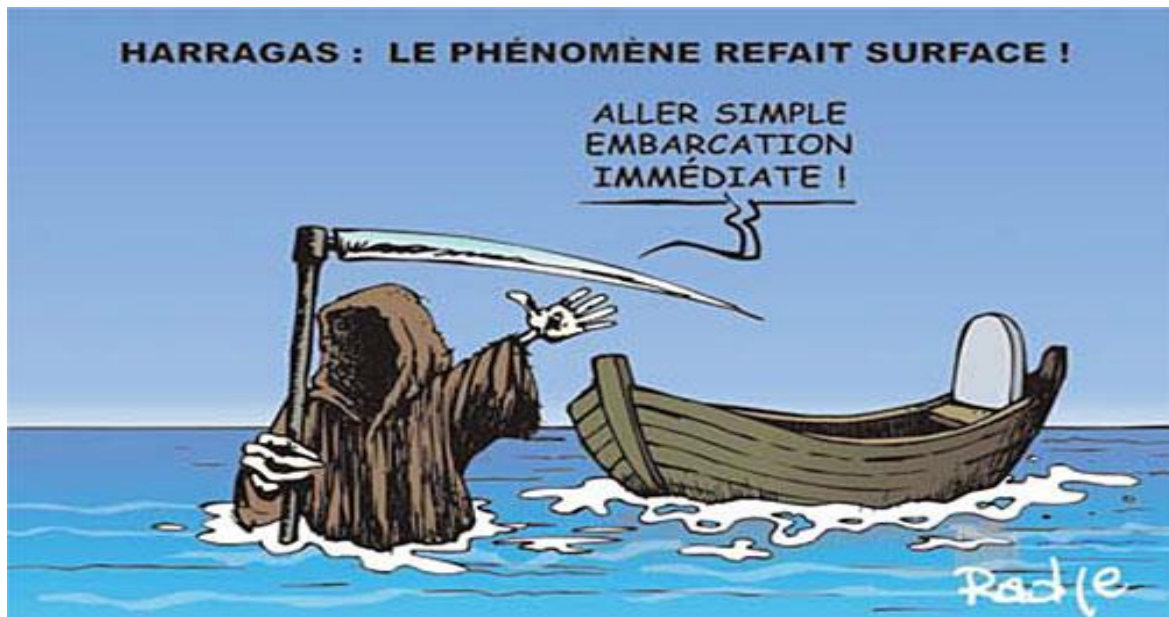
<https://www.facebook.com/S.Sadki.Caricatures/photos/a.314489145389957/1071660619672802/>

➤ Cartoon A16



By Zoubir Ghougali, 2016. From: <https://cartoonmovement.com/cartoon/death-boats>

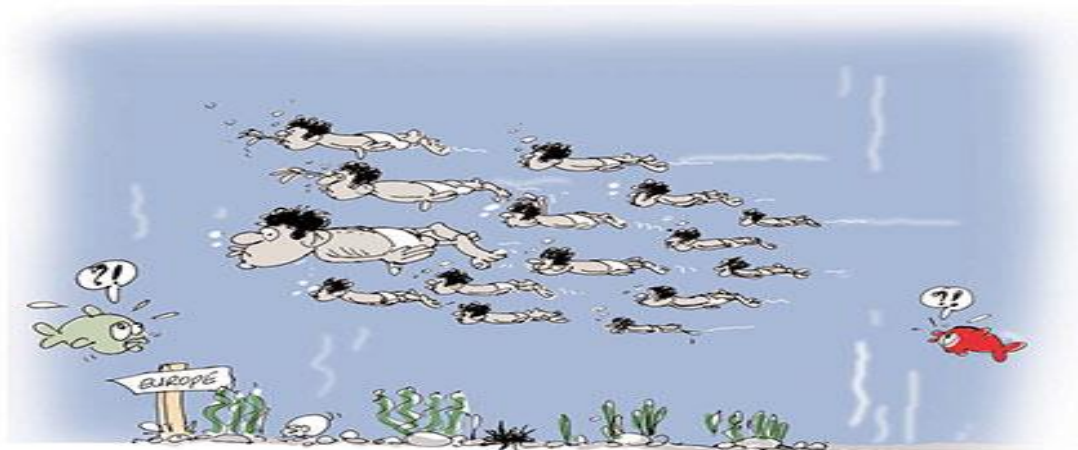
➤ Cartoon A17



By Ghir Hak, 2014. From: <https://gagdz.com/harragas-le-phenomene-refait-surface/>

➤ Cartoon A18

IMPORTANTES FLUX MIGRATOIRES SUR LES CÔTES D'EUROPE



Loumis

By Djamel Lounis, 2013. From: <https://gagdz.com/importants-flux-migratoires-sur-les-cotes-deurope/>

➤ Cartoon A19



By Le Hic, 2014. From: <https://gagdz.com/drame-des-harraga/>

➤ Cartoon A20



By Ghir Hak, 2014. From: <https://gagdz.com/le-phenomene-harragas-refait-surface/>

Appendix B: The Selected non-Algerian Cartoons

➤ Cartoon NA1



By Guido Kuhn, 2017. From: <https://cartoonmovement.com/cartoon/frontex>

➤ Cartoon NA2



By Maarten Wolterink, 2015. From: <https://cartoonmovement.com/cartoon/body-bag-boat>

➤ Cartoon NA3



By Giacomo Cardelli, 2011. From: <https://cartoonmovement.com/cartoon/undesirables>

➤ Cartoon NA4



By Musa Keklik, 2020. From: <https://cartoonmovement.com/cartoon/immigration-9>

➤ Cartoon NA5



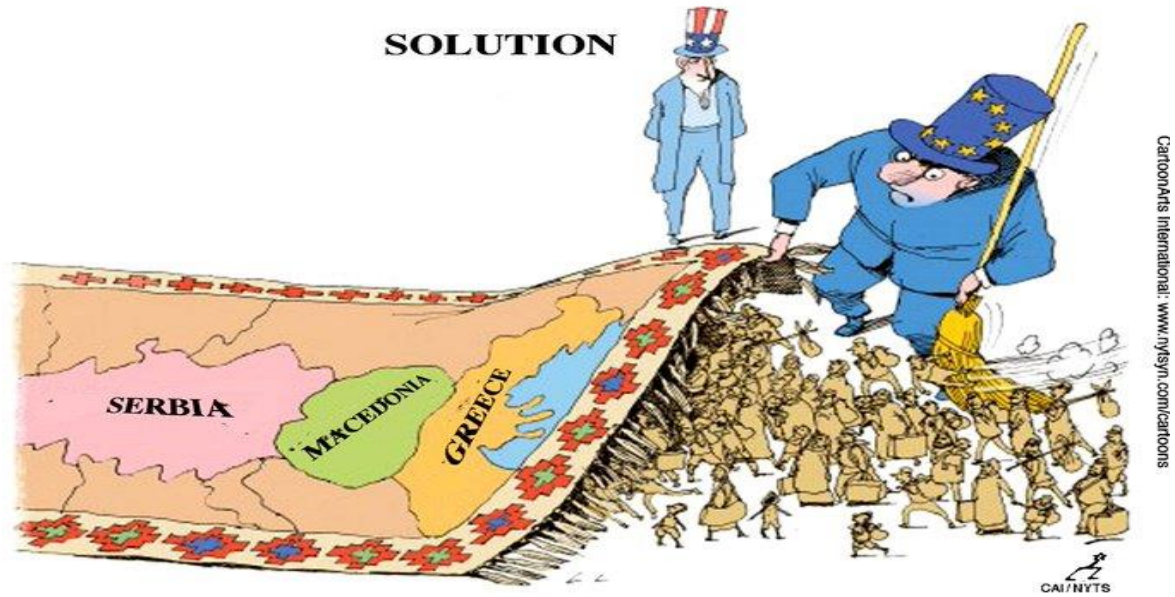
By Igor Kolgarev, 2016. From: <https://cartoonmovement.com/cartoon/immigration-swing>

➤ Cartoon NA6



By Olivier Pirnay, 2015. From: https://www.humeurs.be/2015/09/refugies/sp20150902_refugies-1000/

➤ Cartoon NA7



By Dusan Petricic, 2015. From:
<https://twitter.com/globalcartoons/status/644530572736507904?lang=en>

➤ Cartoon NA8



By Ron McGeary, 2015. From:
<https://www.cartoonstock.com/search?type=images&keyword=refugee+crisis&page=3&expanded=C S427293>

➤ Cartoon NA9



By Alexei Talimonov, 2016. From:

[https://www.cartoonstock.com/search?type=images&keyword=refugee+crisis&page=4&expanded=C\\$433830](https://www.cartoonstock.com/search?type=images&keyword=refugee+crisis&page=4&expanded=C$433830)

➤ Cartoon NA10



By Patrick Chappatte, 2015. From: <https://www.chappatte.com/fr/images/leurope-et-les-immigrants>

➤ Cartoon NA11



By Christo Komarnitsky, 2015. From: <https://www.cagle.com/christo-komarnitski/2015/08/fresh-meat>

➤ Cartoon NA12



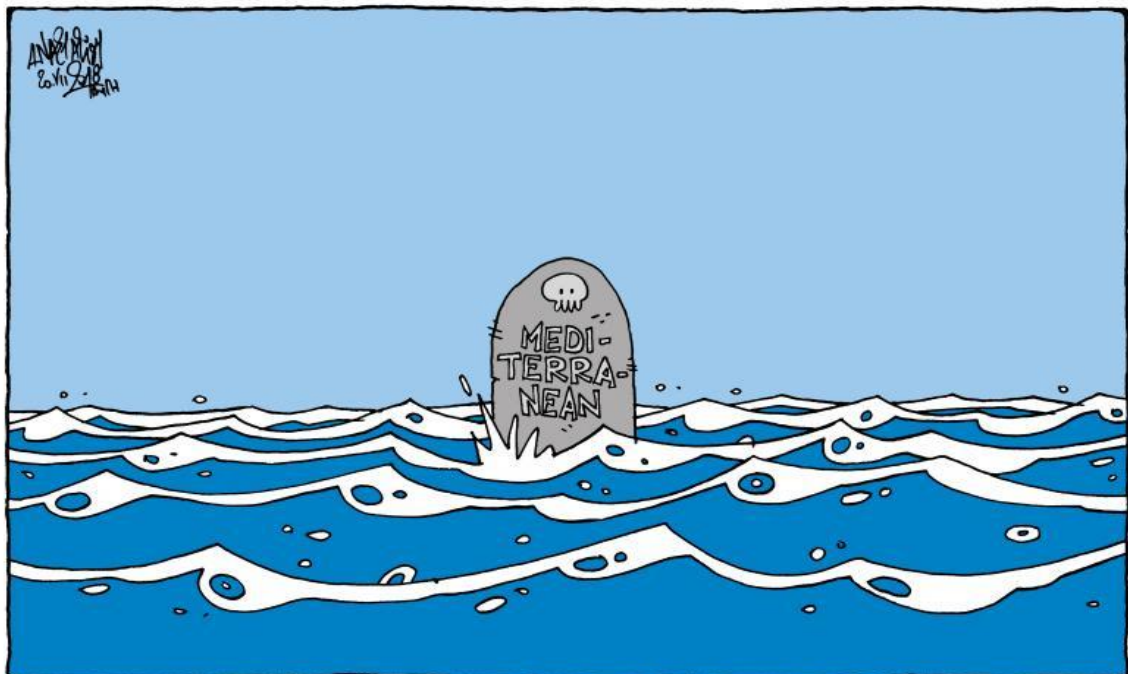
By Javier Ellapizloco, 2018. From: <http://www.vegabajaacoge.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/El-Lapiz-Lo-co-725x1024.jpg>

➤ Cartoon NA13



By Emrah Arikan, 2015. From: <https://cartoonmovement.com/cartoon/immigrants-1>

➤ Cartoon NA14



By Tasos Anastasiou, 2018. From: <https://cartoonmovement.com/cartoon/mediterranean-sea-1>

➤ Cartoon NA15



By Peter Walleman, 2013. From: <https://www.cartoonstock.com/cartoon?searchID=CS392499>

➤ Cartoon NA16



By Patrick Chappatte, 2015. From: <https://www.chappatte.com/en/images/death-in-the-mediterranean/>

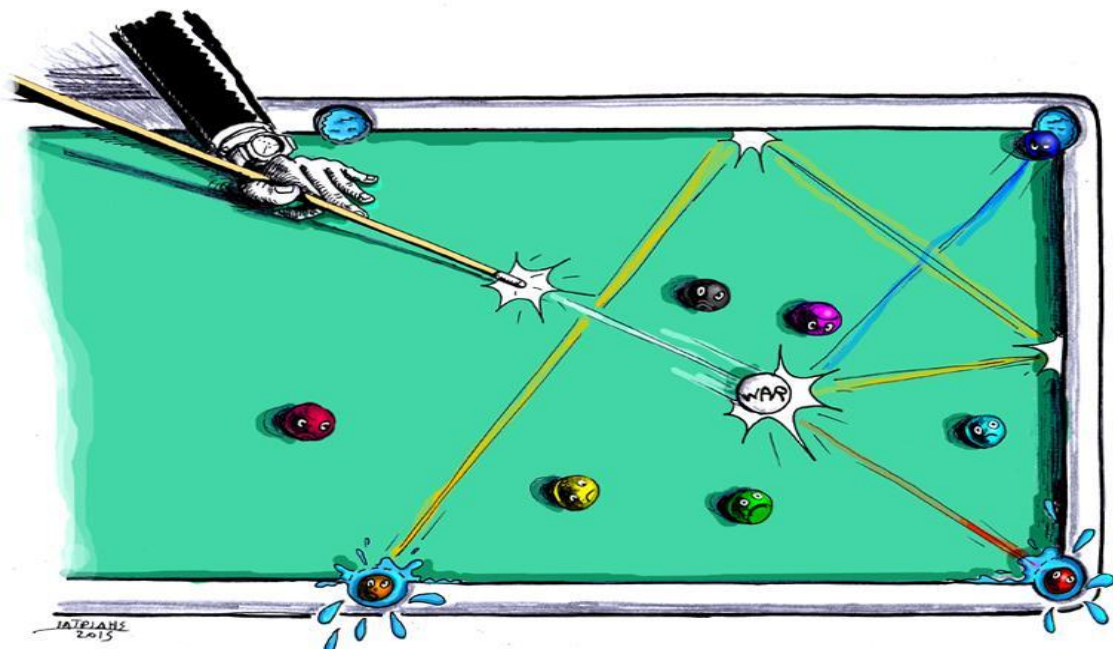
➤ Cartoon NA17

LA NOUVELLE RÉPONSE EUROPÉENNE AUX MIGRANTS ...



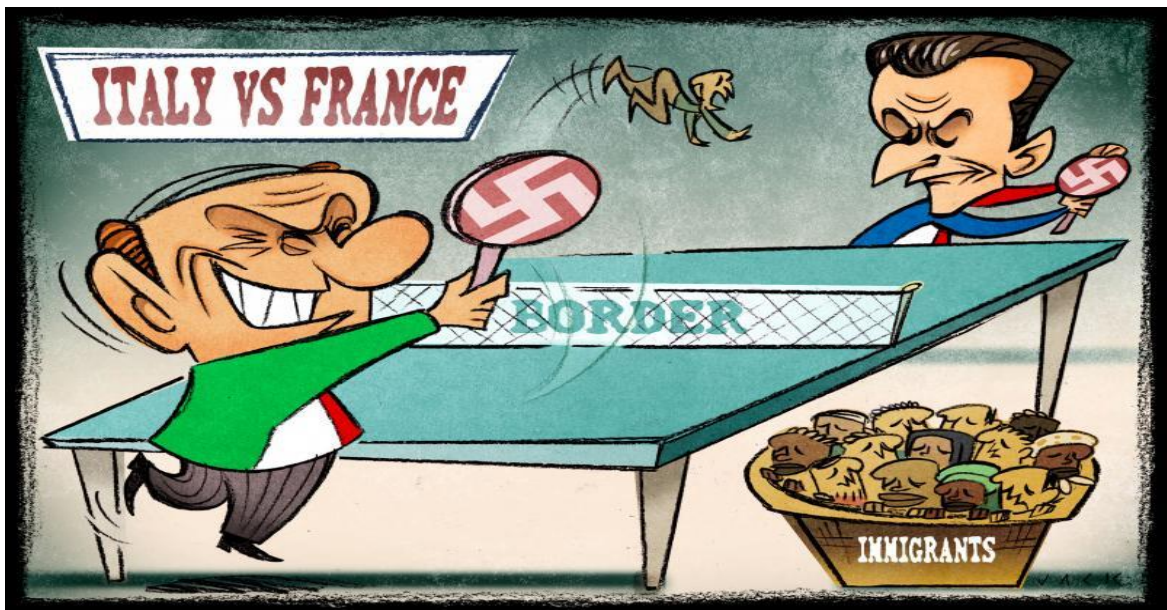
By Miss Lilou, 2016. From: <http://dessinsmisslilou.over-blog.com/2016/03/la-nouvelle-reponse-europeenne-aux-migrants.html>

➤ Cartoon NA18



By Athanasios Iatridis, 2015. From: <https://cartoonmovement.com/cartoon/immigrants-0>

➤ Cartoon NA19



By Giacomo Cardelli, 2011. From: <https://cartoonmovement.com/cartoon/ping-pong>

➤ Cartoon NA20



By Gianfranco Uber, 2011. From: <https://cartoonmovement.com/cartoon/retaliation>

Appendix C: The Identified Pictorial Metaphors and their Type.

➤ Pictorial Metaphors and Their Type in Algerian Cartoons.

Cartoon	The Pictorial Metaphor	Its Type
A1	- THE SEA IS A RUG	Integrated Metaphor
A2	- BABY STROLLER IS AN IMMIGRATION BOAT	Hybrid Metaphor (MP2)
A3	- THE EU IS A SOUL TAKER	Hybrid Metaphor (MP2)
A4	- IMMIGRATION BOAT IS A GRAVE	Hybrid Metaphor (MP2)
A8	- THE EU IS A SOUL TAKER	Hybrid Metaphor (MP2)
A11	- IMMIGRANTS ARE FISH	Contextual Metaphor (MP1)
A12	- THE SEA IS A CEMETERY	Contextual Metaphor (MP1)
A14	- LIFEBUOYS ARE HANDCUFFS	Pictorial Simile
A16	- IMMIGRATION BOAT IS A COFFIN	Hybrid Metaphor (MP2)
A17	- IMMIGRATION BOAT IS A GRAVE	Hybrid Metaphor (MP2)

➤ Pictorial Metaphors and Their Type in Non-Algerian Cartoons.

Cartoon	The Pictorial Metaphor	Its Type
NA1	- IMMIGRANTS ON BOATS ARE LITTER	Contextual Metaphor (MP1)
	- THE SEA IS A EU FLAG RUG	Integrated Metaphor
NA2	- IMMIGRATION BOAT IS A SOUL TAKER'S SCYTHE	Contextual Metaphor (MP1)
NA3	- THE EU IS A PLUMBER (personification)	Hybrid Metaphor (MP2)
	- IMMIGRANTS ARE LEAKING WATER	Contextual Metaphor (MP1)

NA4	- IMMIGRATION BOAT IS A DEADLY CLAPBOARD	Contextual Metaphor (MP1)
NA5	- EUROPE (THE EU) IS A BLOND WOMAN (personification)	Hybrid Metaphor (MP2)
NA6	- EUROPE (THE EU) IS A PERFORATED UMBRELLA	Hybrid Metaphor (MP2)
NA12	- EUROPE (THE EU) IS A MERMAID (personification)	Hybrid Metaphor (MP2)
NA13	- IMMIGRANTS ARE DOLPHINS	Pictorial Simile
NA15	- IMMIGRATION BOAT IS A COFFIN	Contextual Metaphor (MP1)

Appendix D: The Identified Multimodal Metaphors and the Modality

Of their Source and Target Domains.

➤ Multimodal Metaphors and the Modality of their Source and Target Domains in Algerian Cartoons.

Cartoon's Code	The Multimodal Metaphor	Modality of Target	Modality of Source
A1	- ALGERIAN YOUTH (IMMIGRANTS) IS DUST	Verbal	Pictorial
A5	- MIGRANTS ARE A DROWNING WORLD CUP	Verbal	Pictorial
A6	- ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION IS RIDING A CRESCENT ON A GRAVESTONE	Verbal	Pictorial
A7	- ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION IS LIGHTING A CANNON - MIGRANTS ARE AMMUNITION	Verbal Verbal	Pictorial Pictorial
A9	- FACEBOOK IS AN IMMIGRATION BOAT	Verbal	Pictorial
A10	- IMMIGRANTS ARE FISH FOR SALE	Verbal	Pictorial
A11	- THE MEDITERRANEAN IS AN AQUARIUM - RESCUING IMMIGRANTS IS FEEDING FISH	Verbal Verbal	Pictorial Pictorial
A12	- IMMIGRATION BOATS ARE FLOATING GRAVES	Verbal	Pictorial
A13	- MIGRANTS ARE ANTS	Verbal	Pictorial
A15	- ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION IS THE CRUMBLING OF ALGERIA	Verbal	Pictorial

A17	- ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION IS A TRAVEL WITH SOUL TAKER	Verbal	Pictorial
A18	- IMMIGRANTS ARE FISH	Verbal	Pictorial
A19	- ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION IS DROWNING IN A GRAVE	Verbal	Pictorial
A20	- ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION IS A SAILING GRAVE	Verbal	Pictorial

➤ **Multimodal Metaphors and the Modality of their Source and Target Domains in non-Algerian Cartoons.**

Cartoon's Code	The Multimodal Metaphor	Modality of Target	Modality of Source
NA1	- FRONTEX IS A MAID	Verbal	Pictorial
NA3	- NORTH AFRICA IS A MALFUNCTIONING FAUCET	Verbal	Pictorial
NA4	- IMMIGRANTS ARE ACTORS IN A MOVIE	Verbal	Pictorial
NA5	- ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION IS A DEADLY SWING	Verbal	Pictorial
NA6	- EUROPE IS A FRUSTRATED MAN - REFUGEES ARE PIECING RAIN	Verbal Verbal	Pictorial Pictorial
NA7	- IMMIGRANTS ARE LITTER - GREECE, MACEDONIA AND SERBIA ARE A RUG	Verbal Verbal	Pictorial Pictorial

NA8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - NORTH AFRICAN IMMIGRANTS ARE GARBAGE - THE EU IS A WASTEBASKET 	<p>Verbal</p> <p>Verbal</p>	<p>Pictorial</p> <p>Pictorial</p>
NA9	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - EUROPE IS A SHIP - REFUGEES ARE AN ICEBERG 	<p>Verbal</p> <p>Verbal</p>	<p>Pictorial</p> <p>Pictorial</p>
NA10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - IMMIGRANTS ARE A TSUNAMI WAVE 	<p>Verbal</p>	<p>Pictorial</p>
NA11	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - IMMIGRANTS ARE FRESH MEAT 	<p>Pictorial</p>	<p>Verbal</p>
NA14	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - THE MEDITERRANEAN IS A CEMETERY 	<p>Verbal</p>	<p>Pictorial</p>
NA16	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - THE MEDITERRANEAN IS A CEMETERY 	<p>Verbal</p>	<p>Pictorial</p>
NA17	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - MIGRANTS ARE MOSQUITOES - THE EU IS AN INSECTICIDE BOTTLE 	<p>Verbal</p> <p>Verbal</p>	<p>Pictorial</p> <p>Pictorial</p>
NA18	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - IMMIGRANTS ARE BILLIARD BALLS 	<p>Verbal</p>	<p>Pictorial</p>
NA19	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - IMMIGRANTS ARE BALLS IN A PING PONG MATCH 	<p>Verbal</p>	<p>Pictorial</p>
NA20	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION IS WAR - IMMIGRANTS ARE AMMUNITION 	<p>Verbal</p> <p>Verbal</p>	<p>Pictorial</p> <p>Pictorial</p>